

apply for jobs and object to work-  
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n associated with migration, and  
since human rights are the only

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Laura Agustín

Miller is largely remembered as a  
is of the 1930s. Prostitution in  
s that recall his formative years  
e Claude," Miller's first signifi-  
appears in reference to another  
y based on his initial months in

Paris, *Tropic of Cancer* portrays sundry prostitutes among its sprawling cast of charlatans, mis-  
anthropes, and other questionable characters. Although of little literary merit, *Quiet Days in*  
*Clichy* and the posthumously published *Opus Pistorum* (also collected as *Under the Roofs of Paris*)  
(1938) offer supplementary pornographic reflections on this era.

In the books that portray his early years in New York City, a married Miller occasionally vis-  
ited dance halls, in which "taxi dancers" roam. In *Tropic of Capricorn* (1939) and *Sexus* (1949), he  
related his initial meetings with his bride-to-be Mona (sometimes named Mara) via this muted  
form of prostitution. In *Plexus* (1953) and *Nexus* (1960), the final two volumes of *The Rosy*  
*Crucifixion* trilogy, it appears that Mona practiced more traditional forms of prostitution to sup-  
port Miller's budding writing career. The narrative is constructed in such a way that the reader  
is unable to draw definitive conclusions about Mona's actions and whereabouts, a technique that  
puts us into Miller's shoes. Although prostitution is often considered a fixture in Miller's work,  
more than half of his opus is actually unconcerned with sex. All of Miller's writings, however,  
intimately reveal his lifelong project of liberating himself from ignorance and convention.

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Thomas Nesbit

**MINES.** Prostitution has been one of the most prominent social interactions in mining settle-  
ments. There are social, cultural, political, economic, and other factors that allow prostitution to  
thrive in mining settlements. The nature of government or institutional responses to prostitu-  
tion in mining settlements, and the extent to which prostitutes are integrated into the vortex of  
the economy and society of mining camps vary considerably.

Mining operations have always readily recruited men. The methods employed varied from  
place to place and time to time. Labor in mining settlements the world over is associated primar-  
ily with male and female migrancy. Traditionally, men have been the first to move into the mines  
and later are followed by mobile females, some of whom went principally to work as prostitutes  
or provided services such as in restaurants. Some were also involved in "light" mining activi-  
ties such as gold panning. However, prostitutes, for one reason or another, negotiated between  
provision of sexual services and other mining settlement-related jobs. Time and circumstances  
determined the ability of prostitutes to work in other jobs besides prostitution.

Mine workers were traditionally recruited from places far from their homes. Of equal impor-  
tance, mine laborers were normally prevented from migrating into the camps with their wives  
because of the distraction families caused. Also, because mining operations sometimes involved  
moving from one location to another, married men were naturally not disposed to move with  
their households. Mine operators preferred a situation in which men could move freely from  
one mining settlement to another with little family-related restrictions. Apart from the physical  
energy required for the job, the conditions in virtually all types of mines the world over were  
poor. The severity of the conditions associated with working mines coupled with the fact that  
laborers were usually without "legal" partners placed prostitution at a very significant position  
in mining settlements. Prostitution provided alternative, quick, and accessible opportunities for  
men and women to have sexual relations.

Mine workers were usually paid on a weekly or daily basis, so they had cash at their disposal  
to pay prostitutes for sexual services. The availability of cash provided a good impetus for female  
fortune seekers to migrate to mining settlements for the purpose of earning a living through

prostitution. With young, single male adventurers dominating the camps, mining settlements exemplified places of raucous lifestyle. Gambling, drunkenness, and prostitution were the major sources of recreation. Significantly, the cultural heterogeneity of mining camps with loose moral and social networking allowed prostitution to thrive.

Mine-based prostitutes sometimes provided more than sexual services. They also provided shelter for miners. In this connection, they provided some comforts of home, including food and water for bathing. Miners had a home away from home because of the facilities, which they enjoyed by virtue of patronizing prostitutes.

