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PROSTITUTION: A DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE REVIEW

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PREFACE

In 1977 the New South Wales Government held a seminar on victimless crime. This paper represents an extension of the interest in the area of prostitution expressed during that seminar. It is an attempt to fill the gap in the literature by bringing together vast material on the subject and systematically considering various aspects of the trade.

Colleagues at the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research are acknowledged for their foresight in anticipating the need for such a descriptive review. Robyn Costin and librarians at the Attorney-General's Library provided Gail Travis with assistance tracking down numerous books and journal articles. Arthur Travis and George Molnar offered editorial assistance. The report was typed by the Word Processing Section of the Department of the Attorney-General and of Justice.

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INTRODUCTION

The following literature review of prostitution is intended to be an extension of Jan Aitkin's background paper "Prostitutes in New South Wales" prepared for a seminar on victimless crime held by the New South Wales Government in 1977. At the seminar, prostitution was one of four offences considered in terms of the proper boundaries of the criminal law. Aitkin's paper outlined the state's law relating to prostitution, court appearances by prostitutes in N.S.W., recidivism and rehabilitation, difficulties in studying prostitution, the social background and characteristics of N.S.W. prostitutes, categories of prostitutes and prostitution, as well as law reform considerations (N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 1977 a). To meet the needs of the seminar Aitkin kept the focus of her study narrow and concentrated on prostitution in Australia and in N.S.W. in particular, gathering such data as has been generated in the last ten years (N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 1977 a).

A descriptive literature review of prostitution, on the other hand, is very broad in its scope. Choosing to concentrate on historical, anthropological, public health issues as well as material dealing with the legal control of prostitution, one forms a general impression of prostitution-related concerns both historically and anthropologically. It is hoped that from such a wide spectrum, the reader will gain insight into some of the unique as well as universal aspects of prostitution and its regulation in various cultural settings.

The main body of this paper will present an analytical, descriptive review of prostitution-related literature based on journal articles and books. The appendix, in turn, will consider current issues discussed in newspapers and magazines concerning prostitution in N.S.W. in light of this literature survey.

Definitions of prostitution

Vern Bullough in The History of Prostitution explains the derivation of the word "prostitute". Prostitutes in Roman times usually worked either in brothels, referred to as the lupanaria, or as streetwalkers.

The lupanaria were not allowed to open until late in the afternoon... Once open the girls stood or sat where they could be seen by the passers-by, hence the Latin word prostitute, which means to set forth in public, or to be exposed for sale, which has entered the English language (Bullough, 1964:47).

Although the etymology of the word "prostitute" is straightforward, when one attempts to address the question, "What is prostitution?", one encounters controversy which permeates the entire body of prostitution-related literature. For example, some definitions of prostitution exclusively refer to female prostitutes (Iga, 1968; Khalaf, 1965). In Lebanon, Article 1 of the Prostitution Law for Protection of Public Health issued on February 6, 1931 states:

Prostitution is the profession of any woman known habitually to surrender herself to men for the purpose of fornication, in return for monetary payment, whether secretly or publicly (Khalaf, 1965:143).

Others, in defining prostitution as a female offence, follow Carol Smart's reasoning.

Shoplifting, prostitution in adults and promiscuity and "ungovernability" in adolescents are the only "offences" that the statistics reveal to be predominantly "female offences". That is, it is only in these forms of deviance or criminality that the numbers of female offenders exceed male offenders (Smart, 1978:13).

On the other hand, researchers such as Caukins and Coombs argue that from their work in the United States, male prostitution warrants the serious attention of behavioural scientists. "Although no statistics are available, it is believed to be at least as extensive as female prostitution... Male prostitution is increasing and has almost reached epidemic proportions" (Caukins and Coombs, 1976:450). Still others contend that any definition of prostitution should include both males and females, not as a reflection of percentages of offenders, but rather as a means of avoiding discrimination against either sex.

Interestingly, the debate does not end here. It is not uncommon for authors to include emotional indifference as an aspect of their definition. For instance Marshall Bryant writes: "...prostitution will be defined as the contractual barter of sex favours, usually sexual intercourse, for monetary considerations (either cash or gifts) without any emotional attachment between the partners" (1977:380). Whereas social scientist Mamoru Iga argues that such emotional indifference does not characterize the Japanese prostitution scene.

Emotional indifference, which is often given as an essential characteristic of prostitution is not relevant to Japanese prostitution, because the traditional arranged marriage in Japan involves little affectional interaction between the two persons who marry (Iga, 1968:128).

Kuttner and Lorincz, in their discussion of a skid row population of urban Native Americans, define prostitution as a stage which develops from normal promiscuity, through extreme promiscuity to compensated promiscuity (Kuttner and Lorincz, 1970).

Similarly, Goldstein, in explaining that "prostitution ...turned out to be very difficult phenomena to define and categorize", developed a typology of prostitution where the occupational milieu, or the kind of prostitution a person was engaged in (streetwalkers, massage parlour prostitutes, house prostitutes, call girls, madams, mistresses, barterers) was contrasted with the occupational commitment of that person, or the frequency of a person's involvement in prostitution, whether it be temporary, occasional or continual (1979:143). Within this framework he suggests:

Considering prostitution as a deviant service occupation rather than as a deviant form of sexual relationship ...(is) clearly a more accurate reflection of the realities of prostitution as experienced and perceived by prostitutes themselves (Goldstein, 1979:34).

In A Bibliography of Prostitution, Vern Bullough further elucidates:

But what constitutes prostitution? The investigator who pursues the subject will find that there is not always agreement on the definition. In law, prostitution has been defined as the hiring out of one's body for the purposes of sexual intercourse. Many state statutes, however, fail to stipulate that a monetary exchange need take place. Thus prostitution can also be defined as the giving or

receiving of one's body for indiscriminate sexual intercourse without hire. Both definitions, however, tend to neglect important psychological criteria, including the prostitute's own attitude. Roman law was perhaps more encompassing when it emphasized the woman's lack of individual preference, although it also considered the pecuniary aspect. St. Jerome thought that a prostitute was a woman who served the sexual urges of many, but he never bothered to define what he meant by "many". Other churchmen, concerned with the ambiguity of St. Jerome's statement, attempted to be more specific, but in the process often added to the confusion. One writer claimed that a woman could be called a "whore" only if she had known intimately some 23,000 men, a number that would eliminate any but the hardest lifetime professional (Bullough et al., 1977:vii).

Although one cannot hope to resolve such conflict in a review of prostitution-related literature, the following definition was found which appears less controversial than others:

Probably the most comprehensive definition of prostitution was offered by Iwan Bloch. He stated that prostitution was a distinct form of extra-marital sexual intercourse characterized by being more or less promiscuous and notorious, was seldom without reward, and was a form of professional commercialism for the purpose either of intercourse, or of other forms of sexual activities and allurements, resulting in due time in the formation of a special type (Bullough, 1964:2).

Although authors often have difficulty agreeing on a general definition of prostitution, in print these researchers commonly emphasize the same categories of prostitutes. For example, whether or not prostitution is defined in terms of males and/or females, a large proportion of the literature deals exclusively with adult female prostitution. And again, although a variety of possible categories of prostitutes is acknowledged, particularly in twentieth-century work, the literature concentrates on either streetwalkers or brothel prostitutes. As a consequence these adult female streetwalkers and brothel prostitutes will be the basis for much of the following discussion.

A Bibliography of Prostitution as a prime source of prostitution-related literature

A Bibliography of Prostitution lists 5,491 prostitution-related titles published from 1539 through 1977. Described as the first of its kind, it offers the researcher at least two invaluable types of information. First, through analysis of subject entries, that is, prostitution-related titles by content whether it be history, fiction or public health-related works and through analysis of publications by decade, one can form a general impression of a progression of attitudes towards prostitution in addition to changes in the perspective of these prostitution studies. Second, a bibliography helps the reader to select from the vast amount of written material on prostitution.

Table 1 lists the number of title entries by subject in the bibliography.

Table 1. Number of entries in A Bibliography of Prostitution
by subject

Subject	No. of entries	Percentage of total entries
General.....	108	1.97
Anthropology.....	152	2.77
Area Studies.....	787	14.33
Bibliography.....	24	0.44
Biography/Autobiography.....	266	4.84
Business.....	112	2.04
Fiction (English).....	295	5.37
Guides/Descriptive History.....	45	0.82
History.....	540	9.83
Juveniles.....	83	1.51
Legal/Police Regulations.....	833	15.17
Literature.....	88	1.60
Males.....	53	0.97
Medicine/Public Health.....	1,130	20.58
Organizations/Societies/ Publications.....	132	2.40
Psychiatry.....	77	1.40
Psychology.....	88	1.60
Religion/Morality.....	133	2.42
Sociology.....	473	8.61
War.....	72	1.31
TOTAL	5,491	100.00

Although Bullough et al. do not define subject categories *per se*, their listing of titles by heading makes content self-evident. In referring to "Business", for example, they list titles primarily dealing with the white slave trade. "Area Studies" refers to material related to specific cultures. As listed in Table 3, this general category includes work describing aspects of prostitution in 22 geographical areas. "Literature" is distinguished from "Fiction (English)" in that works outlining attitudes towards prostitution or the treatment of the prostitute in literature in general would fall under the former subject heading whereas specific novels would be included under the latter. "Males" entails consideration of male customers, male pimps and male prostitutes. As Bullough points out, the decision to classify by these headings was a difficult one in that some material could be listed under various subjects. In conflict cases the editors classified work under the subheading which they felt to be most relevant to the author's intention.

From Table 1 it becomes apparent that the largest number of title entries (20.58 per cent of the total) fall under the subject of Medicine or Public Health, largely the consideration of venereal disease. The second most prevalent subject area deals with Legal and Police Regulations with 833 titles, comprising 15.17 per cent of total entries.

The table helps one put various subject categories into perspective within the general framework of prostitution-related literature. From current readings, for example, one could easily gain the impression that the literature focuses on social scientific aspects of prostitution. From glancing at Table 1, however, one soon realizes that Psychology and Sociology comprise only 1.6 per cent and 8.61 per cent respectively of the total body of literature.

In this respect Table 2, entries by decade, is equally useful.

Table 2. Number of entries in A Bibliography of Prostitution
by decade of date of publication (1800-1977)

Decade	No. of entries	Percentage of total entries
Pre-1800s.....	71	1.29
1800s.....	7	0.13
1810s.....	3	0.05
1820s.....	5	0.09
1830s.....	14	0.25
1840s.....	38	0.69
1850s.....	50	0.91
1860s.....	65	1.18
1870s.....	133	2.42
1880s.....	260	4.74
1890s.....	208	3.79
1900s.....	330	6.01
1910s.....	705	12.84
1920s.....	410	7.47
1930s.....	549	10.00
1940s.....	575	10.47
1950s.....	720	13.11
1960s.....	707	12.88
1970 to 1977.....	446	8.12
No date.....	<u>195</u>	<u>3.55</u>
TOTAL	5,491	100.00

Although it would be advantageous to have a guideline for prostitution-related material as a percentage of total published works by decade, nevertheless Table 2 does offer some insight into the history of prostitution literature. One can see that through the 1860s, the number of prostitution-related titles published was negligible. With the exception of the 1890 period, from 1860 the number of titles more than doubled and continued to increase through 1910. In fact, there are 705 title entries (12.84 per cent of total listings) recorded during that 1910 decade. Entries decrease during the following 1920 period and increase slightly again. The entries for the 1950s and 1960s comprise respectively 720 and 707 titles (13.11 and 12.88 per cent). That is, one can say that although a survey of prostitution-related literature does include works published from 1539, the bulk of literature is of late nineteenth-and-twentieth-century origin.

Table 3 reviews subject titles, with various subheadings, by decade. It appears that historically the category which has the most consistent number of entries is Medicine and Public Health. Not only have we seen from Table 1 that this category comprises 20.58 per cent of the total body of literature, but as Table 3 illustrates, this perspective has been a continual focal point of prostitution-related literature from pre-1800, actually from 1539 (Ulrich von Hutton, *Of the Wood Called Guaiacum*, translated by Thomas Paynel, Thomas Bertheleti, London, 1539) through 1977. One can say that historically authors have paid most consistent attention to prostitution as a medical, public health issue. Within this category, the largest number of titles (148) fall into the 1900 decade. Work from this perspective in part was responsible for the subsequent 1910 abolition of numerous Red Light Districts in the United States. Bullough *et al.* comment on this longitudinal concern in the introduction of their bibliography as follows:

In the sixteenth century there was renewed interest in prostitution on the part of medical writers, primarily because of the syphilis epidemic that swept Europe and the Americas. In the nineteenth century there was again concern over venereal disease when the third stage of syphilis was recognized, and since that time, much of the medical writing about prostitution has concentrated on its association with venereal disease (1977:viii).

Both in terms of absolute number of title entries (15.17 per cent of the total) and longitudinal concern, works classified under the subject heading Legal and Police Regulations are secondary in emphasis to Medicine and Public Health in the survey of literature. Although not specified in the table, the first title classified as Legal and Police Regulations dates back to 1590, with the six other pre-1800 entries listed from 1720 through 1750 and from 1770 through 1780, as one per decade. Although one may be tempted to speculate that in fact the concern with prostitution and venereal disease and its subsequent regulation and control go hand in hand, there is no overt pattern from the table indicating a close inter-relationship between the two categories, with the known exception of the 1900 through 1910 decade. The 1910s which marks the crescendo of Regulation entries (147 listings) was the decade which witnessed the abolition of numerous American Red Light Districts. The 1900s illustrate the height of Public Health listings. Actual readings confirm this inter-relationship, and we find that written work concerning venereal disease was in part responsible for changes of attitude towards then existing Red Light Districts. In general, written material shows that concern over venereal disease has catalysed prostitution regulation since the sixteenth century.

From further perusal of the Legal and Police Regulations category, one can also comment that from 1960 through 1977 comparatively speaking only 122 such category titles are listed, whereas in the 1960s alone there are 123 entries under English Fiction. That is, although prostitution regulation historically has been the second major concern of prostitution-related literature longitudinally, in the past two decades the major portion of the literature has focused on English Fiction and Medicine and Public Health (a total of 179 and 159 works respectively).

It is not surprising to see that listings within the category of War cluster in the 1910s and 1940s. Perhaps it is more interesting to note that for Religion and Morality the 1910s and 1950s witness the focus of this perspective in the literature. One can speculate that this 1910 concentration may be related to the abolition of many American Red Light Districts.

Examining the Business classification, one sees that the number of articles and books primarily focusing on white slave trade fall into this same 1910 decade. On the other hand, concern with Males vis-a-vis prostitution has only developed since the 1930s. Although there are exceptions, specifically Italy, Area Studies generally are a twentieth-century consideration. Within this category, the Australia and Pacific subheading comprises three works, the earliest of which dates to 1930.

A Bibliography of Prostitution offers an invaluable historical perspective in the survey of prostitution-related literature. Although it would be tedious to outline each of the 48 subheadings, in referring to Table 3 the reader can understand how each relates to the whole. In spite of whatever impressions current titles might offer, one sees that concern with venereal disease and the control of prostitution have been the major emphasis throughout the literature.

The question which remains to be addressed is which of the above 5,491 entries should one examine in a literature review of prostitution? As understanding the cross-cultural regulation of prostitution was a major objective in reviewing material, Area Studies and Legal and Police Regulations categories will be most relevant in terms of both the prostitution situation and its control beyond N.S.W. Classifications under History and Public Health will be touched upon. Within these categories, most of the material chosen for review has been published since 1960. Works published after 1977 not included in Bullough's bibliography which complement this same focus are similarly mentioned.

If a literature review of prostitution were to solely reflect historical or current trends, other categories (Medicine and Public Health, English Fiction) would be emphasized. With this understood, we have chosen to be selective in the descriptive review of work to gain insight into some of the unique as well as universal aspects of prostitution and its regulation in various cultural settings.

Methodological and analytical problems in the literature

Authors of prostitution-related work are the first to criticize the literature. It has been stated that specific areas concerning prostitution, male clients, male prostitutes, for example, have been largely neglected (Gokhale et al., 1972; Caukins and Coombs, 1976).

At the same time, Paul Goldstein in a study of female prostitution and drugs comments that much controversy enveloping his subject is due to a serious lack of definitional clarification throughout the literature.

Observers of contemporary prostitution are divided on the issue of the role of drug use in becoming a prostitute. Some believe that drug use precedes and tends to cause prostitution. Others believe the converse, that, due to the rigors and criminal associations common to a life of prostitution, drug use tends to follow and be the result of women becoming prostitutes. This controversy exists, in part, because these observers are studying different types of prostitutes and different types of drugs. The former group, which argues that drug use tends to cause prostitution, is clearly thinking of heroin-addicted streetwalkers who become prostitutes in order to support narcotic habits. The latter group, which argues that prostitution tends to cause drug use, more often considers a wider range of drug use. These commentators may point out that stimulants and cocaine may boost a prostitute's energy and confidence, or that hashish, alcohol, narcotics, or depressants may be used by prostitutes to relax or to protect them from traumatic thoughts. In short, it is obvious that any discussion of the role of drug use in causing prostitution must examine the full range of potential drug uses that may occur to a wide variety of prostitutes (1979:91).

Jennifer James, in discussing prostitution and addiction, suggests the following reasons for the limited quality of research:

...the general preponderance of male addicts in American society; an alleged negative attitude of researchers towards topics involving sexuality; the low number of female researchers; the problem of bias against women; and an alleged lack of interest in studying female populations..."In the end, the literature says little because the absence of controls, completeness, or objectivity is obvious" (Goldstein, 1979:4).

The most frequent criticism of the literature, however, involves the overall lack of comprehensive, empirical studies and the resultant absence of objective knowledge in the area. In their article "Prostitution in Australia", Wilson and Chappell write:

Prostitution is one of those social issues which, warranted or not, receives a great deal of public attention. Yet...few social scientists have undertaken to study it objectively. If information about other contentious social issues...is sparse and often erroneous, on few topics would empirical facts be so lacking in public and civic leaders alike as they are in the case of prostitution (1969:61).

Similarly, Khalaf in a sociological survey of prostitution in Beirut writes: "It is ironical that our knowledge of the nature and character of the world's 'oldest profession' is either based on hearsay or still reflects some moral and normative overtones" (1965:vii). Bullough has described the situation of limited quality studies amidst unlimited theorizing and speculation. In writing about "Problems and Methods for Research in Prostitution and the Behavioral Sciences" he observes:

Prostitution is and has always been a subject which engenders a great deal of emotion and little scholarly study. While the prostitute has appeared in literature...she has only too rarely appeared in the scientific or scholarly monograph. While an occasional investigator has looked at prostitution...these investigations have been spasmodic, unorganized and incomplete. There is a serious lack of scholarly studies...(1976:104).

In their exploration of cross-cultural legal methods of controlling female prostitution, Boles and Tatro note that: "Most countries have not attempted to evaluate systematically the effectiveness of their prostitution-related laws. The need for such evaluation is manifest" (1978:72).

At times it is equally difficult to examine individual researchers' methodological approaches as it is to consider what they have written about other works. Aitkin's section "Difficulties in Studying Prostitution" sensitizes the reader to the numerous problems faced by the investigator attempting an empirical study of female prostitutes (N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 1977 a). Researchers of Indian prostitution have been particularly articulate concerning this issue. Mathur and Gupta state:

Studies on prostitution in India have been very few because of the peculiar difficulties faced by a worker in the field. A prostitute is regarded a born liar and her statements are not considered very reliable. Girls and women in the profession are looked down by the society as prostitution is considered to be undesirable and immoral. One is faced with the possibility of getting involved in unhappy situations and losing one's reputation when talking or moving in this circle for investigation (1965:xvii).

Although Mary Mark does not discuss the researcher of deviant behaviour acquiring a deviant label him/herself, in writing about the prostitutes of Bombay she comments:

When ever I've been in India during the past 10 years I've tried to take photographs on Falkland Road and each time I was met with hostility and aggression. In October of 1978, I decided to try somehow to enter the world of these women and to photograph them. Once in Bombay, I started out by just going to the street. It was the same as always - crowds of men around me and the women alternately hurling insults and garbage at me (1981:54).

Partially owing to these types of difficulties, one continues to confront repeated methodological obstacles which in turn impede analysis of the literature.

In Prostitution in Australia, Marcel Winter explains that: "The professional investigator in Australia who wishes to conduct a survey of prostitution has a variety of different research methods open to him, the most popular one being the practice of interviewing girls who have been admitted to drug referral clinics, hospitals, psychiatric institutions or prisons" (1976:14). In fact, throughout the literature, one constantly finds samples of prostitutes or clients chosen from institutional or social agency settings, places of comparatively easy accessibility. In studying "The Clients of the Common Prostitutes" B. Gokhale considers 400 males treated in an out-patients department of venereology and dermatology within a state general hospital in India (Gokhale et al., 1972). Similarly

Goldstein, in examining prostitution and drugs, interviews 60 women, all self-reported drug users, for his study sample. Twenty-four females were contacted in a New York State-operated drug treatment centre, 12 in a private programme for female ex-offenders, 12 through prostitutes' organizations, four through referrals from the Fortune Society and eight through referrals from friends or colleagues (Goldstein, 1979). These women fell into three types: drug-users who had never been prostitutes, drug-users who worked in the lowest levels of prostitution and those involved in high-level prostitution. Whereas Goldstein contacted the majority of women involved in low-level prostitution through organizational channels, the majority of females involved in high-level prostitution resulted from personal contacts. When Goldstein later writes, for example: "Heroin was the drug most clearly associated with low-class prostitution..." (1979:61), the reader faces the task of trying to separate the study's findings from the methodology used. To what extent is such an association between heroin and low-class prostitution simply a reflection of women involved in such prostitution having been contacted through organizational channels? Do such sites imply a greater likelihood of hard drug use? And as high-class prostitutes were largely approached through personal contact, by virtue of this contact, wouldn't it be less likely for them to be involved in hard drugs?

Fernando Henriques in "The Sociology of Prostitution" similarly considers sample problems.

What vitiates a great number of inquiries... in the case of prostitutes is that the sample chosen is taken from the criminal element among harlots - that is those in prison or before the courts. The majority of prostitutes do not serve prison sentences and therefore do not come within the scope of the inquiries made. Thus a somewhat one-sided impression is created (1968:311).

As a result of such sampling impediments, one wonders to what extent such methodology limits analysis. Can one generalize from the sample population to the prostitution situation as a whole? Goldstein in addressing the question of reliability of data states that his findings are sample-specific. "In other words, the findings presented here cannot be generalized to the universes of addict-prostitutes, non addict-prostitutes, or non-prostitute female drug users. The findings do constitute an empirical study of 60 women in a specific time and place" (1979:141). As Goldstein is very forthright in his discussion, one is only left to wonder how common such an applicability problem is for studies of prostitution as a whole. Needless to say, such problems are compounded by studies which do not discuss their methodological approach at all.

One could continue outlining specific problems pertaining to cross-cultural studies, such as the case of Prostitution in a Changing Society: A Sociological Survey of Legal Prostitution in Beirut. Sociologist Samir Khalaf offers detailed background data concerning his sample of 130 licensed prostitutes operating in Beirut's Red Light District. The reader is provided with details concerning the age, nationality, education, economic and occupational background of these women. But what is the significance of such statistics when no comparative data are offered relating either to the 77 licensed prostitutes who did not participate in the study, or to the 144 "secret" but licensed prostitutes operating out of the district, or to the female Beirut or Lebanese population as a whole (Khalaf, 1965)? For the reader unfamiliar with "typical" demographic characteristics in Lebanon such background material remains sample-specific, discouraging extensive analysis.

Of the above methodological and analytical problems in the literature, perhaps the most disturbing aspect involves contradictions in findings. At times these contradictions occur within the same study or when one researcher sums up the results of or misquotes another study. These inconsistencies appear to reflect errors or incomplete analysis. For example, Clinard and Abbott in their ambitious examination of Crime in Developing Countries compare the prostitution rate in developing and developed countries. In one instance they write: "We can, however, also expect a decrease in some offences with development. The homicide rates in many countries, which are now generally among the world's highest, will tend to decrease. So will prostitution, which is closely related to the sexual imbalance in cities, the limited employment opportunities for women and their low status (1973:69). Later, in the same work, they continue: "Prostitution is probably less common in the developing countries largely because it is an urban phenomenon and they are still predominantly rural (1973:258). The reader is left uncertain whether prostitution is in fact more or less common in developing countries.

Inconsistencies in referring to other studies, which appear throughout the literature of prostitution, are the most straightforward to rectify. One can examine the case of R. N. Barber's essay, "Prostitution and the Increasing Number of Convictions for Rape in Queensland", in which the increase of convictions for rape and attempted rape in Queensland since the 1959-60 period is examined. It should be mentioned that in that state the keeping of a brothel has been "officially banned" since 1959. As Barber concludes:

While it cannot perhaps be said that most of those who have committed rape in Queensland in recent years would not have done so had the brothels been left open, it can be claimed that there is strong evidence to suggest that the type of person who frequents brothels is very similar to the type of person who has been responsible for the increased number of rapes and attempted rapes in Queensland during the past ten years. It can also be claimed that there were many fewer convictions for rape and attempted rape before 1959-60...

At least, then, it would seem that the "prostitution theory" provides a more persuasive answer to the question as to what has caused the high increase in the number of convictions for rape and attempted rape in Queensland over the recent years than do other "theories" currently holding favour (1969:173).

That is, Barber suggests there may be a positive correlation between the closing of brothels and sexual violence against women. At the same time, in reviewing Barber's work, Wilson and Chappell in "Prostitution in Australia" write:

Kinsey, after considering the evidence in the United States, concluded that "there is no proof that more or less rape occurs when prostitution is suppressed". Barber, after an intensive investigation of rape cases in Queensland during the last 50 years, reached the same conclusion. Barber showed that even though rape had increased alarmingly in Queensland the increase did not appear to be related to the closing down of brothels in the state (1969:66).

Such inconsistency might be related to Wilson and Chappell referring to Barber's 1969 unpublished M.A. thesis for their analysis, while Barber's finding quoted above was taken from a 1969 journal article. In other words, Barber's conclusions in the two analyses are inconsistent. Or perhaps Barber has been misinterpreted. In either case the reader can refer to Barber's (or any other author's) published work and deal with the findings presented.

