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PROSTITUTION: AN EXAMINATION OF
SOME ASPECTS AND SOME APPROACHES
TOWARD THE PHENOMENON

A Research Paper Presented to the
Faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
in partial fulfillment of Elective P-505

by
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51413

Reader

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The phenomenon of prostitution has existed in one form or another throughout recorded history. Some societies have placed high values upon it; others have deplored its existence.¹ While much has been spoken, written, and done about prostitution, a survey of the field indicates that relatively few efforts have been made to understand it as a phenomenon of society. Not until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have individuals begun to study prostitution to much of an extent.²

If society in general has made few attempts at understanding prostitution, the few materials from the Church's viewpoint indicate that it has done little also. Since the nature of prostitution has been changing and recent studies have been made, there are now new bases on which to attempt an understanding of prostitution.³ The purpose of this study is to examine some aspects of prostitution and some approaches to it.

Limitations of the Study

Prostitution is usually thought of in terms of a male buying sexual services from a female. However, depending upon one's definition, prostitution can be viewed more

widely to include other types of sexual relations. For instance, homosexual prostitution is another type. And there are indications that the number of homosexual prostitutes soon may be as large as the "normal" type.⁴ But, since most prostitutional studies are limited to the "normal" type, this study will have the same limitation. A further limitation will be the exclusion of a historical treatment of prostitution.⁵ The specific aspects of prostitution examined by this paper are the following: the contemporary scope and nature of prostitution, types of prostitutes, causal factors in and effects of prostitution, and approaches toward prostitution. In the conclusion a summary will be given and implications made on the basis of the examination.

Methodology of the Study

A large number of personal interviews would contribute much to a study such as this one. However, such personal interviews are difficult to make, expensive, and beyond the scope of this study. The researcher made a few personal interviews with prostitutes, but these interviews have served only as a basis for examining the studies of others. Therefore, the method of this study has been an examination of bibliographical materials.

Definition of Prostitution

The problem of narrowly defining prostitution has been alluded to already. However, even after the term has

been limited with respect to the sexes involved, problems yet exist. Many writers on the subject of prostitution begin with either an attempted definition or by pointing out the difficulty of defining prostitution. Some analysts conclude that any attempted definition is inadequate at one point or another. For example, Harry Benjamin and R.E.L. Masters (a M.D. and a sexologist respectively) come to such a conclusion in their book, Prostitution and Morality. They list and evaluate several projected definitions, pointing out the problem with each definition.⁶ The problem of definition as analyzed by them centers around the question of what factors are necessary in a sexual relationship to make it an act of prostitution. They conclude by setting forth a "working definition," which sets forth the following criteria:

Prostitutes are those persons regarded by our society generally, and by our society's laws in particular, as engaged in what is commonly and legally defined as prostitution (exclusive of those statutes which label prostitutional acts for which no payment is made or expected).⁷

Such a "working definition" will serve the purposes of this paper. It is broad enough to prevent any special difficulty and defines prostitution in terms of most existing laws.

The Contemporary Scope of Prostitution

Vern Bullough, in his article, "Streetwalking--Theory and Practice," suggests that official statistics on prostitution are not very helpful in determining the number of

functioning prostitutes. The difficulty with official statistics is that they relate only to registered women in countries where regulations exist or existed and to women convicted for soliciting. Both of these figures are limited because only a proportion of women actually practicing prostitution are listed on official records. Not recorded are the clandestine, part-time, and amateur prostitutes, as well as most of the higher-status ones. Arrest figures are misleading since they tend to concentrate on low-status prostitutes and fluctuate from one area to another because of the differences in law-enforcement and public opinion in each area.⁸

The psychoanalyst Harold Greenwald, in his book, The Call Girl, refers to the Kinsey study, Sexual Behavior in The Human Female, and points out that the percentage of males in each social level who are frequenting prostitutes today is almost the same as the percentage twenty or more years ago. From this fact, Greenwald concludes that prostitution is not yet a "dead issue as some social theorists had expected it would become when sexual morals were relaxed."⁹

Benjamin and Masters estimate that there is a total of more than 315 million sexual acts with prostitutes taking place annually in the United States. Their estimate is based upon the Kinsey data on the incidence of prostitutional contacts and the number of potential male customers in the United States.¹⁰

Although it is impossible to set forth an accurate

number of the functioning prostitutes and the use made of them, one can suggest that prostitution is a significant phenomenon in the United States.

The Contemporary "Types" of Prostitutes

Benjamin and Masters state that the picture of prostitution in the United States has changed considerably since the beginning of World War II. They indicate that the change is partly the consequence of vigorous attempts to suppress it altogether and partly for other reasons. Allowing that accurate data are lacking, on the basis of their own findings, which are supported in some cases by the Kinsey reports, Benjamin and Masters conclude the following:

There are not so many professional, full-time prostitutes now as there were before most of the brothels were eliminated. But there are many more amateur, part-time prostitutes--married and unmarried females engaged in occasional prostitution as means of supplementing income received from other sources.¹¹

Other analysts agree with this conclusion.¹²

Not many analysts give a detailed analysis of the various "types" of prostitutes which function today. However, Benjamin and Masters give such an analysis. They examine several "types" of prostitutes.¹³ Only the first three more common "types" will be considered in this paper. The following is based almost completely upon Benjamin and Masters' study.

The Call Girl

In defining the "call girl" of prostitution, Greenwald

refers to them as the "aristocrats of prostitution." He points out that they live in the most expensive residential sections of large cities, dress well, and charge a minimum of twenty dollars per sexual contact.¹⁴ Benjamin and Masters indicate that there is not always a clear line in terms of fee, modus operandi, or whatever between the call girl and some other kinds of prostitutes. However, in the long run her earnings are higher than most prostitutes. Not all call girls wait to be called or visit their customers only by pre-arrangement. On the average call girls are better educated than other prostitutes. Some of the more successful ones are distinguished from other prostitutes by the attention they give to their customers. Also since her income is larger and she spends more time with each customer, she may be more selective in her customers.¹⁵ Greenwald observes that venereal disease does not seem to be a serious problem among call girls.¹⁶

The Streetwalker

Benjamin and Masters note that streetwalking is one of the most ancient methods of prostitution. It is also the method most objectionable to many persons because of its "high visibility." Historically, the streetwalker has been considered near the bottom of the prostitution ladder. With exception, her fees are lower and she is the less attractive type. In general, the venereal disease rate is higher among streetwalkers than among call girls, brothel girls and bar prostitutes. She is vulnerable to the dangerous sex deviate and may suffer from

exposure to bad weather, especially if she is a drug addict. She is also the most susceptible to arrest. Most American cities have streetwalkers, but seldom are there large numbers in a particular area.¹⁷

~~The Bar Prostitute~~

Since most middle and upper-class bars exclude known prostitutes, the majority of bar prostitutes are located in the lower-class bars. Masters, having talked with hundreds of young bar prostitutes in most parts of the United States, states that most of them are not full-time prostitutes, but are girls supplementing incomes earned as barmaids, B-girls, waitresses, etc. Some work as prostitutes only when they are in between jobs or in financial difficulty. This group probably represents a majority of all white females presently engaged in prostitution in the South, Southwest, and Midwest United States. Probably eighty to ninety percent of the bar prostitutes have less than a high school education. They tend to come from low-income and low-level families and a sizable number are from small towns and rural areas. The age of the majority of these girls is seventeen to twenty-five. Bar prostitutes are highly mobile, moving from one place to another in a large city and from one city to another. They live mostly in rooming houses and cheap hotels. Many of these girls in the twenties have been married two or more times, often putting children up for adoption or giving them to their parents or ex-husbands. Some of these girls are quite attractive at the beginning of their careers but soon deteriorate.

