

## INTRODUCTION

### Reframing Male Sex Work

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Think of sex workers and one usually thinks of women. Indeed, the term “prostitute” has remained closely identified with female behavior, and sex as a commodity for exchange is typically constructed as a heterosexual event in which the male client is invisible.\* The female sex worker is ubiquitous in popular culture, appearing frequently in literature and film. Dennis’s (2008) analysis of 166 research publications on sex work produced between 2000 and 2007 found only 10 percent to be exclusively concerned with male sex workers (MSWs). In fact, many studies cited by Dennis imply that the very idea of a male prostitute or male sex worker is a linguistic impossibility. Dennis explained this bias as being grounded in heteronormative assumptions, with male-male liaisons presenting as aberrations in the wider literature on sex work (see also Gaffney & Beverley, 2001).

Historically, male sex work has been of significantly less public concern than female sex work. One reason for this may seem obvious: promiscuous males in public locations are not as likely to draw the degree of scrutiny that women do. This relative lack of attention might also be explained by the smaller numbers of MSWs. Nevertheless, male sex work has been present consistently in most societies; in fact, the number of MSWs at particular historical junctures has been relatively high.

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\* We have adopted the term “sex work” throughout this book to describe commercial sexual exchanges. We consider the term “prostitute” to be an ideological representation that stigmatizes people labeled as such. To address this, liberal factions of the feminist movement and sex industry advocates have sought to counter-construct the prostitute as sex worker, arguing that those involved in the sex industry are no different from other workers. This industrial or occupational focus has gained much currency since the 1970s, despite the categorical limitations of the term “sex worker,” which has become an umbrella concept for a range of behaviors, not all of which would traditionally be considered prostitution. While we have favored the term “sex worker” in this collection, prostitute/prostitution have been adopted when describing ideological representations of commercial sexual exchanges or when referring to historical examples. In this respect, we adopt a constructionist position with regard to the use of terminology.

The lack of research on the male sex industry may indicate something about its size, as the number and geographic distribution of MSWs is largely unknown. While research data on the size of the male sex industry are lacking, estimates are that a single sex worker services approximately 20 different clients per week (Klinnell, 2006). The research also has noted that MSWs comprise about 20 percent of those arrested in America each year for selling sexual services, and 30 percent of those in France (Dennis, 2008). Therefore, male sex work is not as insignificant a social phenomenon as the paucity of research on the topic suggests. Research from the Netherlands has found that approximately 3 percent of men (and women) in the adult population have reported receiving money for sex (Vanwesenbeeck, 2013).

Historical evidence indicates that, as early as the 18th century, commercial sexual contact between men occurred frequently in European metropolitan centers, such as London (Norton, 1992). As Mack Friedman's chapter in this book explains, male prostitution was also found in ancient and pre-modern cultures. Male brothels existed in Ancient Greece and Rome, and there was even a Roman public holiday dedicated to male sex workers. However, in the pre-modern period, such behavior was often conflated with same-sex desire more broadly and was not recognized as prostitution. As such, male sex work was not considered a distinct social problem at the time and there was no public debate about its causes and consequences, which contrasts with the attention given female sex work (Weeks, 1992).

Kerwin Kaye, in chapter 2, argues that male sex work caught the attention of some sexologists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries because it appeared to be a contradictory activity in which heterosexual males engaged in homosexual activities. This raised several questions—Could heterosexual males derive pleasure from same-sex activities? Was an MSW engaged as an active partner considered a homosexual?—that continued to influence thinking on male sex work well into the 20th century. Notable here is the significance of scientific understandings of sexuality in shaping both research and the popular discourse associated with male sex work. If much of what we know about female sex work has been shaped by gender, understandings of male sex work have been linked to popular and official accounts of sexuality.