In the majority of instances, inconsistencies that reflect conflicting results from study to study are most difficult to analyse. The reader is left to interpret whether such contradictions reflect differing theoretical perspectives, differing historical situations, lack of clarification on the part of the researcher, cross-cultural distinctions or faulty logic to name a few of many possibilities. To return to Barber's finding concerning the increase of convicted rapes and attempted rapes in Queensland in 1959-60, for example, one can juxtapose this finding with that of Joseph Mayer who found that the closing of Red Light Districts did not result in any increase in crimes against women (1918:200). Thus the reader is presented with conflicting data concerning the closing of brothels and crimes against women. Such contradiction could reflect historical differences (1912 to 1917 versus 1959-60), cross-cultural differences (American versus Australian society), or a variety of possibilities.

One can look at the prostitution situation in Tibetan society. Anthropological studies by Prince Peter of Greece reported that there were no prostitutes in Tibet while other observers claimed such sexual activity was abundant. "One observer even compiled a price list" (Bullough, 1964:10). Such inconsistency may be due to the anthropologist's assumptions or perhaps ethnocentric way of viewing the world, or again it may indicate definitional differences regarding prostitution.

In attempting to address the issue of the effect of the English Street Offences Act, 1959, on the role of pimps, one again encounters contradictions. Laurence Dunne, former Chief Metropolitan Magistrate, is quoted:

The Street Offences Bill has achieved what it set out to do - to get women off the streets. It has also given a "shot in the arm" to a lot of very disreputable cafes, unlicensed clubs and "near-beer" clubs. They have now become the prostitutes' stamping ground... The Bill has also strengthened the position of pones (Greenland, 1961:216).

Yet in her book, Prostitutes, Denise Winn observes:

Since the breaking of the Messina gang in 1959 - Maltese brothers who operated as large-scale pimps in London, forcing women into prostitution and to suffer through it - the big pimp scene has virtually dissolved in London. Women who work as prostitutes tend to work on their own... They keep no one but themselves...(1974:11).

One is left to wonder how to interpret such differences.

Similarly, regarding prostitution and drug use, Goldstein explains:

The social science literature makes two assertions about the relationship between drug use and prostitution:
(1) many prostitutes, because of the rigors of their lives,

will become drug abusers... and (2) many female addicts, because of the expense associated with narcotics addiction, will turn to prostitution... Both of these assertions appeal to common sense, but they have little empirical support. What data do exist tend to be contradictory (1979:3).

As Goldstein later explains, in part such contradictions are due to lack of definitional clarity concerning both prostitution and drug use.

In general, "there is no research technique in the social sciences that cannot be criticized for one reason or another", an evident truism (Goldstein, 1979:137). But hopefully it has become clear, both through consideration of comments by researchers and, in turn, of research itself, that such criticism is particularly evident in the literature of prostitution.

Nevertheless the regulation of prostitution continues. The literature remains the base for practical decision-making vis-a-vis prostitution. This literature with its thousands of books and articles is simultaneously abundant and limited. With this understanding, one can now focus on selected aspects of the literature on prostitution.

Table 3. Number of entries in A Bibliography of Prostitution by subject and decade, 1800-1977

Subject	Decade									
	Pre-1800	1800s	1810s	1820s	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s
General.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3
Anthropology.....	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	8
General Area Studies.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Africa.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Asia.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Australia and Pacific.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Austria, Switzer- land and Germany	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Canada.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
China.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastern Europe...	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Europe.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
France.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Great Britain/ Ireland.....	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	2

Table 3. Number of entries in A Bibliography of Prostitution by subject and decade, 1800-1977 (continued)

Subject	Decade										1970 to 1977	No date	TOTAL
	1890s	1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s					
General.....	5	3	9	10	13	8	22	16	7	10	108		
Anthropology.....	4	11	12	9	28	28	41	4	2	1	152		
General Area Studies.....	1	-	1	2	-	1	4	-	1	-	10		
Africa.....	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	4	1	-	8		
Asia.....	-	-	-	-	3	2	2	-	1	-	8		
Australia and Pacific.....	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	3		
Austria, Switzer- land and Germany	1	3	4	6	2	3	7	6	7	3	42		
Canada.....	-	-	3	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	7		
China.....	1	-	1	2	11	2	2	1	1	-	21		
Eastern Europe...	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	9		
Europe.....	1	-	6	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	11		
France.....	2	1	2	2	6	10	9	8	7	1	51		
Great Britain/ Ireland.....	-	-	1	4	2	5	16	12	2	2	50		

Table 3. Number of entries in A Bibliography of Prostitution by subject and decade, 1800-1977 (continued)

[illegible]

Table 3. Number of entries in A Bibliography of Prostitution by subject and decade, 1800-1977 (continued)

Subject	Decade										1970 to 1977	No date	TOTAL
	1890s	1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s				
General Area Studies (continued)													
Greece.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Holland/Belgium..	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	3	1	1	-	-	9
India.....	-	1	1	5	10	5	10	10	2	2	-	-	44
Italy.....	-	1	-	-	1	1	7	8	3	3	-	-	30
Japan.....	1	6	3	7	15	5	27	8	1	1	1	-	74
Latin America....	-	1	7	2	6	11	10	16	7	7	-	-	60
Mid-East.....	-	1	1	2	5	2	1	6	2	2	-	-	22
Scandinavia.....	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	3	3	-	-	9
South-East Asia..	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	3	3	3	1	1	10
Spain/Portugal...	-	2	3	-	1	1	5	4	2	2	-	-	20
United States of America.....	1	8	125	14	21	24	17	16	19	19	19	-	264
Union of Soviet So- cialist Republics	-	-	-	3	17	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	24

Table 3. Number of entries in A Bibliography of Prostitution by subject and decade, 1800-1977 (continued)

Subject	Decade									
	Pre-1800	1800s	1810s	1820s	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s
Bibliography.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Biography/Autobiography.....	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6	3
Business.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Fiction (English)...	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Guides/Descriptive History.....	17	6	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	4
General History.....	2	-	-	-	1	2	5	2	2	4
Ancient.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Middle Ages.....	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Early Modern.....	6	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	1
Eighteenth Century	24	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Nineteenth Century	-	-	-	-	2	14	12	11	12	62
Twentieth Century.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Juveniles.....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Table 3. Number of entries in A Bibliography of Prostitution by subject and decade, 1800-1977 (continued)

Subject	Decade										No date	TOTAL
	1890s	1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970 to 1977			
Bibliography.....	-	1	5	-	8	2	1	2	2	1	24	
Biography/Autobiography.....	3	9	23	20	21	15	48	55	-38	20	266	
Business.....	1	7	30	5	11	9	21	11	13	3	112	
Fiction (English)...	1	2	7	12	17	20	46	123	56	9	295	
Guides/Descriptive History.....	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	45	
General History.....	-	5	12	9	9	4	16	16	3	5	97	
Ancient.....	1	2	-	2	3	2	5	3	3	2	25	
Middle Ages.....	2	2	-	-	1	2	3	1	3	3	19	
Early Modern.....	3	3	-	1	2	2	4	2	2	1	31	
Eighteenth Century	2	10	2	-	4	2	8	2	2	1	60	
Nineteenth Century	30	4	9	-	1	2	6	20	14	1	200	
Twentieth Century.	-	10	31	10	15	10	6	10	8	8	108	
Juveniles.....	1	1	19	9	11	7	8	15	9	2	83	

Table 3. Number of entries in A Bibliography of Prostitution by subject and decade, 1800-1977 (continued)

Subject	Decade										No. - date	TOTAL
	1890s	1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970 to 1977			
Legal/Police Regulations.....	20	34	147	112	85	119	125	76	46	29	833	
Literature.....	1	6	5	12	6	6	14	18	6	5	88	
Males.....	-	-	-	-	1	4	9	21	15	2	53	
Medicine/Public Health.....	112	148	70	80	113	95	46	65	94	17	1,130	
Organizations/Socie- ties/Publications	2	13	11	23	24	17	12	3	-	10	132	
Psychiatry.....	-	4	7	6	9	11	9	21	10	-	77	
Psychology.....	-	2	4	3	11	15	17	23	10	2	88	
Religion/Morality...	8	4	27	7	9	14	29	10	6	7	133	
Sociology.....	2	16	94	29	41	58	96	76	32	22	473	
War.....	-	2	16	-	1	47	2	2	-	2	72	
GRAND TOTAL	208	330	705	410	549	575	720	707	446	195	5,491	

HISTORICAL STUDIES

Through an examination of the history of prostitution, one hopes to understand both the nature of the profession and changing attitudes towards it. Almost 10 per cent of titles published in A Bibliography of Prostitution have such a historic perspective. The largest percentage address themselves to the history of prostitution in the nineteenth century.

As with other subject categories relating to prostitution, work concerning the history of prostitution has not avoided criticism from researchers. In "Sex in History: A Virgin Field", for example, Vern Bullough, has commented:

Any investigator into past attitudes towards sex is struck with the fact that historians have been reluctant, exceedingly reluctant, to deal with such a "delicate topic"...Most historians who refer to the subject in their general surveys inevitably reveal an ignorance or bias which would not be tolerated in almost any other area of historical study (1976:1-2).

Nevertheless what has been written demonstrates that the type of prostitution which exists in any historic period is "...dependent upon the structure of the society in question...", its family institution, a reflection of current attitudes towards sexual behaviour in general and the role of women (Henriques, 1968:315). Fernando Henriques explains this as follows:

We have emphasized constantly throughout this work that in any society the type of prostitution which exists is directly related to the familial and marital institutions. Thus the status and role of the wife in classical Greece is linked to that of the hetaira. The limited sexual function of the mid-Victorian female spouse - reproduction and good manners - has as its counterpart the uninhibited sexuality of the London brothel. The status accorded the prostitute in a society is very largely dependent upon the prevailing sexual ethos. This is strikingly evident in the case of nineteenth century Britain. It has been our contention that contemporary behaviour and attitudes associated with prostitution are, to a great extent, still governed by nineteenth century notions (1968:304).

For example, in his article "Changing American Attitudes toward Prostitution (1800-1920)", Robert Riegel examines the role of the married male as a brothel customer in a period when women were considered instinctively pure and males overall passionate.

...there is considerable evidence that married men patronized houses of prostitution frequently. Such action by a married man was the product of the sex ideas of the time. Sex even within marriage was approved by the great majority of writers only if designed to carry out God's injunction to be fruitful and replenish the earth; it was considered wicked if only for personal enjoyment. In addition there was the presumption that while man was normally sensual a "good" woman felt no sexual urges. The considerate husband could then assume that his importunities would be accepted by his wife only out of love for him,

and would in fact be distasteful. Furthermore, the chances of pregnancy were considerable, and numerous children threatened the health of the wife and the finances of the family. Abortion was by current standards illegal, immoral and physically dangerous. Contraceptives were but little known, and most Americans were probably unaware of any effective means of prevention. Under these circumstances many married men went to houses of prostitution rather than adopt the self-control urged so generally (Riegel, 1968:440).

Amount of prostitution

The literature of prostitution contains discussion of the amount of prevailing prostitution. The extent of an area's prostitution situation has been gauged largely by the number of existent prostitutes, in particular since the nineteenth century. Generally such statistical information has been based on the number of registered prostitutes in countries where licensing exists, on the number of women convicted for prostitution-related offences, or on estimated guesses on the part of law enforcement officials. As with crime statistics in general, these figures are open to the criticism that they do not reveal the full extent of prostitution.

In the case of licensed prostitution, available statistics do not examine the clandestine, part-time, casual prostitutes or the higher status prostitutes. In some instances this clandestine category may in fact outnumber registered prostitutes. For example, Fernando Henriques has tabulated general population figures, as well as the number of prostitutes, and estimated clandestine prostitutes for various European cities in the mid-1800s. In London in 1857 he tabulates 9,409 registered prostitutes and 15,000 clandestine prostitutes. Similarly, Paris' 1854 4,206 registered women may be compared with 30,000 clandestine females. On the other hand, no additional clandestine prostitutes are listed above the 1,000 licensed women working in Madrid in 1853. In a 1925 article, "The Organisation of Anti-Prostitutional Work in the Czechoslovak Republic", M. Zahorova-Nemcova describes a similar situation in Prague:

Much more dangerous than the regulated prostitution is the secret sort, which meets in the open night halls, bars, wineshops and cabarets. The number of secret prostitutes has increased constantly since the Revolution; they fill the hotels not only of the large cities, but of the smaller towns and health resorts as well, and it is almost impossible to state their number. The police of Prague arrest yearly, on the average, from three to four thousand women on a charge of immorality. When we consider this is only about one-fourth of the secret prostitution in Prague, we come to the amazing number of ten to twelve thousand secret prostitutes in Prague alone (1925:407).

Such difficulties in deriving an accurate picture of the prostitution situation from statistical sources unfortunately is not limited to figures dealing with registered prostitutes. Jan Aitkin's discussion "Court Appearances by Prostitutes in N.S.W." considers various problems. As she writes: "Numerical data on prostitution in N.S.W. is sparse and of questionable reliability. There are many problems associated with accurately recording the details of a criminal population..." (N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 1977a :170). She outlines the numerous prostitution-related offences for which women were arrested in N.S.W. prior to 1976 (offensive behaviour, offensive

language, vagrancy etc.) which in part is explained as a reflection of police practices and in part a reflection of the women's general behaviour. Likewise, Kuttner and Lorincz, in considering the extent of Native American prostitution, write:

Government statistics on this matter are meaningless. For one of the study years (1965) the Department of Justice in its Uniform Crime Reports listed 142 arrests for Indian prostitution. A single prostitute in this study, working from one Indian skid row bar, makes this many contacts in three or four months... Since there are few arrests, and those mostly for drunkenness or vagrancy, such statistics are of little help in gauging the extent of the problem (1970:82).

In general, conviction figures concentrate on the low status prostitute and they "...fluctuate with the views of individual magistrates or in response to public opinion and change from area to area because of different regional attitudes" (Bullough, 1976:104).

Historically, numerous efforts have been made to improve the statistical interpretation of the prostitution situation. Some have proven more successful than others. Two more significant studies attempting to examine the scope of prostitution have been that of French physician Alexandre Jean baptiste Parent-Duchatelet in 1836 and of American zoologist Alfred C. Kinsey and co-workers in 1948. Parent-Duchatelet

...basing his studies on police registration...found that there were 3,558 prostitutes in Paris. In comparison with the registration lists in 1814 prostitution had been increasing, but not more rapidly than the population...While Duchatelet's studies were based on police registration, a not particularly accurate source, they did establish that professional prostitution was not as widespread as had been thought (Bullough, 1976:104).

This comparatively scientific approach was the model for subsequent studies, including statistical reports of the League of Nations in the 1920s and 1930s.

Kinsey and colleagues similarly decreased wild guessing through rigorous sampling methods and in-depth interviewing. On the basis of their research, it was estimated that 69 per cent of the total white male population in their contemporary United States had had some experience with prostitutes.

Although considered pioneer studies, neither the work of Parent-Duchatelet nor Kinsey satisfactorily portray the extent of prostitution. Nevertheless, although such statistical information is open to extensive criticism, it remains one of the few sources to address the question of the scope of prostitution.

Researchers were interested not only in the amount of existent prostitution, but also in comparing such figures with other periods. In approaching the question as to whether in fact prostitution is increasing, for example, one is met with contradictions and numerous interpretative obstacles. In general, researchers are most likely to discuss a rise in statistics involving the female as defendant in the criminal justice system. Radzinowicz and King analyse the rise of females arrested as follows:

In the United States arrests of women over the period from 1960 to 1972 rose almost three times as fast as those of men...In Germany the female share in recorded crime rose, in only seven years, from 15.4 per cent to 17.1 per cent. In Canada it doubled in nine years from 7 to 14 per cent. In Japan it rose in ten years from 9.8 to 13.6 per cent. Norway and New Zealand report similar trends...India has reported that, in the four years from 1962 to 1965, the percentage increase of females amongst convicts was over four times that of males. Between 1957 and 1971 Brazil found women's convictions rising twice as fast as men's: by 89 as against 43 per cent. The development is unmistakable even if it be conceded that there is less reluctance now to arrest and convict women. A report to the United Nations Congress in 1975 on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders endorses the view that "most of the scant statistical evidence demonstrates that the increasing crime rates among women is a new universal phenomenon" (1977:15-16).

Unfortunately, it is not advisable therefore to suggest a similar trend in female prostitution-related offences. Although historically "...criminologists, from Lombroso onwards, have made much play with the idea that prostitution is women's characteristic crime..." it is not reliable to assume that a large portion of female crime, as discussed above, does in fact involve prostitution offences (Radzinowicz and King, 1977:16). "Some of the offences most often quoted as typically feminine are ceasing to be counted as crimes in most parts of the world" (ibid). In other words, one cannot assume the ratio of prostitution offences involved. Additionally, figures have been stated as percentage increases. This may present a dramatic picture which could appear mundane if comparative computations of increases in female crime arrests by rates were to be tabulated. For example: "...translated into absolute figures, the 89 per cent rise in the crimes of Brazilian women represents little more than a thousand extra offences, whereas the 43 per cent rise amongst men represents over fourteen thousand" (Radzinowicz and King, 1977:17). Although a portion of the literature concerning female criminality does suggest general increases, one cannot definitively state that such figures similarly represent the prostitution situation.

On the other hand, when one is faced with the few studies that specifically refer to prostitution offences in a general sense, not confining their scope to a specific city or year, one is met with controversy. As we have seen, the literature states that prostitution decreases with a nation's development as well as increases under the identical circumstance. On the other hand, Bullough has suggested that historically there has been a decrease in the number of full-time prostitutes, but an increase in the number of part-timers. However, most researchers appear to favour the view that: "There seems to be a correlation between urbanisation and industrialisation on the one hand and prostitution on the other" (Gokhale et al. 1972:30). In a similar vein: "Increased urbanization has produced a startling rise in the incidence of prostitution and commercialized vice during the past decades" (Murray, 1979:360).

Whether prostitution offences in general increase or decrease with urbanization is difficult to establish. The question concerning the extent of that prostitution and the more remotely obtainable dark figure of crime remains unanswered from available literature. Although neither historians nor criminologists have resolved this statistical issue fully, they have outlined changes in the nature of, and in attitudes towards, prostitution from primitive peoples through industrialization.

Prostitution in primitive societies

In his work, The History of Prostitution, Vern Bullough examines the social behaviour of various primitive societies in an attempt to understand the development of prostitution within their social systems. It is often hoped that through consideration of preliterate groups (characterized by small communities that experience mostly primary social relationships; with homogeneous economic and social interests; with religious-mystical assumptions concerning the nature of man which dominates attitudes and behaviour) existent social behaviour might in turn offer answers to questions that in industrial society become increasingly difficult to interpret. Regrettably, the place of prostitution among such peoples is not straightforward. As Bullough points out, it is often difficult to distinguish between promiscuity and prostitution or to relate behaviour defined as prostitution by Western industrial society as prostitution in primitive societies.

What is prostitution in one society would not be in another and vice versa. For example, many of the practices of contemporary primitives would be regarded as prostitution by modern Americans, but the primitives regard them as short-term marriages or temporary cohabitations. When children result from such liaisons, however, then these contemporary marriages become somewhat more binding; the American divorce when children are involved would be regarded by many of these primitive peoples as prostitution (Bullough, 1964:14).

It is important to note, however, that several historians claim some primitive societies did not have any prostitution at all (Decker, 1979:29). As Decker writes:

Such might be attributable either to the fact that these communities were so promiscuous that there was no need for sex salespersons or that some element, such as religious attitudes or cultural tradition, restricted such practices. However, in many of those communities where commercialized sex was non-existent, it later developed after the society had been invaded by explorers. For example, although the Pacific Islands were virtually free of prostitution initially, lonely and eager voyageurs discovered that by offering items of value to the women of the islands, or in some cases, their fathers or husbands, they could satisfy their sexual appetites (1979:29).

Bullough does pinpoint specific common characteristics among groups vis-a-vis prostitution. He states: "Prostitution did not develop in all societies at the same time and does not exist in all societies today, at least in an institutionalized form ... (which) indicates that each society attempts to solve its sexual needs in different ways..." (Bullough, 1964:15). Basically, two aspects appear to favour the development of institutionalized prostitution in these societies: first, "...a moral code which frowns upon certain promiscuous practices..." (Bullough, 1964:15). "In those societies where female virginity is prized and the female adultress punished, there is probably a greater likelihood of institutionalized prostitution..." (Bullough, 1964:14). And secondly, simultaneously prostitution is contingent upon "...the use of some means of exchange to pay those women who either choose or are forced to violate the societal code" (Bullough, 1964:15).

Prostitution in classical Greece

Although only 25 of 540 historical publications (4.5 per cent of total historical works) singularly focus on prostitution in ancient times, it is not uncommon for researchers to refer to prostitution in classical Greece and Rome. It is often felt that an understanding of the development of prostitution will negate the impression of the current practice of prostitution being isolated behaviour and instead will help explain contemporary Western practices in terms of historical progression.

Ancient Greece offers the researcher a wide spectrum of prostitution which G. L. Simons (A Place for Pleasure: The History of the Brothel) refers to as "...diverse, complex and capable of various interpretations..." (1975:36). Generally, one sees that "...prostitution was openly accepted..." (Bullough, 1964:31).

Temple prostitution which has persisted in India through to the twentieth century (see section on India) similarly existed in the ancient pagan temples of the Greeks. As Simons describes such sacred prostitution:

The most famous account of sacred prostitution is the one in Herodotus. The Greek historian, in fact, found the custom wholly shameful - "every woman who is a native of the country must once in her life go and sit in the temple of Aphrodite and there give herself to a strange man". All women, rich or poor, were obliged to observe the custom; though the former would drive to the temple in their carriages and there wait, surrounded by servants. For the most part, the women sat in the precinct of the temple with a band of plaited string round their heads - "and a great crowd they are, what with some sitting there, others arriving, others going away..." Once a woman had taken her seat in the temple she was not allowed to leave until a man had thrown a silver coin in her lap and taken her outside to copulate with her. As he threw the coin the man was supposed to say, "In the name of the goddess Mylitta", this being the Assyrian name for Aphrodite.

The women had no choice of partners, being simply obliged to wait until a man selected them from the rest; and once selected, the woman had to go with the man, whereupon her duty to the goddess was discharged and the woman could return home (1975:24).

Although Simons notes the brothel-like character of religious prostitution from the perspective of the client ("...a permanent establishment accommodating girls on a residential basis, the girls being prepared to indulge in promiscuous sexual relations for a fee..."), such interpretation is open to criticism (Simons, 1975:23).

Less debatable is the establishment by Solon of the first municipal brothel system in Athens in the sixth century (Simons, 1975:31). "It is hardly likely that there were no brothels in Greece before the time of Solon, and in consequence it seems probable that to an extent he was bringing order to a pre-existing system" (Simons, 1975:31). A low entrance fee was set, making such prostitution financially available to the public. All fees collected went directly to the state. Brothel residents, generally of slave-status, known as dicteriiades (inhabitants of the dicteria) held the lowest status among prostitutes. They were deprived of all citizen rights, as were their children in most cases. In fact, as only

slaves could work in brothels, "... any person who introduced a free-born female into a brothel could be executed. The only exception to this latter provision was where a sister or daughter had been convicted of fornication" (Simons, 1975:34). The dicteriades were governed by specific rules restricting their behaviour. They were required to dress in a special garment whenever outside the brothel. They were forbidden to leave the dicterion except in evenings when other women would not be around.

With time, the number of Athenian brothels increased. "Anyone who could pay the state tax - significantly called pornikotelos - was allowed to open a dicterion ...the Athenian city-state found many uses for the taxes it could raise; and prostitutes in consequence came to represent a significant economic asset..." (Simons, 1975:32). Although a large number of brothels clustered in harbour quarters, other areas such as the "potters' quarter", Ceramicus, became established brothel quarters. It is interesting to note that these establishments were of varying grades.

In the poor establishments of the Ceramicus there would be a few ill-furnished cubicles, equipped with little more than a rude bed. In the high-status houses, by contrast - in, for example, the private Aphrodision visited by wealthy Athenians - there would be oils and perfumes, expensive furniture, sculptures and paintings (Simons, 1975:34).

Not only could one find grade differences among brothels, but Simons writes that there were three broad categories of prostitutes, reflecting varying social status positions. In addition to the dicteriades:

The popular auletrides were musicians and dancers (they were often said to have been flute-players), and were employed at public and private festivities...some of them played the zither or the drums, and yet others specialized in juggling, feats of gymnastics with drawn swords, fire-swallowing and other displays generally left to men in later cultures. It is hardly suprising that the auletrides were often the principal attraction at the celebrations, not least because they favoured total nudity or the "Coan Vest", a cobweblike garment which concealed nothing.

The skills of the auletrides extended to the various forms of sexual activity (Simons, 1975:36).

The hetairai, or third category of prostitute, was considered the elite of Greek prostitutes. These women were known for their grooming, expensive clothes and comfortable homes. Equally significant, often spending time in the company of prominent males, they were known for their intellectual abilities.

They knew both the current literature of Greece as well as the more traditional literature of the past, they attended lectures, and were able to at least amuse their more distinguished patrons with their conversation. Some of them such as Thais and Aspasia were celebrated for their literary style. Aspasia had a school for young women at which she herself taught. Hipparchia, the mistress of the cynic Crates, and a philosopher in her own right, often engaged in a fierce interchange with rivals (Bullough, 1964:43).

Bullough explains how, through the role of the hetairai, two juxtaposed images of women emerged. That is:

The hetairai played a very important role in Greek society and deeply impressed the Greek male. When the wife and mother are submerged, the prostitute emerges. The Greeks emphasized two opposite images of woman to correspond with her two different functions. In one, women were wives and mothers; this was clearly distinguished from the sexual woman, the companion, whose beauty was cultivated and adorned with all the arts of elegance and cosmetics, and whose mind was attuned to the aesthetic and intellectual interests of the male. The mother was the cloistered housekeeper, the breeder of legal heirs, her mind was forcibly stunted, her adornment was forbidden by law, and her value and virtue were determined by the strict observation of the marriage vows (Bullough, 1964:44).

Although Simons specifies the dicteriades, the auletrides and the hetairai as the three categories of Greek prostitute, one must include a fourth type of prostitute mentioned in the literature. Born as citizens, and referred to as "free-lance prostitutes", these women functioned as streetwalkers.

