

FEMINISTS' PERSPECTIVES ON PROSTITUTION*

PRIYANKA HAZRA

I

The debate over prostitution is probably as old as prostitution itself. And the discussion of the oldest profession is as alive today as it ever was. New books and articles are constantly being published, new scientific reports and theories are presented, and new committees and commission are formed. Yet while the scientific and literary discussion is very much alive, the philosophical discussion on prostitution seems never come to life. The question is 'How is this to be explained? And is there any justification for it? Could it be that prostitution is a topic unsuitable for philosophical treatment? Or could it be that, although suitable, it does not give rise to any interesting philosophical question?' It seems absurd to maintain that the subject is unsuitable for philosophical treatment, since it clearly involves many normative and evaluative issues. 'Could it be instead that prostitution as a moral question belongs to casuistry or to applied ethics rather than to moral philosophy proper? Could it be that it does not give rise to any "high level" questions or principles?'

The moral standpoint of prostitution is not so consistent but, the act is legal and regularized within some countries and punishable by death in others. Prostitution is commonly defined as a custom of having relations in exchange for economic gain. The most popular monumental perspective is that prostitution is an unqualified evil. According to this view exploitation, abuse, and misery are intrinsic to the sex trade. In this view, most prostitutes were physically or sexually abused as children, which helps to explain their entry into prostitution; most enter the trade as adolescents; most are tricked or forced into this trade by pimps or sex traffickers; drug addiction is rampant; customer violence against workers is routine and pervasive; working conditions are abysmal; and legalization would only worsen the situation.

Prostitution, in its simplest form is the sale of sexual acts. "Most social scientists define prostitution as sexual intercourse characterized by negotiation, promiscuity, and emotional indifference."¹ Prostitution, however, encompasses much

* I acknowledge a deep sense of gratitude and sincere obligations to my research Supervisor Dr. Laxmikanta Padhi for his kind help and suggestions in writing this paper.

¹ P. Goldstein, *Prostitution And Drugs* 27:1979, and J.Decker, *Prostitution: Regulation and Control* 8:9, p. 979.

more than a simple definition reveals. Complex dynamics exist among prostitutes, as well as between prostitutes and their clients, and between prostitutes and pimps. Debates regarding study of prostitution took off by the Archimedean society. According to them, prostitution is a controversial issue, and many philosophers have many views about prostitution, say for example, for Fredrick Angel, "Prostitution is one kind of domination of women by men". According to the Archimedean society prostitution is immoral, undesirable, and in many places illegal too. They raise so many issues on prostitution.

Adam Smith, in *The Wealth of Nations*, opines that there are 'some very agreeable and beautiful talents' that are admirable so long as no pay is taken for them, 'but of which the exercise for the sake of gain is considered, whether from reason or prejudice, as a sort of public prostitution.' For this reason, opera singers, actors, and dancers must be paid an 'exorbitant' wage to compensate them for the stigma involved in using their talents 'as the means of subsistence.' Smith was not altogether right about the opera market, but his discussion is revealing for what it shows us about stigma. Today, few professions are more honoured than that of an opera singer and yet only two hundred years ago, that public use of one's body for payment was taken to be a kind of prostitution.

Many authors remarked that prostitution is obviously linked with religious outlook and philosophical assumption about sex, female virginity and female adultery. It did not develop in all societies in the same time or, same way that exists today. In Greek society there exists a division between proper women and prostitutes. A woman who enters into the male society, even at the level of an unequal, has to lose her status of a proper woman. Some thinkers also try to show *Orphic* religion and Platonic ideals on this issue. Roman had many oriental divinities and in their society prostitutes are attached to the temples. There are various theories which classify prostitution into four basic categories like the traditional Anthropologist, the modern theorist, the socialist and the Marxists.

According to the Anthropologists, prostitution is inevitable because nature determines certain rules for men and women, and one of women's is to serve the sexual needs of men. This theory is shared by both the traditional Anthropologist and by some Modern theorists. The Socialist and Marxists depict the view that prostitution is an inevitable result of capitalism. Some Anthropologists also claim,

prostitution is a hold over from early matriarchal societies where it was practiced without the negative social stigma that is attached to it today.

