

## BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

### DISPLACING SEX FOR SALE

29<sup>th</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup> & 31<sup>st</sup> March 2017

**Paper Session 1 Wednesday 29th March 2017 4.30-6.15pm**

#### **Panel Session 1A: Trouble making**

1. Nencel, Lorraine (Free University Amsterdam), *'A Job Like any Other? The Uneasy Relationship between Sex Worker's Rights, the Unspoken and the Researcher'*  
The claim for sex workers rights is not only a political stance but also an ideology that guides many researchers in their research. As a political position, it supports and empowers individuals engaging in sex work. In research it serves as a frame that offers researchers an analytical way to approach sex work from an equitable position. Yet, the power of this perspective also contains a flipside which emerges when researchers' stumble upon the unspoken in their encounters with sex workers participating in their research. Their stories not only show why sex work should be considered work, but the silences, and recurring gaps in their stories also make clear that sex work is not always considered a job like any other and many readily admit that if circumstances permitted they would prefer to do something else. This causes uneasiness for the pro-sex worker researcher which is not easy to resolve. In a time when the abolitionist anti-trafficking movement is gaining momentum, how do you write up these statements and much of the unspoken without "giving ammunition to the enemy"? This paper will in the first place, present the unspoken and its implications for the sex workers rights agenda, to be followed by a discussion aimed to relieving the uneasiness between the researcher, the unspoken and sex worker rights activists.
2. Künkel, Jenny (Bauhaus University Weimar), *'Individualization ping pong across the abolitionism/sex work divide: debating labour conditions in the German sex industry'*  
Combining the insights of materialist labour studies and discourse analysis, the paper analyses how working conditions in the sex industry were debated in Germany in the course of the making of the 2016/7 neo-regulationist prostitution law. The paper focusses on taboos and omissions on both sides of the abolitionist/sex work divide. It shows how anti-prostitution lobbyists gained constituency at the left margin of the political spectrum by framing prostitution based on structural explanations ("poverty prostitution"). Yet proposed solutions remained largely within the liberal logics of criminal, public order or contract law – across all parties in the debate. The paper problematizes how the sex workers movement discourse mirrored abolitionist discourse, often with some jetlag, and activists who discursively stand with their backs to the wall remained more focussed upon opposing the equations of sex work with violence than addressing the effects of an increasing prostitution-related migration or the dismantling of social security and labour rights.

3. Zhaivoronok, Daniil (European University at Saint-Petersburg), *'Anti-prostitution feminism: how it works and why is it gaining popularity among feminist activists in Russia?'*

Despite the current conservative turn in Russian politics, feminism is slowly but steadily developing within activist communities and, especially, in online spaces. Unfortunately, the most popular approach towards sex work among Russian feminists is anti-prostitution/neo-abolitionist one. In my paper I would attempt to analyze the reasons of success of neo-abolitionist discourse in Russia. My point is that to understand why so many people turn into neo-abolitionist one should analyze the construction and functioning of its discourse. Nevertheless, all too often critical approach to neo-abolitionist is focused on internal inconsistencies, external influences (conservative parties, governments, different institutions, etc) and eventual effects. While all this perspective are fruitful and important, they are unable to reveal the inner logic of functioning of neo-abolitionist discourse. In my paper I leave aside the issues of correlation between what anti-prostitution feminists are saying and reality out there. Instead I will approach their discourse as a certain tool or, more precisely, as an assemblage of different discursive practices which aim is not to reveal the truth about sex work, but rather to produce a wide range of effects, including community building, public mobilization through the moral panic, setting certain gender identities, and reimagining of urban space. To analyze the performative dimension of neo-abolitionist discourses I will turn to the conceptual tools elaborated within STS studies (Callon, Law, Latour, Mol). Drawing my research on the data from social media and interviews with feminist activists, I would argue that neo-abolitionist approach combined with the power of new media creates affectively charged environment, which facilitates feminist community building through the erasing of difference and heterogeneities of gender identities, power relations and local situations. In consequence, different groups of people (sex workers and their advocates in the first place) are finding themselves literally excluded from mainstream feminist movement in Russia.

### Panel Session 1B: Governing sex work through affects

In recent years states have been described not only as an apparatus of rational decisionmaking but also as an arena of affective interaction between citizens, non-citizens and public servants. Hence, research focuses on how state policies are designed in an affective mode, how policies are implemented by street-level bureaucrats and how at the same time subjects and subjectivity are created. Policies on prostitution are embedded in specific affective contexts – of fear, of anger, of joy and of desire. Also, research on affective labour included the affective dimension of sex work. Moreover, research on social movements has shown that affects are important sources for mobilizing policy issues. In the case of sex work, creating moral panic is a way of mobilisation. This panel will focus on the governance of sex work and trafficking. Which affects impact on governing sex work and trafficking? How do affects modulate processes of governing sex work and trafficking in different countries? A special focus will be on policy-making challenging the rational idea of policy-making and showing how policy-implementation can be driven by emotions. Another focus will be the mobilization of shame and disgust is one dimension of recent abolitionist organizations against sex work and for the punishment of clients.

4. Crowhurst, Isabel (University of Essex), *'Tolerance, pragmatism and the affective taxation of sex work'*

This paper discusses the role that emotions play in political discourses and political agendas that display a new, and often controversial approach to the taxation of sex work. My analysis of these aspects focuses in particular on the Italian case. Here, historical and deeply-ingrained concerns about the 'immorality' of prostitution, and more recent calls for the criminalisation of the purchase of sexual services are challenged by the newly formulated need to be pragmatic about the 'problem of prostitution', and respond to it with tolerance and a logic of improved political and economic optimization. Sex workers, outcast and marginalised for decades, are now called upon to make a contribution towards the collective effort to fight the current economic crisis by paying income tax on their sex work-related earnings. An attempt is thus made to strip the 'issue of prostitution' of its moral connotations, and the public is encouraged to put to rest emotional responses that have historically been displayed towards it – including disgust, shame, and anger. Within this operation of emotional management, the 'good citizens' are asked to think along with a neoliberal governmentality which entails recasting the governing of activities such as prostitution as non-political and non-ideological problems that need technical solutions (Ong 2006). This new rational, functional, and efficiently un-emotional pragmatism is offered and presented as the solution to the dysfunctional and traditional 'old' logic of government which had been rendered unproductive and inefficient by the uncontrolled emotionality of its moral politics. Drawing on Wendy Brown's (2006) work on tolerance and the regulation of aversion, the paper will explore these developments and focus in particular on the problematic notions of pragmatism and tolerance that emerge from the processes outlined above.

5. Pates, Rebecca (University Leipzig), Dölemeyer, Anne (University Leipzig) and Leser, Julia (University Leipzig), *'On the affective governmentality of trafficking: The problem of the recalcitrant'*

State institutions address the citizens who apply for funds or other form of help by classifying them as deserving or undeserving applicants. These classifying processes occur in face-to face interactions where unwritten norms concerning the appropriate (affective) behaviour of a deserving applicant will contribute to shaping the success of the application (Dubois 2010, Penz / Sauer 2016). What happens though when the subject of governance is not an applicant at all, as is often the case with victims of trafficking, but a public position to which the subjects are asked to submit? These victims find themselves (according to our research on the German situation) on the one hand confronted with expectations of behaving like the "ideal type" victim (Christie, 1986) of whom a certain emotive repertoire is expected, and on the other, they run the danger of being archetypical "abject subjects" (Tyler 2010) against whom "public anxieties and hostilities are channelled". This presentation will show the emotional expectations and reactions of the state agencies against the non-compliant, thus deviant, victim of trafficking in a series of institutional interactions.

6. Sauer, Birgit (University Vienna), *'Mobilizing shame and disgust. Abolitionist frames in anti-sex-work movements in Austria'*

Austria's prostitution regime has been characterized since the mid-1970ies as a pragmatic regulationist regime. Since the 1980ies feminist organizations have been fighting for the recognition of sex workers rights with moderate success. However, since a couple of years an abolitionist (feminist) movement emerged in the country agitating with the Slogan "Stop the Purchase of Sex!" This internationally well-connected (e.g. with EWL) but nevertheless small movement aims at establishing the "Swedish Model" of punishing clients of sex workers. The discourse of the movement – basically showing that prostitution is violence against women – is characterized by highly emotionalized images, metaphors and frames. Some of these frames blame clients of prostitutes and create a disgusting male 'Other', others personalize a violent patriarchal structure through affective ascriptions and again other frames construct female victims. The affective perspective on anti-sex-work mobilization aims at showing that and how an illusion of love versus disgust is created in a heterosexual patriarchal context running the risk of reproducing these contexts. The paper is based on a critical frame analysis of documents (websites) of Austrian (and international) abolitionist organisations.

7. Ward, Eilís (NUI Galway), *'Killing off the sex worker: Ireland and the politics of recognition in law reform'*

This paper offers a psychoanalytic reading of the rationalisation provided by the parliamentary committee for the (pending) adoption of a Swedish-style prostitution regime in Ireland. The committee concluded that a woman could not, in law or in principle, consent to sex work, a move which, I argue, amounts to a refusal to 'recognise' her and in psychoanalytic accounts, can be understood as an attempt to destroy her. While focusing on the attendant discourse of this committee and its role in the law reform process, I also locate the enquiry against a backdrop of the state's historical response to 'deviant' female sexuality. The paper thus takes seriously the possibility that states can draw deeply from unconscious effects and, in Jungian terms, 'cultural complexes' whilst at the same time speaking in the language of rationality, due process and evidence. Hence, while claiming protective intent, the state may in fact be committing an act of violence against the female sex worker – one that serves several strategic, political and moral purposes.

### Panel Session 1C: Purchasing Sex

Knowledge about the supply side of 'sex for sale' has long dominated research agendas, journal articles and conference programmes, leaving the subject of the customer often relegated to law enforcement data and policy discourse analysis. In attempts to diversify research knowledge, move forward research agendas and provide new knowledge and understanding, this panel showcases how researchers have taken seriously those who consume sexual commerce. This panel presents current research findings from various projects that seek to further dissect and understand the complex micro-practices, relationships and dynamics of the purchase of commercial sex. Pushing aside the typical discussions of 'demand' that dominate politics and policy arenas, this panel offers fresh knowledge and analysis of the etiology of client purchasing

habits, drilling down further into attitudes, affective relationships, migratory dynamics and digital practices to enhance our understanding of what it means to buy commercial sex. This panel brings together four sets of researchers who speak to core themes of the conference such as regulation, technologies, mobility and gender, as critical analysis of local dynamics of those who buy sex shed light on broader global processes which are at the forefront of emerging transnational sex markets.

8. Sanders, Teela (University of Leicester), Scoular, Jane (University of Strathclyde), Campbell, Rosie (University of Leicester), Cunningham, Stewart (University of Strathclyde) and Pitcher, Jane (University of Strathclyde), *'Buying Sex Online: The Etiology of Digital Purchasing'*  
How do customers engage with digital technologies when they are searching, negotiating and buying commercial sexual services? This paper will reveal some of the findings regarding customer demographics, preferences, attitudes and experiences from the largest online survey of this group in the UK (n=800+). As part of a wider project examining the safety, working practices and regulation of internet based sex work, Beyond the Gaze explores further the role of the client in the developments online. Customers tell us about their experiences and motivations for using computer mediated technologies in various interactions, including the purchase of webcamming and instant messaging forms of commercial sex. Vital information is explored around issues of privacy, experiences of crimes and attitudes to the law as the issue of purchasing sexual services continues to cause controversy in relation to legal reforms and government policy.
  
9. Brents, Barbara G. (University of Nevada), Spivak, Andrew (University of Nevada), Parreira, Christina (University of Nevada) and Vengar, Olesya (University of Nevada), *'Client Attitudes Toward Women: Do Different Prostitution Markets Matter?'*  
Calls to "end demand" for prostitution assume that demand for prostitution reflects gendered, misogynistic attitudes. Recent research finds different markets for prostitution exist in different cultural and economic contexts, affected by globalization, neoliberalism, and consumer culture (Hoang 2015; Bernstein 2007; Brents, Jackson & Hausbeck 2010; Cheng 2014; Sanders & Hardy 2014). Few studies have systematically examined the attitudes of prostitution clients in these different contexts. In this study we compare different markets for prostitution through an online survey of two groups of clients, 1) "hobbyist" groups and individual clients of Nevada's legal brothels and 2) clients of illegal prostitution. We examine three key dimensions of client attitudes – attitudes toward women, deviant risk-taking behavior, and attitudes on individualism, tolerance and self-expression. We also present data from the online survey on clients' demographic information and consumption patterns with both legal and illegal prostitution. As of May 1, 2016, the survey had 522 responses. Findings so far challenge currently accepted wisdom that all clients hold negative attitudes toward women. Clients of rural brothels tend to be more traditional in their attitudes toward women. In addition, we find a small but significant presence of female clients.

10. Hausbeck Korgan, Kathryn (University of Nevada), Nelson, Alex (University of Nevada), Izzo, Antoinette (University of Nevada), Bessen, Sarah (Dartmouth College), and Lopez-Embury, Susan, *'Displacing Client Anonymity: Power, Sexual Politics, and Safety Dynamics in Online Provider Vetting Practices'*

From a purely rational economic logic we might expect escorts to accept dates from any client willing to pay for the allotted time. After all, we usually think of the adult industry consumer, not the provider of a sexual service, as being in the powerful position of the selective party in the transaction. But in the global online economy, new technologies have altered the power, politics and dynamics of sexual exchange. Streamlined, online client and provider vetting processes increasingly displace escort agencies as the standard mechanism for enhancing provider safety in the sexual marketplace. For independent, online escorts, the internet has increased the efficiency of screening and vetting, allowing providers to design and employ their own strategies for creating a safe and empowering work environment. Clients, especially hobbyists, employ online services like TER (The Erotic Review) and other internet-based communities to exchange information about, and reviews of, escorts. While there isn't a direct equivalent for escorts to swap stories and rate clients, independent online escorts often restrict the clients they will see through their personal websites, and they routinely subject prospective clients to a rigorous vetting process. This includes verifying a prospective client's identity and place of employment, references from other providers he has hired, and verified reviews from online pay-for-service screening sites, all in addition to their nuanced subjective evaluation of the prospective client's communications throughout the booking process. In this paper we employ survey, website, and interview data from independent online escorts who work in the US (and often elsewhere, too) to assess new screening mechanisms and vetting practices. In doing so, we document the shifting valences of power, sexual politics, and risk-avoidance among clients and providers in the online marketplace. This paper concludes with an analysis of the ironic displacement of client anonymity in the internet era.

11. Rivers-Moore, Megan (Carleton University), *'From sex tourist to sex migrant: displacement and belonging amongst North American men in Costa Rica'*

Although sexuality is studied relatively widely in relation to tourism, its role in migration decisions has not been investigated as extensively, and this paper contributes to theorizing the links between sexuality and mobility. The aim of this paper is to go beyond the sexual-economic exchange of sex tourism to consider the interconnections between masculinity and sexuality in transnational gendered relationships that are connected to, but also exceed the boundaries of, the sex industry. I explore transcultural affective relationships between Latin American women and North American men in Costa Rica, focusing on men who started out as sex tourists and eventually made the decision to migrate. I ask how we might theorize the shift from tourist to migrant, considering the gendered dynamics involved in migration from north to south for a complex combination of affection, care, and sex. The paper argues that migration to Costa Rica for this particular male demographic must be analyzed in terms of negotiations over class and masculine identities, intersecting with an interest in sexual access to younger, exoticized women. I explore the complex and uneven impact of migration on the class and ethnic identities and sexual practices of this particular group of men, focusing on their experiences of negotiating

community and belonging in a city in the global South where they are simultaneously welcome and isolated.

### Panel Session 1D:

12. Sweeney, Leigh-Ann (National University of Ireland Galway), *'A case for a health promotion framework: The psychosocial experiences of female, migrant sex workers in Ireland'*

This research is exploratory and it examines the barriers preventing women in prostitution from accessing co-ordinated health services in the Republic of Ireland. By examining the experiences of migrant women engaged in prostitution, the research contributes to knowledge pertaining to the psychosocial experiences of female sex workers' access to healthcare. The study interviewed migrant women across Ireland, using a biographical narrative approach and an adapted voice centred relational model of analysis to determine the necessity for a health promotion strategy for this demographic. The findings indicate these women work primarily indoors, hold precarious legal status and are in Ireland due to processes of globalization, migration and economic necessity. The women discussed their entry into prostitution and their experiences within prostitution in the context of their psychosocial experiences. The research concludes education and service development that respects the various social determinants impacting women in prostitution is missing but remains necessary in Ireland. It finds a gendered reform of policies using an ecological framework for health can address issues of poverty, migration and the global trends of the sex industry. This means a national review of current services in health, social work and community development fields is timely. This research can make an important contribution to future research directions and practice in Irish and European prostitution contexts.

13. Garofalo Geymonat, Giulia (Lund University), PG Maciotti (ICRSE and Hydra e.V. Berlin) and Mai Nicola (Kingston University London), *'What happens when sex workers need mental health support? A participatory study on Germany, Sweden, Italy and Britain'*

When compared to other areas of sex work research in the social and health sciences, the issue of mental health tends not be addressed through critical stigma approaches and methods involving sex workers' participation and analyses. Existing literature on the relationship between sex work and mental health tends to be characterised by a pathologising assumption. Often the practice of prostitution per se is read as the cause of mental health problems suffered by sex workers, who are treated by default as victims suffering of post- traumatic stress disorders emerging from the individual abuses that 'prostituted women' are presumed to have experienced during their childhood and while selling sex (e.g. Farley et al., 1998; Choi et al. 2009). Simultaneously, preliminary evidence suggests that sex workers may remain excluded from mental health support offered to other groups, and in particular may be unable to find non-stigmatising professionals (UKNSWP 2008: 13). The paper presents the preliminary findings emerging from 'Access to Mental Health Services for People who Sell Sex', a participatory pilot project, funded by the Open Society Foundation, which produced qualitative interviews and an online survey with sex workers and mental health practitioners in Germany, Sweden, Italy and Britain. The project aims to investigate sex workers' own understanding of their mental health needs and analyse the way they perceive and evaluate mental health services that are actually available to them across

different socio-economic and legal contexts in Europe. It also investigates the experiences and attitudes of the mental health practitioners with experience of supporting sex workers. The project adopts a participatory methodology involving peer researchers. It also acknowledges the ways in which the health and well-being of sex workers are affected by working conditions as well as by criminalisation and social and legal regulatory frameworks on sex work and trafficking.

14. Amesberger, Helga (Institute of Conflict Research), *'The Mobile Sex Worker – An Offspring of Laws and Regulations'*

Migration and mobility are fundamental aspects to be considered when analyzing sex work. Various Tampep reports of the last two decades show increased global and regional mobility among sex workers thereby pointing at globalization, historic and socio-economic factors as well as at the enlargement of the European Union as boosters – or more sociologically speaking – push factors of migration/ mobility. In information and service societies mobility is regarded a high value at least for the qualified working force whereas the mobility of less qualified people is mostly considered a problem (Le Breton, 2011, 21 ff.). The latter is especially true when it comes to the mobility of sex workers which again is often discursively connected with trafficking in human beings and exploitation. Less attention in the public and academic discourse is paid to how policies on a national and regional level induce and force mobility. I will show in my presentation on the example of Austria's migration and labor policies as well as prostitution policies how these policies increase and hamper at the same time mobility among sex workers. Thereby I use a concept of mobility which goes beyond the notion of geographical movement when looking at the consequences laws/ regulations and their implementation have on working conditions in and the structure of the sex industry. This analysis is based on my research on sex work in Austria (Amesberger, 2014).

15. Laing, Mary (Northumbria University) and Feis-Bryce, Alex (National Ugly Mugs), *'Displacement of Rights and Dangerous Policy Mobilities: A Case Against Prohibitionism'*

The movement of sex work policy models around the world is an emergent field of inquiry (McMenzie, 2015). Since Sweden introduced the criminalisation of clients in 1999 there has been an increasing interest in the potential of this model of regulation in the UK. Scotland has tried and failed to introduce a law penalising those who buy sex; and purchasing sex was made a criminal offence in Northern Ireland in 2015. In January 2016 the Home Affairs Select Committee launched an Inquiry into prostitution, and one of the questions posed in the Terms of Reference asked whether 'criminal sanction in relation to prostitution should continue to fall more heavily on those who sell sex, rather than those who buy it.' This paper details the findings of a survey completed by National Ugly Mugs – a UK wide, pioneering organization seeking to reduce and prevent violence committed against sex workers - of over 200 sex workers and over 50 front line organizations providing services to sex workers in order to provide an empirical picture of the views of sex workers and expert practitioners on the criminalization of the purchase of sex and related issues. The survey produced both quantitative and qualitative data on the following themes: criminalization of the purchase of sex; sex worker safety; legal frameworks; trafficking and constructions of sex work in policy. We argue that the expert voices of sex workers and specialist practitioners must feature in policy dates which centre on the criminalization of the

purchase of sex; and that the health and safety of sex industry workers should be at the core of policy and legal processes.