They would roam about the city streets, particularly in the harbour areas, seeking out sailors, tradesmen and other travellers. They would take customers into their own rooms or into establishments hired for the purpose. And they would give themselves to strangers in dark nooks and corners (Catullus). In addition to the inns and hotels, use would be made of high sepulchral monuments... much as graveyards were to be used by the wandering prostitutes of medieval Europe some centuries later (Simons, 1975:35).

Greek literature also mentions the use of inns and hotels for purposes of prostitution.

The descriptive history of prostitution in classical Greece presented in the literature offers an interesting comparison to the Anthropological/General Area Studies conclusion. Comparison of brothel prostitution in six cultures shows that, apart from the common factor of type of prostitution, only four factors were similar in the situations examined. And two of these four factors are present in ancient Greece: the confining nature of the brothel as well as the variety in types of prostitution. Additionally, it is interesting to note that the duality of images, "mother-whore", often discussed by contemporary feminists (see Summers, 1980) are traceable to the juxtaposed image of hetairai and wife in classical Greece.

Prostitution in ancient Rome

The impact of Roman prostitution and the brothel system was felt throughout Europe. Havelock Ellis has noted that the history of European prostitution, "as of so many other modern institutions, may properly be said to begin in Rome". When the Romans conquered other tribes and nations they took with them their art and literature, their law and philosophy - and their brothels. Wherever a Roman legion founded a settlement the lupanaria would be established for the satisfaction of the soldiers... There would be available women, recruited no doubt from conquered peoples, having few rights and forced to comply with all sexual demands... (Simons, 1975:45).

Unlike the Greek situation with religious prostitution and the hetairai, for the Romans prostitution was simply a trade for which there was great demand. In Roman times the explicit sexual purpose of prostitution was manifest. "The Roman male who went to a prostitute did not usually go for conversation or for intellectual stimulation" (Bullough, 1964:46). Rather, the idea that sexual pleasure was to be found outside marriage was common in a society which had no concept of romantic love. At the same time:

...the Romans assumed a more moralistic attitude towards prostitution. Tacitus and Suetonius have various rulers of Rome visit brothels but they utilized this device to indicate the very baseness of the rulers they were describing. Obviously, many respectable people utilized the service of prostitutes but the Romans glossed over this, and if mentioned, it was part of a general condemnation. Female virtue was the ideal, and while man could not quite reach this ideal because of his biological inheritance, it too was desirable. There was a double standard but increasingly the Roman writers tended to emphasize that equity demanded the same continence of the husband as he expected of his wife. It was in part this moralistic attitude adopted and modified by Christianity which has come down to the modern world (Bullough, 1964:53).

In practice, prostitutes were required to register with the state. The woman wishing to become a meretrix or public prostitute was obliged to make a personal application to the aedile, a government official. Customarily, he would attempt to dissuade her of her decision. "He would point out that the profession had a number of clear disadvantages and in any case was regarded as socially disreputable" (Simons, 1975:39). If persistent, the woman was granted a licence and her name was recorded and kept in the office of the aedile. In turn, the office of the aedile offered the meretrix certain legal protection. "At the same time the prostitute was obliged to pay an annual tax equivalent to the amount received in one day from one client. If prostitutes fell behind in their payments the aedile could arrange to have them publicly whipped and then expelled from the town" (Simons, 1975:39).

Although allowed to operate as a prostitute as she wished, often the meretrix worked in a brothel or lupanar (plural lupanaria). Two types of places existed. One involved cubicles rented to women in business for themselves. Other establishments involving both slaves and freedwomen paid a small sum. It is significant that Bullough comments: "Occasionally criminal elements were associated with the brothels" (1964:52). Similarly Simons, in discussing the various types of prostitutes who did not register with the aedile, refers to the gallinae or robber prostitutes.

It should be noted that the literature indicates that Roman baths also functioned as brothels quite often.

The attendants, males and females who specialized in massage, were often prostitutes, and in the later days of the baths their subsidiary purpose achieved architectural recognition: small cubicles were added to the design to facilitate sexual relations (Simons, 1975:44).

This is particularly pertinent as contemporary literature alludes to massage parlours and massage being a current form of prostitution replacing the traditional brothel in urban centres.

The Roman period offers several noteworthy developments in the history of prostitution. Whereas "Greece first municipalized the brothel... Rome first exported it as a going concern... In Europe, the Graeco-Roman influence was significant; elsewhere the exigencies of local culture doubtless had the most pressing influence" (Simons, 1975:46). Although prostitution was perceived as an overtly sexual act, at the same time the Romans adopted a more moralistic stance towards it. One can also see the beginning of police regulation of prostitution in Roman times with the registration of prostitutes. It is significant that a percentage of women in that time chose to be unregistered, a situation discussed in Legal/Police Regulations. Equally important is the reference to crime associated with prostitution.

Prostitution in Western Europe: the Middle Ages

Although Bullough, Henriques, Simons and others offer a comparative analysis of prostitution and the great religions, a detailed history of the brothel in Asia and North America and similarly varied information concerning the trade (see for example, "A Bibliographic Statement on the History of Prostitution" in Bullough, 1964), such extensively detailed information is beyond the scope of this literature review. In fact, prostitution solely restricted to Europe during the millenium of the Dark and Middle Ages, is "a subject so vast" that Benjamin and Masters in their consideration of historical aspects of prostitution, claim to only "hit a few of the highspots" (Benjamin and Masters, 1966:46). Theirs is a realistic appraisal.

While the Christian church seemed involved in a continuing debate on the subject, "...Prostitution was well-nigh omnipresent throughout the Middle Ages. There were frequent attempts at regulation, suppression, with the former inefficient and the latter unsuccessful..." (Benjamin and Masters, 1966:47). In general, two aspects have been said to represent prostitution in this period: the vast extent of the trade as well as conflicting attitudes towards prostitution and prostitutes (Benjamin and Masters, 1966:50).

Attempts to suppress prostitution included those of Charlemagne who "...attempted to impose strict punishments on those practicing the profession" and of his son Louis the Pious (Bullough, 1964:111). Rather, with increased urbanization in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, prostitution flourished. And, "aiding in the increase of prostitution were the Crusades..." (Bullough, 1964:111). It has been written that prostitutes sometimes travelled with the Crusaders disguised as men. "...even the saintly King of France, Louis IX, could not prevent prostitutes from establishing themselves near the royal tent" (Bullough, 1964:112).

Louis IX in turn attempted to suppress prostitution. He enacted an ordinance

...decreeing that all prostitutes and all persons making a living from prostitution be regarded as outlaws, and all their personal goods, clothing, furs, tunics or linen chemises be taken into custody. The ordinance was at first effective, but complaints soon reached the king that since prostitution had been outlawed, it was increasingly difficult to protect honest wives and virtuous daughters from lecherous attacks. Whatever the reason, within a few years prostitution was again permitted... (Bullough, 1964:112).

One should note that the suppression of prostitution leading to increased crime against the female population in general, continues as a contemporary issue in prostitution-related literature. Later in his reign, Louis again attempted to abolish prostitution, as did his successor, Phillip, neither with any success.

In attempting to understand current Legal and Police Regulations, it is enlightening to have knowledge of medieval efforts to control prostitution. With time, throughout most of Europe, "...prostitutes either were forced to live in certain quarters, wear specified clothes, arm bands, or other attire, often dye their hair" all in an attempt to distinguish them from respectable females. More specifically:

One of the objections of many medieval officials to prostitution was that brothels served as centers of criminal activity in any community. Some cities attempted to meet the problem by banning prostitution entirely as did Leicester and Cambridge in England, while others like the City of Sandwich attempted to confine it to certain specified areas and persons. The city of Bristol classed prostitutes with lepers and would allow neither group within the city walls. London adopted at first a more ambiguous stand by prohibiting prostitutes from living within the city, but establishing a section just outside the city walls; later certain streets within the city were turned over to prostitutes. Brothels found outside of the stipulated districts had their doors and windows removed; if the women still refused to leave, the beadle of London had the authority to dismantle the whole house. But while prostitution was tolerated, procuring was not. A male procurer found inside the city was tonsured, shaved and exhibited in the pillory for his first offence; a second offence led to imprisonment, and a third to expulsion from the city. A woman procurer on her first offence had her hair cut "round her head" before she was exhibited; the penalties for subsequent offences were the same as for the male (Bullough, 1964:113).

The relationship between prostitution and the Church has been discussed at length in the literature and includes consideration of the Pope's marshals collecting brothel fees. "Christian, archbishop of Mainz in 1179 ... spent more time and money on prostitutes than carrying out his official business", and other such facts (Bullough, 1964:114). In general, however: "...the religious ideal was to reclaim the prostitute if at all possible. The medieval Church usually showed a humane attitude towards prostitutes and maintained asylums for the reformed women..." (Bullough, 1964:115).

The medieval period in Western Europe is said to be characterized by conflicting attitudes towards prostitution.

In effect, the medieval authorities classified prostitution as a necessary evil. Many of the authorities, such as St. Louis, made a real attempt to eliminate prostitutes, but influenced both by the failure of these efforts and by the teachings of the church itself, there was a willingness to accept prostitution as a fact of life. But if prostitution was to be accepted it had to be controlled, and there were many efforts made to confine it to certain quarters and to label the women who practiced it. There was concerted effort to prevent the clergy from having contact with prostitutes, but even this was not always successful... By the end of the medieval period prostitution

was established in most of the important towns of Europe, and regulated by well-defined customs and traditions (Bullough, 1964:116).

Prostitution in Western Europe: the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

"...The most remarkable feature of Renaissance prostitution was the re-emergence of the great courtesans, resembling in affluence, influence and some other respects the heterei of ancient Greece" (Benjamin and Masters, 1966:51). The concept of courtesan meaning "...one who is attached to the court, and is derived from the word courtier", later signifying court mistress or high class prostitute, was restricted to the upper classes (Bullough, 1964:124). The courtesan's eminence has been considered one outcome of the changing status of women during the later medieval and Renaissance period, although females were still a long way from any semblance of equality (Bullough, 1964:603).

The study of Plato which became popular in fifteenth century Italy "...led to a new concept of women's role in love and life. To Plato and the neo-Platonists love was the desire of beauty ...love was a means of achieving the highest spiritual cognition..." (Bullough, 1964:120). But whereas Plato had discussed such emotion in part as homosexual love, fifteenth century writers chose to attribute personal beauty which excited men to love to the female gender. "It was through the love of ideal beauty and goodness that man realized his higher calling and divine purpose. This led to an idealization of beauty in women" (Bullough, 1964:121).

With such changing attitudes towards women, a small percentage of females were offered access to education similar to that of males. "As part of this movement there was the emergence of the courtesan, the lady of charm and intelligence, education and manners, living in her own house, holding court, the friend of men of influence both in politics and in art", of nobles and of religious leaders (Bullough, 1964:121).

Benjamin and Masters sum up the situation of fifteenth century attitudes towards prostitution among the elite:

It is true that the upper classes sincerely subscribed to some extent to a moral double standard - urging upon the masses restrictions they had no intention of imposing upon themselves. But even so, the argument that prostitution was at best a necessary evil seems to have been no more than a lip service to impotent religious ideals; and the intermittent, localized attempts to suppress prostitution and punish prostitutes were more hypocritical still (1966:53).

In the sixteenth century, the ambiguous attitude of the medieval Catholic church which had dominated the overall reaction to prostitution in Western Europe was challenged by the growing Protestant movement and the rapid spread of venereal disease.

...one of the most noticeable effects of Protestantism was the sexual revolution it brought about. This was because Protestantism differed from Catholicism on one key issue, the question of celibacy. The reformers believed almost to a man that the type of celibacy then being practised was damaging the whole fabric of Christianity (Bullough, 1964:127).

In turn, both Luther and Calvin held marriage in higher esteem than had prior church leaders. And although praising marriage, they simultaneously held a more puritanical attitude on sexual matters. "This puritanism was a growing aspect of the religious beliefs of the sixteenth century, and Catholicism itself, after the Council of Trent adopted similar attitudes" (Bullough, 1964:130). As a result, both Catholic and Protestant reformers criticized prostitution. "Under Luther's direction brothels were closed in the reformed cities..." (Bullough, 1964:131). London's brothels were closed in 1546, those of Paris in 1560.

Even Rome was moved by the changing temper of the times and an edict of July 23, 1566 required all prostitutes to leave Rome. When 25,000 persons, including the women and their dependents, started preparations to leave, the city was thrown into a panic, and the Pope was induced to rescind the ordinance on August 17 of the same year (Bullough, 1964:131).

Coupled with these attitudes was growing concern over venereal disease. "The very name 'venery', meaning the pursuit of Venus, goddess of love, came to be widely used in the sixteenth century to describe those diseases associated with sexual intercourse" (Bullough, 1964:132). Although venereal infection had been recognized from ancient times, its source was unknown. And, "...a new and more virulent form appeared towards the end of the fifteenth century..." (Bullough, 1964:132).

Like many other diseases of the time it was labeled a "new disease," but only in the case of syphilis, for that was the name by which it came to be known, has this claim been maintained into recent times. It has been argued that the French acquired the disease at Naples from the Spaniards, and that the Spaniards had in turn been infected by sailors who had traveled with Columbus on his first voyage. An alternative view holds that syphilis was already prevalent both in Europe and in the rest of the world, but that it was only in the sixteenth century that it was properly diagnosed because of advances in the individualization of disease...from the existing evidence the question cannot be satisfactorily resolved... (Bullough, 1964:132).

Inadequate sanitary conditions coupled with minimal medical knowledge allowed syphilis, which initially had been restricted to soldiers and prostitutes, to infect the civilian population at such an alarming pace that officials began issuing general warnings. For example: "In 1496 the Parlement at Paris decreed that all persons infected with the disease should leave the city within twenty-four hours" (Bullough, 1964:133). In the general alarm over venereal infection, much finger pointing occurred.

Many of the French came to call it the Neapolitan disease, but the Italians and the English still called it the French pox, although other names such as "great pox" were also used. The Turks called it the Christian disease, the Chinese knew it as the Portuguese disease, and it has also been known as the German, American, Spanish, Syrian, Egyptian and English disease, as well as by hundreds of non-national names. The name syphilis was first given to the pox by Girolamo Fracastoro...of Verona...who published a poem called Syphilis sive Morbus Gallicus in 1530 (Bullough, 1964:133).

With such fear of syphilis, it is not surprising that increasingly degrading punishments were given to prostitutes. Typically, females found guilty of prostitution in Toulouse were

publicly ridiculed, marched through the town before being taken to the nearby river, undressed, caged, dunked almost to the point of being drowned and left for viewing before finally being taken to the almshouse.

In general, the outlawing of the prostitute subsequently led to the increased use of the personal mistress, who technically was not considered a prostitute. "The recourse to a recommended mistress was also an effective way of avoiding venereal disease" (Bullough, 1964:135).

In sum, in spite of the influence of puritanism and fear of venereal disease:

Prostitution suffered only a temporary setback during the sixteenth century; while much of the restrictive legislation remained on the books, the prostitute soon flourished again. The number of prostitutes in Paris in 1770 has been estimated as 20,000 in a total population of 600,000. While Paris was perhaps not the norm, other centers of culture and sophistication largely imitated Europe's chief city (Bullough, 1964:144).

And as the courtesan had gained popularity among the upper classes during the fifteenth century, by the sixteenth the use of the mistress had become generally widespread.

Prostitution: the Industrial Revolution to present times

During the eighteenth century measures continued to be taken to suppress or to regulate prostitution while simultaneously the amount of prostitution did not seem to decrease. Such regulation was specifically directed towards the full-time prostitute. And with time law enforcement officials "...closed their eyes to violations of the law, and in fact, contrary to the law, even licensed brothels" (Bullough, 1964:135).

Lax enforcement, however, perhaps suited the temper of the period since the eighteenth century was dominated, superficially at least, by a reaction against the puritanical attitudes of an earlier period. It was in this century that the Marquis de Sade, Casanova, William Hickey and other famous rakes wrote and flourished; and that the notorious sex clubs were founded in England, France and elsewhere (Bullough, 1964:136).

Specific brothels became notorious, with many specializing in erotic and deviant practices. Child prostitution within brothels was not uncommon.

In 1724 Bernard Mandeville in a pamphlet entitled "A Modest Defence of Publick Stews" argued for the legalization of prostitution. As he claimed: "Unregulated prostitution had led to an increase in illegitimate births, alienated affections of wives and husbands, tempted people to live beyond their income, debauched married women, warped virtue and ruined young virgins" (Bullough, 1964:161).

It was not until the French Revolution, however, when the armies of all the European powers were found infected with syphilis and gonorrhoea, that official attitude again changed vis-a-vis prostitution. "Unlike earlier efforts, however, the chief reason for state action in the nineteenth century was to stamp out or at least lessen the diseases usually associated with prostitution" (Bullough, 1964:166).

Each European city attempted to regulate prostitution, a rather lengthy history. In Paris, for example, by the second decade of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century, legislation attempted to confine prostitution to licensed brothels. And:

Except for England (and Norway in 1890), none of the European states which had regularized the practice of prostitution repealed their ordinances in the nineteenth century. Rather than attacking prostitution directly, reformers concentrated their efforts on its abuses - especially involuntary prostitution - and this soon led to an attack on the licensed brothels (Bullough, 1964:172).

"At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century most European countries took some steps to limit the trade in women and girls" (Bullough, 1964:174). Several personalities, including Mrs. Josephine Butler, can be mentioned as organizing movements against white slavery. After the First World War the campaign was led by the League of Nations. By 1933, under its direction, the traffic in adult women was made a criminal offence, a resolution accepted by 28 countries and signed by 11 others.

This international action was accompanied by a decrease in the traffic, particularly in Europe, but also between Europe and South America. This decrease was due not only to greater international vigilance but to the abolition of licensed brothels in certain countries. (The League of Nations reported that licensed brothels were the chief markets for traffic in women and children.) With the decrease of licensed brothels there was a corresponding decline in the traffic. Prostitution continued, but the number of countries in which the government licensed or registered prostitutes has steadily fallen (Bullough, 1964:184).

By the nineteenth century scholars had begun gathering information on prostitution. Women's status improved with the Industrial Revolution. And by the twentieth century "...birth control materials began to reach the public, and new techniques were developed, which have done more to change the nature of prostitution than any other single factor" (Bullough, 1964:225). In fact, medical advances did coincide with an increase in part-time prostitution (Bullough, 1964).

Conclusion

After reviewing a portion of the historical literature pertaining to prostitution, the question of the scope or extent of the trade remains unresolved. Hopefully both the changing attitudes towards the profession and its nature over time have been clarified. The amount of information offered by the historical literature is overwhelmingly vast. Through choice, partially a reflection of the majority of subject publications and partially a matter of time restrictions, the development of prostitution in Western Europe has been focused upon.

Although this geographical area has been emphasized, one can appreciate that the type of prostitution existing in any society is a reflection of that society's structure, its family institution and its attitudes towards sexual behaviour and the role of women. Whereas this discussion offers the example of the courtesan mirroring the improved status of women in the fifteenth century, one could similarly see the geisha as an outcome of the traditional Japanese marital circumstance.

Through the historical discussion one can trace changing attitudes towards both prostitutes and prostitution in general. One can compare the situation of the hetairai of ancient Greece with that of the degrading punishment of prostitutes in Toulouse in the sixteenth century. One can see historical attempts to distinguish prostitutes from non-prostitutes, or so-called respectable women. Initially women in the trade were assigned specific garments to signify their profession. As late as the fifteenth century in Venice, a specific law was passed forbidding prostitutes to dress as males. It is somewhat ironic that the non-prostitute female population in fact acquired the fashion which the Venetian prostitutes had proven "erotically advantageous". Similarly, Italian women began bleaching their hair blonde, as did courtesans. And females generally began wearing lipstick, the original symbol of the Middle Eastern prostitute engaging in oral stimulation of the male genitals (Benjamin and Masters, 1966).

One can also trace through the literature changing attitudes towards prostitution from the period when the brothel was first municipalized through ancient Rome's regulation of brothels, through the Middle Ages when the brothel was seen as a centre of criminal activity, through to the sixteenth century when the puritanical outlook led to the closing of brothels. By the eighteenth century law enforcement officials closed their eyes to law violations and so brothels operated once again. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, officials felt that it was favourable for many European cities to restrict prostitution to brothels in an attempt to control the trade and specifically to lessen venereal disease associated with prostitution. Simultaneously concern over the white slave trade became an issue. Again one sees in the twentieth century the abolition of licensed brothels in specific countries as an international response to the report of the League of Nations that licensed brothels were the city markets for traffic in women and children.

It is significant to note that throughout this history although a variety of types of prostitution have existed, the brothel prostitute and streetwalker have been of primary concern in terms of the control of prostitution. The courtesan or mistress, on the other hand, has been of secondary concern. There are also periodic references throughout the literature concerning officials who, while attempting to control prostitution, were at the same time clients of prostitutes.

Through the historical literature one understands that prostitution has continued to exist in spite of a variety of differing periods, religious circumstances, and reactions to the profession. As Bullough states: "The reasons for its continued existence are not too hard to find" (Bullough, 1964:257). Reasons listed include: situations where large groups of males are away from their family; societies with a severe double standard allowing the male freedom while restricting the female; situations where there are obstacles to marriage such as dowries, achievement or age, for example; and societies where late marriage for males is recommended as is female virtue (Bullough, 1964).

In total, Henriques, Bullough, Simons, Benjamin and Masters and others offer a thorough look at the historical aspects of prostitution, particularly in Western Europe and in North America. It would be profitable to view simultaneously such development using an ecological model, for example, which views society in terms of its environment and means of exploiting that environment for food resources. Accordingly, societies could be categorized as: hunting and gathering, pastoral, horticultural, agricultural, or industrial. In turn, each type of society may be classified by varying social structures with distinctions in power and wealth as well as by differing social institutions and the importance played by these institutions. Such a model would allow analysis of the historical development of prostitution minimizing cultural boundaries. On the whole though, comparatively speaking, consideration of the history of prostitution is more adequately represented in the literature than, for example, material such as Legal and Police Regulation Studies.

MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH STUDIES

Within A Bibliography of Prostitution, studies concerning Medicine and Public Health primarily entail the discussion of venereal disease, more specifically syphilis and gonorrhoea. These comprise both the largest body of material as well as a continual issue in terms of publications from the sixteenth century through present times (Benjamin and Masters, 1966). And yet, Medicine and Public Health Studies are not emphasized in this literature survey. First, the majority of readings are highly technical, dealing with medical aspects of venereal infection which from a biological perspective contribute to an appraisal of a prostitution-related problem. In an attempt to understand prostitution and its regulation cross-culturally, such medical detail is comparatively of minor use compared to other subject categories. Secondly, as Historical Studies, Anthropological/General Area Studies and Legal and Police Regulation Studies all discuss Medicine and Public Health issues to varying degrees, it is felt that such consideration is sufficient for the purposes of this literature review. As Benjamin and Masters similarly commented in 1966 in The Prostitute in Society: "Had we written this chapter even two decades ago, it would have been in a far more important part of our book and we would have dealt with the subject of venereal diseases in relation to prostitution far more exhaustively than we have done...." (1966:321). Such a statement remains appropriate in 1983.

Historical aspects of venereal infection

Concern over the spread of venereal infection in Western Europe in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries has been considered. Although figures indicating the extent of the problem among the general population in the sixteenth century are not readily available, data concerning the situation by the nineteenth century are. As Henriques writes:

There is no doubt that the figures for the "social" diseases were extraordinarily high. It was estimated that in a seven-year period in the middle years of the century (19th century) one-fifth of the army quartered in Britain, and one-seventh of the navy based on British ports was infected with syphilis or gonorrhoea. In London the estimate was that 50,000 patients were treated each year for V.D. The figures of the London hospitals are quite frightening. Of between 7,000 and 8,000 patients annually admitted to St. Bartholomew's (1854) nearly half suffered from V.D. In France towards the end of the century it was estimated that seventeen per cent of the population was infected with syphilis... In America a committee of the Medical Society of New York... reported as the result of exhaustive inquiry that in the City of New York not less than a quarter of a million of venereal disease cases occurred every year, and a leading New York dermatologist has stated that among the better class families he knows intimately at least one-third of the sons have had syphilis. In Germany eight hundred thousand cases of venereal disease are by one authority estimated to occur yearly, and in the larger universities twenty-five per cent of the students are infected every term, venereal disease being, however, specially common among students... (1968: 251).

By the late nineteenth century scientist Albert Neisser had successfully isolated the gonococcus causing gonorrhoea and in 1895 Fritz Schaudin observed the spirochete causing syphilis (Bullough, 1964). Subsequent twentieth-century medical advances led to the increasingly effective treatment of venereal infection. "These medical advances lessened fears of engaging in pre-marital or extra-marital intercourse. This did not necessarily lead to an increase in prostitution, but it did coincide with an increase of amateur prostitutes and a decline of restrictions on pre-marital intercourse, especially for girls" (Bullough, 1964:219).

Apart from a consideration of the medical problems of venereal disease, historically the literature appears to focus on two aspects vis-a-vis prostitution: the relation between venereal disease and prostitution; and the relation between venereal disease and the regulation of prostitution.

Cross-cultural aspects of venereal infection

In a 1958 paper entitled "Prostitution: Report from Australia", John Vincent Barry writes: "All states have legislation for the control of venereal disease, and provide facilities for treatment. Since the introduction of antibiotics, the police authorities consider that venereal disease has ceased to be a significant problem" (1958:189). While claiming that legalizing or not legalizing prostitution would not significantly affect the rate of venereal disease, in a 1969 publication Wilson and Chappell consider some of the methodological obstacles in making such a statement based on statistical evidence:

The only guide to what is happening in venereal disease based on statistical fact is the record of the notifications of acute disease episodes made to Health Departments. However, in Sydney for example, a survey among doctors brought to light that only 10 per cent of patients with V.D. were notified to Health Departments (1969:65)

The 1980 "Report of the Select Committee of Inquiry into Prostitution", South Australia, indicated that: "Statistics from the V.D. clinic revealed that acknowledged prostitutes constituted only 2.5% of the whole number of gonorrhoea cases in 1977-78" (1980:10). The group does voice concern with the growing incidence of genital herpes (Herpes Simplex II) and recommends further investigation of the matter to the Minister of Health.

