

PIMPS OR BOYFRIENDS?
THE NEGOTIATION OF INTIMACY AND ECONOMIC TRANSFER
BY HUNGARIAN SEX WORKERS IN THE KURFÜRSTENSTRASSE

By

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Abstract

The aim of this ethnographic research is to investigate the negotiation of intimacy and economic transfer by Hungarian sex workers in the relationship with their pimp or boyfriend. I focus on the role of the Hungarian male third parties in Kurfürstenstraße in the life of sex workers and look at the trajectory of these intimate ties from the sex workers' perspective. I describe various patterns of the relationship and analyze the complexity of social ties in the migrant community of Hungarian sex workers and pimps in the outdoor prostitution area. Based on the analysis of the mingling of intimacy and economic transfer in these relationships I reconceptualize the figure of the pimp.

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Introduction:

Cintia¹ was one of the first girls I met. It was my first week [at the organization Frauentreff Olga] when she came in (with another girl) to ask for help with the papers (registration, tax number etc.). She told me that she came in that morning to Berlin. When we were filling out the papers I saw that we would have been in the same grade at school. And generally, I had the feeling with her that I could imagine sitting together in a class at the university... At that time I didn't have any idea if she was an exception or not, but I was shocked, because I imagined that a prostitute who lives in such a different world than I do, that she herself should be very different from me.

(Field notes 4/5/2010)

This field note comes from my first week at Frauentreff Olga, the social organization in Berlin where I have been working with Hungarian sex workers for one and a half years as intercultural mediator. Even though Cintia has turned out to be very exceptional and different from the other girls in her way of thinking, attitude and ambitions, overall, I was deeply touched by the experience to get to know all these women and to see them living their everyday lives. As it was in the beginning for all these women who became involved in sex work in the Kurfürstenstraße, I had to become accustomed to the everyday reality of a prostitution milieu, which has a particular normality that is quite different from mine.

Based on this personal experience, my research focuses on an underrepresented direction in the scholarship on prostitution: looking not just on the work experiences, but also at the private lives of migrant sex workers (Augustin 2004, 2007, 2010). Living abroad in a socially isolated migrant community in a prostitution milieu creates a particular living situation which in many aspects deeply influences them. The years long migration project (Fedyuk 2011) and doing sex work impact on their intimate relationships, and generally on their conception of intimacy. As I have found the intimate relationships quite unusual and

¹ In my thesis I am using pseudo names for all of my research subjects.

particular at my field site, I have decided to take a closer look at it through the frame of research.

As the sex workers say: “nobody is coming here alone”: almost all of the Hungarian women at first come to work in the Kurfürstenstraße organized by a Hungarian man. Also later on, male third parties play a crucial role in the prostitution of the women. These men are sometimes miscellaneously labeled as “pimp” or “boyfriend” in the street prostitution scene, according to their relationship with the one or several sex workers they are working and living with. But what is the difference between the pimp and the boyfriend? And what do these relationships look like?

In my research I analyze the sex workers’ relationships with the pimps/boyfriends, examining the mingling of intimacy and economic transfers in these relationships. My aim is to re-conceptualize the figure of the pimp concerning the interpretation of sex workers. My inquiry is based on participant observation and life history interviews with sex workers.

Who is a pimp? This question has been addressed by several scholars who have written on prostitution. As Julia O’Connell Davidson highlights in her analysis, the ‘pimp’ or ‘pimping’ can have many different meanings and can refer to several activities and roles related to sex work (Davidson 1998). Regarding street prostitution not just in the media, but also in the academic scholarship the abusive, violent and exploitative nature of the pimp - prostitute relationship is commonly emphasized. The emotional dependency and the sexual and pseudo-love relationship with pimps or so-called “loverboys” are also frequently discussed in street hustling (Bovenkerk and van San 2011; Williamson and Cluse-Tolar 2002). However, the questions of why sex workers stay in such relationships and how they perceive them still remain open.

During my fieldwork I have seen a variety of pimp - sex worker relationships in the Kurfürstenstraße. There were women, who reported having an exclusive business relationship with their pimps; others, who have lived in Berlin with their boyfriends and shared all their money with them, even though they knew that man was married and actually supported his own family from the money. There were also sex workers who had children in Hungary with their boyfriends, whom they regularly visited together and perceived sex work as their transnational family entrepreneurship. (Morokvasic 2004)

Considering the variety and the complexity of sex workers and their pimp/boyfriend relationships, I see the explanatory power from literature that focuses solely on pimps and pimping as very limited. As I have seen, the lived reality of these relationships is more complicated than the simplified image of abused women, who live in exploitative pseudo-intimate relationships with their pimps. Moreover, this interpretation fails to take into consideration the women's own perception of the relationship. I believe that from their perspective these relationships are not just pseudo-, but real, significant intimate relationships, even though they are commonly violent and lack, or involve a low level of, caring.

In my inquiry I will look at the mingling of intimacy and economic transfer in the pimp/boyfriend - sex worker relationships, based on the conceptual framework of Viviana Zelizer (2005). While focusing on intimacy from the women's perception, my aim is to provide insights and deeper understanding of the of relationship with "pimps", or male third parties in prostitution, and to describe their dynamic trajectory in reference to a broader set of social ties.

Chapter 1: Literature review and conceptual framework

In my research I combine three different sets of literature. The conceptual framework of my analysis is based on Viviana Zelizer's concept of intimacy and economic transfer. I apply her theory to the pimp - sex worker relationships and reflect on the literature on prostitution and pimps. I believe that this body of literature fails to explain well the intimate nature of these relationships from the women's perspective, especially in those cases, when the sex workers have family with their pimps. Particularly for explaining this last pattern of pimping literature on gender and migration provides actually a better theoretical framework in my opinion; hence to approach sex workers as transnational mothers. Moreover, the migrant community and transnational social ties in general are crucially important regarding the notion of intimacy for all of my research subjects, which make the literature on migration especially relevant for my research questions.

1.1. Intimacy and economic transfer

How are intimacy and economic transfer connected? The conceptual framework of my analysis is based on Viviana Zelizer's work. In *The Purchase of Intimacy* (2005) she analyzed the relation between intimacy and economic transfer. She opposes her concept to other sociological theories on the relation between sentiments, emotional ties and economics. The "hostile worlds" approaches, as Viviana Zelizer calls them, describe intimacy and economic transfer as clearly separate worlds and name the intersections in both directions corruption, which should be avoided. They claim while money corrupts the emotional relationships, the sentiments corrupt the economics and also cause inefficiency. Scholars, advocates and critics of industrial capitalism were assuming that industrial rationality expels sentiments and intimacy from the market (e.g. Tilly 1984; Hirschmann 1977).

Another school of theorizing these relations are the “nothing-but theories”, based on Zelizer’s categorization. The “nothing-but” approaches also differentiate between various spheres, such as economics, culture, power etc. The different theories claim that every interpersonal relationship can be explained by one of these aspects. Regarding sexual relations for example, while some scholars claim these relations are based on economic aspects (Posner 1992), cultural theorists focus on the meaning and symbolism in sexuality (Zatz 1997).

In contrast to these approaches Zelizer argues that intimate relationships and economic ones are closely related, and examines the mingling of intimacy and economic transfer in any kind of relationship of people’s “connected lives”. But what is intimacy? Zelizer gives an explanation based on the definition of the Oxford English Dictionary. According to her intimacy is based on knowledge – including bodily information, shared secrets, memory of embarrassing situations etc. – and attention: emotional support, bodily services, private languages. Furthermore intimate relations depend on various degrees of trust (2005:14). Hence she gives a broad definition of intimacy, which covers a wide range of personal relations. She defines three different kinds of intimacy: physical, informational, and emotional, and argues that all these relations generate their own forms of economic transfer. They have a lot of varieties, depending on the amount and quality of information, and the extent of trust. She analyzes the arbitrary limits between impersonal and intimate relations.

Her main idea is analyzing the “connected lives” of people, and claims that the economic transfer and a certain degree of intimacy and trust are both present and interdependent in interpersonal relationships. She looks at the process and practices of how people constantly create and renegotiate the boundaries, and differentiate certain social ties from others. Hence she looks at how people name social ties and regulate what extent of intimacy and involvement of money is appropriate in the certain kind of relationship. Her

empirical analysis is first of all concerned with lawsuits, i.e. divorce, which shows how the fusion of intimate personal relations and economic activities is regulated in the law. She also discusses the involvement of money in various forms of sexual relationships. The distinction between spouses, lovers or client-prostitute relationships is also defined according to the rules set up in the society. She analyzes the various categories and the appropriate economic transactions within the relationships.

Zelizer's aim is to conceptualize the relationships and thereby also focus on how "people" name social ties. However, she was mainly concerned with American society in general and the regulation by law, and did not specify which "people" she is talking about, and how the negotiation of intimacy and economic transfer is related to gender, social class, ethnicity etc. She referred to the importance of these factors, but as analyzing the topic on a macro level, she did not specify how the practices can be related to certain social groups. In my inquiry I will engage with the concept of intimacy and the ideas of appropriate involvement of money in private relationships of a certain social group, a "community": Hungarian sex workers in Kurfürstenstraße. Even though the negotiation about these boundaries varies individually, I believe that there are certain patterns and significant similarities which allow me to analyze the question regarding the sex workers as a group.

1.2. Prostitution and the figure of the pimp

1.2.1. The changing conceptualization of prostitution

Prostitution, as the cliché "the world's oldest profession" also indicates, is a global phenomenon which has a long history. However, its perception and interpretation has been changing throughout history. The exchange of sexual services for money is a particular case of negotiating the relation between economic transfer and intimacy, and its critique or acceptance has always been the crucial question in the academic or legal discourse on

prostitution. In the following I will look at the various approaches towards prostitution, and how they conceptualize the relation of intimacy and economic transfer.

