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The Path from *The Hustler* to *The Man Who does Sex Work*: Changes and Perspectives in Anglophonic Literature

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Keywords: *sex work, men, english language, Health.*

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Resumo- O presente artigo explora a produção acadêmica sobre o trabalho sexual de homens, com um foco particular em publicações de língua inglesa. A pesquisa abrange mais de 150 artigos e livros, oferecendo uma revisão bibliográfica que investiga três períodos históricos distintos: o *hustler* como problema social; o homem que faz trabalho sexual como vetor de doenças e; o trabalho sexual como profissão. A análise revela o desenvolvimento das percepções sobre o trabalho sexual de homens, destacando a transição deste de um entendimento patologizante para um reconhecimento mais profissionalizado. Questões de identidade, economia, saúde e tecnologia são examinadas, demonstrando como a intersecção desses fatores molda as experiências e vidas dos homens dentro da indústria do sexo. Estudos de caso em diversas geografias ilustram as variadas preocupações acadêmicas, desde violência e legislação até saúde pública e turismo sexual. Este artigo sublinha a predominância da saúde nesse campo de estudo, refletindo sobre as implicações dessa preocupação na disseminação e impacto do conhecimento sobre o trabalho sexual de homens.

Palavras-chave: trabalho sexual; homens; língua inglesa; saúde.

Introduction

Sex work has occupied different spaces in recent decades in terms of production and research. Traditionally, male sex work has been stigmatized and made invisible in its nuances, forms and performances. Ideas such as marginality, deviance and risk have often been associated with both the figure of the man who does sex work and his client. The internet and technology, however, have played an important role in overcoming stigmatized understandings about the profession. This research, a bibliographic survey on male sex work, shows a significant proportion of books, reports, articles and newspapers published in English. The general objective is to present critically three periods that brought with them different understandings on male sex work. As can be seen, in all these periods one particular element has remained as a part of the research. This element concerns since the beginning of the investigations.

John Scott (2003) observes that the English language is the major language in this area of studies since the first publications were published in the United States and England. Although they cannot be considered the first countries for empirical production, the joint and larger productions from the United States and England, according to the author, justify these first publications. There are also "loose" pioneering publications carried out empirically in Germany (Scheinmann, 1929; Picton, 1931). These publications, however, were published in English language. They also can be found newspapers from the United States and England.

Although there is this relationship with language, the cases and studies produced vary between countries. The productions are many, divided into specific areas of knowledge, such as Anthropology,

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Criminology, Sociology, History, Human Rights, Literature, Psychology, Public Health, among others. Themes, as can be seen in this work, also have alternations linked to other variables, such as, for example, the specific period of production on sex work and men.

This work is part of a larger research project entitled *A rota Campo Grande (MS) - Lisboa (PT) da prostituição masculina - fluxos, trânsitos, relações e performances*[1], funded by the Foundation for the Support of the Development of Education, Science and Technology of the State of Mato Grosso do Sul (Fundect-MS). The main objective of this more extensive research is to carry out an analysis of the sexual work carried out by Brazilian men on the route between Brazil and Portugal, considering issues involving flows, traffic, relationships and performances of subjects who prostituted themselves in the city of Campo Grande, capital of Mato Grosso do Sul, and today do so in the city of Lisbon.

Regarding the scope of this article, more than 150 productions were selected for theoretical basis and discussion of the production in the English language about men who do sex work (MDSW). Keywords as *male sex workers*, *male sex work*, men *who sell sex*, *men selling sex*, *male prostitution*, *male prostitutes* and *male escorts* were used to find publications in platforms like *Google Scholar*, *Scielo*, *Scopus*, *Science Direct* and *World Wide Science*. This selection of productions covered a period of three months, from october 2022 to december of the same year. The articles and books were divided into publication areas such as Anthropology, Law, History, Literature, Psychology, Sociology and Public Health.

Reading the texts in this section allowed us to discover things beyond the specific areas of knowledge. Themes show us three periods of academic production on male sex work. Although they are not present in a closed form for each of the three periods, most of them show three different, but correlated, perspectives on male sex work. The leading clipping for achieving the objective of this article, in addition to the criterion regarding the language of production, is the division of three distinct production periods. These moments, which also demarcate three themes, present distinct perceptions on the commercialization of sex from the man who had his person represented from an individual danger, part of a collective risk until the moment when his sexual services began to be considered within the scope of work, its regulation and overcoming of stigmas.

Some works analyzed agree with this division into three research periods of sex work. The justifications are presented in both quantitative and qualitative terms. The selection of the periods of literature in this work will present examples of the three moments. As shown below, there are continuities and dialogues between the three periods in a central concern up to the present moment: Health.

The article is organized in four parts. The first three chronologically outline the historical-thematic division of male sex work: (1) the *hustler* as a social problem; (2) the man who does sex work as a vector for the transmission of diseases; and (3) sex work as a profession. The fourth and final part concludes with what can be seen at each moment of this production.

We also talk about the centrality that Health seems to have assumed since the beginning of production.

I. The Hustler as a Social Problem

The first moment of analysis on male sex work was "understood through a scientific lens, and typically associated with intergenerational sex and economic exploitation." (Scott, 2003, p. 179).