Thus, the most reasonable theory is that prostitution is a function of a patriarchal and male dominated society. This view held by some traditional Anthropologists, who believe that patriarchy is a superior form of social structure, also supported by Feminists. According to the conventional morality, a prostitute is a sinful creature and ought to be banned from the society which should be strengthened by law. For them, all sexual institutions should be related only to reproduction. According to the religious view, sex outside marriage, homosexuality and prostitution are not allowed in order to make human beings happy. Sex is valued within marriage or, within a committed relationship. Kantian moral theory identifies subjectivity and dignity with a *self-determining will* locate within the limited willing activity of embodied individuals. The individual knows itself as a subject only means of the recognition of another subject within a particular social context. Sexuality is one way in which individuals express their subjectivity. Each empirical subject is partly determined by its choice with regard to sexual expression and it's mode of integrating sex, gender, and sexuality within its life as a whole. According to some theories, prostitution is undesirable because it is not in the best interest of a prostitute to what she is. It is held that society should try to prevent people from becoming prostitutes and try to rehabilitate those who already are prostitutes. According to Marx, prostitution is only a specific expression of the general prostitution of laborer and since it is a relationship in which prostitute alone is not responsible. Just as a prostitute provides the substitute of love for money, the worker hands over his work and his life for daily wages.

According to the traditional Anthropologists, patriarchy is superior to social structure. This view is supported by the Feminists. Women perceive that they have historically been victims of both direct and subtle forms of male oppression. Feminists' stance toward sex work is based on a perspective that regards paid sexual services and performances as inherently oppressive and exploitative. Radical feminism sees prostitution as the quintessential form of male domination over women - the epitome of women's subordination, degradation, and victimization. Feminists' beliefs vary widely as to the most effective way to end this oppression. Radicals and liberals, however, are divided about the role of prostitution, seeing it in a range of

perspectives from that of an ordinary business transaction to an activity that degrades all women.

Feminist claims that there are five reasons why a person becomes a prostitute. Firstly, there are women who inadvertently fall into poverty and turn to prostitution but have an emotional thread to find some things else to do. Secondly, a woman may be educated against her will for no reason of defect in her character and be turned into prostitution. Thirdly, there are women born into poor families with a long history of poverty and a lack of education. Fourthly, some women perhaps take prostitution naturally like, “the fish take into water”. This category may include prostitutes through several generations such women often know what they do and confident that they can handle most of the dangers. Fifthly, in this smallest category is that of attractive women who are looking very smart. These women recognize an opportunity to make an extraordinary high income as prostitutes with the men those afford a premium price of sexual service.

II

Women perceive that they have historically been victims of both direct and subtle forms of male oppression. Feminists’ stance toward sex work is based on a perspective that regards paid sexual services and performances as inherently oppressive and exploitative. Radical feminism sees prostitution as the quintessential form of male domination over women - the epitome of women’s subordination, degradation, and victimization. Feminists’ beliefs vary widely as to the most effective way to end this oppression. Radicals and liberals, however, are divided about the role of prostitution, seeing it in a range of perspectives from that of an ordinary business transaction to an activity that degrades all women. Feminist believes that there are five reasons of why a person becomes a prostitute.

- Firstly, there are women who inadvertently fall into poverty and turn to prostitution but have an emotional thread to find some things else to do.
- Secondly, a woman may be educated against her will for no reason of defect in her character and be turned into prostitution.
- Thirdly, there are women born into poor families with a long history of poverty and a lack of education.
- Fourthly, some women perhaps take prostitution naturally like, “the fish take into water”. This category may include prostitutes through several

generations such women often know what they do and confident that they can handle most of the dangers.

- Fifthly, in this smallest category is that of attractive women who are looking very smart. These women recognize an opportunity to make an extraordinary high income as prostitutes with the men those afford a premium price of sexual service.

Radical feminists on prostitution:

Prostitution has received less attention from radical feminists, whose central issue has been pornography. Yet many of the issues most important to feminists are embodied in prostitution. The sex act, central to radical feminist analysis, is also the central fact of prostitution. Most of the questions that concern feminists surround that act itself, power relations between the sexes, the place of sex in society, the sexual double standard, economic coercion, the meaning of family and marriage. Because prostitution is ‘the real thing,’ not merely a depiction of sex, it highlights these issues to a greater extent than does pornography. Likewise, however, prostitution forces feminists to confront the problems of radical feminist analysis, such as the false consciousness issue, more forcefully than does pornography.