Rather than presenting male sex work as a social problem to be resolved or eradicated, this book examines how male sex work has been understood, both historically and cross-culturally. Moreover, it attempts to move away from “scientific” understandings of male sex work that have painted sex workers and their clients as at-risk and/or pathological populations. One issue here is that research has traditionally been conducted on the more visible and accessible population of male street sex workers, who are estimated to comprise only 10 percent of the overall male sex work market (Perkins, 1991; Smith & Grov, 2011; Weitzer, 2005). As a result, less is known about the more numerous and expanding subpopulation of male sex workers who work indoors. While this book will address street workers, it also draws attention to indoor forms of sex work, especially escort services, which have grown considerably in recent years through the burgeoning social media and telecommunications.

As discussed, there have been a number of important shifts in the way male sex work is understood. Before the last decade, research had focused predominantly on male sex work in highly urban settings, using the characteristics of street-based sex work to present male sex work as a social problem. The difficulty of constructing a more nuanced and complex picture of male sex work was largely a product of its double stigma as a form of sexual and gendered deviance, and the powerful adverse influence of homophobia, which disallows a legitimate discourse about male-to-male sexual relations, let alone commercial sex between men. As a result, certain spaces (suburban, regional, and rural) have been difficult to articulate, see, or imagine. To some extent, even the complexity of indoor forms of male sex work lay undiscovered. Gendered and sexual norms also have meant that less is known about the clients of MSWs than about those of female sex workers (FSWs). Unlike the clients of female sex workers, clients of MSWs have been represented as a socially problematic, deviant subpopulation, often indistinguishable from homosexuals. However, some pioneering studies have emerged during the last decade, giving greater visibility to these spaces and populations.

We contend that new telecommunications technologies have done much to increase awareness of the diverse and dynamic nature of male sex work. Moreover, these technologies have challenged the barriers of

stigma and extended the reach of researchers, just as they have extended the reach of sex workers. This new terrain of male sex work also creates challenges, especially in terms of globalization and rapid economic growth. Several chapters in this book highlight the growth of male sex work in metropolitan areas in developing countries and the struggles of migrant sex workers in developed countries, while others examine male sex work in terms of the structural challenges associated with changing technological, economic, political, and social landscapes.

### **Rethinking Male Sex Work**

Because understandings of male sex work shift with technological, conceptual, and social changes, we consider this a timely book. When we began researching male sex work in the 1990s, the telecommunications revolution, driven largely by the Internet and mobile telephones, was still in its infancy. Moreover, the structure and organization of male sex work had not changed all that much during the 20th century. While other broader social changes had an impact on female sex work, male sex work tended to be geographically restricted and relatively invisible in both official and popular discourse. During the last century, what we knew about male sex was largely restricted to Western contexts, and male sex work was largely limited to urban environments. While there was some sense of the growing significance of escort work, most research remained focused on the streets, which ensured that the deviance or pathology paradigm that had dominated understandings of male sex work continued to be influential throughout the 20th century.

The changing understanding of sexuality and the increasing power of the Internet are both important forces behind recent changes in the structure and organization of male sex work. The increased visibility and reach of escorts have created opportunities to form an occupational account of male sex work that accounts more fully for the dynamic and diverse nature of the MSW experience in the early 21st century.

MSWs are in a unique social position because they provide services to numerous groups of people, including gay men, heterosexual men, women, and their personal sex partners (Logan, 2010). However, MSWs service a predominantly male clientele. Because participants in this exchange are of the same gender, MSWs have been difficult to conceptualize in social, economic, and gender theories of prostitution (Bernstein, 2005;

Edlund & Korn, 2002; Marlowe, 1997). Popular accounts of sex work tend to present prostitution as a product of economic necessity or individual pathology, lending support to a representation of sex workers as passive and disempowered victims who have been exploited and coerced into sex work (see Bimbi, 2007; Scott, 2003; Smith, Grov, Seal, & McCall, 2013). An alternate, somewhat romanticized narrative suggests that male sex work is inherently less exploitative than female sex work because interactions between two men have a certain equality missing in interactions between a male client and female seller (Altman, 1999). Indeed, sex work has largely been considered through the lens of patriarchy as exploitative and degrading to women. Female sex workers have been presented in research as a passive “supply” population, whereas male sex workers have been presented as more active. Current limitations as to how we understand male sex work suggest an inability by researchers and a wider audience to consider the male body an object of possession, objectification, and consumption.