David Bimbi (2015) points out that during the 1940s, homosexuality as a mental illness was the paradigm developed by psychologists and psychiatrists for analyzing individual and social issues. Homosexuality, and not prostitution[2], was the problem to be faced. This is a historical moment that Victor Minichiello, Denton Callander and John Scott (2013) specifically delimit from the 1940s to the 1970s[3].

Analyses at the time investigated the relationship between older clients and young men who worked in sex work. Differences were not only related to age, but also class, once disproportions between the parties were observed. That is, clients generally came from the middle and/or upper classes, as the "survival sex" (Aggleton; Parker, 2015; Bimbi, 2015; Bimbi; Parsons, 2005; Luckenbill, 1985) of the young

[1] Translation: *The Campo Grande (MS) - Lisbon (PT) route of male prostitution-flows, transits, relationships and performances*.

[2] We refer to the term "sex work" as the provision of sexual services in exchange for money or otherwise (MIMIAGA, 2008). This choice is made given the stigmatized nature that the term "prostitution" has historically carried, as well as the fact that etymologically "'prostituting' does not refer to the business of selling sexual services – it simply means 'to offer publicly'." (LEIGH, 1997, p. 228,). "Prostitution" and "prostitute" will appear at specific points in the text because of the preference for using native terms, especially from the first two periods analyzed in the article. That is, the two terms mentioned above will be used in relation to the literal use of the term in the analyzed works.

[3] The three periods outlined in this article correspond only to a division proposed by some duly referenced works. Although there is this division, some themes and concerns permeated and permeate the three periods. Some permanencies justify their continuity within a larger sphere where their genesis, *a priori*, is limited to Criminology and Medicine.

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men spoke for themselves about their economic position.

Young people involved in sex work, called hustlers at the time, worked on the street (Smith; Seal, 2007), where they advertised their sexual services. The street, in contrast to the home, exhibited a model of danger, concerning drug trafficking and use, exploitation, surveillance and violence (Whowell, 2010). The locations on the street varied between subway stations, bars, clubs, parks, public bathrooms, neighborhoods and tunnels.

The term *hustler* (which was common translated as *drug dealer*) justified its use for cases of men who did sex work on the street at the time. David Bimbi (2015) reports that the vernacular term of *hustler* was used to bring negative connotations to male prostitution. Sari Van Der Poel (1992, p. 264) says that this term was developed to identify men who support themselves through a vast arsenal of illegal activities. "They are often addicted to drugs and they are part of a delinquent street-culture (...). In some, the males are involved in prostitution, in others they are not."

Due to the fact it was linked to issues such as crime, danger and delinquency, sex work in this first period was analyzed by some specific sciences. These areas were: Social Assistance, Criminology (within the larger area of Law) and Psychology. The man who did sex work was investigated - based on these disciplines - individually and, as usual, factors such as his socioeconomic background and possible psychosexual and psychosocial disorders (Coleman, 1989) were used to seek justification for working through sex.

John Scott (2003) notes in the work of the German psychiatrist Fritz Adolf Freyhan one of the first studies on this theme of sexual services provided by men. In *Homosexual prostitution - a case report*, a report published in 1947, Freyhan, in reality, reproduces what would be observed in the first moment of investigations into male prostitution.

Hustlers should undergo outpatient, psycho-analytic and (or) behavioral treatments through institutions such as correctional centers, inpatient hospitals, residential or collective houses, social service units, professional training and educational courses.

According to Scott (2003), Freyhan's hustler figure had personality disorders. Homosexuality assumed a deviant character since it was not related to the homosexuality experienced during puberty. In this sense, the hustler's psychopathic personality was linked to something seen as not "natural" in the sense of not being explained by biological factors and phases. The solution proposed by the author, then, was the lobotomy procedure. The procedure would be the only option "that could curtail the patient's current behavior." (Scott, 2003, p. 183).

Emphasizing this interventional role of Medicine in communicating the characteristics of men who work in prostitution, doctors such as Gandy and Deisher (1970) proposed other practical interventions in the lives of men who worked in sex work in Seattle. From 1967 to 1969, the authors worked with 30 young men who, according to the first, were individuals from a very low socioeconomic background, with a frequently cited family disorganization. Family disorganization is described as the boy leaving home before reaching adulthood. The departure was justified by the following factors: separated parents, inability to have healthy relationships with stepfathers and/or the discovery of "homosexual practice" (Deisher; Gandy, 1970, p. 1662).

According to researchers,

> In their conversation, the young men revealed an overwhelming sense of rejection by their families and society in general. Very low self-esteem was a prevailing characteristic of the group. Almost none of the youths had any knowledge of or useful contact with the municipal agencies or private services that assist alienated groups. (Deisher; Gandy, 1970, p. 1662).

In the view of this work, the decision of young men not to opt for "legitimate employment" (Deisher; Gandy, 1970, p. 1661) was motivated by factors linked to socioeconomic issues.

During the conversations with the interlocutors, the authors began to ask them about jobs that might attract their attention. After a young man had expressed interest in a training or employment program, several attempts were made to find the situation considered right for him. During the 15 months of the work, the 30 young men who expressed interest in the rehabilitation process proposed by the work were allocated.

> Some of the types of positions were gas station attendant, hospital orderly, lab assistant, warehouseman, bus boy, laborer, lift-truck operator, import-export clerk, waiter, assembly line worker, truck driver, janitorial service, library assistant, and salesman. (Deisher; Gandy, 1970, p. 1665).