Usually they drink extensively, eat improperly, and have irregular hours. They tend to lose interest in their personal appearance. Low self-esteem is common with them, and there are marked neurotic symptoms among many of these girls.¹⁸

The previous introduction to the contemporary nature of prostitution indicates that it is a significant and complex phenomenon. The analysis of the more common "types" of prostitutes suggests the difficulty of talking about prostitution and the prostitute in general terms. Not all prostitutes function in the same manner and in like circumstances. Now that the scope and nature of prostitution has been investigated briefly, some of the causal factors in prostitution will be examined in the next chapter.

Footnotes, Chapter I

¹Fernando Henriques, Prostitution and Society (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1962, Vol. I), p. 14.

²Vern Bullough, "Streetwalking-Theory and Practice," Saturday Review (September 4, 1965), 52-54.

³Ibid.

⁴Harry Benjamin and R. E. L. Masters, Prostitution and Morality (New York: Julian Press, 1955), p. 18.

⁵Two comprehensive histories of prostitution are The History of Prostitution by Bullough and Prostitution and Society, Vol. I, by Henriques.

⁶Benjamin and Masters, pp. 15ff.

⁷Ibid., pp. 31f. (on page 32 a list of several proposed definitions is given in the footnotes).

⁸Bullough, p. 52

⁹Harold Greenwald, The Call Girl (New York: Ballantine Books, 1958), p. 10.

¹⁰Benjamin and Masters, p. 19.

¹¹Ibid., p. 17

¹²Vern Bullough, The History of Prostitution (New York: University Books, 1964), p. 236.

¹³Benjamin and Masters, pp. 119ff.

¹⁴Greenwald, p. 1.

¹⁵Benjamin and Masters, pp. 121ff.

¹⁶Greenwald, p. 18.

¹⁷Benjamin and Masters, pp. 124f.

¹⁸Ibid., pp.125ff.

CHAPTER II

SOME CAUSAL FACTORS IN PROSTITUTION

A survey of the studies concerned with the causal factors in prostitution indicates the difficulty of examining the causes of prostitution in neatly separate categories such as sociological factors and psychological ones; in the case of some analysts it is almost impossible. Therefore, the method of examination in this chapter is that of examining individual studies on the causes of prostitution. On the whole, in the first part of the chapter an investigation is made of the reasons women become prostitutes. In the second part of the chapter, the reasons men "use" prostitutes are examined. Then a social theorist's viewpoint is considered.

Reasons Women become Prostitutes

One of the earliest studies made on prostitution was by a French physician Alexandre Jean Baptiste Parent-Duchatet in 1836. The significance of his study lies in the fact that he emphasized the economic, educational, and sociological causes of prostitution, which was a break from the past when the emphasis was that a woman has become a prostitute because of some character defect.¹

Bullough states that subsequent studies by others further emphasized the economic and sociological causes of prostitution. In 1855, Dr. William Sanger, with the assistance of the New York City police, had some 2,000 prostitutes fill out questionnaires giving such information as nativity, age, economic background

and reasons for becoming a prostitute. By far the largest number of prostitutes were immigrants who were the most outcast and dislocated groups. Bullough points out that George Kneeland made a similar study in New York in 1912 and came to the same conclusions that prostitutes were from the dislocated, dispossessed and helpless. Bullough notes that the problem with these studies is that information came from police records and tended to concentrate on the low-status prostitutes.²

Bullough says that not until Freud's emphasis upon the sexual behavior was there any attention given to prostitution as a deviant sexual behavior. Havelock Ellis was one of the first writers in England to discuss the psychological aspects of prostitution. He contended that economic motivations were not sufficient to explain prostitution. He disagreed with Cesare Lombroso, one of the founders of criminology, who said that the basis of prostitution was to be located in moral idiocy or inherent tendencies. Ellis furthermore disagreed with the thought that the prostitute was an extremely sensual woman.³

Karl Abraham concluded that the prostitute was a woman who could not enjoy the sex act at all and thus avenged herself on every man by showing the man how unimportant the sex act was for her. Edward Glover, mostly from a theoretical basis, maintained that the Oedipus conflict was an important factor in the development of the prostitute. He concluded that most prostitutes were sexually frigid and had an unconscious hostility toward men; they also had homosexual tendencies.⁴ Frank Caprio went further than Glover on the idea of latent

homosexuality. On the basis of his inquiries from prostitutes throughout the world he was convinced that "prostitution attracts women who have a strong latent homosexual component." Through prostitution these women eventually overcome their homosexual repressions. He argued that "their flight into sexual intercourse with many men, rationalized by the profit motive, is symptomatic evidence of their fear of their own unconscious homosexual desires."⁵

In the work of an anonymous English author Women of The Streets, the findings from a sampling of one hundred and fifty prostitutes plus a smaller number of depth studies are given. The author discovered that there were great differences in the personalities and status-levels among the streetwalkers. The higher class prostitutes were more charming, better educated and more sympathetic than the lower class ones who were more socially embittered.⁶ All of the prostitutes showed alienation from society. Furthermore, they tended to transfer their own guilt feelings onto their customers.⁶ This author concludes that the main problem is one of personal adjustment for the individual.⁷ Because of the girl's inability to adjust to life in society, she develops feelings of unimportance and apathy, which render her vulnerable to people and opportunities promising her some compensation.⁸ While the economic aspects are important factors in influencing the girl's behavior, they are not "causes."⁹

A fairly recent study by an American psychoanalyst, Harold Greenwald, is presented in his book, The Call Girl. His study

is somewhat limited since it is based on twenty cases and restricted to call girls. But it is significant, since it is one of the few of its kind. He states the central conclusion of his study when he says,

I believe that the first and most serious cause of their later difficulties was the intense early feeling of deprivation because of rejection by the mother, the feeling that the mother did not want to nurture them, feed them, take care of them.

When the girls found their mother inadequate, they turned to the father or father substitutes, hoping that they would compensate for what the mother had not supplied. It seems to me that what the girls were seeking from their fathers and later from men in general was not sex so much as actual nurture.¹⁰

Greenwald observes that from the girls he studies there was not one example of a permanent, well-adjusted marital relationship between the parents of these girls and most of them came from broken homes. The absence of warmth between the parents made it difficult for the girls to form any kind of attachment to her family. And Greenwald comments that "when a girl cannot form an attachment to her family, there is no way in which she can absorb the values of society." Furthermore, the double rejection (both father and mother) helped to give the girls a feeling of worthlessness that Greenwald found to be characteristic of the entire group.¹¹

Greenwald further states that in the context of neglect and rejection ten of the girls had a special kind of experience in the form of early sexual reward. They discovered at an early age that they could get some measure of affection and concern by giving sexual gratification. No matter how temporarily, they were rewarded by overcoming their feelings of loneliness, and at

the same time they were able to express hostility toward the parent.¹²

In discussing some of the more specific social factors, Greenwald isolates the economic, conforming sexual behavior, female attractiveness and attitude toward work. Concerning the economic factor he concludes that much more is involved than an immediate economic problem. While the income factor, such as the wish for a higher income, may have had some influence on the girl's decision to become a call girl, Greenwald states that these factors were apparently more useful to them as a way of rationalizing their choice. In this way they could deny the emotional problems involved. However, because the girls got caught up in worship of material success, the economic factor played a larger part in their lives than the immediate one of causing the choice of prostitution.¹³