There are radical feminists who believe that prostitution is always an instance of ‘violence against women’. They believe the removal of the patriarchy will force a fundamental reshaping of male sexuality, meaning there will be no demand for prostitution, and therefore no supply. In contrast, there are those so called ‘sex-positive feminists’ who view prostitution as a choice made by rational female agents. They believe that there are some non-violent areas that provide prostitutes with the financial independence. In this sense, demand for prostitution is not a negative force that needs to be removed. Instead efforts should be diverted towards removing prostitute women from poverty and promoting their safety. Prostitution is inevitable in the sense that even if alternative career options were available, sex work can be an enjoyable and fulfilling career that provides a valuable service to the male customers.

The supporters of ‘sex-positive’ position may seem eminently reasonable. However, it is based upon a dangerous assumption about male sexuality. This is the widely held view that ‘men’s sexual impulses are just as instinctive and uncontrollable as...the need for food and water’. Therefore, men’s demand for prostitutes is seen as the inevitable result of both: men’s *need* to satisfy their sexual

desires and there is a 'void between male and female levels of sexuality'. There will always be a demand for prostitution because men will always demand sex - and (unpaid) women will not always be willing or available to provide it.

This argument from biological inevitability relies not only on men demanding sex, but upon a contingent of women always being available to supply sex - due not to their *genuine willingness*, but out of economic necessity. If this contingent of women was not available for whatever reason, the argument from biological inevitability implies that men would turn to rape - as sex is not just a desire - but a *biologically driven need*. From this, the argument for biological inevitability can be taken to be saying that prostitution reduces the instance of rape. This is a worrying thought and one that suggests that male sexuality is fundamentally predatory, out of the control of individual men, and unconcerned with the genuine willingness of female sexual partners.

It is believed that 'sex-positive' feminism makes dangerous and patronizing assumptions about male sexuality which is unequivocally rejected. There are problems with Radical Feminism as their views often lack in degree, with their insistence that the client is always 'expressing a pure heart for the female body' and the prostitute never truly willing leaving no room for a discussion of the lived reality of some agents in the sex industry. It is, however, perfectly reasonable to admit that the sex industry encompasses a 'multiplicity of different experiences' - positive and negative - whilst still arguing that, overall, it is an avoidable force for bad in society and therefore something that we can and should look to eliminate. Anti-prostitution feminists hold that prostitution is a form of exploitation of women and male dominance over women, and a practice which is the result of the existing patriarchal societal order. These feminists argue that prostitution has a very negative effect, both on the prostitutes themselves and on society as a whole, as it reinforces stereotypical views about women, who are seen as sex objects which can be used and abused by men.

Liberal feminists on prostitution:

Liberal feminists take an individualistic perspective on women's liberation. So the priority, for liberal feminists, is about the ability of individuals to make choices. Liberal feminism also focuses on achieving "equality" through legislative reform. What this means is that liberal feminists don't aim to attack the root of the

problem, but rather make changes within the system that already exists in order to help enable women to hold equal status to men in society. They don't think these aims are bad, in and of themselves, but just don't think they will successfully address the problem of male power and female subordination. The main problem with liberal feminism is that its focus on individual rights and choices leads feminists to attempt to fix problems like violence against women and sexual exploitation through superficial means. Say for example: a prostitute may say "maybe if we just make more "woman-friendly" porn, the porn industry will cease to be completely misogynist and exploitative;" "maybe if we just regulate the sex industry, prostitution will cease to be a violent industry that preys on marginalized women and exists purely for male pleasure, at the expense of women's lives;" "maybe if women *consent* to shaking their body on stage for an audience and choose their own outfits, stripping/parody will no longer be about presenting women as pretty, sexy things to look at and become feminist;" "maybe if women choose to self-objectify in selfish, that act will become an empowering one;" and on and on.

Radical feminism looks at patriarchy as a system of power, not as something you can simply regulate or talk or imagine out of existence. According to them, taking back words or inventing new ones won't upset male power, nor will our own personal feelings of "empowerment." We can't simply change our own individual perspective on particular acts, trends, and behaviour in order to change reality. Radical feminism aims to attack gender roles and the social inequality and male violence against women that results from these prescribed gender roles. Therefore, from a radical feminist perspective, there can be no glorification of the "feminine" or "masculine" because of the following reasons.

- those roles are oppressive, and
- they aren't real, but are invented and enforced by a patriarchal society.