Prostitution was traditionally seen as deviant behavior and as a threat for the moral order. Even though some prostitutes could have higher social status and even power, like hetairas, geishas or courtesans, they were still seen as immoral. In Europe since the Middle Ages, based on Christian morals, prostitutes were seen as fallen women, who are morally inferior and should be separated from other citizens. As Laqueur has described, prostitution (as well as masturbation) was condemned in the Judeo-Christian thought as asocial sexual practices, being unproductive and a threat to the socially constructive heterosexual family unit (Laqueur 1995). This moral approach and condemnation of prostitution is based on the not just intimate, but even sacred idea of sexuality, which was exclusively connected to giving birth, the reproduction of humankind. Therefore this idea and the moral condemnation of prostitution is the outcome of a hostile world – view: treating sexuality as essentially connected to intimacy, which should not be sold.

Christianity had a strong influence in the abolishment of prostitution according to Gilfoyle (1999). However, attitudes and perceptions of prostitution have significantly changed in the 20th century in general. By means of the moral, social and economic changes prostitution has increased; and it has been represented as a metaphor for modernity and modern society, related to the industrialization and the capitalist system. (Gilfoyle 1999) Seeing prostitution as a critique on the modern capitalist society is based on Marx's ideas on the exploitation of wage labor. Marx introduced the phenomenon of "Estranged Labor" in his early writings (Marx: [1844] 1978), and argues that the act of production belongs to the essence of the human being: man creates himself through the objectification of the world and therefore his relationship to his own product is essential to create his identity. But in the capitalist system the product does not belong to the worker, his own activity is alien to him.

This externalized labor is alien to the human species-being; it degrades his free activity. Therefore according to Marx the sex worker is alienated from her sexuality in commercial sex, as it becomes a commodity which is exchanged for money. As Elisabeth Bernstein interprets Marx, prostitution manifests the exploitation in wage labor and represents the commodification of human capacities (Bernstein 2007:7-8). Marx thus conceptualizes prostitution as a form of sexuality, which is about “nothing but” economic relations, and the subordination and exploitation of sex workers.

But can sexuality be commoditized? Do the body’s sexual capacities constitute property in the person, or is it “impossible to detach sex from personhood without moral harm?” (Davidson 2002:86) These are still the main questions which define the basic differences between the various concepts of prostitution. These questions are actually about how the relation between money and economic transfer with sexuality should be regularized or understood; what is appropriate and acceptable.

In the first wave of feminism prostitution was exclusively approached as a violation against the female body, as an explicit appearance of male dominance and subordination of women (Barry 1988). Feminists were active both in political changes and in the academic conceptualization of prostitution. Describing women as victims of male dominance and gender inequality has impacted on academic and also on legal discourse. This thought or conceptualization of prostitution is represented by the “abolitionists” who advocate for the prohibition of prostitution.

In the 1980s other approaches emerged within feminism, which promoted accepting prostitution as a profession. This feminist approach is also represented by both political and academic activities. The political movement of the “pro-sex” feminists was at first represented by various self-organizations of sex workers, such as COYOTE in the USA; this

was the first one, later followed by many others in Europe and worldwide (Bernstein 2007). In the academic discourse since the 1990s scholars have written of performing ‘erotic labor’ (Chapkis 1997) and also changed the terminology replacing the term prostitute, which had a bad, immoral connotation, with the term ‘sex worker’. (Nagle 1997)

These two approaches are opposite standpoints, which form most of the feminist debate on prostitution, mainly concentrating on the “First World”. However, this discourse has been heavily criticized by scholars because of lack of reference to class and power relations. O’Connell Davidson emphasizes the role of the “social and political inequalities that underpin market relations in general, and prostitution in particular” (2002:85). Her analysis and critique on the feminist debate on prostitution is concerned with the importance of class and power relations in the capitalist labor market. Davidson points out the positive and negative arguments of both feminist standpoints on prostitution, but expresses her sympathy, based on her ethnographic researches, towards the abolitionist approach. She claims that “sex work” feminists do not take into account the power relations in the labor market and are not critical of the liberal thought of the “individual will”. She refers to Marxist thinkers, who see the liberal discourse on property, labor, contractual consent and freedom as fictions that conceal the asymmetries of economic, social and political power. She also argues that in liberal theory wage labor is represented as “equivalent, mutual and voluntary exchange”. (2002:86) However, in all these processes of exchange market relations and thereby the power relations and dominance of a capitalistic class are present and constantly reproduced.

So what do these various standpoints say about the relation between intimacy and economic transfer in sex work? While explaining these theories I differentiate what they say about prostitution as a social phenomenon, on macro level, and what is the basis of the idea on the individual perception of sex workers on micro level. The abolitionists claim that it is

impossible to detach sexuality from intimacy, and doing so is a form of corrupting something intimate, which cannot be a real free choice, but an outcome of power relations, as I interpret Davidson's work (Davidson 1998). Davidson's explanation of prostitution as a social phenomenon is hence based on "nothing but" the socio-economic and power relations. The basis of this explanation is the claim that there are two hostile worlds, economic transfer and intimacy, where sexuality belongs to, and these should be separated. In the case of sex work these two spheres are mingling, which is a form of corruption and cause of moral harm resulted from power and economic relations.

On the contrary, 'pro-sex' feminists argue that sex work can be a form of labor, which means that sex workers are able to perceive their sexual intercourses with clients as 'work', and not as intimate relationships. It is hence a description of creating and experiencing hostile worlds on the individual level, while clearly differentiating private, intimate ties from economic transfers which involve sexuality. But, the idea of accepting this approach toward sexuality as legitimate actually leads toward what Zelizer calls "connected lives". As Chapkis, who is an activist and professor of sociology in California claims: "Perhaps it was my identity as a lesbian that made me wary of a strategy calling for the arrest and punishment of any party to consensual adult sexual activity" (1997:3, cited in O'Neill 2001:22). This is a more open understanding of sexuality, which conceptualizes prostitution as one acceptable form of negotiating the relation between intimacy and economic transfer.

In my inquiry I follow Chapkis' position and describe prostitution as a form of labor. In chapter 4 and 5 I describe how Hungarian sex workers reflect on their work and formulate the necessity for seeing it as a job. Furthermore, in the last section of chapter 5 I will analyze how sex workers create 'hostile worlds' and the effort they make to distinguish sexuality with clients from their private sexual relationship with the boyfriend.

1.2.2. *The figure of the pimp*

The figure of the pimp stands in the main focus of my analysis. While looking at sex workers' relationships with pimps, I analyze the role of money and the notion of intimacy in these ties. Applying Zelizer's theory to the pimp and boyfriend categories at my field site is extremely resourceful in analyzing the problematic difference between the two terms. While the 'boyfriend' refers to an intimate tie, the 'pimp' describes an economic relationship. However, I believe that both categories of relationship involve intimacy, and are also crucially shaped by economic transfers.

But who is a pimp and what is pimping? The figure of the pimp has been also analyzed in sociological accounts. O'Connell Davidson (1998:46) provides a definition of the pimp in her book *Prostitution, Power and Freedom*: "an individual who plays an active and identifiable role in the daily reproduction of one or more person's prostitution, and pimping as the activities carried out in pursuit of that end." Davidson highlights the complexity of the phenomenon in commercial sex and differentiates between various types of pimp. Regarding street prostitution she describes the stereotypical 'street hustler' figure, who emotionally and/or physically abuses the vulnerable woman. As she points out, the power relationship is much more sustainable if the prostitute perceives it as consensual at some level. This strategy commonly means supplying drugs or declaration of love or affection. Bovenkerk and van San (2011) explain the term 'loverboy' in his study, which is commonly used in the Dutch media, also describes the abusive relationship between sex workers and their male partner, whom sex workers claim to have an intimate relationship with, and who acts as an agent or even forces them into prostitution.

Williamson and Cluse-Tolar (2002) were also studying pimp controlled street prostitution in the Midwest. Their main focus was also on the pimp-prostitute relationship and described the rules of the "game" in the prostitution scene and the mechanisms how

pimps have control on women while using violence, threats and emotional dependency, similarly to Davidson's description of the street hustler, and Bovenkerk and van San's analysis on the "loverboy". My research subjects' description of the dynamics and the structure in Kurfürstenstraße was in many aspects similar to the findings of Williamson and Cluse-Tolar. However, at my field site I have seen a more complex diversity of relationships in terms of what extent of intimacy is involved in the relationship and I claim that this explanation cannot or just partly explain the lived experiences of my research subjects.

How do these studies conceptualize the relation between the intimacy and economic transfer in the pimp-prostitute relationship? Can a sex worker and pimp or loverboy relationship be intimate? Davidson's definition of the pimp describes an economic relationship: for her the pimp is like a manager who facilitates the women's work. The street hustler and the loverboy also have an economic relationship with the sex workers, but in order to gain more profit they pretend love and intimacy. I explain this phenomenon according to Zelizer's concept as an abusive sexual relationship, which is intimate but lacks caring, or as a pseudo-intimate relation in which intimacy is not authentic but relies on false emotional expressions (Zelizer 2005:17; 2010:269). Hence Davidson, Bovenkerk and van San and others explain the pimp/prostitute relationship as "nothing but" a form of power relations, which involves pseudo-intimacy.