### Panel Session 1E:

16. Yang, Yo-Hsin (Durham University), *'Temporal Intimacy of Prostitution in Transnational Context: Taiwanese Gay Men's Sexual Adventure in Bangkok'*

While researches of sex and tourism have often discussed exploitations of sex workers that focus on routes from global North to South, this article turns to address sex clients' perspectives in an inter-Asia framework. Drawing on Taiwanese gay men's experiences of sexual consumption in Bangkok, the aim of this article attempts to explore intersection of prostitution, sexuality and intimacy, then rethink the dynamic power relations between sex workers/clients in a transnational context. This research involves an ethnography in Bangkok for five months that followed Taiwanese gay tourists to participate in different forms of sexual consumption and thirty followup interviews with gay men after their trips in Bangkok. Findings of research reveal that most gay tourists expect their experience of commercial sex to be a "temporal intimacy" rather than simply physical interaction. They enjoyed sex workers performing intimate labor to erase the commercialized nature of prostitution, which makes this sex feel like what "real couples" do though it's unreal. This seemingly conflicting logic toward intimacy uncovers two facts. Firstly, for some gay tourists, this temporal intimacy is merely an evidence to prove their attractiveness and cultivate self-esteem. Secondly, most gay tourists are highly alert to develop long-term relationships with Thai sex workers since prostitution involves money and there are many tales about cheating and betrayal in relationship that starts from transnational sex markets. Therefore, perpetual and serious intimacy with sex workers is normally labelled as risky and even shameful. However, the pursuit of temporal intimacy in prostitution plus unfamiliarity of local erotic culture also lead Taiwanese gay tourists to a vulnerable position in prostitution and the direction of exploitation in traditional sex tourism narratives can be reversed as well. This article thus points out that intersection and power relations in transnational prostitution are more complex and multidimensional than previously recognized.

17. van Mansom, Merel (University of Milano), *'"Straight Vanilla looking for a GFE with a slight PSE and some DFK" Reflections of heterosexual male clients of sex workers in the Netherlands and Sweden'*

The prostitution regimes of Sweden and the Netherlands are often perceived as two opposites. In both countries the laws and legislations changed in 1999. When the Netherlands took the stance to legalize i.e. regulate sex work, Sweden criminalized the purchase of sexual services. Yet in both countries the purchase is morally condemned and 'what' is actually bought and sold is taken for granted. Although several studies have been carried out on men that purchase sexual services in both countries they often-replicate well known typologies without further elaboration. Based on interviews with clients in both countries, this presentation will challenge these assumptions and disseminate preliminary findings of my Ph.D. dissertation 'Consumerism, Moralism and the Law: Intersections between international prostitution policies and the endeavor for gender equality'. In this study clients reflect on their purchase behavior, desires, motivations and reflect critically

on the prostitution legislations in their own and other countries. Through the three-way dialectic of Simon and Gagnon (1974) of cultural symbolic systems, individual fantasy and social interactional norms I will describe how the participants in this study are ambivalent about the legislations, sexual disciplining norms and their relationships with sex workers. With insights generated from narrative and in-depth interviews I will describe how their descriptions fit and do not fit the descriptions of the sex buyer as deviant at the same time. Furthermore I will claim that heteronormative heterosexuality cannot be perceived as the opposite of deviant sexual behavior nor can the two different prostitution regimes be described as counterparts when the commonalities of Dutch and Swedish sex buyers are taken into account.

18. Bertone, Chiara (University of Eastern Piedmont) and Ferrero Camoletto, Rafaella (University of Torino), *'Scripting the client: for an interactional approach to male sex purchase'*

Drawing the boundaries around sex as a purchase is an everyday accomplishment for men, in the scripting - in particular - of heterosexual masculinity. Exploring these scripting practices is a fruitful perspective to address the meanings of sex for sale within changing configurations of gender and sexuality, beyond constructions of the "clients" category in current processes of criminalization, bearing essentialist assumptions on the male sexual drive.

For this purpose, our contribution discusses the analytical potential of sexual scripting theory, as a point of intersection between studies on commercial sex, and masculinity and heterosexuality studies, as well as a powerful weapon to dismantle simplistic, classificatory, and derogatory understandings of men as clients of commercial sex.

The interactionist perspective on sexuality developed by Gagnon and Simon makes it possible to move towards conceiving sexual practices in terms of the 'doing' of gender, sexuality and heterosexuality as socially intelligible realities and practical accomplishments. This requires, however, to resist reducing the concept of script to a fixed set of instructions and motives for behaviour (when, where, how and why having sex). We rather refer to the concept of 'scripting' as a process embedded in everyday social practices and local contexts of production, and interpret it as an 'accounting practice'. Disentangling the different levels of sexual scripts (cultural, interpersonal and intrapsychic) and exploring disjunctions between them also contributes to grasping the multidimensionality of sexual practices.

We point to several directions along which the potential of scripting theory can further unfold in research on purchasing sex, by considering scripting as a situational, as a biographical and as a boundary-drawing process.

In order to illustrate this potential, we draw upon cases from 36 in-depth interviews on middle-aged Italian men's accounts of their heterosexual, sexual biographies, which were part of a broader research on Italian sexuality in midlife. The interviews did not have the men's identity and experiences as clients as their main focus, but show how accounts of commercial sex are at the core of scripting masculinity. We argue that, in order for research to be able to challenge a categorizing approach to 'the client' by drawing on the de-essentialising potential of the sexual scripts approach, we need broad empirical bases, exploring different interactional contexts and variable forms of accounts.

## Panel Session 1F: Place, Mobilities, and Displacements in African Sex Work Contexts

The goal of this panel is to displace essential and exclusionary approaches to researching and understanding sex work in African contexts. As a place and object of study, Africa has historically been appropriated and misrepresented in problematic ways, which has been perpetuated in contemporary sex work research through reductionist medicalization, criminalization, and victimization rhetoric. Drawing on case studies framed by critical feminist and post-colonial theories, this panel engages with questions of place, mobility and migration, transnationalism, borders and securitization, and displacements in both the production of knowledge and lived experiences surrounding sex work in African contexts. Bringing together empirical sex work research from across sub-Saharan Africa, including Nigeria, Cameroon, South Africa, Kenya, and Tanzania, the papers in this panel illustrate the complexities and dynamic nature of sex work research, selling sex, and sex workers' rights in African contexts.

19. Matungwa, Dunstan (Rutgers University), *'Beyond Victims and Vectors: Agency, Power and Social Networks among Women Who Sell Sex in Tanzania'*

Women who sell sex, particularly those operating in poor countries like Tanzania, are usually homogenized as “victims” of structural, physical and sexual violence and “vectors” of illnesses. Such a structural view overlooks their power to deal with social dynamics in their daily lives. In addition, popular terms such as “malaya” or “makahaba” used to refer to them only describe a partial truth of their lives. I conducted interviews and conversations with women who sell sex in Tanzania in summer 2015 to examine how they make sense of their lives. Several of these women referred to themselves as “mashosti”—a Swahili slang term used by some women in Tanzania to describe sharing intimacy, friendship and common interests among themselves. Beyond this term, some of these women participated in networks of sharing information about their clients as well as how to deal with violence from clients and the Police Force. Others participated in financial and insurance pooling groups to strengthen their economic benefits. Many of these women also participated in an informal regional and national advocacy network of “female sex workers” that represented their legal and political interests vis-à-vis the state. The term mashosti, the presence of social networks and the advocacy network indicate the importance of female forms of sociality and social relations among these women. It also suggests that rather than understanding women who sell sex from the point of view of structure or agency—, which provides us with partial truths about their lives—we need to examine their social practice.

20. Plambech, Sine (Danish Institute for International Studies), *'God Brought You Home – Deportation as Moral Governance in the Lives of Nigerian Sex Worker Migrants'*

Set in Nigeria among deported sex worker migrants and the institutions that seek to intervene in their migration, this paper explores deportation of Nigerian sex worker migrants as a technology of moral governance. Deportation has often been analyzed from a Global North perspective and as a technology of migration governance imposed upon migrants and their nation states in the Global South. Yet, among Nigerian institutions working with deportees, such as anti-trafficking institutions, as well as among the deportees themselves, the analysis shows how invoking the powerful languages of God, morality and nationbuilding, deportation emerges as a technology of

moral governance – a site for reconfiguring, circumscribing and actively practicing what it means to be a legitimate Nigerian citizen.

21. Lowthers, Megan (York University), *'The Gendered Politics of Displacement and Sex Work in Post-Conflict Kenya'*

This paper examines gendered categories of sex work amid the politics of displacement, encampment, and resettlement in post-conflict Kenya. Framed by critical feminist theories of gender and political anthropology, this paper situates the lived experiences of internally displaced sex workers within the broader politics of ethnicity, land ownership, and Kenya's political transition to democracy. Drawing on feminist ethnography and oral life histories collected in a camp for internally displaced persons (IDPs) and a resettlement project in Kenya's Great Rift Valley, this paper documents sex worker IDPs' unique experiences of the 2007/2008 post-election violence and their various sex work practices and spaces throughout displacement, encampment, and resettlement. An examination of sex work across time and space in post-conflict Kenya reveals a better understanding of place, social and political organization, hierarchies, and exclusions within the sex worker community in gendered ways. Further, this paper places the sex work as work debate squarely in the context of political processes and forced migration, highlighting the need for sex workers' rights to be better recognized in displacement and post-conflict settings in Africa.

22. Huschke, Susann (University of Witwatersrand), *'Engaging research? Unpacking the methodological, ethical and social justice concerns of research involving sex workers in South Africa'*

Globally, research exploring sex work is fraught with the tensions associated with representation and the politics of knowledge. To date, much of the published research on sex work is generated through research *on* rather than *with* sex workers. As a result, many sex workers, researchers, and pro-sex work activists (often interchangeable categories) are calling for increased inclusivity and engagement in the production and packaging of knowledge about sex work. Sisonke, South Africa's only sex worker-led movement, has a motto that echoes these sentiments. Claiming, 'Nothing about us without us!' this statement requires us to evaluate the ways in which research on sex work is conceptualised, produced and shared. In this paper, I draw on KNOW MY STORY, a participatory photo and film project with sex workers in South Africa's largest township, Soweto. While the project has offered important insights into the lives of sex workers in Soweto, there are important risks of participatory arts-based methods. In this paper, I reflect on the ethical, methodological and social justice challenges and opportunities facing all involved in engaged research approaches.

## Paper session 2 Thursday 30th March 2017 9.15-11.00am

### Panel Session 2A: Sex Work in the Digital Age

It can be argued that paralleled with migration, the definitive change to the sex industry in recent decades has been the move to the online digital world. This has impacted on both the nature and extent of the sex industry, transforming the organisational features of how sex work happens, who can become involved as a seller, buyer or third party organiser, and where commercial sex takes place. This set of eight papers starts to address the significant changes that have taken place, by investigating the organisational processes and practices of sex workers, businesses and web platforms to dig further into our limited understandings of these massive changes. The panel will speak across geographical locations exploring the boundary-less spaces of online sex work, referring to emerging markets such as webcam modelling, and issues around safety, privacy and regulation that shape the everyday experiences of online sex workers. We look at specific processes around selling sex, how online websites are used, specific issues with exploitative practices and the new age of social media and sex work. Across these papers, which are constructed of both detailed funded projects, preliminary doctoral research agendas, and thoughtful analytical commentary, we hope to bring discussants and audiences together to speak across many of the conferences themes, centring the place of digital technologies at the heart of where knowledge, safety and social justice for sex workers lie.

23. Sanders, Teela (University of Leicester), Scoular, Jane (University of Strathclyde), Campbell, Rosie (University of Leicester), Pitcher, Jane (University of Strathclyde) and Cunningham, Stewart (University of Strathclyde), *'Commercial Sex in the Digital Age: Working practices of Internet based sex workers'*

We know that the internet and mobile phones has had an explosive impact on the nature, organisation and access to commercial sex across much of the Western world. Beyond the Gaze research project sets out to examine the exact impact of this change in terms of how sex workers of all genders use digital technologies and how this influences their working practices. What are the new marketing strategies and business models applied? How are professional networks developing, mirroring mainstream businesses? How do the emerging markets of webcamming and instant messaging chat developing because of the possibilities of computer mediated technologies? We are particularly concerned with how safety issues are affected by online visibility, with issues of privacy, identity and security complicated by having an online profile and limited control over information security. This paper outlines data from a large survey of sex workers and in-depth qualitative interviews to explore some of the pressing issues for those who work via and on the internet in the commercial sex industry.

24. Cooper, Emily (University of Central Lancaster) and Maginn, Paul (University of Western Australia), *'On-street, off-street, and online: the dynamic liminalities of sex work'*

Sex work has long been the subject of labelling and stigma with sex workers, predominantly women, being the subjects of moral authority. Relatedly, the physical and virtual spaces in which sex work is produced and consumed have been subject to 'territorial stigmatization' (Wacquant,

2007). That is, commercial sex spaces have been marginalised – physically, socially and economically – by framing them, and those that occupy them, as immoral, deviant, dirty, disorderly, and dangerous. Sex work spaces are thus constructed as major ‘blemishes’ (Wacquant, 2007), not only on the urban landscape but the very fabric of society. Simultaneously, however, sex work spaces constitute ‘counter-spaces’ (Lefebvre, 1991) where ‘sexual boundary crossers’ (Hausbeck Korgan et al, 2016)[1] can engage in transgressive behaviours and express and celebrate their minority sexual identity status. Sex work spaces are also liminal in character in that they are often caught between the grey space of legality and illegality; ‘a space between sex and work whilst also being neither/both’ (Smith, 2015)[2]; a space that can be simultaneously physical and virtual; a space where different personas and/or alter egos can be portrayed and performed; and, a space where fantasy meets reality. This exploratory, conceptual paper will consider the key liminal characteristics across three distinct spaces where sex work is produced and consumed: (i) the street; (ii) indoor spaces (e.g. the home, hotels and brothels); and, (iii) the virtual (e.g. online escorting; social media and camming). It will be argued that the moral posturing, stigma and regulations imposed upon sex workers gives rise to the exercise of ‘liminal stigmatisation’. Simultaneously, however, the very liminality of sex work spaces, especially virtual ones, allows sex workers to mobilise and challenge this liminal stigma from above.

25. Lister, Kate (Leeds Trinity University), *‘Hashtag Sex Work: Twitter, Sex Work and Academic Research’*

As sex workers are stigmatised, often criminalized figures, historically, they have had little opportunity to speak without intermediaries. Rather, their stories and voices have been assumed by journalists, activists, and academics. However, with the advent of social media platforms, this is rapidly changing; social media has allowed sex workers a public voice, a space to engage with those speaking for them and about them, like never before. Online sex worker communities have been formed, alliances made and agendas set. ‘Nothing about us without us’ is the mantra of the sex worker rights movement and Twitter provides a platform for the sex worker voice to be heard, and forced academics to genuinely listen to the group they research. This paper explores how the micro-blogging platform Twitter provides a space for academics and sex workers to engage with one another in an active process of feedback, reciprocal communication and attribution. Twitter has changed research, especially historical research, into sex work by allowing academics to engage with their research subjects, new audiences and widening participation beyond the Ivory Tower's walls. Drawing upon my own experience of Twitter and the sex work community, this paper discusses how twitter, used properly, allows researchers to bridge the gap between academic, historical research, and the authentic sex worker voice. The process is one of democratisation, as Twitter facilitates a discussion, not a lecture, and enables an ethical shift in researching sex work.

26. Rand, Helen (University of Essex), *‘Digital revolution: is it revolutionising the sex industry? Perspectives from those who buy and sell technology-mediated sexual services’*

Digital developments have revolutionised the way we work, communicate and experience sex. Technology-mediated sexual services (TMSS) are the epitome of these changes in society. Sexual services are sold remotely using mobile telephones and laptops, connecting people via online portals and ‘apps’. The sexual experience is communicated via text, film and/or speech. Unlike

traditional forms of sex work, TMSS connects people virtually without any direct physical touch. Furthermore, as is common in the technology-driven gig economy, (sex)workers selling TMSS are generally self-employed with no contract, no set hours, working flexibly in response to the demands of the market. Workers are informed digitally when their services are needed. If there is no demand, there is no work.

Adding to the sex work literature, this research develops a sociology of work approach to make sense of how technology-mediated sexual services (TMSS) are produced, consumed and understood by those involved in the industry. This paper explores initial findings from the data collection phase of my PhD research. This includes a content analysis of recruitment websites; information booklets from recruiters; user-generated online forums by service providers; and Adultwork, an online marketplace for consumers and providers of the sex/adult industry. As well as, interviews conducted digitally (email, Skype, Whats app and telephone) with buyers and sellers of technology mediated sexual services.

## Panel Session 2B: Transnational Migration and Sex Work

Most of sex workers in western countries have a migratory background. The 2008 onwards-economic crisis has increased the mobility of people in search of better living conditions and so doing the number of migrant sex workers and migrant clients might have also necessarily risen. The relationships between migration and sex work, whilst taken for granted, needs to be disentangled in order to understand the influence of sex work on mobility and vice versa, as well as the specificity of living and working conditions among sex workers. The aim of this panel is to explore their reciprocal influence looking first at how sex work occurs in the migratory trajectory. Secondly, we aim to discuss the specific difficulties migrant sex workers face compared to their colleagues without a migratory background. Thirdly, we will explore the coping strategies of migrant sex workers, taking into account the collective (familiar, communitarian) and transnational dimension of these strategies. We seek to discuss the following questions: What are the issues and effect raised by the relationships between sex work and migration? How does migration impact on the working and living conditions of sex workers? Which are the geographic mobility trajectories that are deployed and articulated with sex work? What are the specific strategies that are developed by migrant sex workers? What are the familiar, communitarian and transnational dimension of these strategies?

### 27. Skilbrei, May-Len (University of Oslo), *'The difference migration makes'*

When looking at governmental debates and policies, Norway approach prostitution as an arena where women are exploited, either as victims of trafficking or by prostitution in itself. Prostitution is approached as a uniform phenomenon and differentiation between different actors and markets is illegitimate. In this paper I will demonstrate how politicians and the media has framed the prostitution of migrants as an exception and how this has opened up for different forms of control. This goes into making being a migrant something that influence women's experience with prostitution. I particularly look at how migrants from Nigerian in Norwegian prostitution markets are approached. They are not unequivocally defined as victims or the kind of victims worthy of assistance. I argue that debaters actively establish Nigerian female sex-sellers as

'others' to three groups and that this effectively make them appear to be less worthy of protection. This is firstly done through how they are established as deviant in multiple ways in a way that redeems other women in prostitution. They were instead included in a national 'we' as yet another group that is negatively affected by the prostitution of Nigerian women. Secondly, while West African women are generally not a very visible and included group of migrants, with the arrival of Nigerian women in Norwegian prostitution markets, debaters argued for a need to combat the prostitution of Nigerian women to protect other West African women from being associated with prostitution. Lastly; while in general debates on prostitution in Norway, the existence of prostitution is deemed to be the responsibility of the clients, and also something all men and masculinity itself are complicit to, in the case of prostitution involving Nigerians, the sellers were portrayed as the drivers of the acts and the market, and their behavior as in breach with Norwegian gender equality norms and that something that offended men.

28. Plambech, Sine (Danish Institute For International Studies), *'Economies of sex work migration. The business of sex, deportation and rescue among Nigerian sex worker migrants'*

This paper explores the economies interlinked by the migration of Nigerian women sex workers. The literature and politics of sex work migration and human trafficking economies are commonly relegated to the realm that focuses on profits for criminal networks and pimps, in particular recirculating the claim that human trafficking is the "third largest" criminal economy after drugs and weapons. Based on ethnographic fieldwork among Nigerian sex worker migrants conducted in Benin City, 3 Nigeria in 2011 and 2012, this study brings together four otherwise isolated migration economies; facilitation, remittances, deportation, and the rescue industry. I suggest that we have to examine multiple sites and relink these in order to more fully understand the complexity of sex work migration and the involved economies. Drawing upon literature within transnational feminist analysis, critical human trafficking studies, and migration industry research, the presentation seeks to broaden our current understanding of sex work migration and the "economy of human trafficking."

29. Chimienti, Milena (HETS), *'The migratory and career trajectories of sex workers in Switzerland'*

This paper explores the routes of migration of sex workers living in Switzerland. The first part of the paper will examine when and how sex work occurred in their migratory trajectory and to what extent this economic activity has been related to their migration. So doing the paper will examine the role of spatial mobility in their activity. In the second part of the paper we will discuss their career trajectory looking at paths inside and outside this market. The concept of career will help us to consider the segmentation of the sex market. The paper will draw on 50 qualitative interviews with migrant sex workers in Switzerland.