Several factors determined the extent to which prostitution thrived in mining settlements. They can broadly be divided into type of minerals extracted, time or period, size, and nature, or form of institutional responses. "Type" means the kind of minerals extracted from the earth (gold, silver, precious stone, etc.). Mines where precious solid minerals such as gold and diamonds were extracted were better able to promote prostitution-related activities than the ones where the minerals extracted were not very profitable. The significance of time as a factor can- not be overemphasized. Solid minerals do not guarantee a permanent monetary value. During the gold rush period in California and other parts of the world, the value of gold was such that the best work was readily available to those who were interested in making quick money in the mines. A deplorable economy and other indices of trade might affect the value of solid min- erals. This situation automatically adversely affected the miners' resources, and consequently, would invariably affect prostitutes' earnings. The size of mining settlements is also significant. The bigger the areas where mining operations take place, the greater the influx of people and the faster the rate at which the place is transformed into a large community. In fact, some cities hold their ascendancy to the discovery of solid minerals: four classic examples are Johannesburg, South Africa; Kalgoorlie, Australia; Antofagasta, Chile; and Sudbury, Canada. Large mining settlements combined the characteristics of prostitution in mines with the ones known in urban centers, and prostitution has thrived in large mining settlements.

Last, institutional response to prostitution-related activities in the mines was largely informed by the need to prevent mine workers from contacting venereal diseases, which were presumed to be spread predominantly by prostitutes. Contacting venereal diseases took laborers out of the mines for a time, a situation that automatically affected the mines' productivity. Therefore, economic exigencies largely determined the nature of the response of government or mining authorities to prostitution-related activities. Some of the facilities provided in the camps sup- ported prostitution. Restaurants, clubhouses, and other social places were established by national or local governments or grew in response to the social conditions obtainable within the mining space. The availability of restaurants, clubhouses, and other places of social interaction provided prostitutes with the opportunity of soliciting. To legislate against prostitution was to condemn the running of social places where miners could ease the tension of their jobs. None of these factors can be understood in isolation. The best way of appreciating the impact of all the contributing factors is to understand that they complement one another.

One of the most astonishing aspects of social interaction in the mines is that they provide a sort of social and economic mobility at every point in time. Prostitutes combined other jobs with prostitution based on time and circumstances. Beer brewing, gold panning, and provi- sion of other mine-support services provided prostitutes the opportunity of circumventing the institutional prohibition of their activities. These extra-prostitution-related jobs also provided resources, which were used to harness additional resources. Of greater importance is that some

of these jobs provided the requi- whenever the mines experienced

**Further Reading:** Amratabi, Mau Case of Muktibira Mines in Vihig I, no. 2 (2001), [\*\*MISOGYNY.\*\* Misogyny is an fear of female sexuality and circ- tures are disproportionately targ- represent the sexually provocative workers' advocates argue that fo- other victims of sexual violence sex for money deserve to be pu- nistic, but this theory has been prostitution and shifting the re- places where prostitution is acc- "good" and "bad" women or "ma- and marginalization.](http://www.jend The World Rushed In: The Califor Lapp, Rudolph, M. Blacks in Gender Rappart, J. L. Class and Gender Areas, 1926-1964. Working Pap Days of Gold: The California Gold Press, 1997.</a></p></div>
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Within feminist theory, mis- reproduce male dominance and conditions in which women have- lence against women, invasion that misogyny has existed, in- malized and largely unconteste- abhorrence of the female body- deserving of violent punishment- against women. Because femal- Well-known serial killers, suc- targeted prostitutes in what are- In some feminist analyses, p- male supremacy and control of- such as law, marriage, organiz- industry. By exchanging sex for m- tic ideology that the use of the- male violence against women. cized this theory for ignoring- that infantilization of prostitu-

of these jobs provided the required resources to augment low incomes made from prostitution whenever the mines experienced economic recession.