However, I argue that this approach is concerned with the labeling and the perception of external parties, such as the law, the media and the scholars themselves. These studies while approaching all these relationships as pseudo-intimate and exploitative power relationships, fail to explain the perception of intimacy of the sex workers themselves, and to reflect on the subjective nature of perceiving and labeling relationships. In chapters 4 and 5 I look at how sex workers themselves name certain social ties and differentiate between the category of intimate and economic relationships, first of all regarding their sexual

relationships. Therefore I address the sex worker's perception of intimacy and idea of intimate relationship instead of using a rather general and normative concept of intimacy. Moreover, I look at the economic elements in these relationships and whether the distinction between the pimp and boyfriend is based on the intimate-economic binary.

1.3. Gender and migration: Managing intimate social ties and double homes

In my thesis I describe Hungarian sex workers as female migrants who moved to Germany in order to earn money. Therefore the framework I am going to refer to in my analysis is based on studies of gender and migration; more precisely the economic circuits and the maintained social ties of female migrants (Morokvasic 2003; Sassen 2003; Kalwa 2008; Jolly and Reeves 2005). I consider this framework resourceful for my analysis because it provides an explanation for the complex social reality and the set of social ties in various geographic places I have observed at my field site. Faist's theory on transnational social spaces, where highly mobile persons sustain social and symbolic ties across the borders of nation states, captures very well the two homes and the migration experience of the women (Faist 2000). Having double-homes and two different, often totally separated, private lives significantly affects the construction of intimacy within the prostitution scene, and also generally.

So how do sex workers negotiate the mingling of intimacy and economic transfer at these two geographical places? And how do they interpret intimacy in their lives at 'home' and in Berlin? In order to gain a better understanding of their idea of intimacy and the role of money in the complexity of their relationships, the migration patterns and their relation and attitude towards migration needs to be clarified.

In the case of Hungarian sex workers in Berlin transnational migration provides a feasible theoretical framework to study the intentionality and the extent of constraints in the

migration for sex work. In the case of Hungarian women migration is closely related to sex work, as it is the single purpose for their cross-border mobility. Transnationalism represents one of the most recent developments in migration studies, which according to Kontos (2010) emphasizes the “cross-border, back-and-forth and multidirectional movement of people, capital, goods and ideas, which are facilitated by current affordable communications.” (p. 86-87)

Migrant sex workers have been analyzed by various scholars in the intersection of gender and transnational migration since the 1990s. The discourse on female transnational migration within the European Union mainly focuses on women working in the service sector, first of all domestic workers and sex workers. Morokvasic studied the changes in migration patterns from a gender perspective in the post-1989 Europe as a result of the freedom of movement (Morokvasic 2004). She also examines the transnational female migrants in Germany, mainly Polish migrants who established the first transnational routes in Western Europe (Morokvasic 2003).

Morokvasic (2004) argues for a new paradigm of transnational migration, which concentrates on mobility and the sustainability of transnational links, instead of focusing on immigration or emigration, and assimilation or integration in a receiving country. She claims that this concept is based on the freedom of movement in the European context. She describes the transnational migrants as “people on the move”, having the capability and the know-how to move and sees it as a social capital. Regarding the Polish female migrants she describes the phenomena of shuttle-migration, which means the short-term mobility with the purpose of working. She points out the gender aspect of this kind of migration and analyzes the demand in Western countries for cheap female work power in the service sector; especially child or elderly-care, domestic work and prostitution. The migration pattern of these women is also different from the men, as while working abroad they also take care of the family at the same

time. She examines the tendency of increasing number of Central-Eastern European sex workers in Germany and looks at the possible reasons behind the trafficking also, such as the economic transition and structural reforms from Central-Eastern European countries; the existing well established professional networks of smugglers in the case of trafficking; and prostitution as an important source for capital accumulation and as possible survival strategies for households.

How does this kind of migration experience impact the concept of intimacy and the intimate social ties of female migrants? Olena Fedyuk introduced in her PhD dissertation the notion of *migration project*.

By referring to migration projects rather than simply migration, I refer to conceptualizing migration not as an individual endeavour of moving in space, but as a process imagined, enacted and materialized as a cross-generational project in which those who migrate and those who stay behind enable the process equally and share its hardships and benefits. (Fedyuk 2011:43)

While focusing on transnational motherhood of Ukrainian migrants in Italy she examines the *ruptures* and *continuities* in the migration project (Ahmed 2003), and describes the complex social, labor networks and hierarchies, which are determined by space. The notion of rupture she defines as “an order of field or a code of conduct that disrupts expected or perceived normality, a conflict between the expected normal and chosen practices / situational strategies” (2011:43-44).

In the case of Hungarian sex workers I look at the social ties in the migration circuits and describe the level and the nature of intimacy and the role of money in it. I believe that the migration experience; the social isolation and intensive integration into a particular community are significant in the construction and perception of intimacy. As this community includes exclusively sex workers and third parties, the negotiation what kind of involvement

of money is appropriate in a relationship is also essentially influenced by the particularity of the field, where sexuality outside of the relationship in exchange for money is considered to be 'normal'.

In chapter 4 and especially in chapter 5 I look at the pimps/boyfriends in the broader set of intimate social relationships of the sex workers: I refer to the role of transnational social ties, their family in the relationship with the boyfriend. Literature on remittances in economic sociology also provides a broader framework for analyzing the mingling of intimate and economic relationships of migrants. Zelizer looks at migrants' remittances in a later article and extends her concept in *The Purchase of Intimacy* on individual relationships to a broader complexity of social interactions, which she calls circuits of commerce. She approaches migrants' network of intimate and economic relationships, especially focusing on mothers working abroad, who support their families in their home countries. She looks at how control and power is maintained by means of the economic support. Thereby she claims that the changed economic relations; the regular economic transfer can change the roles and the power relations within the family. It implies the changing gender roles in transnational families, where the mother is the breadwinner, who is living abroad (Zelizer 2006). Hence she claims that transnational familial ties are at the same time close economic relationships, and the economic changes in the family structure can also indicate changes in the social structure of the family. Based on her argument that intimacy and economic transfer are interdependent and also affect each other, I believe that if a pimp/boyfriend is a part of this economic circuit, it increases the level of intimacy in the relationship.

Chapter 2: Field site, methodology and research subjects

2.1. Participant observation in Frauentreff Olga

Outdoor prostitution has existed in the Kurfürstenstraße neighborhood in West-Berlin since the 19th century. In the 1970s and 1980s the area was well known for underage drug addicted girls, who engaged in prostitution. (Howe 2011:7) In the post-wall period, mainly as a result of the enlargement of the European Union and the freedom of movement, many Central and Eastern European women have engaged in sex work here in recent years primarily from Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania.

I have conducted a small scaled, qualitative research that provides in-depth knowledge about Hungarian sex workers through informants from the subject group. Data was collected by participant observation, as intercultural mediator, from February 2010 until August 2011. In April 2012 I went back to the field as researcher and continued the data collection. I have received verbal permission from heads of the organization where I did my research to use all the information I have gathered with the protection of anonymity of the research subjects.

For one and a half years I was working with Hungarian street prostitutes as intercultural mediator and German-Hungarian translator at Frauentreff Olga, an organization that provides health-care services, counseling and psychosocial- and general support. As a co-worker of a social institution I had everyday contact with the sex workers. Our office did not consist just of counseling rooms, but it was meant to be a resting-place, a shelter exclusively for female and transgender sex workers with a café-space, where warm dishes and drinks were served, a bathroom, a rest room, and a small medical department. Through these low-threshold services it was easy to access most of the Hungarian sex workers in the area. Moreover, we also did outreach work in the neighborhood; thus I had the chance to meet also

those women, who otherwise did not, or could not visit the organization². In addition to the services offered at Frauentreff Olga, I also accompanied the women to various other agencies if they needed. These occasions also provided good possibilities to have longer chats with the sex workers.

My analysis on the relation of money and intimacy is based exclusively on the assertions of sex workers about themselves and each other. I consider it the most feasible way as the research is concerned with the individual perception of the research subjects. However, I am also aware of the limitation of accessing the data. The topic of my research is extremely sensitive as it is related to very personal issues. Moreover, it is connected to half-legal or illegal activities: while prostitution is legal in Germany, pimping is strictly penalized and therefore most of the sex workers were very careful in talking about their boyfriends. As I was member of an official organization, I have felt many times that women were concealing real information about their relationships because of the fear that their boyfriends might be perceived as pimps. Despite this limitation and risk that the assertions of the research subjects might be falsified or distorted, I believe that after a longer time of observation and regular conversations, reliable data was gained.

Because of the mentioned sensitivity and nature of my relationship with the subject group, informal conversations were in some cases more sufficient to gain information than recorded interviews, as many women agreed to participate in the research and told about themselves, but preferred unorganized settings and did not want to have their voice recorded. However, others were willing to give longer interviews, so in the summer of 2011 I recorded five life-history interviews and in April 2012 two more.

² As there are many women, who have “strong pimps”, who do not allow them to have longer breaks while working, especially not at an official agency.

2.2. Introducing the research subjects:

During the one and a half years I was working at the organization I met around 100-150 Hungarian sex workers. Their relation to the organization was very diverse: some of them came almost every day and turned to us with various problems; others came rather rarely. I had more intensive contact with about 40 Hungarian sex workers; with them a trust relationship developed and they shared much information about their living and working conditions and private lives. Overall I gathered substantial empirical experiences and an in-depth knowledge about the social situation of the target group.

Most of the Hungarian women were quite young, between 18 and 30 years of age, but most of them in the beginning of their twenties. They were coming from various parts of Hungary, but a significant number of them were originally from West-Hungary, from the neighborhood of Győr and Sopron. Some were already doing prostitution in other cities, others started it in Berlin.