Czechoslovakian Ministry of Public Health figures for 1921 show disparities among males infected by venereal disease through brothel prostitution versus through "secret prostitution". That year, the country's total number of venereal infections numbered 160,000, of which 125,000 were males and 35,000 females. Of these, 23.6 per cent of males contacted venereal infection in the brothel setting while 37.2 per cent received it from the secret prostitute. Concerned with venereal disease and the increase in secret prostitution, the Law on Suppression of Venereal Diseases became effective in 1923. Apart from providing legislation for sexual education in schools, for the reform of promiscuous girls and for the punishment of adults endangering the health of others, the law "...abolishes all the police provisions which 'regulated' prostitution and the disorderly houses were closed" (Zahorova-Nemcova, 1925:410).

A 1972 Indian article, "The Clients of the Common Prostitutes", involved a study of 400 males treated from May 1965 to April 1966 in an Out-Patients Department of

Venereology and Dermatology of a state hospital. The majority were "common prostitutes' customers". Customers' social backgrounds are considered in detail. In general, the authors state:

There seems to be a close relation between the growth of prostitution and the rise in the number of patients suffering from venereal diseases (V.D.) e.g. syphilis, gonorrhoea etc. This may not be true of the nations in the West or of the new world as their population in general is conversant with various aspects of venereal infections. However, in India, common prostitutes are invariably infected and are largely responsible for transfer of V.D. to their patrons (Gokhale et al., 1972:30).

In fact, a 1955 publication stated that: "Results of the serological survey for syphilis amongst the professional prostitutes... yielded an incidence of seropositivity of 75 per cent in the population of prostitutes in Poona" (Gokhale et al., 1972:34).

The Nightless City or the History of the Yoshiwara Yukwaku, an ethnographic account of Tokyo's segregated area for prostitution-related activities, offers medical statistics for the years 1898 through 1904 for the prostitute population.

The figures show that during seven years the average ratio of infection was 5.18 per 100, but whether these show the true facts of the case is hard to determine. However, they have the merit of being "official" even if somewhat erroneous (DeBecker, 1971:359).

However, the enactment of the baishun boshi ho (Prostitution Prevention Law) in 1956 was responsible for the closing of Yoshiwara as well as other houses of prostitution. Stating that "These arguments against brothel prostitution... are a result of the defeat of Japan in World War II", Mamoru Iga explains that those initiating the law outlined venereal disease as one of five arguments for suppressing prostitution. The other four include: disturbs the social order, weakens morality, promotes crime and destroys family life (Iga, 1968:130). By 1962, however, the examination of 1,970 Japanese prostitutes indicated the presence of gonorrhoea among 42.4 per cent of uncontrolled streetwalkers (Wilson and Chappell, 1969).

In a 1965 publication outlining a sociological understanding of licensed prostitution in Beirut's Red Light District, researcher Samir Khalaf interviewed 130 brothel prostitutes who invariably stated that contracting V.D. was "... considered the prime hazard of their profession" (1965:57).

In the United States in the 1910s, every large city in the country began investigations into its Red Light District. One after another the segregated sections in large cities were closed. "That syphilis was bad and prostitution was its cause seemed to be the one point of total agreement within the ranks of the warriors against the social evil" (Holmes, 1972:87). Researcher Kay Holmes discusses whether in fact syphilis had increased during the 1890-1915 period, concluding the question debatable. It was apparent, however, that syphilis and venereal infection had become a national issue.

Statistics concerning the results of the disease were becoming common knowledge. Statistics such as: 70 per cent of all female patients in New York hospitals are respectable

married women infected innocently by their husbands, 90 per cent of all syphilitic infection in men is derived from prostitutes, 100 per cent of locomotor ataxia comes from syphilitic infection, 2 out of every 13 deaths in the United States is related to syphilis... 3,500,000 out of a population of 70,000,000 in 1893 were estimated to be infected... All cases of blindness at birth and all miscarriages were also attributed to the disease. If these "facts" were not enough to instill fear - "professionals" pressed their opinions that these numbers were only a small portion of the total infected (Holmes, 1972:86).

Although Kuttner and Lorincz (1970) discuss rampant venereal disease among a sample of both promiscuous and prostitute Native Americans, what is the case for an ethnic minority group is no longer representative of the national situation. In the mid-1960s, Benjamin and Masters estimated that: "...heterosexual prostitution can be blamed for less than 5 per cent of all V.D. cases in the United States..." (1966:316). A 1973 article similarly states: "Prostitutes comprise only 3 per cent of all V.D. cases which are reported in Oakland" (Women Endorsing Decriminalization, 1973:144). This decrease in prostitution-related venereal disease has indirectly been attributed to the closing of brothels by many American researchers, however. When considering contemporary sources of venereal infection, the discussion invariably turns to "... a sharp increase in the number of teenagers infected..." (Benjamin and Masters, 1966:313).

In fact, a 1962 editorial in Sexology magazine stated:

In 1962 infectious syphilis climbed to a record high in over a decade. More than 20,084 cases were reported - and reliable estimates are that the total number of cases actually exceeded 60,000... V.D. outbreaks were reported in 25 states and 34 major U.S. cities last year with the 15-19-year-olds registering the largest increase. As Dr. George James, New York City Commissioner of Health, pointed out at a press conference, the sixfold increase of syphilis during the past 6 years constitutes the most startling increase of an infectious disease ever experienced (Benjamin and Masters, 1966:312).

A World Health Organization report in the 1960s similarly stated that of 106 nations participating in the survey, 76 had detected a rising incidence of syphilis. Some nations attributed the increase to promiscuity among youth. Other countries suggested a relationship between the suppression of prostitution and the increase in venereal disease (Benjamin and Masters 1966).

Conclusion

The relationship between prostitution and venereal disease has varied both historically and cross-culturally. This relationship, particularly in nineteenth-century Western Europe and early twentieth-century North America, has been overt and of major concern. In the 1970s, Sri Lankan and Pakistani officials continued to isolate prostitutes as their country's major source of venereal disease (Winick and Kinsie, 1971). The Indian literature suggests a positive correlation between the increase of prostitution and a corresponding increase in venereal disease. On the other hand, in the United States: "...estimates are that heterosexual prostitution can be blamed for less than 5 per cent of all VD cases..." (Benjamin and Masters, 1966:316). Similarly, South Australia's "Report of the Select Committee of Inquiry into Prostitution" indicates that in that state: "Statistics from the V.D. clinic revealed that acknowledged prostitutes constituted only 2.5% of the whole number of gonorrhoea cases in 1977-78" (Select Committee, South Australia, 1980:10).

Simultaneously, Medicine and Public Health Studies in part have been concerned with the correlation between venereal infection and the regulation of prostitution. Historically such concern has led to a variety of regulatory practices. However, in the past two decades some researchers have commented "... there is a reciprocal relationship between the suppression of prostitution and the spread of venereal infection, the former producing an increase of the latter" (Benjamin and Masters, 1966:320). For example, several years after the enforcement of Japan's Prostitution Prevention Law a survey among prostitutes showed the presence of gonorrhoea among 42.4 per cent of uncontrolled streetwalkers, a marked increase in the ratio of infection compared with licensed prostitutes of the former Yoshiwara district in Tokyo. Benjamin and Masters state: "...the suppression of public prostitution results in an increase of clandestine prostitution, and thereby in an increase in the rate of venereal infections..." (Benjamin and Masters, 1966:320). Although a 1960 World Health Organization report does suggest that this relationship between suppressed prostitution and venereal infection does have some cross-cultural support, the extent to which such a statement would survive historical or cross-cultural testing is speculative. The amount of reduction of venereal disease is also questionable. For example: "...the amount of reduction is probably so relatively small that those who advocate legalizing prostitution on the basis that it substantially reduces the rate of venereal disease are on shaky grounds" (Wilson and Chappell, 1969:65). Benjamin and Masters contend: "There are far more powerful arguments to be mustered in favor of abandoning the attempted suppression of prostitution" (1966:322). Although contemporary literature indicates a positive correlation between suppressed prostitution and the increase of venereal disease, at the same time this relationship is not offered as a significant reason in support of legalizing prostitution.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL/GENERAL AREA STUDIES

Anthropological/General Area Studies comprise 939 works or 17.10 per cent of total material listed in A Bibliography of Prostitution. On the whole these are twentieth-century publications. The greatest number of books and articles (264 total) consist of American studies, followed by those related to Japan (74 total), Latin America (60) and France (51 total). At the other extreme, the least number of studies concern Greece (1 total) and Australia and the Pacific (3 total). Within these categories, one can see from Table 3 that the majority of works fall within specific decades. Almost half the American material was published in the 1910s, the decade in which many urban Red Light Districts were abolished. Similarly, over one-third of the work related to Japan was published in the 1950s. The country's Prostitution Prevention Law (baishun boshi ho), passed in June 1956, was responsible for the closing of Yoshiwara, Tokyo's historical prostitution quarters, and other less conspicuous houses of prostitution. (Although a Japanese imperial order had attempted to close brothels in 1948, "... tokushu inshoku ten (or tokuin in abbreviation, meaning 'special restaurants') evolved to take their places...many houses of prostitution disguised as bars and restaurants emerged in the areas adjacent to former brothel quarters....all tokuin houses were closed in 1958" (Iga, 1968:127).)

In other words, General Area Studies numerically appear to emphasize the period of change in an area's regulation of prostitution, although as a whole they examine prostitution in a variety of cultural settings. This discussion will limit itself to selective aspects of the prostitution situation in Australia, Colombia, India, Japan, Lebanon and the United States of America. For the sake of consistency and in response to accessibility of material, brothel prostitution in each of these cultures will be examined in varying detail.

As G. L. Simons in A Place for Pleasure: The History of the Brothel states:

The brothel is a commercially administered establishment with (generally) resident employees, not necessarily female, prepared to meet the varied sexual demands of clients on a promiscuous basis. In sociological terms, the brothel is an institution, an organization or an establishment. In rare cases a particular brothel will have developed tradition, mystique and legend; inevitably there is always a discernible hierarchy among employees, sub-cultural mores and ritual and the idiosyncratic stamp of the madam or some other administering authority (1975:2).

Historically the brothel has been referred to by a variety of expressions: stew (1362), bawdy house (1552), leaping-house (1596), bagnio (1624), a place of sixpenny sinfulness (seventeenth century), sporting-house (1894), nunnery (late seventeenth century), academy (late seventeenth to early eighteenth century), ladies college, house of ill repute, house of ill fame, house of evil fame and naughty house (eighteenth century) (Simons, 1975). The term brothel (1593) generally will be favoured.

Australia

There is a dearth of research concerning prostitution in Australia. As elsewhere, much existent material concentrates on the prostitution situation in the few years prior to changes in state laws concerning prostitution-related offences. As the South Australia "Report of the Select Committee of Inquiry into Prostitution" put it: "There has been considerable discussion about prostitution over the last two years in Australia. In some States this discussion has led to the introduction of amendments to existing legislation relating to prostitution. Changes to the law have also been made in New Zealand" (Select Committee, South Australia, 1980:4).

Although the intention of the Area Studies section is to concentrate on brothel prostitution cross-culturally, one should note the comparatively unusual place prostitution has had in the history of Australia. Anne Summers writes:

The social and economic conditions of the first fifty years of white colonization of Australia fostered whores rather than wives. The traditional Judaeo-Christian notion that all women could be categorized as being exclusively either good or evil...was brought to Australia with the First Fleet. But its application to the women in this country was totally lop-sided. From 1788 until the 1840s almost all women were categorized as whores - or "damned whores" - as Lt. Ralph Clark called them. This categorization was initially based on the fact that virtually all the white women to come here in the first two decades of colonization were transported convicts, but it was continually reinforced by the social structure which evolved in the penal colony. Thus even female convicts who had served their sentences had little chance of having their status redefined and the stereotype came to be applied to many other women in the colony who had not been transported (1980:267).

"From about the time of the Gold Rush, which began in 1851, until well into the present century prostitutes worked in their thousands on the streets, in the pubs and in brothels in all of Australia's major seaports and other large centres (Winter, 1976:29). Peter Grabosky's study, Sydney in Ferment, for example refers to prostitution as "...a traditionally prevalent enterprise in Sydney..." (1977:30). A graph of prostitution and related offences arrests in New South Wales shows fluctuation per 1,000 female population from 1879 through 1970. However, figures show that although prostitution-related arrests have occurred throughout the state's history, in 1965 prostitution-related arrests boomed to a level of 7.25 per 1,000 female population whereas the previous high in 1880 was only 3.25 per 1,000 females (Grabosky, 1977). As Grabosky states: "The significance of these data, however, is at best highly questionable", as is often commented about crime statistics (Grabosky, 1977:145). It is argued that arrests reflect the activity of the criminal justice system as much or more than they do the criminal activity involved.

"Until about the time of World War I brothels were still widespread...It was only in the period from the First World War onwards that some red light districts were actually 'cleaned up'...However, brothels still persisted in many parts of Australia until as late as the 1950s, when nearly all remaining red light districts were closed down..." (Winter, 1976:29-30). By 1976 Winter estimates no more than 60 brothel prostitutes existing nationally. Of these approximately 44 were employed in the Red Light District of the gold mining town of Kalgoorlie,

Western Australia: "...the only red-light district which survives as a proper remnant of the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century type prostitution in Australia..." (Winter, 1976:55).

The Kalgoorlie Red Light District is tolerated by the police. As one police officer commented: "The police have to tolerate brothels in this town. Heavens above! If we closed the brothels down there'd be prostitutes all over the place... and the police wouldn't know where to start looking for them. We'd have no control over them..." (Winter, 1976:24).

As in other cultures, brothel existence is confining in nature for female residents. It has been estimated that less than 5 per cent of the women entering Kalgoorlie stay there more than one year (Winter, 1976:57). In part, women say their working circumstances are too isolated from family and friends, for example. "...bludgers are absolutely prohibited from entering the town under any circumstances and several have been deported over the years" (Winter, 1976:56). Additionally:

Firstly, there is a curfew on girls going into the commercial centre of town (which is the only place where window-shopping, drinking and wining and dining can be indulged in) between the hours of five o'clock in the evening and seven o'clock in the morning. If a girl breaks the curfew she is arrested and charged with "soliciting"! Secondly, if a girl wishes to travel outside of the precincts of Kalgoorlie...she must obtain the permission of the police before doing so. If she wishes to travel as far as the suburb of Boulder or Parkeston she must obtain permission from the madam. All of the madams take 50 per cent out of the earnings of each individual girl and some of them charge additional money for food and board (Winter, 1976:56).

Unfortunately, information concerning brothels in Australia does not extend itself to an examination of the social background of its residents, as in other cultures. Rather, Australian literature often focuses on the subsequent effect on crime, often specifically sexual attacks against females, after the closing of various brothels. P. R. Wilson and D. Chappell state, for example, the effect of closing down existing brothels: "There is often an associated growth of crime..." (1969:64). John Vincent Barry in his "Prostitution: Report from Australia" explains that frequently public opinion accepted brothels "...rationalizing, this acceptance by the claim that their existence was responsible for the very small number of sexual attacks on respectable women" (1958:186). R. N. Barber's article, "Prostitution and the Increasing Number of Convictions for Rape in Queensland", devotes itself entirely to this issue, concluding that findings indicate:

While it cannot perhaps be said that most of those who have committed rape in Queensland in recent years would not have done so had the brothels been left open, it can be claimed that there is strong evidence to suggest that the type of person who frequents brothels is very similar to the type of person who has been responsible for the increased number of rapes and attempted rapes in Queensland during the past ten years" (1969:173).

Although not unequivocally conclusive, Barber sums up findings by writing that:

.... it would seem that the "prostitution theory" provides a more persuasive answer to the question as to what has caused the high increase in the number of convictions for rape and attempted rape in Queensland over recent years than do the other "theories" currently holding favour (1969:173).

Prostitution has held an interesting place in Australian history. In spite of this, information concerning prostitution, and more specifically brothel prostitution, is limited. Literature prefers to focus on the impact of brothel closings than on the social aspects of brothel life. In seeking the unique aspects of Australian prostitution, although not discussed by other authors, and somewhat debatably, Marcel Winter contends:

Regardless of how they might see themselves, however, it seems that Australia does not have the range of different social levels within the world of prostitution which exists in other countries. The only important characteristic that distinguishes the various classes of prostitutes in this country (in a social sense) is the amount of police action to which they are subjected. In the case of streetwalkers, kerb-crawlers and bar girls, who undoubtedly fare worst of all, this does have an extremely adverse effect on their social dignity. But apart from this aspect of the profession the whole idea of prostitutes in Australia falling within a range of certain "class" categories is largely mistaken (1976:134).

It will be interesting to compare this statement with the situation of prostitution in India.

Colombia

In a 1976 article entitled "Brothel Prostitution in Colombia", co-authors Maria Teresa de Gallo and Heli Alzate discuss both a survey taken among a sample of 62 brothel residents in the provincial capital Manizales, Colombia, and participant observation findings from brothels in several Colombian cities. Permanent brothel residents, known as colegialas, are one of four types of prostitutes identified, the others being callejeras, who work at the doors of inexpensive cafes and hotels, coperas, who work as cafe waitresses, but have sexual intercourse with customers, and reservadas, or free-lance prostitutes "from the middle to the highest class", whose clients are found in night clubs, expensive hotels and brothels outside Red Light Districts (1976:2).

The legal status of Colombian prostitution is one of tolerance and regulation. Regulations are chiefly directed at confining the trade in registered brothels, keeping a register of known prostitutes, and constraining them to attend periodic medical examinations and treatment. Pandering is illegal only if the women involved have not previously engaged in prostitution (de Gallo and Alzate, 1976:2).

Perhaps the most significant finding from the de Gallo and Alzate work is that: "Our study supports the contention that prostitution shows ample sociocultural variations and that theoretical generalizations regarding this social phenomenon do not apply to different cultural milieus" (1976:6). That is, theoretical generalizations largely reflect Western research.

Concerning the survey of colegialas, permanent brothel residents, it was found that 71 per cent of the women were aged between 15 and 20. Eighty per cent were born in small villages. Six were totally illiterate, the rest semiliterate. All said they were Catholic; 50 per cent attended Mass regularly. Two-thirds had been prostitutes for less than four years (de Gallo and Alzate, 1976:4-5).

Aspects of Colombian brothel prostitution which were unusual vis-a-vis other Area Studies included reasons for becoming prostitutes:

...47 (76%) stated that they did it because of pressing individual financial problems or those of their families. Personal financial stress arose chiefly after they had been seduced and abandoned by their "novios" (steady boyfriends); not being *senoritas* (virgins) anymore, they became unworthy and were rejected by their families. Most of the remaining subjects stated that they had prostituted themselves after having been enticed by girlfriends already in the trade (de Gallo and Alzate, 1976:5).

Unlike other countries: "the role played by pimps in this prostitution system is negligible" (de Gallo and Alzate, 1976:2).

"Another peculiar feature is that the fee charged to the patron is negotiated personally by the woman, and no part goes to the madam, whose earnings come from the customers' drink purchases and from the renting of the piezas (rooms) where intercourse takes place" (de Gallo and Alzate, 1976:2). Fixed fees are unusual. Rather, fees are individually set accounting for subjective appraisals of attractiveness, amount of time spent with a customer and the category of brothel.

Apart from regular or well-liked customers, "all subjects stated that they practiced only 'straight' sexual acts, in spite of their being solicited by the clients to engage in 'perversions', such as cunnilingus, fellatio and anal coitus" (de Gallo and Alzate, 1976:5). Although on occasion women repressed orgasm "the chief reasons given being their disliking the patron or their fear of pregnancy", 74 per cent claimed they reached orgasm during commercial sexual intercourse (de Gallo and Alzate, 1976:6). No one admitted practising homosexual acts.

Although their study focuses on female brothel prostitutes, one aspect of the corresponding male client is mentioned. From preliminary findings of a survey of sexual behaviour among male university students, "60% of the male students had their first intercourse with prostitutes, and 42% are still going to prostitutes" (de Gallo and Alzate, 1976:6).

Information regarding prostitution in Colombia stemming from "Brothel Prostitution in Colombia" focuses on the legally licensed permanent brothel prostitute working within zonas de tolerancia, Red Light Districts. Ways in which these colegialas differ in background or attitude from other types of prostitutes would be speculative. In general, women are portrayed as young, Catholic, semiliterate villagers who have been abandoned by their families as a result of their pre-marital sexual activity. Most interesting, however, are the ways in which their prostitution situation differs from those found in other studies. Rather than offering a variety of sexual perversions, as is sometimes considered one of the functions of the prostitute, they mainly partake in standard sexual acts. Their sexual knowledge, in fact, appears limited. In total, one gains the impression that the cultural values of Colombian

society, with high value placed on pre-marital female virginity, are more relevant and more oppressive to females than aspects of prostitution (madams, pimps, clients) encountered by colegialas after they have become prostitutes.

India

Although historical mention is made of religious prostitutes in the third century, studies of prostitution are rare in India (Mathur and Gupta, 1965). The first governmental report concerning prostitution was published in 1956. As Mathur and Gupta in Prostitutes and Prostitution, explain: "The Central Social Welfare Board, soon after its constitution, appointed the Social and Moral Hygiene Committee under the chairmanship of Shrimati Dhanwanti Ram Rao in 1954 to undertake the first official enquiry in this field" (1965:xvii). Their report stressed the lack of scientific data concerning prostitution in India.

Such absence of prostitution studies may in part reflect methodological impediments faced by potential researchers discussed in the introduction. As Mr. Varma, President of the All India Crime Prevention Society commented in the 1960s: "Thirty years ago I had wanted to do a thesis on the subject of 'Prostitutes and Prostitution', but was warned that it was near impossible to get near any brothel or prostitute even with the assistance of police. There were not many protective homes to enable research..." (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:vi).

The timing of studies concerning prostitution in the late 1950s may also in part reflect growing concern about an increasing crime situation nationally. In Crime in Developing Countries, for example, it is stated that: "Crime has not increased so rapidly in India as it has in other developing countries. For years the rate remained about the same, even declining." Until the early 1960s, that is (Clinard and Abbott, 1973:16).

Finally, the timing of studies may also in part reflect changes in attitude towards prostitution. Although in ancient times the prostitute in India was respected, by mid-1960, Indian public opinion favoured the abolition of prostitution (Mathur and Gupta, 1965). In fact, 1956 marked the introduction of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act following a related international convention held in New York in 1950. In contemporary times it is not uncommon to read prostitution-related literature overflowing with moralistic terms reflecting the author's perspective that prostitution is an evil. Sentences such as: "Prostitute is compared to the filth in the sea or the sewer in the house" (sic) are not unusual (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:6). Mathur and Gupta explain this general change of attitude as follows:

In ancient times, she was an object of reverence and adoration. According to Mayer, "The Hindu has always sung the praises of 'public women' as the very type and embodiment of perfect womanhood." They were not considered as degraded or immoral human beings.

Prostitutes in feudal times continued to perform a necessary and recognized part of cultured society. They were very well educated and given intensive training in the arts which they practiced. Their manners were refined and conversation

highly polished. They were considered to be the repository and the carriers of the fine arts of music and dance, good manners and cultured behaviour. The sons of the nobility were sent there to learn the art of conversation and decent behaviour.

Industrialization and urbanisation changed the nature of the profession as of many others. This section of society was dehumanised and brought down to the lowest rung of the social ladder. Prostitute became a mere trader of her body and an object of man's lust. She depended more on the sale of her sex and less on music and dance for earning her livelihood and maintaining her dependents (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:v).

Whether reflecting decreased methodological constraints, increased concern with crime or changing attitudes towards prostitution, studies published since 1950, as do those dealing with the situation of Colombian brothel prostitutes, claim: "...much of what is published in foreign countries does not have a direct bearing on this problem in our country" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:4). That prostitution in India is said to have had a unique history is partially responsible for such statements. This history has been mentioned very briefly in relation to changing attitudes.

More specifically, Mathur and Gupta describe prostitution linked to temples in Hindu society and prostitution under the Muslim rulers of the Mughal Empire in India:

Mention is made of sanctified prostitution in the Third Century A.D. in the Sanskrit works of Mahakavi Kalidas. Religious prostitutes were attached to the famous temple of Mahakala in Ujjain and the system of holy prostitutes became fairly common. This class consisted of girls who had been offered by the parents to the service of temple out of their devotion to God and religion. They have been known by various names in different parts of the country. South knows them as Devadasies and North as Mangala Mukhies. These dancing girls were considered essential at the time of offering of prayers and were given a place of honour. Gradually, due to the laxity of morals among the priests, the system was misused by them for immoral purposes. Under the garb of religious dedication of girls to temples, clandestine prostitution developed (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:6).

Not only is the above historical aspect of prostitution unusual, but in a 1962 study of 425 Bombay prostitutes: "a third of the women interviewed stated that they were Davadasis in the service of the goddess Yellamma; many of them had been dedicated by their families, mainly Harijans or Untouchables, in the rural areas" (Clinard and Abbott, 1973:66).

Similarly, one can examine prostitution during the Mughal Empire and the subsequent claim by a group of contemporary prostitutes that they, in turn, are the descendants of such prostitutes. Thus, prostitution for a percentage of Indian females is a hereditary occupation.

A large number of women were attached to the Mughal Courts for dancing and singing. These girls did not sell their sex freely and to everyone as is done to-day but became attached to a person of the privileged class...The Mughal kings were great patrons of fine arts of music and dance which flourished during their regime...

After the downfall of the Mughal Empire, hoards of concubines, dancing and singing girls and attached women came out of the royal palaces. They were thrown helpless in streets. They were not trained for any profession and society had no jobs to offer them. When faced with economic problems they had no choice but to take recourse to...the sale of sex. The professional prostitutes of to-day like "Beriyas", "Nutts", "Brijwasis", "Patariyas", "Rajdharis" and "Deredars" describe themselves as the descendants of girls and women of Mughal Courts (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:5).