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**MISOGYNY.** Misogyny is an extreme, pathological hatred of women, often associated with a fear of female sexuality and cited as a cause for sexual violence against women. Female prostitutes are disproportionately targets for misogynistic violence, arguably because they are seen to represent the sexually provocative female body most despised by misogynists. Feminists and sex workers' advocates argue that female prostitutes often receive less sympathetic treatment than other victims of sexual violence because of the misogynistic belief that women who exchange sex for money deserve to be punished. Some feminists argue that prostitution itself is misogynistic, but this theory has been criticized for ignoring the difference between free and forced prostitution and shifting the responsibility for sexual violence from the attacker to the victim. In places where prostitution is accompanied by misogyny and a strong social demarcation between "good" and "bad" women or "madonnas" and "whores," prostitutes suffer extreme stigmatization and marginalization.

Within feminist theory, misogyny is understood as an ideology that exists to legitimize and reproduce male dominance and female subordination. It is thought to have roots in historical conditions in which women had no independent civil existence and men had legal rights to violence against women, invasion of the female body, and coercive reproduction. Feminists argue that misogyny has existed, in various forms, in most cultures and religions and that it is normalized and largely uncontested in patriarchal society. It is generally associated with a fear or abhorrence of the female body and sexuality: misogynists view women as sinful temptresses, deserving of violent punishment. Misogyny is therefore often manifested in sexual violence against women. Because female prostitutes are seen to represent the kind of provocative sexuality most threatening to misogynists, they are disproportionately targets for sexual violence. Well-known serial killers, such as Jack the Ripper and the Green River Killer, have primarily targeted prostitutes in what are viewed as misogynistic attacks.

In some feminist analyses, prostitution itself is viewed as misogynistic. In patriarchal society, male supremacy and control of the female body are understood to be upheld through institutions such as law, marriage, organized religion, systemized violence against women, and the sex industry. By exchanging sex for money, female prostitutes are seen to be reinforcing the misogynistic ideology that the use of the female body for sexual purposes is a male right and perpetuating male violence against women. However, other feminists and sex workers' advocates have criticized this theory for ignoring the difference between free and forced prostitution. They argue that infantilization of prostitutes as passive victims to be used by men, as opposed to adults

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... jobs, mining settlements ... situation were the major ... camps with loose moral ... They also provided ... home, including food ... the facilities, which they ... in mining settlements. ... period, size, and nature ... extracted from the earth ... such as gold and dia- ... activities than the ones ... of time as a factor can- ... monetary value. During ... of gold was such that ... ing quick money in the ... the value of solid min- ... erces, and consequently, ... the influx of people and ... mity. In fact, some cities ... mples are Johannesburg, ... Canada. Large mining ... e ones known in urban

writer was known for blurring the lines of fiction and autobiography, inventing the modern teenager, being the first modern woman to live in accordance with her pleasures, cultivating a star persona, creating her own line of chocolates and cosmetics, demanding privacy, and being one of the first women to write about the faked orgasm. Writing from her early 20s to her mid-70s, she produced several famous novels: *The Pure and the Impure* (1932), *The Vagabond* (1910), *Cheri* (1920), *The Last of Cheri* (1926), *Gigi* (1945), *My Mother's House* (1922), and *Sido* (1929). Dominant themes in her work include women's struggle for independence and self-realization, the mother-daughter bond, female sexuality within patriarchy, and love. Many of her characters came from the margins of society, including courtesans, gigolos, bisexuals, and cocottes. In 1905, Colette became a musical performer, baring her breast on stage and causing a riot when she mimed copulation at the Moulin Rouge. Her lovers and friends included Missy, Natalie Clifford Barney, Gabriele d'Annunzio, Henri Gauthier-Villars, Henri de Jouvenel des Ursins, and Maurice Goudaket. Her only daughter is Colette de Jouvenel. She suffered during the last 20 years of her life from arthritis and died August 3, 1954, in Paris, France. She was accorded a state funeral attended by thousands.

See also French Literature.