From this specific moment of production about male sex work, Neil R. Combs' work (1974) is one of the most revisited and explored in the literature review we conducted. A member of the Psychosocial Counseling Center in Long Beach, California, Coombs presents a comparison of an experimental group of men who do sex work (MDSW) and a control group, that is, young men of similar age and socioeconomic conditions, but who do not engage in sex work, or prostitution, as the author calls it.

One of the hypotheses that the psychologist had developed, after analyzing the data produced by the comparison, had proven true in his research: the motivations for male prostitution were early homosexual seduction followed by reward. The hypothesis arose from a constant theme in the interviews conducted by Coombs: when young, the subjects in the MDSW group first experienced sex with a partner of the same sex who rewarded them.

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The work has some problems, such as not taking into account the fact that the boys in the group of men who worked in prostitution in their sample were, for the most part, those who worked on the street and, possibly, within what the works of the time understood as *survival sex*.

Another problem is the crystallized image of – in Coombs' terms – the male prostitute, as a man:

> Described between fifteen and twenty-three years of age and unemployed. Usually, he goes out of his way to insist what he is not homosexual. Actually, he probably is not homosexual. In any case he overcompensates in the direction of masculinity, and is often very sensitive on the subject of his virility. His dress, gestures, and behavior are exaggeratedly male. (Coombs, 1974, p. 783).

The pathologized and pathologizing typification of men who prostituted themselves was frequent in research. The *male prostitute*, according to Coombs and much of the work of his time, is the figure of an indolent person who "has a poor record and possesses neither vocational skill nor adequate education" (Coombs, 1974, p. 788).

In this first period, the connection between sex work and homosexuality is highlighted. Homosexuality was also treated as a psychopathology, a mental illness to be treated by medical professionals, such as psychiatrists. David S. Bimbi (2007) also reports on another study in this area produced during the 1940s.

In 1947, William Marlin Butts observed 128 men known in the English-language literature as *street-based male sex workers*. Despite the relatively large number of men working in sex in a single city (not disclosed by the author), Butts reported a final sample of only 26 young men. The justification for the reduction was based on the fact that he had sufficient data for the analysis. This sufficient data involved interviews with each young man more than once and his account of what the author wanted to investigate: the *background* of street sex workers.

Homosexuality for Butts was inferred from homosexual behavior. Therefore, by assuming such homosexuality in MDSW because they could only serve same-sex clients, the psychologist understands such subjects, according to Bimbi (2007), as poorly adjusted and unhappy. Some other aspects also raised in the work about MDSW are: the fact that they come from overcrowded homes, have low salaries and participate in a larger delinquent culture which paid sex would be one of the subcultures.

These works reveal a persistent focus of the period on the sociodemographic *background* of the MDWS, as well as possible psychological issues that made a pathological figure when related to sex work, and a deviant figure when related to society. The justification for young people's involvement in sex work finds its place of investigation in these Health and deviance issues in this first period.

Health assumes center stage based on specific research studies. Whether through the efforts of doctors in a supposed social reintegration (Bimb, 2007) or work for the MDSW (Deisher; Gandy, 1970), as well as surgical interventions such as lobotomy (Scott, 2003; Bimbi, 2007) for the "treatment" of homosexuality.

II. Sex Workers as Vectors of Disease

D. R. Tomlinson *et al* (1991) argue that the illegal nature and taboo of prostitution, especially of women, are factors that harper producing data on this group of individuals. And if this is the case for female prostitution, the work from the first phase highlights the fact that the field of research on men who work in the sex industry is even more difficult.

Some studies point to a kind of dual stigma linked to sex work performed by men (Koken, 2004; Morrison; Whitehead, 2008; Whovell, 2010; Kumar; Scott; Minichiello, 2017; Woensdregt; Nencel, 2020). The dual stigma would be characterized by the fact that men are under two taboos: sex work and homosexuality. The taboo of sex work because this form of work was and still is often considered a deviation from the forms of work considered "legitimate" by hegemonic social conventions. The taboo of homosexuality, in turn, is better explained in a context of refusal of heteronormativity based on men's sex work, directing new perspectives of relationships, business, performances and desires in the interaction between two or more men. More than that, both stigmas challenge the canon of predominant literature that understands sex work as exclusively provided by women to male clients and also positioned heterosexual relationships as a norm to be followed or as a "natural" factor in relationships.

The production of data on male sex work was based, as seen in the previous moment, on the figure of a single man or a small group without sample relevance. In this second moment, however, despite the difficulties reported above, the research attempted to work with more extensive subjects and groups on the topic. Health assumes a more manifest and, in a certain way, leading role within the themes of the works. Collective works, by several professionals, took place in the production together with the help of financing from institutions in the areas of Medicine.

This moment is historically understood by the period from 1970 to 1995 (Minichiello; Callander; Scott, 2013). In this second period, academic production on male prostitution shifts the analysis from the individual to the social and collective understandings of sex work. In the words of John Scott,

> Male prostitution has been transformed from a moral aberration of limited social significance into a social problem, closely associated with issues of health and welfare. This shift in understanding, which has allowed for male prostitution to be classified as a Public Health

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> problem during the era of HIV/AIDS, will be analysed. (Scott, 2003, p. 179-180).