By isolating the factor of conforming sexual behavior, Greenwald emphasizes once again the element of rejection. Since the girl is rejected by most social groups because of her abnormal behavior, "she tends to move toward the 'gray area' -- those halfway between respectable society and full criminals." In this group the girl becomes, in some cases, accepted for the first time.¹⁴

Greenwald sees the matter of female attractiveness playing an influencing role in causing some girls to become prostitutes. He says that the movies, television, popular literature, and especially, advertising make it seem that the worse sin a woman can commit is to be unattractive. The result is that some girls who are uncertain about their acceptability as human beings, tend

to seek evidence of their feminine desirability. Some of the call girls sought it in prostitution, by which they could prove to the world and themselves that men desire them and were willing to pay for them.¹⁵

Another social influence singled out by Greenwald is the attitude toward work. He relates that the girls interviewed expressed overt hatred of routine and confining jobs. For these girls the life of a call girl seemed like an effortless luxury in comparison to the unsatisfactory character of many jobs for which they had a limited tolerance.¹⁶

Greenwald wishes to make clear that he does not mean to imply that every girl with the particular personality trends isolated will decide to become a call girl. He merely wishes to emphasize that these trends were present in the majority of call girls. He says that any form of extreme behavior such as prostitution is determined by many factors. He presents the sociological factors to show some of the social phenomena that helped to mold the girls' personalities and lead them into prostitution.¹⁷

Magie Rappaport, a case worker among prostitutes, presents her conclusions in a study, A Case Work Approach to Sex Delinquents. Rappaport sets forth several "common denominators" which she has found among prostitutes who have been arrested. (1) There is a history of having been adopted or given away when they have been children. (2) Many of them escaped poor home situations by running away or moving into bad marriages. (3) The most consistent fact was that the homes of these girls were

not places to which they could take their troubles. (4) There was not enough in the family, school, church and community living to help them use themselves in a creative and useful way.¹⁸

An Englishman, Eustace Chesser, presents his conclusions concerning the causes of prostitution in Live and Let Live; the Moral of the Wolfenden Report. He says that history shows that poverty is far from being the only factor in causing a girl to become a prostitute. Prostitution is not due only to social circumstances. On the basis of his study of one-hundred prostitutes in England, Chesser states that "a large majority of prostitutes harbor a strong anti-masculine attitude." Such an attitude may be so pronounced as to be "psycho-neurotic in nature," and in that case it is a form of "self-assertion." Either consciously or unconsciously" the prostitute derives her satisfaction from forcing the man to pay for what little of herself she really gives." Therefore, money becomes "a symbol of power," not to give pleasure but to dominate and even to degrade. Chesser sees some maladjustment in the woman's emotional make-up which leads her to "use sex as a means to an end which is other than its normal function." Individual circumstances may dictate the way in which such a woman "exploits her sex--whether by marrying for money or trading her body promiscuously--but the circumstances do not compel this choice."¹⁹

Chesser concludes that what makes prostitution inevitable is "the over-valuation of sex." He says that "sex for its own sake screams at us from the hoardings." Sex is but one element in life, but it is taken out of its "natural context and is

given a false importance." "It becomes a commodity, the need for which is artificially excited by high pressure salesmanship."²⁰

In analyzing the reasons women become prostitutes, Benjamin and Masters indicate that the present day conditions make difficult the study of prostitute motivation. The individual prostitutes "operate in different ways, on different levels, and under the most diverse circumstances." There is an increasing diversity of backgrounds and motives because of the varied possibilities and expectations. Since prostitutes come from the entire social spectrum and types of persons, no simple answer can be given to the question of why a woman becomes a prostitute.²¹

Benjamin and Masters disagree with those who think that prostitution is necessarily symptomatic of a deeper personality problem. Those who contend that all prostitutes are "neurosis motivated," are likely to experience some difficulty in explaining the large number of women who quit prostitution.²² In their own analysis Benjamin and Masters divide prostitutes into two broad categories which they term "voluntary" and "compulsive." The "voluntary" group includes those who "have entered the life more or less on a rational basis and mainly as a result of free choice." The "compulsive" group describes women who "engage in prostitution mainly because they are compelled to do so by their own psychoneurotic needs." "Compulsive" refers to "a strong but not necessarily irresistible impulse." They point out that it is seldom that a woman may be placed into one group and excluded from the other. The categories refer to the "dominant and not

exclusive motivation."²²

Benjamin and Masters set forth three categories of factors in spelling out some of the more specific reasons for women becoming prostitutes. The three categories are the following: predisposing, attracting and precipitating. The predisposing factors include such elements as a "broken home," parental promiscuity, an approval of prostitution in the social milieu, and a trauma productive of neurosis. Attracting factors are larger earnings, easier life, more exciting life, expectation of sexual gratification, etc. Some of the precipitating factors are such as economic pressure, no chance for desirable marriage, enticement by a pimp or other prostitutes, or an unhappy love affair.²³ Benjamin and Masters further conclude with this statement:

It is obvious that prostitution must have distinct and readily discernible advantages for a good many women. Otherwise--the more severely disturbed of the neurotics expected--few prostitutes would exist.

They isolate the following as the more important advantages:

(1) The economic rewards are better than in most other female occupations. (2) The opportunity for adventure is often a decisive factor. (3) Prostitution appears to many as an attractively easy and undisciplined way of life (there is a minimum of intelligence and initiative required). (4) A small minority are highly sexed.²⁴

Benjamin and Masters point out that some present-day writers advance the opinion that no woman is obliged to enter prostitution for economic reasons in this country. They note that "if by that statement it is meant that no woman is faced with a

prostitution-or-starvation choice, then in general it is valid." But such a generalization should not be understood as meaning that a number of women do not become prostitutes for economic reasons. Some women may think that their standard of living is not adequate or they may want something better than an adequate one. It is difficult to define economic "needs"; they can be defined only in terms of the individual. They submit that fewer women enter prostitution today than in the past for economic reasons. They also observe that most prostitutes still come from poor backgrounds but that a considerable number do not.²⁵

The idea that prostitution is an exciting, glamorous life, and that it is a good way to meet interesting and possible marriage partners is an important factor, according to Benjamin and Masters. They state that those who leave prostitution or attempt to do so often return to it quickly because they miss the excitement.²⁶ A large part of the excitement consists of their perpetual conflict with the police. For some prostitutes "life in the outside world seems intolerably boring." Prostitution seems to provide "more adequate thrills than any other type of activity--from risk involved, novelty of new perversions, etc."²⁷

The woman to whom prostitution appears as an "easy life" usually experience considerable economic hardship according to Benjamin and Masters. Such women are likely to be poorly educated and not very intelligent. They have difficulty relating to people and their sexual desires, as a rule, are not very strong. "Their high frequency of erotic activity is dictated not by

strong sexual appetites, but by the same lack of direction and the same suggestibility that characterizes their lives in general," says Benjamin and Masters. In some cases a motive for continuing in prostitution is the search for greater sexual satisfaction or even for the first orgasm. Benjamin and Masters note that Negro prostitutes (who probably constitute the majority of all American women living mainly or entirely on prostitution earnings) usually become prostitutes because of the "ease of the life" (as compared to other types of work available to them) and "because promiscuity and prostitution are taken for granted in the neighborhoods where they grow up." In many cases the girls are merely following the footsteps of their mother, sisters and other girls in the neighborhood.²⁸

Benjamin and Masters mention that the highly sexed prostitute is rare and the nymphomaniac prostitute is even more rare. Such women may be able to obtain sexual satisfaction from her customers for several years but such gratification becomes less and less and eventually she turns to a pimp, lover, or to lesbian intercourse or masturbation.²⁹

The Reasons Men Use Prostitutes

The causes of prostitution cannot be considered fully apart from an examination of the reasons men use prostitutes. A survey of the literature in the field indicates that not much has been written about this aspect of prostitution. However, a few analysts have done some study on the question. In the following brief survey some of their conclusions are examined.