On the other hand, male sex work has challenged the gay liberationist rhetoric, which has sometimes presented gay communities as being free of exploitation. It also has challenged simplistic narratives of human sexuality by disentangling sexual identity from sexual practice. We know, for example, that a high percentage of male sex workers and their clients identify as straight. In fact, male sex work has always existed ambiguously on the margins of gay culture as an object of erotic appeal and fantasy, and of stigma and embarrassment, as is highlighted in chapter 10 by Christian Grov and Michael Smith.

In short, we can learn a lot from the study of male sex work, which on a broad level provides vital insights into the construction and social organization of gender and sexuality, especially masculinities and the commodification of the male body. The research in this book draws much from the scholarship on masculinity that has emerged over the last 20 years and has been informed by major theoretical works by scholars who have put men’s studies at the forefront of their thinking (see, e.g., Connell, 1995; Gagnon & Simon, 1974).

The study of male sex work can also lead to a better understanding of female sex work and of the culture of men who have sex with men. It is important to note that the research is now focused on revealing the complex meanings and practices associated with sexuality, gender,

power, and social life, and the male sex industry can be a vehicle for understanding such socially constructed phenomena.

### **Structure of the Book**

The book is structured into four parts, the first of which situates male sex work in a historical, cultural, social, and economic context. The first two chapters are historical. While largely drawn from Anglophone research, they provide a series of snapshots of male sex work in various places and periods, from Ancient Greece to medieval Japan to the contemporary United States. In chapter 1, Mack Friedman provides a brief history of male sex work across societies. He focuses on what we can glean about the working conditions and social tolerance of male sex workers while exploring themes of cultural stigma and sexual-financial exploitation. Friedman argues that the end of the taxation of male sex workers in the Roman Empire spelled their devolution from celebrated (with a national holiday) to punished (torched in front of mobs) within a few hundred years, and that the spread of Christianity coincided with the delegitimization of male sex work across Western Europe and its colonial holdings. He thus uncovers evidence that, in many Western societies where homosexuality was restricted, transactional male sex eventually became the de facto way for men to find male sexual partners. Kerwin Kaye, in chapter 2, picks up the historical narrative where Friedman leaves off, focusing on male sex work in modernity. Kaye notes that male prostitution altered its form dramatically over the course of the 20th century. While some of these changes related to economics and the general culture, some of the most important changes arose in response to transformations in the idea of homosexuality and the growing influence this idea had within middle-class and eventually working-class culture. This chapter identifies some of the diverse forms male prostitution has taken since the late-Victorian period, and also examines the ways male prostitution has been written about by various commentators in different eras.

Both of these chapters delineate a consistent historical and socio-cultural distinction across societies and eras between men who have sex with other men for love, and those who have sex with other men for money. They suggest that the use of public spaces (parks, monuments, streets) for male sex work has changed little in 2,500 years.

In chapter 3, Russell Sheaffer interrogates the ability of cinema, primarily American, to trace a shift in the portrayal of the male sex worker as a recurring character type, a task that has not been attempted previously in discussions of film. His work blends a close reading of numerous texts from across disciplines and mediums to chart the ways that sociological writing and film scholarship have positioned “sex work.” Sheaffer finds numerous correlations between popular American cinematic representations and the proliferation of a constantly changing consciousness about male sex work in other disciplines. His chapter locates Andy Warhol’s work (*My Hustler*, specifically) as a sort of catalyst for allowing male sex work to be spoken about and depicted without a veil of euphemism. In mainstream American cinema, *Midnight Cowboy* began an era of filmmaking that, while being able to speak about male sex work as sex work, still maintained a sense of homosexuality as perverse—an attitude that remained prevalent in American cinema for several decades. It was in response to the AIDS crisis that a new American queer independent cinema (christened the “New Queer Cinema” by B. Ruby Rich) appeared, removing much of the stigma that previously had been tied to the male sex worker character type. In this moment, HIV/AIDS made male sex work impossible to ignore within American culture, and as films like *My Own Private Idaho* and *The Living End* began to appear on the festival scene, so did sociological studies focused on the subject of male sex work. American cinema has now taken up the character type in a highly fractured way, portraying him in a number of highly diverse films, from *Deuce Bigelow* to *Sonny* to *The Wedding Date*. Thus the character type is proliferating in ways that were impossible in earlier decades.