30. Oliveira, Alexandra (University of Porto) and Oso, Laura (Universidade da Coruña), *'Brazilian migration and sex work in the regions of Porto (Portugal) and Galicia (Spain): a comparison of characteristics and strategies'*

In the current European context, migrant sex work has registered considerable growth, and in this sense, countries such as Spain and Portugal are a case in point. A comparison can be drawn between migrant sex work in these two contexts due to their shared cultural features, their geographical proximity and a certain evidence of cross-border sex work mobility. The aim of this

paper is therefore to analyse and compare migration among Brazilian women in North Portugal region and northern Spanish region of Galicia. The paper begins with an analysis of the entry mechanisms (e.g. autonomous migration, small trafficking networks, etc.), as well as the migration projects of Brazilian women sex workers and their integration into the labour market. Secondly, we will study the various forms and characteristics of sex work in the two regions in question, namely Porto and Galicia. Finally, we will consider the migration strategies implemented by Brazilian women in both regions (e.g. installation, saving and 4 return, etc.) and relate them to labour strategies within the context of sex work. The analysis is based on two qualitative field work projects conducted by the authors with Brazilian women sex workers in Porto and Galicia. The findings revealed a number of differences and similarities between the two regions.

### Panel Session 2C: Religion, Spirituality, Family, Kinship and Sexual Markets in Brazil

This panel will concentrate papers dealing with topics often regarded as antithetical to sex work: religion and family. Here we privilege approaches which show how the realms of the spiritual, moral and kinship form a continuity with various forms of sexual commerce in Brazil. The papers are drawn from three paradigmatic regions for sex work in the country: Rio de Janeiro (Brazil's signature city), Fortaleza (an impoverished northeastern beach metropolis which underwent a tourism and real estate boom in the first decade of the twenty first century), and the Amazonian border region between Brazil, Colombia and Peru. These papers all demonstrate sex work is constituted by and constitutes kinship networks and spiritual/religious belief systems in ways that contradict contemporary "common sense" thought regarding the sale of sex.

31. De Lisio, Amanda (Bournemouth University/University of Toronto) and Bahia, Joana (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ)), *'Deviant Development and Spiritual Interpellation: Sex Work and Spirituality Rio de Janeiro, Brazil'*

This panel will concentrate papers dealing with topics often regarded as antithetical to sex work: religion and family. Here we privilege approaches which show how the realms of the spiritual, moral and kinship form a continuity with various forms of sexual commerce in Brazil. The papers are drawn from three paradigmatic regions for sex work in the country: Rio de Janeiro (Brazil's signature city), Fortaleza (an impoverished northeastern beach metropolis which underwent a tourism and real estate boom in the first decade of the twenty first century), and the Amazonian border region between Brazil, Colombia and Peru. These papers all demonstrate sex work is constituted by and constitutes kinship networks and spiritual/religious belief systems in ways that contradict contemporary "common sense" thought regarding the sale of sex.

32. Luna Sales, Ana Paula ((UNICAMP/Pagu Gender Studies Nucleus), *'Sex, Drugs and Religion: Policies of Confronting Sex Crimes in Fortaleza, Brazil'*

This presentation explores the mismatches between the discourses of policies that seek to repress sexual crimes in the Brazilian city of Fortaleza and contemporary dynamics of the cities sexual markets. Through analysis of ethnographic data collected from 2010 to the present, as well as the literature regarding sexual economies in Fortaleza, I propose that the last ten years have

been marked by a major shift in the role of sexual exchange in the everyday economic lives of the women and girls who are residents of the city's suburbs. Looking at two distinct sectors of the sex market, one that is popular, racialized and geared towards local clients and a second that is directed toward foreign customers and which employs women from different social classes and who display different body styles, I propose that the sexual-affective exchanges in the forms of "tricks" in the first context, and "help" in the second have gradually lost their importance. The women in both these markets are increasingly finding economic and symbolic benefits by participating in drug markets and religious communities. Taking up the public policies which seek to repress sex crimes and which have been operative in Fortaleza for at least the past 20 years, I suggest that they have little to do with the observed changes described above, which are due to several factors such as the European economic crisis, the expansion of the drug market and the growth of neo-Pentecostalism in the suburbs. In this manner, I question the way in which discourses about the alleged "expansion" of Fortaleza's sex markets have helped to erase the effects of other dynamics that are relevant to the everyday economies in which the girls and women of my study are currently engaged.

33. Nieto Olivar, José Miguel (Center for Gender Studies PAGU/Unicamp), *'Other Economies: Alliances, Pleasures and Ephemeral Gains in the "Sexual Markets" along the Peruvian, Brazilian and Colombian Triple Border'*

At the margins of national projects, of "upper case" States and economic crises, people participating the "sex market" along the Amazon border between Brazil, Peru and Colombia, weave themselves into other economies in which alliances, pleasures and ephemeral gains mobilize sexualities and money according to the rhythm of these people's wants and needs. In this work, which is the fruit of five years of ethnographic research in and around the city of Tabatinga Brazil, I analyze the meanings that the formative and looping connections between sex, gender, marriage and money acquire in this context, including "prostitution" and its transformations and reconfigurations in these times of crisis. The affirmation of Colombian "prostitution" in a Brazilian city, the persistence of "the materialities of everyday sex and love" (Hunter, 2010) as the basis of sociality, and local economic formations indicate how the border makes possible grammars of economic legibility and regimes of access to money that are generally not understood as part of the macroeconomics of nations.

#### Panel Session 2D:

34. Vorheyer, Claudia (University of Zurich), *'Sex for sale and the law-in-action: Policies and politics between professional norms, common sense and morality politics'*

The paper presents the results of a qualitative-empirical research project on prostitution governance (regarding Germany, Poland, Czech Republic), in which policies and politics have been approached and investigated from a bottom-up perspective. It focuses on the everyday practices by the means of the police force, regulatory agency, public health authority as well as social work and, therefore, corresponds with Wagenaar and Altink's (2012) request for giving more attention to the mundane details of policy implementation. Based on semi-structured expert interviews with frontline-actors of governmental as well as civil organisations their accounts as well as its

underlying principles and mechanisms are identified. In doing so an empirically grounded concept of occupational habitus formations in the policy domain of prostitution has been developed. It consists of three fundamental dimensions – the definition of subject, the definition of self and the definition of environment – whose elements will be presented in greater detail. However, the empirically revealed significance and crucial impact these subject-related patterns of perception, thought and action are having on the implementation of prostitution policy at the individual and local level call for an explanation. To make sense of such “individualised administration practices” we take a closer look at the systematic ambivalences and challenges, which the street level bureaucrats are facing day to day. Taking in consideration these difficulties – first related to the issue, second to the professions and third to the governance field – contributes to an increasing comprehension of the possibilities but also necessities of frontline governance actor’s scope of interpretation and action. Together with the fact that prostitution policy is a domain of morality politics, as Wagenaar and Altink’s (2012) noted most aptly, it reinforces the request to understand the everyday reality and development of urban policy making beyond academic reasons for the fulfilment of democratic, political and social needs.

35. Hanks, Sam (Cardiff University), *‘Positioning the structures, cultures and regulatory contours of Cardiff’s massage parlours within a broader economic nexus of labour, migration, ethnicity and gender’*

This paper is based on research that considers how the broader economic nexus of labour, migration, ethnicity and gender intersects with and shapes sex work practices in massage parlours in the city of Cardiff, Wales. It explores the factors that contribute to sex workers positioning themselves within the city’s massage parlours as a single sector and locale in a multifaceted and global sex industry. Further considerations of the manifestation of such factors within sex worker’s accounts of the lived experience of massage parlours are provided. Through the analysis of interviews with twelve sex workers and three parlour managers, and observational data collected across four research sites, it is posited that insight in to the social worlds of massage parlours affords contemplation of the structures, cultures and regulatory contours that shape their micro practices. It is further argued that efforts to regulate, protect and support those engaged in parlour based sex work at the local level must be mindful of the heterogeneity of sex workers and the premises in which they work, whilst remaining conscious of the broader - and constantly fluctuating - transnational economic nexus in which the trade of sexual services is ultimately embedded.

36. Spanger, Marlene (Aalborg University), *‘Regulating sex for sale through the intersection of migration and anti-trafficking policy’*

Within the Danish policy field of prostitution, the problematisation of migrant women who sell sexual services is primarily narrated as displaced victims ending up in the sex industry. How such a displacement are represented as a problem relies on two arguments that often supplement each other and are embedded in a feminist and a social policy discourse: first, that the victim is forced by physical violence or tricked by criminal organizations or a potential husband from the receiving country. Second, that human trafficking are caused by lack of gender equality, poverty, unemployment, poor opportunities for education, corruption or political instability combined with the demand for women in the global sex industry. These arguments (physical violence and

global structural inequalities) ground the outreach work of social workers among migrant sex workers. The presentation investigates how the complexity of power and trust relations conditions the negotiation between the social worker and the migrants selling sexual services. For instance, the 'caring' element in terms of 'help', 'guidance' and 'direction', but also 'condemnation' condition the negotiations. The presentation is based on a fieldwork among Thai migrant sex workers and their encounter with Danish social worker.

37. Katona, Noemi (Humboldt Universitat zu Berlin), *'Between human trafficking and migration for sex work: addressing the boundaries of legality regarding third parties in prostitution'*

Recently several articles were published about a Hungarian woman, who worked as a "madamme" in a red-light-district in a German city, Bremerhaven. While the Hungarian law enforcement agencies aimed to arrest and sentence her for procurement, the German authorities did not deliver her, as they claimed that facilitating prostitution was a proper job in Germany.<sup>1</sup> This example highlights the discrepancies between various legislative models, and the blurred boundaries of legality regarding the role of third parties in prostitution. Migration deeply structures the sex market in Europe, however, the facilitation of this migration raises various problems due to the diverse law and policy making in different countries. What do we consider as human trafficking and as voluntary migration for sex work? How are victims and crimes constructed and investigated? In my presentation I will look at how human trafficking and procurement are conceptualized by different actors (service providers and law enforcement), while referring to cases of Hungarian women working abroad in prostitution. I will analyse the work of Hungarian law enforcement agencies, (primarily the Hungarian National Bureau of Investigation / NBI) based on interviews and criminal files, and by analyzing the law on transnational organized crime. I will look at the challenges of investigating and proving human trafficking, especially focusing on the particularities of international cooperation between law enforcement agencies. I will show how the attitude towards prostitution within the Hungarian organization shapes the legal categories of victimhood and crime. I will contrast the narrative of the NBI with the perspective of service providers, and with other international law enforcement agencies.

### Panel Session 2E:

38. de Cabo, Annelie (University of Gothenburg) and Kuosmanen, Jari (University of Gothenburg), *'Men selling sex to men: Queering understandings of hegemonic masculinities'*

Men selling sex to men is a somewhat queer phenomenon in that hegemonic discourses on prostitution constitute the sex selling field as a heterosexualized space. According to these western world dominant narratives, selling sex is a problem (rather than an opportunity) affecting women. Men are unanimously portrayed as sex workers' clients as well as perpetrators. In terms of transgressing heteronormativity and intrinsic masculinity regimes the male sex business is often alleged as a far more boundary breaking activity than the heterosexual counterpart. The purpose of this article is twofold. Firstly, to analyze how Swedish male sex workers' accounts for selling sex relates to hegemonic masculinities. Secondly, to discuss the potential benefits and difficulties of bringing together "the affective turn" with masculinity studies. Based on 12 in-

depth interviews with men and transgender individuals selling sex to men, the analysis reveals that the interviewees construct multiple masculinities, all in line with Connell's hegemonic model. In addition, this construction work required certain kinds of emotional boundary work on behalf of the concerned individuals, most importantly the distancing of "the self" from dominant discourses of women selling sex to men (victim versus pariah femininity). In conclusion, we argue that the multiple masculinities emerging through our analysis reflect a response to the feminized "whorestigma" as an ever-present menace to all kinds of masculinities, whether queer, gay or straight.

39. Zambelli, Elena (University of London), *'Love exists in this job too. And this is beautiful.'* *Work, affectivity and mobilities in erotic and sex workers' narratives'*

The possibility and significance of erotic and sex workers' articulation of boundaries to separate their work and intimacy spheres is at the core of the feminist sex wars' debate on the meanings, and regulation, of prostitution/sex work. Radical feminists and abolitionists argue that in prostitution, women alienate from what makes them women in their first place, which is their sexed body (Pateman 1988). On the other side, sex workers and their allies stress workers' capacity to maintain a separation between themselves, their work and their affectivity (Chapkis 1997). Underlying both positions is the assumption that maintaining a neat separation between the market and intimacy is both possible and desirable; an assumption that, however, Viviana Zelizer (2005) cogently showed to constitute a social construction instead. Drawing from my ethnographic research, this contribution will highlight the complex entanglement of the work and intimacy spheres articulated by women who migrated to Italy and work as erotic or sex workers in different market niches. In the background of racialised and gendered mobility and employability patterns arising at the intersection between prostitution and migration laws, it will show the complex weaving sex, care, love and work in their narratives, as they pursue the means to fulfil their personal aspirations and feed their emotional ties.

40. Bacio, Marco (Lund University and University of Milan), *'Male sex workers and the internet: a tight relationship'*

Since the very beginning the gay community built a strong relation with internet. At that time, due to the high stigmatization of the society, the new virtual space created plenty of opportunities for gay men and lesbians. Internet became the place where gay and lesbians could talk freely, where they could know other people, and where they could build a wider community. Today, internet still has a key role in the everyday life of the LGBTQ community. Moreover, male sex workers have crowned internet as the (almost only) place where to be. Since the problems of identity and identification, fear of being recognize on the streets, and for more general safety reasons, men who sell sex to other men decided to move into the online space. Male sex workers have created their own websites, they advertise themselves through international websites for escorts, and they are present in the very popular 'apps' that gay men use every day. In my paper, through an online ethnography and a quantitative study, I investigate how male sex workers in Sweden and Italy and their clients use internet to find each other, what they write, what they show, and what they advertise. In this way, I am able to better understand the sexuality of people who buy and sell sex. I use sexual script theory in order to define the sexual behaviour of these people. Attention will be devoted to new media ('app' like Grindr), to safe sex practice, and

HIV/AIDS prevention. This paper is part of a larger project on male sex workers in Sweden and Italy.

## Panel Session 2F: Judging pimping and trafficking in court; from the victim's testimony to legal evidence

In this panel, we propose to focus on the differing routines, techniques and performances of truth production in criminal pimping and trafficking trials. Especially, the panel aims at addressing the articulation between victim testimony (which is usually presented as a central element of pimping and trafficking trials irrespective of the legal context), legal evidence and criminal judgment. How do the different legal professionals adjudicate which narrative on “what happened” to trust, what techniques do they use in order to legitimise their perspective and which role do they give to the “victim” in this regard? What is the status and purpose of victims’ testimony in countries (like for instance France) where the testimony of the victim is not needed to prove the existence of an offence, as opposed to countries (like for instance Germany) where the victims’ testimony is the main piece of evidence needed for judging on pimping and trafficking? To which extent does the judgment on the victims’ credibility by different actors influence the legal characterization of a case as a “pimping” or a “trafficking” one? And to which extent is this judgment of the authenticity of the “victim” related to gender and race representations by the legal professionals involved? Finally, in how far are the migration trajectories of the “victim” and the “accused” a topic in court, and how does this play out for the findings of truthfulness or victimhood? To address these questions, we propose to gather paper proposals based on ethnographic fieldwork that examine how victimhood is narrated in a legal environment related to sexual exploitation and how the making of victimhood does interact with the establishment of legal evidence.

41. Darley, Mathilde (CNRS - CESDIP) and Mainsant, Gwénaëlle (CNRS – IRISSO, France), ‘*Sex, Migration and the Law. Patterns of judgement in human trafficking trials*’

Whereas many works have tackled the issue of trafficking by analysing the effects of antitrafficking discourses in terms of criminalization of migration and prostitution, little empirical research is available on how the categories of “trafficking”, “victims of trafficking” and/or “traffickers” are locally produced and applied (or not) to cases of migration for prostitution purposes. Drawing on ethnographic observations in French courts, this paper aims therefore at filling a gap by understanding the ways legal institutions deal with migrant prostitutes and qualify (or not) their implication in sex work as trafficking (involving exploitation without consent). In particular, it is to analyse the role played by gendered and racialized stereotypes commonly expressed during interviews with judges and lawyers describing the French prostitution landscape. In a context where a particular attention has been paid to trafficking at the international, European and national level but few trafficking cases are actually recorded in most European countries, we propose here to analyse how these gendered and racialized stereotypes impact daily work practices (observed through ethnography) leading to the constitution (or not) of a trafficking case and the designation of “victims”. As the ultimate place where trafficking as an offence has to be proved and the relationship between a (migrant) prostitute and her pimp has therefore to be qualified, trafficking and/or pimping trials appear to be a crucial point of analysis:

ethnographic observations in courts indeed enable to question the role played by cognitive frameworks that are socially situated, racialized and gendered when legal professions interpret the seriousness of the offence (especially the importance of violence), the role of the different parties in the case and in fine the legal categories. Combined with interviews conducted with different legal actors (attorneys, defence and civil party lawyers, judges), the ethnography of pimping and trafficking trials in a major French district court brings to light the racialized and gendered dimensions of a sex and migration policy.

42. Pates, Rebecca (University of Leipzig), *'Good and suitable Victims of Trafficking: How Judges tell truthfulness in German court cases'*

The classification of victims into “good” – unwilling – and “bad” – willing or vague – victims is done in accordance with different perspectives on good and bad victims (Jacobsen/Skilbrei 2010). One of the empirical findings following court cases on trafficking in Germany allowed us to distinguish two good victims: on the one hand, comparing the extant witness in a trafficking case to standardised narratives on what makes a victim (innocence, youth, femininity, honourable migration history) a good victim (Christie 1986) allows judges to short-circuit other deliberations; but a suitable victim furthermore is one who shows the right demeanour in court (passionlessness, attentiveness) and who participates in the right sort of narratives, involving particular causal, temporal and spacial conventions and narratives expected in court and used to measure verisimilitude. This presentation will show the implications of the notions of good and suitable victims with regards to their migration status. “Roma” for example has come to be term used to denote victims who are not deemed to be ever good or suitable. How the term works to summarise this lack of “fit” with the court conventions shall be one focus of this paper.

43. Favarel-Garrigues, Gilles (CNRS – IRISSE, France) and Mathieu, Lilian (CNRS – IRISSE, France), *'When the “good pimp” makes the “good victim”? Legal construction of pimps in French courts'*

Based on observations made in French courts during pimping and trafficking trials, we propose to question what is legally characterized as trafficking and/or pimping and, in particular, how it interferes with the legal construction of the pimp as a trials' central character. In a legal context focusing on the fight against trafficking and currently appealing for “any pimping practices involving foreigners to be charged with trafficking” [Interview, Public prosecutor, May 2016], the criteria defining a “real pimp” (and, in correlation with this, a “real victim”) in court appear to be rather based on economic, emotional, ethnical, gender and criminal assumptions crystallized into ideal-typical categories of pimps than on legally defined and strictly circumscribed illegal practices. Indeed, besides the central role devoted by legal professionals to money in the relationship between pimps and prostitutes for materializing sexual exploitation, we particularly want to explore the attention judges pay to the very nature of this relationship and the way they interpret its potential emotional and/or conflictual dimension in the legal process of truth production. In this regard, interviews with judges, public prosecutors and defense lawyers clearly reveal gender-, age- and ethnicity-based typologies of pimps whose recurrence contribute to enlighten the legal interpretation made at court when assessing the defendants' compliance with the pimp's “ideal-type” and therefore the characterization of his/her practices towards the assumed victim(s) as sexual exploitation or not. In a broader perspective of sociology of work, we aim at questioning to which extent this particular construction of the pimp in the court's arena

serves the professional interests of legal actors: we assume that the particular aspects they focus on in the construction of an “ideal pimp” enable them to both nourish the currently dominating and legally grounded perception of migrant prostitutes as intrinsically victims and legitimize the inscription of pimping involving foreigners (and/or trafficking) into the field of organized crime, therefore justifying the professional specialization of their court on “serious offences”.

### Panel Session 2G:

#### 44. Groes, Christian (Roskilde University) *‘Men come and go, while mothers stay: Migrating to Europe through the sexual economy and transnational affective circuits’*

A growing number of young women enter the sexual economy in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, in order to search for social mobility as well as a gateway to arriving in Europe. Many enter into transactional sexual relationships with older white men, and increasingly end up marrying them and moving with them to their respective countries. These women’s migratory projects relate to their broader goal of achieving full personhood. To reach this goal, they need to simultaneously support kin, thus becoming a respected family member, and at the same time achieve freedom (*liberdade*), understood as pursuit of personal ambitions. However, when they realize that getting married does not allow them to help kin and achieve *liberdade*, (e.g. due to a controlling partner) some women look for other means to reach these goals, in particular by working in the sex industry. By taking jobs as erotic dancers, bar ladies, sex workers or porn models they find alternative solutions for reaching their goals, and thereby resist the prerequisite of marriage as a means to migration imposed by European states. To understand their behavior when they move with men to Europe, I suggest situating these women within a wider network of affective circuits (see Cole and Groes, 2016, Groes-Green 2013) to encompass intimate exchanges vis-à-vis European partners and sex clients, on the one hand, and kin back home, on the other. This is part of an effort to move beyond what I call methodological conjugalism, which is the tendency to see marriage as the norm, the ideal, and the natural end point for women from the global south who migrate with Europeans and settle in Europe, and a tendency marginalizing, suppressing and making invisible alternative migration avenues such as sex work and transactional sex.