John Scott's findings are the same as Jan Browne and Victor Minichiello's research on the history and directions of research on male sex work (1996). In their perceptions of *male sex work* as a form of work and as a cultural phenomenon that is understood in a limited way or with little attention paid to it, the authors point out that

> With incorporation of sex work research into the AIDS context in the late 1980s, the focus of research into male commercial sex has changed from an emphasis on the individual sex worker to sex workers as a potentially dangerous and high-risk group for the spread of HIV. Large studies funded for medical and social science research have been conducted on groups of sex workers, seeking confirmation of the extent of HIV among sex workers and evidence of behavior that might identify sex workers as a risk. (BROWNE; MINICHIELLO, 1996, p. 30).

From this point of view, people who worked in sex work, with an emphasis on men who worked in sex work, were no longer individuals understood in their pathologized individuality and subjectivity. From then on, through the public advent of HIV/AIDS and other STIs, they became part of a larger group: the sex industry.

Laura Agustín (2005) thinks about the sex industry not only in terms of the workers who are part of it. Observing the phenomenon of globalization – contemporary to the period demarcated here for this moment of productions on male sex work – the author shows the complexity of the term and its scope. Her perception shows that the term is not limited to the classic assumption of the relationships of "woman-sex-worker/male client" (Agustín, 2005, p. 110, our translation), but rather encompasses ambiguities of relationships between several variables that can be articulated.

Regarding male workers in the sex industry, Jan Browne and Victor Minichiello (1996) speak of the presence of "large studies funded for medical and social science research" focusing on groups of sex workers. Health plays a leading role at this time, "seeking confirmation of the extent of HIV among sex workers and evidence of behavior that might identify sex workers as a risk group." (Browne; Minichiello, p. 30).

Dan Waldorf *et al.* (1990) conducted a study similar to the aforementioned characteristics of the studies of the time. As part of the *AIDS Project* funded by the *National Institute on Drug Abuse* of the United States, the researchers presented preliminary qualitative findings regarding the sharing of needles among a group of 178 male prostitutes in the city of San Francisco in 1990. We highlight the more significant number of interlocutors in the research and the fact that most investigations aimed at a sample aspect of the groups to generalize inferences to the population of male sex workers.

The work from this period, moreover, exhibits a methodology similar to that of the first phase when dealing with issues such as family history, sexual experiences and behaviors, criminal and work histories, substance use, and other Health issues. What was perceived as different, however, is the purpose of using this data. The usefulness that it provides is for understanding men who prostitute themselves as one of the groups involved in the sex industry.

Christopher Earls and Hélène David (1989), for example, administered a semi structured questionnaire to 50 men who were engaged in sex work and 50 men in a control group in Quebec, Canada. By "control group", the authors referred to men of the same age, sexuality (at times) and socioeconomic status, but who did not prostitute themselves.

This psychosocial study revealed issues such as the fact that families of prostitutes are more prominent in terms of the number of people living in the same house. Other findings include that these young men's first sexual experience was with another man and that this group was three times more likely to contract a sexually transmitted disease than the control group. The topic of violence in the authors' work also begins to emerge within the theme, as the research shows an average 40% greater likelihood of physical violence at work against men who prostitute themselves.

A higher average probability for the risk of HIV infection and different STIs is also indicated in the work. The interlocutors presented knowledge about HIV, AIDS and STIs. Sexual behaviors analyzed, however, indicated several situations of HIV's risk infection and/or transmission even with the knowledge of the young men about the virus. Although this high risk was perceived for HIV in men who did sex work, there was still no significant production on behaviors and sexual orientations of MDSW and their clients during the early 1980s.

This is the argument of two members of the New York State Psychiatric Institute and Columbia University (Pleak; Meyer - Bahlburg, 1990) who investigated male sex workers and young gay men in Manhattan in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

From the beginning of the AIDS pandemic in 1981 until at least 1988, there was a lack of data on sexual behavior of male prostitutes (Pleak; Meyer-Bahlburg, 1990). This lack of data has led to debates in the *American Psychiatric Association (APA)*, *International Academy of Sex Research* and the *International AIDS Conferences*. Richard R. Pleak and Heino F. L. Meyer-Bahlburg's article was then designed to obtain data on sexual behavior of young prostitutes in Manhattan, New York.

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The authors provide extensive reference to studies that began to address issues of data related to HIV/AIDS risks in the 1980s. Research on several locations – including national and international studies in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro – is presented by the researchers in this article (Pleak; Meyer-Bahlburg, 1990, p. 560-561).

However in Manhattan the variation and diversity in the composition of the samples demonstrated that there are significant differences on HIV's prevalence among men who engage in prostitution. What was expected, based psychiatrists, was the issue of the prevalence of HIV among prostitutes being higher than in the general population in the area of Manhattan. The justifications for the research include quantitative epidemiological data and qualitative analyses of sexual behavior, number of sexual partners and condom use. Based on these findings, the group of young New York prostitutes was defined as a population "at risk". (Pleak; Meyer-Bahlburg, 1990, p. 561).

