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Risk and Danger among Women-Who-Prostitute in Areas where Farmworkers Predominate

Based on ethnographic research in three agricultural settings in Florida, this article examines one aspect of risk and danger for female sex workers, that of interpersonal violence, while considering women's responses to a shifting sex trade in areas where farmworkers live and work. Sex work in agricultural areas varies from urban sex work. Women eschew pimps, ask for backup from local men entrenched in street settings, and canvass a wide spatial area rather than remained fixed in space. Oscillating between periods of capital-deficiency (nonseason) and capital-intensification (harvest), women respond to increasing risk and danger by building a clientele of regular customers, refusing risky transactions and referrals, and creating a local infrastructure of sanctuary. Some women also construct schemes to relieve men of their money. These men typically are farmworkers, whose vulnerability and image of low risk for HIV expands the potential for risk and danger found in these settings. [commercial sex work, migrant and seasonal farmworkers, violence against women, southeastern United States [Florida]]

Theoretical discourse on women's participation in commercial sex work focuses on two issues of importance. One is the question of whether sex work should be viewed as a labor issue related to a woman's right to earn a livelihood (Simmons 1999; White 1990) or as an example of women's victimization (Bell 1994; Miller and Jayasundara 2001). The second issue is women's participation in sex work in relation to a power differential between men and women (Barry 1979, 1995; Epele 2002). The concept of patriarchy is used to explain how capitalist society is structured to support the exercise of that power when men access women in sex work, and when women and men do little to contravene its consequences, which include health and safety risks (Overall 1992).

Noting a tendency by researchers to attribute a lack of agency to women in sex work, Jo Doezema (2001) reminds us that generally, in discussions of prostitution, the "suffering bodies" and "injured identities" belong to Third World women. Engagement of women of any group in sex work is no less voluntary than another population, urban or rural, Third World or otherwise. Although a right-to-sex-

work and improved working conditions center the immediate concerns of prostitution advocacy in industrialized nations, apart from the long-range goals of structural reform, sex work in rural areas of industrialized countries rarely is addressed.

The literature on commercial sex work locates our understanding of contractual sex from an urban viewpoint. Studies exist of sexual orientation in rural areas in the United States (e.g., Fellows 1995; Kramer 1995), but there have been no studies of other expressions of alternate sexualities in sparsely populated areas, such as women who exchange sex. In this article, I ask a fundamental question in the debate about prostitution: whether sex work is a woman's choice or it perpetuates a process of victimization. I consider a set of risks that occur with changes in the informal economies of rural areas that rely on agriculture—namely, risk for HIV and violence among sex workers whose clientele include farmworkers. I examine these changes in relation to how these women situate themselves in the sex trade at the same time that I examine three ways that sex work in agricultural areas differs from urban-based sex work.

Studies from diverse locales portray women in sex work as compelled by structures that position women-who-prostitute in subordinate relations to men and as compliant with the daily organization of uneven power relations by men who control women in the sex trade. Lorraine Nencel (2001), for example, explores the "gendered enclosures" of age and sex that compartmentalize prostitution in Lima, Peru, wherein women practice sex work in marked-off spaces and times. The spaces Nencel investigated were male domains, both indoors (the bar, the hotel, and Clara's House) and outdoors (petroleum camps in eastern Peru and *la calle* [the street] in Lima). Later in the article, I contrast her formulation of gendered enclosure to a flexibility that I observed among sex workers in agricultural areas.

Two other studies inform my analysis. Lisa Maher (1997) in a study of "sexed work" in Brooklyn, New York, explores how changes in informal economies (notably, introduction of crack cocaine) altered street-level sex work (notably, devaluation of women's bodies). Claire E. Sterk's (1999) study of crack use among women in Atlanta, Georgia, confirms Maher's observation that men typically dominate crack-cocaine trading, and her work on sex work (Sterk 1989, 2000) adds to our understanding of prostitution as a form of work that is neither women's first choice of livelihood nor their most treasured memory.

Sex Work in Urban Spaces

There are many areas in metropolitan locales where sex trading occurs. Maher (1997), for example, distinguishes the "lucrative markers" of Manhattan from "second-tier" sex markets in other parts of New York City. She notes that women often left one sex market to establish their trade in another; several women whom she befriended took what they viewed as "a step down" to work the streets of Bushwick in Brooklyn. Writing from an ecological perspective in a time before crack cocaine, Bernard Cohen (1980) found that female streetwalkers in distinct settings of Manhattan belonged to site-specific networks that rarely mixed across networks. Sterk (2000) corroborates the presence of multiple settings for sex work in New York City as well as Atlanta. Small cities, in contrast, have fewer sites. Terri L. Leonard (1990), for example, identified two sex-work districts in the central city

and outskirts of Camden, New Jersey, a non-SMSA area of 90,000 persons (SMSA = Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, generally over 250,000 persons).

Sex workers are encouraged to remain in urban spaces that have a circumscribed visibility (street) or invisibility (brothel). These sites of "alternative morality" are permitted, if they remain contained within expected locations. A prostitute who wanders into other parts of the city, particularly when gaited and garbed as a prostitute, is often chastised as a "woman in revolt" (Fibbard 1999; Massey 1993). In many parts of the world, it is men, rather than women, who are permitted to go to exterior spaces that have been masculinized for specialized activities by men only and, therefore, segregated from interior spaces of domesticity, families, and women (Atondo Rodriguez 1992; Brewis and Linstead 2000; C. Campbell 2000; Gilmore 1998). Less stringent than Nencel's (2001) gendered enclosure, Luise White's (1990) typology of prostitution in colonial Nairobi, Kenya, notes instances of women who created their own spaces for sex work in certain areas of the city; nonetheless, their independence did not always liberate them from interpersonal violence.

Given the predatory reputation of urban environments and legal oppression of sex work, institutionalized protection became common, by men called pimps who served as protectors of women in sex work. Both glorified and vilified for decades (Barry 1995:198–219; Reisman 1931), the pimp system has become less common. Nonetheless, pimps continue to arouse theoretical discussion (O'Neill 1996, 2001; Simmons 1999; Sterk 2000), as well as anger, over their emotional manipulation, physical abuse, and economic exploitation of women. Melanie Simmons (1999:141–144) points out that prostitution rights groups classify pimps as "employers" and prefer terms like *manager* and *go-between*. Women in Sterk's (2000:72–91) study used *partner* and *manager* rather than pimp. Distinguishing between *boyfriend pimp* for women heavily into drugs and *entrepreneurial lover* for women who rarely use drugs, Sterk generalizes street terms she elicited to *keepers* and *guardians*.

Although women often enter sex work through friends and acquaintances, teaching a woman to prostitute is a well-known skill of the pimp. Sterk reports that many are enticed by boyfriends, who already manage other women in the sex trade. Maher (1997) indicates that 24.4 percent of the 45 women she studied were "turned-out" by a pimp. Neither Maher nor Sterk provides a percentage for women who currently work under a pimp. Each elevates the pimp system to theoretical significance in her respective monograph, one by coverage in a full chapter (Sterk 2000: ch. 3), and one by a section of one chapter (Maher 1997:148–155).

Sex Work in Agricultural Areas

Sex work in farm areas shares features of urban sex work when farmworkers reside in cities. There are various parts of the country where farm lands are located near cities (some large, some small). In these areas, a grower is exempt from housing costs, as workers reside in low-rent areas; either the grower provides it, or workers pay for transportation to work. David Griffith (1997:25) describes conversion of Florida neighborhoods into low-rent housing of "old tourist motels that have become labor camps and crowded housing." Leo R. Chavez (1992) provides a description of undocumented day-workers forming temporary encampments in the

canyons of San Diego County in southern California from which they walk to residential areas to secure transportation to work. In Orange County to the north, migrant men live in low-rent areas and contract sexual liaisons with women at local parks and convenience stores (Ayala et al. 1996; Carrier and Magaña 1991). Similar sex-work practices are found in El Paso County at the border in southwestern Texas (Ferreira-Pinto et al. 1996).