#### 45. Preston, Patrick (University of East Anglia), *‘Fictions of selling sex: queerness, migration and sex work in Neel Mukherjee’s A Life Apart’*

This paper explores queer migrant sex work in Neel Mukherjee’s 2010 novel, *A Life Apart*. Protagonist Ritwik is variously displaced from family, friends, and cities old and new. Working in London, he confronts borders inscribed along lines of race, gender, sexuality and class: exposing the city’s differentiated mobilities and articulating routine feelings of alienation. Moving transnationally and locally with agency, Ritwik complicates reductive arguments of the essential exploitation and trafficking of migrant sex workers. Navigating his work on the street and the phone, Ritwik illuminates the plural forms of sex work. A queer male, he disrupts the gendered assumption that street sex work is women’s work. Mukherjee’s narration of the ‘meat mile’ details how the presence of sex workers in urban space can produce narratives of wastelands and badlands, mediating affects and interactions between bodies. While these stigmatizing narratives

structure Ritwik's own essentializing gaze at the women around him, the novel unravels these morality myths, exposing their contradictions and historical construction. Analyzing Ritwik's labored movement through London, I explore how abject bodies experience the city, spatio-temporally and affectively, and how displacement is variously manifest in quotidian sex work. I argue that Ritwik spatializes place as he moves across the city, dislodging fixed narratives mapped onto the lives of sex workers and interrogating the disciplinary regulation of 'other', or 'loitering' bodies. Working through ambivalent gender performance and the labour of passing in and out of work, Ritwik uses imaginative play as a mode of resistance. This psychic displacement narrates the lived space of the imagination, inverting the fetishizing perspective of the client which has been historically privileged in fiction. I argue that the novel form can usefully explore the queerness of sex work, complicating contemporary epistemologies and critical discourses by illuminating these affective and interior worlds.

46. Diatlova, Anastasia (University of Helsinki), *"Home is When You Have Something of Your Own.": Belonging Among Russian-speaking Women Engaged in Commercial Sex in Finland'*

The lives of Russian-speaking women engaged in commercial sex in Finland are characterized by a high level of mobility. They move across national borders, within countries and through the urban spaces. This mobility is necessitated by migration legislation and by the nature of commercial sex itself. In this paper, I explore the ways in which Russian-speaking women engaged in commercial sex conceptualize home and belonging in the context of their highly mobile lives. While they predominately claim mobile and adaptable identities, they also construct their belonging to some places through family ties, emotional connections, and, particularly, through their ownership of private property. I argue that this belonging through ownership is related to their work environment, since commercial sex is often experienced in spaces to which they have no claim such as rented apartments, clients' homes or performance venues that simulate private rooms, but also their desire to create spaces of comfort where they can experience personal freedom, pleasing only themselves. The paper is based on semi-structured interviews with Russian-speaking women engaged in commercial sex and ethnographic fieldwork conducted in clubs, private show venues, and an NGO that provides services to sex workers.

47. Nautz, Jürgen (Ostwestfalen-Lippe University of Applied Sciences), *"Our Sisters of the Street" – Concepts of Mobility Control in the Anti-Vice Discourse in Germany and Austria (19th to mid 20th century)*

Colonial expansion, industrialization and globalization effected a deepening of economic links and migration flows in a more or less global scale. The migration of (working-class) women from the country-side and small towns to metropolitan regions, emerging big cities and industrial agglomerations, from colonial mainland to colonized countries, and from Europe and Asia to the US on a scale never seen before is identified as the proximate cause for the appearance of the trafficked woman and the "white slave". The new mobility of labor brought by the technological innovations is identified as an accommodative development, which enabled traffickers and procurers to react instantly to the worldwide growing demand of white women. It can come as no surprise therefore that the improved mobility in the context of more civil liberties met with increasing interest of anti-vice and anti-trafficking activists including voluntary associations, experts and politicians. In the 19th century started a discussion how to "protect" the women

against the dangers of modern life. And the mobility management was one important starting point for anti-trafficking strategies. I.e. in 1897 the German Reichstag passed a migration law. Persons who brought women into prostitution abroad under false pretenses or by debt bondage should be punished with imprisonment. National laws and international treaties regulated that railways, train station, ports should be subject of strict surveillance. This strategy is based more on assistance for (potential) victims. Of special interest is a discourse about instruments to reduce the mobility of women. I.e. in Austria considerations came up to implement stronger migration regulations for women. The paper will give an overview about the different concepts of gendered mobility management, regulations and activities, and will try to relate them to the ideological background of the different actors.

## Paper session 3 Thursday 30th March 2017 11.30-1.00pm

### Panel Session 3A: Sex Work in the Digital Age

It can be argued that paralleled with migration, the definitive change to the sex industry in recent decades has been the move to the online digital world. This has impacted on both the nature and extent of the sex industry, transforming the organisational features of how sex work happens, who can become involved as a seller, buyer or third party organiser, and where commercial sex takes place. This set of eight papers starts to address the significant changes that have taken place, by investigating the organisational processes and practices of sex workers, businesses and web platforms to dig further into our limited understandings of these massive changes. The panel will speak across geographical locations exploring the boundary-less spaces of online sex work, referring to emerging markets such as webcam modelling, and issues around safety, privacy and regulation that shape the everyday experiences of online sex workers. We look at specific processes around selling sex, how online websites are used, specific issues with exploitative practices and the new age of social media and sex work. Across these papers, which are constructed of both detailed funded projects, preliminary doctoral research agendas, and thoughtful analytical commentary, we hope to bring discussants and audiences together to speak across many of the conference themes, centring the place of digital technologies at the heart of where knowledge, safety and social justice for sex workers lie.

#### 48. Strohmayer, Angelika (Newcastle University), *'Supporting Support Services: The Digital Revolution?'*

Many sex workers use technologies in innovative ways in various aspects of their working lives. Support services however rarely make use of digital technologies to support them in their everyday practice. In this paper, I will outline a case study of one charity's novel use of technology to illustrate the role the digital plays in their successful direct service delivery as well as underlying social and criminal justice agendas. I will do this by first introducing the discipline called Human Computer Interaction (HCI) and outlining their move towards feminist and social justice oriented approaches, topics of sex, sexualities, and activism, and reflexive methodologies. As part of this there has also been a shift towards Digital Civics (Olivier & Wright 2015), and as such relational models of service provision, citizen activism, and participatory methods, giving it a unique potential to support sex workers, sex worker rights organisations, and sex worker support services. Taking these disciplinary and methodological potentials into account, I will discuss an interdisciplinary, mixed methods, and collaborative case study of National Ugly Mugs: a politically active UK sex work support charity that allows sex workers to report crimes committed against them, creates alerts out of these for other sex workers, and trains police and services on good practice for service delivery. By evaluating their services, I provide an outline of how they utilise technologies in their day-to-day activities, focusing on how this affects their reporting, alerting, and mobilisation 4 practices. At the end of the presentation I will discuss how technologies can aid in institutional and fractured service delivery by showing how it has influenced the re-designing of the NUM website, and pose questions that should be considered by interdisciplinary

sex work researchers addressing the digital, and other sex work support services wishing to integrate more technologies into their services.

49. Cunningham, Scott (Baylor University) and DeAngelo, Gregory (West Virginia University), *'Letters of Reference and the Market for Sex'*

Black market professions are often rife with significant occupational hazards. Among black market professions, prostitution entails some of the riskiest occupational tasks, with ramifications including contracting sexually transmitted infections, potential abuse from Johns and concern of arrest by law enforcement. In this work we examine a unique and, to our knowledge, entirely unstudied aspect of the commercial sex market; namely, the request of letters of reference from johns prior to the exchange of sex services. We posit that letters of reference could be used either to mitigate the risk of contact with an abusive john or police officer or for prostitutes to both differentiate themselves as being a high quality provider and johns as being high willingness-to-pay demanders. Pitting an offsetting behavior model against a vertical product differentiation model, we generate a series of testable predictions to determine if letters are used to mitigate risk or differentiate in order to corner those johns that have a higher willingness-to-pay for sex services. We test the theoretical predictions using a unique cross-sectional sample of sex service providers, finding that providers who use letters of reference are less inclined to take on riskier behaviors. Additionally, those who use letters of reference engage in sex services with fewer clients, spend more time with each client and obtain higher weekly earnings than those prostitutes who do not engage in the use of letters of reference. Thus, we conclude that the use of letters of reference appear to be a tool that is used by prostitutes to differentiate both themselves and johns with higher demand for sex services rather than a tool to reduce demander-related risk.

50. Ljungberg, Emilia (Karlstad University), *'Fluid, invisible and always available: using mobile technology to present sex work as placeless non-work in Ohlala, an app for paid dating'*

The last decades have seen changes in how commercial sex is perceived by mainstream society but this is ambivalent and contradictory (Weitzer, 2010). The increasing acceptance and mainstreaming of the sex industry is foremost about economic inclusion while socially the industry remains highly stigmatized (Brents and Sanders, 2010). Digital technology plays a central role in this partial mainstreaming of commercial sex. Ohlala, an "app for paid dating", is an example of this. The app was launched in Berlin March 2015 by the developer Pia Poppenreiter. It is now available in several large German cities, and in February 2016 it was launched in New York. Ohlala uses digital technology to navigate the ambivalent landscape of late modernity and avoid stigmatization by claiming to connect its users for "paid dates", presenting sex work as a kind of remunerated non-work. Through the mobile app technology sex work becomes placeless which removes it further from the stigma of prostitution that is traditionally associated with street based workers in rundown inner city areas. (Hubbard, 2011) The paper analyses how Ohlala constructs respectability by making use of the myths around new mobile app technology. The analysis thus shifts the gaze from the technological affordances of the app to the narratives of fluidity, urban cosmopolitanism and the technological sublime that invest new digital technology with cultural meaning. Ohlala presents itself as part of an online culture of dating and casual hookups, not much different from Grindr and Tinder, but it also uses the narratives of the trendy

tech startup and the apps of the sharing economy such as Uber that also dismantle traditional definitions of work.

### Panel Session 3B: Making a case: social work and the clientelisation of (precariously living) migrant sex workers

Social service providers (usually NGOs) for sex workers and victims of sex trafficking mostly engage with a certain segment of the sex work sector, usually addressing those working under relatively precarious conditions, often migrants. The service providers empower, support, direct and manage those who become their clients. However, “becoming a client” is a complex procedure consisting of various steps, which is governed by established procedures as well as by the wider contexts and discourses. Our panel looks into these procedures and dynamics, with a focus on the (dis-)placement of sex work(ers) through NGO activities. Who is identified as a precarious sex worker, and how does involvement with NGOs/counselling centres change their subject positions? How are funding logics based on health care reconciled with the actual needs of marginalized sex workers, often related to housing or migration issues? How do the practices of NGOs stabilize and/or displace, i.e. move or change, the discourse on sex work? The different contributions address identification practices, administrative logics, file keeping and case management in counselling centres for sex workers and for women affected by trafficking-like conditions. They study the power relations, subjectifications and classifications taking place here. They look into the gateway position and access restrictions established by NGOs in order to ensure that the “right” clientele benefits from their services. Other contributions look into the dynamics and the dilemma of social service providers who want to support sex workers in their independence and the recognition of their jobs, but on the other hand are focused on those who ask for support, and depend on funding obtained through programs that specifically focus on (putative) deficits.

51. Darley, Mathilde (CESDIP, CNRS) Jacquemart, Alban (IRISSO, Université Paris Dauphine) and Mille, Muriel (Printemps, UVSQ), *“A victim of sex trafficking, everybody knows how to identify her!” NGO practices of victims’ identification in France’*

“A victim of sex trafficking, everybody knows how to identify her!” This is an affirmation we commonly heard when asking NGO workers assisting migrant prostitutes how to identify a victim of trafficking among their clients. Going further in the understanding of the process of “institutionalizing trafficking and its victims” within the French-German ANR-DFG ProsCrim project (lead by Mathilde Darley, CNRS-CESDIP Paris, and Rebecca Pates, University of Leipzig), we observed training sessions held by NGOs presenting themselves as experts in the field of victims’ identification and targeting other (non-expert) NGO workers. These observations have shown how some identification criteria have crystallised into an “expert knowledge” which widely circulates through trainings and meetings on trafficking. These criteria are related to the story of female migrant sex workers (and how they tell their story) but also to the way they behave during interviews with NGO workers. However, the criteria named in the trainings are not necessarily those used in the actual daily routines followed by NGO workers to draw a border between a “victim” and a “non-victim” of trafficking for sexual purposes. Based on ethnographic fieldwork

with NGOs (both during street work and during counselling work at the office), we propose to analyse the assistance practices as ways of hierarchizing migrant prostitutes according to their compliance with the image of a “real trafficking victim” or a “deserving victim”. Furthermore, we argue that this designation process partly relies on racialized perceptions of migrant prostitution (and prostitutes), but is also the result of a tight legitimacy competition between NGOs in times when the new legal context and funding landscape in France since April 2016 make the fight against trafficking and the assistance to its victims an absolute priority, eclipsing other aspects of prostitution work.

52. Dölemeyer, Anne (Leipzig University), Leser, Julia (Leipzig University) and Pates, Rebecca (Leipzig University), *‘Black box: The subjects of counselling centres’*

Counselling centres that receive funding for victims of trafficking into prostitution constantly are confronted with classification work: either they have to determine if a client might be a trafficking victim, and then counsel her on her legal options, or they receive clients whom the police already has identified as (putative) trafficking victim, and support her on the basis of this assumption. However, in interviews we conducted as part of the French-German research project “PROSCRIM - Institutionalizing Trafficking” (led by Rebecca Pates and Mathilde Darley), social workers at these centres have proven to be remarkably reluctant in classifying their individual clients as trafficking victims, leaving the labeling work to the police. This seems puzzling. However, it starts to make sense once one looks at the institutional landscape within which these organizations work. In our contribution, we take a fundamental look at how social service providers with a specialization on victims of trafficking into prostitution “do casework” within an institutional setting that provides certain rights for trafficking victims, but only if these victims become witnesses in criminal investigation. How do the social workers navigate between their own mission and the state requirements? How do they decide when to treat a woman’s life story as a case of human trafficking? How and when do they use or discard the ascription “trafficking victim”, and what are the consequences? We find (a) that there is a fundamental difference regarding the client-counsellor relationship, depending on whether or not the client testifies as victim-witness; and (b) that service providers implicitly (and perhaps inadvertently) distinguish two different subject positions: the psycho-social subject deserving of their support and the legal-administrative subjectivities under which “the state” “knows” migrants in prostitution as either deserving trafficking victims or (unwanted) migrant sex workers.

53. Löffler, Marlen (Frankfurt/Main University), *‘Constructing clients in social services for male to male sex workers’*

Low-threshold social service providers for male sex workers (NGOs) in Germany aim to support male sex workers in difficult life situations, as well as to sensitise and educate them with regards to the transmission of HIV and other STIs. Besides these goals there is also a request to displace the views on male to male sex work to reach a de-stigmatisation of male to male sex workers in the public and to empower the sex workers. Due to the NGOs’ specialisation only male sex workers may participate the offerings. That seems obvious, but because there are no external criteria the NGOs could use, the process of knowing who fits in is rather complex: How do the service providers know who may get access while others may not get access? Which criteria are used to find out who is an appropriate client and which requirements have to be managed by the

persons interested in the service offers in this process? What follows after getting access for the client but also for the service providers? Based on an ethnographic study of three German NGOs and on the theoretical framework of constructionist sociology of social problems I will analyse how male sex workers are constructed as the NGOs' users. By demonstrating the different stages that users can go through I will argue that the service providers differentiate between low-threshold support and high-threshold support and that getting support is connected to different requirements which have to be fulfilled by the NGOs' users. These insights into the process of clientification show how the NGOs' practices can help but also interfere with the aim to empower male sex workers and displace the discourse on male to male sex work in public.

### Panel Session 3C: Human Rights and/in Prostitution

54. Radačić, Ivana (Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences), *'Human rights implications of prostitution policies in Europe'*

In this paper I analyse human rights implications of different prostitution policies in Europe and examine what impact the model of decriminalisation has on human rights of sex workers, as the model endorsed by sex workers as the most respectful of their human rights. I first discuss the human rights standards with respect to sex work and the controversies surrounding the utilisation of human rights to talk about sex work. I then introduce the basic models of regulating prostitution in Europe and different restrictions they impose on human rights of sex workers. I finally examine the concrete impacts that decriminalisation has on human rights of sex workers in New Zealand, on the basis of the field work I undertook there.

55. Graham, Laura (Durham University), *'The Burgeoning Movement of Human Rights and Sex Work: What Lessons for England and Wales?'*

Human rights are becoming increasingly central to discussions around sex work globally. A range of United Nations bodies, including the General Assembly and UN Women have published reports and policies supporting decriminalisation of sex work to uphold sex workers' human rights. In the case of Bedford v Canada, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down three laws relating to sex work on the basis that they violated sex workers' rights under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. On 11 August 2015, Amnesty International (herein Amnesty) became the latest international organisation to openly support decriminalisation of sex work. Their decision was based on evidence indicating that decriminalisation is the response to sex work which best promotes the safety and human rights of sex workers. In the UK, human rights are also being used to challenge laws in Northern Ireland and are key in debates around reform in Scotland. This paper explores the use of human rights, and particularly legal human rights instruments, in the debates around sex work, arguing that they are both a useful and limited tool to promote sex workers' safety and agency. While examining the wider international debate, this paper looks closely at the potential for a human rights based challenge to sex work laws in England and Wales.

56. Havelková, Barbara (University of Oxford), *'Human Rights Adjudication of Prostitution: Individual Rights vs Abstract Principles?'*

The legal regulation of prostitution has been increasingly coming under judicial scrutiny from a human rights perspective. This has been most famously the case in non-European jurisdictions, such as Canada (Bedford) and South Africa (Jordan). But even European courts have been asked to address the issues, relating to the fundamental right of free movement (ECJ – eg Jany or Adoui&Cornuaille) and human rights under the European Convention of Human Rights (ECtHR – eg Trembley, Khelili among others). This paper proposes to look at the tensions inherent in human rights adjudication of the subject of prostitution, which largely copy the disagreement between feminist positions on the issue. Namely, the need to respect the individual, her rights, her self-determination and empowerment and her interpretation of sex work/prostitution on the one hand clashed with the more general public interest on the other. The paper will use the insights from the case-law and other debates on the individual rights (such as challenges to mandatory registration as a breach of privacy), but its aim is to more generally comment on this framework tension between the individual right and public interest and what challenges it poses for human rights adjudication of the regulation of prostitution.

57. Fedorkó, Boglárka (International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe - ICRSE), Dziuban, Agata (Jagiellonian University and ICRSE) and Stevenson, Luca (ICRSE), *'Surveilled, exploited, deported: The human rights consequences of Fortress Europe for migrant sex workers'* Sex workers all over Europe and Central Asia face a constant risk of human rights abuse. The human rights situation of sex workers across the region is exacerbated by increasing social and political conservatism, the rise of anti-gender movements and the growing governmental efforts to criminalise sex workers, their clients and third parties, those who facilitate or profit from sex workers' labour. A marked trend by several sex worker groups and civil society organisations is the increase of migration and mobility among sex workers to and within Europe in the past decade. It has been estimated that in some Western-European countries, migrants - often undocumented - make up the majority of sex workers. This population is further affected by anti-human trafficking and repressive migration policies implemented in most of the region. Anti-trafficking policies have significantly contributed to migrant sex workers' vulnerability to violence and exploitation and worsened their working conditions. Repeated police raids and so-called rescue operations in sex work settings continuously undermine sex workers' safety, deprive them of their earnings, and force them to work underground or in isolation whenever their workplaces are shut down following police actions. It has also been well-documented that these measures frequently result in undocumented migrants' deportation. The presentation will explore how the historical conflation of human trafficking with sex work contributes to racial profiling and increased police surveillance of migrant sex workers and how the European Union's efforts to protect the external EU borders against irregular migration often lead to serious violations of human rights, heightened vulnerability to violence and labour exploitation. Furthermore, violations of key human rights, such as migrant sex workers' right to health, housing, and employment will be analysed through case studies from the European and Central Asian context.