Another variation displayed in some of the works of this phase is the issue of sexuality. The figure of the *hustler*, the *street prostitute* of the first phase portrays the so-called *gay for* pay, that is, a heterosexual individual involved in homosexual practices only in contexts in which sex is a commercial service. Pleak and Meyer-Bahlburg, however, demonstrate with their research, and through other articles they analyze, a change in the self-identification of men who prostitute themselves. What is new is that "studies conducted in the late 1970s and 1980s, including the present report, found increasing proportions of male prostitutes as bisexual and homosexual." (Pleak; Meyer-Bahlburg, 1990, p. 577).

This change in self-identification may have occurred due to the transformation in the way men who prostitute themselves are interpreted. If before they had been pathologized, at this time the figure of the prostitute is found in a broader field, a more heterogeneous group. Added to this period is the feminist movement that began in 1980 and the intellectual endeavors against the moral panic surrounding sexualities considered dissident. Furthermore, according to Richard Miskolci,

> It was the deadliest period of the AIDS epidemic and, in the United States, the time of the *sexual wars* – when feminisms were divided between those who supported an anti-pornography crusade against sexual harassment, and those who criticized the puritanism that governed this agenda. (Miskolci, 2021, p. 24-25, our translation).

As previously mentioned, one of the main characteristics of the second period was the shift from individual investigation of men who prostituted themselves to a macro understanding, understanding sex work from a group perspective, whether through a sample or population. Because of this group perspective, some studies from this period developed typologies for subgroups of men in sex work. The classifications can change between variables that can be articulated, such as age, location, class and sexuality, in addition to other factors such as the forms of contact with the client, advertising and provision of sexual services.

Sivan E. Caukins and Neil R. Coombs (1976) classify "male prostitutes" into four categories. The division is made to explore the "homosexual psycho-dynamics" of each group. The authors understood that male prostitution was prevalent enough to deserve the serious attention of behavioral scientists. Male prostitutes were identified as a flexible group, where young men began their careers on the street to ascend to a higher status: being *call -boys* or *kept* boys. There are four proposed categories: *street prostitutes*, *bar hustlers*, *call-boys* and *kept boys.*

Street prostitutes, as the name suggests, are those who advertise their services on the street in strategic locations, such as alleys, tunnels, specific neighborhoods, etc. According to Caukins and Coombs, it is on the streets that "most of these young people begin their activities in the world's oldest profession. Paradoxically, it is also where they end up - when their youth has gone (...)" (Caukins; Coombs, 1976, p. 442).

For this category, the authors outline a cyclical and precarious trajectory of sexually active workers, highlighting the intrinsic vulnerability of sex work done in public spaces. When starting in the "world's oldest profession" on the streets, men encounter an environment of marginalization, where they are constantly exposed to risk, whether through violence, stigma, or adverse health and safety conditions. The street, as a space of beginning and also of end, symbolizes the illusion of false opportunities and social mobility, especially as youth and physical attractiveness, elements valued in the sex market, decline.

Bar hustlers, in turn, would be part of the larger *hustler culture*, that is, the young man involved in a larger culture of deviance or criminality for the time. The work portrays the figure of this typology as an exploitative and addicted person. His means of subsistence is through alternative forms of employment, "alcohol and drugs are now the means by which he seeks to alley his guilt over homosexuality." (Caukins; Coombs, 1976, p. 444).

Call boys are observed as the most successful prostitutes in the research. Some factors are listed for this succession: good-looking, well-defined body, easy to make business with clients, attractive, versatile in sex and trustworthy in relationships.

Finally, *kept-boys* are "highly flexible, adaptable and, opportunistic type" (Caukins; Coombs, 1976, p. 445). This means that their survival and "prestige" needs are sustained by the client with whom they assume a

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more established role than the strictly sexual one. Because of such an easy way of life, the article under analysis says that being a *kept-boy* is the goal of every prostitute.

The authors show that each category carries a specific pejorative burden on the man who prostitutes himself. From his *background* to his personality, moral burdens are associated with the men in Caukins and Coombs' work and their forms of prostitution. David F. Luckenbill (1985) draws attention to the fact that these categories of male prostitution and their respective organizations make up what he called "deviant careers".

What can be observed from this second period is the emphasis on Health, especially from two main points: the psychological and psychiatric issues of men who prostitute themselves and their role as a possible vector for the acquisition and transmission of HIV/AIDS and other STIs. There is also another continuity from the first period that can be observed in the second period. Some works from the latter period depict prostitution and, consequently, the people involved in it, as part of a phenomenon of deviance. What changes is the transformation of individual deviance into social deviance.

The combination of moral and medical factors contributed to reinforcing the stigmatized image of men who worked as sex workers in the second period. In a pioneering work in sociology on deviance, sociologist Erving Goffman (2004) argues that stigmatized people are those whose characteristics differ from what is socially expected of them. Due to this conflict, the author coined "virtual social identity" and "real social identity".

Virtual social identity would represent the normative standards that society imposes on its individuals. In contrast, real social identity would be the way an individual is, being able to deviate from virtual standards, that is, the norm (Goffman, 2004). The second period of productions on male sexual work, therefore, similarly to the first, conveys to men who did sexual work and their clients the ideas of deviation through the friction between the identities exposed above. The real social identity of men within sexual work at the time could be captured in issues seen as unregulated sexuality, extramarital relationships, homosexuality, the taboo of prostitution, the focus of HIV/AIDS transmission, STIs, among other issues.