Client mobility is often inverted when farmworkers are housed in labor camps. In sparsely populated areas, workers typically lack transportation, hence sex workers visit camps to provide sex services. At times, women walk among living sites in isolated areas, as Chavez (1992:65) observed in the encampments outside San Diego. Similarly, they may walk in urban areas, as occurs in Orange County, to migrant-rented apartments (Carrier and Magaña 1991:193) and to dormitory facilities provided by large ornamental plant nurseries (Magaña et al. 1996:81).

Vehicle use generally occurs in rural areas, as Ted Conover (1987:151-154) observed in the grower-provided labor camp where he lived, as a journalist, outside Phoenix, Arizona, and as Miguel A. Pérez and Katherine Fennelly (1996:146) report in a study of camps provided by mushroom growers in southeastern Pennsylvania. Based on earlier ethnography of HIV risk reduction outreach in the Midwest, I noted for migrant camps in Michigan that camp sex workers were local women "who may work full/part-time near the camps, drive cars with Michigan license plates, travel in teams of two or three, know the men by first-name, and revisit the same camps on a regular basis" (Bleizer 1995:179).

At other times, sex workers are brought to a labor camp by men from the camp. Eugene Nelson and Julian Samora (1975:76) tell of a worker in a bean camp in California who went to town to buy groceries but returned with groceries and a prostitute. Nelson and Samora endear the main character (Pablo) to the reader by having him refrain from successive multipartner sex in the workers' cabin. Similar to J. Raúl Magaña's (1991:7) concept of a "sponsor" for women in the sex trade, the woman who serviced the workers was accompanied by a second woman who received the men's money. Magaña notes that both men and women may serve as sponsors, typically accompanying sex workers addicted to drugs. He suggests that sex work sponsors act as "custodians" more than "protectors." Magaña's terminology for agricultural areas emphasizes dangers within the body (i.e., drugs), rather than dangers outside the body that would require protection in urban areas by those whom Sterk (2000) identifies as "guardians and protectors."

There is a variation of sex work that is particular to the Southwest. Clients pay the owner or manager of a business (e.g., tavern) to secure a *falón* (token) that is given to a woman who provides sex services. She later is reimbursed for her tokens. This practice is reported in southern California (Ayala et al. 1996), southwestern Texas around El Paso (Ferreira-Pinto et al. 1996), and El Valle of southeastern Texas (unpublished field interviews). No published reports of the token system exist for the border states of Arizona or New Mexico.

In sum, the picture that emerges from a review of the literature on urban and rural sex work is greater spatial mobility among sex workers who service farmworkers. This mobility may be walking to living sites where there is a low likelihood of men having transportation (city, town, or country) and driving to camps (country) close to populated areas from which the women originate (city or town). Farmworkers are not reported among men who seek women who walk a circumscribed

area (sex marked) in cities. Sex services sometimes are arranged as a "token" system through a business, a phenomenon reported exclusively for areas near the border. No published studies are available on sex work among farmworkers in the southeastern or northwestern United States.

The Study

I draw here on ethnographic and interview data from three Florida sites where sex work and farmwork converge. These sites, by population size and their fictive names, include a six-block commercial area in Farm Town (less than 20,000) in south Florida, a streetwalker boulevard in Citrus City (less than 38,000) in east Florida, and the Market, a pinhook site outside Pepperton (less than 7,000) in north Florida. Farm labor in all three sites is farm based (i.e., arranged by a grower who pays a contractor to hire field crews to harvest the crop for the grower) and pinhook contracted (i.e., entrepreneurial contractors who harvest and sell remnant crops). Most people from Farm Town migrate from May through September; those with families leave and return in time for school. Pepperton has fewer light industries than Citrus City; Farm Town lacks industry and is dependent on agriculture and a service sector.

The three sites produce the main Florida crops. Citrus City (citrus), Pepperton (peppers, tomatoes), and Farm Town (citrus, peppers, tomatoes, watermelons) are receiving areas for domestic-origin and transnational winter-demand labor and sending areas for summer-demand labor that primarily travels to states east of the Mississippi River. Unlike the other two sites, the boulevard where I worked in Citrus City was located within a 24-block area under a municipal ban on "women known to be prostitutes," hence I refer to this multiblock area of police surveillance as a "Pink Zone."¹

All but one woman in the study identified as a commercial sex worker through a description of solicitation techniques and negotiation of an exchange of sex for money (for a few, the exchange was sex for drugs), and by use of terms that characterized the men with whom they transacted an exchange (typically *dade*, *trick*, and occasionally *john*). None of the women used the expression *sex worker*, which became popular during the HIV crisis as a means to identify risk behavior and a countermeasure to the older word *prostitution*, which implicated a transgression of social rules and moral standards. Women in the study were clear about the commercial dimension of their transactions and the negotiated sex exchange that they performed. Their use of the words prostitute (for themselves) and prostitution (for their activity) was a subversive inversion of a negative connotation of legal and moral sanctions against the sex trading prominent in the South (for a similar subversion in self-identification, see Nencel 2001).²

Methods

I conducted fieldwork for more than 3 months over two agricultural seasons at the Market, 2.5 months for one season in Citrus City, and 45 months for six seasons in Farm Town. I taped interviews (open-ended and preformulated questions) in Citrus City and Farm Town with sex workers whom I came to know over the course of my ethnography. I trained individuals who transcribed interviews and

Table 1
Commercial sex workers formally interviewed in two agricultural locales in Florida.

	Citrus City <i>n</i> = 21		Farm Town <i>n</i> = 17	
	<i>n</i> =	%	<i>n</i> =	%
Sex work initiated in locale	13	61.9	13	76.5
Sex work prior to locale	8	38.1	4	23.5
First sex work in home town	4		2	
First sex work elsewhere	4		2	
Experience outside agriculture	15	71.4	1	5.9
Work experience in agriculture	6	28.6	16	94.1
Work in agriculture as child only	2		1	
Work in agriculture as adult only	1		8	
Work in agriculture child and adult	3		7	
Work in the field (e.g., harvest) ^a	1		11	
Work in packing house ^b	1		3	
Work in packing and the field	4		2	
Born in Florida	11	52.4	7	41.2
Born in same locale where now living	6		4	
Born in another locale in Florida	5		3	
Born outside Florida	10	47.6	10	58.8
Born in the South	0		3	
Born in the North	6		2	
Born in the Midwest	2		2	
Born in the West	2		1	
Born outside the USA	0		2	
Black	7	33.3	9	52.9
White	12	57.1	5	29.4
Haitian	2	9.5	0	n/a
Foreign-born Latina	0	n/a	2	11.7
US-born Hispanic	0	n/a	1	5.9
Known to be seropositive ^c	4	19.0	9	52.9

^aIncludes one woman who drove a farm labor crew (loosely organized group of workers hired by a labor contractor) from a northern state to Florida, where she lived in a labor camp for one year, before moving to Farm Town.

^bIncludes one woman who moved to Farm Town and worked three months as a book-keeper in a packing house that went out of business, and less than one week in a second packing house.

^cFrom a previous project, I knew the serostatus of several women. Other women self-reported serostatus. Four women seroconverted over the time of fieldwork. The last of these four told me of her seroconversion on a visit to Florida in May 2000.