### Panel Session 3D: Sex, Work and the 2016 Olympic Games

Like all mega sporting events, the 2016 Olympic Games of Rio de Janeiro were preceded by media reports alleging that the games would be accompanied by a steep increase in prostitution, and sexual tourism, as well as negative phenomena such as child sexual exploitation, trafficking of persons. This particular event was further complicated by the fact that the city had recently hosted another, similar affair: the 2014 FIFA World's Cup. Gentrification, urban renewal, moral panics, economic and political crisis and a lack of any overall concern for sex workers' health and lives contributed to making both events stressful and not very lucrative for Rio's sex workers. The Olympic Games, however, were even less lucrative than the Cup, but were also seem to have generated less overt violence towards sex workers themselves. Prostitution Policy Watch / Observatório da Prostituição (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) worked together with sex worker rights organizations to conduct extensive and intensive research during the Games, exploring their impact on sex workers and the sale of sex in Rio and comparing and contrasting this with the situation during the World Cup. The papers forming this table are some of the results of this effort, which brought together academics, students, journalists, sex workers and activists to observe and record what the Games meant for our city's sex workers.

58. Rodriguez, Roxana (Williams College; Davida), *'Governmentality and Development of "Sex Trafficking" in the Rio 2016 Olympic Games'*

Scholars of development theory traditionally ignore the work of gender and sexuality studies scholars, especially in the realm of prostitution and "sex trafficking" policy and its intersections with urban renewal efforts. It is in case studies of global sporting events, such as the Olympics, where this gap in development studies is most impactful because it is here that scholars can see poor public policy around sex trafficking that harms sex workers. This research draws on five months of experience doing fieldwork before, during, and after the Olympic 2016 games in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The researcher presenting conducted fieldwork in fifteen commercial sex venues, which included informal interviews, participant observation, and analysis of a variety of meetings, capacity trainings, and public forums run by state and non-state actors around the question of sexual exploitation vis-a-vis the games. It also includes interviews and interactions with these actors. Another feature of this research presentation will be an analysis of visual materials deployed and distributed by these organizations. By bringing a critique of current development theory to bear on the case of the Olympics, I will highlight why development theory's lacuna in gender and sexuality studies is problematic. This presentation directly speaks to structures of governance and economic shifts. In so doing, it opens up new questions about how systems of governmentality shape sexuality through space and place in global cities.

59. da Silva, Ana Paula (Universidade Federal Fluminense) ), Oliveira, Cristina (sex worker, Vila Mimosa, Rio de Janeiro) and Murray, Laura (Universidade Estadual do Rio Janeiro), *'Empty Streets and Wallets: Sex Workers' Image, Audio and Emoticon Diaries of a Mega-Event'*

Mainstream media has historically erased sex workers' perspectives in the build-ups to "megaevents" around the world. Moral panics surrounding transformations of urban sexscapes in preparation of the events spur fears of sex-hungry tourists and packed brothels. Although experiences of sex workers globally show otherwise, the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympic Games

were no different, especially in the Vila Mimosa – Rio largest red light district. *Tempos de Jogos Tempos de Crises: Sex Worker Diaries of a Mega-event*” is a photo and audio diary project in which sex workers created a counter-discourse to mainstream media using their cellular phones to document how they experience Rio de Janeiro before, during and after the Olympics, with a focus on their daily experiences and transformations in the urban areas where they work. Rather than droves of tourists, images document preparing for work, waiting, and the anguish of frustrated expectations and empty brothels. A local politician’s pre-election intervention of paving the Vila’s street and a fire in one of the brothels show the kinds of transformations that structured work more than international sporting events. The events appear through the military tanks and barriers that made it difficult to get to work, and droves of journalists, rather than tourists, descending on the Vila. Images of daily life, ranging from pets to college demonstrate how life outside of work continued as usual, providing as well a vision of sex workers’ lives as mothers, students, and citizens of the city. Sharing through the What’s App group facilitated group reflections, solidarity and support throughout the games between the participants. As researchers and photographers in their own right, sex workers produced their own narratives, producing knowledge through visual and audio means to challenge ideas that essentialize and reduce sex workers’ subjectivities and rebuke dominant myths about prostitution and mega-events.

60. Mitchell, Gregory (Williams College), *‘The Human Costs of Moral Panics: Displacement, Prostitution Zones, and Urban Development at the World Cup and Olympic Games’*

This paper examines patterns of gentrification that exist during the run-up to the global sporting events such as the Olympics and the World Cup. In particular, it focuses on the displacement of female sex workers in London, South Africa, and Brazil (recent hosts of such games) and examines the role that discourses of "sex trafficking" played in displacement, home evictions, and brothel closures in each of these three countries. It contends that the primary effect of antitrafficking policies has actually (and quite ironically) been the forced movement of women against their will. The paper then examines such restrictions and displacements by interrogating prevailing ideas among scholars of "development theory" and urban renewal in order to show how this body of scholarship has failed to adequately account for the complexity of gender and sexuality. This anthropological research draws on interviews with sex workers, policy makers, law enforcement, and elected officials as well as participant observation conducted in Cape Town, London and Rio de Janeiro in order to examine why the same patterns persist despite the vast differences in political economy and governance among these places. It then looks ahead to upcoming games in Russia and Doha, in particular, to gesture toward likely pitfalls in these locations. This presentation encompasses the themes of regulation and control of movement as well as displacement of individual people as well as sex markets. Key words: Moral panics, carceral feminism, sex trafficking, sporting events.

## Panel Session 3E:

61. Lieber, Marylène (University of Geneva) and Le Bail, H el ene (CNRS CERI Sciences Po), *'Failed dialogue between Chinese migrant sex workers and French local representatives (2013-2016) Hierarchisation of violence in public places, exclusion of sex workers and gentrification'*

The Belleville area of Paris hosts hundreds of Chinese migrants selling sexual services. They have been the target, for the last two years, of systematic control operations by the police, whose clear objective is to "sweep" prostitution out of this gentrifying area. In reaction to these local measures, a group of Chinese women organized their own collective, The Steel Roses, and asked for the local government to better preventing violence suffered by prostitutes, rather than fighting against sex workers themselves. One of their key initiative was the effective sweeping of the streets in order to engage dialogue with their neighbours: «By sweeping the ground here, we take our responsibility. We live here. We laugh here, we cry here, we work here. We want to show that we are part of this neighbourhood.» In a context where street (female) prostitution has been framed in France as violence against women and where the city of Paris has promoted a gender friendly and inclusive urban program making the fight against street harassment and gender violence a priority, such a mobilization underlines the ongoing controversy around the definition of gender violence and safety. Based on interviews with the different actors (Chinese women, elected representatives, NGOs, etc) and the analysis of local debates, this communication will discuss contested definitions of gender violence, safety and autonomy. Hence, while the right to protection from (gendered) violence allows for new claims and regulations protecting (white) women in public places, and contributes to process of gentrification targeting racialized masculinities; the very same right is mobilized to construct sex-workers as heteronomous victims with no agency or as criminals, to deny them the same protection from violence in public spaces and to exclude them from equal participation in the public realm – further allowing for gentrifying this area. In this communication, we aim at analyzing through this case study how the double circumstances of a new abolitionist approach in the law and a local participatory process tend to further exclude sex workers from the implementation of inclusive policies.

62. Sanders-McDonagh, Erin (University of Kent) and Neville, Lucy (Middlesex University), *'Displacing sex work in London: Exploring the impacts of gentrification on sex workers in Soho and Kings Cross'*

This paper draws on two ethnographic projects around sex work in London to explore the displacement of sex workers in two areas: Soho and Kings Cross. Both Soho and Kings Cross are experiencing rapid changes through gentrification, and we argue that the distinctive modes of gentrification in these areas are impacting sex workers disproportionately. In Kings Cross, a part of the city where street-based sex work has a long and established history, outdoor sex workers are being forced out of their working spaces by the local council through use of punitive anti-social behavior orders, making them targets for what they see as police harassment. In the past five years many sex workers have moved out of the Kings Cross area into other parts of London as a result, leaving them vulnerable as they are displaced to unfamiliar areas. In Soho, indoor sex workers have been a targeted for over a decade, first by Westminster City Council who used compulsory purchase orders and police raids to try to dislodge sex workers, and more recently by

a large land-owner in the area who is raising rents and working with the local police to push sex work out of the area. This paper focuses on the micro and meso political and economic structures that work as part of gentrification in both areas to argue that neoliberal approaches to gentrifying the city do so at the expense of marginal and disenfranchised communities, and we explore the impacts of these changes to sex working communities in both areas.

63. Rodríguez García, Magaly (KU Leuven), Loopmans, Maarten (KU Leuven) and Vanhees, Pieter (KU Leuven), *'Sex in the City and Beyond: Prostitution in Belgium from the 19th Century to the Present'* The paper introduces a study on the history of sex work that seeks to deconstruct the sociospatial construction of prostitution as an archetypal urban phenomenon. A longterm, comparative and interdisciplinary approach informed by subaltern theory and human geography is employed to personalize the sex industry and to identify the growth and dislocation of vice zones or liminal spaces in relation to urban and (semi-)rural heteronormativities. Belgium is taken as a case study for an exhaustive analysis of various forms of prostitution, the shifting spatial and mental boundaries of what was perceived as aberrant sexuality, the motivations, strategies and movements of the industry's main actors and their interplay with authorities, reformers, social workers and neighbors. The research emphasizes the multidimensional nature of displacement. We argue that sex workers and third parties followed the laws of supply and demand, responded proactively to local prostitution policies and non-state actors' interventions, and reshaped the cultural landscapes to accommodate commercial sex alongside mainstream socioeconomic activities. Tracing the dynamics of sex work and mapping commonalities and differences between definitions, policies and practices in various socio-geographical contexts allows us to pay attention to the way the prostitution milieu responded to macro-level pressures and vice versa, to the society's answer to the appropriation of space for commercial-sex purposes by sex workers and intermediaries of prostitution. Furthermore, the analysis of commercial sex activities in different geographical settings contributes to the re-conceptualization of the urban/rural dichotomy, which tends to treat social phenomena in urban and (semi-) rural environments as totally disconnected from each other.

**Paper session 4 Friday 31<sup>st</sup> March 2017 9.15-11.00am**

**Panel Session 4A: Students and Sexuality: Understanding Attitudes to and Participation in the Sex Industry towards Displacing Exclusion and Generating Wellbeing**

It is often argued that those who have attained a 'higher education' demonstrate more liberal attitudes. However, what is less understood is whether those attitudes transcend to sexuality and in particular how they play out within the sex industry where students in Higher Education can be either purchasers or providers of sexual services. This session has two aims: to consider the attitudes to students in higher education in both the UK and Amsterdam in relation to sexuality and the sex industry; and to report on the experiences of student sex workers both during their studies and post-graduation. Paper one presents findings from 'The Student Sex Work Project' (TSSWP) - a pioneering UK participatory action research project that combined research with service delivery. The paper focuses on the attitudes of students towards the sex industry and their participation in it as consumers. The second paper continues this theme and reports on preliminary findings from a study in Amsterdam that examined students' attitudes to sexuality and their sexual behaviours. This paper questions the potential impact of a conservative attitude on those working in the sex industry. Paper three presents the preliminary findings from a longitudinal study in the UK which compared the experiences of female graduates who work as erotic dancers with waitresses in London. The final paper returns to TSSWP – reflecting on how technology can be harnessed to deliver services that reach out student sex workers as well as discussing the implications of technology to improve the safety of student sex workers through the work of National Ugly Mugs. Overall, the session argues that understanding participation, attitudes and experience are vital to displacing exclusion, challenging stigma and generating wellbeing for student sex workers. It also seeks to begin a dialogue which explores student participation in the sex industry across Europe.

64. Jones, Debbie (Swansea University) and Sagar, Tracey (Swansea University), '*Attitudes to and Consumption of the Sex Industry: Findings from the Student Sex Work Project (TSSWP)*'

TSSWP was a three year project which concluded in 2015. This innovative, pioneering UK participatory action research study had a number of key research aims: it sought to understand student sex workers experiences and motivations; the responses of Higher Education Institutions to student participation in the sex industry; the attitudes of students to the sex industry and their participation as consumers of commercial sex. The overall project aim was to challenge stigma and increase social inclusion for students who work in the sex industry. This paper focuses on two elements of the project. First, it discusses how technology can be harnessed to generate sensitive data, and second it draws on the findings of a large scale survey to discuss the attitudes of students to the sex industry and their participation as consumers. Importantly, our data challenges the notion that students (as part of the wider UK public) see sex work as something that is in need of punitive regulation. While the findings enable us to challenge the misrepresented populist view, we suggest that TSSWP has been pivotal in reducing stigma within the student population and increasing the social inclusion of student sex workers in both policy and practice.

65. Janssen, Marie-Louise (University of Amsterdam), 'Tolerance versus acceptance. Results from a mixed method study of students in Amsterdam'

Several scholars have argued that a high education is associated with more liberal attitudes. However, the question is whether university students have liberal ideas concerning sexual practices? The Netherlands, and Amsterdam in particular, has long been seen as an example of tolerance and of sexual pleasure for people all around the world. Dutch liberalism has been glorified for example for a tolerant attitude towards sex work. Because of this assumed Dutch openness when it comes to sexuality, one would expect young Dutch men and women to be more liberal and tolerant towards sex. However, nothing is less true. Reporting the findings from a recent mixed methods study of university students in Amsterdam the paper argues that tolerant sexual attitudes is not translated into sexual experimental behavior and that feelings of shame and guilt are still very present with approximately 30% of the students reporting feelings of shame in particular about their fantasies suggesting that the sexual culture of students remains restrictive and is rather conservative and homogeneous. The survey also identified that almost one third of the female students had considered working in the sex industry. Most of the respondents indicated that stigma and safety issues were reasons why they did not engage in sex work. A slightly higher share of male students feared stigmatization and safety, while a higher proportion of women toiled with their own moral values. The paper concludes that young people's sexuality is framed within a discourse which prioritizes sex on basis of love and equal and monogamous partnerships, which frustrates a real acceptance of sex work and suggests that a process of deliberalization is ongoing in the Netherlands and that this process will only lead to further stigmatization of sex workers.

66. Simpson, Jessica (City of London University), 'What Happens Next? A longitudinal, comparative study of female university students working in the UK sex industry and 'mainstream' employment'

On a global scale, robust academic research on the topic of student sex work remains in its infancy. Primarily, scholarly focus has been limited to trajectories into the sex industry for students creating a gap in the literature in regards to how/if students are able to leave the industry on completion of their degree. Existing research suggests that students often continue working in the sex industry even when they have found jobs that align with their future career aspirations. It is argued that this is often to boost income which students increasingly find to be insufficient due to the growing mismatch between graduate status and employability (Sanders and Hardy, 2014:97). Nevertheless, the issue of 'exiting' and/or getting 'trapped' in relatively low-skilled occupations originally considered temporary is not exclusive to sex workers/the sex industry. The continued rise in youth unemployment alongside possibly prolonged bleak graduate prospects ultimately affects all students (Sanders and Hardy, 2013:763). This leads to the question of how/if students working in both the sex industry and 'mainstream' occupations are able to leave jobs assumed to be transient. Problematically, this issue also appears to be gendered as statistics continue to show female graduates are less likely to secure graduate-level employment than their male counterparts (ONS, 2013). Accordingly, this paper will discuss the initial findings from a longitudinal, comparative study with female students working as erotic dancers and waitresses in London. The aim of the research is to explore what happens after university and the experiences of female graduates in this context in order to identify potential

'trapping' factors/cycles that keep educated young women in relatively low-skilled forms of employment.

67. Geuens, Sam (PXL University College) & Feis-Bryce, Alex (National Ugly Mugs), *'Utilising innovation and online technology to reach out to student sex workers: Reflections from The Student Sex Work Project (TSSWP) and implications for student sex worker safety – National Ugly Mugs (NUM)'*

In the UK, the delivery of services to those working in the sex industry has traditionally been modelled on face-to-face outreach or clinical approaches. However, there is growing recognition that such models are perhaps out of touch with changing occupational practices within the sex industry. Using the Student Sex Work Project (TSSWP) as an example, this paper examines the use of technology to facilitate online service provision. TSSWP is an innovative action research project which combined three distinctly different activities in order to maximise its social and academic impact: empirical research (qualitative and quantitative); artistic dissemination through film; and psycho-social service delivery (online and face to face). This paper reflects on the setting up and providing psychosexual therapy for student sex workers and also considers how online technology can be used to reach out to student sex workers through National Ugly Mugs towards improved safety in the future. The paper begins by considering how services can be designed and operationalised for this hidden and hard to reach population. Drawing on case examples from the project, the presentation offers a reflection on the implementation of therapeutic interventions from a bio-psycho-social perspective. The paper concludes with consideration of the potential benefits of the development of online provision that aims to provide safety advice to student sex workers via National Ugly Mugs.

#### Panel Session 4B:

68. Crowhurst, Isabel (University of Essex), Garofalo Geymonat, Giulia (Lund University), and Ryan, Paul (Maynooth University) *'Exploring the contexts and conditions of knowledge production on prostitution and sex work'*

In this paper we present the preliminary findings of an ongoing project which seeks to explore and make sense of the differential status and development of prostitution and sex work studies in Europe. Drawing on the work of Irvine (2014) on the construction of sexuality research as 'dirty work', we explore the conditions that make it possible (or not) to pursue research on sex work and prostitution, the type of knowledge produced and circulated, and the effects of the knowledge produced. Our starting point is the consideration that research agendas developed within universities and research centres are very much shaped by, and contribute to shaping cultural and social constructions of sex work and prostitution, influencing the personal and professional lives of scholars engaging in this field of research, as well as public responses and policies addressing the phenomenon. Institutional academic cultures and practices – including: historical and current valuing (or not) of sexuality and gender studies; disciplinary interest in prostitution and sex work studies; research funding and resources; research ethics boards; career advancement – are addressed to gain an understanding of the many factors that contribute to particular conditions for the production of knowledge on sex work and prostitution. In this

context, academies are not be looked at as insular entities, but rather as bodies embedded in and reflecting particular political cultures.

69. Almog, Shulamit (University Haifa) and Even-Kesef, Linoy (Open University), *'Prostitution and Qualitative Research: Methodological Challenges and Goals'*

Having in mind the need to resonate women in prostitution's voices, we carried out semi structured in-depth interviews with women in prostitution from different cities and backgrounds in Israel. The aim was to illuminate the harm that a social infamy tax has on women in prostitution, having in mind that acute cognizance of women's in prostitution's perceptions of social infamy that they experience is essential in order to shape optimal legal regime that will address it. The presentation delineates some of the methodological challenges we encountered while aiming to enlist interviewees. Firstly, we identified considerable reluctance of associations and organizations regulated and not regulated (NGOs) that provide services for women in prostitution to cooperate. Secondly, we met adamant refusal of mediators involved in prostitution activities (pimps, brothel managers, etc.) to help in achieving initial contacts with women in prostitution. Thirdly, the vast majority of women in prostitution contacted, did not consent to be interviewed. The contention we put forward is that the challenges we experienced are not random, and deserve close attention, since they shed light on the way prostitution is set within society and the type of harm that is inherent to it. Our experience elucidates how knotty is the task is to reach women in prostitution in order to hear their voices, and what is the nature of the social exclusion women they experience. Additionally the specific type of challenges interviewing women in prostitution brings in may be a significant indication to the existence of a social infamy tax and to the way it influences the lives of women in prostitution. Such insight is significant since the social infamy tax tends to be transparent and ignored and does not get the social and legal attention it deserves.

70. Danna, Daniela (Università degli Studi di Milano), *'Theoretical and political similarities and differences between the condition of sex workers/prostitutes and of "surrogate mothers"'*

The object of the title will be explored starting from a meta-analysis of existing literature, both scientific and policy-oriented. The position indicating a parallel situation is represented by abolitionists: Andrea Dworkin in fact called the surrogates "the new prostitutes" (1983, 181-188) and Kajsa Ekis Ekman (2013) encompasses the two situations in her abolitionist battle to save female victims of both social institutions. The parallel is obvious: the use of women's sexual parts is exchanged for money (though also men and transgenders work in prostitution), while third parties are pushing them to enter the agreements in order to get a share of their gains. These acts, according to abolitionist feminists, must be forbidden and fought against, culturally and legally. Traditionalist arguments also equate prostitution and commercial surrogacy. Public condemnation threatens women who are (or seem to be) coldly calculating their own material interest in areas where they are supposed to be subservient, generous and selfless: love/sex relationships and motherhood. On the other hand, supporters of the recognition of sex work see a parallel in the condition of surrogate mothers (more recently debated) and of adult sex workers, and ask for a recognition of both (e.g. various articles in the Italian debate). I argue for a recognition of the differences and specificities of the two situations (also building on O'Connell Davidson 2002), derived from the objects of the transaction and from the different role of the law

in the two situations (Danna 2015). Issues of transnationality and of class inequalities within states will also be addressed.

#### Panel Session 4C: Displacing Neo-Abolitionism, Replacing with Rights

This panel will bring together a number of key contributions which speak to the theme of displacement of fixed and reductionist understandings of sex for sale and its regulation. Moreover, these presentations will offer a new language to replace unyielding policy perspectives on prostitution and ultimately envisage a policy model which replaces neo-abolitionism with a concern for instituting a real justice for sex workers. These papers address the theme of displacing narrow ideological positions with a vision for justice and rights for sex workers. Such a panel could be a timely opportunity to consider questions such as; Where are sex worker voices and how can we make prostitution politics responsive and inclusive? How might we transcend the impasse in feminist prostitution politics? How can we envision a genuine rights based approach to prostitution politics? How can policy best empower and enable sex workers? How can we institute sex worker rights in any of the key social policy domains such as health, welfare, migration, justice? Proposals to address such questions look to create a space to challenge dominant representations of prostitution and to reimagine policy responses to prostitution which foreground social justice. Contributions will be trans-disciplinary to reflect the growing 2 international debates from a range of academic, practice and policy perspectives. This panel then is an important discursive event in bringing forth a transformative agenda to realise real rights in the lives of sex workers.