Part two of the book moves from the historical perspectives of the preceding part to two different perspectives on the marketing of male sex work. Allan Tyler, in chapter 4, provides a history of the development of advertising for men selling sex to men in the gay media. In this chapter, the context shifts from North America to the United Kingdom as it documents the rise of men selling sex through gay scene magazines in the 1990s, and the later introduction of online advertising and the use of social networks to advertise sexual services and sexual massages alongside personal ads. There is a marked similarity between the types of images men use in advertising escort services and massage,

and these images often resemble those used in personal ads and profiles. They often present a hypersexualized image constructed through the body, pose, and (un)dress.

Hypersexual advertising can be used to attract sex clients directly, while the more modest offer of massage services may include sensual types of touch and release. Men use advertisements and profiles to work independently, but agencies also use these formats to promote the men who work for them. The visibility in the social media of ads for men selling sex reinforces ideas about casual, anonymous sex and the ideology of sex as a commodity to be sought and negotiated, which extends into other personal encounters.

In chapter 5, Trevon Logan broadens the book's exploration of the theme of marketing, this time in contemporary America in the shadow of the Internet. This is the first study to provide quantitative information with minimal concerns about sample selection on a large number of male sex workers. It provides basic demographic information on MSWs in the United States, analyzes the geographic location of these sex workers, and explores whether there is a statistical relationship between price and sex worker attributes. It also finds that male sex workers are very diverse in age, race, and other demographic characteristics, and that the geographic concentration of male sex workers is not aligned with the population distribution of gay men in the United States but with the distribution of the overall population. It finds, finally, that sexual position and race are statistically related to prices, as men who advertise sexual dominance charge significantly higher prices than those who do not. Black men who conform to sexual stereotypes of sexual dominance are highly valued in the market, but those who do not conform to the stereotype are not.

Part three of the book examines the fact that male sex work has been presented as a "social problem"—a classification to whose objective existence many social scientists would take issue—and the reactions this has generated. Our chapter with Denton Callander opens part three by providing a picture of the clients of male sex workers, drawing from contemporary online data to present the voices of male clients who pay for the sexual services and companionship of male escorts. These clients are not easy to stereotype. They are young and old, blue-collar workers and professionals, gay and bisexual men, men

who are married and some who are fathers, those in a permanent relationship and bachelors, men who are overweight and fit, homely and handsome. As previously noted, the clients of MSWs have historically been highly visible in the research, in contrast to the clients of FSWs. This was especially true in early accounts of male sex work, where clients were presented as effeminate deviant “homosexuals,” in stark contrast to the hypermasculine hustlers who were the focus of much early research. Some feminists recently have attempted to focus more attention on clients of sex workers, but this has been limited to heterosexual encounters. There also has been a push in Western Europe and the United States to increase penalties for the clients of sex workers, but this legislation has largely been considered within heteronormative frameworks that ignore the prevalence of MSWs and their clients.

In chapter 7, Thomas Crofts turns attention to the conception of male sex work as a problem of social order and looks at the ways it has been legally regulated in Anglophone cultures. He argues that, despite jurisdictional diversity, policies tend to disregard the variety of biographies, motivations, and experiences of sex work among FSWs, let alone the peculiarities of male sex work. This relatively linear focus on female sex work has had a profound influence on the regulation of sex work for both men and women. Although increasing attention is being paid to male sex workers, it is clear that concerns about male sex work remain marginal. This chapter explores why male sex work has received relatively little attention in academic and policy literature and has largely been bypassed by sex work regulations. It also examines the connection between the conceptualization of male homosexuality and male sex work, the impact this has had on the regulation of male sex work, and ends by exploring some of the forms and spaces of male sex work and how they shape regulation.