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Laura Madeline Wiseman

**COLONIALISM AND PROSTITUTION IN AFRICA.** Prostitution in colonial Africa was a profession that provided females with a substantial degree of social, cultural, and economic mobility and independence. The three major domains, which did overlap, of sexual labor in colonial Africa were urban centers, military settlements, and mining camps. Mining camps belonged to one of the numerous colonial capitalist structures that made use of high numbers of male laborers. A sizeable percentage of men recruited as mine laborers were from the countryside, typically far from mining camps. The severity of work in the mines coupled with the fact that mine laborers were usually prevented from taking their wives along with them provided the opportunity for independent females who migrated to the camps to earn a living through the provision of sexual services. Mine-based prostitutes in most countries in colonial Africa had the opportunity of harnessing greater resources.

The history of military settlement in colonial African varies from one part of the continent to another. Immediately after the commencement of World War I (1914–18) and the establishment of military camps in some African states, prostitutes also moved to places close to military settlement and provided sexual services for soldiers. Military settlement-based prostitution flourished adequately during World War II (1939–45), which saw greater involvement of African troops in different stages of war prosecution. Like the mine laborers, men recruited into the colonial army were predominantly from the villages or rural areas. The rigor or stress traditionally connected with soldiery provided the situation that made the sexual labor of prostitutes indispensable. Nigerian prostitutes who settled near military camps in Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu, and most important, Kaduna, which was the headquarters of the Nigeria Regiment of the West African Frontier Force, were fondly called “ammunition wives.” Military authorities in different military camps in Africa needed to control the movement of soldiers who sneaked out

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of the barracks to nearby places where they could pay for sexual services of prostitutes. During the war years, the military debated whether to institutionalize brothel keeping through a system called "controlled brothels." The introduction of controlled brothels near military camps was seen as the only means of monitoring the movement of soldiers. Controlled brothels also would provide the opportunity for screening of prostitutes, whose activities were regarded as the major factor in the spread of venereal diseases, which had a high incidence among the military troops in Africa. The proposal for the establishment of controlled brothels for the troops of the West African Frontier Force in English-speaking West Africa was turned down because the government thought it would provide legitimacy for some prostitution-related activities, such as public soliciting, procuring, and living on immoral earnings, which were all criminal offenses.

Prostitution also flourished in urban centers in colonial Africa. As in most parts of the world, it was largely an urban phenomenon. African urban centers were designed to maintain a large pool of competitively cheap male laborers. The introduction of wage labor encouraged men to migrate into the city, leaving their wives and families in the countryside. Urban centers in Africa became melting pots of cultures, which produced a new pattern of outlook and social behavior, that of "urbanized" people. Significant characteristics of urban life included large numbers of social gathering places such as bars, cinemas, and other places that were stigmatized as "red light districts."

Prostitutes provided the needed sexual adjustment within this new domain where social and economic independence was highest. All these attributes of colonial urban centers were absent in the countryside, which apart from being culturally homogenous, could not guarantee a substantial degree of social and economic independence for men and women.

A surprising aspect of prostitutes in colonial African urban spaces was that they came to be associated with specific tribes of females who migrated into new places for the purpose of earning a living through the sale of sexual relations. The name given to different types of prostitutes was sometimes determined by their places of origin. For instance, Nigerian prostitutes in the major cities of the Gold Coast (Ghana) in the early 1940s were called *Akunakuna*, the name of the village in Calabar Province of Nigeria where most of the women originated. In eastern Nigerian cities, Idoma migrant prostitutes were called *Akwato*, the name of a popular village that belonged to the Idoma. In some parts of Africa, the amount charged also determined the name given to categories of prostitutes. In this connection, migrant prostitutes from Ivory Coast who were prostitutes in the Gold Coast were called *Tutu* because they collected two-two shillings for sexual services rendered.