"Feeling good" about self-objectification is fine on an individual level, but has nothing to do with feminism or with changing or challenging an oppressive system. If more women make porn that is "female-friendly", it won't destroy the porn industry or make that industry one that isn't a primarily sexist one that promotes the abuse and degradation of women. If we regulate the sex industry, it won't change the fact that prostitution exists on a foundation of colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy

and is an industry that exists to benefit men and reinforce women's roles as subordinate. Women prostitutes have described it as 'paid rape' and 'voluntary slavery'. Prostitution is sexual harassment, sexual exploitation, often worse. The payment does not erase what we know about sexual violence, domestic violence and rape.

In response to liberal arguments that imposing morality is dangerous and totalitarian, feminists would argue that the liberal goal of keeping morality out of law is in any case illusory. To avoid 'legislating morality' is to accept prevailing moral standards by default. If the current morality sanctions male sexual dominance over women, liberalism simply permits, albeit in hidden fashion, the continued prevalence of such conservative moral norms. Also, of course, liberalism's basic tenets - the overriding importance of the individual, for example, ensure certain moral outcomes and thus are not value-neutral. Feminists, on the other hand, realize and accept that law will always institutionalize some system of values; admitting this openly allows a more honest and rational process of deciding which system to adhere to, instead of pretending that no choice has been made and thus permitting the de facto persistence and dominance of traditional behavior.

Further, a 'female' value system might look very different from past systems of morality that have sought to dominate i.e., the types of systems against which liberalism reacts. Carol Gilligan² claims to have found a fundamental difference between 'male' and 'female' approaches to ethical problems. Gilligan takes pains to point out that neither approach is exclusive to either gender. Part of that difference lies precisely in the absence, in the 'female' value system, of a clear cut division between right and wrong, and instead in a desire to solve problems to benefit all involved. If this is so, instituting female values would be instituting relativism as opposed to absolutism, and therefore could not by definition become totalitarian. The ultimate aim is not to create a system of 'female dominance,' but to benefit both men and women by reducing the element of dominance itself.

The reason most often given by prostitutes themselves for the work they do is the money. However, another reason relates specifically to the burdens placed on women in today's society is children. Many prostitutes are also mothers, and require

² C. Gilligan, *In A Different Voice*, 1982.

the flexible time schedule, in addition to the money, that prostitution provides. Few other jobs, especially among those available to less-educated women, provide the necessary flexibility.

Essentially, women are defined in male terms by a state structure that believes it is neutral. Women, in turn, believe this view of them and accept its objectivity, and internalize it themselves. Therefore, they cannot define themselves independently. This view carries with it the danger of ascribing to women a ‘false consciousness,’ that is, assuming that women simply do not always know-cannot know-who they truly are, or what they really think. This can become a paternalistic attitude that those who have become aware of the truth have a better understanding of what is good for women.

Is prostitution a choice?

Arguments for legalizing prostitution depend on the strength of two arguments: that prostitution is a choice for those in it and that the harms of prostitution are decreased if it is legalized. There is little evidence that either of these arguments is true. But there are theories about prostitution never seem to die no matter how many facts we beat them down with. Only a tiny percentage of all women in prostitution are there because they choose it. For most, prostitution is not a freely-made choice because the conditions that would permit genuine choice are not present: physical safety, equal power with buyers, and real alternatives. The few who do choose prostitution are privileged by class or race or education. They usually have options for escape. Most women in prostitution do not have viable alternatives. They are coerced into prostitution by sex inequality, race/ethnic inequality, and economic inequality. Followings are some of the examples of invisible coercions:

- The woman in India for example, who worked in an office where she may conclude that she might as well prostitute and be paid more for the sexual harassment and abuse that was expected of her anyway in order to keep her job. That’s not a choice.
- The teen in California for example, who said that in her neighbourhood boys grew up to be pimps and drug dealers and girls grew up to be whores. She was the third generation of prostituted women in her family. Prostitution more severely harms indigenous and ethnically marginalised women because of their lack of alternatives. That’s not a choice.

- A woman in Zambia for example, who said that five blowjobs would pay for a bag of cornmeal so she could feed her children. That's not a choice.
- The First Nations survivor of prostitution in Vancouver for example, who said, *We want real jobs, not blowjobs* for the rest of her 2009 speech and other writings by survivors who have gotten out and who are supporting sisters to escape. That's not a choice.
- The young woman for example, sold by her parents at the age of sixteen into a Nevada legal brothel. Ten years later, she took six psychiatric drugs that tranquilised her so she could make it through the day selling sex. That's not a choice.