I reviewed their transcriptions against audiotapes to reduce errors.³ I interviewed 38 commercial sex workers: 21 in English in Citrus City (mean age 32.4 years, median age 31.0 years), and 15 in English and two in Spanish in Farm Town (mean 36.9 years, median 38.0 years) (Table 1). Women in Citrus City were active in sex work within six months of their interview, and all but three women in Farm Town were active in sex work during the 14-month interview period. Some women were interviewed more than once in Farm Town. I prepared a biosketch for each woman and coded each transcript (Romero-Daza et al. 1998-99). Six women formed a core group of sex workers at the Market; field notes and casual interviews comprise the data for this site.

Analysis

I used ATLAS.ti 4.1 for a textual analysis of transcriptions, biosketches, and field notes for each field site, from which I identified a set of core themes (Bloom 2001; Pérez and Fennelly 1996; Trotter et al. 1997) across the sample of 38 women. To order sociodemographic data and the principal findings, I used SPSS 10.0 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

Local Characteristics of Sex Work and Farm Work

As rural settings, the three locales where I conducted research are located at the "spatial periphery" of capitalist influence (Lockhart 1999), but they differ from other rural locales in that agriculture forms the basis of the local economy. Hence, these areas are at the core of an agro-based economy that is capital-generative and labor-intensive during peak times of harvest. At the same time, they are situated year-round at the margins of an urban-based centrality that forms the basis of many mainstream social practices and cultural images (Duncan 1993; Smith 1993).

One common practice that I observed in all three sites was the movement of women-who-prostitute over an extensive area. Throughout the day, if not remaining at home, sex workers alternated between bars, billiard parlors, convenience stores, and outdoor sites where men and women gathered when not working. Visitation of living sites was common in Farm Town; these sites were located on both sides of the town's main street and were accessed on foot by some women and on bicycle by others. Spending time at the Market was common in Pepperton for the six core women; three of the six also visited areas downtown where townspeople (and not farmworkers) spent time. Streetwalking was common in Citrus City.

Given its larger space as a small city, over the course of the day, many sex workers walked and hitched rides around Citrus City. Sex work "canvassing" is the practice by which sex workers in farming areas of Florida made themselves visible and accessible. After visiting a client and under pretense of returning, a woman might encounter another opportunity for a transaction. Similar to the "decoy tactics" used by street-level drug dealers in St. Louis, Missouri, especially a circuitous route that is taken to retrieve a hidden drug reserve (Jacobs 1999), sex workers in the Florida sites usually took alternate routes. There were a few identified streets where they rarely walked and times of the day when they avoided certain areas. As a sex worker, a woman is believed to have money, and travel along certain streets is a noticeable clue for where she's gone, hence the likelihood that she has cash or

drugs, or both. Street and site canvassing was one of three practices that set sex work among farmworkers apart from urban-based sex work (the other two distinctions are described below in another section).

Given the circumscribed territoriality of urban areas implied by the term *stroll*, which is the visible area where women solicit clients in an outdoor sex market (Cohen 1980; Higgard and Finstad 1992; Leonard 1990; Maher 1997), I was intrigued by canvassing. Informed by field observations, I asked the women in the formal interviews about territoriality. Their responses showed they lacked a sense of "urf." As two women (born locally, initiated sex work locally) said, "Girls don't own nothin'; it don't belong to nobody" (CC); and "Nobody got turf. There no strollin' around here. Town's too small" (FT). As two women who once sex worked in other states (truck stop, large city) explained: "I don't really have no territory. Don't belong to nobody. You're out there, you're out there" (FT); and "[You're asking] This is my block? This is another girl's block? No, we share the block" (CC). As Monica succinctly stated, "I go anywhere I wanna go" (CC). (Throughout the article, I distinguish "CC" [Citrus City] from "FT" [Farm Town] to identify the source of quotations.)

Pick up and rendezvous occurred by four means in the three sites. The most common was visitation of living sites over a wide area. From my observations and descriptions by women in each locale, I estimate that the spatial area canvassed by sex workers included nearly every part of Farm Town (roughly 85 percent of its total area) except a high-income residential area of less than 20 blocks, a long stretch of scattered rental properties along two state roads traversing Pepperton from east to west and north to south (65 percent of its total area), and close to 60 blocks of Citrus City (45 percent of its total area). Canvassing was regular and prearranged (streets traversed by sex workers several times per week) and irregular (travel through and/or into an area for arranged visits or impromptu encounters with new clients).

The second mode of encounter was by men who solicited from vehicles or on foot. Pick up places in Farm Town and Pepperton were constrained by small commercial areas. Bars and stores stay open to or past midnight in the main commerce area of Farm Town, and two 24-hour stores are located near the Market in Pepperton. Contrary to city sex work strolls that are "empty of life" at day's close (Cohen 1980; Higgard and Finstad 1992; Maher 1997), Farm Town and Pepperton had an active night life encouraged by its late-hour businesses. A steady flow of vehicular and pedestrian traffic created an environment for street pick up in these two locales. In contrast, the stroll area where I worked in Citrus City resembled an urban area (albeit a non-SMSA), because local stores closed at dusk. Women moved indoors, and went to prearranged set-ups at local motels or another woman's room (generally for drug use, also for sex work).

The third mode of encounter was spending time at gathering sites, such as convenience stores. An empty lot behind a store next to the Market, for example, provided space where local sex workers solicited men and socialized with laborers who were not in living sites and not working.

The final mode of encounter occurred irregularly, when women worked from their residence, rented motel rooms for the night, or used the rooms of others. Women permitting home visits were called "foolish" by sex workers in Citrus City, owing to Pink Zone surveillance and neighbors who reported illicit activities

to the police. Women in Farm Town and Pepperton ran a low risk of arrest, owing to the infrequency in which they used this means of providing services. All of the women across the three communities were aware of penalties beyond a charge of prostitution for using one's place of residence as a place of sex work.

Locations of rendezvous vary as to where "the finishing moment" (van Gelder and Kaplin 1992) takes place for sex work in agricultural areas. Other than living sites, places of rendezvous were extensive in and around Farm Town and the Market. Wooded lots were popular, particularly those with trees that gave shade in the daytime. Because they were a short distance away, the edges of town where dirt roads led to wooded areas catered to vehicle transactions, and a car wash was popular in one locale. Men on foot typically were farm laborers, at least by day, rather than men who earned enough to own a vehicle. Men in vehicles sometimes came from nearby towns and cities, seeking sex in a town where their identity were not known.

Because I had field data on encounter sites in Farm Town and Pepperton, I accepted an offer from Lansing and Erica to show me places of pick up and rendezvous in Citrus City. As we drove in my car, Lansing identified places where women went to men's living sites, such as trailers and apartments ("We go two at a time"), places where they took walking men to abandoned buildings ("There's three along here") and back alleys ("Behind those steps"); residential areas with trees that blocked the street lamps at night, and isolated places, such as shrubbery in the community park ("Those bushes in the back") and one end of the cemetery ("Right here by the graves"). She later showed me a megaspace outside town the women called the Sandbox:

Along here, there's places. Turn right (we turn onto dirt road)... Up around there by the trains... Or the bushes (dirt road to the right into high weeds). We trick here. ["You're not worried about cops?"] They hardly come around... ["No one's here. If you went to where somebody could see you, they'd complain?"] Uh, huh. Like the neighborhoods I showed you. Quiet ones are best. [day 10-10-96]

More experienced with vehicle transactions than Lansing, Erica directed me to a subdivision that once served as a mega-space: "[This] used to be a place we called the Maze. It was all woods; you could drive around in circles to find a place... But they developed it. We can't do that anymore" [day 10-09-96]. Both women mentioned renting a motel room for a short stay "at two bucks an hour." Men were reluctant to assume responsibility for the contents of a room. Lansing told me, "Guys won't stay the whole night. They're worried the girls will steal the TV."

Embodiment of Risk and Danger.