In their 1965 publication Prostitutes and Prostitution, Mathur and Gupta analyse the life histories of 20 prostitutes representing both hereditary and non-hereditary groups. Based on differing modes of business, women are divided into five distinct categories, the first two being hereditary groups, the other three non-hereditary groups. They are: Beriyas, Deredars, Takyas, Moving Stock and Girls in Moral Danger. "In the hereditary groups, prostitution and brothel keeping is practiced as a joint family business" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:31). On the other hand, Takyas are described as "cheap prostitutes" who cater to the poorer class of customers. "Her charges are so low that in spite of her frequent sale everyday she can hardly earn her bare maintenance" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:19). Moving Stock refers to prostitutes frequenting the hotels. It is not uncommon for them to stay in specified hotel rooms, catering to wealthier clients staying at the hotel or visiting for the purposes of prostitution. "It is being transferred from place to place under the care and supervision of its custodians and protectors. Constant movement helps them to escape police detention, cater to a number of markets and earn more money" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:19). Girls in moral danger are young. "They are unwilling to enter the trade. They are apprehended by the police from the brothels at the time when attempts are being made to sell or to transfer or to bring them in active profession" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:15). Although including these five categories of prostitutes, Mathur and Gupta concentrate on distinguishing characteristics between the two hereditary and the Takyas groups. Their discussion is insightful as the reader is acquainted with prostitution within a closed system of stratification.

Entry into prostitution differs according to category of prostitute. However, all are linked to the position of women in Indian society. Clinard and Abbott explain:

It is important to recognize that in India nearly all marriages are arranged and that the dowry, particularly among the lower classes is often of prime importance, with little consideration given to the feelings of the women. Since divorce is frowned on, a woman who finds her marriage impossible has nowhere to go except back to her family, where she is likely to be an outcaste. She cannot marry again, and employment for lower class single women is almost impossible to find. There is sometimes a resort to murder, and another alternative in cases of intolerable marital situations may be suicide...If the husband dies, the widow also finds herself in a serious predicament, one which might lead to a life of prostitution, since the lot of young widows under the Hindu religion is hard; remarriage is forbidden to women but permitted to men... (Clinard and Abbott, 1973:68).

Mathur and Gupta also include additional contributing factors as entry into prostitution: "...child marriage,...caste rigidity, early widowhood,...dedication of the girls to the

temples, abuse of religion by the Hindu priests, ignorance and poverty, attitude of society towards the depressed classes, practice of concubinage, the low status of women in society, decay in joint family system,...practice of polygamy and polyandry among certain communities and the values of society which prevent the reclamation of the woman who has strayed from the path of virtue" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:10).

Females of the hereditary group are socialized into prostitution. Through the family, as the most significant agent of socialization, girls learn the norms and values of the trade. "They are inclined and agreeable to the immoral trading because of their upbringing and have no compunctions" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:42). Among the Deredars, those who are talented in music and dance take pride in these cultural aspects being continued through their community. They have no desire for the traditional marital situation. The example of male as family financial supporter and female as raiser of children is not found among them (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:46). Additionally, through this socialization process, girls learn their position within the stratification system. Deredars, as followers of the Muslim faith, feel superior to Hindu Beriyyas in the social hierarchy. As Hindus, Beriyyas find "they have closer social dealings with the Takyas, majority of whom are also followers of Hindu religion" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:60). Deredars will only marry among themselves, according to caste tradition and with the belief that it is important to maintain "the purity of their blood". In turn, all hereditary prostitutes feel superior to non-hereditary groups involved in prostitution. As a sidenote, it is interesting that within these jati, or subcastes, birth of a female is greatly celebrated as she is received as an additional bread-winner for the entire family.

The age of entry into prostitution for the hereditary groups is usually 14 to 15 years of age. The night of initiation involves a ritualized ceremony referred to as the Missi ceremony by the Deredars and as Nath Utna by the Beriyyas. It is said that the Missi ceremony resembles the Indian wedding ceremony.

The girl is treated like a bride and the customer like a bridegroom. He presents to the girl fine clothes, jewelry and such other gifts which have been settled in the bargain or which he himself chooses to bring. He pays in advance the agreed "bride price" in full. In addition, he is also required to meet the full expenditure of the drinks and feasts held at the residence of the girl (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:21-22).

The festivities are attended by the relatives of the young woman. But, unlike the marriage ceremony, the customer's relatives are not traditionally involved. The total financial responsibility for the celebration is borne exclusively by the customer. "At the time of selecting the first night customer from among those who are known to them or who have approached them, guardians bargain hard and extract from the initiator the highest possible price" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:21). After the night of initiation, the young woman will solely have sexual relations with her first male customer until either he no longer desires to continue the relationship or he can no longer afford to do so.

The Nath Utna ceremony is less elaborate than the Missi ceremony. Comparatively speaking, the first night customer is not scrutinized very carefully. "Beriyyas care more for the initiation money and do not bother about the maintenance allowance. They do not like their girls to get attached to any

one man in particular or to stay as somebody's kept...Their expectations are that the earnings through the frequent and indiscriminate sale of sex of the new girl will be more than her maintenance allowance" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:18).

Although discussed in far less detail, Mathur and Gupta explain that "Takyais too put their daughters in the profession when they are grown up" (1965:23). Unlike hereditary groups, however, they do not maintain contact after females become prostitutes. Commonly, they have been "...procured by cash payment or seduced by payment of heavy fees to the intermediaries" and become brothel residents (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:23).

The clever and resourceful brothel keeper changes her stock as and when need arises. Old girls may be sold or transferred to other brothels for monetary considerations and replaced by new ones who can secure for them better business. In case old inmates, who are not in demand, cannot be disposed of through sale, direct and indirect efforts are made to force them to leave the brothels for seeking their own independent livelihood (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:24).

White slave practices are particularly overt regarding girls involved in prostitution from non-hereditary groups.

Procurers do not operate alone. There is a well organised "racket" spread over a wide area which utilises the services of both men and women for seducing the girls. The procurers usually adopt ingenious plans to trap the girls. After procuring them, they generally establish sex relations with them and pretend to be their sincere lovers and well wishers. They keep them for some days and then secretly, without giving any knowledge or arousing any suspicion, sell them to a second party. Thereafter the girls are left with no other alternative but to follow the instructions and schemes of the new purchaser.

Women are the key persons and are used for developing contacts, winning confidence and throwing baits to the young, innocent and inexperienced. Kidnapping, temporary custody after seduction, transfers and sales are generally done with the assistance of the male members. Techniques and tricks of procuring have been developed in a way to escape attention and detection by authorities. Money is freely used to silence the police when procurers or their agents are caught in their business...

Women accompany the kidnapped girls during their movement from place to place to avoid suspicion. The deception of love by some of the male members of the brothel keeper's family may be practiced to silently transfer the girl from one brothel to another at the time of resale... Only after her entry in another brothel under the control of a new owner she comes to know that she has been deceived once again (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:62).

As the entry into prostitution differs for the five categories of prostitutes, so does the subsequent practice of prostitution. Singing and dancing at mujras before a selected audience on a contractual basis and at mehfils where admission fees are not demanded, but where customers usually pay generously, are regular activities for Deredar females, providing the current male supporting them does not object. Although tradition is changing, generally "Deredar girls work in the

families under their mothers. They do not marry. They serve as mistresses as long as permanent customers can be obtained" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:54). With age, the Deredar girl whose career began as a mistress becomes a public prostitute. "Even this period does not last long and she very soon finds out that no man is prepared to pay her... The only way open to her then is to start exploitation of her young girls in the same way she had been exploited by her own parents" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:151). But unlike other categories of prostitutes Deredars are not involved in the purchase of females from outside their group to work in brothels, nor do they in turn sell their daughters to other brothel owners.

On the other hand, "...the Beriya girl starts as a public prostitute and desires to end her career as a mistress" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:18). Although a few Beriya families do partake in singing and dancing entertainment, involvement in sexual intercourse provides their basic income. When working in brothels their aim is to cater to the maximum number of customers. Brothels of Beriyas will house kindred as well as females purchased or procured from outside the family circle.

Resources of the Beriyas in comparison to Takyas are better and hence they can keep prettier and fresher stock for sale. Beriyas keep their daughters with them and do their trading in flesh side by side. All the sisters generally prefer to work together under the charge of the senior most member of the family, who may be mother or the eldest sister... Larger the number of sisters and other close relations, bigger will be the size of the brothel (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:23).

It is interesting to note that:

In apparent contrast to the non-hereditary prostitutes brought from the villages to the city for profession, Beriya prostitutes retain village contacts. The rural community does not frown on them and their hereditary profession has been in a way accepted by it. They are, however, required to stay in a separate locality. Young girls and family members helping in the family business migrate from the village to the city. After they have retired from profession, the migrants and their associates return back to the country home to spend their old age there (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:55).

Takyaie brothels usually house females purchased from outside the family group. Whereas Beriyas limit their soliciting to gestures made from the balcony, "Takyaies will go out even on the road, catch hold of a man and tell him that she is for sale" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:20). "Out of sheer necessity they have to continue their trading in sex as long as possible under the most disadvantageous conditions" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:19). As most women have lost childhood rural contacts, they do not consider returning to villages as they age. And "The village community under no circumstances would be prepared to accept them and they are full aware of it" (Mathur and Gupta, 1965:55). Rather, with age, the Takyas generally expect to be thrown out of the brothels where they have resided. Generally they hope to run a business independently for prostitution, whether it be by themselves or as a brothel housed by other females.

Mathur and Gupta cannot speculate as to the numbers of persons involved in prostitution-related business in India. However, they guess that the number is fairly large. Clinard and

Abbott add that "Prostitution in India is almost exclusively a city phenomenon" (1973:67).

India with its closed system of stratification presents a particularly interesting view of prostitution within a cultural setting. Prostitution in India is a traditional family occupation for specific jati. On the one hand one can say that young females are highly exploited by older family members, as they must accept their destined role as prostitute. On the other hand it seems that through family socialization Deredar young girls perceive their future occupation favourably and take pride in their historical involvement in the arts. The case of the non-hereditary group is more obviously exploitative. Details of procuring females are explicit.

The literature indicates that for a certain group of hereditary prostitutes, the Deredars and Beriyas, prostitution has become a social institution, with accompanying values, norms, statuses, roles and expectations. Although the community as a whole in recent times has become moralistically opposed to the practice of prostitution, the hereditary group prostitutes are not stigmatized to the same extent as are the others.

Japan

As in other societies, an understanding of prostitution in Japan requires an initial comprehension of general cultural values regarding sex as well as attitudes towards women. In turn this perspective has been the focus for many researchers of Japanese prostitution as attitudes in these spheres are interestingly distinct from those in Western culture. Although from readings, not one comment has been made regarding the unique situation of prostitution in Japan and the consequent inapplicability of Western theories to it, one can see this to be the case.

As W. Clifford in Crime Control in Japan comments:

The toleration of deviancy in Japan is not new, and much of the indecency of the West was regarded as normal until the Meiji era introduced Western values such as covering nakedness, separating the sexes when families bathed, hiding prostitution, etc. The geisha mistress, the institutionalization of extramarital sex, and the early initiation of the young are all Japanese. Indeed, it was from Japan that many new ideas for indulging human failings came such as massage parlours. There is then in Japan a special ritualized type of toleration of deviancy that offsets to some extent the heavy conformist pressures (1976:15).

One could add that such permissiveness is particularly pertinent to the male. Writing about Japanese prostitution, Mamoru Iga has stated: "While sex irresponsibility was the privilege of the male, the female was obliged to defend chastity even with death" (1968:138). Similarly within the Yoshiwara, Tokyo's licensed prostitution quarter until the late 1950s, romantic love was considered a negative, disruptive force. "Geisha or courtesans who fell in love with clients had to be purchased out of service by their lovers or, if this was impossible, had to agree either to end the affair or to enter into a suicide pact" (DeBecker, 1971:xv). On the other hand, "...prostitution is not traditionally a deviation, but is 'an accepted way of life for girls in poverty'" (Iga, 1968:133). In other words, traditionally sex is regarded as natural by Japanese

culture provided that " ... it is engaged in with the right person at the appropriate place" (DeBecker, 1971:xiv; my emphasis).

The woman's role in Japan involves self-sacrifice for the family. Iga explains the female's situation as reflective of the social structure as a whole, as reflective of her obligation to maintain the family line, name and property.

One of the victims of this social structure is a daughter, who is inferior to others in age, sex and family role, but is responsible for obeying parental wishes and for contributing to family welfare. Henriques (1962) observed that "invariably the harlot of the Yoshiwara (brothel) is there out of filial duty. The combination of the sale of a woman's body and a devotion of spirit to her parents is a bizarre combination quite unknown to European forms of prostitution."

About 23 per cent of prostitutes in 1956-57 held that they should sacrifice themselves for the family; and about 59 per cent approved of the same idea by stating that, if they had to become prostitutes to help the family, they could not help it (Iga, 1968:137).

Interestingly, not only does the female's role in the social structure explain acceptance of becoming a prostitute for a portion of women, but it similarly explains acceptance of the male's involvement with prostitution when married. In discussing this latter situation with researcher Sara Harris, Tsuya-Giku, proprietress of a geisha-house, explains:

...a wife belongs to one sphere of a man's life, the children and the home, and that he does not, indeed must not, marry for love. For his parents, not his wife, are his prime obligations. And if he marries for love, he may put his wife above his parents. This will make him lose face with other people.

He must have a wife whose choice is the affair of his parents and who must be of good origin so that the sons of her womb will be likewise.

Yet there is no moral law to deny a Japanese married man the opportunity of playing at love... There is a practicality for a wife, then, in a man's appropriation of a geisha, particularly if the geisha is far-famed. For, seeing a man danna to a far-famed geisha, other businessmen will look upon him with respect.

Who profits then? The wives' sons who are dearer to them than any other living human beings, including the husbands (Harris, 1962:102-103).

The woman's role within the stratification system additionally is reinforced by religion.

One of the most important teachings of Buddhism is akirame (resignation) and passive acceptance rather than making effort for a solution. Many Japanese women not only lack flexibility to adjust to crises but also tend to give up easily. In 1956-57, 83 per cent of 280 persons who were deceived and sold to the brothel resigned themselves to the situation without much struggle (Iga, 1968:138).

Historically, "Until the late nineteenth century, women were regarded as a disposable commodity throughout the East" (De Becker, 1971:xiv). Even in the early twentieth century, mention is made of female infanticide in rural communities (Harris, 1962).

In her study of the geisha and the streetwalker of Japan, Sara Harris considers some of the changing attitudes towards prostitution since the Occupation forces first came to Japan from interviews with geisha-house proprietress Tsuya-Giku and her daughters. Although other sources present conflicting material, Japanese females in Harris' work talk about the decline of Japanese resignation. The young daughter of Tsuya-Giku, for example, explains that her life as a geisha does not entail the total value system and way of life that it did for her mother. For her it is simply a job.

I am not like my mother. I don't even understand those standards of hers that you talk of. I am a good dancer, a good singer. That should be enough to make me a good geisha. To me, geisha is a job, not a life. I think my mother too old-fashioned. The way she feeds men in teahouses. I never understand feeding men. I do it in the teahouses where I work, but I don't understand. I don't like being slave to men. I want to be equal... I like to dance and sing at teahouses, but not to feed men. My mother says feeding men is woman's work, geisha work. So why do we have to know dancing, singing, samisen-playing if the end is only feeding men? (Harris, 1962:125).

Literature concerning Japanese prostitution does not focus on such changes, however. Rather, Tokyo's segregated Red Light District, the Yoshiwara, is the focus. This is understandable in view of the fact that business in the prostitution quarter commenced in 1618 and continued until the 1956 Prostitution Prevention Law (baishun boshi ho) closed it more than 300 years later.

The Nightless City or the History of the Yoshiwara Yukwaku provides an extensive ethnographic account of the district through 1899, the year the book was originally published anonymously. With its lengthy descriptions of dress, of coiffure styles, of linguistic developments, of festivals, of 100 superstitions and charms practised in the district, of various occupational groups and of social hierarchical distinctions, no doubt it offers one of the most detailed anthropological descriptions of a prostitution district within Area Studies material.

The history of the Yoshiwara and the rationale behind its establishment are particularly interesting. Up to the period of Keicho (1596-1614), there was no such segregated area for prostitution-related activities in the city of Yedo, as Tokyo was then called. "...The brothels of Yedo were to be found scattered all over the city in groups of twos or threes..." (De Becker, 1971:1).

As Yedo's population increased, so did the brothel business. But with concurrent urban planning and municipal improvements many brothel owners found themselves being forced to relocate their businesses. "Under these circumstances, the brothel-keepers considered the moment to be an opportune one for the presentation to the powers that were of a petition requesting the Government to allow of the collection, into one special locality, of the Yedo demi-monde. They therefore petitioned the authorities to establish a regular Keisei-machi ...", a courtesan quarter (DeBecker, 1971:2). Their petition was unsuccessful.

In 1612, brothel-keeper Shoji Jinyemon again requested that all brothels in Yedo be grouped in one specific city quarter. He argued that licensed Keisei-machi had been established in Kyoto, Suruga and other populated areas; that the scattering of brothels was "detrimental to public morality and welfare"; that if such assignation houses were to be assembled, it would facilitate the enforcement of customers staying in such places less than twenty-four hours thus decreasing potential neglect resulting from remaining in the brothels until all financial resources were exhausted; that "If the prostitute houses be all collected into one place, strict enquiries will be made as to the matter of kidnapping and as to the engagement of adopted children, and should any cases occur in which such reprehensible acts are attempted, information will be immediately given to the authorities"; and finally that if brothels were collectively grouped, owners would watch for suspicious persons, referred to as ronin or masterless swashbucklers, "...prowling about seeking for an opportunity to work mischief..." and would report them to the authorities (DeBecker, 1971:3-5).

Although Shoji Jinyemon was summoned to the Magistrate's Court and questioned on various aspects of his petition in 1613, permission for the establishment of a prostitution quarter was not granted until 1617. He was then told two square cho of land had been selected for the prostitution quarter and that he was appointed as area director. "In return for this privilege, Jinyemon promised that no prostitutes should be allowed in the city of Yedo and neighbourhood except in the licensed quarter, and further covenanted that in case of any of the women being found elsewhere the matter should be communicated to the authorities, as in duty bound, either by himself or by the other brothelkeepers" (DeBecker, 1971:5). The name "Yoshiwara" was inspired by the reedy swamp of the first site. Although the district was not completed until 1626, businesses functioned from 1618.

The next 338 years of business brought several changes to the Yoshiwara. In 1656 due to building needs the quarter was relocated and increased its territory by 50 per cent. It was referred to as the Shin-Yoshiwara, or the new Yoshiwara. In later periods, fires involved temporary relocations and changes. In 1899, there were 126 existing brothels with an approximate 3,000 women working as prostitutes. "The official count of visitors from the years 1898 to 1904... was 8,710,219" (DeBecker, 1971:xi).

In its ethnographic account, The Nightless City or the History of the Yoshiwara Yukwaku intricately describes the social structure of the Yoshiwara. In 1899 the 126 existent brothels could be classified into one of three categories. Five were O-mise, first-class brothels, four Chu-mise, or second class places and the remaining were Ko-mise or third class establishments. "At present there is no uniform style of architecture, but as the better class of houses are naturally visited by a superior class of guests, the leading establishments are fine buildings, and are noted as much for the luxurious character of their furniture and appointments as for the beauty of the women who inhabit them. The best houses do not exhibit the women in cages" (DeBecker, 1971:22).

Rather, for the more prestigious brothels, hikite-jaya, or introducing tea-houses, functioned as an intermediary system between customer and brothel prostitute. Customarily clients would go to a hikite-jaya, be received by the tea-house mistress and attendant, and arrange for the prostitute they wished to see in a specific brothel.

...the attendant will guide him to the brothel selected, act as a go-between in negotiating for the courtesan's favours, and after all the preliminaries have been settled will wait assiduously upon the guest throughout the banquet which inevitably follows, taking care to keep the sake bottles moving... (DeBecker, 1971:29).

After the banquet, the attendant would probably take the customer to the prostitute's room within the brothel. In 1899 the hikite-jaya received a 10 per cent commission of the total fee paid to the prostitute for their introductory role.

This process of the selection of prostitute is different for the lower-class brothels, however.

In lower-class houses the women are exhibited after nightfall, when the lamps are lighted, in the long narrow cages of the brothels, where they sit with powdered faces and rouged lips looking for all the world like so many motionless wax figures, and are, to all intents and purposes, set out for sale like ordinary articles of merchandise. Under these conditions, a would-be guest has the opportunity of making his selection very easily, for he has only to indicate the woman he fancies to obtain her company immediately (DeBecker, 1971:121).

Not only were there distinctions among classes of brothels and the subsequent method of selecting prostitutes, but in 1899 brothel prostitutes were divided into nine classes themselves. Although previously referred to by specific class name, women were later distinguished, in part, by the position of the brothel to which they belonged. And in turn women could be distinguished by coiffure and the colour and pattern of clothing worn. "In first-class establishments...the rank of the women is determined by the number and value of their own night-clothes and those given by them to the servants of their own and other houses" (DeBecker, 1971:120). Additionally, the number of kamuro, young female pages, attending a courtesan would similarly distinguish the class to which she belonged.

As people came to the Yoshiwara from all parts of the country, "...for the purpose of making the language used as uniform as possible, a kind of dialect known as the sato-kotoba (language of the prostitute quarter) was coined, and all the prostitutes were taught to speak it" (DeBecker, 1971:136). The term kamuro is an example of such a term limited to the Yoshiwara.

The kamuro generally entered service between the ages of five and seven. At that time the brothel-keeper usually gave her an appropriate name traditionally limited to no more than three syllables. Names chosen were considered innocent and often matched the given names of other kamuro attending the same courtesan.

The keeper of the brothel watched the behaviour and disposition of all the kamuro in his houses, and if any promised to become famous courtesans he had them instructed in every branch of deportment, and taught the banjo (samisen), harp (koto), floral arrangement (ikebana), incense-burning (senko), tea ceremonial (cha-np-yu), and other accomplishments which were considered necessary... The behaviour of kamuro towards their ane-joro was generally gentle and submissive, and they waited on her most assiduously. They attended to all her wants, waited on her at meals, lit her pipe when she desired to smoke,

accompanied her when she promenaded in the Naka-no-cho, and ran all her errands in the neighbourhood. The kamuro would also perform trifling services for the guests of her ane-joro such as bringing water for washing their hands, etc... On the other hand, girls who gave no promise of turning out well in the business were left without any education whatever, became household drudges pure and simple, and ended their days in dismal ignorance... (DeBecker, 1971:54).

Depending on how the girl had entered the brothel, a certificate of hire or a certificate of sale would indicate if the female's parents received additional money, mi-no-shiro-kin (money for the body), as the girl stayed at the brothel past her apprenticeship. If the girl had been engaged with a certificate of hire and her designated time in the brothel had expired:

It would, however, sometimes happen that the astute parents of the girl had been in communication with a zegen (a professional procurer) prior to this event, and when they were summoned by the brothel-keeper they insisted on removing their daughter as the term of her engagement as a kamuro had expired: they then sold the girl, at a greatly advanced price, to another brothel through the agency of the zegen (DeBecker, 1971:58).

In former times, such zegen were not only involved in the procuring, selling and buying of women and girls, but were also known to kidnap young females to sell them to brothels. In 1792 the government prohibited the profession of zegen, but as the practice continued, in 1872 "...the Japanese Government.. issuing Decree No. 295... ordered the unconditional liberation of all prostitutes throughout... the Empire" (DeBecker, 1971:91). Brothel-keepers were said to have suffered considerable financial loss. A large percentage of prostitutes, owing to lack of alternatives, simply applied for new licences and continued working in the brothel which was henceforth called kashi-zashiki, a house with rooms to let.

Assuming the kamuro was considered a potential courtesan by 13 or 14 years of age, she was made a shinzo, literally meaning newly-constructed. Change of status was marked by ceremony involving the blackening of the girl's teeth, eating of soba (buckwheat macaroni), presentation of soba to establishments doing business with the brothel, placing food in front of the brothel, presentation of souvenirs to friends of the house, decoration of the brothel and the promenading of the girl, each day attired differently. At the end of this week of introduction, presents were received by the newly-initiated shinzo.

In addition to the courtesan, the kamuro and the shinzo, all brothels employed a yarite, a female manager, usually a veteran courtesan, for management purposes.

In ancient times it was the...custom for the yarite to administer corporal punishment to prostitutes who were accused of neglect of duty...such practices have almost ceased... but even in these enlightened days sinister stories are told regarding the harsh treatment of women in some of the lower class houses (DeBecker, 1971:61).

Male servants in brothels, regardless of age, were referred to as wakaimono, young fellows. Although in lower-class brothels they were not distinguished by grade, in first-class and

second-class houses they were divided into "...shopmen, inside men, bedmen, overseers, night watchmen, bathroom men, downstairs men, etc...." (DeBecker, 1971:64).

In 1778 there were approximately 100 professional artists in the Yoshiwara. Yoshiwara is considered the birth place of the hokan, the professional buffoon. Although the status of the hokan fluctuated with time, in general they were considered below the female geisha in rank. By 1780 the hokan were licensed, described as otoko-geisha, male geisha, and recognized as professional entertainers.

Although it has been said that the term geisha came into existence in 1761, the female so-called did not resemble the geisha of 1899. In 1761 these women were accomplished in musical drama, lyric poetry and song.

When the geisha first came into existence...they were employed by the brothels and lent to guests of the houses, but, as their popularity and number increased, they came to be engaged by tea-houses and individuals, or to start independently, and so gradually formed a separate and distinct profession. The liberty of action which they had acquired since they had set up independently soon degenerated into license, as it often happened that geisha not only sold their accomplishments but their charms as well... (DeBecker, 1971:81).

In 1779 the Kemban-sho or a registry office for geisha was established to control and regulate the activities of the geisha. Then, as a group they were allowed to pass through the gates out of the Yoshiwara twice a year: on New Year's day and on July 13th. Both coiffure and dress restrictions were specified. If geisha became too intimately involved with customers, their licence would be suspended for up to three days.

Life within the Yoshiwara became routinized. The front gates closed at midnight, beggars swarmed to the third-class brothels each morning in hopes of finding leftover food from the previous evening. Seasons were recognized by a multitude of festivals celebrated in the Yoshiwara. Events in part were traditional, social and on occasion were solely the realization on the part of management that such activity increased business within the district.