III. Sex Work as a Profession

The third periodization, which is also contemporary, refers to sex work as work, focusing on its aspects as a profession. According to some authors, it begins in 1995 (Minichiello; Callander; Scott, 2013). David Bimbi (2007) names this stage as *The Cybersex Worker: The Age of the Internet*, where pricing of sex (Pocahy 2011; 2012), or the monetization of the body (Perlongher, 1986), are seen in the quality of MDSW's professionalism. Scientific efforts, as suggested by Bimbi (2007), also show internet's corporation as a site for sex work and its sub-sites in the diversification of modes of interaction available on the web. Data science, in dialogue with other areas of knowledge, and the wider theme of sex work allow for a broader observation of several issues, such as, for example, the types of services offered by sex work, client profiles, the different locations of these two and, again, Health related issues.

We will now emphasize the role of the internet and technology, given the predominant presence of this topic in much of the most recent literature on male sex work. As can be seen, some issues from the first two periods persist within academic concerns about male sex work, presenting continuities and permanence of themes that can be problematized.

According to Trevon D. Logan (2017), the internet has been responsible for a complete change in the dynamics of male sex work. Entry and exit from the market are more accessible, as are the functionalities of forums that allow descriptive and detailed evaluations by clients of the men who serve them (Logan, 2017; Tewksbury; Lapsey, 2016, 2017).

The first study observed in this research to discuss the issue of male sex work and the online sphere was published in 2005. Matthew V. Pruitt (2005) provides a descriptive and exploratory analysis of 1.262 escorts[4] from a single classifieds website in the United States. His research aimed to compare the data produced with the existing literature at the time on male prostitution.

Previous work had shown generational boundaries that did not exceed 30 years for groups of men who did sex work. Results from Pruitt's work, then, begin with the generation. This factor is analyzed once the age of the young men in his research ranged from 18 to 50 years. The category "young man" is traditionally associated with youth and a set of social expectations linked to vitality, vigor and availability for certain activities, as, for example, could be the case of sex work.

Pruitt's study, however, by expanding the age range of men studied to include individuals in their 50 years old, challenges this youth's association by questioning the generational boundaries traditionally imposed on MDSW. It problematizes the notion of a "boy" (*young man*) by revealing that the involvement in sex work is not exclusively a youth phenomenon, but encompasses a broader range of ages. Extending these boundaries generates a reassessment of what can be considered "youth" *and* how the sexual and professional

[4] Nomenclature used in some of the studies surveyed. It refers to MDSW who, through online advertisements, in chats and websites, advertise, negotiate and sell their sexual work.

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identities of these men are shaped and perceived over time. This perspective initiated in this research by Matthew V. Pruitt challenges ageist stereotypes. It suggests that sex work can involve different stages of life, reflecting the complexity of men's experiences and identities in the sex industry.

The category of sexual services is also analyzed through new configurations. While much of the research from the two previous phases tended to dichotomize MDSW between *tops* and *bottoms* (active and passive), the present Pruitt's work analysis found other forms within the versatile: *versatile*, *versatile -top* and *versatile-bottom*. Regarding the last two types, Pruitt says that they "may take either role in intercourse but prefers or usually takes the role identified after 'versatile.'" (Pruitt, 2005, p. 193).

It is crucial to highlight how the categorization of sexual services into *tops* and *bottoms* reflects a simplification of sexual dynamics, often rooted in heteronormative norms that reduce sexual identities to fixed roles. Pruitt's (2005) introduction of the categories *versatile*, *versatile top* and *versatile-bottom* challenges this dichotomy, revealing a fluidity in sexual performances that reflects the complexity of the experiences of MDSW.

By describing these new configurations, Pruitt not only expands the understanding of sexual practices within male sex work, but also contributes to a more nuanced understanding of sexual identities that resist rigid categorization. This multiplicity of roles not only reflects individual preferences, but also reflects how these professionals navigate client expectations and market demands. Furthermore, this discussion is embedded in a broader context of debates about the social construction of sexuality, where sexual performances are both an expression of identity and a response to power dynamics and the economy of desire.

Regarding the use of quantitative data and escorts, in 2010, Trevon D. Logan published in *American Sociological Review* what he called the first quantitative analysis of escorts in the United States. In a collection of 1.932 profiles from the largest online site for MDSW in the United States at the time, *Rentboy*, the work uses variables that can be articulated to consider how men who have sex with men reify and criticize patterns that constitute hegemonic masculinity.

One of the axes of analysis used by Logan was territoriality. By examining the geographic distribution of MDSW, the data demonstrated that sex work in the United States is nationwide and not – as many researchers imagine, according to Logan – "driven exclusively by gay-identified participants." (Logan, 2010, p. 692).

Another inference also drawn by Logan (2010) from the sample data concerns the intersection between hegemonic masculinity and racial and sexual stereotypes. These stereotypes, when combined, are called by Cameron, Collins and Thew (1999) of ethnic-racial stereotypes and representations. "The intersection of hegemonic masculinity with racial sexual stereotypes can create multiple forms of sexual objectification for particular groups of gay men." (Logan, 2010, p. 685). This intersection would be responsible for the variation in prices and "rewards" for those men who are invested with the signs of hegemonic masculinities in the United States.