Like counterparts in urban areas, commercial sex workers in agricultural areas of Florida face daily risks and dangers. As Maria Esther Epele suggests for women in San Francisco, "HIV risk must compete with a set of dangers such as arrest, rape, physical abuse, robbery, and murder" (2002:35). In this section, I focus on the women's experience of interpersonal violence, and in the next section I focus on its effect on sex workers, clients, and other men.

As one part of the formal interview, I asked each woman to describe her worst and best experience. The open-ended question allowed each woman to decide if there was a worst and best, and whether it occurred in sex work. My intent was to elicit data on how women who had survived violence in sex work positioned self-as-body and self-as-person within that experience. Focusing my inquiry on two extremes of experience (worst and best), I balanced the platform for recall. More women recounted a worst (29/35 or 82.9 percent) than a best (11/35 or 31.4 percent).⁴ Most worst experiences occurred in sex work (22/29 or 75.9 percent), and most best experiences occurred outside sex work (6/11 or 54.5 percent). Women with two or more stories told only worst experiences; four women among five with two or more accounts described sex work incidents. Eighteen of 22 women who experienced a sex work assault were living in Citrus City or Farm Town when the incident occurred; two were living elsewhere in Florida, and one was living outside Florida.⁵

Worst and best experiences form mirror images: A good experience was an encounter in which no sex occurred and money and/or drugs were given for companionship. Generally, the amount of money in a good encounter was greater than usual. One woman reported that a drug session took place in the nude without sexual contact. When the women talked about their worst experiences, their narratives were stressed at times (in the passages that follow, I indicate emphasized words in italics, stretched syllables by a colon, and interrupted words by hyphenation). Sex workers who experience trauma (Higard and Finstad 1992), as well as recipients of state-engineered terror (Feitlowitz 1998), may forget or choose not to disclose traumatic events (cf. Olujic 1995, 1998). For example, after telling four stories of rape (more accounts than any other woman), Farrah told me that she could not recall phases of past abusive relationships in other cities.

Men who acted violently generally acted alone. Lone men figured in 22 stories, two men figured in five stories, and two stories involved five and eight men, respectively. More than one-half of the women (21/35 or 60.0 percent) reported a sexual assault as their worst experience, a higher percentage than a 1995-96 national survey that found that 18.2 percent of women in the United States age 12 and over reported at least one incident of sexual assault in their lifetime (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998).

Common themes in a narrative were dimensions of trauma that made it a worst experience. Trauma is an external force that creates physical injury or emotional shock that impacts on an individual's exterior or interior. Severe trauma is memorable; its traces are inscribed in and on the body. Three themes of greater impact were: coercive force, isolation and abandonment, and loss of money (taking back the payment).

Coercion occurred by force, threat, or weapon, or a combination of these three. Use of a weapon has the potential for bodily injury. Guns (8/29 or 27.6 percent) and knives (4/29 or 13.8 percent) appeared more than other weapons (2/29 or 6.9 percent). Frequency in the narratives as a means to set the stage for the story is greater than use of weapons in assault on women under normal conditions (i.e., not in sex work). Less than 5 percent of women age 12 and over who survive rape in their lifetime were assaulted by a perpetrator with a gun or knife (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998). Farrah told two stories of rape in which a man had used a gun. In one story, she clarified how a gun was implied as a threat:

I had just got off work [ending bar, not sex work]. . . . This car pulled up. He had a towel or handkerchief across his hand; I thought he had a gun. . . . He told me I better get in the car or he would shoot me. . . . Come to find out, it was no gun. He took me to the orange groves, threw my underwear in a tree, and had his way with me. He did bring me back. [FT]

For this incident, she notified the police but did not press charges, because the man knew where she worked. Interestingly, two years earlier she had used the same phrasing ("parallel clauses"; see Norrick 1998) and the same order for eight of ten elements in telling the story.⁶ What she added in retelling (above) was the man's arrival in a car and a statement of forced sex ("had his way with me"). The second time that she was raped, she was approached by a man while soliciting on the street. When they came to an abandoned house, "he pulled out a 357 Magnum; he made me do things by force that I did not want to do, and he did not pay me" (FT). This assault took place one block from where she lived and two blocks from where she worked. She did not report the assault for this incident.

Erica recounted a man with a shotgun: "He had this sawed-off shotgun [not seen as she entered the car]. We went down to the end of the street. He took my money. Thankfully, it was only his that I had with me. . . . It was in the papers, he did another girl two days earlier" (CC). Unlike Farrah's euphemism ("had his way with me") for an assault that occurred outside sex work, Erica passes over the act of contracted sex that she fulfilled. Instead, she emphasizes the money taken from her. Whereas Farrah maintained narrative focus on what she experienced and aligned herself with other women rather than other sex workers, Erica identified another female sex worker who was assaulted by the same perpetrator. Thus, each woman in distinctive ways externalized the trauma that was embedded in her experience.

Lucerne was assaulted once by a man with a gun, once by a man with a knife, and once while asleep. Her story of assault at gunpoint is less stressed than the other two stories. When she asked the man in her first story, "Can I have my money first?" he put a gun to her head. She retained her composure and told him, "Man, I can't believe you have to do it like this." She used the relationship of her body to the product of her labor (payment) to belittle the man and deflate the force of his act. She expressed greater distress about the man with the knife.

This guy picked me up, brought me to this place and soon as he pulled me out of the car, he pulled a knife out. [He] made me, made me blow him twice [stress in voice]. He came twice, and I had to swallow it, or [slow] he was gonna cut my neck [pause]. And I threw up. Then he kicked me out the door. I tried looking at the license [pause]. *That had to be my worst experience. . . .* I kept looking at that knife. I knew the door was locked. I wanted to grab [the door] so bad, but that knife was *right there*, on my neck at all times [calmly]. Until I was done. . . . [Did you have far to walk?] Yeh. I cried. It was an empty field. [CC]

Two of Lucerne's three accounts were the only two where an act of sex was explicitly described. The second was her account of rape while asleep, the night before our interview. In this latter account, she describes the pain and surprise she experienced: "I woke up crying and, he just kept going an' going an' going, and I kept saying, 'It hurts, it hurts.' . . . [firmly] How would he like it if his penis hurt as much as my vagina did?" (CC). Naming body parts and describing sex explicitly

did not appear in other women's accounts. Lucerne's assault at knife point was nonnormative, because her assailant "came" twice, and her third rape was within 24 hours of its telling. In each instance, she explicitly described the incident. Otherwise, women generally structured their accounts in silence on sexual differences between men and women.⁷

Another aspect of Lucerne's story of the man with the knife that is unusual for the narratives that I collected is her repetition of certain phrases (e.g., "made me, made me") and her narrative return to the knife after she is kicked from the car. Repetition often occurs with an "emotional coloring" that may be verbal play at one end of the spectrum (Tannen 1987), or the marker of a more serious incident such as Lucerne's account of rape at knife point. Repetition reinforces a statement (Norrick 1987). In Lucerne's story, repetition identifies a prolonged terror at being forced to commit an oral sex act with which she was uncomfortable. Her mentioning the locked door in the car and effort to see the license plate, as the man is leaving, is a corrective to any inclination to wonder why there was no greater physical resistance (Williams 1984; Winkler 2002) and indicates an inner composure that stems from her wish to survive. Despite the trauma that they experienced, several women demonstrated an intuitive sense of what would serve as a means of escape (flight is more effective than resistance), if the opportunity ever arose.

A baseball bat (Rita) and crowbar (Tina) also were used once each where the woman was injured in the incident. Tina shifted from third to second person, and from second to first person to bring the interviewer-listener (myself in this instance) closer to her experience.