Through consideration of the place of sex and of women in Japanese society, of changing attitudes in these two spheres, and of the social structure within an historic prostitution quarter, hopefully one begins to comprehend prostitution in a traditional Japanese setting. Male involvement in prostitution is tolerated as long as such behaviour is with the right person in the appropriate setting. The Yoshiwara was such a setting.

Lebanon

One 1965 publication, Samir Khalaf's Prostitution in a Changing Society; A Sociological Survey of Legal Prostitution in Beirut, forms the basis of information concerning prostitution in Lebanon, or, more specifically, in Beirut.

Unlike Japan, in Lebanon "...prostitution is still either taboo or thought of in terms of sexual perversions and social evils" (Khalaf, 1965:2). However what Khalaf sees as perhaps being unusual about prostitution in Lebanon is the co-existence of licensed prostitutes and "freelance" hustlers.

Along with an identified caste of legal prostitutes and "secret" but recognized street-walkers, there exists today an unregulated and organized traffic of "free-lance" hustlers. While in the West the inevitable emergence of the "free-lance" hustler led to the decline and eventual displacement of the legal prostitute, in Lebanon they are presently competing with each other. Of the two, and from all outward appearances, the former seems to be satisfying the bulk of the demand for commercial sex (Khalaf, 1965:2).

At the time of publication, Beirut's Red Light District included 75 brothels, 42 categorized as first-class establishments with the remaining 33 classified as second-class. Of the total 207 prostitutes within the District, 105 resided in these first-class brothels, 102 being associated with the second-class places. Although not recognized by the Prostitution Law for Protection of Public Health issued in 1931, 144 licensed prostitutes, subject to municipal surveillance and control, worked outside the Red Light District. There is no estimate of the number of "freelance" hustlers (Khalaf, 1965).

As specified by the study's title, Khalaf examines legal prostitution in Beirut. Specifically, he interviewed 130 licensed prostitutes working in both first-class and second-class brothels.

Considering their various explanations for becoming prostitutes, as was the situation in the Colombian study, "...many of the stories of white-slave traffic and deception must be discounted... Indeed, the cases of forcing unwilling girls into prostitution are rare..." (Khalaf, 1965:49). Nineteen per cent of respondents considered themselves victimized by some male acquaintance which subsequently influenced their entry into prostitution. However, once in the profession only two respondents mentioned heavy expenditure on boyfriends.

Suprisingly, 40 per cent of the respondents blamed no one but themselves for their presence in the profession. They had simply run wild and could not restrain their juvenile appetites for adventure and promiscuous experience. This element of taysh ...is frequently associated with ignorance, particularly the girls' inability to coordinate their knowledge of sex with normal social behavior (Khalaf, 1965:97).

Additionally, more than 53 per cent felt that family disorganization was influential in their choice of profession. "Generally, the girls' family atmosphere cannot be regarded as permanent and well-adjusted. Because of family breakdown, which may be attributed to such factors as divorce, death in the family, poverty, incompatibility, etc., the girls had either severed their family ties at an early age or they were denied parental attention and love" (Khalaf, 1965:96).

Khalaf analyses respondents' social background. Unfortunately, as comparative statistical information is not offered for the female population in Beirut as a whole, to a certain extent the information remains isolated within Lebanese culture. Cross-cultural comparisons are not affected, however.

Background information showed that respondents' age ranged from 21 to 60, with the average age for the sample being 36.3 years old. As 130 of a potential 207 prostitutes working in the District were included in the survey, it is unclear to what extent the age factor is reflective of the background of licensed prostitutes and the extent to which it reflects the methodology

used. Unlike the prostitution situation in the United States where it is assumed that females spend approximately five years in the profession, "...about 37% of the respondents were licensed prostitutes for 20 years or more, and ... a few have been able to sustain their life in the trade for around 40 years" (Khalaf, 1965:28). Rather, one imagines this situation to be similar to that of the Beriyyas' amount of time spent as prostitutes in India.

With the exception of six elementary school graduates, the remaining females had negligible education. The majority were described as belonging to the lower socio-economic strata of society. "Slightly less than two-thirds of the girls were married prior to entering the profession," which cross-culturally would appear to be unusual (Khalaf, 1965:95). Of the remaining unmarried women, 50 per cent were mothers prior to becoming licensed prostitutes.

The 1931 Prostitution Law outlines some of the conditions of work within the Red Light District.

Article 19: Prostitutes are allowed to leave their houses only from 9 am to 4 pm. The police have the right exceptionally to prolong the abovementioned period on condition that it will not exceed 1 am, and after a license given to them upon their request. It is absolutely forbidden for them to leave their houses on Sundays and official holidays. They are also forbidden to frequent public gatherings such as cafes, public gardens; or to veil their faces (Khalaf, 1965:147).

It is unknown to what extent such restrictions were enforced in the mid-1960s. However it is interesting to note that contracting venereal disease "...is considered the prime hazard of their profession" from the perspective of the licensed prostitute (Khalaf, 1965:57).

In general, the women discussed how the number of customers visiting brothels was decreasing. Mention was also made of class changes among clients.

By the girls' admission, their most regular customers are married men between the ages of 30 and 40. Also, the demand for licensed prostitution has become mainly a lower-class phenomenon. As a result of the relaxation of some of the traditional sexual taboos, middle and upper-class segments of the population may now enjoy easier access to more adventurous outlets for satisfying their sexual drives; consequently they have less reason to visit professional prostitutes (Khalaf, 1965:99).

Khalaf portrays the 1965 prostitution situation in Beirut's declining Red Light District from interviews with 130 licensed brothel prostitutes. Aspects of particular interest cross-culturally include: the relative absence of pimps; the venereal disease factor; the average age of women being 36.3 years old; the number of years spent working within the District indicating brothel prostitution as a career rather than as a transitory stage for women; and the large percentage of females married prior to their involvement with prostitution in Beirut's Red Light District.

United States of America

The largest percentage of Area Studies material examines prostitution in the United States. Almost half of these publications were released in the 1910s, according to A Bibliography of Prostitution. The remaining work, published from 1890 through the 1970s, is heterogeneous in its concern.

Prostitution is illegal in the U.S. in all states except Nevada, where within specified geographical regions, that is, not on major business streets or within 400 yards of a school or church, legal prostitution has been limited to licensed houses.

...prostitution flourishes in fifteen of the state's seventeen counties. Only Washoe (Reno) and Clark (Las Vegas) counties have enacted ordinances which make it illegal. Although Reno has no brothels, only ten minutes away, off Interstate Route 80 in Stokey County, is the Mustang Bridge Ranch, a twenty-four-hour-a-day brothel with a dozen women on duty at all times. Mustang Air Service provides scheduled daily flights to such communities as Lida Junction, where the only business is a brothel. Nearly all Nevada's large towns have brothels (Winick and Kinsie, 1971:222).

As research related to these "ranches" is not easily available, instead it has been decided to focus on New Orleans' historic Red Light District known as Storyville. Through a continual concentration on brothel prostitution, partially a reflection of literature accessibility and at times of choice, it is hoped that this common denominator will facilitate concluding cross-cultural comparisons.

In Sportin' House, Stephen Longstreet discusses the historic interplay between the formation of a tolerated Red Light District and the development of jazz, referred to as "the only truly home-grown American art form" (Longstreet, 1965:vii). Research is based on interviews with survivors of the Storyville era as well as on personal, unpublished manuscripts describing this period.

In 1897 Alderman Sidney Story, a self-pronounced expert on prostitution and its regulation in Europe, proposed the segregation of prostitution within specified sections of New Orleans' French Quarter. "It was not, as most historians state, to be legalized. Permitted, but not made so by law" (Longstreet, 1965:208). In July of that year an ordinance allowing two Red Light Districts, one in the French Quarter, the other above Canal Street, was passed. The District in the French Quarter was named by residents after Alderman Story. "Storyville became and stayed the biggest vice attraction in the nation" (Longstreet, 1965:213).

The rationale behind the Alderman's suggestion is not specified by Longstreet, although from other sources of research one gains an understanding of how a tolerated brothel quarter came into existence. Prior to Storyville prostitutes had worked in the area known as The Swamp. According to Storyville madame Nell Kimball's memoirs:

Old timers talking to me would have tears on their faces when they got to the charm of The Swamp. Ten to twelve people a week were done in there, and nobody gave a damn - or called the cops. The city didn't bother to make anything

of it. The cops never came into The Swamp; it was a kind of unwritten law, if the vice didn't leak out into the hinchy respectable part of the town. Girod Street, it didn't have no more law than any western town before the marshalls came in, and it was fighting with your teeth, handy-andy (blackjack), hogleg (pistol) or chiv (knife), your only friends in The Swamp.

The Swamp was a baker's dozen of blocks but real solid with whore houses, hot sheet hotels (rented by the hour), gambling joints and dance halls where the girls carried chivs in their garters and their tits flopped out of their dresses and the Johns (customers) got a dry rub standing up. The places stank from manure, privies and the black mud street. The shacks were just old river barges broken up and used as lumber... (Longstreet, 1965:94).

In light of prostitution in such a setting, one can assume that the proposal for a segregated area based on European research was a considerable improvement over past history. Instead, "...the houses... tried to surround mercenary copulation with the proper fittings of civilized ease, comfort and a sense of coquetterie" (Longstreet, 1965:161). Additionally, as the annual Blue Book, the 50-page guide to Storyville first published in 1902, stated, the District should exist for several reasons: "Because it puts the stranger on a proper and safe path as to where he may go and be free from 'Holdups' and other games usually practiced upon the stranger. It regulates the women so that they may live in one district to themselves instead of being scattered over the city and filling our thoroughfares with streetwalkers" (Longstreet, 1965:6).

By the twentieth century, Storyville's 40 blocks contained, according to the Chief of Police, 260 brothels housing 2,000 prostitutes. Black and white prostitutes, even working for the same madame, were segregated into separate houses, usually within proximity of one another. The madames, meanwhile, competed for the most extravagant interiors, importing furniture and art from Europe and Asia. "Kate Townsend was the madame who gave proper class to Basin Street... No. 40 Basin has gone down in history as the most ornate luxury sporting house in America. Her own suite she claimed cost her \$40,000 to furnish with Arabian carpets, marble fireplaces and solid walnut paneling..." (Longstreet, 1965:181).

Protection money was common. Madame Nell Kimball wrote that she paid to the police \$250 per week for protection. Stephen Longstreet explains:

Under American order and efficiency the political and economic power of the whorehouses lasted until the end of Storyville. The city government and the police soon saw the share-the-wealth plan inherent in prostitution and gambling. Each house, each gambling setup, over the years was scientifically assessed a certain sum, to be used in crooked elections and in moving the boodle so that every high official who would take was given. In return the sporting houses and dives were policed and protected. Outraged or robbed patrons were soothed, conned, or run out of town. Runaway whores were turned over to the police, sometimes effectively beaten up for the madames. In case of a reform administration or ticket, a few raids were carried out. Or if the opposition was weak, warning would come to the madames, the gamblers, and the saloon keepers that the raid was planned - get the girls and the untaxed booze and the crap tables and wheels out of sight (Longstreet, 1965:75).

From the prostitute's perspective, brothel life in Storyville appeared to be confining. Nell Kimball, for example, paid women one-third of what they earned. Once a month women's pimps were allowed to come to the brothels for Sunday dinner. In general, females were not let out much, "...but each got a day off..." Whether this be per week or per month is unknown. Kimball explains: "I'd punish the girls with fines, and if they got real out of line I'd have Harry work them over, but not bruise them. This may sound mean and cruel, I suppose, but they were often wild girls..." (Longstreet, 1965:167). Cross-culturally, however, this confining nature of the brothel is not unique, but appears as a common factor among brothel situations discussed.

Although there may be controversy in isolating the unusual aspects of Storyville anthropologically, without doubt the development of jazz as a music form within the brothel setting is unique. While Longstreet does not claim that jazz would never have existed without Storyville, it is clear that the financial arrangement between madame and musician, as well as the subsequent exposure for musicians, provided the necessary impetus for the music's development. As Longstreet writes: "Jazz gave the rhythm to Storyville, and Storyville brought to jazz vice, drink, and later, marijuana" (Longstreet, 1965:218).

Sometimes called "whorehouse music", "...the early jazz men said to jazz meant to fornicate, or, as they put it, ...'jazzing meant effing'" (Longstreet, 1965:14).

Times were hard for the freed slaves and by 1900 Freedom Now was still a mockery. They were poor, uneducated, work broken, often diseased, and all that was left was drink and their own music. Drink cost money, so you played your music to earn it if you could (Longstreet, 1965:11).

Madames let musicians into the parlours, sometimes paying them directly or letting them pass the hat around among male customers. "Music served as background in houses with rooms with mirrored walls and ceilings for circuses, indecent dancing, erotic displays. The brothels employed orchestras of from 2 to 4, playing from 7 o'clock to closing time at dawn" (Longstreet, 1965:192). The music played evolved from ragtime to jazz in a generation, with ragtime first appearing in 1896. "Cutting contests caught on - tests in improvisation. The early jazz man couldn't read music; those that did were rare. Some said, 'I can read music-notes but I can't separate 'em'" (Longstreet, 1965:230). "The first great jazz man to come out of Storyville was Joseph (King) Oliver...", but with time other names, such as Louis Armstrong, were connected with the quarter (Longstreet, 1965:223).

Storyville as a Red Light District functioned for 20 years, from 1897 to 1917.

In August 1917 Secretary of War Newton D. Baker issued a rule forbidding prostitution within a five mile radius of any Army encampment, and the ruling came from Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, regarding naval stations. Bascom Johnson of the War and Navy Department visited New Orleans, saw Storyville, and informed the Mayor that orders must be obeyed. The Mayor went to Washington without success. Secretary Daniels said that unless the district was closed by the city it would be closed by the Army and Navy. On October 2, 1917 an ordinance in the City Council abolished Storyville (Longstreet, 1965:243).

On closing, musicians found it difficult to find work in New Orleans. Many travelled north. "Most of the up-river pioneers went to Chicago, a city under the thumb of an American folk hero, Al Capone - Little Caesar. His joints used music - lots of it. His sporting houses, road houses, night clubs, all gave work to music makers" (Longstreet, 1965:259). Others working in the brothels, madames and prostitutes, largely remained in New Orleans.

Storyville was closed, but most of the whores and madames merely moved to more respectable parts of town, made their deals with the police, and between raids and payoffs managed to do their business as usual (Longstreet, 1965:256).

Storyville offers a look at brothel prostitution within an American setting. Rather than focusing on brothel prostitutes, as has been the case with other Area Studies research, the general ambience and historical situation within the brothels has been described. Aspects of protection money, interactions between madames and police, crime, extravagance, entertainment and music all form into an impression of one American, tolerated Red Light District.

Conclusion

As Clinard and Abbott state: "The goal of a comparative criminology should be to develop concepts and generalizations at a level that distinguishes between universals applicable to all societies and unique characteristics representative of one or a small set of societies" (1973:2). A limited number of researchers have attempted to find such universals in terms of prostitution. Marsh, for example, analysed 1,146 comparative sociology articles published between 1950 and 1963, finding that only 29 dealt with deviance. Of these: "...although they contain much useful descriptive material, only a few of them attempt to test comparatively some basic propositions about crime" (Clinard and Abbott, 1973:3-4). Unfortunately, much of the material is somewhat contradictory. For example, it is debatable whether prostitution rates would in fact increase or decrease with development. On the other hand, less questionable is the finding that, cross-culturally, prostitution is largely an urban rather than a rural phenomenon (Clinard and Abbott, 1973:258). There also appears to be a consensus that existent theoretical generalizations concerning prostitution, usually derived from Western empirical research, do not withstand anthropological testing.

In its consideration of brothel prostitution, Anthropological/General Area Studies have made use of some of the available descriptive material from the prostitution literature in an attempt to find common and unique aspects of this type of prostitution cross-culturally. Cultures discussed are limited numerically. And, for reasons previously mentioned, information concerning brothel prostitution within societies at times emphasizes distinct aspects of the trade within differing historical settings. Whereas Indian and Japanese literature extensively examine reasons for women entering prostitution professionally, neither Australian nor American material considered this aspect in any detail.

Apart from examining each Area Study in isolation, one can say that within the six cultures, the number of factors distinguishing brothel prostitution appear to outnumber similarities. The most apparent common factor is the place of trade: the brothel with its period of operation, being open to male customers in the evenings. Within the six areas all brothels were administered by female managers, often referred to as madams, but called yarites, or female managers in Japan and patronas in Beirut. In India, among the Deredar and Beriya hereditary groups, these women are female relatives. Similarly, all accounts mention the confining nature of brothel institutionalization, of residents being physically restricted to the houses due to regulation, although again such confinement appears to be less overt among the Deredars in India than among the Takyaies, for example. Additionally, all material mentions the existence of a variety of types of prostitution as well as brothel prostitution. The ramifications of this situation need further clarification in the Legal/Police Regulation section. And finally, cultural examples of brothel prostitution are described as undergoing change.

Differences between aspects of brothel prostitution cross-culturally are more numerous, as outlined in Table 4.

One can assume that comparative similarities and differences found within brothel prostitution would similarly exist for other categories of prostitution, if researched cross-culturally. One must keep in mind such distinctions in discussing attempts to control prostitution, that is, the Legal and Police Regulation of prostitution.

Table 4. Aspects of brothel prostitution in six cultural settings as discussed in Anthropological/General Area Studies

<u>Key</u>	
(1) Brothel prostitution described	(12) Mention of brothels' confining nature for residents
(2) Chronological period emphasized	(13) Some formalized ritual ceremony as part of brothel life
(3) Brothels organized in a Red Light District	(14) White slave trade mentioned
(4) Number of brothel prostitutes within Red Light District	(15) Role of pimps
(5) Brothel prostitutes licensed	(16) Brothel managers mentioned
(6) Different types of prostitution within society in addition to brothel prostitution	(17) Community acceptance of brothel prostitutes
(7) Social status distinctions among brothel prostitutes	(18) Cultural entertainment associated with brothel
(8) Approximate age of prostitute when first joining brothel	(19) Exotic erotica associated with brothel apart from sexual intercourse
(9) Residents' level of education	(20) Crime mentioned in brothel situation
(10) Residents maintain family contacts	(21) Venereal disease a stated concern
(11) Residents' average period of association with brothel	(22) Brothel prostitution seen as undergoing change

Table 4. Aspects of brothel prostitution in six cultural settings as discussed in Anthropological/General Area Studies (continued)

Aspect concerning brothel prostitution								
Culture	(1)*	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Australia	Yes	1970s	Yes	Approx. 44	No	Yes	Questionable no	Unknown
Colombia	Yes	1960s- 1970s	Yes	62	Yes	Yes	Yes	58% at 17 years old
India	Yes	1950s- 1960s	Not specified	Unknown	No	Yes	Yes	14 to 15 years old for Beriyas
Japan	Yes	1610s to 1950s with emphasis on 1890s	Yes	In 1890 3,000	Yes	Yes	Yes	Kamuro 5 to 7 years old
Lebanon	Yes	1960s	Yes	207	Yes	Yes	Yes	18 years old
United States of America	Yes	1890s to 1910s	Yes	2,000	No	Yes	Yes	Unknown

* See key.

Table 4. Aspects of brothel prostitution in six cultural settings as discussed in Anthropological/General Area Studies (continued)

Aspect concerning brothel prostitution					
Culture	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13) (14) (15)
Australia	Unknown	Yes	Less than 5% more than one year	Yes	No Negligible
Colombia	6 illiterate, remainder semi-literate	Unknown	66% less than 4 years	Yes, but comparatively low	No Negligible
India	Unknown	Yes for hereditary groups; not for others	From youth for hereditary groups	Yes, particularly for Takyaie	Yes, particularly for non-hereditary groups Substantial for non-hereditary groups
Japan	Low except for specific training in the arts	No	Unknown	Yes	Yes Substantial in procuring girls
Lebanon	81% said no education at all	Yes	37% 20 years or more	Yes	No Questionable Negligible
United States of America	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	No No Unknown

Table 4. Aspects of brothel prostitution in six cultural settings as discussed in Anthropological/General Area Studies (continued)

Aspect concerning brothel prostitution							
Culture	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
Australia	Madams	Unknown	No	Show porno-graphic movies	Debatable whether brothels stifle other sexual crimes	Yes	Yes
Colombia	Madams	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
India	For Deredar and Beriya female relative	Greater acceptance of hereditary groups	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Japan	<u>Yarites</u>	No	Yes	Yes	Yes, particularly in Teahouses	Yes	Yes
Lebanon	<u>Patronas</u>	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
United States of America	Madames	Unknown	Yes	Yes, in particular voodoo sexuality shows	Yes	Yes	Yes

LEGAL AND POLICE REGULATION STUDIES

Legal and Police Regulation Studies comprise the second largest category in A Bibliography of Prostitution (833 title entries; 15.17 per cent of total works). But one can argue they form the least informative of subject areas discussed. In part, such an evaluation reflects frustrated expectations on the part of the researcher attempting to examine alternative methods of controlling prostitution. Boles and Tatro accurately comment in their paper "Legal and Extra-Legal Methods of Controlling Female Prostitution: A Cross-Cultural Comparison":

There is a paucity of reliable data on the effectiveness of any strategy to regulate prostitution or its side effects. There are few studies of the effectiveness of any law on regulating behavior, and it is especially difficult to study the effects of sex-related legislation on behavior... Most countries have not attempted to evaluate systematically the effectiveness of their prostitution-related laws (1978:72).

This vacuum is especially disappointing in view of the fact that the regulation of European prostitution has had a lengthy history dating to ancient Roman times with the registration of the meretrix.

On the whole, Legal and Police Regulation Studies offer intellectual rationalization for the change of legislation; much debate concerning often hypothetical situations of legalizing or decriminalizing prostitution; and some research based on police resources. Few empirical studies show the actual effects of any specific control strategy.

Throughout this literature, regardless of perspective, one encounters two generally repeated statements. Apart from a small portion of work advocating an abolitionist stance, exemplified by United Nations' publications, the material voices a resigned acceptance that prostitution is an integral part of society. A typical comment by a nineteenth century author: "Advancing civilisation will gradually clothe prostitution in more pleasing forms, but not till the end of the world will it be banished from the earth" (Henriques, 1968:233). Similarly, Khalaf comments: "The question then is not whether we should condone or prohibit prostitution, for whatever attitude or policy the government adopts towards the problem, prostitution in some form will undoubtedly continue to exist in Lebanon" (1965:5). And finally, as Fernando Henriques in his three-volume study concludes:

The hard core demand cannot change for there is no other source of sexual satisfaction available to the perverted, the defective personality and the physically impotent. Whether sexual permissiveness is accepted for adolescents or not, whether the incidence of extramarital sexual activity increases or not, the certain, hard core demand for the prostitute will continue (1968:341).

Thus one repeatedly encounters the opinion that prostitution is inevitable. Some researchers continue to rhetorically ask if this be the case, how can one minimize the undesirable effects of prostitution, whatever they may be, on those not involved? A variety of responses have been offered, as will be discussed.

One also meets an alternative, recurring statement throughout the literature. That is, as legislation regarding prostitution generally has been ineffective in stopping its practice, a more encompassing change in social structure is said to be necessary. This position is indicative of historical insight into prostitution. The type of existent prostitution in any society may be seen as a reflection of that society's structure, its family institution, its attitudes towards sexual behaviour and the role of women. Thus, prostitution is seen as inevitable until women's status improves, until attitudes towards sexuality change, until general social betterment, until the society as a whole changes. For example, according to Dutch criminologist W.A. Bongers, following the conflict perspective: "Get rid of Capitalism and crime would wither" (Radzinowicz, 1981:32). Once capitalism has been eliminated, the chief cause of prostitution has been dealt with. Less radical stances similarly typify this general position that overall social change is the solution. American reform mayor of Cleveland, Brand Whitlock, commented in the early twentieth century that "...real improvements could come only from long run reforms, including better living conditions, more independence for women, and improved sex education" (Riegel, 1968:452). Similarly, in his "Prostitution: Report from Australia", John V. Barry concludes: "The eradication of prostitution cannot sensibly be regarded as an end in itself, to be achieved by self-defeating punitive methods; it can be brought about only if measures to remove it are seen as part of an intelligent programme of social betterment" (1958:191).

Others argue that such betterment still will not eliminate prostitution, or that such broad change is an unrealistic expectation.

Grave as may be the threat of crime, bound up as it certainly is with our various social and economic systems, no country would be prepared to transform its basic social arrangements simply in hope of reducing it. Even if it did so there would remain, as we have seen, the certainty that new forms of crime would emerge as by-products of the new form of society (Radzinowicz, 1981:34).

Whether researchers advocate the inevitability of prostitution, the need for general social structural changes to diminish its practice or some combination of the two, such statements are overall reflections of the perceived failure of prior attempts to regulate prostitution.

Problems in finding satisfactory legal and police methods of controlling prostitution

An article in The New York Times in 1978 briefly stated that officials from the People's Republic of China had announced their country's elimination of prostitution. Simultaneously: "There is no provision in the Soviet criminal law against prostitution. The logic is that there is no need for a law to deal with the nonexistent" (Halleck et al., 1974:76). (See also page 127 below.) Historically, however, most efforts to suppress the trade have not met with apparent success.

Periodically it has been stated that "to do nothing" would have been the favoured method of controlling prostitution, thus echoing Brand Whitlock's statement: "all that has been done about it has been much worse in its effect than if we had never done anything" (Riegel, 1968:452). However it has generally been believed that legal and police regulatory efforts could in fact

curb deleterious aspects of prostitution. Thus in medieval Western Europe, in response to criminal activity in brothels, Cambridge, England banned prostitution. In response to fears of spreading venereal infection in the sixteenth century, prostitutes in Toulouse, France were publicly denigrated and punished. Reacting to concern over white slave trade, in 1933 the League of Nations declared the traffic of adult women a criminal offence. Internationally, there was a subsequent decrease of licensed brothels. In each instance and in numerous other examples the literature expounds the reasoning behind such regulations, but is comparatively void of material relating to the subsequent effects of the administered control method, beyond general statements.

Another obstacle to finding satisfactory control methods involves statistical information relating to prostitution. Pioneer efforts to examine scientifically the scope of prostitution only began in 1836 with Parent-Duchatalet's work. That is, the scientific methodology with which to gauge differing legal and police methods and their subsequent effects have only existed from the early nineteenth century.