71. McGarry, Kathryn (Maynooth University), *'The challenge for Irish prostitution politics: Displacing neoabolitionism with rights based discourse'*

This paper focuses on the politics of prostitution policy in the Republic of Ireland as the state makes way for the introduction of Nordic style prostitution laws. Drawing on research which employed a discursive analysis of events surrounding the recent policy changes, this paper advocates the need to 'displace' neo-abolitionist framing of the 'problem' of prostitution. This paper draws on Fraser's theory of the politics of representation to reflect on the challenges for sex workers in firstly, having access to bounded political spaces, secondly, being recognised as having diverse and complex realities and thirdly having their framings of prostitution and their proposals for policy change acknowledged. This allows us to consider political injustices experienced by sex workers in Ireland and the challenges which lie ahead in displacing such injustices. This challenge involves disrupting dominant discourses, displacing neo-abolitionist hegemony and replacing with rights based strategies in order to reimagine political spaces for sex workers in Ireland. As sex workers in Ireland assert their voices in political spaces, this presentation contributes to such displacement by reflecting on and offering a vision for social justice and policy change.

72. Dodsworth, Jane (University of East Anglia), *'Selling sex: what positively influences or negatively 'displaces' a sense of agency or choice?'*

This paper considers the stories of two adult women who were sexually exploited as children and examines the different pathways they took through selling sex as adults. It considers how the sense made by these women, who had very similar backgrounds, of key life events, particularly in early childhood, influenced the choices they felt forced or empowered to make in adulthood. A central focus of the wider research study in which they participated was to ensure that participants' expertise was captured, their voices heard, and the analysis derived inductively from their stories. Therefore, a qualitative grounded theory approach was used drawing on concepts of resilience to examine how experiences of risk were cognitively appraised and managed. What is apparent from analysis of their stories is that what positively influences or negatively 'displaces' a sense of agency or choice about selling sex, is the way in which individuals interpret, and make sense of the risk factors they have encountered, particularly those in early childhood. Additionally important is the access they have to, and, the use they are able to make of, individual, family and wider community protective factors during their lives. How risk and protective factors are interpreted and utilised impacts on individuals' sense of victimhood or agency and ultimately their sense of self and well-being and, for some, that of their children. This paper argues the need for a paradigm shift in debate, legislation and policy which moves the main discourse about adult sex work from one of shaming to one of supporting. In this way services may, more effectively and holistically, ensure that a sense of victimhood is reduced and a sense of agency enabled. Then those involved in selling sex might feel that there are choices to be made and that they deserve the right to make them.

73. Carline, Anna (University of Leicester), *'Assemblies, Assemblages and On-Street Prostitution: Exploring the Material Affects of Engagement and Support Orders'*

Engagement and Support Orders (ESOs) were introduced by section 17 of the Policing and Crime Act 2009, as part of the policy drive in England and Wales to eradicate prostitution. Drawing upon divergent and conflicting discourses of prostitution as both violence against women and as a public nuisance, the orders aimed to facilitate exiting by imposing 'compulsory rehabilitation' upon those who engage in on-street sex work. To this end, a person convicted for soliciting in a street or a public place could be required to attend three meetings with a 'relevant person', in order to 'address the causes of their offending'. Commencing from the proposition that the ESOs represent an ongoing (flawed) attempt to reconcile the politics of vulnerability and the politics of austerity, this chapter will examine the findings of the first empirical study into ESOs, in order to explore their impact upon various relevant parties, including on-street sex workers, ESO Supervisors, support services and the police. In so doing, the paper will provide a close reading of the empirical data through a theoretical framework which explicitly aims to displace both the neo-liberal conceptualization of on-street sex workers as responsible victims and the abolitionist versus sex-work feminist debate. Subsequently, the paper draws upon three theorists and theories - Judith Butler's recent work on assemblies and bodies in public spaces, Manuel DeLanda's theorisation of assemblages, and Brian Massumi's politics of affects - in order to focus upon the material 'affects' of prostitution law and policy. As such, the aim of the chapter is to trace the material affects of laws on public bodies and, conversely, how public bodies have a

material affect upon law, and to consider what this means for the development of effective legal responses to the complex phenomena that is sex work.

74. Pilcher, Katy (Aston University), *'Dis-placing heteronormative conceptions of sex work: The importance of place in the work practices of erotic dancers'*

Drawing upon narratives of women and men erotic dancers, this paper argues that the work practices of erotic dance within 'non-conventional' spaces can provide room to question – and to some extent dis-place – dominant, heteronormative conceptions of sex work. Theorising through a queer feminist lens this paper explores the meanings that erotic dance work has for women and men erotic dancers who perform for a female audience, in terms of the gendered work roles that they perform; their perceptions of their workplace 'selves'; and their interactions with women customers. Comparing insights from dancers who work within a lesbian and a male strip show, I examine the 'aesthetic labour' (Nickson et al., 2001), 'emotional labour' (Hochschild, 1983) and 'body work' (Wolkowitz, 2006), that dancers perform. The paper conceives of erotic dance places as not fixed, but as 'continually reproduced' over time (Massey, 1994:155), a conception which leaves room to examine erotic dance venues as dynamic, shifting and of meanings as negotiated by participants within them. This paper therefore considers the disruptive moments in which dancers' performances within non-conventional erotic dance places provide scope to disrupt heteronormative gender and sexual roles that have been conventionally considered 'appropriate' to their gendered labour. Critiquing accounts which see erotic dance as solely oppressive (e.g. Jeffreys, 2009); as work that is 'inherently' sexual (Warhurst and Nickson, 2009); and as a social relation in which men are solely the clientele base, this paper opens up discussion surrounding the similarities of erotic dance to other forms of labour and what this means in terms of the exercising of rights for erotic dancers, as well as the possibilities that the work within these particular erotic dance spaces engenders for dis-placing heteronormative conceptions of sex work.

#### Panel Session 4D:

75. Di Ronco, Anna (University of Essex), *'Representations of the local regulation of street prostitution in the Italian press: which solutions to which problem?'*

In recent years Italy, among other European countries, has witnessed an increasing penalisation of uncivil (anti-social or sub-criminal) behaviour, which has involved the use of administrative measures, in lieu of (or, in some cases, in addition to) the criminal law proper. Since 2008, local authorities in Italy have sanctioned administratively a broad range of behaviour that has been deemed to undermine "public safety" and "urban security". Many municipalities seem to have used these sanctions also to penalise street prostitutes (and their clients), with the result of banning them from public spaces. The aim of this paper is to inspect how the Italian press has represented the local regulation of street prostitution overtime. Particularly, it will investigate what has been described as the "problem" posed by prostitution in towns and cities, and what have been identified as the main solutions to it over the years. Preliminary results indicate that the press has tended to support the local sanctioning of street prostitutes, particularly when they are present in certain city areas (e.g., the city centre) and because of their aesthetics. The paper

will provide an analysis of the main press narratives against the backdrop of relevant criminological perspectives, including cultural criminology, and will conclude with a discussion of the implications of this for the regulation and spatial distribution of street prostitution in the city.

76. Ljungberg, Emilia (Karlstad University), *'Supporting the Swedish model: National space and grass root organizations'*

The so called Swedish model that criminalizes the buyers of sex is becoming increasingly established within the EU. As a part of a larger project on new media, space and sex work I analyze the media use, representations and spatial imaginings of Swedish grass root organizations striving to make ordinary citizens engage emotionally with the sex buyer's law. To understand the regulation and control of sex work it is important to study the strategies and representations of grass root organizations that work to garner the general public's support of the laws by giving them emotional content. In Sweden the sex buyer's law serves a crucial function in the construction of the nation as progressive and feminist. (Kulick 2005; Dodillet 2009) This necessitates a physical as well as emotional disciplining of the nation, making it possible to imagine the nation as morally pure. A physical disciplining can take the form of surveillance which is a strategy that the organizations are increasingly centered on. The organizations educate hotel staff as well as the general public on how to spot supposed victims and perpetrators, and are developing strategies for the surveillance of online spaces. Just as important as the control of physical spaces is the emotional engagement with a national identity associated with human rights. A sense of national purity can be communicated through maps while selfies that focus on the smiling face of the activists is a commonly used media form to communicate emotional authenticity and compassion. In my paper I present an analysis of the strategies of Swedish abolitionists, including maps, selfies and other media representations.

77. Küppers, Carolin (Bundesstiftung Magnus Hirschfeld), *'(M)others – Media discourses on sex work in South Africa South'*

Africa is known for its liberal constitution and its extensive anti-discrimination laws, yet sex work is still prohibited under the Sexual Offences Act from the Apartheid Era. This led to the foundation of a Law Reform Commission in 1997, which hasn't implemented a new law yet. In my paper I analyse media discourses on the debate about the planned law reform on sex work in South Africa, which has been in process for almost two decades now. I will show which subject positions of sex workers are visible in media discourses on sex work and how the different subject positions vary in regards of the political intention of the various authors and newspapers. Media discourses on sex work mostly function through reproducing the binary of the 'whore-stigma'. Therein, sex workers are depicted as either victims or perpetrators, which can both be analysed as 'abject' or 'othered' subject positions, against which various white female sexual identities are constructed. In contrast to this hegemonic discourse, a shift from the representation of 'other' to ordinary can be observed. Especially in articles lobbying for their legalisation and reproductive as well as labour rights, sex workers are accretive portrayed as caring mothers, who sell sex as a necessity to support their children. Globalization, post-colonialism and hierarchies of gender orders are pivotal concepts to interrogate sex work in the twenty-first century and form the theoretical frame of my paper.

78. Dolinsek, Sonja (University of Erfurt), *'Abolition of what? Transnational perspectives on "prostitution", "abolition" and the law after 1945'*

When in 1949 the United Nations General Assembly voted for the adoption of the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, women's NGOs celebrated this as an "abolitionist" victory. Finally, an international legal framework had passed mandating the "abolition" of what was then known as "state regulated prostitution". But did the Convention only aim at the abolition of laws regulating prostitution or also at the practice of prostitution itself? Should prostitutes themselves be liable to punishment or other forms of social ostracization or did the Convention mandate the decriminalization of prostitutes? How did actors envision the social and legal status of prostitutes in a post-abolitionist scenario? Going beyond the celebratory representation of the Convention as "abolitionist", this paper explores the contested meanings of "abolition" before and during the negotiations of the 1949 Convention as well as after its adoption in selected case studies. I will argue that NGOs, representatives of governments and UN bureaucrats all had different and often competing understandings of what exactly it was that the new Convention aimed at abolishing. Going beyond currently predominant conceptualizations of abolition as meaning "abolition of (the practice of) prostitution", this paper will identify four versions of abolitionism espoused by various historical actors. These versions of abolition are identified based on the political demands in relation to the social and legal treatment of prostitutes in post-abolitionist scenarios. While mostly governments and representatives of law enforcement interpreted abolition in terms of suppression and condemnation of prostitution, including through full criminalisation of prostitutes, a human rights based variation of abolition demanding the abolition of criminal or special laws directed against prostitutes also shaped political demands during the negotiation of the 1949 Convention. Human rights based abolition also shaped some of the history of abolitionist movements, including the early sex workers rights movement. By retracing the origins, paths and developments of abolitionist claims after 1949, this paper contributes to a historical understanding of the complex trajectories of "abolition" movements in the context of prostitution and aims at complicating current (self-)representations of abolitionist movements as necessarily "carceral" and oriented towards criminal law approaches.

#### Panel Session 4E: Displacing Subject-Object Relations in the Studies of Sex Work

This panel seeks to bring together scholars who attempt to implement joint work of academics and sex workers in the research of sex for sale or challenge overall boundaries between sex work and academia. This area of studies has become a rich ground for a wide range of activist, involved, engaged, or militant research. Under all these labels it is meant that social science does not look at a particular activity distantly trying to reveal objective facts, but rather the boundaries between scholarly work and the field work are blurred, transcended, and ultimately displaced to bring changes in or otherwise influence current state of affairs. Such an approach allows for creative collaboration between sex workers and researchers: interviewing people together for studying the situation, drafting grassroots law bills for making institutional changes, organizing workshops for learning from each other's experience, and so forth. In this panel we invite a reflection on such practices by scholars who are committed to this kind of research agenda. We

seek to summarize what methodological innovations has been produced in the process of displacing subject-object relations from the studies of sex work, and what further paths are to be taken to ensure openness of social science to the people in general and particular groups that take part in social science projects. What challenges does this methodological orientation entail? What difference does it make? The panel presents several cases of activist scholarly work.

79. Kondakov, Alexander (European University at St. Petersburg), *'Militant Interviewing: What Stories Come Up When Sex Workers Take Sociological Interviews with Sex Workers'*

Our collaboration started from a joint project between a research centre and a creative union of sex workers and artists. The latter produced theatre plays and art exhibitions in Russia dedicated to experience of sex workers in the countries' largest cities. In order to enhance creative common work, we organized a series of 'militant interviews': collection of sociological 'data' from sex workers and by sex workers in St. Petersburg. These interview method is based on several important methodological backgrounds: activist research, qualitative biographical methods and feminism. The method is performative as it changes things by its very design, because it engages participants in selfreflections and broadens our perspectives from thinking of individual experiences to seeing a range of contextualized stories of a variety of people doing sex work. This presentation concentrates not in what change the method brings to the lives of sex workers, which is discussed in many publications on similar methodology, but what difference militant interviewing makes for what is commonly referred to as 'data' in sociology and anthropology. The stories generated during the fieldwork are different in many regards from the narrative biographical interviews usually collected as empirical evidences. First, the distance between the speakers are minimal: it is a talk between old friends or colleagues. Second, this regime produces silences out of 'common sense' knowledge of the two people talking of experiences they both share. Thirdly, rather than narratives, the interviews represent conversations: shorter, more creative and open exchange of phrases between the equals. I want to show how such conversations could open up new paths of analysis and research thanks to engagement of sex workers in studies of their own experience.

80. van Mansom, Merel (Università degli studi di Milano), *'About them, with them, one of them: Changing epistemologies, methodologies and the (whore)stigma of the sex working sex work researchers'*

Until the late 1990's there were almost no opportunities for sex workers to write or contribute directly to the knowledge derived from their lives. Most often their stories were told through the lens of the researcher, repeatedly being denied validity of their experiences. Academics talked about them and not with them, building an academic career on the back of sex workers. This changed gradually with the appreciation of collaborative research methodologies, like Participatory Action Research (PAR) and Participant Driven Action Research (PDAR). These types of research methodologies were not implemented to discover any 'truth' about the work and lives of sex workers but to produce knowledge collaboratively, which would bridge the gap between theory and practice. These poststructuralist agenda's led to new epistemologies about how, and by and for whom, knowledge was generated. More recently there is a growing presence of (former) sex workers in academia. But besides the possible benefits of having an easier access to the field of study, the ability to create purposeful knowledge and the 'emancipatory potential'

they face personal and professional challenges. In comparison to nonsex workers they might need to more justify the integrity, accountability, validity and objectivity of their research. This presentation will describe the preliminary analyses of an explorative study on sex work researchers who are or have been working as a sex worker while pursuing an academic career. Emphasis will be placed on reflections of their situated knowledge, how they negotiate and manage (whore)stigma and the methodological challenges they were presented with and had to overcome within academia.

81. Smith, Cassandra (RMIT University), *'Mixed methods research advancing understanding of sex worker experiences'*

This research will be the first mixed methods research project in Australia to focus on university students who are also sex workers. Sex workers at university are often faced with challenges from peers, academics and the universities themselves, many of which can portray sex workers as negative, one dimensional stereotypes. Students who are sex workers may also employ these negative stereotypes and use these as reasons to not participate in sex work research – they do not see themselves as sex workers who are researched. Even if a researcher was to access sex workers at their place of employment, they may be unwilling to reveal themselves as being seen with a researcher could potentially 'out' them as a sex worker to their university. In order to gain access and trust of students who are sex workers, moving both data collection and recruitment online is the key. This is also important as these sex workers are often 'millennials' who find online surveys easier and quicker than offline ones. Online methods of recruitment through, for example, private Facebook groups where sex workers gather allows confidence in both the researcher and the research to be positive for sex workers – and that the research is focused on who they see themselves as in regards to being a sex worker and university student. These methods of recruitment and data collection allow students who are sex workers to participate in research, to have their voices heard, but to maintain their hidden sex worker identity, to prevent direct stigma from affecting their university studies. This research will provide safe spaces for students who are sex workers to be able to participate in research that affects them and their lives, without adding extra risk to their university experiences.

**Panel Session 4F:**

82. Lahav-Raz, Ye'ela (Ben-Gurion University), *"Don't become a free eater!": Clients on-line discourse of Sex for Sale'*

The on-line Network technology, which has become a key protagonist in contemporary life, has also become a dynamic and dominant force in changing the field of prostitution, while it masks the power relations in it. For centuries, the consumption of prostitution has been perceived as a normative masculine identity marker, a part of male adolescents' sexual education, something which "men do", while teaching the youngsters to be silent about this practice. On-line forums were the first one to break the silence by offering clients the opportunity to write their experiences openly. This paper examines Israeli sex clients who consume prostitution services in Israel and develop an online community with their peers. I will argue that the written self, which is made possible by technology, - demands a meticulous reporting project of confessing,

describing, specifying and delving deep into the sexual experience. This is these men's way of making their selfhood present in public. Along this paper, I will claim that the forums hold a triple power. They serve as confession booths, as hothouses and as active players whose power seeps and shifts between the online space and the real one, to the point of one blending with the other. The writing-down of the sexual experience and the reading of the others' experiences amount to a double move: The writing allows for the recreation of the individual sexual experience as a collective sexual experience, and the reading allows the collective experience to be created as an individual experience. Thus, the sexual act becomes a collective ceremony, which produces a collective consciousness of ownership regarding women, the writing, the community and the space in its entirety.

83. Oliveira, Alexandra (University of Porto), *'Female clients of commercial sex in Portugal: an exploratory research'*

When talking about clients of commercial sex, women buyers are hardly mentioned. Nevertheless, there have been growing signs of the occurrence of sex services for women, some empirical evidences in research indicating the existence of the female demand and several investigations with female clients of commercial sex. Looking at women who pay for sex may displace the gendered framework in which sex work is normally discussed. The phenomenon of female clients shifts gender norms and challenges the stereotypical image of buyers of commercial sex. The study of the female clients of sex work can be seen as a magnifying lens of the changes in female sexual behaviour. Accordingly, female sex buyers challenge the double standard towards female sexual behaviour. This communication is based on an exploratory research about the characteristics, motivations and behaviours of female clients of male and female sex workers. In order to achieve this, we carried out semi structured interviews with a convenience sample of male and female sex workers who work for female clients in Porto and Lisbon; we also interviewed women who pay for sex or sexual pleasure. The research is not finished, but we have come to draw some conclusions, such as the diversity of characteristics and motivations of the women buyers. For some women who had already pay for sex, the motivation of paying for sex is related to the need for discretion, trying to avoid the stigma and the moral judgment of a non-monogamous female sexual behavior. We also found that some women want a sexual experience with no strings attached, while others want to try the boyfriend experience. This research, although exploratory, may contribute to a further understanding of the female sexual behaviour and concur to fill a gap in the study of commercial sex.

84. Adriaenssens, Stef (KU Leuven) and Hendrickx, Jef (KU Leuven), *'All the colors of the earth? Income differentials and preferences between ethnic groups in American prostitution markets'*

At the heart of what prostitution is about, lies a market transaction involving the supply of a service bound to the body. Therefore, physical and personal characteristics of the sex worker are inseparably part of the exchange. This applies to elements such as (visible) age, body weight, physical attractiveness, length and so forth. It also applies to race and ethnicity. In most places throughout the world, sex markets tend to be segmented along ethnic lines, and this goes together with considerable differences in earnings potential between sex workers of different ethnic and racial groups. We argue that part of these differences in wage (or transaction prices) is caused by the taste mechanism of clients. We predict that clients on average have an endogamic

preference for sex workers of a similar ethnic belonging. This idea is inspired by the literature on homogamy, discussing how people tend to end up with partners (and setting up families) that are quite similar to themselves from a socio-economic, educational, status and ethnic perspective. We theorize that this regularity is not only influenced by competitive maximization, but also by agents' emotional and erotic tastes. This is exactly what plays in prostitution. These starting points are tested with the help of hedonic price regressions. Basically we predict that the negative price premium for ethnic minorities decreases to the extent that a larger proportion of the demand side (men in the case of female sex workers) belongs to that same ethnic group. These conjectures are tested with the help of a large scale dataset collected from the internet. The data are collected from the website [www.theeroticreview.com](http://www.theeroticreview.com), where clients' assess transactions with internet based sex workers in the United States. The dataset is rich enough to allow for tests of the central predictions.