[A bad experience is] trusting someone and then he, takes you somewhere and beat you with a crowbar. Over my head. Bust it open [her two hands "part" top of head]. And then crawling to the top of the bridge, naked, and someone calls the cops. And the cops say: (sarcastic tone) "Oh, well, it's your fault." [Did you go to the hospital?] No, an ambulance came, but I didn't really wanna go. [CC]

Tina's style of presentation follows the trajectory of a *kernel story* (Kalkik 1975; Langelier and Peterson 1992), wherein the core element (failed trust) introduces and structures the account. A narrative builds suspense by revealing a main point *after* setting the stage for telling. It is worth noting that the order of Tina's account replicates her childhood in what she called "a loving family," to adolescent experimentation with drugs, to one of sex work and heavy drug use in her twenties.

The second theme in women's narratives of a bad experience is the shock of isolation and abandonment when a perpetrator leaves her stranded outside town by an orchard, a canal, or another place of no dwellings and infrequent traffic. The trauma is understandable. A woman is more likely to report a rape that occurs in her home or public place and is less likely to report a rape in an isolated area (Williams 1984). Six women were taken to unfamiliar areas. One who was abducted twice was returned each time, and the other five were abandoned; six of seven incidents involved sexual assault. That Parrish notified the police of her rape in the orange grove is unusual. That she declined to press charges is typical.

Two examples follow of women with extensive experience in sex work. Sandra spent most of her 16 years in Citrus City in sex work. She described an incident of abandonment as one of her two worst experiences (the other occurred apart from sex work).

Stranded at the canal. (pause) Having someone drive me out there, not letting me out *when* I wanted to get out, then trying to keep me in the truck [that was my worst]. But able to get away—but it's scary an—then having to walk an' you don't where the hell you are. [CC]

Although she is silent on how she managed it, Sandra escaped and walked back to town. What was memorable was her loss of control ("not letting me out when I wanted"). Similar to Tina, she introduces her account as a kernel story ("stranded at the canal") and shows how she overcame her difficulty, despite its indignity, by walking back to town.

Mary had close to ten years in sex work in three locales in Florida. Her two worst experiences occurred in the first locale where she performed sex work as a novice, after she left home.

First thing he wen' 'n he locked up the truck, (inhale) he say, "I don't like prostitutes." 'N he took me, somewhere—long way, deep deep, deep down in th' woods, 'n he had a gun pointn' at my head? He was gonna *actually* kill me, (pause) but, I talked to 'im, I begged him, I pleaded with him, so he changed his mind. He said, "Well, (pause) I'm gonna leave you in the woods." [He just left you there?] Uh, huh. . . . [The road out was] dark I couldn't see—I couldn't see, I couldn't even see the palm o' my hands. . . . There was a van coming. . . . [The driver offered to take] me anyplace I needed to go. [Were any other times as bad as that?] That was the worst experience, cause I never had a gun pointed at my head. I mean he had the trigger, cocked 'n everything. [FT]

Mary introduces the account with her loss of control (locked in truck), stresses her abandonment in triplicate repetition ("deep" and "I couldn't see") and uses a formulaic expression for her mode of persuasion ("talked," "begged," "pleaded"), before bringing closure with her escape. Isolation "deep down in the woods" amplified her terror. A narrative return to the gun as Mary responded to my question closes her account and is similar to Lucerne's story of the man who held a knife at her throat. For each woman, the weapon was placed into threatening readiness, and in each instance, the weapon was narratively emphasized as the main element of her account.

The third theme is not being paid; sex is transacted but not remunerated. What surfaces strongly in several narratives is indignation over not receiving payment or having the payment taken back. A successful transaction is a sex encounter with payment without difficulty, before services are rendered. Jessica was unique: "I'd have to say that by the Grace of God, I've been very lucky. I can't say that I've been hurt, thank God. And, all dates were paid for" (CC). Her statement distinguishes two meanings for a bad experience. One is an act of violence to the body, and one is an act that violates a sex worker's expectation of payment. When Parrish said, "I've been raped without being paid," she positioned sex work as a form of labor that merits a payment. Her statement and those of the other women suggest an answer to the question that was posed in the introduction: Women in their narratives conceptually linked a right-to-sex-work to negotiated payment for the sexual services they rendered.

Rita structured her story with two tactics women considered crucial: negotiating a price and deciding where to go. "One time a guy picked me up, bring me down to the waterfront. He said he had no change for a fifty. I said, 'Forget it, go,

go to the drug store and get change, I need to get paid up front.' And he pulled out a knife, and we did what we had to do. . . . He let me off" (CC). Deciding on a place for "the finishing moment" is the most consistent part of negotiation. Most women also negotiate a price. Some do not, as an unspoken gambit to entice her client to be generous. Rita was least experienced among the sampled women. She neglected to discuss a price. Further evidence of her short time in sex work (three months) is her use of a euphemism ("we did what we had to do") that aligns her with an imagined sisterhood of other women, rather than with other sex workers.

Several women told of transactions that went smoothly, until it was "finished," at which point the man tried to take his money back, using a weapon or a threat. Leticia went with a man a short distance from where they met and had the money that he paid taken from her. "We went behind my friend's house. I got my money and he ended up chokin' me, until I *almos* passed out. He got the money back and took off. . . . [He] had been doing the same thing to other girls, two [who passed out] he raped" (FT). Similar to Erica and her story of the sawed-off shotgun, Leticia is silent on the act of sex that she contracted with a client who became her assailant. She externalizes her trauma by empathizing and aligning herself with two other women-who-prostituted who were attacked by the same man.

In sum, coercive force, and isolation and abandonment, imbue a bad experience with emotion and memorability. An assault is intensified by juxtaposition of the unfamiliar with the familiar, and the unexpected over the expected. The unexpected includes acts that go beyond a standard sex work encounter (e.g., Lucerne is forced to swallow semen) and a threat of potential injury; loss of control is exacerbated by abandonment (Sandra: "you don't know where the hell you are"). Loss of payment for her services is an act that complements a sex worker's sense of violation. Unlike the arbitrary use of weapons for violence in male settings (A. Campbell 1986) or when men are drinking (Permanen 1991), weapon use was premeditated against female sex workers in agricultural areas and appeared close in time to initial contact or when sex worker and client reached their destination. As such, the weapon structures the narrative the same way it structured the assault, from the moment it was introduced, as an act of phallogocentric force.

When telling about violence, women deflected trauma to themselves in two directions. They externalized violence to the sex work body by referencing their existential ties to women-who-prostitute if they were engaged in sex work at the time of assault. If not engaged in sex work at the time of sexual assault, women narratively and indirectly referenced the act of sex through euphemism, as a means of aligning themselves with other women. Extending Darlene Clark Hine's (1989) thesis that disadvantaged women dissemble its impact when subjected to rape as a recognizable category of disadvantaged women (Black women in her analysis, sex workers in mine), sex workers who service farmworkers minimize the memory of their suffering in violence by externalizing a violent encounter to other sex workers or by identifying with other women. They further universalize the identity of their perpetrator by a pronominal reference that eliminates any hint of personal identity (e.g., "he," "man," or "guy").

Transcending Risk

One change women-who-prostitute have made in agricultural areas is less sex work with strangers and first-time clients. By building a clientele of "regulars," sex workers consolidate clients who are willing to transact business with the same women rather than hustle to solicit first-time clients. Several women made this distinction. "Tricking" referred to negotiation and completion of a first-time transaction. "Dating" referred to an informal arrangement for sex at regular or sporadic intervals.⁸ Amelia explained: "A trick is when you just pick somebody up quick and, wham, bam, thank you Mam. But a date you sit up there awhile and be comfortable, [tells him] what you are thinking" (CC).