David Bimbi and Juline Koken, in chapters 8 and 9, argue that, throughout the decades, media and the literature have portrayed men in the sex trade as dangerous, crazy, and a threat to both their clients and the larger communities in which they live. While male homosexuality has gradually become more socially acceptable and mainstream, research on MSWs has been slow to follow suit. While public health research has increased on male sex work as a “vector of disease transmission,” little attention has been paid to the mental health of the sex

workers themselves. Much of the research on MSWs seems to reflect a larger social paradigm of men as invulnerable and unemotional, although some has mirrored the research on FSWs, which presents childhood sexual or physical abuse as a root cause of their involvement in the sex trade. Research that explores the emotional lives of male sex workers and the mental health issues they face due to their work has only recently begun to proliferate.

Men who work on the street or in bars report higher rates of these problems than the more privileged MSWs, such as those who advertise sexual and escort services on the Internet. The research has found consistently that the stigma attached to working in the sex industry is powerful, and that men must marshal significant resources to cope with the harm that could result from disclosing their involvement or being outed as a sex worker to their loved ones. However, some studies have indicated that the stigma of being involved with male escort services may be less in Western gay communities than in non-Western settings, where it appears that many perceive buying or selling sexual services as fairly normative. Men who take an occupational or entrepreneurial approach to sex work are more likely to feel positive about their work and to have successful strategies for coping with the emotional challenges that can come with servicing sex clients. The mental health needs of men in the sex industry must be understood and attended to as part of recognizing the full humanity of MSWs as individuals who are part of their communities.

Koken and Bimbi argue in chapter 9 that the field of public health did not concern itself with MSWs until the HIV epidemic hit full force in the 1980s. As these authors note, due to the stigmatized nature of prostitution, public health was concerned with sex workers as “vectors of disease transmission” to the wider public. This stance, based partly on the legality of sex work and the public’s disdain for those engaged in it, completely overlooked the health and well-being of sex workers. MSWs in particular were objects of derision and they were not seen as people in need of care for any number of health issues. More recently, the wider health needs of MSWs—substance abuse, mental health, self-care, issues related to HIV—have become more integrated into a holistic approach to public health. Nevertheless, there is still a dearth of evidence-based health practices, official recommendations, and theoretical models to guide public health care for male sex workers.

In chapter 10, Christian Grov and Michael Smith look at the gay community from a cultural context and explore its relations to male sex work. They find that the evolution of male sex work is intimately tied to the modern gay rights movement and to new technologies. As homosexuality has become more visible and socially accepted, so has male sex work, with venues for advertisements now expanding beyond the gay print media and hustler bars to Internet websites devoted specifically to sex work, as well as sexual networking websites, where escorts and clients can have regular contact. Today, money and sex go hand in hand: escorts pay fees to advertise online or in print media; gay and bisexual men pay to join websites where they can engage in sexual networking with other men or purchase erotic content (both online and offline); and it is not uncommon to see pornographic material that is themed around financial transactions. One could argue that the sexualization of gay communities, which has facilitated the social acceptance of commercial sexual encounters, emerged as a result of the historical marginalization of sexual minorities. Thus, to understand male sex work, it is necessary to understand changes in the gay community as well as the shifting role technologies play in facilitating sexual transactions.