III

From the contemporary perspective, prostitution is identified as a transnational issue requiring global solutions in relation to its regulation and legislation, but the question of what constitutes a properly feminist response remains a matter of dispute. Ongoing conflicts within metropolitan feminist circles over the meanings of sexuality for women, combined with the United Nation's acknowledgment of women's rights as human rights, have produced two divergent conceptions of prostitution as a legitimate target of governmental intervention. Extrapolating on the UN's recognition of gender discrimination and violence as issues that stem from and reinforce the secondary status of women, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) associated with the feminist abolitionist lobby contend that prostitution constitutes a form of violence against women and hence a violation of human rights. As a result, they are currently lobbying within the UN, and other political forums, for nations to work towards the eradication of prostitution by decriminalizing and providing support for women in prostitution, whilst simultaneously criminalizing those who create the demand for, and profit from, the sexual exploitation of others. Conversely, NGOs who endorse the platform of the prostitutes' rights movement maintain that abolitionist and prohibitory prostitution laws constitute a violation of the human rights of women to control their own bodies, lives, and work. In consequence, they are currently lobbying for nations to recognise all forms of 'voluntary' prostitution, by decriminalizing consensual commercial sexual practices, and placing 'the sex sector' under the jurisdiction of commercial and labour, as opposed to criminal, laws.

By claiming the *right* to enter into and redefine the ‘masculinist’ terrain of international law, however, women’s human rights activists have effectively revitalized the once beleaguered claim of Feminism to speak for all women, albeit this time in the name of multi-vocal, transnational feminisms, as opposed to univocal, *White-Western-Feminism*. Despite repeated admonitions to the effect that transnational strategies must be viewed as interim measures, based on the provisional tactic of ‘thinking globally, whilst acting locally’, metropolitan women’s rights activists evince an inordinate faith in the universal efficacy and transformatory capacity of feminist legally based strategies. This faith is justified by reference to the urgent need for remedial action regarding issues that harm and discriminate against women, and the unavoidable necessity of using the language of human rights because it is the only language that has the capacity to set legal remedies in operation. While these justifications may ring true, the underlying appeal to notions of an oppressed universal sisterhood, and hence commonsensical conceptions of ‘real politics’, has had the corollary effect of precluding theoretically informed attempts to disassemble the language of human rights, by intimating that such endeavours are purely academic, or even non-feminist, in the final analysis. The recent turn to international law has thus attracted many feminist human rights theorists into the trap of assuming that metropolitan feminist concerns can and need to be translated into a universally applicable set of policy recommendations.

Prostitution seems to engender some of the most difficult issues in feminism. Prostitutes are considered by feminists to be on the front line of patriarchal oppression. They exemplify the position of all women in patriarchal and capitalistic societies. They also carry the dual burden of a criminal record and the loss of respectability that their clients do not. For feminists, prostitution epitomizes everything that is wrong in patriarchal societies.³ there are some questions to ponder here. Is support for prostitutes more important than a critique of prostitution? Are the prostitutes victims or agents? Do feminists who are not prostitutes have the right to speak on behalf of prostitutes or by doing so are they perpetuating the perception of

³ Carpenter, B. J. (2000). *Re-thinking prostitution. Feminism, sex, and the self*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

prostitutes as the victims? These issues have been debated for decades and are still relevant today, simply because not much has changed⁴.

In the 21st century, prostitution is still a crime in the U.S. Feminists are at an impasse because of their conceptual dualism; victim or agent, for or against, classist or sexist oppression. Dichotomous conceptualizations put feminists in a bind, as they cannot both support and critique prostitutes simultaneously⁵. The either/or stance ignores the possibility that these options are not mutually exclusive and the fact that prostitutes are not a homogenous group. The only resolution is through a new conceptualization that is not based on mutually exclusive choices, but instead incorporates the complexity of the prostitute phenomenon, and allows for the various voices of prostitutes to be heard and validated. Feminists will have to find a way to separate prostitutes from prostitution as a social institution, as it makes more sense to defend prostitutes' entitlement to do their work but to not defend prostitution itself as a practice under patriarchy. Feminists need to create a synthesis in the dialectic of the right to choose and the right to protection, within a new framework that can include both.