A change to regulars was related to a collective experience with interpersonal violence and apprehension of HIV/STD infection from sexual relations with a person of unknown serostatus. Anabel told me that she limits services to men whom she knows. Many were older men in Farn Town who received a monthly check. She told me that she sometimes went to these men for "an advance" without services. Women who noted a reduction in prices for services blamed public association of HIV with crack-cocaine use. As several women pointed out, people were worried less about a curable STD than what locally is sometimes called "the disease" (AIDS) in Citrus City and "ninja" in Farn Town.

As women were moving to a regular clientele, clients became willing to seek out the same woman. A few women in Citrus City began using beepers. Exclusive beeper numbers to trusted men reduced a woman's visibility on the street, hence it decreased risk of predation and arrest. The use of beepers for sex work was not observed in Pepperton or Farn Town. The absence of a Pink Zone and greater movement of people enabled women in these two towns to develop ties that they needed to secure clients. Some women declined referrals of new clients. Those who accepted referrals from regulars or other women, or themselves referred, said they sometimes turned down referrals. These various steps gave women more control over transactions and assured a safer work environment.

As a variant on a regular clientele, some women secured an older man as a "sugar daddy," whose assistance to her was exclusive. A woman depended on his generosity. At some point, she may reduce her client load but not her drug use. Regulars and sugar daddies did favors, such as securing drugs to share. Or a sugar daddy may provide money when there is a need, such as first month's rent for a new room. These favors reduce a need to sex work. An almost daily visitor at The Market, Daniela reduced her encounters when she developed a fondness for an older man, Taku, who came seasonally to Pepperton. One evening, he disclosed among a group of us that she was his *novia* (girlfriend). He described a similar relationship for another couple (Cristina and Chico) among sex workers and migrant workers at the Market.

Another variant was alteration of street behavior. This was especially true when a vehicle had been involved in a past experience of violence. Several women explained how they had once engaged in vehicle transactions but had stopped because of personal experience or, less often, hearing about another's experience. Women said that they began to rely more on "vibes" (intuition) to avoid danger when approached by a man. Avoidance was more common than confronting a perpetrator by official means. Women rarely pressed charges. They feared retaliation

and believed that neither police nor courts would take them seriously (see Abdool Karim et al. 1995; Maher 1997; Stek 2000; Williams 1984). Owing to their lifestyle, women found it difficult to make depositions and court appearances. And owing to a general mistrust of authority, women who reported they were injured by violence rarely sought medical assistance on their own and rarely agreed to medical treatment if emergency vehicles were called to the scene.

A second means by which the women lessened a risk to their collective safety was creation of an infrastructure of sanctuary with persons already established locally. Contacts typically were men from the local area, who were familiar with the street, and owners and managers of local businesses, especially convenience stores. Purchase of cigarettes, soda or beer, and high-sugar snacks increased women's contacts and network participation. Griffith (1995:454), for example, provides a telling observation of teenage prostitutes in east Florida who "break-fast" at a convenience store on high-sugar store-bought foods such as orange soda pop and chocolate bars.

Encountering each other at convenience stores, street-experienced men and women circulate "news" on who is looking for whom and where one can be found, as well as information on risky clients. Despite the reluctance of a few women to spend time with other sex workers, all the women readily shared information on men who posed a danger to their collective safety (see O'Neill 2001). A description of appearance, make and model of an automobile when this applied, and place of encounter were passed by word of mouth. More than once in each site, I heard the equivalent of: "Everybody's looking for him." When possible, retaliatory measures were taken. As a store owner in Citrus City's Pink Zone, Dor explained that "good business for women is good business for drug dealers. If a man is rough on one of the women, local men make it difficult for that person" (day 9-30-96).

Street enforcement was less evident in Farm Town or Pepperton. Women in these smaller towns performed their own enforcement or used a backup who accompanied them or was called on, as a need arose. Given the volume of vehicular transactions and women who team together to solicit clients, backups were less common in Citrus City. Whereas the "lookouts" in Maher's (1997) study in Brooklyn were drawn from a pool of clients who came into the area and were asked, "Watch my back," backups in Farm Town and the Market were drawn consistently from male friends or a copresent man with whom a woman felt comfortable. Because pedestrian traffic is high in areas where farmworkers cluster, there is little possibility of having too few men near an emergent problem. Unlike lookouts who might not return regularly to an urban area, an available man to serve as backup can be found easily in a rural area where an infrastructure of sanctuary is in place.

One evening before 7 p.m., I observed Desiree exit a bar in Farm Town and walk across the street to sit with two men in front of an eatery. Having left the bar earlier, both men were inebriated; more than likely, they spoke with her inside the bar. One man asked her for sex. She told him, "No," left briefly and returned with Flyman. He stood quietly behind her as she spoke firmly to the men. When she returned to the bar, Flyman walked across the parking lot in the other direction [night 3-01-96]. Often on the scene as a buyer of crack and driver of a labor van, Flyman had agreed to act as a backup, however brief its duration. Multiple backups occasionally were used. Two weeks after Leticia was robbed and choked, she noticed

her assailant in Farm Town. She and several others shouted at him, "You know what you did." He was not seen again.

Other men played a more frequent role. Thomas, Rigley, and Jackson served as backups in Farm Town; Thomas was asked regularly. I frequently observed him accompany a woman as she canvassed around the town. He remained at a distance outside a rented house or trailer, while a woman was inside conducting business:

I be at a distance, just in case she do have a problem, then I can hear her, (inhalé) cause if I hear her I'm gonna see what happen. . . . She might tell someone, "That's my friend right there. . . ." She turn a trick, then go on somewhere else, make more money. . . . [If she made, sixty, seventy dollars she might give me twenty dollars. (FT)]

Two additional practices that distinguish sex work in agricultural areas from urban sex work are the absence of pimps, as women seek to deal with difficulty on their own, and use of backup, when possible and if deemed a better alternative. The male as backup takes precedence over the male as pimp in Farm Town and the Market. Unlike women in urban areas, where vestiges of the pimp system remain (Faugier and Sargeant 1997; Maher 1997; Stek 1989, 1999, 2000), none of the 38 women in my sample reported that they gave money exclusively or regularly to one man. Sex workers whom I knew spent their earnings. They were willing to have men in their lives, although drugs and lifestyle made this difficult. The few women with "boyfriends" usually had relationships with men with good incomes. Several told me boyfriends had asked them to leave sex work. All but two women in my study (5.2 percent) (both raised in a city) had begun sex work on her own or with other women, a lower percentage than women whom Maher (1997) reported were "turned-out" by a man (24.4 percent).

Apart from loaning their respective room to a woman, neither Thomas nor Rigley expected free sex for assisting; Thomas had a girlfriend to whom he was loyal, and Rigley associated with out-of-town women who patronized a nearby casino ("romance tourism"). Each man told me that he shared drugs, if a sex worker returned after a slow night of no money from the sex trade. Several women told of the men's generosity. Sharing rather than withholding drugs is an aspect of the backup system in agricultural areas that differs from pimps in urban areas, who expect the women they manage to earn money for them regularly, and the practice of men who visit an urban community irregularly and are called on to act as "situational pimps" (Maher 1997).

A third change in the three sites was greater use of schemes to take men's money, a phenomenon not unique to rural areas, however (Maher 1997:155-164; O'Neill 2001:124-153). At times, women's schemes were little more than agreeing to sex, accepting money, and leaving hurriedly without services. Called "ripping-off" in Farm Town and Citrus City, Maher (1997) calls this form of scheme, "vicing" [after victim], and distinguishes its practice from petty theft. In farming areas, "ripping-off" includes receiving money without services as well as petty theft in the course of sex work by removing money from pockets or valuables from a residence.