In the Encyclopedia Britannica five types of men who use prostitutes are set forth. They are as follows: (1) young men and students (for experimental and developmental reasons); (2) men sexually isolated (soldiers and commercial travelers; (3) ~~visious~~ or sexually perverted; (4) married men with frigid or invalid wives; (5) men who have defective love objects such as a pimp and gigolo.³⁰ Benjamin and Masters add the impotent, unattractive males, and the celebrities who want to avoid lawsuits because of "entangling alliances."³¹ On the basis of Alfred Kinsey's study, Benjamin and Masters suggest that "more than half" of the men who visit prostitutes are married.³²

In analyzing the customers of prostitutes, Benjamin and Masters use the terms "voluntary" and "compulsive" to describe the two general groups of customers. "Voluntary" customers visit prostitutes mainly for practical, conscious reasons. "Compulsive" ones visit them mainly because of emotional-psychological problems or because of some other disability. Benjamin and Masters do not agree with any attempt to insist that every man who has intercourse with a prostitute is "disturbed" or "defective." According to them, the only case when mental or emotional disturbances may be justified (except when the individual has been studied in detail) is when the intercourse with the prostitute is "exclusive or almost exclusive." Even then, excepted are badly deformed or handicapped men who may have to use a prostitute because of their unattractiveness.³³

They point to the following as the more common reasons why men seek out prostitutes: (1) They need variety in order to

satisfy their normal sex urges. (2) They are too shy or insecure emotionally, too handicapped mentally or physically, or too old to compete with other males in winning female sex partners on the basis of mutual enjoyment. (3) Many men have deviate sex urges of a sadomasochistic or fetishistic nature that can be satisfied only in purchased sex relations. (4) A large number of men want to avoid obligations, are afraid of impregnating a girl, or want to avoid emotional involvements. (5) Some merely want to relax in the company of a female with the ordinary conventions removed.³⁴

Benjamin and Masters list the following reasons as ones given by the customers themselves:

(1) She was attractive. (2) Prostitutes (as compared to girl friends) don't make a big deal out of sex. (3) There is no sense of obligation afterwards. (4) The anonymity of the encounter is a pleasant change. (5) There were no worries about making the prostitute pregnant. (6) It was cheaper than dating. (7) The prostitute's availability coincided with the customer's need for sexual intercourse. (8) She would do things which other married women will not do. (10) The customer was drunk.³⁵

Dr. Albert Ellis in his study, "Why Married Men Visit Prostitutes," mentions these reasons:

(1) The husband and wife may be geographically separated; the wife may be ill; or the husband may want intercourse more frequently than the wife. (2) The husband having extramarital intercourse may feel that he is being less disloyal, and is safeguarding his marriage by avoiding emotional and other involvement if he selects a prostitute partner. (3) Men who are sexually below par may be ashamed to have intercourse with their wives. (4) Since the wife may refuse to use prevention from becoming pregnant, the husband not wanting a child may then avoid intercourse with her. (5) Some wives make their husband pay for sexual intercourse. (6) The husband may be neurotically venting hostility against his wife.³⁶

Kingsley Davis, in the article "The Sociology of Prostitution," concludes that "the craving for variety, perverse gratification, mysterious and provocative surroundings, intercourse free from entangling cares and civilized pretense" are major factors in men's use of prostitution.³⁷

In a study of 200 boys, thirty-eight of whom had visited a prostitute, Lester Kirkendall contends that going to a prostitute was essentially a "male-group activity." The sexual experience was more or less incidental to that factor. The reasons given according to the order of importance were as follows: "As a lark, out of curiosity, from the notion that sexual pleasure has to be tried; for a safe and inexpensive way of sexual satisfaction."³⁸

A Social Theorist's Viewpoint

Attempting to set forth a basis for the existence of both the prostitute and her customer, a social theorist, Kingsley Davis, approaches the phenomenon of prostitution in terms of the underlying structure of society. He argues that since it exists almost universally, its existence has to be explained in terms of the basic organic nature of man and the basic sociological nature of communal life. He says,

The uninterrupted capacity of the human female for sexual activity and sexual attraction introduces sex as a permanent element in the social life and insures constant association of the two sexes.³⁹

Davis says that the basic element in prostitution is "the employment of sex for non-sexual ends within a competitive-authoritative system." The desire for social dominance and the check upon

sexual liberty creates a motive for selling sexual favors. The demand for these favors is brought about by a "scale of attractiveness." In other words, an unattractive man who is not able to have sexual relations with an attractive woman in a normal relationship can have it by paying for it.⁴⁰

Summary

A consideration of the conclusions of several analysts concerning some of the causal factors in prostitution shows the complex nature of the question. Since prostitutes come from various strata of society and enter prostitution for various reasons, few generalizations can be made in this area. Some analysts isolate personality problems as the major factors influencing a girl to become a prostitute. However, "behind" the personality problem were many sociological and psychological factors. Much emphasis was placed upon the family situation by several analysts. Benjamin and Masters question the validity of concluding that every prostitute has become one because of a personality problem. They isolate various predisposing, attracting, and precipitating factors. Concerning the reasons men use prostitutes, the studies considered also point out a complex set of causes. Few generalizations may be made on this matter. A social theorist suggests that the existence of prostitution has to be explained in terms of man's basic nature and the structure of society.

Closely related to and flowing from the causal factors of prostitution are some of the effects it has, both upon society

and the individual prostitute. Some of these effects are considered in the next chapter.

Footnotes, Chapter II

- 1 Bullough, The History of Prostitution, p. 239.
- 2 Bullough, "Streetwalking-Theory and Practice", p. 53.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Frank S. Caprio, Variations in Sexual Behavior (New York: Appleton Century-Crafts, Inc., 1957), p. 184.
- 6 Anonymous, Women of the Streets, edited by C. H. Ralph (London: Secker and Warburg, 1955), pp. 85ff.
- 7 Ibid., p. 14.
- 8 Ibid., p. 245.
- 9 Ibid., p. 84.
- 10 Greenwald, The Call Girl, pp. 94f.
- 11 Ibid., p. 109f.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid., p. 141.
- 14 Ibid., p. 143.
- 15 Ibid., p. 144.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid., p. 145.
- 18 Magie Rappaport, A Case Work Approach to Sex Delinquents, edited by Rosa Wessel (Penn. School of Social Work of the University of Penn., 1947), p. 13.
- 19 Eustace Chesser, Live and Let Live; The Moral of the Wolfenden Report (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), pp. 80ff.
- 20 Ibid., p. 86.
- 21 Benjamin and Masters, Prostitution and Morality, pp. 88f.
- 22 Ibid., p. 91.
- 23 Ibid., pp. 90ff.