#### Panel Session 4G: Gentrification of Red Light Districts

Even though there is a long tradition of Red Light Districts being concentrated within the city centre, urban regeneration policies in some cities now aim at spatially dispersing the sex market to the fringes of the city. This panel examines urban regeneration processes in various Red Light Districts (Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent and Liege). It looks at urban policies, policing, the legal framework, as well as moral reasoning and discourses around legitimisations to move sex-workers outside city centres and to please residents. Moving Red Light Districts out of the city centre calls into question the physical place allotted to prostitution in our cities and recalls an old debate on the 'right to the city'. Members of sex-workers' organisations are concerned about a loss of jobs as well as a new moral geography that tends to present sex work as a shameful activity by making it less visible in urban centres.

85. Künkel, Jenny (Bauhaus University of Weimar), *'Gentrification and the flexibilization of spatial control – policing sex work in Frankfurt a. M./Germany'*

The spatialization of policing and the end of downtown containment of marginalized groups have often been analyzed as crucial for the neoliberalization of cities. The paper argues that with gentrification processes expanding throughout cities, local regimes of marginalization search for new forms of conflict management. Ongoing gentrification processes disrupt the local power relations that underlie established patterns of spatial confinement, while at the same time leaving less and less space for classical spatial displacement. Using the example of prostitution in Frankfurt a. M. (Germany), the paper shows how the police selectively appropriates anti-gentrification and tolerance discourses to appease residents and aim at a flexibilization of spatial control.

86. van Liempt, Ilse (Utrecht University) and van Aalst, Irina (Utrecht University), *'Amsterdam's Red Light Districts under Threat'*

This paper, based on interviews with residents and entrepreneurs in the Red Light District of Amsterdam, explores the spatial and social effects of the current transformation of the Red Light District. Since 2007 the Red Light District of Amsterdam is confronted with top-down planning of

urban renewal under the name of Project 1012. This particular urban policy project aims to 'restore the balance between entertainment and liveability' in the area. Its target is to reduce the amount of windows, sex shops, massage salons, coffee shops and gambling halls in the area. A substantial number of brothels has been closed down already. Due to the rhythm of Red Light Districts which come alive at night conflicts of interest and tensions between residents and the sex industry are on the rise. The discourse used to legitimize the new urban renewal policies is twofold. First of all it is a story around fighting excesses of prostitution such as coercion, exploitation and human trafficking. Secondly this part of the city should be regained from organized crime networks and needs to be made more 'liveable'. The latter is expected to happen through a transformation of the area towards more upscale entertainment by attracting new residents, restaurants and supporting creative entrepreneurs that would like to settle in this neighbourhood. Critical voices warn that prostitution may disappear into illegality and is forced 'underground'. As such the heart of the Red Light District is under threat. We also notice a shifting social stance towards the sex industry because of these urban renewal programs which are intertwined with socio-economic and real estate dynamics within and across the city.

87. Loopmans, Maarten (KU Leuven), *'Diverse neoregulatory regimes in an abolitionist country: gentrification and prostitution in 4 Belgian cities'*

In this paper I analyze how gentrification affects prostitution policies in Belgium, a country with prostitution laws heavily influenced by abolitionist thinking. In Belgium, local policy makers have very limited official power to regulate prostitution, as national law abolished local regulations. Also, a high degree of tolerance towards prostitution refrained both local and national policy makers to intervene. Consequently, red light districts with window or street prostitution developed relatively unrestricted in most Belgian cities. With the advent of gentrification however, pressure on these red light districts is mounting. Lacking access to formal instruments to regulate and restrict prostitution, municipal governments are creatively deploying alternative instruments, leading to the development of a widely divergent local policy mix. In this paper, we compare the development of new regulatory regimes in 4 Belgian cities: Brussels, Antwerp, Liege and Ghent and try to explain the differences between them.

88. Weitzer, Ronald (George Washington University), *'Researching and Comparing Red-Light Districts in Europe'*

This paper examines research procedures for studying red-light districts. I focus on legal, red-light districts in several European cities, but many of the arguments may also apply to districts where sexual commerce is conducted illegally. I argue that there are clear advantages in comparing at least two red-light districts, either within a city or between cities. Single-case studies are valuable, but multi-case comparisons are best suited to highlighting important differences as well as core similarities across cases, and have the added advantage of distilling a set of "best practices" for policymakers. Evidence from the author's ethnographic research is presented to illustrate these methodological arguments.

**Paper session 5 Friday 31st March 2.15-4.00pm**

**Panel Session 5A:**

89. Haynes, April (University of Wisconsin-Madison), *'From Madams to Matrons: Sex Work and Domestic Labor in the Northern United States, 1790-1860'*

This paper analyzes nineteenth-century Magdalen Asylums, Houses of Refuge, and Intelligence Offices as significant historical conduits of “the traffic in women.” The abolitionists and female moral reformers who organized these institutions purported to rescue poor, enslaved, and immigrant women from sexual trafficking by shuttling them instead to domestic workplaces. Despite framing paid domestic labor as a rescue from slavery and prostitution, the matrons who extracted housework from their “inmates” engendered similar forms of commodification: public inspection of workers’ bodies, geographic displacement, family separation, and sexual exploitation. Matrons positioned themselves as the rightful proprietors of feminized labor during the very creation of a wage-based labor market by contrasting themselves with the madams of brothels. Workers, including madams, resisted such treatment in various ways but faced unexpected constraints. By the late 1830s, matrons had developed new partnerships with the state through corporate charters and municipal police laws. “From Madams to Matrons” engages the conference theme of regulation and control in dialogue with recent critiques of trafficking discourse (Agustín, 2007; Resnick, 2007). I offer a historical and transatlantic dimension to the question posed by organizers, “How can we make sense of the nexus between historical and contemporary (dis)placements in the understanding of sex for sale?” The consequences of displacing nineteenth-century American sex workers—of forcing them to move from brothels to asylums, from bedrooms to kitchens—were manifold. In addition to creating a “rescue industry,” this process of displacement eroded women’s safety within sexual commerce by diminishing toleration of urban brothels. Perhaps its most troubling long-term effect, however, was to authorize the rise of a deeply gendered, racialized, and undervalued market in care work.

90. Ewen, Janine, (*Masters graduate and activist*), *'A sinful redemption? Catholic Church involvement in anti-slavery and anti-trafficking in the 21st century - The Santa Marta Group'*

Slavery and religion is a section of history that leads into determining the relationship between the world's religions and the propagation of slavery. Historians have scrutinised slavery justification, abolitionism and the tradition of charitable aid to “save the slaves”, without challenging the institution of slavery itself. Today, slavery - ‘modern day slave trade’ and now, ‘human trafficking’ is regarded as the gravest criminal challenge facing humanity, imitating a new response to abolish between the Catholic Church, civil society, politicians and law enforcement - ‘The Santa Marta Group’. The Catholic institutional church throughout the middle ages and beyond led to a substantial level of dominance and fortune; to influence people’s morals, philosophy, and education, but the same power paved global atrocities across the world, including slavery and exploitation – in the institution's name. The Catholic Church has created a tactful distraction to convince the public they are restoring survivors from serious organised crime, while it portrays varying degrees of reform and apologetic shame for its own survivors of institutional abuse to lead the fight on modern day slavery and human trafficking. But what has

the Catholic Church learned about slavery, exploitation, and freedom to appropriate their actions in the 21st century? Can the state and the church, as two divergent realities, be complementary for the common good of fighting modern-day slavery and human trafficking? Or is this a profitable process in the renewed energy and redemption of the Catholic Church? This paper seeks to explore the Santa Marta Group, including references to recent anti-slavery/anti-trafficking actions. I will discuss examples of the alliance in the United Kingdom, the UK's Anti-Slavery Commissioner and the policing of the sex industry. I argue that the Catholic Church, through a tactful illusion, fostered by their hierarchy, believes that the Church continues to act accordingly on slavery and human trafficking, described by Pope Francis in 2014 as *"the open wound on the body of contemporary society"*, when the lessons of history still defines their own controversies on the rescue and freedom of people.

91. Johansson, Isabelle (Lund University), *'Displaced demand? Swedish clients navigating around criminalisation'*

Over a decade has passed since the purchase of sex was criminalised in Sweden. The idea was that criminalising yet another party involved in the trade, the client, would further assist in suppressing the Swedish sex market. It was thus an addition to other prohibitory measures, like third-party criminalisation, already in place. To this day, this has not proven to be the case. A market for sexual services still exists in Sweden and there is nothing indicating that it will go away. Nevertheless, the existing laws do affect the market, in the sense that they limit the way the trade can play out. They impose restrictions on its organisation, for instance, on where and how sex workers and clients can meet. They also pose risks. In this paper I present my research on clients in Sweden. I suggest that one impact of client criminalisation is that it displaces the demand for sexual services. Clients, like sex workers, are mobile. They cross borders, travelling to countries where other laws apply and where the markets for sex are different. While some Swedes buy sex when they are abroad for work or other reasons, there are Swedes who intentionally travel abroad to buy sex because of the law. By doing so, they can dodge or disregard the bounded control as imposed by the Swedish state. Factors such as social class seem to play a role in this regard. Based on interviews with Swedish clients, I describe how criminalisation affects their purchasing practices, even to the extent that they travel abroad in order to buy sex, crossing the bridge to neighbouring Denmark for instance.

**Panel Session 5B:**

92. Olsson, Narola (University of Gothenburg), *'Implementing Swedish prostitution policy through the judicial system'*

In 1999, the Swedish sex purchasing act was introduced (SFS 1998:408). According to the Swedish National Council for crime prevention, 2582 individuals have since then been found guilty of purchasing or attempting to purchase a sexual service as the principal offence. With a point of departure in this law, the aim of this presentation is to discuss how some of the legal aspects of the Swedish prostitution policy are implemented by the police and the district courts. Court records from 2011-2015, concerning purchasing or attempting to purchase a sexual service with a final judgement on the matter, were collected from all district courts in Sweden. The preliminary

results are based on more than 300 court cases, representing 23 out of 48 district courts in Sweden. The quantitative and qualitative analysis reveals that all charged are men and a clear majority of them are Swedish citizens, with an average age of 41 years old. There are differences between the largest cities. At the district court in Gothenburg the police officers' testimonies were the prime evidence, and street prostitution in Rosenlund was the main area of prostitution. At the district courts in Stockholm and Malmö the cases included more police reconnaissance works, which allowed the courts to rely on technical evidence. Here, most cases concerned prostitution via internet and the sex purchase often took place at hotels and private apartments across the cities. To conclude, the work of the police is closely connected with the judicial system and how the law is implemented. It is also important to note, that although convictions at the courts play an important role in implementing Swedish prostitution policy, prosecutor's fines and wavers make up two-thirds of all convictions.

93. Mcmenzie, Laura (Northumbria University), *'Sex Work and the Transnational Circulation of Dutch and Swedish Policy Models'*

The regulation of sex work has precipitated much debate over the years, with differing opinions on what constitutes 'best practice'. However there is yet to be a study that critically examines the international circulation of sex work policy. There is a growing set of literature under the banner of 'policy mobilities' studies which explores the ways in which policy and practice move around. This paper will explore how policy mobilities literature can be applied to the context of sex work. It will focus on the construction and mobilisation of two policy 'models' that appear often in regulatory debates: the 'Swedish model' and the 'Dutch model'. Both of these 'models' have influenced policy decisions internationally but this paper will focus on their impact on UK policy debates and implementations.

94. Vanwesenbeeck, Ine (Rutgers University) and Wijers, Marjan, *'Working on a Sex Worker Exploitation Index (SWEI), Phase 1'*

In the controversies over sex work, sex worker rights scholars and activists often counter abolitionist conceptions of sex work as fundamentally exploitative by stressing sex workers' agency and self-determination. Notwithstanding the ideological and strategic value of this argument, it does not facilitate detailed and in depth exploration of aspects of exploitation that are, in various forms and intensities, present in sex work. Proper understanding and assessment of aspects of exploitation in sex work is extremely important, however, not as much as a scholarly interest but, most significantly, as a strategic and political necessity. Without the possibility of properly assessing the (variations in) extent and nature of exploitation in various sex work realities, adequate interventions to challenge exploitation cannot be reliably identified. Nor can the effects of implementation of such interventions be assessed. More generally, a detailed understanding and assessment of the extent and nature of exploitation in various contexts is prerequisite to be able to scrutinize the effects and consequences of different sex work policies. Development of a valid, widely agreed upon measure of exploitation is desirable if not required. This paper reports on the first phase of the development of a Sex Worker Exploitation Index (SWEI). Integrated results of a literature study and interviews with sex workers and other relevant stakeholders are presented. A proposal for a multilevel, multifaceted index will be discussed. The discussion will inform the next phases of conceptual development and methodological validation.

95. Östergren, Petra (Lund University), *'Repressive - Restrictive - Integrative: Suggestions for a Comprehensive Typology of Sex Work Policies'*

Sex work researchers have long struggled with defining and comparing national prostitution policies using various general categories, such as 'abolitionism' and 'prohibitionism', 'regulation' and 'decriminalisation'. However, there remain profound disagreements on what these categorisations entail and on which basis they are to be used. Since every policy must take its point of departure in categories and typologies, this paper will suggest a typology that can help researchers, activists and decision-makers assess whether a national policy has the purpose of restricting, repressing or integrating the sex industry into the overall societal structure. By establishing such a typology, we obtain not only a clearer conceptual frame about what prostitution policy contains, but also more reliable analyses of their potential and actual effects. For instance, the Swedish policy and sex purchase ban can be understood as a repressive approach; moreover, it can be analysed as belonging to the political category of 'morality politics'. New Zealand on the other hand, seeks to integrate the sex industry into society and give sex workers labour rights, and can thus be analysed and evaluated at par with less charged forms of social policy. A more precise typologisation of this kind can also provide a basis into interrogating the kinds of moral logic that guides different national outcomes, illustrated with other morally charged issues. For instance, why does Sweden have a "zero tolerance" to both drugs and sex work, while New Zealand seems to have a more pragmatic approach to these policy areas? Can we decipher an underlying moral model? Since the public and politicians also seem to be struggling to comprehend the meaning of current categorisation, there might be other possible benefits of a more refined typology and an understanding of underlying moral models, especially for those trying to advocate policy change.

**Panel Session 5C:**

96. Fey, Mira (The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), *'Determining factors of everyday police practices towards migrant sex workers'*

"Given different rules and regulations concerning prostitution policy, do everyday practices of law-enforcement agencies such as the police towards sex workers actually differ in different settings? If not, which other forces affect these everyday practices?" These are the leading questions of this paper and my overall PhD research. I argue that the everyday practices of police officers in neighborhoods with a visible presence of street sex workers in countries in which prostitution is legal or tolerated do not differ significantly even though different rules and regulations exist. Instead, dominating attitudes towards migration become a determining factor. These can be used by police officers to justify harsher control than allowed by the regulatory framework, claiming either to fight trafficking of women or to enforce working permits and taxes for migrants. Second, abolitionist advocacy groups can claim to speak for migrant sex workers who do not have access to local sex worker organizations and are uninformed about their rights because they sometimes do not speak the local language; they can easily be portrayed as victims of trafficking and exploitation which benefits aforementioned police actions further. Third, new richer residents in gentrified inner-city neighborhoods can use anti-migration rhetoric to demand

the police to drive out street sex workers from the area. Ethnographic research including interviews and observation in the red-light district in Geneva is carried out to answer the leading questions of this research. This includes the police, street sex workers, and other migrants involved in street drug deals as a reference point to compare police behavior towards migrants. Textual analysis of the regulatory framework as well as of citizens' initiatives supplements the collected data.

97. Raguparan, Menaka (Carleton University), *'It's based on skills, stigma and clients: Marketing Strategies of Racialized and Indigenous Canadian indoor Sex Workers'*

In this presentation I map the different advertising strategies used to promote the services of racialized and Indigenous sex workers in Canada. Drawing on 40 qualitative interviews with racialized and Indigenous women who work in the off street sectors of Canada's sex industry, I classify the advertising strategies into 2 main groups: strategies used by 3rd party and strategies used by sex workers themselves. From an intersectional assemblage (Puar, 2012) point of view in this presentation I will articulate that while 3rd party advertising strategies may appeal to normative, conventional and stereotypical representation to advertise racialized women's beauty and body image, self-advertising strategies used by sex workers themselves appeal to ambiguity, complexity and even contradictions. In other words, racialized and indigenous sex workers appeal to their fluid and complex identities when promoting their personalities. These women sometimes play-up their racial exotic ness and at other times mute their racial identities in order to compete in the sex trade markets. Racialized sex workers also at times strategically conform to stereotypical representations to promote their beauty and body image in-order to maximize their capital gain. Exploring racialized and indigenous sex workers marketing strategies, I argue, highlights resistance to stigma and normative constructions of beauty.

98. Ham, Julie (University of Hong Kong), *'Producing difference, producing knowledge'*

The category of the 'migrant sex worker' is often used to communicate a range of social difference (e.g. class, race, gender) in immigration, sex work and anti-trafficking discourses. These research, policy, and public discourses have typically focused on the links between social difference, vulnerability and risk. However, the construction and use of social difference by immigrant, migrant and racialised sex workers remains relatively unexamined compared to the social construction of immigrant, migrant and racialised sex workers. This presentation addresses this gap, drawing on data from interviews with 65 immigrant, migrant and racialized sex workers in Melbourne, Australia and Vancouver, Canada. This presentation analyses the role of social difference in sex workers' decision-making and in their interactions with co-workers and clients. In both cities, sex workers' decision-making were often infused with assumptions about the social locations of their clients, managers and other workers. For workers, social differences carried a range of meanings about capability (e.g. in ensuring one's safety and success in the industry), character (e.g. trustworthiness, working ethically), legitimacy in sex work (or one's 'fit' within the industry), and safety (e.g. risk, vulnerability). This presentation uses an intersectional theoretical lens to examine how social difference offers one mode of creating knowledge or serving as a proxy for knowledge in a context where professional knowledge may otherwise be hard to come by, given the immense stigmatization and frequent criminalization of sex work. Workers' use and constructions of social difference also reveal potential challenges to fostering solidarity among

diverse groups of workers in the sex workers rights movement. This paper will conclude by exploring strategies for dialogue about social difference with sex workers, and the challenges in fostering a nuanced understanding of difference that does not pathologize difference.

99. Coombes, Emily (University of Nevada), *'Global Trends in the Neoliberalization of Social Movements: An Analysis of the Relationship between Contemporary Anti-Trafficking Efforts and the Sex Workers' Rights Movement'*

This paper focuses on the ways in which our neoliberal world has allowed for the formation and evolution of the sex workers' rights movement, while at the same time has fueled contemporary anti-trafficking crusades on a global scale. Several neoliberal themes have been spotted in contemporary abolitionist efforts including negative byproducts of state interventions, a surge of US imperialism under the guise of freedom, and major expansion of mass criminalization. (Agustin 2007; Bernstein 2007, 2010, 2012) However, there is a missing conversation regarding the extent to which the sex workers' rights movement itself is a form of resistance towards neoliberal governance versus a reinforcement of it. This article draws upon existing calls to analyze 'separate' phenomena together, and existing research on the neoliberalization of social movements generally, asking under what conditions neoliberalism has allowed for this simultaneous creation and evolution of two opposing social movements. (Lerum and Brents 2016; Jackson 2016) While there has been an increasing amount of literature published on neoliberalism, the sex workers' rights movement, and anti-trafficking efforts, there has yet to be a discussion that looks at the relationships and connections between all three phenomena, together. I draw on existing research of the sex worker rights and trafficking movements, as well as movement documents for my analysis. This paper offers insight to academics, activists, and policy makers as to how to understand the contradictions of neoliberalism in analyzing social movements and social change in a rapidly globalizing world, as well as suggestions for further field research on these topics.