Some studies also use software to process and analyze the data produced. Ana Barros, Sonia Dias and Maria Martins (2015) use the statistical software *SPSS® 22*[5] to review the success or failure of sampling methods in populations of men who have sex with men and STIs. In their study, the authors seek to combine men who have sex with men and MDSW as a homogeneous group. This group is considered a component of complex populations that are hard to reach. This notion is used in the study because the subjects under analysis are associated with illegal or stigmatized behaviors, as well as with the risks of acquiring HIV/AIDS and other STIs. Public Health, then, would be responsible for investigating these populations, which are considered vital to understand the "spread of communicable diseases like HIV or tuberculosis" (Barros; Dias; Martins, 2015, p. 1).

In a systematic review of literature produced in English over 10-year period, recruitment methods were grouped by the authors into three categories: non-probability sampling methods, probability sampling methods, and semi-probability sampling methods. Of these three, semi probability sampling methods were the most widely used, accounting for 59% of the studies surveyed in the research. These methods, in turn, were subdivided into two types: (1) respondent-driven sampling and; (2) time-location sampling.

With this work, we highlight the presence of Health, now from the perspective of Public Health combined with Data Sciences. Disease perspective still appears frequently, even in a systematic literature review with the proposal of investigating methodologies in studies on hard-to-reach populations. The methods, in this sense, are observed from the war against HIV and with the development of targeted and successful Public Health interventions.

Technology and other areas of knowledge illustrate that they are areas that, when well articulated, provide a more significant arsenal of analyses for research that intends to account for populations. Macphail, Minichiello and Scott (2014), for example, observe the fundamental role of new technologies and globalization for MDSW in facilitating the normalization of male sex work. According to the authors:

[5] The acronym refers to the *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.*

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> Changes to the structure and organisation of sex work, in part facilitated by technology, have allowed for sex work (once 'prostitution' and considered almost exclusively in terms of female supply) to be imagined as an everyday phenomenon in many contemporary western cultures. In particular, it is the contention (...) that male sex work has been normalised in recent decades, shifting from a stigmatised activity for both the sex worker and client, to something which represents, depending on contexts, an everyday object of consumption or risk. (Macphail; Minichiello; Scott, 2014, p. 4).

The quote from MacPhail, Minichiello and Scott (2014) reports the transformation in perception and organization of sex work, highlighting the impact of technology on this process. Previously stigmatized and associated almost exclusively with women, sex work has come to be seen as a daily phenomenon. This change is particularly evident in the context of male sex work, which in recent decades has ceased to be a marginalized activity and has become something normalized in certain spheres. Depending on the context, male sex work can be perceived as a consumer good or a risk, reflecting the complexity of social relations surrounding sex work in contemporary society. The analysis suggests a growing visibility of male sex work, although it continues to be influenced by contextual factors that determine its positive visibility or stigmatization.

Analyzing works from the period that understand sex work as a profession, Minichiello, Callander and Scott observed that

> Recent changes in the structure and organization of male sex work have provided visibility to the increasingly diverse geographical distribution of MDSW, the commodification of race and racialized desire, new populations of heterosexual men and women as clients, and the successful dissemination of safer sexual messages to MDSW through online channels. (Macphail; Minichiello; Scott, 2013, p. 263).

Minichiello, Callander and Scott (2013) offer an opportunity for a more accurate analysis of contemporary male sex work and its production possibilities.

Some dimensions of this phenomenon can be explored, such as: (1) the increasing visibility of the diverse geographic distribution of men who do sex work - suggesting that male sex work is no longer confined to specific regions, but it is a global phenomenon. This can be seen as a result of globalization and increased mobility, allowing people within the sex industry to move and operate in different cultural and geographic contexts; (2) the commodification of race and racialized desire - indicating that racial identities are being brokered in the sex work market, which may reflect how social constructions of race and desire are influenced and reproduced within the sexual economy. Anthropologically, this raises questions about power, identity and the dynamics of exoticization and fetishization, among other issues and; (3) new client populations - the emergence of new populations of heterosexual people as clients challenges traditional conceptions of who consumes sexual services. This raises questions about changing social norms and perceptions about paid sex.

Safe sex messaging and technology also feature prominently. They reinforce the idea of the continuity of Health across the three periods. The successful dissemination of safe sex messages through online channels demonstrates the crucial role of technology in the organization and practice of sex work. An intersection between Public Health and technology thus emerges; where digital platforms are being used to educate and protect MDSW and their clients. This movement can be examined in terms of how health practices, support networks and MSDW communities are embedded in technology.

Social Sciences are also gaining strength in the production and analysis of the topic of male sex work. Subjects like Anthropology and Sociology are gaining more visibility, quality and quantity in studies in the various countries where male sex work occurs. More generally, male sex work is gaining more visibility academically, whether in countries where it occurs legally or not, and it is discussed through various themes. This allows for a more in-depth exploration of the transformations in male sex work, highlighting issues such as identity, economy, Health and technology.