Almost none of them worked independently or moved alone to Berlin. Many of the women came with their boyfriends, others through friends or relatives, who were already working in the scene or were pimping other women. Many of the sex workers had children in Hungary, sometimes together with their current boyfriend/pimp, and maintained close relationship with their family. Among the sex workers there were some who were more or less settled in Berlin and spent there several years and planned to stay. Others, especially those who recently engaged in prostitution, were moving forwards to other cities or back to Hungary after a couple months.

In my analysis I mainly refer to interviews or conversations with ten women. I chose women as interview partners with whom I had developed a trusting relationship. While selecting conversations from the field notes I am referring to in my analysis, my aim was to

write about women I know good, and also to pick representative examples for every pattern of pimp/boyfriend - sex worker relationship. In addition to sex workers, whom I refer to several times in my analysis and whom I am going to introduce now, I also mention some stories of other women. Moreover, my study is based on the accounts of several other sex workers I met, but I have decided to exemplify the pimp/boyfriend - sex worker relationships first of all in reference to just a couple of women in order to give a more personalized view on the subject discussed.

In chapter 3 I describe sex workers' relationships with pimps, and here I mainly refer to three sex workers: Karla, Giulia and Cintia. Karla and Giulia had been working for around two years in the Kurfürstenstraße. Karla was 19 years old when she started prostitution, Giulia was around 25. Both of them had worked something else in Hungary before, but as they were constantly struggling with financial difficulties and did not see any chance for improving their situation, they decided to move to Berlin to start sex work. They met in Berlin and became close friends. Even though both of them have very close relationships to their parents in Hungary and visit them regularly, they have decided to stay in Berlin although they quit sex work in the summer of 2011. Now Karla is working in a casino, and Giulia will soon start to work in a café after being employed also at a casino for half a year.

As mentioned in the introduction, I met Cintia on my very first week at Olga in February 2010. She was 24 and she had just arrived to Berlin and started doing sex work for the first time. She moved out from her parents place when she was around 15 and then she was living at her boyfriends' place for years. After they broke up she had to finance her living entirely alone. After years of working at many different jobs, she realized that even though she tried to save money, she still hardly managed to cover her monthly expenses, and it was not going to be easier in the future. Therefore she decided to do sex work to earn money. Her plan was to buy an apartment, to save some extra money and continue studying in higher

education. However, after a couple of months she disappeared from Berlin and I do not know whether she changed her plans, had already enough savings, or moved somewhere else and continued sex work.

In chapter 4 I describe the boyfriend and sex worker relationship. In the first section on loverboys I refer to the example of Silvia and Alexa. Both of them are around 22 years old and started prostitution around five years ago, still in Hungary. They both left school in a very early age and did not have any other idea how to earn money, as Silvia told me. They come from the same city in Hungary, but they actually met in Berlin through their boyfriends, who are close friends and about fifteen or twenty years older than them. They all moved to Berlin a couple of years ago and for a long time the four of them were even living together in the same apartment. As it was very stressful they moved into separate flats, but even now they go and come back from Hungary together.

Tina and Alina also live in Berlin with their boyfriends. Tina grew up in a foster home and started prostitution at a very young age. “So I started it when I was 13, because we [with the other girls in the foster home] were very poor. And we had friends, girls, who were doing this. So then we found this life great, to have nice clothes, nice shoes; so in the hope for a better life.” Now she is 29 and still works in the street, and meanwhile she has three children with her boyfriend, with whom she came to work in Kurfürstenstraße.

Alina is 30 years old now and she has been also living for years in Berlin. Before that she worked in Vienna and Amsterdam, and later decided to move to Berlin with her current boyfriend. Three years ago she got pregnant from him and she moved back to Hungary to give birth. She was staying at home for a while with the baby, but then as she was not allowed to raise her child (since she had been diagnosed with schizophrenia), she moved back

to Berlin and left her daughter with her mother. Since then she has sometimes visited her child, but does not have regular contact with the family.

Chapter 3: Pimps

In this chapter I focus on relationships with pimps, which sex workers interpret as economic links, in contrast to the intimate ties with boyfriends, whom I will refer to in chapter 4. Firstly I describe the pimp - sex worker relationship as business cooperation and analyze the different roles, mechanisms and economic transfers in it. Afterwards I look at the factors which create or show the intimate elements in this relationship, mainly concentrating on the illegal or stigmatized activities and the common migration project. And finally I examine the question of sexuality, or actually the emphasized absence of sexuality in these relationships.

By means of this analysis my aim is to show that even though pimp - sex worker relationships are mainly described as (commonly exploitative) economic ties in the literature on prostitution (Davidson 1998), informational intimacy and a certain level of trust are also commonly involved in them by means of shared secrets and mutual dependency (Zelizer 2005:14-15). Moreover, as Hungarian sex workers and their pimps form together an interest group in the prostitution scene in contrast to other national groups, it essentially increases the intimacy that their relationship is framed by a migrant community and shared interests.

3.1. Cooperation in a business relationship: the role of the pimps

The pimp provides the access to the prostitution milieu; he plays not just a crucial, but a necessary role in starting sex work in Kurfürstenstraße. Often there are female friends or family members through whom women hear about the scene, but at the end there is almost always a male person who is bringing them to Berlin and whom they are working for/with. He is also the legitimizing person for the women, as he “has” the place on the street and “his women” are also standing together. Moreover, the pimp has a crucial role in organizing the

transport between Berlin and Hungary and he is also the one, who takes the girls back home or brings them to work by car within Berlin.

The forms of the pimp - sex worker cooperation and the power relations in the business vary. In some cases the pimp behaves as a boss: controls the working hours, commonly defines a minimum amount of money per day and thereby also effects which services the girls should do. He is also the one who directly controls the money, and the women are required to give it to him immediately after every “business”, as sexual services for clients are called by the sex workers. The pimps are mostly sitting together in a bar in front of the women are working and collect the money.

However, the power relations and the extent of control might change significantly with time. As Giulia described her situation when she started doing sex work:

Back then I was paying money just for the place, 50 €[per day]. Yes, that time they could control me, because I couldn't speak [German], I didn't know anything, and then they told me so this time you should be here, and that time you come home, and you work from this time until that time. Because I couldn't speak and I didn't understand anything. Then slowly everything has developed, and then I was working for myself.

As Giulia's example shows, in the beginning she was very dependent on her pimp and she needed his help and services for being able to work. But in a while it has changed and she did not need any support from him and his services became unnecessary. Hence later when her pimp required not just 50 € but almost all the entire money, she refused to pay him. Subsequently she had to face not just verbal conflicts, but also physical fights because of her decision. However, as in the situation she was legally protected and she had a strong character and the power to fight out her place, she managed to work for herself.

Karla had relatively similar career in the prostitution scene. As her first pimp was unfair and violent she has decided to leave him and later returned with another one, with his brother. With the second pimp she was really satisfied, as he kept the agreement they had.

And I knew that he shared the money with the girls he was working with. So he is fair in this sense and not as aggressive and tough as his brother; he has a different character. So I contacted him and asked whether he would help me to come together to Berlin and earn some money. Well, after a long consideration he said yes, of course. You can imagine that long consideration... [laughing] And after that I had a very good life. I always had the money in my hand and it never happened that I earn this and that much, but see just this or that much from it. From this money. So it went like this for a year.

Karla described their relationship very positively, as he was correct and gave her the money precisely. As this description also shows, pimp - sex worker relationships require trust as there are no contracts, just promises and agreements sex workers can rely on. Regarding the hierarchy and the roles in the business Karla emphasized that she was working *with* him, and not *for* him.

Cintia also described a stable, good working relationship with her pimp in contrast to the “other girls”, who worked with their boyfriends. In my field notes I wrote down how she described this friendship and cooperation with her pimp, Ted, emphasizing that their relationship was different from the case of other sex workers.

She told me Ted was really different, he was telling her all the time that Cintia, I wouldn't hit you, a woman, never. The girls are jealous, because he is cleaning, does the shopping and tidies up. As if they had changed roles, told me Cintia, she earns money while the guy is doing everything at home that needs to be done. Well, the other men don't do that, he is special. In their case the girls are doing these things as well, when they are not working. And they [Ted and herself] don't argue; there is no shouting. (...) I have asked her whether Ted is also working something, or if she supports him. She told me of course [that she supports him], but that was the agreement before they came to Berlin. Ted organized everything, he knows here everyone. Cintia turned to him when she wanted to come to Berlin and she needed his help.

(Field notes 4/5/2010)

Cintia emphasized that it is a good-working, friendly business relationship with her pimp, in which both of them have their own duties. As she explained, getting access to the prostitution scene was also the man's responsibility and he had the connection before.

However, as I have observed, generally these financial agreements and relationships are rather short, at maximum a year or so. After a while a sex worker either starts to work

independently, or starts a sexual-emotional relationship with a pimp. One of the reasons why these agreements cannot last long is that the most important “service” from the men’s side is mainly to introduce the woman into the milieu. Later they do not really have any function if a sex worker gets along well in the business; Cintia’s example with the changed gender roles in the household is rather an exception. Also Karla, who did not have any conflicts with her pimp, took the first the chance to work for independently when her pimp had to leave Berlin. After a year of doing prostitution she felt her pimp was just taking her money and did not offer anything.

Well at first, if I can say so, I was a small girl when I came here and I was of course fine with having 50-50%. But then months and months left, and I saw what monies there are, so how it goes. And then it was too much. And then I came back alone and started to work for myself.

However, most of the women, who have financial deal with a pimp, do not become independent. In most of these cases a pimp comes to Berlin with a couple of women who work for him and while living in Berlin he commonly starts a relationship with one or more of them. Mostly those women stay longer who are in a sexual-emotional relationship, and the others, who reported of having exclusively business agreement, leave Kurfürstenstraße after a while. In these cases I cannot know whether they continue working somewhere else or return to Hungary.