Footnotes, Chapter II (continued)

²⁴Ibid., p. 93.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 95ff.

²⁶Ibid., p. 101.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 107f.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 103f.

²⁹Ibid., p. 105.

³⁰"Prostitution", Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 18, edited by Harry S. Ashmore (Chicago: London: Toronto: William Benton, Publisher, 1961), p. 601.

³¹Benjamin and Masters, p. 207.

³²Ibid., p. 201.

³³Ibid., p. 193.

³⁴Ibid., p. 194.

³⁵Ibid., p. 196.

³⁶Ibid., p. 195.

³⁷Kingsley Davis, "The Sociology of Prostitution", American Sociological Review, Vol. II, (October, 1937), p. 750.

³⁸Lester Kirkendall, "Circumstances Associated with Teenage Boys' Use of Prostitution", Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol. II, (May, 1960), pp. 145ff.

³⁹Kingsley Davis, Contemporary Social Problems, edited by, Robert Merton and Robert Nisbet (New York; Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), p. 272.

⁴⁰Davis, "Sociology of Prostitution", p. 746.

CHAPTER III

EFFECTS OF PROSTITUTION

A survey of several articles in the Journal of Social Hygiene indicates that prostitution has been viewed as having significant social effects. Bascom Johnson (who was a representative of the League of Nations which studied prostitution internationally and Associate Director in charge of legal and protective activities of the American Social Hygiene Association) in 1941 pointed out some effects of prostitution. He stated that it endangers the workers by harming their health and it undermines the community. More specifically, he says that there is a loss of health, happiness and self-respect by those who are "victimized by this vicious traffic."¹ In another article he concludes:

Hardly anyone today sincerely disputes the fact that prostitution is an important reservoir of syphilis, gonorrhoea and the so-called venereal diseases.²

A later director in the American Social Hygiene Association, P. M. Kinsie, in 1950 stated, "Wherever prostitution exists, it breeds crime, delinquency and disease."³

Maurice Karpf, a consultant on family problems, writes specifically about the effects of prostitution on marital sex-adjustment. His main point is that the attitude and sexual practices learned from the prostitute are carried over into the marriage relation, causing problems in sexual adjustment. He argues that prostitution uses a woman in a purely selfish manner. The man using the prostitute develops the attitude that "women are here to serve the sex needs of the male whenever the

fancy strikes him." On the basis of cases with which he has worked, Karpf observes that the attitudes developed in men using prostitutes take the form of depreciating attitude toward women, an exaggerated sense of self-importance on the part of the man, and domineering sex practices which tend to alienate the wife.⁴

While some writers have tended to emphasize the societal effects of prostitution in terms of venereal disease, many contemporary analysts contend that venereal disease is not a large factor in prostitution. For example, Chesser refers to a paper prepared by Dr. R. R. Willcox in 1957 for the International Union against Venereal Disease and Treponematoses. Willcox's conclusion is that prostitution has ceased to be the major factor in the spread of venereal disease.⁵ Benjamin and Masters cite an article in the Science News Letter, October 13, 1962, which indicates that prostitution is no longer the great danger it was thirty or forty years ago because of venereal disease. Less than five per cent of the cases reported are blamed on the prostitute.⁶

Davis is an example of a sociologist who does not view prostitution as a major social problem. He concludes that it has little effect on a society's economic development, political stability, cultural achievement or national strength.⁷

In examining the effects of prostitution, some analysts concentrate on the effects upon the prostitute herself rather than upon the society as a whole. A caseworker, Magie Rappaport, notes that "the girl who is sexually promiscuous does not permit herself to have any meaningful relationship, and finally cannot

have them." She says that along with an absent capacity for relationship with others the prostitutes lack trust in everyone, including themselves. As a result of such a selflessness and denial of self, prostitutes tend to get into further difficulty, sometimes causing themselves to be destroyed as a person.⁸ In the same study, another case worker, Rose A. Moss, points out that when the prostitutes are first met by the case worker, she has feelings of guilt, fear, shame, humiliation, denial and self-abasement, accompanied with a wish to justify, to explain and to place responsibility on others.⁹

On the basis of his study on call girls, Greenwald isolates several specific "symptoms" of call girls. He examines the symptoms in terms of anxiety, self-image, interpersonal relations, reality adaption and lack of controls. The girls studied tended to experience social discomfort, loneliness, isolation, and to have anxiety about their attractiveness. In regards to their self-image, Greenwald observes that they seemed to have doubts as to who and what they were and to be in search from the outside for someone to tell them what role to play. Fifteen of the twenty girls studied admitted having homosexual relations. In their interpersonal relations "they shifted constantly between an obvious, surface type of ingratiating behavior and deeply hostile and aggressive behavior." Greenwald notes that in prostitution the aggression is directed against society. With the term "pseudo-conformity" Greenwald suggests that the girls' lack of genuine contact with people led them to a superficial conformity. Their inability to conform by living up to the standards

of society, caused them to be angry with those who were conforming. In isolating their "reality adaption" Greenwald says that their perception of reality was distorted, inconsistent, and frequently disorganized. Finally, the girls had lack of controls because they could not accept the values of society and make them part of their own value system.¹⁰

Actually, Greenwald views the previous symptoms as a continuation of ones they had before becoming call girls. The symptoms merely increased when they became call girls. He says,

Becoming a call girl appeared to offer a desperate hope of halting the deterioration of self, but rather than showing a way out of their choice of profession made these conflicts more intense and more self-destructive.¹¹

Eventually, the girls developed a number of defenses such as projection, denial, self-abasement, reaction formation (attempt to act opposite of what they were, self-abasement and depression. Greenwald notes that fifteen of the twenty girls had attempted suicide--some several times, and that there was a heavy use of drugs by several of the girls.¹²

Benjamin and Masters agree that in the present situation prostitution quite often has destructive effects upon the prostitute. However, they conclude that many of these effects are the results of attempts to suppress prostitution. They think that because prostitutes are classified as criminals and subject to arrest, they become embittered toward society and lose a sense of worth, which often leads them into alcoholism and drug addiction.¹³

Summary

From the previous examination of some effects of prostitution, it can be seen that not all agree upon the specific effects. While venereal disease no longer seems to be the major factor in considering the effects of prostitution, there are many other factors to be considered. While there appears to be marked symptoms among prostitutes, the relation of these symptoms to prostitution is not agreed upon by all analysts.

Footnotes, Chapter III

¹Bascom Johnson, "We Need Not Tolerate Prostitution", Journal of Social Hygiene, Vol. 27, (Dec., 1941), pp. 422ff.

²Bascom Johnson, "The Prostitution 'Racket'; Related Health Problems; and a Suggested Remedy", Journal of Social Hygiene, Vol. 25, (May, 1939), p. 209.

³P. M. Kinsie, "Sex Crimes and The Prostitution Racket", Journal of Social Hygiene, Vol. 36, (June, 1950), p. 252.

⁴Maurice Karpf, "The Effects of Prostitution on Marital Adjustment", Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 15, (Feb., 1953), pp. 65ff.

⁵Chesser, p. 110.

⁶Benjamin and Masters, p. 406. They note that venereal disease is increasing in the 60's but that the principal sources of infection are promiscuous teenagers and homosexuals.