To name a few possibilities provided by the Social Sciences, we have: violence and legislation in Australia, Sweden and the Netherlands (Scott *et al*, 2005); sexual identity and risk in Peru (Fernándes - Dávila *et al*, 2008); Public Health in Kenya (Woendsdrgt; Nencel, 2020); clients in Australia (Prestage *et al*, 2014) and the United States (Tewksbury; Lapsey, 2016, 2017); *Instagram* as a digital environment for self-advertising in Ireland (Ryan, 2019); sex tourism in the Philippines (Mathews, 1987); male prostitution and media in China (Jeffreys, 2007); bar prostitution in Berlin and Prague (Ellison; Weitzer, 2017); male identities, youth and violence in Indonesia (Alcano, 2016); colonization of the body of the MDSW in Cuba (Hodge, 2001); counter-hegemonic masculinities and performances in Brazil (Mitchell, 2011), among other diverse subjects that are currently under analysis and production.

Through Social Sciences we can better understand the complex interactions between these diverse thematic factors and how they shape the lives and experiences of MDSW in a world that is constantly interconnected and that provides investigative and thematic possibilities. The research sites span the continents and the research proposals also demonstrate their variety.

However, as seen in some headlines, Health remains one of the main concerns. Although it has incorporated technology, with the use of data for sample

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analysis, health is still seen from the perspective of sexual risks, HIV/AIDS rates and other STIs. Its presence, however, is less visible and more subdued, considering the progress of this third period in increasingly recognizing sex work as a job, with a view, therefore, to eliminate the stigmatized and pathologized images of the subjects involved in this work.

IV. Final Considerations

This paper aimed to present part of the history of academic production on male sex work in English language. The justification for the Anglophone literature was because the first investigations were published in the English language. Although there was and still there is a wide geographical and thematic distribution on sex work, the majority of publications are still published and made available in English language in magazines, journals or books in the same language. This shows a historical predominance of the language that continues to the present day in most academic productions.

Some outstanding works on the subject of sex work were discussed, presenting their problems and also their academic contributions to the sex industry and the people who comprise it. The intention was to understand what the academy has produced and continues producing, as well as to understand characteristic aspects of each phase.

Divided into three periods, the productions can be classified as follows: first period - the *hustler* as a social problem; second period - the man who does sex work as a vector of diseases and; third period - sex work as a profession.

Initially, sex work was perceived mainly as a social problem. Areas such as Social Welfare, Criminology, Psychiatry and Psychology had patho-logizing psychosocial and psychosexual aspects of the subjects involved in prostitution. Homosexuality or the homosexual nature of the services provided to mostly male clients also came up against deviant understandings of the figure of the prostitute. These productions began in the 1940s and continued until the 1970s, according to some works presented throughout the text.

The second period has Public Health as the most recurrent part of its productions and concerns. In terms of period, it emerged in the 1970s and lasted until 1995. The man who worked in the sex industry was observed as a "vector" of transmission and acquisition of HIV/AIDS, as well as other sexually transmitted infections. Furthermore, the individual character of the first period was replaced by the understanding of these individuals as a "group", which in its majority was accompanied by "risk". Thus, epidemiologists, nurses, doctors, among other professionals in the Health area, assumed what is considered to be the more significant number of studies in terms of the number of studies for this phase. Sexual risk was observed in the relationship that the man who worked had with several clients, as well as "non-commercial" partners, whether male or not.

Finally, there is the third period, known as the new paradigm, in which paid, priced and profitable commercial sex is recognized as a profession and is sometimes interpreted based on the accounts, experiences and knowledge of the people involved in sex work. According to some bibliographies, the beginning of this period dates from 1995 and continues to the present.

There are many different works on this topic, covering many areas of knowledge and also various locations around the world.

The Social Sciences are gaining strength in the production and analysis of the topic of male sex work in this contemporary period. Areas such as Anthropology and Sociology are gaining more visibility, quality and quantity in studies in the various countries where prostitution occurs. Not only prostitution, but more generally, male sex work, whether in countries where it occurs legally or not, is discussed through various themes. This allows for a more in-depth exploration of the transformations in male sex work, highlighting issues such as identity, economy, Health and technology.

We observe the presence of a common denominator from the first period to the current period: Health. The study of male sex work has often been framed within restrictive paradigms that underestimate the complexity and diversity of this practice. In the context of Public Health and harm reduction intervention policies, traditional approaches have tended and continue to focus exclusively on the risks associated with sex work, neglecting the experiences, demands and agencies of the men who do sex work themselves.

The dominant perspective of Public Health sometimes still portrays – as in the second moment – men who engage in sex work as mere vectors of disease transmission, perpetuating stigmas that marginalize these individuals and even hinder their access to adequate Health Services. Flávio Cruz Lenz Cesar (2014) points out that modern biomedical knowledge/power is the result of the transition from the era of miasmas to the bacteriological era. This advance in medical science gave doctors a leading role in diseases that, from then on, focused on people.

For the author (Cesar, 2014), during the 1980s, with the first news about AIDS, always associated with homosexual men, the concept of risk groups was created. The State, firstly, assumed the responsibility of fighting AIDS through methodologies such as, for example, peer education. Cesar's criticism is that this responsibility was confined to the Health Sector.

This study also observed this presence and permanence in the Health Sector, but not only by the part of the State (seen as a protagonist especially

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in the second period). These presence and permanence are shown in academic aspirations to investigate male sex work. Continuities in Health were observed in all three periods, although with differences in the emphasis on this theme. This reductionist view not only obscures the diversity of practices and identities among men who do sex work, but also disregards their agencies in other areas beyond Health. The ever present discussions about risk groups and sexual risks often neglect other dynamics of power and other social structures that influence men's entry into and permanence in sex work.

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