3.2. Mutual dependency and informational intimacy

The pimp - sex worker relationship is mainly perceived as an economic tie, but at the same it is an intensive cooperation which is based on mutual dependency by means of shared secrets and half legal or entirely illegal activities. Therefore a significant level of informational intimacy develops in these relationships (Zelizer 2005:14).

Karla's story also shows that the pimp is dependent on the loyalty of sex workers. After a year of working together, her second pimp had to leave as he was under international investigation because of pimping, but Karla stayed in Berlin. She told me when she had visited her pimp in Hungary, who was hiding in a house, and had made him clear that their business agreement is over, he had actually still expected her to continue sharing the money. So she lied to him at the end that she has quit prostitution. "So then he didn't dare to say anything, because what could he say. Should he stand up and hit me? He couldn't because then I go to the police and I even tell them where he was hiding."

On the other hand sex workers are also dependent on the pimps, as sometimes they are the only ones, who know that they are doing prostitution. It was also the case in Karla's example, whose first pimp had helped her to keep this secret from her parents: "By the way this guy, the G. [her first pimp] organized a person, a woman, similar to you. And she told them [her parents] and showed a contract about an au pair job in Germany."

Hence even though the relationship with a pimp is not just economic, but the long term cooperation also requires trust and develops intimacy. As Karla mentioned, she still had contact with her pimp even after she did not work with him anymore: "And meanwhile I was keeping in touch with his wife, and I have to say that I was in a good, friendly relationship with him, with his family, with his child, with his wife." However, as the previous quote shows this friendship and loyalty was limited and defined by the acceptable economic transfer in the relationship.

In addition to the individual agreements and dependency, there is also a communal cooperation in the group of Hungarian sex workers and pimps in the prostitution scene. By means of the intensive interaction and the set of social ties in Berlin I have seen among the sex workers, I argue that there is a community of Hungarian sex workers and pimps in the

prostitution scene, which is powerful in shaping and changing the conceptualization and perception of relationships. Sex workers and their pimps, both coming from Hungary, actually do together a common migration project. (Fedyuk 2011) Sex workers commonly spend years together with their pimp/boyfriend abroad and the shared secrets, knowledge, and dependency on each other increase the level of trust and intimacy of these relationships.

Moreover, Hungarian pimps and sex workers form together an interest group in the prostitution milieu, which further increases the trust and intimacy between them. In Kurfürstenstraße various nationalities are present, which creates a more complex structure of the outdoor prostitution area. Therefore in Kurfürstenstraße not a single, but several pimp-controlled prostitution hierarchies exist, being constantly in confrontation with each other. The fights and negotiations with sex workers and pimps from other nationalities form thus the broader social structure within the field. These struggles construct and strengthen the sense of belonging to the Hungarian milieu.

However, of course not every sex worker - pimp relationship, which stays on the level of business agreement, is that harmonious and peaceful. There have been some examples while I was working at Frauentreff Olga that a sex worker has made a complaint about her pimp because she did not get her money, and/or her pimp was violent and forced her to work more and under different circumstances than she wanted to. I assume that it is the more common, if not the general case. However, very few sex workers decide to make a legal complaint about it, as they are also dependent on these men because they represent the access and their legitimacy in the prostitution scene, and the women need the money from sex work. Still, the fear of the legal consequences reduces pimp's violence and limits exploitation, as he know that if he does not handle a woman well she can turn to the police.

3.3. Sexuality and pimps

A relationship with a pimp is perceived as an explicitly business one, which is based on a financial agreement. Those women, who reported of having or having had a “pimp” and not a boyfriend have emphasized that they did not have any kind of sexual relationship with these men.

However, the attempt of pimps to become a loverboy is especially common. Karla also never had intimate relationship with pimps, even though her first pimp was trying to flirt and wanted to start sexual relationship with her, as she reported.

So, then I came with him to Berlin for the very first time, but we had a strict deal of sharing it in 50-50%. So that we share the money I earn in 50-50% every day. And after we came here I saw on him that... So that he wanted to get me, totally. But I already knew that time, what his purpose was. His aim was to get me, so I would be together with him and would work for him. Yes, but it didn't work for me, because I knew very well, why I was there. I was there because of the money, because of my family, to help them, not in order to put the money in somebody else's pocket. Well, I have survived a month with him, but he was always after me and was telling me how beautiful girl I was, etcetera.

So she explained that her pimp was offensively and insultingly approaching her sexually. However, she looked through him and saw it as an attempt to get her money and make her working for him. She saw in starting a sexual-emotional relationship as breaking the agreement, and immediately not having any deal about sharing the money. Giulia, who also never had sexual relationship with pimps, had a similar interpretation of these men: “No, because they see just the money in you. And I was never such a girl, who says that I give you the half of the money, or that I love you and I work for you.”

Both of them told me that they were constantly confronted by this issue. Karla, after her negative experiences with the first pimp, had a strict requirement from the second one that he does not even try to approach her sexually at all. She made it clear for him still in

Hungary that if she sees “one single that kind of look” she disappears. “So I told him don’t even try that I love you like this and that, because I don’t buy it, I don’t accept it.”

According to Giulia’s interpretation she and Karla were the only Hungarian sex workers who were working for themselves. As she explained it was very difficult to refuse sexual-emotional relationship with a pimp, and defined herself as being different than the other sex workers, as she fortunately – in her interpretation – had a relationship with a man, who was not involved in prostitution, either as a pimp, or as a client.

But those women, they... They are alone at maximum for a week, because they [the pimps] seduce them after that. Because if not, then... it’s true! It’s really true that if they don’t fall in love with a pimp, they fall in love with someone else on the street and go away with that. And it’s a fact, it’s really like this, if she is not with a pimp, then she will fall in love... It was the same with me.

She explained that many other women fell in this trap and ended up having a loverboy kind of relationship with their pimps. In her opinion the emotional need for being in love and to belong to someone was an affect of the work and that is the reason why women could not refuse the pimps. Her interpretation of the loverboy - sex worker relationships was based on her own need for a private sexual relationship, which contrasts the experiences with clients. As she explained sex work can be seen as a job for a while, but the separation of sexuality and body from the soul cannot be maintained for ever.

Because at first, when you come here, then you do it. Then you see the whole thing as a job, and you are happy and so on. But then you feel that inside, your soul breaks down... That’s a very bad thing. (...) I couldn’t handle it anymore. I couldn’t handle that they are touching me. Because like that you are just a tool here, or something. And you become conscious of that you are a sexual tool, and they don’t look at you as a person, or as a woman, they have absolutely no respect for you (...) Well, you don’t feel like that in the beginning. You don’t feel it, but then you notice it, and then you notice it more and more often that you are just a tool, and then slowly it becomes more and more, and then it’s just enough. But at one point it’s enough. The question is when for whom, somebody is working here for 20 years, but still able to do it.

Hence in her interpretation one can do sex work as long as it is seen just as work, in which emotions are switched off and which is separated from the soul, the self. Therefore when she could not manage this separation anymore and could not stand having sexual intercourse with strangers who did not treat her well, she decided to exit prostitution. Karla in contrast to her did not report of this dilemma.

The work here, I have heard, or I know it from hearsay, that there are girls, who break down because of it. So really, they end up in psychiatry, but I looked at it as a job. So I never took it on my heart, what I do, how I make a living. Because I knew it very well that everything I have is from this, I have no other choice. (...) So how to put it, strange... Because it never really wore me down. Because I always looked at it as a job, and the way I earn the money...

Hence Karla and Giulia have experienced this job differently; so do all the other sex workers. But what their statements indicate is that those women can do this job who separate sexuality with clients from their intimacy. Thus creating hostile worlds of work and intimacy is necessary in their opinion, while perceiving sexual intercourses in prostitution as exclusively work.

This view applies also for sex workers who have sexual-emotional relationship with pimps/boyfriends within the prostitution scene, as I will explain it in the next chapter. However, the main difference is in how women make this separation between work and private sexual relationships. Those who have pimps see having a boyfriend within the prostitution scene, especially after having a business relationship, as corruption and argue for not mixing intimate sexual relationships with prostitution at all, as Cintia also indicated it in a conversation that I wrote down.

But they are not a couple, Ted is the boyfriend of her best friend, and she also has a boyfriend at home. Who doesn't know of course what she is doing, well, he couldn't handle that, in a normal relationship it's not acceptable in her opinion.

(Field notes, 4/5/2010)

She has emphasized that it is exclusively a friendship-like relationship and both of them had sexual-intimate relationship with somebody else in Hungary. She pointed out this separation from the prostitution scene as a contrast to the other girls, and even claimed that prostitution and intimate relationships cannot be combined, thereby strongly criticizing the partnerships of other sex workers. While maintaining intimate relationships “at home”, she also pointed out a geographical dimension of this separation.

Hence in her interpretation the absence of sexuality is crucially important for sex workers in a business relationship with pimps, while it is exactly the subject of business relationship with clients; moreover her assertions indicate that private sexuality should not be mixed with business relationships in prostitution. In contrast to that, I wrote down in my field notes how she described those women who had private sexual relationships with men in the milieu and pointed out that they were confused about interaction with men in general and were focused on sexuality.

The guys are sitting here normally the whole day. [in a bar] But she is not used to talk with them, because then all the girls become very jealous of course, and she has just conflicts with them. They think that she wants to seduce the guys. But all what Cintia can say about it is “sure what I want is to suck another dick.” But the girls can deal just with these questions and cannot think about anything else; why would she talk to a guy if not because of that?