#### Panel Session 5D:

100. Oselin, Sharon (University of California, Riverside) and Hail-Jares, Katie (Griffith University), *'Different Strolls, Different Worlds? Examining Gentrification and the Field of Sex Work in Washington DC'*

There is abundant research that demonstrates rapidly changing urban settings – gentrification – disproportionately impact already disadvantaged individuals through soaring rents, consumer good price increases, additional police surveillance, and residential displacement (Lees, Slater and Wyly 2008). Yet we have less empirically based understanding of how such neighborhood transformations directly affect those in the underground economy, and specifically those who participate in outdoor sex work. The extant research on this topic indicates mixed community responses: gentrification leads to more severe policing of street sex workers in an effort to “clean up” a neighborhood (see Hubbard 2004; Kingston 2014), and community members and businesses, at times, support sex workers and even express concern for their safety (Pitcher et al. 2006). Despite these contributions, it is less clear how sex workers experience, adapt to and negotiate such urban transformations. This study advances this line of inquiry by asking: (1) How

gentrification modifies sex work and the subsequent work conditions (earnings, clientele, and solicitation tactics), personal risks (safety, health), and socio-legal consequences (policing, arrests, community surveillance, and stigma) for those involved in the trade? (2) How do sex workers adapt to such changes (e.g., relocation, transition to other work, desistance, etc...)? (3) What role do other stakeholders (e.g., residents, police, service providers) play in this dynamic? We compare strolls embedded in two neighborhood settings within Washington DC, a city experiencing heightened gentrification: One relatively untouched by gentrification and the other “revitalized.” This project relies on longitudinal qualitative interviews and focus groups with a multitude of social actors across these two contexts, including sex workers, residents, community leaders, police officers, and social service providers. While still an ongoing study, we have completed most of our data collection and are currently in the analysis stage. The data consist of interviews with 23 sex workers (2014), and 37 interviews with sex workers (2016) who work in these two strolls (N=60). A vast majority of our sample identify as trans women of color, a particularly disadvantaged group, but we also have a handful of cisgender male and female participants as well that provide some contrast across gender. Moreover, we conducted 15 interviews with the other stakeholders listed above. Finally, we held two focus groups with community residents in both neighborhoods contexts.

101. Clua, Anna (Universitat Oberta de Catalunya), *‘Prostitution in urban space: Dispossession, resilience and resistance. The Raval of Barcelona’*

Displacement of street prostitution has been one of the more rousing controversies in the recent history of urban planning in Barcelona. The neighbourhood called Raval, in the very city centre, constitutes a good example of how neoliberal policies have a spatial expression and this is also observed through on-site prostitution: from the increasing presence of global sex trafficking in the streets to the several waves of displacement that sex workers have had to experience after different municipal regulations. Processes of urban regeneration and gentrification in this area have been the main displacement drivers for vulnerable communities in the last twenty-five years, with the case of prostitutes being one of the prime examples. Parallel to the policies of expulsion from the city centre, prostitutes have developed strategies in order to resist and stay. The preliminary idea of this paper is to situate prostitution displacement both spatially and in a context of neoliberal urban policies. Focusing on the case of Barcelona’s Raval neighbourhood permits to see how restrictive municipal resolutions have historically produced a response from the prostitutes themselves, and how (in their specific case) resilience is really important in coping with social stigmatisation. The objective of this paper is, on the one hand, to identify different kinds of pressures that prostitution in the Raval area has experienced since Barcelona has oriented its urban development to become a world city. On the other hand, it will focus on the ways in which Raval prostitutes have resisted the threat of being displaced, and on their strategies for making themselves visible as citizens in the public sphere. This invitation to reflect on the relationship between space, place and prostitution will expose the preliminary outcomes of the current research developed by the interdisciplinary group Critical Spaces on social and bottom-up urban interventions addressing spatial, racial and gender equity.

102. Gillis, Kristien (University of Antwerp), *'M'Ysere?! The constructions of prostitution as a societal challenge within the Yser area in Brussels'*

Spring 2014. Local city workers remove a bench from a small square in the Yser neighborhood in Brussels. The bench was removed on demand of the mayor, who received several complaints from a local neighborhood committee about how the benches were only used by street sex workers. After road blocks aimed at discouraging clients to drive through the neighborhood, fining systems and the installation of no tolerance zones for prostitution, the removal of the bench was another attempt to displace prostitution in the slowly gentrifying area. This paper reports on the results of my PhD project in the Yser area, a street prostitution zone in a gentrifying neighborhood in Brussels. This research focuses on how a hybrid perspective (Weitzer, 2009) on prostitution can help us get more insight in prostitution as a societal challenge. By focusing on interviewing a broad variety of actors who live or work in the Yser area (ranging from street sex workers, social workers, police, residents, shop owners,...) about (1) how they perceive prostitution as being challenging within their everyday context and (2) on what type of information this perception relies? - this research was able to put back the focus on the 'societal' in street prostitution as a societal challenge. The results show that the everyday societal context wherein prostitution takes place and where certain needs, ideas and uncertainties live, is crucial in understanding the challenges of prostitution and prostitution within an urban environment. A hybrid, constructivist perspective on prostitution aids in understanding the variety of ways prostitution is seen as challenging within a concrete context and the diverse positions attributed to sex workers within the different problem constructions that arise during the interviews. The specific case also illustrates that when this societal context is underexplored, this can have negative consequences for developing a constructive prostitution policy that could possibly benefit both sex workers and those living or working around them.

103. Åsman, Susanne (Gothenburg University), *'Anti-trafficking and Nepali migrant sex workers return home from the red light district in India'*

Set against the background of a critical examination of anti-trafficking organisations' dominant discourses of sex trafficking in the Nepali context, this paper provides an ethnographic account of how Tamang women and men in the Sindhupalchowk district, defined by these organisations as severely affected by sex trafficking, understand what they define as "Bombay going" or migration for sex work. The main motivation for this endeavour is that very little, if anything, has been said about this from the perspective of Tamang women besides the studies based on the rehabilitation and reintegration programmes led by anti-trafficking organisations that concentrate exclusively on the women's identity as victims. This study focuses on women's agency and the meaning they ascribe to their roles as sex workers in the migratory process with a particular focus on the return after years of sex work in the red light district. During their years abroad, the women maintained their membership to their natal houses, through contributions of "Bombay wealth", through visits and well-established networks between the brothels in Mumbai and their homes in Nepal. In stark contrast to the dominant discourse among the anti-trafficking organisations, the Tamang women in this study returned of their own accord and were reintegrated into their native villages. Moreover, through their contributions from sex work Tamang women have created significant personal and structural social changes in their places of origin. The paper is based on multisited ethnographic fieldwork carried out over a fifteen month

long period mainly in the Sindhupalchowk district in Nepal but also in the red light district in Mumbai (Bombay) in India, with several return visits. Additionally, interviews were conducted with INGOs and NGOs in Kathmandu working with antitrafficking initiatives in Nepal.

#### Panel Session 5E:

#### 104. Lugand, Nathalie (Université Paris 13), *'working as a dominatrix in Berlin'*

This presentation will detail the role in BDSM (Bondage and Discipline, Domination and submission, Sadomasochism) of affective investments in BDSM practices where women dominate professionally. Whereas a long scholarly literature has problematized positionality in the construction of knowledge the majority of this literature has maintained a boundary between professional and personal status, by maintaining a silence on forms of erotic investment in the field. Based upon my experience as a professional dominatrix in Berlin from January to March 2012 the affective investment produced by my work has allowed me to reveal the doubts, the desires and hopes that the women invest in their profession. I will use an interdisciplinary approach to report the effect of the medical, scientific, cultural and political field of power as well as the gender/sex system (Rubin) in BDSM practices where women dominate professionally. Ultimately I aim to show, some of the ways in which gender can be incorporated into studies to create greater visibility for women at a local scale.

#### 105. Lebovitch, Amy (Sex Professionals of Canada) and Ferris, Shawna (University of Manitoba), *'Combatting systemic stigma: The displacement and disempowerment of sex workers in academic research'*

Research shapes policy and contributes to public understandings of sex work. Feminist and other anti-oppression researchers know that one of the most effective ways to ensure our research serves the best interests of people who sell sex is to partner with sex working persons and communities to do the research. While many non-academic sex workers have been able to work within existing academic research systems, there are still many barriers to engaging in what some of us would term participatory action research. The conference organizers ask, "How can we make sense of the nexus between historical and contemporary (dis)placements in the understanding of sex for sale?" We respond by examining the historical and contemporary systemic displacement of sex workers from speaking and teaching as experts on their lives and work in academic research. We argue that this displacement significantly affects dominant understandings of sex work and trafficking in our home context (Canada), and around the world. We examine this contention via two case studies, both of which are ongoing, and both of which involve the non-sex working academic and non-academic sex working authors of this paper. The first case study is taken from the Sex Work Database on which the academic author of this paper is lead researcher, and the sex working author is community consultant/liaison. The second case study is an edited book project on which the two authors work as co-investigators. We have argued elsewhere that fair pay for sex workers who participate in research is critical. The lessons we have learned through these case studies demonstrate that equality is about more than paying for time; it is about combatting systemic stigma that displaces sex workers from empowered positions in research. We conclude, then, with a discussion of strategies for those who design

research projects, arguing that we must begin with the assumption that current research systems displace sex workers from empowered positions, and that we must all work against such displacements from beginning to end.

106. Zampini, Giulia (University of Greenwich), *'Morality and affect in advocacy coalitions and their interaction with policy positions: lessons from stakeholders in England and New South Wales'*

The regulation of sex work worldwide reflects the moral polarisation around the subject of sex for sale. Within policy-making at all levels, stakeholders battle through 'emotions, dreams, desires and expectations' that are often conflicting and incompatible. Localised, fragmented and haphazard policy responses coexist with the ever increasing and contradictory pressures of neoliberal globalisation, which pushes individuals towards mobility and low-skilled labour whilst also moralising and constricting the type and space of that labour. Contradictions are played out in domestic policy arenas via discourses, policies and strategies, but also in the emotions and expectations of stakeholders. The presence of morality and ideology and their effects on the issue of sex for sale are acknowledged by scholars in the field; yet they are seldom investigated in any depth. It is often the case that morality is confused with moralism - bestowed upon 'abolitionist feminists' who argue in favour of the criminalisation of demand - failing to recognise that all stakeholders have complex moral positions that shape their views. It becomes relevant to ask: in what ways do stakeholders negotiate their policy positions given the polarisation of views and to what extent are these driven by morality and ideology? To address these questions, I will combine analysis of stakeholders' interview data and views expressed in the public domain with reflections on the differing moral, affective and ideological bases supporting these views. I will illustrate this negotiation process using an adapted version of the advocacy coalition framework, creating a dialogue between individual experiences, ideological pressures and conflicting moralities. The aim of this paper is to develop the concept of morality as an analytical tool to address both affective and ideological biases that prevent agreement on policy goals and collaboration in this area.

107. Smith, Cassandra (RMIT University), Sandy, Larissa (RMIT University) and Meenagh, Joni (RMIT University), *'Sex Work, Stigma and University'*

In April 2016, RMIT University hosted the 'World's Oldest Oppression – 2 day Anti-Sex Trade' Conference. The two-day conference featured many local and international academics and authors speaking about 'sexual exploitation'; however, no current or former sex workers were invited to provide their experiences of sex work and only the voices and perspectives of women who identified, as 'prostitution survivors' were included. It is not uncommon for academics to speak for, and over the voices of sex workers in sex work research, but students who are sex workers may be especially stigmatised by academics who attempt to silence their perspectives, abolish sex work and orthodoxy that supports this frame work. Research with students who do sex work remains limited and is often focused on why students do sex work, or the number of students who are sex workers – very little research prioritises worldviews and understandings of students who engage in sex work and stigma and discrimination they may face in educational settings. Through conducting thematic analysis of social media surrounding the World's Oldest Oppression conference, combined with five semi-structured one-on-one interviews with female university students who are sex workers, this paper discusses understandings of how discourses

around sex work, stigma and education work together to affect educational experiences and outcomes of students who do sex work. We will show how students who do sex work self-stigmatise, perceive stigma from their university peers, academics, and universities, and experience direct stigmatisation and discrimination at university for being a sex worker. In addition, we explore how students who are sex workers perpetuate and reinforce stigma through hierarchical social organisation of the sex industry and in which they deploy popular cultural stereotypes about sex workers in ways that stigmatise other more marginalised sex workers as part of an attempt to gain legitimacy in university settings.

### Panel Session 5F: Mobilisation of Sex Workers' Rights

Despite a vision of sex workers as powerless and voiceless, they have been active in fighting collectively for their rights as citizens and the recognition of prostitution as work since the 1970s. Over the time their mobilization has taken different shapes and involved diverse claims to take the form of unionizations in some countries. This panel aims to explore the different types of mobilization that have taken over time and how the claims might have changed. It will examine the basis and contexts for their struggle and assess the opportunities and challenges facing their mobilization. Finally it will discuss the transformative potential of their organizations. We seek to discuss the following questions: Who are the sex workers who become activists? How and why sex workers mobilise or unionise? What are the specificities of their mobilisation or unionisation compared to mainstream mobilisation or unions? What are the main barriers to their organisations? What are the main successes of their mobilisations - unionisations so far?

108. Dziuban, Agata (Jagiellonian University and ICRSE) and Stevenson, Luca (International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe), *'Mobilisation, solidarity, intersectionality: exploring the history of sex workers' movement in Europe and Central Asia'*

Although in the recent years sex workers' mobilisation and self-organisation gained considerable academic attention, still very little is known about the historical dynamic and regional specificity of sex workers' movement in Europe and Central Asia. Our presentation aims to fill this gap by documenting and reflecting on sex workers' selforganisation and self-determination in European and Central Asian countries. While discussing the plethora of collective involvements, political goals and strategies of action adopted by sex worker communities and organisations, we will distinguish and analyse three distinct yet interconnected waves of sex workers' mobilisation in the region. Our attention will be given both to the development and engagements of the local or national sex worker collectives, as well as to the development and functioning of the regional or sub-regional sex workers' networks (International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe [ICRSE] and Sex Workers' Rights Advocacy Network [SWAN]). Eventually, we will explore some of the challenges and opportunities faced by sex workers' movement in Europe and Central Asia.

109. Chimienti, Milena (HETS), *'Transnational mobilisation of sex workers'*

Lack of legal, economic, social or human resources tend to make collective action by people in situations of vulnerability seemingly impossible or at least unlikely. However, in many European

countries, instances of collective action by sex workers struggling for the decriminalization of their activities and their recognition as workers occurred. Since the 1980s their mobilization has even become transnational leading in 2005 to the creation of the “The International Committee on the Rights of Sex workers in Europe”. These transnational activist coalitions lead to the “Declaration on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe” which was presented in the European Parliament in 2005. This paper will seek to explore why and how did these transnational social movements among sex workers and irregular migrants start? What are the strategies and means used by them in order to make their claims heard publicly? The paper will examine in particular the processes through which national claims become transnational. Finally the paper will seek to understand the conditions of possibility for transformative claims from various civic positions.

110. Garofalo Geymonat, Giulia (Lund University) and Maciotti, PG (International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe), *‘Workers’ collective projects and ambivalent professionalization in sex work: the cases of sex worker peer educators in Germany and sexual assistants in Switzerland’*

Drawing on ethnographic work this paper examines two cases of workers’ collective actions oriented to improving the quality of sex work. The first case is a group of sexual assistants for people with disabilities, who have organised meetings and training for sexual assistants in a medium-sized city in Switzerland. The second is a group of sex workers offering workshops to people who sell sex in brothels or in the street in a large German city. While the projects under study studied are each facilitated by the prostitution laws existent in Germany and Switzerland, a range of similar projects oriented to ‘self-professionalisation’ have emerged in recent years across a range of legal regimes in Europe. We argue that these activist interventions may represent a resource for identifying crucial aspects of work-quality in prostitution, and some of the ways in which it can be improved – or, conversely, decreased. Indeed, through ongoing conversations and recommendations about working practices and ethics, workers develop original and situated views of what is better sex work and what is exploitation. They do so by comparing a variety of experiences in sex industries, as well as discussing similarities with other jobs such as body work, care work, and psychotherapy.

111. Aroney, Eurydice (University of Technology Sydney) and Crofts, Penny (University of Technology Sydney), *‘Workers Choice: sex worker activism and the decriminalisation of sex work in NSW’*

Since 1995 sex workers in NSW Australia have worked in a largely decriminalised sex work environment and as Australia’s most populated state NSW is one of only two places in the world to have adopted and sustained a decriminalised approach to the regulation of sex work. The process of decriminalisation in NSW began with the removal of street soliciting laws in 1979 and this eventually led to the decriminalisation of brothels in 1995. Successive governments along with the police often contest the details of NSW sex work system but nevertheless empirical evidence demonstrates that NSW sex workers experience better health and safety outcomes as a consequence of the decriminalisation. Yet the successes (and shortcomings) of the NSW model have yet to be acknowledged in other sex work regulatory regimes except in New Zealand. Amnesty International’s 2015 decision to champion decriminalisation accentuates the need for other governments to look more closely at the NSW experience. Drawing on archival, media and

oral history sources this research looks at the role sex worker activists and their organisations played in achieving and sustaining decriminalisation in NSW. It shows that from the 1970's through to the 1990's Australian activists drew on instances of European and US sex worker resistance and organising, and that these disparately located activists acknowledged the global nature of both their sex work and their crusade – which was to reform laws and public opinion and to implement decriminalisation. Our research shows that international connections both supported and informed sex worker activist strategies and their contributions to NSW policy reform. Our research shows that determined and ongoing activism by sex workers and their allies – both local and global - remains a crucial element in the prolongation and evolution of decriminalisation of sex work in NSW.

### Panel Session 5G: Economic Crisis and Changes in the Patterns of Brazilian Sex Work

The roller-coaster of the global economy and its collateral effects (xenophobia, precarity, surveillance) has produced large amounts of change in the patterns of sexual commerce practiced by Brazilians, both at home and abroad. The papers of this panel concentrate on exploring some of these in three paradigmatic spaces: Brazilian sex work in Italy and Spain and in Brazil's international "calling card" city, Rio de Janeiro. Privileging the role economic crisis has played in these changes, the papers highlight the creative ways that sex working men, women and trans-meet these challenges, forming new alliances, shifting into new spaces and sectors of the economy, and incorporating new technologies into their daily practices.

112. Piscitelli, Adriana (Pagú Gender Studies Nucleus), *'Clients, "friends" and lovers: Brazilian sex workers coping with the economic crisis in Spain'*

In this paper I consider the connections between increased precarity and intimacy, taking into account how Brazilian sex workers have coped with the economic crisis in Spain. The analysis is centered on the effects of the shift of the preferences, in terms of sexual and economic exchanges, of migrants who consider themselves professionalized prostitutes. In a recent past they privileged prostitution above other possible interchanges. Yet, in the context of the economic crisis, they started to prefer the economic and sexual exchanges they could establish with "friends"/ "lovers", or "men who help" to those with increasingly scarce and impoverished clients. Drawing on multi sited ethnographic research carried out since 2004 with Brazilian migrants in Spain, I give attention to the economic, affective and subjective implications of this shift. Analyzing the trajectories of two Brazilian women and a tranvestite who I have accompanied along ten years in Barcelona, I consider how the economic re-configurations connected with the crisis in Spain go together with the alteration of the sexual economies and of the intimate dimensions of life.

113. Blanchette, Thaddeus Gregory (UFRJ Macaé), *'Bulldozing the Sexscape: Urban Renewal and Economic Boom and Bust in the (Re)Configuration of Sex Work in Rio de Janeiro'*

Since the beginning of the 21st Century, Rio de Janeiro has undergone immense changes in its economy, urban infrastructure, political positioning within Brazil and projection in the global media- and imagescapes. Beginning the new millennium as a city stigmatized by rampant

violence, poverty and infrastructural collapse, Rio passed through a period of economic boom and increasing global presence, consolidated by its hosting of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games. In recent years, however, the dream of a “renewed city” has suffered severe reverses, as the local and national economies have entered into a tailspin, accompanied by political crisis. Sex work in the city has been profoundly affected by these changes, with over a third of Rio’s 300+ prostitution venues closing their doors or being transformed into night clubs, swing clubs, or so-called “liberal houses”. Much of the high end prostitution that was once situated in the city’s saunas and dance halls has moved on-line or has been reconfigured into models that seem to mimic the American institution of the “gentlemen’s club”. Sexual tourism has crashed and even favorable exchange rates for the dollar and the euro have not been able to revive it to anything like its former prominence. Meanwhile, low end venues have become more concentrated while economic crisis has resulted in an increase in supply of sexual services without a corresponding growth in demand. Consequently, individual workers’ earnings from sex work have plummeted. The present paper investigates these transformations, offering up some considerations for what they might mean for the future of sex work in our city.

114. Teixeira, Flávia (Federal University of Uberlândia), *‘European and painful: reflections about the economic crisis in the sexual labour market in Italy’*

This paper discusses the perceptions of the economic crisis in Europe, as lived in Italy by travestis who migrated to work as prostitutes in Milan streets/roads in the years 2008-2016. I argue that the travestis’ precarious insertion in Italy produces a perception of political, economic and migration issues that result from a "periphery-center" viewpoint, with greater focus on details that often escape planning laws/standards. In 2008, the issue of fighting against human trafficking and its consequences -- such as fines for customers and numerous police operations to repress the prostitution/migration – dominated the main travesti prostitution scene in Milan. From 2010 on, economic issues have gained in relevance in the streets, leading Brazilian travestis producing the to produce a (re)classification of their customers and of the country itself. *Penação* (penitential), something that was earlier understood as an individual attribute, would be displaced as a classification intended solely for certain customers (poor and non-European) and would become applied to Italians in general. Italy became a painful country where one serves penitence, a situation that has continued (in the discourses of the travestis) on through 2014. Here, I discuss the strategies and effects of this unique moment in the current reconfiguration prostitution spaces in Italy.