Mary Laing and Justin Gaffney extend the theme of providing services to male sex workers in chapter 11. They situate empirical data from a survey conducted with male sex workers about their sex work practices within the broader academic context, which explores debates on what sex work constitutes, what language is used to describe it, and the fact that sex work is often considered a feminized practice in national policy contexts. The survey findings reveal a lack of exploitation and coercion among those engaged in sex work, as well as a high level of education, a relatively low instance of substance abuse, and the fact that most of the men were in control of their sex work. However, theft and robbery were experienced by nearly half the sample, although there was a low level of reporting the incidents. Many of the men surveyed also had worked in pornography, where barebacking was deemed normative, and nearly half had little or no knowledge about post-exposure prophylaxis, or PEP treatments. The chapter concludes that the provision of services to MSWs should be nonjudgmental and should recognize the choice men make to stay involved in sex work, and, crucially, that the provision of services should be led by the men's needs.

The fourth and final part of the book explores sociocultural variations on male sex work, drawing on research from four continents. In chapter 12, Paul Boyce and Gordon Isaacs examine male sex work in Southern and Eastern Africa, where relatively little is known about male sex work. They focus in particular on the experiences of men who not only sell sex to other men but also, for the most part, self-identify as homosexual. MSWs in Africa have regularly been excluded from policymaking and program planning and from research on health and safety, chiefly because of prejudice and denial among social workers, health service workers, and legal authorities. Men who sell sex in Africa may be doubly stigmatized, due to their assumed sexual orientation and to their sex work, and thus are subject to abuse and harassment. The authors collected detailed information on male sex workers' life stories, social vulnerabilities, and sociosexual practices, consciously avoiding approaches to the study of sex work that classify types of sex workers or quantify the risks of such work. They focus instead on the day-to-day practices, perceptions, and experiences of these men, arguing that their approach can offer important insights into sex workers' life experiences that will help create significant new pathways to addressing their social vulnerability, rights, risks, and health issues, including HIV and other sexually transmitted infections.

In chapter 13, Travis Kong provides a rare view of male sex work in China. He starts with a brief history of male homosexuality and prostitution in Ancient China, followed by an account of the emergence of the male sex industry in China since the 1980s. In contrast to the common conception of the male prostitute as a deviant social outcast or disease carrier, Kong presents male prostitution as an informal labor market and understands the male prostitute as a normal person in the context of work, situated in the context of contemporary China's migration and urbanization. Focusing on "money boys," the main actors in China's male sex industry, this chapter examines the various facets of their lives and the male sex industry: reasons for and paths of entry to the industry; types of occupational settings; interactions with clients; work identity, stigma, and occupational risks; and the current regulatory models governing male prostitution (as well as homosexual relations) in China. The chapter concludes that, in the course of their sex work, money boys experience independence, control, and empowerment,

as well as displacement, alienation, and dislocation. Their pursuit of freedom, happiness, and wealth in fact reflects the young generation in general under China's quest for modernization and urbanization.

Linda Niccolai, in chapter 14, examines how male sex work has developed in Eastern Europe in light of the unprecedented economic and political changes that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. This has resulted, among other things, in a proliferation of sex work in present-day Russia. This phenomenon has been studied primarily in the context of female sex work as it relates to the expanding HIV epidemic, while the study of male sex work remains much more elusive. Furthermore, recent social changes in Russia reflect increasing homophobia and the marginalization of men who have sex with men, creating a potentially dangerous situation for men involved in sex work. The limited research reveals a range of risky behaviors and social vulnerability among this population, and this chapter provides a critical review and synthesis of what is known, drawing primarily from the public health literature. There clearly is a critical need for additional work to understand the context of male sex work in Russia more fully, and for programs and interventions that reduce the challenges to their well-being faced by MSWs in Russia.

In chapter 15, Victor Minichiello and his colleagues highlight how cultural understandings of masculinity can create both opportunities and challenges for men. Their analysis of a profile of male escorts in Argentina, for example, shows that men of diverse sexualities make complex decisions about working as an escort and providing services to both men and women. In this profile, complex cultural influences are at play around the meaning of "being a man," and they are evolving and being negotiated between escorts and clients. Interestingly, as the escort business becomes globalized, we can anticipate that "hot sex tourism markets" will emerge in Latin America, where the sales pitch is for a product that is more exotic (e.g., hot, well-hung Latino men) and more affordable.