(Field notes 4/5/2010)

In her perception “the other girls” who were together with their boyfriends in the Kurfürstenstraße were very much focused on these sexual-emotional relationships and consequently they were emotionally more involved in the whole environment. She interpreted the unprovoked jealousy as an outcome of the lack of separation. In contrast to them, she, and actually Karla and Giulia also, separate their lives, their selves and their intimacy from work and from the prostitution milieu in general.

Chapter 4: Boyfriends

While the “pimp” first of all signifies an economic relationship, “boyfriend” means an emotional, intimate relationship from the women’s perspective with a man in the prostitution milieu, whom she is living with and entirely shares her money with.

I make a further distinction between the ‘boyfriends’, as I believe that there are significant differences between these relationships. While some are rather concentrated on the current living-together in the milieu, other relationships have broader temporal and spatial dimensions in the life of sex workers, as this experience of being a couple is connected with their lives and other intimate ties in Hungary. It is hard to clearly differentiate between categories of “boyfriends”, but I distinguish the “loverboy” kind of relationships (Bovenkerk and van San 2011), which are mainly situated within the prostitution scene, and the “family entrepreneurship”, where the boyfriends’ and the sex workers’ economic and intimate lives are essentially connected not just in Berlin, but also in Hungary, as they have children together. It is hard to define a turning point when a loverboy relationship becomes a family entrepreneurship, but I chose the fact of having common children as a decisive difference, as these men are normally taking care of their children and visit them together with the sex worker. Because of the children the durability of the relationship is secured in the women’s perspective and their boyfriend is legitimized as an intimate relationship and not as pimp in the eyes of other sex workers and the family in Hungary.

Hence in my analysis I differentiate between “loverboy” and “family” relationships, and I examine how women construct and perceive intimacy in these relationships and how it is related to money. However, as mentioned before the borders between the categories are unclear and fluid. These relationships are constantly changing, but it is a one-directional change: pimps commonly become loverboys, and loverboys can become part of the family, if

they are introduced to the sex workers' family in Hungary and/or if sex workers have children with them.

In the following analytical chapter I will examine the notion of intimacy and its mingling with economic transfer in the boyfriend - sex worker relationships. I will describe it in various aspects of their lives and thereby compare the different categories of relationships I have defined before. I believe that the literature on prostitution and pimps provides explanation for the pimp and loverboy categories (Bovenkerk and van San 2011), but it fails to explain properly these relationships in the life history of sex workers and to take into consideration the importance of emotional, informational and physical intimacy in these relationships (Zelizer 2005). Moreover literature on prostitution has especially limited explanatory power for the third kind of relationships, where the sex worker and the pimp have a family together. For these cases literature on transnational families and migrant mothers offer more adequate explanation (Morokvasic 2003, 2004; Fedjuk 2011).

4.1. The loverboys

As mentioned in the previous chapter, pimps commonly start sexual-emotional relationships with sex workers. This is one common way of ending up in a loverboy kind of relationship; the other way is entering prostitution because of such a relationship (Bovenkerk and van San 2011). Regarding my research subjects the first case is more frequent, as most of the women start prostitution and engage later in such a relationship.

I define a loverboy kind of relationship as a sexual-intimate tie between a sex worker and a male third party, in which the sex worker entirely shares her money, and even lets the man control it. The relationships I have observed at my field site are in this sense very similar to the cases described by other scholars, who have written on street prostitution (Williamson and Cluse-Tolar 2002; Davidson 1998; Bovenkerk and van San 2011). However, these

descriptions do not provide any explanation why these women stay in such relationships and how they perceive it. As I have seen in the case of my research subjects, from their side these relationships are important intimate ties; the boyfriends are central figures in their everyday life in the milieu.

4.1.1. *Emotional intimacy*

Those, like Karla, who were not involved in loverboy relationship, formulated a very critical opinion, as mentioned in the previous chapter, describing them as exclusively abusive, exploitative relationships with ‘pimps’. Commonly, the same relationship, which is perceived as private by a sex worker, is reported by the others as “pimp”, and as pseudo-intimate relationship with false emotions. However, this description is simplifying and generalizing, as the loverboy - sex worker relationships are, or can become, on one hand significant intimate relationships for the sex workers, on the other hand they have a trajectory and cannot be explained by an unchangeable image of the relationship. I believe that with longer time spent together abroad, separated from the other intimate ties in Hungary, a more and more intimate relationship can develop between a sex worker and her pimp/boyfriend. The social isolation from other environments and the intensive integration to a particular migrant community, in which they are circumstanced by other similar relationships, significantly affects their conception of intimacy as well.

The sex workers referred to various elements while talking about the intimate nature of the sex worker - boyfriend relationships. Of greatest importance for most of them was the free time they spend together, living together, and sharing the everyday life. “It’s the same like in a normal relationship. They cook together, eat, laugh, come and go etc. Just the girl has this job and gives the money to the guy, and it’s totally normal, natural.”

The wish of the men's side to hang out together and have common activities outside of the prostitution scene and working is mainly perceived as a sign of affection in contrast to the economic interest. In this sense actually having "free time" is also essential in differentiating their intimate relationship from the economic ones the boyfriend might have with other sex workers as well. Hence spending free time together, having small talks or longer conversations are perceived as signs or attributes of intimate relationships. Many sex workers told me stories about girls being jealous because their boyfriend was chatting with other sex workers. This concept of intimacy and the sensitive nature of it causes extreme level of jealousy regarding the everyday contact between the pimps/boyfriends and the other sex workers.

In these relationships violence is much more common, than with the pimps. The acceptance or tolerance of abusive intimate relationships in the case of sex workers is commonly explained by socialization and gender norms. In Williamson and Cluse-Tolar (2002) street prostitutes and their intimate relationships with pimps has been compared with the cases of domestic violence. Based on my fieldwork I have also found that domestic violence is very common among my research subjects and exploitation and abusive relationships are also frequent. In some cases women have experienced domestic violence also before doing sex work and meeting their current boyfriend. However, the fact that shifted gender roles, control and violence are generally so accepted in a relationship, has become a kind of norm or general model in the community, which impacts upon the individual cases as well. The everyday practices of sex workers are shaped by the migrant community in the prostitution scene, as they are in very intensive interaction with each other and they form certain norms and ideals of relationship in reference to each other. Thus in the case of Hungarian sex workers, as they live in a community which is shaped by male dominance, the migration experience does provide empowerment and more equal gender

roles in the relationship, as it is often the case by domestic workers, (Jolly and Reeves 2005, Parrenas 2001) but they commonly experience even harder subordination than before.

4.1.2. Money in the household and gender roles

As mentioned before, the sense of belonging and in the perception of intimate relationship the common household and sharing money are essential for both partners. For the sex workers this makes a significant difference in the relationship that they do not have any kind of financial agreement, because they are together and own the money together.

In practice it looks very similarly to the cases of business agreements, in which the pimp acts as a boss, who is controlling and instructing the employees. In private relationships the roles are actually the same, but it is perceived as the distribution of labor in the household. Therefore these cases can be seen as a particular structure of gender roles: while in fact the women are the breadwinners, the men have control of the money and the structure of the relationship in the perception of the women is similar to a traditional nuclear family with a male breadwinner. The roles and duties in the relationship are not questioned, and the women construct the image of the male breadwinner in the sense of that the men have the money, and decide what it should be spent on. Generally, sex work is seen as a common business they do together as a couple. Therefore even though migration and earning such a higher income could indicate change in the gender roles in the household, as it is described in the case of domestic workers for example (Morokvasic 2004), but as prostitution is seen as common business it does not apply for the Hungarian sex workers.

Moreover, the other significant difference is, that the pimps and sex workers share the money just in their household in Berlin, and otherwise they are supporting separately their families and do not share a household in Hungary. Hence they send the remittances in two

different households³, and actually participate in two different transnational economic circuits (Zelizer 2006).

The controversy between the women's perception of sharing the money, but actually having different households, was especially present in the case of two of my research subjects, Alexa and Silvia. Once when I went with them to do the declaration of income we had a longer conversation that I wrote down in my field notes.

Silvia is also here with her boyfriend, with whom she is engaged with. From the money Silvia earns they support the man's family, her family and meanwhile they are building a house. Allegedly the house is under the man's name, but I have heard it from our lawyer not from her. Silvia told me that she wanted to work a couple of more years and then she wanted to have children. They want to stay here, because it will be better here for the children. They also plan to bring here the man's daughter in September. Alexa instead told me that she would definitely move back to Hungary. She has a son at home, he is 4 years old now, and by the time he starts school she wants to be in Hungary for sure, because she wants to raise him. From the money she earns she wants to buy a house until then and to start a business. They are not engaged with her boyfriend; he is also older and he has already a family, whom they also support, just like Alexa's own family. I have asked them - when we were talking about the future - whether the guys are working or will work. Alexa told me explicitly that she wouldn't want that, because it was more important for her that he was with her. Silvia said that she had never thought about it. While she will be at home with the baby then it's enough if her boyfriend starts to work.

(Field notes 2/28/2011)

In the conversation while Silvia represented a kind of traditional nuclear family image in terms of planning children together, Alexa was more aiming to represent the image of a modern woman, who is in a relationship, but does not insist on marriage or living together in the anticipated future in Hungary. However, her interpretation of her relationship included a lot of controversies, as she emphasized how important for her it is that her boyfriend is around and "takes care of her"; arranging everything. In both cases the role of the men in the relationship, and that they are in fact are not working but just benefitting from the income of the sex workers, was not questioned at all; both of them invented various legitimizing

³ If the sex worker sends money to her family at all; as in some rather extreme cases the pimp is only one, who gets and invests the whole money.

explanations instead. They interpreted sex work as a common business they do together; and saw the money their boyfriend decided to spend on them on their family in Hungary as a sign of love and caring.