A primary source of men for schemes was farmworkers, especially those without English skills. One variant on women's schemes was short-changing or overcharging immigrants unfamiliar with U.S. currency. "They become the prey"

was the expression that Thomas used to describe the vulnerability of farm laborers for a range of maneuvers the women might use. Based on mistrust of banks, many migrant men in Farm Town carried earnings on their person. Thomas explained: "Their whole savings, \$800, \$900, be in their pocket. . . . [G]irls catch the guys with money in their pockets" (FT). In Citrus City, Lansing confirmed women's schemes and explained that migrant men were easily robbed: "This trailer park is where we trick on Friday and Saturday. This is late at night. . . . Some girls rob them when they're drunk. They're drinking, they don't know who robbed them" (day 10-10-96).

One Sunday afternoon close to dark, I sat with five men behind a convenience store near the Market and heard about men's vulnerability in my third site. The subject of sex work arose, as it often did over the time that I spent in north Florida. Daytona was reminiscing:

I told one dude, "Leave your cash [*feria*] here, man." He went off with her, then he ran from the woods, shouting, "She robbed me." He lost \$800. If these shrubs had ears, (motions to the hedge where we sit), or this tree (motions to a tree behind the store) or (slow) *that one* (motions to a large oak, the closest tree to the woods), (mimic echo) eight hundred, (mimic echo) four hundred, (mimic echo) three hundred. [author's translation, day 8-31-97]

As he concluded, "Oh, man" (*Ai hombre*), the other four men and I smiled.

In sum, sex workers were compelled by their collective experience in the interest of health and safety to engage more with regular clients and, for some, to refrain from vehicle transactions and limit referrals between women. Sex workers created an infrastructure of sanctuary by befriending the employees at local businesses (convenience stores, in particular) and interacting with men who live within the area. In all three sites, these men may move to retaliate when women have been harmed, and in the two smaller communities, Farm Town and Pepperton, they may be asked to serve as a backup.

Pursuing the labor-induced goals of exchanging sex within locales that are capital-restricted except during harvest season, women are enticed to construct schemes to secure vulnerable men's money. These men typically were farm laborers, who lacked solicitation experience, had poor language skills, and regularly carried large sums of cash on their person (the latter practice stems from their lack of documentation and general mistrust of institutions). Women's strategies for greater control over transactions that would improve health and safety were eroded by the schemes and street tactics that obscured a set of added risks and dangers.

Intersecting Risk Vectors

Compounding the view that farmworkers are an isolated population at low risk for HIV is the parallel concern that they may have insufficient knowledge of HIV to take precaution to prevent transmission (Carrier and Magaña 1991; Organista et al. 1997; Organista et al. 1998). Despite an exterior appearance of field-worn work clothes and dusty work boots, farmworkers had an image as a population not yet affected by or infected with HIV. For this reason, women in the sex trade often permit sex without a condom. Similar to pressure to increase sex work earnings that occurs outside Florida (e.g., Romero-Daza et al. 1998-99; Sterk 2000; Wojcicki

and Malala 2001), a woman may accept more money for sex without a condom, if a man appears to be "safe." Farmworkers fall into this category.

There is a hidden dimension to this scenario of increased risk by condomless sex. Multiple successive sex occurs between farmworkers and sex workers, like farmworkers in the California bean camp (Nelson and Samora 1975), which increases risk to a degree that is distinct from men who have sexual relations several days after a sex worker's most recent act of sex. Telescoped sexual contact in a short time heightens trauma to the vaginal canal that increases a likelihood of lesions (Inciardi 1995; Inciardi et al. 1993), which can readily transmit HIV through blood. Experienced in camp visitation from Farm Town as a base, Farrah explained that two to three women would service ten to 15 men per woman per visit to a camp: "It was wear and tear on your body. . . . [We] did what we could handle." Visits typically took place once per pay period with no guarantee that the women would return: "They always knew the vehicle. . . . Whether we were able to make it, I'm sure they were waiting" (FT).

It is this factor of "contiguous multiplicity" by the men in a labor camp (Kreniske 1993) that complements the risk of external violence to the sex worker with an internal risk of violence through HIV and STDs. To Slowic's (2000a, 2000b) premise that awareness of magnitude is increased when one experiences a danger firsthand, I add the corollary that less visible dangers are less likely to promote immediate behavior change. Because the potential for HIV is invisible, owing to its interior presence, a risk for HIV remains everpresent, encompassing the sexual transactions of farmworkers and sex workers who together are less likely to use condoms.

A second scenario involves calling on a man to act as backup, wherein women as well as men incur risk. If a woman steals from a client, that person may retaliate. In a small rural town, there are few places to hide. I observed sex workers on their own settle a situation with a man, and heard stories as well as observed bruises and lacerations as the aftermath when they were not successful. Other times, I observed them resort to a backup. A woman who secures a backup places him in the role of deterrent, which diffuses her risk. Thomas explained:

She might be comin' down the street. She call you, say "Hey man, come here 'n go with me." You don't know what she done did. . . . I been with girls [who] took money. . . . They don't come back and say, "Look, I done took the guy's money 'n I gotta watch out." . . . A friend of mine got hurt. . . . This girl called him [to act as backup], she done went 'n ripped a guy off. . . . [Guy] went to his truck an' got a gun. He seen them walkin' away. . . . She done took the man's money, 'n that man shot him [backup], in the-in the hip. . . . You dangerous too. [FT]

Similar to Farrah's retelling of a memorable incident (her rape), Thomas repeats the main elements in two accounts of this story. For the retold story (above), he drops the name of the bar where the shooting occurred but specifies that the man was shot in the hip, rather than repeat what he said five months earlier ("he got shot"). Neal Norrick (1998) proposes that story elements become fixed when they are significant and serve a purpose, which, in this instance, were lessons learned by rural men and women for caution in the street.

A third scenario is retaliation on the client by a backup. My first encounter with backups at the Market took place my first day in north Florida at the height of

tomato season. As I returned along a side road to my van (provided by the university) and opened a door that lit an interior light, I heard a woman ("Oh my") with a man, lying under a bush about ten yards from the road. It was after 10 p.m. on a Thursday evening. Outside town limits, there were no street lights. A second woman, more visible, stood by the bush. I glanced at the two women and noticed another man, standing a few yards from the bush. He cleared his throat and averted eye contact. With three years in Farm Town, it took me only a second to assess the scene. I nodded at the standing man to indicate that I understood what was happening, averted my eyes and entered the van (night 7-18-96).

After that first day, I parked in Pepperton and walked to the Market. Five weeks later, I witnessed the backup system in action. Late Saturday afternoon, I watched another backup, D. D., throw a discarded beer bottle at two men as they emerged from a wooded lot, after a transaction with a sex worker in which neither man paid for services. His aim was accurate. One of the two men was transported home to Central America to recover from a severe concussion, and D. D. served jail time for aggravated assault (day 8-24-96).

In sum, sexual assault, violence, and HIV risk are more common in the lives of sex workers in farm towns of Florida than for women not engaged in sex work. Unaware of the need for barrier protection during sex and vulnerable owing to lack of language skills, farm laborers are viewed as less at risk for HIV, which increases a likelihood that neither party in a consensual sex work transaction will negotiate condom use. Further vulnerability from a low investment in the cultural capital of street behavior leads to some farmworkers becoming easy prey to women's schemes. These schemes extend outward to entangle both women and men in intersecting vectors of risk and danger. Apart from an increased risk to clients and themselves, owing to a decreased use of condoms, women's schemes compete with HIV to heighten a risk of violence to themselves, their clients, and men whom they call on to serve as backup. Local men who are recruited to act as a backup to women-who-prostitute become a third vector in an equation of sex worker, client, and backup. As Thomas said, "You dangerous, too."