Race is generally absent from the feminist discussion of prostitution⁶. The feminist polarization is primarily focused on sex vs. class inequalities, ignoring the part race has in understanding inequality and prostitution. This is surprising given the fact that women of color tend to enter prostitution earlier and stay longer as compared to White women and that numerous studies report a disproportionate percentage of African-American women arrested and incarcerated for prostitution⁷. Both radical and socialist feminists have been criticized by African women for failing to incorporate the concerns and issues of women of color because they primarily focus on sexism (radical) and class inequality (socialist). African women suggest that race should take precedence over the other "isms" in explaining prostitution, especially street-level prostitution, although they view race as always being classed and gendered.

⁴ Jolin, A. (1994). On the backs of working prostitutes: Feminist theory and prostitution policy. *Crime & Delinquency*, 40, p.69-83.

⁵ O'Connell Davidson, J. (2002). The rights and wrongs of prostitution. *Hypatia*, 17, p.84-98.

⁶ Kramer, L. A. (2003). Emotional experiences of performing prostitution. In M. Farley (Ed.), *Prostitution, trafficking, and traumatic stress* (p.187-197). Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press.

⁷ Nelson, V. (1993). Prostitution: Where racism and sexism intersect. *Michigan Journal of Gender & Law*, 1, p.81-89.

Thus, African women view prostitution as resulting from the intersectionality of structural racism, classism, and sexism and suggest that all are pivotal in understanding prostitution.

One may say that the feminist critique has created a shift from focusing on individual deficits (pathologizing prostitutes) to considering social discourses as constructing the institute of prostitution. Consequently, there are many efforts that have been redirected to the facilitation of more structural changes. What is missing is attention to the individual prostitute and her children. In the struggle to protect prostitutes as a marginalized and vulnerable group, the prostitutes as individuals have been forgotten. The prominent evidence for this is the current dearth of family therapy literature specifically addressing the mental health needs of prostitutes and their children as well as any clinical considerations for reaching out and treating this at risk population.

Despite feminists' advocacy of decriminalization, the prevailing policy in some countries is still criminalization. The negative view of prostitutes is still prevalent. It is possible that the longstanding cultural values regarding morals and promiscuity present greater obstacles to change than feminists anticipated. "Until such time as a woman's sexual conduct is of her choice (equality), and neither detracts from (promiscuity) nor enhances (chastity) her worth, prostitution will continue to exist and it will continue to be fraught with controversy".⁸

References:

- Albert, Alexa, *Brothel: Mustang Ranch and its Women* New York: Random House, 2001.
- Atchison, Chris, Laura Fraser, and John Lowman, "Men Who Buy Sex," in J. Elias, V. Bullough, V. Elias, and G. Brewer, edit., *Prostitution* Amherst, New York: Prometheus, 1998.
- Barry, Kathleen, *The Prostitution of Sexuality* New York: New York University Press, 1995.
- Bernstein, Elizabeth, "What's Wrong with Prostitution? What's Right with Prostitution? Comparing Markets in Female Sexual Labor," *Hasting's Women's Law Journal* 1999:10
- Brents, Barbara and Kathryn Hausbeck, "Violence and Legalized Brothel Prostitution in Nevada," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 2005: 20.
- Campbell, Rosie, "Invisible Men," in J. Elias, V. Bullough, V. Elias, and G. Brewer edit., *Prostitution* Amherst, New York: Prometheus, 1998.

⁸Jolin, A. (1994). On the backs of working prostitutes: Feminist theory and prostitution policy. *Crime & Delinquency*, 40, p. 81.

- Chancer, Lynn, "Prostitution, Feminist Theory, and Ambivalence," *Social Text* 1993: 37
- Chapkis, Wendy, "Power and Control in the Commercial Sex Trade," in R. Weitzer (edit.), *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry* New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Chapkis, Wendy, *Live Sex Acts: Women Performing Erotic Labor* New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Igor Primoratz, "What's Wrong with Prostitution?" *Philosophy* 68 :1993.
- Mappes T. 'Sexual morality and the concept of using another person' in Soble A, Power, N. edit. *The Philosophy of Sex: Contemporary Readings*. 5th edition Lanham Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 229: 2008.
- Mark R. Wicclair, "Is prostitution morally wrong?", *Philosophy Research Archives* 7 :1981
- Robert M. Stuart, edit., *Philosophical Perspectives on Sex and Love* New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press 1995
- S.I. Hayakawa, *Language in Thought and Action*, 4th edition, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 1978.