The type of prostitution was determined by the method adopted by the prostitute in soliciting; that is, the typology of prostitution was informed by the ways in which prostitutes attracted male customers. A good example can be drawn from Nairobi. In this important East African city, the *watembezi*, which could be likened to streetwalking, included all those prostitutes who solicited in public places such as bars, hotel lobbies, and, of course, streets. The *malaya* prostitute waited in front of her room for her customers to enter. In northern Nigeria, a form of prostitution locally known as *karuwanci* is akin to the *malaya* form in Nairobi. Practitioners of *karuwanci* did not move from one place to another but lived in special houses known locally as *gidajen mata* that men patronized.

There are several factors that inhibit an assessment of the resources harnessed by prostitutes, principal among which was that prostitution belonged to the "off-the-book sector" of the colonial economy. However, there is ample evidence to show that prostitutes accumulated wealth. A study of prostitution in colonial Nairobi has shown that prostitutes harnessed wealth and invested in landed property. *Tutu* prostitutes in the Gold Coast were able to make a profit of

between 250,000 and 400,000 francs from a two-year sojourn in the city. Nigerian prostitutes in the Gold Coast in 1933 sent 10 shillings to their relatives at home. In all, prostitution provided females with a substantial degree of economic and social mobility.

Colonial governments throughout Africa adopted divergent methods in controlling or regulating activities of prostitutes. Prostitution in most states in colonial Africa was not a criminal offense. However, several activities, such as brothel keeping, procuring, living on immoral earnings, public soliciting, and illegal guardianship, were illegal. Three major factors facilitated the process of criminalization of prostitution-related activities. The first was that prostitution, as a "deviant career," owed its origin to "modernization." The second was the moral and health considerations that allowed them to be seen as a class of people who constituted "public pollution" through their roles in the spread of venereal diseases and general "immorality." Last were the assumptions that prostitutes were responsible for an increase in crime rates and limiting the access that people who engaged in "legitimate jobs" had to decent accommodations. In 1932, arrests and prosecutions of all unattached women were carried out in colonial Asante (part of present-day Ghana). Also, in Tanganyika, Kampala-Kiguga (part of present-day Uganda), and Zimbabwe, compulsory medical screenings for venereal disease were carried out on all unmarried females who migrated into urban centers. A similar situation occurred in southern Rhodesia, where all females migrating into places close to the mines were subjected to medical screening. If wives traveled with their husbands, they had to possess marriage certificates. In Nigeria, frequent raids of brothels and houses where prostitutes and other unattached women lived were conducted between the early 1940s and late 1950s.

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Saheed Aderinto

**COMFORT WOMEN.** From the early 1930s to the end of World War II, at least 80,000 schoolgirls and female villagers and factory workers, mostly Korean, but also Chinese, Indonesian, Burmese, Malaysian, Japanese, and even New Guinean, were seized by Japanese military officials and their civilian agents (often Korean) and enslaved sexually to soldiers and officers in state-sponsored "Comfort Stations" (brothels). Another 100,000 "Comfort Women" (*wianbu* from Korean, *ianfu* from Japanese) were "recruited" by Japanese and Korean middlemen who offered them work abroad as cooks, **laundresses**, and entertainers but instead consigned them to service sexually 20 to 30 soldiers daily, often many more. One Dutch-Australian woman, Jan

Duff, survived both in Japan in 1992 about beatings, venereal in the form of torture removed to prevent

Ethnic divisions, guage, and appeals to justify the prostitution state officials. The br occupation of Korea Edict in 1193 C.E. Japanese services to men with riageable—the samurai Straits, state-sponsored Japanese government of units posted to China as state-sanctioned military and education

The system was inmates, were tricked them by car, boat, the northeast China for hood, stripped and be formed into contingents service to the Japanese or were spirited away hours each day, during port or by disease or

At war's end, many then serve American German women in China fertile to return home Memories I Am Lost (1999) are common.

Japanese officials "preneurs" instead, but professor found microfilm into prostitution through condoms would be taken by physicians, as apologies made even barbarism, the Communist Ministry continued victims as suggested by pressed to apologize fully to reveal this sh