To a large extent the discussion of legal and police methods of regulating prostitution repeatedly has limited its scope to specific aspects of the trade. Although historically regulatory material dates back to 1590, invariably the vast majority of work involves consideration of regulatory methods on female participants and, of those females involved, more often on licensed prostitutes than, for instance, call girls, mistresses or high-class prostitutes.

Material examining the effect of various legal and police regulations on male customers is minimal. As Anthropological/General Area Studies discussed, all cross-cultural prostitution situations examined indicated the presence of numerous categories of prostitutes. This implies that within any culture one specific type of prostitution does not on its own fulfil customer demand. Brief mention has been made in the Lebanese study, for example, that brothel customers, once middle-class and upper-class, became disproportionately lower-class over time. Middle-class and upper-class males by the mid 1960s changed their prostitution-related behaviour and came to "...enjoy easier access to more adventurous outlets for satisfying their sexual drives" (Khalaf, 1965:99). Additional research in this area could prove very interesting. Examination of customer behaviour, of those males preferring differing categories of prostitutes, types of prostitution, and prostitution in differing settings could prove profitable for controlling the trade. One could begin to understand in response to the closing of licensed brothels, or other legislative change, the type of customer who would no longer partake in prostitution versus the type of male who would adapt himself and choose to change prostitution practices.

Similarly, police enforcement reactions, favouring or disfavouring various control methods and subsequent enforcement responses, have been ignored. As the practice of prostitution is an interplay of prostitute, customer and law enforcement officer, among others, to attempt to examine methods of controlling the trade by concentrating one's discussion on one of several parties involved is problematic.

Furthermore, related research is subject to interpretative difficulties when considering the extent to which results are culturally restricted. Anthropological/General Area Studies indicate that from a limited number of cross-cultural brothel

prostitution situations, few universal statements concerning such prostitution can be made. In particular analytical problems are multitudinous when one encounters literature pertaining to one type of control method without comparative cross-cultural examples.

Such difficulties are not lessened when analysing possible historical limitations. In writing about Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century, J. Tobias states:

For example, Pike wrote in 1876 that

"Prostitution... may afford opportunities for robbery, especially to the lowest class of prostitutes, who are probably associated by indissoluble bonds with the habitual criminals of the male sex."

It is possible, therefore, that crime and prostitution were no longer so closely linked as in the first 60 years of the century (1967:96).

There is thus continual need for caution in interpreting positive and negative aspects of regulatory methods of controlling prostitution. One must consider the extent to which these methods are characteristic of the type of prostitution and the extent to which they reflect the period in which the method is practised.

And finally, problems in finding satisfactory legal and police regulatory methods are highlighted by the literature itself. Generally authors studying prostitution do not advocate their society's existent system of prostitution, but rather look elsewhere for improved alternatives. Lebanese sociologist Khalaf, in response to a study of licensed brothel prostitution in Beirut, calls for the abolition of such prostitution and the gradual increase of licensed streetwalkers (Khalaf, 1965). He suggests: "The British have adopted perhaps the most realistic response... Although it is not licensed, prostitution in Britain is not illegal, and the Wolfenden Report of 1957 recommended against making it so" (Khalaf, 1965:105). At the same time, English author Giles Playfair, in reviewing the effect of his country's 1959 Street Offences Act, looks at the Danish model and that society's treatment of prostitutes as a favoured system (1964). Similarly, Paul Harrison, in reviewing the English legislation, suggests, as one alternative, legalizing brothels. In short:

....the continuous experimentation with different legal statutes reflects the ambivalence with which societies all over the world have responded to the problem (Khalaf, 1965:105).

In retrospect, one begins to wonder what to expect to gain from a review of Regulation Studies. First, it becomes apparent that the elimination of prostitution without a concurrent restructure of the social structure is dubious. Therefore methods of controlling prostitution limit themselves to a discussion of ways in which deleterious aspects of the profession can be reduced.

Secondly, it is evident that any one method, no matter how successful in controlling prostitution in a specific society, is both culturally and historically limited to a greater or lesser extent. Khalaf has written:

In Lebanon, however, there is no need to proceed blindly. The experience of other countries should provide guides to policies for which the hazards are known and the consequences of certain lines of action controlled (1965:105).

Indeed, past experience may provide guidelines for future models, but must be sensitive to differing social environments.

And thirdly, a look at Regulation Studies will emphasize the need for additional empirical research to study the actual effects of legislation, that is, of various control methods on prostitution. As has been mentioned: "... there is very little reliable data here or abroad which can be used to evaluate the effectiveness of any of these laws..." relating to prostitution (Boles and Tatro, 1978:79).

The effects of selected legal and police efforts to regulate prostitution

In an effort to minimize undesirable aspects of prostitution, cross-culturally a variety of legal stratagems have been tried. Rather than reviewing specific laws, the discussion will be concerned with the possible effects of selected control methods. In order to highlight problematic as well as positive aspects of various control methods we will look at the potential effectiveness of numerous prostitution statutes regulating the behaviour of the four groups "... who are primarily involved with commercial prostitution...": prostitutes, pimps/procurers, customers and business owners/managers (Boles and Tatro, 1978). Unfortunately, for reasons mentioned, reliable data are negligible.

Regulation of the prostitute

Efforts to regulate the prostitute and thereby control prostitution are exemplified in the literature by England's 1959 Street Offences Act, in particular as it relates to public soliciting. For, as the Act begins:

It shall be an offence for a common prostitute to loiter or solicit in a street or public place for the purpose of prostitution (Thomas, 1972:16).

Based on a three-year study of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, under the Chairmanship of Sir John Wolfenden, the 1957 Wolfenden Report had outlined "... the visible and obvious presence of prostitutes in considerable numbers in the public streets..." as that aspect of prostitution causing the greatest concern (N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 1977a:246). Unanimously, Committee members had stated:

It will be apparent from the recommendations we have made, that we are not attempting to abolish prostitution or to make prostitution in itself illegal. We do not think that the law ought to try to do so; nor do we think that if it tried it could by itself succeed. What the law can and should do is to ensure that the streets of London and our big provincial cities should be freed from what is offensive or injurious and made tolerable for the ordinary citizen who lives in them or passes through them (Greenland, 1961:205).

Although the literature does devote attention to the subsequent effects of the Street Offences Act, primarily through consideration of criminal justice statistics and sporadic interviewing, as H. Thomas remarked: "One point which both sides agree about is that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to obtain extensive and concrete evidence of what is actually happening" (Thomas, 1972:17). That is, more than a decade after the passing of the Act, its effects continued to be controversial.

The literature, however, voices unanimous agreement concerning one aspect of the Act: that the visibility of prostitutes has decreased. And in this respect, one can state that the Street Offences Act, 1959, has fulfilled a primary goal. As Mrs. H. Thomas, member of Great Britain's Josephine Butler Society, wrote in 1972: "Those who see positive good in the Act point to the fact that areas of big towns which in the past constituted a public nuisance are now virtually empty of prostitutes" (1972:18). According to the Working Party on Vagrancy and Street Offences:

The available statistics... show a marked drop in prosecutions for soliciting since the Act of 1959 was passed. In 1958, the last full calendar year before the Act came into force, there were 19,663 prosecutions of prostitutes. In 1960, the first full calendar year after the Act, there were 2,828 prosecutions and the figures for 1971 and 1972 were 3,229 and 3,466 respectively. Although there has been a slight increase in recent years, the figures remain strikingly lower than in the 1950's. The Act has demonstrably had considerable success in its aim of clearing prostitutes from the streets (N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 1977a:247).

This decrease in visibility has led to two differing avenues of interpretation. On the one hand, it is claimed that such decrease in visibility is due to a decrease of women actually engaging in prostitution. That is, making the circumstances of practising prostitution more difficult has discouraged a percentage of women from continuing in the profession (Thomas, 1972). On the other hand, in discussing the extent of the prostitution problem, the Working Party on Vagrancy and Street Offences stated:

Since the passing of the Street Offences Act, soliciting by prostitutes in the streets has visibly been greatly reduced... However, the majority of police forces whom we consulted were agreed that this did not mean that the amount of prostitution had decreased (N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 1977a:247).

Positive effects of the Act mentioned in the literature include: "... the loss of a public example to influence young girls who come to the cities..."; that "...the system of police cautioning can act as a protection for the young girl, for at the same time as the caution there must be offered the opportunity of welfare advice and assistance..." (under the Act, persons must receive two cautions before being charged with soliciting); and lastly that "...now the Vice Squad seems to concentrate its energies in looking for men living off immoral earnings..." (Thomas, 1972:18; Winn, 1974:130).

After hailing the decrease in visibility, however, most of the literature concentrates on perceived negative effects resulting from the Act. It is stated simply that the practice of prostitution has adapted to legislative change and some aspects

of revised practices are as problematic, if not more so, than the initial visibility of prostitutes. Specifically critics point to kerb-crawling. They claim that one of the effects of the Street Offences Act is the difficulty both prostitutes and customers encounter trying to find one another.

At the moment both groups gravitate towards areas which, for one reason or another, have become notorious for it: then it's up to the clients to sort out the business girls from the decent ones by trial and error, and they do this by kerb-crawling (Harrison, 1975:72).

In 1972 the kerb-crawling situation in Liverpool had become so serious that local residents were calling for licensed brothels (Thomas 1972). In Bedford Hill, women complained to author Paul Harrison that they could not go shopping without being accosted by kerb-crawlers. As Harrison wrote:

One man I spoke to said he once picked up his wife to give her a lift home, and was followed down all the side streets by two other cars. When he arrived home he asked them what they were doing. They asked him if they could have the next turn after he had finished with her (1975:72).

Prior to the Street Offences Act, it was usual for women to solicit within concentrated areas. Post 1959 in Newtown, for example, prostitutes subsequently scattered themselves in houses throughout the neighbourhood, as they did in many of the other large industrial towns. Thus, provided they did not make signs from inside the premises to draw attention from the street, they could, as individuals, practise prostitution without fear of prosecution. But again, such adaptation to the Act led to additional recognition problems. In residential areas, from noon on, customers could be found peering into house windows. Residents, in turn, "...find they can't sit in their windows, or have red lights or curtains. And whether they do or not, they get people knocking at the wrong door, asking where they can find a girl" (Harrison, 1975:70).

It is significant to note that although, following the Street Offences Act, the literature mentions that prostitutes advertised in directories, on boards in small shops, attached themselves to a variety of clubs and developed a whole hierarchy of call-girl operations, it appears that a large percentage of customers prefer to continue prior prostitution practices. They choose to continue street activity, kerb-crawling and house window gazing, for example, to find a prostitute. In this respect, it appears that generally the visibility and nuisance of female prostitutes which prompted the Act has been replaced by the visibility and nuisance of male customers.

Critics, in discussing effects of the Act, also question the cautioning system. (Women must receive at least two cautions before being charged with soliciting.) It has been said to encourage the tendency for migratory prostitution. After two cautions, women simply move on and work in a different area (Thomas 1972). Others discuss the aspect of police discretion and potential for police corruption. "... the system puts the woman cautioned arrested very much at the mercy of the individual policeman, since no proof of nuisance is required to convict a woman of soliciting" (Thomas, 1972:18). Similarly, the Register of Known Prostitutes kept by the police has been said to be a potentially dangerous document (Greenland, 1961).

And finally, it has been stated that the Act discriminates against the female who solicits, discrimination which has been the subject of subsequent bills as of 1967. American feminists have often taken the stance that "... any sort of restriction of public solicitation would be discriminatory against poor and Third World women" (Women Endorsing Discrimination, 1973:147).

Cross-cultural examination of additional soliciting and loitering legislation is not particularly illuminating in clarifying controversial effects of the Street Offences Act, 1959. In the United States for example:

Though they are generally applauded by police officers, data on the true effectiveness of these anti-loitering statutes are sketchy and inconclusive... Clearly, there is a need to evaluate empirically the effectiveness of the anti-loitering laws rather than to depend on idiosyncratic reports from police, citizens and interest groups with ideological axes to grind (Boles and Tatro, 1978:73).

In Denmark:

In order to keep prostitutes involved in the legitimate work force and out of the criminal subculture, prostitution is no longer illegal... provided the prostitute has either full or part time employment (Boles and Tatro, 1978:73).

According to Boles and Tatro, although the effectiveness of such methods have not been tested, 1976 communication with the Copenhagen Police Department suggests that in general this approach has reduced prostitutes' dependence on pimps. In fact, after a cross-cultural review of legislative measures, they conclusively state:

Of all the laws reviewed, Denmark's seems to have the greatest potential for regulating prostitution. The pimp is penalized, and the woman is allowed to engage in prostitution if she so desires as long as she maintains some ties to the legitimate labor market. The law does not, of course, attempt to eliminate prostitution... (Boles and Tatro, 1978:82).

Unfortunately one cannot readily isolate the type of employment most prostitutes have, whether they primarily are involved in conventional jobs or choose sex-related businesses - massage parlour employees, nude models for photography studios, strippers, for instance. Which type of employment, conventional or sex-related businesses, would affect practices of prostitution: would sex-related businesses increase in number, would they become more problematic? Would public solicitation decrease? How would the prostitute-pimp relationship change, for example, if at all? (American literature shows the prevalence of pimps among female strippers. One would assume that if the largest percentage of prostitutes were to be involved in sex-related businesses, the pimp-prostitute relationship would be less affected than under the circumstances of females involved in conventional employment.)

From the control methods examined, the literature voices a comparatively positive attitude towards models regulating the prostitute. One could say that this is a reflection of satisfactory legal methods of controlling prostitution. However, one could more convincingly argue that the regulation of the prostitute is simply the preferred law enforcement method of controlling prostitution as police opinion plays a major role in researchers' evaluation. Boles and Tatro have commented that

"... the vast majority of prostitution-related arrests involve only female prostitutes, and both police practices and court decisions support arrests of prostitutes rather than customers or pimps" (Boles and Tatro, 1978:79). In 1971 in the United States, for instance, women comprised 77.7 per cent of all prostitution and commercial vice arrests (Boles and Tatro, 1978). Until empirically sound methods of evaluation are used, the regulation of the prostitute as a satisfactory approach to controlling prostitution remains debatable.

Regulation of the pimp-procurer

In New South Wales the Prostitution Act, 1979 states that:

5. (1) A person shall not knowingly live wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution of another person.

The act of prostitution per se is not illegal. Attempts to control prostitution are directed towards pimping.

Although the success of such an approach is undetermined, the literature does briefly discuss identical legislation in France and its subsequent effects.

The results of this policy have been somewhat contradictory. Prostitutes have relocated from France to Belgium and Germany... On the other hand, even while most French prostitutes still have pimps, the number of prostitutes working independently has apparently increased. The law against pimping has been avoided by pimps buying apartment buildings in various locations throughout most of the large cities and using them as brothels so that prostitution is diffused rather than concentrated in one or two districts as before. This makes it much more difficult to apprehend the pimp. Prostitutes also work in massage parlors and automobiles. For 1974, offenses involving "illicit traffic" (the offense category under which pimping/procuring falls) accounted for only 0.24% of all arrests (Boles and Tatro, 1978:74).

As discussed, India's Immorality and Traffic in Girls and Women Act, 1956, attempts to control white slave practices particularly overt regarding girls involved in prostitution from non-hereditary groups. A variety of techniques and tricks utilized by procurers to minimize law enforcement detection have been mentioned. Boles and Tatro add:

Although the 1956 act enables the police to arrest and prosecute pimps, strictures built into the act cause it to fail. Only a policeman with the rank of Detective Sergeant can raid a brothel, and few detective sergeants are available for vice duty. Further, on each raid or search the police must be accompanied by a few "respectable persons" to witness the search and testify to the findings resulting from the search. The difficulties which that causes are easily imagined. Consequently, it is easier for officers to arrest street prostitutes than to conduct searches of brothels, bars, apartment buildings and other premises where pimps, procurers and madams operate. From a recent report on a conference on prostitution in India... it was learned that police efforts are still primarily directed toward arresting street prostitutes. If a community wishes to eliminate pimps, then the laws must be workable, or the results will be negligible (1978:75).

One would assume that regulation of the pimp-procurer would receive wide support from the community at large. (To what extent prostitutes themselves would defend pimps is open to question.) However the practical aspects of enforcing legislation against the pimp-procurer has led to law enforcement frustration, in particular when compared with enforcing legislation against street prostitutes. Although Boles and Tatro state that current laws have not been successful in ridding a community of pimps, they briefly note: "... there is some evidence from France, New York, Sweden and Algeria that many prostitutes will work without pimps..."(1978:75).

Indirectly Paul Goldstein, in his study, Prostitution and Drugs, questions potential ramifications of this type of free-lance activity. Although authorities suggest it would not be the case in England where drugs are available from licit sources, from American data:

Prostitutes with pimps, and prostitutes working in massage parlors or houses appear to be the least likely to engage in drug use. The streetwalker or call girl, who is on her own, is more likely to be a regular drug user (Goldstein, 1979:113).

Seeing pimping from a functionalist perspective, that is, pimps as inhibitors of drug use among American prostitutes, one is left to wonder what effect regulation of the pimp might have on prostitute drug intake cross-culturally. This leads to further speculation regarding the constructive role of the pimp, that is, as physical and emotional provider for women.

Regulation of the customer

Although the regulation of the customer offers a potentially viable method of controlling prostitution, literature on this subject is limited. However, from available material there are indications that customer regulation is not a favoured method. In the United States, for instance, where, apart from several Nevada counties, the act of prostitution is illegal, customers are rarely arrested (Boles and Tatro, 1978).

Historically, legislation against the customer is not a recent approach to prostitution control. Vern Bullough writes, concerning the sixteenth century:

During Queen Elizabeth's time legislation had been enacted stipulating that no laundress or waitress could enter a gentleman's chamber in a public inn unless the woman was past forty years of age; under no conditions could any other maid servant go into a gentleman's room; and those gentlemen found in compromising positions were punished instead of the women they were found with (Bullough, 1964:143).

From a review of prostitution-related literature, brief mention that is made of customer regulation typically focuses on the extent to which the arrest of female prostitutes rather than male customers can be justified. On the one hand, Women Endorsing Decriminalization, reflective of the American feminist perspective, write: "The methods of enforcing laws against prostitution in no way curtail its existence, but rather remove culpability from the men, further victimizing the prostitute" (1973:143). They cite a study conducted in Washington, D.C. which found that "...the breakdown of injuries to the prostitute while working was 64% by customers, 20% by police and 16% by

pimps" (1973:146). On the other hand, the literature simultaneously cites American legislative cases (U.S. v. Wilson, 1975; Louisiana v. Devall, 1974) where: "... the differential arrest of female prostitutes (as opposed to either male customers or prostitutes) is not thought to be discriminatory but merely selective" (Boles and Tatro, 1978:79). Similarly the Wolfenden Report states:

It is not the duty of the law to concern itself with morality... If it were the law's intention to punish prostitution per se on the ground that it is immoral conduct, then it would be right that it should provide for the punishment of the man as well as the woman. But that is not the function of the law. It should confine itself to those activities which offend against public order and decency or expose the ordinary citizen to what is offensive or injurious: and the simple fact is that prostitutes do parade themselves more habitually and openly than their prospective customers, and do by their continual presence affront the sense of decency of the ordinary citizen. In doing so they create a nuisance which, in our view, the law is entitled to recognize and deal with (N.S.W. Bureau of Crimes Statistics and Research, 1977a:251).

Although the literature tends to be restricted to such abstraction vis-a-vis the regulation of customers, mention has been made of the limited success of extralegal strategies involving males. In a southern city in the United States, "...an immediate, though short-lived" drop in the number of males cruising the streets for prostitutes was observed by the vice squad following the media's publication of names of males arrested attempting to hire a police decoy for purposes of prostitution (Boles and Tatro, 1978). Similarly:

In Russia authorities place photographs of men who frequent prostitutes (along with alcoholics, adulterers, etc.) on factory walls where they are employed. This public shaming apparently affects sexual behavior more than alcohol consumption (Boles and Tatro, 1978:81).

Although the literature has neglected to test empirically the effectiveness of regulating the customer to control prostitution, most authors agree that such an approach deserves additional consideration. Boles and Tatro suggest:

If communities really desire to eliminate prostitution, and not its side-effects, customer control would be an obvious strategy to pursue. The fact that most communities in the United States have laws prohibiting prostitution, and that customers are rarely prosecuted, suggests that most communities are more concerned about the practical aspects of prostitution control (1978:76).

Regulation of business owners/managers; regulation of the business

Although cross-culturally one encounters numerous legislative examples of the regulation of business owners and managers, in the literature the effect of this legislation is largely discussed in connection with allowing premises to be used for prostitution or the regulation of the business. Of this body of material both anthropologically and historically the greater amount of published material pertains to the issue of brothel prostitution in Red Light Districts.

The rationale behind specific segregated vice districts, the Yoshiwara or Storyville, has been discussed in detail. Associated crime, white slave trade or venereal disease as a stated concern related to brothel prostitution, for example, has depended upon the General Area Study under consideration (see Table 4). Apart from circumstances of trade, common factors within the six cultures mentioned in Anthropological Studies include that brothel residents are physically confined to their houses and that concurrent with such prostitution a variety of other types of prostitution are practised. That is, although Red Light Districts are legalised or simply tolerated by law enforcement officials and the community at large, other categories of prostitutes continue to operate. One could assume that this partially reflects prostitute choice and partially customer behaviour as illustrated by the English kerb-crawling problem. Hamburg's segregated prostitution district provides further insight.

Boles and Tatro state that the number of free-lance German prostitutes has increased while the number of registered ones has decreased (1978). According to Charles Winick and Paul Kinsie, 136 women were working within the Eros Center, a four-storey, apartment house devoted to prostitution which opened in 1967, with an additional 4,700 known prostitutes operating in Hamburg (1971). (They also report that crime and violence in the St. Pauli area of the city, the location of the prostitution district, has increased since 1967. Most of the females working in the Eros Center are said to have a protector and/or pimp (Winick and Kinsie, 1971).) Similarly, Abraham Sion has described the Eros Center and the Palais d'Amour, the two prostitution centres, as follows:

The number of prostitutes who practice in these centres is very small compared with the total number of prostitutes operating in Hamburg. Officer Kadler of the Reeperbahn police station, a senior officer in charge of vice in the St. Pauli area, told me that these centres were not fully occupied and that about one-third of the rooms were usually vacant. A prostitute who wished to leave the centre and go on the streets explained the reason for wanting to do so. "It's like a prison," she said, "very comfortable, but still a prison. It's not what men expect from a brothel. They don't like it all deliberate and openly organized. I don't like it either. When you're on the streets it can all happen naturally, you don't have to line up in a courtyard like a parade. In the streets a man can suddenly pass you, walking or in his car, and think, 'She's nice. I fancy her.' That's nice. It's what men want as well. This is like a petrol station" (1977:39).

In total, the literature indicates that in spite of the regulation of the business, "...there seems to be no way of effectively restricting prostitution to one section of a community..." (Winick and Kinsie, 1971:287).

This lack of containing prostitution, a seemingly common factor of Red Light Districts, has been only one reason offered in advocating their abolition. Additional common reasons for their eradication include the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others which brought about a 1951 United Nations resolution suggesting the existence of regulated houses as increasing the likelihood of the exploitation of others, of a white slave trade. Venereal disease and associated crime have similarly been listed as standard early twentieth-century justifications.

Although on the one hand, Red Light Districts have been criticized for the above reasons, on the other hand, the effect on prostitution and related problems as a result of their closing has also been questioned. A reciprocal relationship between the suppression of prostitution and the spread of venereal infection has been suggested. In terms of the practice of prostitution, the closing of Storyville simply meant that prostitutes and madams relocated in other areas of New Orleans "...made their deals with the police, and between raids and payoffs managed to do their business as usual" (Longstreet, 1965:256). In Japan the closing of legal brothels catalysed disguised forms of prostitution operations. Although controversial, a percentage of researchers suggest such closings are responsible for an immediate increase in crimes against women in specified regions. However, in regard to white slave trade, Winick and Kinsie state:

The efficacy of concerted legal action in curbing prostitution can be seen in the substantial decrease in the international traffic in women and children as a direct result of action initiated by the League of Nations (Winick and Kinsie, 1971:12).

Attempts to control prostitution through the regulation of the business do not solely involve the formation or eradication of Red Light Districts. As Boles and Tatro indicate: "Massage parlors and other types of contemporary brothels have blossomed on the urban landscape" (1978:77). As South Australia's "Report of the Select Committee of Inquiry into Prostitution" states: "Most prostitution in South Australia is carried out through massage parlours" (1980:6). After reviewing the nature and extent of South Australia's prostitution problem, the Committee stated decriminalization as the most appropriate way to control the overall prostitution problem. It simultaneously recommended a retrospective evaluation of legislative change "...within three years of amendments coming into operation" (1980:19). More specifically, other communities "...have passed laws which prohibit certain types of behavior, i.e. masturbation for hire. Secondly, they have enacted zoning regulations which may regulate...the location of 'adult' businesses..." (Boles and Tatro, 1978:77).

Interestingly, two American cities, Detroit and Boston, have taken divergent steps to control adult businesses, thus offering examples of dispersal versus concentration zoning. A Detroit ordinance prohibits the establishment of adult businesses within 500 feet of any residentially zoned area and within 1,000 feet of each other. The effect of such dispersal zoning on prostitution is questionable. Meanwhile in 1974 Boston became the first American city that zoned to concentrate adult entertainment, that is, bookstores, theatres, game rooms and such places which would exclude minors, in one specified area. As prostitution and crime in the "Combat Zone" flourished in the next three years, many have dismissed concentration zoning as a failure. Under closer scrutiny, however, one sees that the enforcement of law in the Zone, and difficulties stemming from police corruption, rather than the idea of an Adult Entertainment District amendment per se, have proven problematic (Travis, 1978). The viability of concentration zoning as a method of controlling adult entertainment remains debatable.

The regulation of the business does not offer any pat answers to prostitution control.

Conclusion

A review of Legal and Police Regulation Studies leaves the reader with more questions than solutions. Attempts to find satisfactory methods of controlling prostitution reflect a desperate need to determine empirically the effectiveness of methods directed towards the prostitute, the procurer/pimp, the customer, and business locations. How law enforcement officers and the general public react to control methods needs clarification. Without systematic appraisal of the effects of these different approaches, legislators have no choice but to continue to attempt to regulate prostitution based on arbitrary methods of control.