4.1.3. *Secrecy*

In many cases families do not know that the women are working as sex workers, and the boyfriends commonly play a crucial role in protecting their anonymity. Secrecy is also one of the main reasons (in addition to the economic ones) for working abroad since they are not known at a place where they do sex work. In this sense their intimate lives are also separated from their activity, which is hence kept as being just work. The main reason for keeping it in secret is mostly the stigmatization by others at home, but sex workers also commonly mention that they do not want to identify themselves with the work they do, hence they do not want not mix it with their lives in Hungary.

Being a migrant allows them a geographical separation between the two lives. Commonly the boyfriend is the only one who connects these worlds, as they are present in both of them. Therefore the men can also play a crucial role in keeping secrets from the family. It has become especially explicit in the case of Silvia, when her secret of doing sex work was in risk. In spring 2011 RTL, a popular German television channel, made a broadcast on the prostitution scene in Kurfürstenstraße. The TV program focused on Central-Eastern European sex workers in the area and portrayed them as being aggressive and unpleasant for the inhabitants, who were dirtying the neighborhood. In the broadcast sex workers were filmed from a car while driving around and shockingly they were not made anonymous. Silvia was also shown and was easily recognizable in the program, even though she did not even know about the filming. She has found out about it when she and her boyfriend were in Hungary, and her boyfriend saw her in the television while watching RTL in satellite by chance. Fortunately Silvia's family did not see the TV program, but both of

them were shocked about the possibility. After returning to Berlin Silvia asked for our help for legal assistance and made a complaint against RTL. The lawsuit lasted for half a year and in the whole process her boyfriend was mainly the one who initiated and insisted on claiming for legal compensation. However, they unfortunately lost the lawsuit against RTL as the lawyers from the TV channel claimed that Silvia's right of personality were not violated by being shown in the broadcast, as she was doing sex work in public.

This story not just highlights a xenophobic attitude and representation of migrant sex workers in Germany, but also shows the importance of anonymity for sex workers. While standing on the street and doing sex work in "public" was unproblematic for Silvia, as it was her main activity and part of her identity abroad, it was a secret and a fear of destroying her intimate relationships at home. In this case her boyfriend played a crucial role in protecting this separation and her secrets. His involvement in the story shows a significant level of informational intimacy and sense of belonging, than the pimps have in sex workers lives.

4.2. Family entrepreneurship

And finally there is the "family entrepreneurship" pattern of pimp and sex worker relationship, in which the couple has common children together and share a household in Berlin and in Hungary as well. As mentioned before, the difference between the loverboys and the families cannot be so clearly defined, as it is rather a trajectory in a relationship, but having common children mostly makes a significant difference in this trajectory. I believe that having children crucially increases the level of intimacy of the relationship, by means of the important common social ties and long-term responsibility, and as it is commonly related/causes to have a common household in Hungary as well. In the case of those couples who have children they support in Hungary, they share all the money earned in sex work.

4.2.1. Migrant mothers

In the everyday life on the prostitution milieu these relationships look very similar to the loverboy relationships. While the women are working, often more than ten hours per day, the men are sitting in a bar or hanging out somewhere else together. The sex workers do not spend much free time together in Berlin, but rather go to Hungary when they have enough money to bring. In most of the cases they are living just with their boyfriend, but sometimes they bring other women as well, who are working for them.

Generally, women who have children in Hungary always emphasize that their family is the reason why they are doing prostitution. However, it is different in those cases when the women start sex work when they already had children from someone else, who was not involved in sex work (as described in chapter 3) from those cases when they were already doing sex work and then had children with their current partner they were working for/with. The difference is not in the perception or in the relation to the children, but in the way they see how sex work and family is combined. While those who had a family life before doing prostitution see this work rather as a temporary solution for surviving or achieving better financial circumstances for their children, those who have children from their loverboys see sex work as a kind of family entrepreneurship they plan for longer time while raising their children.

Yesterday our streetwork took very long, as many of the women were in a talkative mood. Rebecca also talked to us a lot. It was not entirely clear how long she had been working already. She told us that she was there for four years, but meanwhile she got pregnant and was at home with the baby, so she did not work for a while. She has three children; the oldest is five years old. The younger are from her current partner, with whom she came to work in Berlin. Meanwhile the children are his mother's place and they visit them regularly. (...) I asked her whether her family knows what she was doing in Berlin. She told me, of course, but she is doing it for her family, not for herself, so what should they [her family] do?

(Field notes 4/20/2012)

In most of the cases the children are also the legitimacy for doing sex work. They see their work as a dirty job they do in order to support their children. Hence they identify themselves as migrant labor workers and transnational mothers, who moved abroad in order to support their families (Parrenas 2005). However, in their case the migration happened actually before the family grounding, therefore the original purpose of migration was not to earn money to raise their children. Sex workers rather started to have this purpose and interpretation of the aim of their work later, when they already had children. Children and family are also interpreted as legitimate reason for doing a job they otherwise commonly stigmatize themselves, as Vivienne told me in a conversation.

Vivienne portrayed me the Hungarian girls as different from the others, because they are working for their families not like the German women. She doesn't know why those [the German women] were working, but she thinks because most of them are drug addicted, so it's very stupid.

Field notes 6/7/2011

Moreover, the children provide also the legitimacy for their relationships as well. Having children ensures also a long-term connection, sense of belonging with their boyfriends.

4.2.2. Transnational households

The women who have children mainly claim that they work for their children and they send regularly money to them. It applies again for all the sex workers who are transnational mothers. Actually I cannot know for certain whether they really send the money or say it in order to legitimize themselves to me. Anyway, the main difference between those who are working with a pimp or have a loverboy who has another family while being together with a sex worker abroad, is that they share all the money they have and that the sex worker and the boyfriend are together in a transnational economic circuit (Zelizer 2006). The money they spend mostly every month on their own living and on the family in Hungary. However, some

of them also manage to invest the money, and build or buy property for their families, like in the case of Tina.

N: And why are you working now?

T: I'm building a 300 qm2 big house in Hungary; the roof is just ready now. So because of that.

N: So that's what you need the money for. And your family?

T: Yes, of course, for my family. I have three children; I'm sending them every month a fix amount of money.

The motivation of migration in the case of these women is commonly explained by their family, and the improvement of the financial situation of their families. Hence several people, commonly the whole family, benefits from the migration of sex workers and in these cases the decision on migration and sex work cannot be seen just as an individual decision, but as a family entrepreneurship (Fedyuk 2011). Therefore even though the relationship with the family in Hungary is mostly perceived by the sex workers as exclusively intimate ties, money is essential involved in it as many of the sex workers financially support their families.

In transnational families, where the mother is breadwinner who lives abroad, the whole family structure and the gender roles can change in the migration process (Kalwa 2008) or the gender order might be different in the 'dual lives' of sex workers (Morokvasic 2003). However, Hungarian sex workers maintain the same gender order in both places, which is alike to a very patriarchal structure based on male domination.

4.3. Physical intimacy: Private sexual relationships and work

In terms of the pimp/boyfriend sex worker relationship, having a sexual relationship makes an essential difference between the categories. Having a pimp, hence perceiving it as a business relationship, explicitly excludes any kind of sexual intercourse. On the contrary,

having a boyfriend means a sexual-emotional relationship. But how is it intimate? Physical intimacy, such as bodily knowledge and sexual intercourse has a different role in separating public and private spheres of sex workers, as sexuality is present both in their work and private relationships. (Day 2007) However, the need for this separation is elementarily present in their sexual intercourses, and several practices have been developed through which sex workers differentiate between their relationships.

In the following I will discuss the concept of physical intimacy at my field site regarding the sexual relationships of sex workers and examine what makes the difference between the boyfriend and the clients. Even though my main research question is about differentiating between the various kinds of pimps, providing an interpretation of private sexual relationships of sex workers in contrast to the clients is also essential as it highlights the dialectics of their experiences of sexual intercourses. Their perception of sex work, emphasizing that it is “just work”, similar to other sex workers, who do not have private sexual relationship in the prostitution milieu, as I described in the previous chapter. However, these women need to take more effort in order to construct physical intimate relationships with their boyfriends, while doing sex work.

4.3.1. *Sex as work*

Can we think of sex as simply work? This is one of the main questions which divide academic scholars in conceptualizing prostitution, as I mentioned in the second chapter. In the following I will examine the sex workers’ interpretation of their work and sexuality. Alina referred to herself many times as a sexual object, a commodity that she is selling. Her report about using her body in sex work was similar to work equipment.

The fact is bad in the profession is that your body gets strained. So you have to get used to that they fuck you, ten a day, and then you have to use cream there, because it hurts, and stuff. But later, if the Euro is here, I say I don’t give a shit that it hurts. Because I also cut my hand in the kitchen. So you think like that, you know what I mean?

These sentences show explicitly a substantial alienation from her body and sexuality in general. Even though she described her work as very much unemotional, she differentiated between the various experiences with clients and referred more times to positive feelings as well.

... and I have money too, and it feels good that I can be pretty on the road and men are whistling at me. Okay, it's true that there is some ugly business. But for the money you do it. You have to swallow it. Like the workplace, that's how you should look at it. What's in my head is when I was working in the Greek restaurant picking cabbage, I didn't like that either. Or this one. But when a guy comes. And you have good sex and feel good with him, and he compliments and asks for your number, and comes back, then it feels good. So the woman, who can only see the down side of it, won't do this for long. But the woman, who has the time for it, and the patience, and looks good, and so... can accept herself...

Her report shows how she identifies herself with being an attractive woman, actually being an attractive sexual commodity. In this sense the question of alienation is more complex and different from Marx's concept of abstract labor in the capitalist system. Alina's work becomes internalized and it has essentially influenced her female identity, and vice versa; the labor itself has a social character. But in the case of sex work creating the identity through work means at the same time the commodification of the own body and sexuality, as it becomes explicit in the statements of Alina.