⁷Davis, Social Problems, p. 262.

⁸Rappaport, p. 11.

⁹Rose Moss, Casework Approach, p. 35.

¹⁰Greenwald, Call Girls, pp. 114ff.

¹¹Ibid., p. 131.

¹²Ibid., pp. 131ff.

¹³Benjamin and Masters, passim. The chief concern of their book is to make this point.

CHAPTER IV

APPROACHES TOWARD PROSTITUTION AND THE PROSTITUTE

In this chapter some of the suggested approaches in "dealing" with prostitution and the prostitute are examined. On the whole, those who approach the question of what to do about prostitution may be placed into two broad groups: (1) those viewing prostitution as something which society should attempt to suppress with laws, and, (2) those who maintain that it must be dealt with as a permanent phenomenon within society. However, there are many variations within these two groups. First, the arguments of those contending for legalizing against prostitution will be examined. In the second part the arguments of those suggesting something other than a legal approach will be assessed. Then some of the factors in working with the prostitutes themselves will be surveyed.

Suppressive Approaches

Having studied prostitution in Europe, Abraham Flexner in 1914 wrote that mainly two methods have been used in Europe to deal with prostitution. The one is that of "regulation," which attempts to "get along with prostitution by subjecting it to certain rules which practically constitutes a license to practice prostitution subject to these rules." The other is "abolition," which "refuses to countenance prostitution at all as a recognized means of livelihood."¹

Flexner stresses the fact that regulation, tolerated houses, segregation, and medical examinations cannot be advocated in America on the basis that they have succeeded or are even widely used in Europe. He concludes that some of them are not used at all and none of them have succeeded anywhere. In fact, he points to Norway and Denmark as examples of where the method of abolition has resulted in lowering of disease.²

Flexner maintains that through public opinion, reorganization and city government much can be done to control prostitution. He says that the next steps in dealing with prostitution are to remove the problems causing prostitution.³ And he states that since prostitution involves two parties, no measures will be effective that do not apply equally to both the man and woman involved.⁴

Pointing to an investigation by twenty-six states and municipal commissions prior to World War I, Bascom Johnson states that "all of these commissions agreed that the policy of suppression of the 'business' of commercialized prostitution was the only practical one."⁵ He suggests three principles of dealing with prostitution: education, law enforcement and protection of the public health. With education he means "to develop our children's ideals and aspirations toward sane and wholesome living." Law enforcement should be directed to the third party. Then prostitution become a "manageable affair." "No prostitute should be allowed to make a nuisance of herself or create a public scandal. If she avoids doing these things then might well be left alone." In protection of the public

health, "all diseased persons should be required to take treatment and refrain from exposing others to their infection."⁶

In reaction to those who suggested system of leagalizing prostitution through a license system, Johnson presents the following arguments against the idea: (1) It would require more people than now involved. (2) There would be a failure to get licenses. (3) There would be just as much police corruption. (4) The by-product of legalizing it in such a manner is that "all of the parasites" connected with it would be legalized and therefore the prostitute would be no more protected than before. He also contends that it does not work to "put all the prostitutes in a fixed abode as far as sanitary reasons," because the examinations would have to be too frequent.⁷

Concerning the relationship of sex crimes to the abolition of prostitution some analysts point out that there is no basis for saying that sex crimes increase when prostitution is abolished. For instance, P. M. Kinsie observes that most of the "sexual psychopaths who are responsible for most sex crimes do not as a rule patronize prostitutes," and they usually are not concerned with prostitution activities. In fact, Kinsie notes that when police strictly enforce the laws against prostitution other types of commercialized vice and crime, including sex crimes, usually decline.⁸ Johnson concurs with this analysis by saying that there is "no evidence in any city which has tried it that the repression of prostitution results in a 'carnival of crime'."⁹

A survey of several articles advocating the suppression of prostitution in one way or another indicates that an important basis for such an attitude was the reality of venereal disease. However, not all who are opposed to legalizing prostitution have venereal disease as their main concern.

For example, on the basis of his study of call girls Greenwald says the following:

Those who argue for legalized prostitution must recognize that a society which sanctions prostitution is thereby sanctioning a degradation of some of its members.

It is hard for me to understand how an ethical society can condemn some of its members to a kind of degradation to which even the aristocrats of prostitution, the call girls are subjected.¹⁰

Furthermore, he points out that France, which was for many years the chief proponent of regulated prostitution, abolished it in 1946.¹¹

Greenwald makes several suggestions for dealing with prostitution which are not of suppressive nature, however. He suggests that the funds now used for trapping, arresting and imprisoning prostitutes be diverted to experimenting with alternative solutions to the problem. He urges the need for some form of psychotherapy. He further mentions that it might be helpful to supply trained leadership for "self-help" groups of call girls" similar to Alcoholic Anonymous.¹²

But he says that there are some more important factors than rehabilitation. He projects "immediate" and "long range" approaches. As an immediate approach, a study should be made of the sub-culture from which the girls are recruited. This

could be done with trained workers mingling with the groups in their own habitats for purpose of both studying and guiding the girls into more socially approved behavior. Another concern should be to deal with the tendencies which lead to the choice of call girl in early youth. Then in the long range approach he suggests that "since the girl who is tied to her family with bonds of love and affection does not become a call girl," the "fundamental preventative task, then, becomes strengthening the family as a source of love and growth."¹³ He isolates several forces of social disintegration which are the "main enemies of rewarding family life" in this country. They are:

the sanctioning of exploitive relationships in order to achieve material success; failure to integrate large sections of our population into our culture, chiefly, the Negro and foreign born; and the lack of a unifying constructive philosophy or system of ideals.¹⁴

Greenwald says that until these factors become a concern of society and are dealt with little progress will be made in meeting the problem of prostitution.¹⁵

Non-Suppressive Approaches

The basic concern of those who disagree with a suppressive approach is the apparent impossibility of suppressing prostitution. Many present-day analysts point to this impossibility. Davis, arguing from the basic social structures, concludes that since the basic causes of prostitution (the institutional control of sex, the unequal scale of attractiveness, and the presence of economic and social inequality between classes and

between male and female) are not likely to disappear, then prostitution is not likely to disappear either.¹⁶ He says that "some attempts to legislate against third party or organized profiteering in prostitution in various countries have had some effect." However, "unorganized prostitution, in which the same woman is the seller, manager and worker, cannot be eliminated."¹⁷ Arriving at much the same conclusion, Chesser states:

One clear lesson to be drawn from the long and turbulent history of prostitution is that neither the State nor the Church knows how to stamp it out. Every move that has so far been tried has met with ignominious failure. The prostitute has held up public obbquy, she has been beaten and branded with hot irons, thrown into prisons and sent into exile, and yet she has survived.¹⁸

Other analysts concur with such a conclusion and use it and other as bases for disputing the punitive approach to prostitution.