Heide Castañeda, in chapter 16, uses ethnographic methodology to point to a variety of cross-cultural constructions of gender, as well as the importance of structural processes to sexual meaning and practices. This chapter moves beyond the myopic association between sex work and HIV to contextualize health risks as a result of macro-level

processes, including poverty, discrimination, unemployment, lack of housing, inadequate access to health care, and the loss of kin support structures through migration. The chapter is unique in its focus on migrant men, as few studies examine migration or the fact that prostitution is legal in Germany, or that these migrant street MSWs are not “illegal” because they are EU citizens.

In chapter 17, Paul Maginn and Graham Ellison draw on fieldwork and online data to provide a contemporary account of male sex workers in Ireland. As with most Western liberal democracies, Ireland’s regulatory approach to sex work is biased in the sense that political, policy, and moral concerns tend to focus on the experiences of female sex workers while very little is known about the male sex worker population. This is especially pronounced in a heteronormative country like Ireland—North and South—where the Catholic and Protestant churches have played a fundamental role in shaping societal and political attitudes toward sex and sexuality. This chapter breaks new empirical ground in its analysis of male sex work in Ireland, which draws from profile data of both male and female sex workers who operate across the country. Data obtained from one of the UK’s largest Internet-based escort agencies provides insight into the scale and characteristics of male sex workers in terms of the age, nationality, sexual orientation, and the sexual preferences of approximately 500 male and almost 5,000 female sex workers. The data also reveal that the geography of male sex work is by no means an urban phenomenon, as a significant proportion of Ireland’s male sex workers provide services to people in rural areas.

The structure and organization of male sex work has undergone a massive reconfiguration over the last two decades. How we understand male sex work also has changed. The studies in this book show that the sex industry cannot be understood without considering the wider societal forces and cultural environments in which the sex industry operates. The notion that male sex work is a clandestine and violent activity largely restricted to the streets or beats—public spaces where men can meet to have casual sex, such as toilets—is not supported by recent empirical research, which has begun to examine male sex work as a socially legitimate activity, and to frame it from an occupational perspective and as a rational economic and/or sexual choice. Recent work continues to demonstrate that the intrinsic nature of sex work

is not oppressive, that there are different kinds of worker-client experiences, and that there is a varying degree of both victimization and exploitation, as well as agency and choice.

The studies in this book help the reader move beyond the pathologizing discourses that have produced an understanding of MSWs and their clients as deficient or deviant. By continuing to recognize the diverse demographics, motivations, and experiences of MSWs, we will be better equipped to provide support and to construct policy and conduct research that meets this diversity head on.

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## Chapter Credits

**Chapter 1:** Mack Friedman, "Male Sex Work from Ancient Times to the Near Present"—is revised and condensed from Mack Friedman, *Strapped for Cash: A History of American Hustler Culture*. New York: Alyson Books, 2003.

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**Chapter 12:** Paul Boyce and Gordon Isaacs, "Male Sex Work in Southern and Eastern Africa"—is adapted from Paul Boyce and Gordon Isaacs, "An Exploratory Study of the Social Contexts, Practices, and Risks of Men Who Sell Sex in Southern and Eastern Africa" [online technical report]. Oxford, England: Oxfam Great Britain, 2011.

**Chapter 14:** Linda M. Nicolai, "Male Sex Work in Post-Soviet Russia"—is adapted from L. Nicolai, E. King, K. Eritsyman, L. Safiullina, & M. Rusakova, "In Different Situations, in Different Ways: Male Sex Work in St. Petersburg, Russia," *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 15 (2013): 480-493. Adapted with permission from Taylor & Francis.

**Chapter 16:** Heide Castañeda, "Migrant Male Sex Workers in Germany"—is adapted from Heide Castañeda, "Structural Vulnerability and Access to Medical Care among Migrant Street-Based Male Sex Workers in Germany," *Social Science & Medicine*, 84 (2013): 94-101. Adapted with permission from Elsevier. Original article available at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S027795361300083X>.