4.3.2. Intimate sexual relationships and work

How do sex workers differentiate between 'intimate' and 'economic' sexual relationships? While sexuality in work is interpreted by sex workers as a given service without sexual pleasure and carried out exclusively with the purpose of earning money; private sexual relationship is associated with pleasure and is strictly not in exchange for money; moreover it involves different sexual practices, which are considered as only intimate, such as kissing etc. Many of my research subjects have reported about these distinctions in conversations about work, their boyfriends or sexuality in general. The

question of boundaries have become especially present in situations or conflicts about jealousy and cheating. What they consider cheating is the crossing of these boundaries; therefore it shows how and where the borders between economic and intimate sexual relations are created.

The services and sexual practices with the clients are also subjects of negotiating the boundaries. There are sexual erotic acts, which are considered to be intimate (kissing was always interpreted as intimate by my research subjects, but in some cases also anal sex and other practices), and are commonly seen as cheating if provided as service for clients. As Alina described a conflict situation with her boyfriend:

So he [her boyfriend] is like that I tell him that I've finished in the guesthouse and that I'm going back to the café where he is sitting, and then he comes to pick me up. And because of things like this, that the customer is saving my phone number, he makes it up that I wanted to kiss the customer, 100% sure. Then why I was lying to him when we were talking and I told that I have finished already, and that I'm coming out from the Stockholm [the pension]. Listen, I told him, I was coming down the stairs, got into the car, it was a process. And the guy asked for my number. I told him that I did not want kiss the guy, or anything, it just happened like this. And then why I was lying to him that I was hurrying and whatever. And that he caught me now. But then he couldn't catch me on anything, because I really don't do any kind of cheating things like that.

In this case giving phone number was the reason for being accused of cheating, but the *act* of cheating was seen in kissing with the client. Otherwise giving a phone number to clients is very common, as it is the way for getting regular customers and being able to arrange appointments with clients.

As another example of Alina's interpretation of a conflict with her boyfriend highlights, enjoying sex in business is also seen as cheating. It is generally seen as unprofessional and inappropriate by the sex workers, and it is crucially important for maintaining the borders between work and privacy.

And if I bring, I'm sorry, the good money from the business, then he is not happy about the money! Even the opposite, that huh, you had surely orgasm, and so on. And then what? I know about myself, and it's clear for me that I do not have orgasm in business, and I'm not kissing or anything. Okay, it has happened once or twice, but I didn't have a boyfriend that time. I bring my orgasm home for him, I'm sorry, to satisfy myself at home, and he has the gall to say that I have satisfaction in the business, that's why I don't want him, because I'm tired. Well, I tell him, honey, I was standing whole day, I'm tired, my legs hurt, I want to sleep; yesterday for example I also went to sleep at 4 am. I want to lie down.

The difference between work and private sexual intercourse is supported by various practices, such as the use and non use of condoms in vaginal sexual intercourse. It is very common that the boyfriends refuse to use condoms with their girlfriends. Commonly women also tell that they do not want to use condoms with their boyfriends or that they use a different brand of condoms. They see it important to practically differentiate between the intimate intercourse with their boyfriend and the clients. However, in some other cases women explicitly told me that it was their boyfriends' wish not to use condoms; and the men did not even want them to take contraceptives. Hence they do not use any kind of contraception, and consequently these sex workers often get pregnant from their boyfriend. Marion, a sex worker who had already three abortions in the last four years and two children from her boyfriend, told me that her boyfriend was insisting on not using contraception, as he saw it as an assurance that she would not cheat on him. Consequently having one or several children, or at least getting pregnant from their boyfriend happens relatively often, even though in many cases the women themselves do not want to have more children.

Insisting on not using condoms with their girlfriends is actually also a sign that the pimp/boyfriend does not force the sex worker to have unsafe sex with clients, which is otherwise commonly reported. As there are many clients, who require and pay more for unsafe sex, many sex workers are pushed to engage in unsafe sexual intercourse with clients by their pimp/boyfriend. In those cases, when the boyfriend is forcing the sex worker to take this risk, I assume that the sexual intercourse is not involved in their "intimate" relationship,

or just with using condoms. Hence in these cases it works the other way around and the physical intimacy is not maintained in this form with the boyfriend. However, this interpretation of sex worker-boyfriend relationships I have almost exclusively heard when sex workers were reporting about “other” women, who are living in an abusive relationship. Hence when sex workers blamed others for being exploited and living in a pseudo-intimate relationship, articulated it in the boyfriends’ refusal of intimate sexual relationship with the sex workers.

4.3.3. *Lack of payment as a sign for intimacy*

Money in exchange for sex is accepted, (and expected) by the boyfriends, while having sex without money is strictly forbidden, and the most serious form of cheating. Not getting money for a sexual act also defines it as private sexual intercourse in the women’s perception. While Alina was talking about her relationship and work, she considered sex in exchange for money as work, which is acceptable in the relationship, while having sex not in exchange for money she interpreted as a fear of cheating.

A: And my boyfriend is like, if he doesn’t see me he is jealous, he feels bad. And it [outdoor prostitution] is exactly a kind of workplace where if he gets nervous he can call me, and then we can meet and he calms down.

N: But he is not jealous because you’re working on the street and have sex with other guys?

A: No, not about that, he is not.

N: Because it’s work and he knows that?

A: Yes, of course he knows that. So he is not saying anything because of that. He thinks that if I were at a workplace then I would cheat on him earlier than like this. (...) And now he says that if I went to another workplace he would be even more jealous. Because if it is openly stated that I have to spend 8 or 12 hours at a workplace, then it’s his mania, that the men would fuck me at the workplace.

That sex work is not cheating, but having sexual relationship without money is seen as being unfaithful was commonly mentioned by other sex workers as well. In the prostitution scene from the boyfriend’s side the fear of cheating (meaning having sexual relationship not in

exchange for money) can be explained as being afraid of that the sex worker has emotional, intimate relationship with someone else.

Overall, having a private sexual relationship in the very same environment where they sell sexual services causes several conflicts and commonly confusions about intimacy and work. The separation of public and private spheres is therefore highly problematic for these sex workers and requires significant effort, several everyday practices and constant renegotiation and affirmation of their intimate relationships. In contrast to these women, who live together with their boyfriends in a migrant community in the prostitution scene, other sex workers, who have “just” pimps, do not have to face such confusion as in their case the private – public boundary is commonly supported by having sexual intimate relationship in another social environment.

Conclusions

Well, my last week has just started in Berlin. Now at the end I have very mixed feelings what it was like to work here. I had very good, but also very bad experiences. (...) But overall I feel too much responsibility now at the end and that I'm participating too much in these lives. I'm used to say it as a joke that I feel as if I had a lot of grown-up children, who are having hard lives. But it's a little bit true that sometimes I have such a feeling. Or now before leaving I have started to have them. That's why it is more stressful now than it was in the beginning. That time I just saw many people with hard faiths.

(Field notes 8/1/2011)

This field note from my last week at Frauentreff Olga reflects on the mixed feelings, after having spent one and a half years of working with Hungarian sex workers in the Kurfürstenstraße. During that time I could follow their lives and got to know well many of them. These relationships remained the same when I returned to Berlin half a year later, in April 2012, and I hope they will not change when I go back to work there in the summer. The aim of my study was to give an insight about the lived reality of these women, and all the others I met during my research, while concentrating on a central figure of their everyday lives: their pimp or boyfriend.

In my thesis I looked at the negotiation of intimacy and economic transfer in the relationship between Hungarian sex workers and their pimps/boyfriends in the Kurfürstenstraße. I have described various patterns of these relationships and looked at their dynamics and trajectory in the life-history of sex workers. By means of this analysis I showed that while literature on pimps in street prostitution mainly describes the exploitative, pseudo-intimate nature of pimp - sex worker relationships (Davidson 1998; Bovenkerk and van San 2011; Williamson and Cluse-Tolar 2002), the lived reality at my field site provided a different, more complex picture of these ties. Although relationships with pimps commonly

involved exploitation and violence from the men's side, these were commonly crucially important intimate ties from the sex workers' perspective. I have found that based on mutual dependency, shared secrets and the common migration project in a very particular environment (Fedyuk 2011), informational, emotional and physical intimacy had developed between them (Zelizer 2005). Moreover, as in the Kurfürstenstraße several nationalities were present in the prostitution scene that (often physically) confronted each other, the Hungarian sex workers and pimps formed a kind of interest group in the milieu in contrast to other groups. In my study I have highlighted the importance of this community and its effect on the concept of intimacy and the (un)changed gender roles in the partnership of sex workers (Kalwa 2008).

I argued that especially in the case of family entrepreneurs literature on female labor migrants provides a feasible framework for analyzing the transnational, intimate ties of sex workers. However, I pointed out that their work, providing sexual services in exchange for money, significantly impacted on their perception of intimacy. Therefore in the last chapters I also looked at the notion of physical intimacy and private sexual relationships, and highlighted the effort sex workers make in order to distinguish intimate ties from their work.

Furthermore, the pimp/boyfriend - sex worker relationships are also influenced by other factors, I did not have the chance to include in my analysis. In a further research I would describe the social, familial background of these women and how it shapes their concept of intimacy and willingness to engage in a sexual-emotional relationship with a male third party. Moreover, a deeper analysis on the correlation of motivation for doing sex work, familial background, coupling and future perspectives would provide a deeper understanding of the subject. In addition to that ethnics aspect would also add important insights for a further research. After I will go back to my workplace Berlin in August 2012 I also hope to continue my research in the future as well.

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