For example, Benjamin and Masters contend that it is impossible to eliminate the demand for prostitution. Even if all of the social and environmental problems creating the supply for prostitution would be solved, there would not be a demand. Their point is that "the sex appetite will be fed in one way or another." If it is not met by prostitution, then it will be met by promiscuous women, sexual assaults and sexual deviation--especially homosexual behavior. Even the most permissive social values in the area of sexual expression would not totally eliminate the demand, although it would tend to decrease it.¹⁹

On the basis of the previous analysis, Benjamin and Masters

argue that the punitive approach to prostitution is the wrong one. In fact, their concern is to show how the punitive approach merely functions to destroy the individual prostitute by guaranteeing that "the prostitute's career shall be as dangerous and damaging and neurotically self-serving as possible." Because of the criminal status of prostitution, the prostitutes are forced into the underground world, where they become "embittered" toward society. Especially among the lower level prostitutes, with every arrest and conviction, "a more hardened, and resentful personality is likely to emerge," which is then "conducive to alcoholism and drug addiction." As a result of their anti-social attitudes, they have "a strong negative wish to contribute nothing to society."²⁰

Furthermore, Benjamin and Masters point out that the inevitable failure of the suppression efforts invariably leads to demands for further legislation of a punitive nature, eventually, to the customer. And they are not optimistic about this helping the situation, since they say that most men will ignore the law.²¹

The main contention which underlies Benjamin and Master's approach to prostitution is that "a sound form of prostitution" can be viewed as serving a purposeful function in society. In general terms prostitution can be used to meet the unfulfilled sexual desires of both males and females in a manner which is better for society than some of the other possible ways. More specifically, they point to the areas of medicine, penology, military and espionage as ones in which prostitution can serve

a valid purpose.²² They conclude that prostitution is not in itself degrading or immoral; it is made so by the attitudes of a particular society. However, in light of their conclusions, Benjamin and Masters clarify that they are speaking to the realities within a society and not to an ideal situation. They clarify their views in the following statement:

In discussing the subject of prostitution we have always been mindful of both the practical present and an ideal future toward which we must try to move. In adopting and urging upon others a rational, positive approach to prostitution, which consists primarily of regulating its practices as to obtain the best possible results, we have necessarily accepted some of the limitations of the existing reality. Thus, we find it essential to say that under present conditions--which everyone should constantly strive to improve--prostitution, sanely dealt with, is a useful institution that could be made far more useful still. At the same time, there is no need to regard prostitution, except in certain limited areas we have mentioned, as desirable in any ultimate sense. On the contrary, the final goal must always be a society in which only a bare and irreducible minimum of prostitution would be required. That is the ideal future--in which full, satisfying sexual expression, rather than sexual repression, is encouraged, for the young as well as for the adult, and for the unmarried as well as for the married.

Lest there be any misunderstanding, we could not recommend, under the present conditions, the prostitute's calling to anyone who has a real alternative. We would urge any woman who is now a prostitute, and to whom some alternative way of life is open, to get out of her present "profession." On the other hand, we are sufficiently realistic to know that many thousands of women, whatever we or anyone else may advise, are going to be prostitutes. These women should be freed of any feelings of guilt and inadequacy, and should be able to conduct their chosen work with safety and under decent conditions.²³

On the basis of this analysis, Benjamin and Masters state that prevention should not be directed toward prostitution, but "at attempting to ensure that no woman who does not wish to be a prostitute should be obliged for any reason to become one."²⁴

Others who presently are studying the legal status of prostitution maintain that there is a possible need for a distinction to be made between "crime" and "sin." For instance, a professor of social ethics, Joseph Fletcher, analyzes such a distinction in his book Moral Responsibility. Because of the pluralistic nature of this society and the function of law he argues that such a distinction needs to be made. He says:

In pleading for the separation of sins and crimes, this chapter asserts quite simply that it is not the business of law to punish sin at all. It is the business of law to prevent or punish wilful injuries to individuals or common order. There is no idea here that ethics, whether religious or not, is to be separated from society and social practice; on the contrary, ethics always limits individuals or private freedom by subordinating it to the social or public interest--to neighbor concern.²⁵

In regard to sex laws, Fletcher concludes that offenses should be restricted to

- (1) acts with persons under the legal age of consent;
- (2) acts in situations judged to be a public nuisance or infringement of public decency; and,
- (3) acts involving assault, violence, duress, or fraud.²⁶

His basic assumption is that in the area of sex today it will be personal conviction and not fear that will hold people to "chaste standards if they are to be preserved."²⁷

A similar analysis of the situation with regard to sex laws is reflected in a recent report of the President's Crime Commission. The conclusions of this commission, as presented in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, May 8, 1967, are that "America's changing attitudes toward illicit sex, gambling, drinking and abortion require less strict criminal laws in these areas." Concerning prostitution, the commission said

that the market is persistent for prostitution and that laws against it should be limited to cases where organized business activity is involved or where there is public solicitation.²⁸

In setting forth an approach to prostitution, Chesser does not see the answer in terms of changing the existing laws. He says

No change in the existing laws can go the root of the problem as the Wolfenden-Report admits. What is needed is a total re-orientation of society's attitude toward sex which would bring it from the atmosphere of a hot house to the clean open air.²⁹

He concludes that "what the State should properly be concerned with is the creation of an environment which is most healthy to the development of a child's personality." More specifically, he suggests the need for a "more enlightened public opinion by fostering sex education." And by sex education he does not mean merely teaching the children the "facts of life." But he means "teaching their parents that their emotional relationship with their children are at least as important as seeing that they get enough vitamins." Furthermore, he suggests that the State should work for the removal of the "savage penalties for sexual misconduct."³⁰

Rehabilitation of Prostitutes

A few writers on the subject of prostitution concern themselves specifically with the question of how to rehabilitate the prostitute. As Bullough points out, many present-day reformers urge that the prostitute not be treated as a criminal but as having a social, medical, moral and psychological

problem.³¹ A survey of some analysts writing on the subject indicates that their approach to the prostitute is usually determined by their analysis of the causes and effects of prostitution and by their particular perspective.

As a psychoanalyst, Greenwald maintains that because of their early lack, the call girls had to find a source of identification. By finding someone with whom they could identify, they could begin "to build a self-image other than the diverse and contradictory ones that they had known."³² Having worked with six call girls in psychoanalytic therapy, Greenwald reports that five of them eventually left the profession.³³

As a caseworker, Rappaport saw the lack of positive relationships as a central problem of many prostitutes. For this reason, she suggests that the goal must not be to separate them from community living, but rather to help them have meaningful relationships so that they can live in the community.³⁴ She reports that the more immediate goal was to get the prostitute in a relationship with at least one person--the case worker.

Rappaport indicates that a condition of working with prostitutes was that they themselves wanted to be helped. She accepted the girls as they were, but definitely expect change if they were to continue work with them.³⁵

Benjamin and Masters disagree with the assumptions of those social workers, judges and psychotherapists who believe that they have been successful if the prostitute has been directed to some other role. Beneath such an assumption,

contend Benjamin and Masters, is the thought that there can be "no worse fate for a woman than prostitution." They maintain that quite often the woman was healthier and happier as a prostitute.³⁶ Furthermore, they are not optimistic about the results of psychotherapy, since it is seldom practically possible and "less often successful."³⁷ They conclude that no attempts to work with prostitutes have ever been very successful. One of the biggest problems of many reform attempts is a failure to offer the prostitute an acceptable alternative. They state that some prostitutes would like to give up prostitution if they could find an acceptable alternative. Because rehabilitation efforts often consist of placing the prostitute into a situation of dullness, they are not appealing to the prostitute also. Benjamin and Masters conclude that most prostitutes "definitely prefer the 'life' and even when they do not will stubbornly resist any attempt by others to reform them."³⁸

The anonymous author of Women of the Streets makes this observation about the prostitute and what it takes to make her change:

Prostitution is a way of living consciously chosen because it suits a woman's personality in particular circumstances, and until a subjective experience in her own life alters either of these she will not be prepared to make the effort for a change.³⁹

From the christian standpoint, in his book The Ethics of Sex, Helmut Thielicke makes a few side comments about the prostitute. At one point, he speaks specifically about the christian addressing the prostitute. He says,

One who does not address the prostitute at the point of her self-respect is not addressing her in a christian way, but rather moralistically, and therefore, is not addressing her at all. Here, too, the gospel--unlike moralism--gives us the freedom to make a fellow human approach.⁴⁰

Summary

Those analysts who see prostitution as destructive to society and to the prostitute, favor some type of suppressive approach. Some contend that laws should be directed to the customer of prostitutes as well as to the prostitute herself. But, some of those who view prostitution as a permanent phenomenon which cannot be suppressed, favor a non-suppressive approach. Some analysts also maintain that prostitution can be viewed as a valid phenomenon in some forms, and therefore, should not be suppressed. They state prevention should be concerned with seeing to it that no woman is "obliged" to become a prostitute. Some present-day writers contend that a distinction needs to be made between private and public morality in laws against "sex crimes." Regardless of the specific suggestions given for dealing with prostitution, most writers suggest that any approach has to be directed toward the basic attitudes and structures of societies to get at the genuine problems underlying prostitution.

Those analysts addressing themselves to rehabilitation efforts among prostitutes place much emphasis upon helping the prostitute develop sound interpersonal relationships and a healthy self-image. One factor which is cited as being a major

obstacle to rehabilitation is any attempt to place the prostitute into a boring and inadequate situation. She has to be offered a valid alternative to prostitution. Not all analysts are optimistic about the success of attempts to rehabilitate prostitutes. Some suggest efforts to make her life as safe and meaningful as possible if she wishes to remain a prostitute.

Footnotes, Chapter IV

¹Abraham Flexner, The Regulation of Prostitution in Europe (New York City: The American Social Hygiene Association, Inc., 1914), p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 13.

³Abraham Flexner, "Next Steps in Dealing with Prostitution", Journal of Social Hygiene, Vol. 1 (September, 1915), p. 532.

⁴Flexner, Regulation of Prostitution, p. 15.

⁵Johnson, "Prostitution Racket", p. 213.

⁶Ibid., p. 214.

⁷Ibid., p. 211.

⁸Kinsie, "Sex Crimes", pp. 250ff.

⁹Johnson, "Need Not Tolerate Prostitution", p. 426.

¹⁰Greenwald, Call Girl, p. 174.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., pp. 175ff.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 177ff.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Davis, Social Problems, p. 286.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 280.

¹⁸Chesser, Live and Let Live, p. 117.

¹⁹Benjamin and Masters, pp. 116ff.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 107ff.

²¹Ibid., p. 416.

²²Ibid., pp. 435ff.

²³Ibid., pp. 473 f.

²⁴Ibid., p. 118.

Footnotes, Chapter IV (continued)

²⁵Joseph Fletcher, Moral Responsibility (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1967), p. 105.

²⁶Ibid., p. 111.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸"Panel on Crime Urges Easing Regulations on Some 'Sin Laws'", St. Louis Post-Dispatch, (May 8, 1967), p. 1, Col. 1.

²⁹Chesser, p. 94.

³⁰Ibid., p. 122.

³¹Bullough, History of Prostitution, p. 236. He cites the "Wofenden-Report" and Cast The First Stones, as examples of such an approach.

³²Greenwald, p. 96.

³³Ibid., p. 91.

³⁴Rappaport, Casework Approach, p. 34.

³⁵Ibid., p. 15.

³⁶Benjamin and Masters, p. 110.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 20f.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 108ff.

³⁹Ralph, editor, Women of the Streets, p. 99.

⁴⁰Helmut Thielicke, The Ethics of Sex, translated by John T. Doberstein (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 41.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Summary

In light of the materials available, prostitution can be viewed as a significant phenomenon in the United States. A survey of the literature in the field suggests that it is an extremely complex phenomenon. There are various types of prostitutes and they function in different ways and circumstances. The nature of prostitution has changed in the United States in that there are more part-time and amateur prostitutes today than in the past.

In examining the existence of prostitution, one can speak generally in terms of "demand and supply," according to some analysts. However, the reasons certain women become prostitutes and certain men "use" prostitutes are complex. While certain sociological and psychological factors may be isolated in specific cases, any easy and general explanation proves to be inadequate. Nevertheless, on the basis of a number of studies, the area of immediate interpersonal relationships appears as an important sphere of influence. For instance, among many of the prostitutes studied, the family relationship stands out as having played a major role in "predisposing" the girl to become a prostitute.

As to the effects of prostitution upon the society and the individual prostitute, not all analysts agree. The matter of

venereal disease has been an important factor in determining the effects in the past. However, in view of the probable small amount of venereal disease among prostitutes today, it is no longer the major factor. Concerning the effects of prostitution upon the individual prostitute, several analysts concur that the effects appear to be detrimental. But Benjamin and Masters point out that the prostitute is often in a destructive situation because of suppressive measures against her.

Certainly not all analysts investigated are in agreement as to the approach to prostitution. Some analysts who see prostitution as a threat to society because of venereal disease and the associated criminal activity, agree upon suppression. Greenwald is against legalizing prostitution because of the detrimental effects it has upon the prostitutes themselves. On the other hand, other analysts disagree with a suppressive approach because they view prostitution as a permanent phenomenon in society. Benjamin and Masters contend that prostitution can be seen as a valid and useful phenomenon in certain respects and therefore suggest that prevention be aimed toward correcting any situations which "force" a woman to become a prostitute. Others are presently suggesting that a distinction be made in the law between crime and "sins", since a distinction needs to be made between private and public morality. On the whole, regardless of the suggested approach, most analysts concur that any approach to prostitution must go

deeper in society than to the individuals practicing prostitution.

Most analysts who are concerned about working with the prostitute herself conclude that a chief concern has to be that of helping her to establish meaningful relationships within society. Closely related to this goal, is that of helping the prostitute establish a healthy self-image. While psychotherapy is suggested by one analyst, two others question the success of such an approach on the basis that it seldom works. Some analysts point out that the big problem with many rehabilitation efforts lies in the failure to present an adequate alternative to the prostitute.

Some Questions for Society

On the basis of the materials examined the following are some questions which may be raised for society:

1. In view of the relatively few comprehensive studies on the causes and effects of prostitution, how can additional studies be made in this area?
2. What function does prostitution play in a society? Can it be viewed in terms of a purposeful phenomenon?
3. What are the effects of a suppressive approach to prostitution? What are the effects of a non-suppressive approach?
4. How can society best fulfill its responsibility to society as a whole and to the individual prostitute and her customer?
5. What can society do specifically to see to it that no person is "obliged" to become a prostitute?

Some Questions for the Church

Some questions which may be raised for the Church are as

follows:

1. How is the Church to view the existence of prostitution in a society?
2. How can the Church relate its concepts of creation, sin and redemption to those involved in prostitution?
3. What are some specific steps which the Church can take to help eliminate some of the causal factors in prostitution?
4. How should and can the Church relate to the legal status of the prostitute and her customer?
5. Should the Church attempt to work with prostitutes? If so, how can it approach this task?
6. How can the Church relate to the phenomenon of prostitution in its local congregations?

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