A P P E N D I X

PROSTITUTION IN AUSTRALIA

The preceding review of research concerning prostitution in Australia relies on a limited number of works. As this material concentrates on the vice situation in the few years prior to legislative changes in state laws, it is helpful to examine additional sources of information in order to discuss current issues concerning prostitution in Australia and, more specifically, in New South Wales. Newspaper and magazine articles provide such a source. Obviously, the type of information offered by the mass media differs from that of governmental and academic studies. The former concentrates on daily factual incidents, editorial comments and policy analysis from varying reporter and periodical perspectives. Such material does provide an impression of an area's prostitution situation.

According to the State Library of New South Wales' Newspaper Index, between January 1960 and September 1981, The Sydney Morning Herald (SMH) published 68 articles relating to prostitution. As in the case with books and journal material, the major portion of articles are dated from the years surrounding legislative change in N.S.W. prostitution laws. (The Summary Offences bill was introduced into State Parliament in September 1968, with the Summary Offences Act, 1970 commencing from December 9 of that year. The Prostitution Act was assented to on May 11, 1979.) Table A illustrates this distribution.

With the exception of 1968, one can comment from the above table that prostitution is apparently not a subject of major media attention. From the beginning of the decade through 1965, only two articles dealt with prostitution in The Sydney Morning Herald. 1969 through 1971 offered only one article per year. In part this may reflect newspaper priority, in part a continually voiced perspective seeing prostitution as functional and inevitable in Australian society. (In 1968, according to a university survey, 45 per cent of Australians believed prostitution should be legalized (SMH, 26/9/68). This view is opposed by various religious groups, for example. In November 1978, the Anglican Dean of Sydney, the Very Rev. Lance Shilton said: "The Christian ethic is utterly opposed to prostitution" (SMH, 6/11/78). Similarly, members of the Festival of Light movement periodically are quoted in the media as opposing the legalization of prostitution. In 1974, Fred Nile, director of the movement, told a Seminar on Prostitution held at the University of New South Wales "...how prostitution was anti-Christian, anti-family, unproductive and an exploitation of women..." (SMH, 24/10/74).) Or, it may reflect an overall approach to sexual behaviour.

In general, although it has been said that attitudes have changed: "Little research has been done in Australia about people's sex lives" (The National Times, 5-11/4/81). "No national survey of teenagers' practices and attitudes has been done in Australia...." (NT, 5-11/4/81).

However, it is evident that attitudes and practices of sex have changed dramatically in the past three decades. As Adele Horin writes in "Sex in Life", a special report for The National Times:

Table A. Number of articles concerning prostitution in
The Sydney Morning Herald by year, 1960-1981*

Year	Number	Percentage
1960.....		
1961.....	2	2.94
1962.....		
1963.....		
1964.....		
1965.....		
1966.....	4	5.88
1967.....	6	8.82
1968.....	19	27.94
1969.....	1	1.47
1970.....	1	1.47
1971.....	1	1.47
1972.....	3	4.41
1973.....		
1974.....	2	2.94
1975.....		
1976.....	4	5.88
1977.....		
1978.....	7	10.29
1979.....	7	10.29
1980.....	3	4.41
1981 (to 9/81).....	8	11.76
	<hr/> 68	<hr/> 100.00

* Source: State Library of N.S.W. Newspaper Index for The Sydney Morning Herald

In the 1950s and early 1960s, chastity was a constant subject of magazine articles. A typical article in People magazine on March 2, 1960, raised the provocative question: Is Chastity Worth Preserving? The answer was a resounding yes (NT, 5-11/4/81).

Professor John Caldwell's work reveals that through the end of the 1950s, methods of abstinence, rhythm and withdrawal "comprised 44 per cent of contraceptive use in the pre-pill era" (NT, 5-11/4/81). "...the biggest pharmaceutical chain in Australia began to stock contraceptives only in the 1950s..." (NT, 5-11/4/81).

By February 1961 Federal Health Department officials announced the availability of the birth control pill which had unofficially been available in Australia in 1960.

Horin states that by the end of the 1970s, Australians' attitudes to and practise of sex was dramatically altered. She cites the influence of the youth revolution, the women's movement, the crumbling of censorship, and the gay liberation movement as well as contraceptive practices as responsible. By 1980:

There is no longer a community consensus on the value of pre-marital chastity. Among 18- to 20-year-olds, the concept is practically dead. Eighty per cent of a Melbourne sample surveyed by Dr. Stefania Siedlecki, a Federal Government adviser in family planning and women's health, did not believe a girl should be a virgin at marriage. Professor Robert Bell's Sex Survey of Australian Women showed that practice was in line with attitude (NT, 5-11/4/81).

From examination of The Sydney Morning Herald from 1960, other current newspapers and journals (1980-81), and occasional literature references, several observations can be made. As elsewhere, with the exception of Kalgoorlie, Western Australia, prostitution issues are described as urban issues in Australia.

In the media, as in the literature, prostitution is often portrayed as "a safety valve" protecting the general female population against sexual crimes, in particular rape. A 1968 Letter to the Editor from Mrs. Paling of Sydney reads: "Deplorable as prostitution may be, it does act as a safety valve for someone who might otherwise become mentally unbalanced and consequently prowlers, Peeping Toms and worse" (SMH, 24/2/68). In 1978: "The former magistrate, Mr. A. E. Clark, said that the incidence of rape in Kalgoorlie appeared to have been minimal because the brothels were available" (SMH, 5/5/78).

In the literature Marcel Winter pinpoints "...that Australia does not have the range of different social levels within the world of prostitution which exists in other countries...".

From the media a second apparently unique aspect of prostitution in Australia surfaces. Dr. G. Charles writes in a 1968 Letter to the Editor of The Sydney Morning Herald: "Year after year the Commonwealth is importing tens of thousands of virile single men, who want, and expect to have, regular sexual intercourse" (SMH, 8/10/68). These young migrants are said to be one of the reasons why prostitution flourished. The preponderance of such males as customers is an unusual, if not unique, situation cross-culturally.

From the literature, a national public opinion survey sampling 1,045 informants on prostitution, organized by P. Wilson and D. Chappell in 1968, indicates that regardless of actual sexual practice, Australians are fairly liberal in their stated attitudes of prostitution.

The results of the survey carried out on the Australian public showed that 45 per cent were against prostitution remaining an offence and 46 per cent were in favour. A further 7 per cent were unsure and 2 per cent did not answer the question (Wilson and Chappell, 1969:71).

Interestingly, by state, Queensland residents had 55 per cent of respondents agreeing with legalized prostitution, with corresponding figures for New South Wales at 49 per cent, Victoria 39 per cent and South Australia at 28 per cent.

In spite of liberal attitudes, however, it should be noted that Wilson and Chappell describe reasoning behind opinion favouring legalization as "emotional and non-rational and, on the whole, had no basis in fact" (Wilson and Chappell, 1969:71).

Those against legalization generally based their arguments on religious, moral and ethical grounds. Those who were in favour of it argued that legalization would help to control venereal disease and provide a "safety valve" for sex criminals. Neither of these arguments appears to be supported by empirical facts (Wilson and Chappell, 1969:71).

The "safety valve" aspect of prostitution appears as a current theme throughout both the literature and media in Australia. It is difficult to determine whether the supposed correlation between prostitution and sexual crime against women generally is based on unfounded assumptions or is in fact another example of an aspect of prostitution which differs cross-culturally.

Regardless of reasoning supporting attitudes, one sees that comparatively Australians take a liberal stance on prostitution as reflected by legislation. The act of prostitution itself is not illegal in Australia. As Wilson and Chappell state, generally:

The law, though, seems to have a threefold purpose:

1. To keep prostitutes out of sight and hearing of the ordinary citizen.
 2. To prevent criminal exploitation of the prostitute.
 3. To prevent the traffic of women and children
- (Wilson and Chappell, 1969:62).

Newspaper articles suggest an increasing interest in the decriminalization of prostitution nationally. In 1972, the Belmore branch of the Victorian Liberal Party requested the State Council to implement legal prostitution. As The Sydney Morning Herald reported: "A statement by the branch to the State Council says legislation would allow controls and would result in fewer sex crimes and less venereal disease" (SMH, 19/7/72). Since then, a 1979 state conference of the Victorian branch of the ALP called for the decriminalization of prostitution; soliciting would not longer be an offence.

Articles also indicate that sexual activity in massage parlours has become an increasingly focal issue. In 1978 Mr. Dickie, Chief Secretary of the Liberal Party's State Council,

announced "the first major Government investigation of the issue...". He said about 150 parlours operated in Victoria. In 1980 Mr. Dixon, Victorian Minister for Youth, Sport and Recreation commented: "Police information shows that there are over 200 massage parlours in Melbourne and 50 known street prostitutes....You cannot proscribe prostitution so it is preferable to allow it in massage parlours but under strict controls..." (SMH, 27/5/80).

In South Australia, Robin Millhouse, leader of the Australian Democrats, first introduced a bill seeking to decriminalize prostitution in 1980.

The bill was defeated by the casting vote of the Speaker of the House on February 11, 1981 - a close call for the anti-prostitution lobby. The bill, based on the report of a select committee set up to look into prostitution, was regarded as one of the most contentious pieces of legislation ever introduced into the S.A. Parliament (Cleo, No. 108, October 1981).

As in Victoria, massage parlour prostitution in Adelaide has been an issue, although the actual number of Adelaide parlours has decreased from 70 to 30 in the past two years, the result of stringent law enforcement. In the same period, the city has experienced an increase in reported rape incidents. "Mr. Millhouse links the two and stresses that it is another reason why the status of prostitution in S.A. should be reassessed" (Cleo, No. 108, October 1981).

Similarly a 1980 article from Brisbane reports Mr. R. Camm, Minister for Police, preparing legislation "to crack down on massage parlours and escort agencies" (SMH, 23/1/80).

In 1976 "The ALP State Conference voted... in favour of legalizing prostitution in Western Australia" (SMH, 1/9/76).

The New South Wales Prostitution Act, 1979 offers yet another example of such trends.

Prostitution in New South Wales

Media attention to prostitution in New South Wales focuses on vice activity in the Kings Cross, East Sydney and Darlinghurst areas of Sydney. From 1960 through 1981 newspaper articles, primarily from The Sydney Morning Herald, emphasize two aspects of prostitution activity in these areas: the increase of prostitutes, especially young female prostitutes; continual debate over how to handle such prostitution - whether by stringent law enforcement practices or not.

In 1966, two years prior to the introduction of the Summary Offences bill, the Sydney City Council was seeking legal powers to control prostitution in uptown Sydney. Alderman McDermott commented that the uptown area had become a "Skid Row" (SMH, 25/10/66). In November the Secretary of the Kings Cross Chamber of Commerce said, "I have seen up to 40 girls in 100 yards of Darlinghurst Road and William Street - all openly soliciting". In the same newspaper article the Rev. Ted Noffs, pastor of the Kings Cross Wayside Chapel, commented on the youthfulness of prostitutes. He said:

These young women appear to have gone into this with their eyes open. They know what they are doing... It appears that more young girls are leaving home and taking to prostitution to make quick money. I think the older type of organized prostitution has decreased. The teenagers are coming in (SMH, 29/11/66).

1967 witnessed continued allegations of increasing prostitution. In April Andrew Briger, chairman of the Darlinghurst Civic Group, stated that prostitution was becoming more blatant at Kings Cross. It involved younger and younger females. "Twenty-four hour police beat patrols had not solved the problem" (SMH, 3/4/67). Although the number of girls participating was not revealed, in October of that year A. Bridges, Minister for Child Welfare, said "...that Sydney schoolgirls of 14, some from leading schools and wealthy homes, had resorted to prostitution to obtain money for drugs..." (SMH, 19/10/67).

By 1968 the Chapel Street area, East Sydney, which includes Woods Lane, Liverpool Lane and sections of Riley, Crown, Bourke, Stanley and Liverpool Streets, was reported to have returned "to its notorious ways" in an article headlined "Business has never been better" (SMH, 11/1/68).

Throughout this two-year period, the media offer several reasons both for the existence of and increase in female adult prostitution, although surprisingly the apparent increase in juvenile prostitution is not rationalized. The most repeated explanation involves what police referred to as "legal loopholes". As an 11 January 1968 article reads:

Chapel Street's renaissance is due largely to a series of test cases which have emphasized the inadequacy of the Police Offences Act and the Vagrancy Act as a means for combating prostitution.

Two Supreme Court decisions - in September 1966, and in September last year - upheld that the sexual act in prostitution inside a house did not constitute 'indecent behaviour' and that a house containing only one prostitute did not constitute a brothel (SMH, 11/1/68).

This meant that police could not act against a house containing one prostitute. It was stated: "As a result, prostitutes housed singly, especially in the Kings Cross area, have been able to defy police" (SMH, 31/7/68).

Additionally, flagrant prostitution was said to be increasing as legislation attempting to control its practice was outdated. In an article on Chapel Street, for example, it is stated: "We are ... interested to learn why the Police Offences Act and Vagrancy Act - passed respectively in 1908 and 1902 - are still being used to combat Sydney's vice..." (SMH, 9/2/68).

Police blitzes were said to be futile (SMH, 30/5/68). Police action was said to simply "...kick it from one spot to another" (SMH, 10/6/68). Prostitution was described as the result of the inferior position of women in Australian society (SMH, 3/10/68). It was accounted for by "the imbalance of migration" with a greater number of males than females immigrating into the country (SMH, 3/10/68). In an editorial comment, ambivalent public opinion concerning prostitution was pinpointed as a factor explaining its existence.

We know as well as the police do that Sydney's notorious area of prostitution exists because of society's ambivalent attitude - an attitude that prostitution can be tolerated so long as it is not too open or troublesome. And this is the way things are after campaigns against prostitution have run their course (SMH, 30/5/68).

And finally, prostitution was said to flourish as the society was more intent on trying to eradicate prostitution rather than being "...less ambitious and more honest about our intentions" and attempting "...to find proper controls" (SMH, 30/5/68).

Amidst such explanations, there were periodic requests for legislative improvements.

On September 24, 1968 the N.S.W. Chief Secretary, Mr. E. A. Willis, introduced into State Parliament legislation involving amendments to various Acts, including the Crimes Act, the Venereal Diseases Act and the Disorderly Houses Act. In part, such legislation was said to be "...in response to increasing prostitution in the Kings Cross area as a result of a loophole in the existing law" (SMH, 25/9/68). It was commented that the purpose of the legislation "...was to eliminate the offensive aspects of prostitution" (SMH, 3/10/68).

Although the act of prostitution was not itself illegal, as The Sydney Morning Herald read: "...but by virtually prohibiting all the circumstances in which it may be practiced it aims at the same result" (11/10/68). Amendments involved increased fines, increased gaol terms for prostitution involvement as well as extending the prohibition of various practices to both genders. For example, in an amendment to the Vagrancy Act, soliciting for prostitution becomes an offence if committed by any person whereas previously it was an offence if committed by a known prostitute or a male (SMH, 25/9/68). It becomes an offence for either sex to live wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution. Amendments introduced a new offence "...for a known prostitute to be in or on premises habitually used for prostitution or for soliciting for prostitution". As stated: "The legislation will also introduce a departure in placing the onus of proof on a known prostitute found on premises reasonably suspected of then being habitually used for prostitution or for soliciting for prostitution" (SMH, 25/9/68).

From media attention, the most controversial section of the bill involved police search of premises. Originally, it was stated: "Police will be able to apply to a Justice of the Peace - customarily a Chamber Magistrate - for a warrant to search premises they have reason to suspect are being used in contravention of the provisions of the Act". Due to immediate reaction against extending police powers, to meet Opposition objections, Willis amended legislation to require that a stipendiary magistrate rather than a Justice of the Peace would issue a warrant for a police search of premises suspected of habitual use for prostitution (SMH, 3/10/68).

In 1969 police were reported to have increased their patrols vis-a-vis prostitution in the Kings Cross area. "Extra men have been assigned to the Vice Squad and No. 21 Special Squad" (SMH, 10/7/69). Subsequently, arrest figures increased. According to Police Department figures:

The number of arrests for loitering for the purpose of prostitution nearly doubled between 1969 and 1970... In 1969 there were about 1,400 arrests on this charge and in 1970 they increased to about 2,460. The number of arrests for soliciting for the purposes of prostitution was about 80 for both years (SMH, 7/4/72).

It is surprising that between 1970, the year the Summary Offences Act came into operation and 1979, when the Prostitution Act was assented to, only 13 newspaper articles are indexed for The Sydney Morning Herald. They include accusations by a Sydney barrister that the criminal justice system failed to take into account the deterrent effect upon prostitutes. As he told reporters, referring to the Sydney Central Court of Petty Sessions, "The system operates exactly like a tax on prostitution, and indeed, many prostitutes so describe it" (SMH, 5/4/72).

By 1978, in asking for an inquiry, Alderman Tony Reeves voiced concern over the increase of brothels in residential Sydney areas (SMH, 27/6/78). In November, allegations of "drug and prostitution rackets" openly operating in Club Castello and the Venus Room at the Cross were under investigation (SMH, 17/11/78).

The literature, specifically statistical data related to prostitution offences during this 1970-79 period, does show N.S.W. Courts of Petty Sessions appearances. To what extent it reflects the prostitution situation in Sydney is debatable. However, from data in 1973, for example, as Jan Aitkin comments, the vast majority of soliciting cases (4,539 out of 4,558) appeared before the Central Circuit Court rather than other state courts (N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 1977a:173). Aitkin does question this situation by saying: "It does however seem odd that in areas such as Newcastle and Wollongong, especially the latter with its heavily migrant population, there should be so few cases tried" (N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 1977a:173). Nevertheless it is interesting to note that newspaper articles discussed reflect a similar situation in that the New South Wales prostitution problem is portrayed as restricted to Sydney.

Additionally, the majority of prostitution cases each year as listed by the N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research are "loiter/solicit for prostitution" court appearances. Also, from 1972, with the exception of 1977, there is a downward trend of this charge, a drop from 4,288 in 1972 to 653 in 1979. (See N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Court Statistics 1974 to 1980.) Numerous explanations could be offered which would explain data as primarily reflective of law enforcement activity or prostitution practices in Sydney. From available literature, comments would be purely speculative. However, it is interesting to note that this downward trend in "loiter/solicit for prostitution" court appearances is accompanied by a blatant absence of prostitution-related articles in The Sydney Morning Herald.

On March 8, 1979 at an International Women's Day reception, Premier Wran announced state government plans to decriminalize prostitution (SMH, 9/3/79). The Attorney-General, Frank Walker, introduced the legislation into State Parliament the third week of April that year saying: "We are trying to protect women against exploitation but on the other hand we are recognising that prostitution has always been around

and will continue to be so" (SMH, 12/4/79). The Sydney Morning Herald stated: "The repeal of the Summary Offences Act has been ALP policy since before the 1976 State election when Labor won office" (SMH, 12/4/79).

Accordingly, it was recommended that sections 28 and 29 of the Summary Offences Act, those involving soliciting for prostitution and a prostitute on premises habitually used for prostitution being guilty of an offence, be repealed. Legislative recommendations are described as an outcome of the Women's Advisory Council's first annual report presented in Parliament on November 7, 1978. (The Council, headed by Kaye Loder, was established by the government in October 1976.)

The report described the two sections of the Summary Offences Act dealing with soliciting and loitering as "discriminatory and hypocritical" (SMH, 9/3/79). In all matters of sexual morality, the Council "...firmly believes that... men and women should take equal responsibility..." (SMH, 8/11/78). Pointing to the fact that only soliciting females were charged while the equivalent "kerb-crawling" male behaviour was not an offence, that only female prostitutes were charged and not male clients, the report recommended change of sections 28 and 29. It claimed the enforcement of these sections was not a deterrent, "...is an expensive drain on police and court resources and has a bad effect on the reputation of the police" (SMH, 7/11/78).

Asked what effect the council's recommendations would have if implemented, Mrs. Loder said, "It leaves a prostitute who wishes to operate privately in the position of being able to do so, provided she doesn't behave offensively" (SMH, 7/11/78).

Others did not agree with Loder's summation. The Opposition Leader, Mr. Mason, stated: "I am sure that there is going to be tremendous public outcry". He predicted "the proliferation of soliciting all over Sydney" (SMH, 12/4/79). The Reverend Gordon Moyes of the Wesley Central Mission similarly envisioned increased "...street soliciting, pimping, and recruitment of girls, children and male prostitutes" (SMH, 21/4/79).

The Prostitution Act, 1979, the repeal of the Summary Offences Act, 1970, was assented to on 11 May of that year.

The three prostitution-related articles indexed for The Sydney Morning Herald in 1980 all concern out-of-state proposed legislative changes. None relate to prostitution in Sydney.

By 1981, however, numerous reports specify a visible prostitution problem in the Kings Cross and Darlinghurst areas of Sydney. Articles repeatedly discuss two aspects of this prostitution: the increase of youth involvement and the increase in prostitution-related sexual activity in public.

It is interesting to note that youth involvement in prostitution had been a 1966-67 media issue. But at that time, reasons for juvenile prostitution were not offered in indexed articles. By 1981, however, such prostitution was reported to have risen "because of general unemployment" (SMH, 19/3/81). Additionally "This was partly the result of police success in combating the drug traffic: prices had gone up and young people were selling themselves to get the money" according to one report (SMH, 19/3/81). Again it should be noted that such a drug-juvenile prostitution link had been the subject of an October 1967 report. Homelessness and inadequate welfare payments were similarly offered as causes (SMH, 18/4/81).

In March 1981 Premier Wran announced the formation of a 20-member Juvenile Crime Squad which would "pay particular attention to child prostitution" (SMH, 19/3/81).

The Premier, Mr. Wran, announced the formation of the squad this week following continuing criticism from the Opposition, local residents and the Police Association about the deteriorating situation in Kings Cross. All claim that since the repeal of the Summary Offences Act the situation has grown steadily worse and the police say the Offences in Public Places Act that replaced it has hampered their ability to control prostitution. Local residents have complained of sexual acts taking place on the footpath in front of their houses and increasingly open approaches by young prostitutes touting for business (SMH, 20/3/81).

The Juvenile Crime Squad was reported to be modelled after a Dutch police squad (SMH, 18/4/81). Announcing the plan, Wran stated:

Nobody could deny that prostitution and child sex in the area have got out of hand. I personally became involved in moves to form the new squad after being shocked by what I saw as I drove home through the area about ten days ago. There were some very sordid and shocking scenes... There will always be prostitution. What we are aiming to do is to eliminate the involvement of children (Daily Telegraph, 19/3/81).

Critics of the Kids' Squad, as it was at times referred to by the media, stated that although the Squad may "satisfy a public demand for action", in effect it would simply "...make them fan out into the suburbs" (SMH, 20/3/81). Similar criticism of police was voiced in 1968 when articles discussed police action simply "kicking it (prostitution) from one spot to another" (SMH, 10/6/68).

In March 1981 police activity was not exclusively directed towards juveniles. "Mr. Crabtree said the Police 21 Division had been very active in the Kings Cross area in the past five days. Since last Friday, 74 people in the area had been charged with a variety of offences, which he said was a much greater arrest rate than previously" (SMH, 19/3/81).

In April, 300 Darlinghurst residents moved "at a meeting ... that a red light district should be set up and controlled by the State Government" (Daily Mirror, 2/4/81). In September, Doug Norman, spokesperson for the Darlinghurst Residents' Rights Group, said: "We see the only solution in the establishment of a red-light area in a commercially-zoned district or the amendment of the Public Places Act to make soliciting in residential areas illegal" (SMH, 18/9/81).

Others, such as John Dowd, former shadow Attorney-General, remarked that "...action to clean up the Cross would help improve things, but the real need was to outlaw soliciting for prostitution..." (SMH, 19/3/81). A Sydney Morning Herald editorial read:

The State Government should consider now whether the present legislation, although well-intentioned, might not be too broadly worded. If it cannot bring itself to do this, it should make the legislation work as it promised when it was introduced (SMH, 20/3/81).

Conclusion

Impressions of prostitution issues portrayed through the media indicate a liberal attitude towards prostitution in Australia. Such public opinion, however, appears to be based on questionable assumptions in the present vacuum of information.

Newspaper articles concerning New South Wales from 1960 through 1981 show interesting tendencies. There are striking similarities in prostitution-related issues in 1966 to 1968 and 1981 under differing legislation. Both these periods claim increasing juvenile prostitution; the increasing visibility of adult female prostitution; police frustration over legislative restrictions which they say hamper their control of the trade; public and political reaction calling for a need to control prostitution, often through legislative change of state laws.

One can speculate as to how differing historical periods, under differing prostitution legislation, offer such a pattern. Firstly one could suggest that similarities reflect media policy, as newspapers during the past few decades focus in on specific aspects vis-a-vis prostitution, criticisms of increased trade, drug use among juvenile, female prostitutes rather than other issues which might be considered less interesting or newsworthy by the reader audience.

Secondly, similarities may in part reflect stereotyped public attitudes. For example, discussing prostitution among females may trigger immediate responses which through interviews and comments, appear in the media. When asked about prostitution, a person immediately suggests its function as a safety valve.

Or thirdly, similarities may reflect actual trends, increases in the absolute number of juvenile prostitutes, in the absolute number of streetwalkers in Sydney. Vern Bullough has suggested that historically while the number of full-time prostitutes had decreased, the number of part-timers has increased. Stated increases may in part reflect this tendency.

In any case, media impressions of prostitution in New South Wales vis-a-vis literature findings for Legal and Police Regulation Studies suggest two things: first cross-culturally, the unusual legislative situation of decriminalized prostitution as outlined in the Prostitution Act, 1979. New South Wales is remarkably progressive in its approach. The effect of legalized soliciting prostitution activity is of international interest.

Secondly, nationally, rather than frantically suggesting alternative methods of controlling prostitution, calling for the formation of a Red Light District in Sydney, for the repeal of sections of the Prostitution Act, 1979, there is a serious need to examine carefully and empirically the effect of various methods of controlling prostitution on the prostitute, the customer, the law enforcement officer, the pimp, the sex-business manager, the public, and those affected by the activities of prostitution. Until we understand what effect various legislative approaches have had on prostitution in Sydney, we can only expect limited success in controlling the trade.

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