Conclusion

Despite organizational differences in the execution of agricultural sex work from urban sex work, women-who-prostitute among farmworkers face similar problems to those of urban sex traders, namely, devaluation of women's bodies in the sex trade, use of crack cocaine, and an increased risk of violence and HIV/STDs (Maher 1997; Sterk 2000). Risk for HIV is increased for both sex workers and clients when barrier protection is not used. Condomless sex is a common occurrence, with the belief that farmworkers are low risk for HIV. Moreover, violence is not unexpected in farming areas, given the general literature on sex workers including: street-level violence to sex workers in Atlanta (Sterk 2000) and New York City (Maher 1997; Sterk 2000); greater caution of Australian women who work the street than those working in indoor brothels (Perkins and Bennett 1985); hidden abuse of sex workers in colonial Nairobi (White 1990); and publicized homicides of streetwalkers in Turn of the Century London (Walkowitz 1992).

Women who trade sex in farming areas override increased risk to health and safety by having more regulars among clientele, imposing greater control over

referrals and transactions (e.g., avoidance of vehicles), and generating an infrastructure that provides a sanctuary and encourages a circulation of information crucial to survival and safety, especially identification of undesirable men. But a reliance on schemes to take money from vulnerable men, typically farm laborers, ultimately limits the effectiveness of changes that women may have made in the interest of health and safety. Risk of interpersonal violence to sex workers is displaced onto male backups and clients. The violence perpetrated within this three-vector equation of sex worker, client, and backup is unwanted and, at times, devastating, but not unexpected.

A woman-who-prostitute remembers the violence to her person. As a sex worker in an agricultural area, she may align herself narratively with women-who-prostitute as potential recipients of violence. If she experiences violence (rape) while not "at work" in the sex trade, she may affirm a common grounding with other women, who, faced by male power, are subject to sexual coercion. Through language, then, a woman may allude to membership in an imagined sisterhood of women who are victimized jointly by enactment of male privilege and a capitalist system that both structures and limits a woman's choices of work and leisure. At other times, she may acknowledge a risk for violence to her person while engaged in sex work.

Sex workers in agricultural areas accept the stigma of their actions through auto-identity as "prostitutes." Men who avail themselves of sex workers are called dates and tricks, according to regularity of commercial transactions. Men who perpetrate violence and otherwise mistreat sex-working women are ambiguously, hence powerfully, referenced by a pronominal reference that obliterates any hint of intimacy by avoiding use of men's personal names. As the sex-work body may be violated directly by physical and sexual assault, the telling and retelling of painful street experiences resonate with narrative devices that externalize memory of the trauma and, at the same time, fix its main elements for dissemination and construction of a culture of strategies and precautions for rural street life.

In the course of exercising her right-to-sex-work in an exchange of sex for payment (money or drugs), a woman who is traumatized more than empathizes with other sex workers. She has felt their pain, not only the symbolic rape arising from a violation of expected remuneration for sex services but also the inscription of an "emotional tattoo" that remains forever a part of her remembrance of sexual assault (Winkler 2002), which, among women-who-prostitute in agricultural areas, is more likely to be accompanied by threat and intimidation with weapons, abandonment in an unknown area, and physical beatings.

The mobility of women-who-prostitute among farmworkers is more than a means to meet potential clients. Sex workers in agricultural areas invert the role of a submission that has been relegated to women, particularly those areas of the country that rely on an agrarian economy. At the same time, their irregular movements over the course of the day removes these women from a position that is fixed in space, as the flexibility of terrain canvassing erases one aspect of the good-girl image of "being still." They exploit a transgression of that image through their work, wherein they engage men in leisure (O'Neill 2001). They further invert the image of the strolling streetwalker of urban sex work, whose location of encounter is place bound.

Women in agricultural areas create an extreme that opposes the gendered enclosure of a circumscribed area within urban space. There is irony in their actions. Despite winning a symbolic battle, sex work earnings in farming areas parallel an intensified seasonal harvest that momentarily erases the general poverty of the men whom they service. Part of the money the men may earn in farm labor is subverted through exchange of earnings for sexual services. Payment for a woman's labor and services is converted into self-medication with drugs and alcohol, whose acquisition requires ongoing engagement in the cycle of commercial sex work with elements of hidden risk (HIV) and danger (interpersonal violence) that co-occur within a three-vector intersection of sex workers, clients, and backups.

Existential assault of the sex worker extends beyond its physical and emotional trauma to include a potential for violation through a loss of payment for sexual services, a form of symbolic rape, whose personal affront to the sex worker denies her right to expect remuneration. Neither wholly victimized by her engagement in agricultural sex work with its construction of sanchary and backup protection nor fully compensated for its pain of exploitation, the sex worker in farming areas struggles against an agrarian variant of economic practices that either exploit women or exclude them. Unlike their urban counterparts in commercial sex work, women-who-prostitute in agricultural areas situate their resistance to male privilege amid an intensification of capital that generally excludes women and is restricted to harvest cycles whose seasonality, ironically, falls outside the respective control of both women and men.

At the same time, the practices of sexual exchange in which women are engaged have created a distinctive niche in rural areas where farmworkers predominate. Each engages in exploiting the other: Women subvert the social morality of the South by engaging in sexual exchange with its potential for strategic schemes against vulnerable men, and men who perform farm labor seek relief with women-who-prostitute from the seasonally intensified labor conditions that they experience. Engagement in the sex trade occurs within a system of gendered encounters unique to agricultural areas that continue the broader power differentials permeating a society moving through a phase of postcapitalism.

NOTES

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1. Pink Zone refers to a circumscribed area of 24 blocks and a related task force established by the city council to combat prostitution, especially in areas with heightened drug distribution. City police increased surveillance through unmarked vans and unmarked patrol cars.
2. One woman (migrant as a child, exotic dancer as an adult) was careful not to identify with the solicitation techniques of the other women. Engagement in sex exchange (apart from dancing) for her resembles Wojcik's (2002) concept of "survival sex," given the irregular and occasional reliance on sex transactions, no fixed rate, and no set form of negotiation, and leisurely time spent with some of the men with whom she exchanged sex for money. This woman was recruited by other sex workers, she purchased crack cocaine in the same areas, and she recently recontacted a few men, for these reasons, she was included in the sample.
3. Parts of seven Citrus City interviews were obliterated by static. Incorporated data from field notes for missing information, and I bought a new tape recorder for the remaining interviews.
4. Three women were not asked "worse" and "best" experience. One interview was moved to a new location owing to a confrontation by a former boyfriend; one woman was under stress after solitary confinement at the county jail; and one woman had experienced difficulty early in the interview while voluntarily describing how she shot a common-law husband who was abusive.
5. Three women whom I formally interviewed in Citrus City were assaulted during fieldwork after their taped interviews. Their cases were not "counted" among those that I collected formally.
6. The ten elements were: crossing street, man in car, cover over his hand, feigned gun, taken to orange groves, underwear in tree, brought back, notified police, declined to press charges, he knew where she worked. In a third and shorter telling, she left out the sex act and underwear in the tree, and she substituted "scared" for the mock weapon. Three years passed between the first and third telling, and 28 months passed between the first and second telling.
7. Thirty of 34 quotes from 16 sex workers in Bushwick (Maher 1996) do not mention male body parts. Four quotes that use body terms highlight power differentials between women and men, or center on an atypical transaction. The proficient sex trader gains little by talking of clients who remain sexualized. By remaining silent on male body parts in post-transaction discourse, sex workers reclaim a power advantage through talk, which men have in relation to women on the street (Overall 1992), which men who seek sex workers may lack within mainstream society (Walkowitz 1992).
8. *Trick* derivatives appear more than alternatives (*date, client, and john*) at a ratio of 5:1 in Stek (2000). *Date* appears more than *trick* at a ratio of 2:1 in Maher (1997). Leonard's examples for *date* replicate popular usage of the same term in areas that I studied: "Have you dated him before?" "He's a regular date," and "Are you dating?" (1990:53). The latter question encodes solicitation of a sex worker.

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