<u>Blurred Lines: Triangular Power Relations between Managers, Sex Workers, and Clients in Canadian Escort and Massage Businesses</u>

by

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B.A., University of Winnipeg, 1995
M.A., University of Manitoba, 2001

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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While the sale of sex services remains legal in Canada, 2014 changes to the Criminal Code

makes the management of a Canadian escort agency or massage parlour essentially illegal.

Managers must operate in nearly invisible fashion and without standard civil resources and

protections; including, access to credit, management training and industry associations, as well

as protection from the police and courts. Weitzer (2005) argues that sex work management is one

of the most invisible parts of the sex industry and stresses the need for research that investigates

all three sides of the sex work employment triangle: sex workers, clients, *and* managers. This

dissertation addresses this lacuna with interviews collected in 2013 from a sample of 43

managers of escort agency and massage parlour businesses in five Canadian cities. Qualitative

findings reveal what managers do, how they cope, and the extent to which they hold or use

power to influence change, taking into account the effect of both stigma and the legal

environment and interactions with municipal by-law officials and police. This dissertation seeks

to: 1) examine how managers negotiate triangular power relations between sex workers and their

clients in escort and massage businesses in the research sites; 2) investigate how the socio-

cultural environment affects managers' everyday lives and how they experience

conflict/aggression in the workplace; and 3) determine how the legal environment (municipal by-

laws and policing) shapes these negotiations. Results show that managers of sex workers have

much in common with managers of other frontline services; however the primary factor

distinguishing their approach to management is that they operate under the threat of arrest and

stigma. Theoretical perspectives drawn from Bourdieu (1986), Braverman (1974), and

Hochschild (1983) are used to highlight forms of capital employees use to navigate their place in

this triangulated employment sector. Hakim's (2010) theory of erotic labour is then examined in

the context of managers' hiring practices in order to understand the capital sex workers and other

workers in sexualized service industries draw upon. Results also show that conflict in the service

exchange often starts between sex workers and clients and managers are responsible for

intervening. However, because managers operate under a constant fear of the law, their ability to

intervene effectively is somewhat hampered. In spite of this, managers who have had *direct*

interaction with police and municipal by-law officers express a more positive view than those

who have not. This is significant because while there is a general fear of officials and punitive

censure of sex work-related activities, the reality is that these officials tend to treat these

managers fairly. This research makes a novel contribution to the sociology of service work

literature, and is especially important and relevant in the context of recent legal changes where

commercial sex enterprises and third party material benefit within these enterprises are now

illegal in Canada due to the recent passing of Bill C-36.

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Acknowledgments

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Dedication

This project is respectfully dedicated to all individuals working in the sex industry, past and present. It takes a lot of courage to step forward and fight the injustices, stigma, and discrimination surrounding sex work. Your bravery, diligence, and strength never cease to amaze me.

Chapter 1: Introduction

I worked for a period of 15 years in the massage and escort industry, both within managed settings and as an independent escort. Since leaving the off-street sex industry, I have been an active member of the sex work community for the past 12 years. I worked with multiple regional, national, and international organizations committed to the reduction of health inequalities among sex work populations. In 2003, I held the appointment of Executive Director of PEERS Victoria, a non-profit organization providing vital social services to people formerly and currently involved in the sex industry. I also held the position of Executive Officer, Canadian National Coalition of Experiential Women, a national Canadian consortium committed to the advancement of equality and human rights for sex workers. I have created, developed, and delivered successful government-funded harm reduction programs geared specifically toward the betterment of health and wellbeing of sex workers in Canada. I have also worked with a team of researchers on a CIHR Catalyst Grant entitled *Sex Industry Health, Safety and Human Rights* (2010). This work provided a venue for sex workers to engage with policy makers and researchers and voice their experiences and contribute to new forms of knowledge. I have delivered conference presentations nationally and internationally, including a keynote address at the *Other Voices* forum held in Halifax, Nova Scotia. I was also co-participant in a documentary film entitled *The Brothel Project* (Butler-Parry, 2009), which broadcasted across Canada on Global Television, and I have been interviewed over 25 times by a variety of radio, print, and television media. In 2011, I travelled to Kenya to provide interview training to a group of research assistants at the University of Nairobi, followed by three days in Kibera conducting interviews with female sex workers living with HIV.. This fieldwork is part of, *A Kenya Free of AIDS: Harnessing Interdisciplinary Science for HIV Prevention* (KEFA), a United States

National Institutes of Health-funded research project that interlinks the University of Nairobi, the University of Washington, and the University of Victoria. While in Africa, I travelled to Ethiopia where I was invited to disseminate a harm reduction program developed for sex workers. I also worked for a period of a year and a half inside the Los Angeles County Jail System, where I held support groups and provided workshops to women and female-to-male transgender sex workers. It is from this positioning that I approach the research, as a former escort/massage worker, as a service provider to sex workers, and as an activist for the health and safety and human rights of people working in the sex industry.

A sociological focus on sex industry management is academically important because previous studies and lay generalizations about the sex industry have typically focused on its moral and criminal aspects rather than the conditions of work and how they vary by context (Weitzer, 2009). Arguments continue to emphasize the "sex" part of sex work rather than the "work" (Benoit et al., 2009). Also, studies on the sex industry to date tend to predominantly focus on sex workers, mainly those working close to the street. The result is that the complexity of the sex industry—including the interactions of clients, sex workers, and managers in off-street establishments—is obscured (Van der Meulen, Durisin & Love, 2013; Lewis et al., 2005; Lowman, 2000; Lowman & Atchison, 2006). Furthermore, previous research tends to vilify the roles, responsibilities, and operations of sex work managers (May, Harocopos & Hough, 2000). Their depiction in film, television, and academic scholarship as immoral, exploitative often male predators who are controlling and often violent toward vulnerable young girls and women has also contributed the scarcity of research on sex work management (Bruckert & Law, 2013).

For the purposes of this dissertation, I use the term sex work because it is a form of economic labour, challenging the assumption that the sex industry contains only exploitation and

control and all sex workers are victims lacking agency. The term sex work does not imply that all individuals in the sex industry are working by free choice, any more than all individuals in other forms of paid labour do the work willingly; rather, there is a continuum ranging from economic exploitation to worker empowerment (McCarthy et al., 2012). Individuals work in the sex industry primarily because it offers more money, flexibility in work hours, and autonomy than many of the available alternatives (Benoit et al., 2015). These alternatives to the sex industry include other forms of precarious employment including frontline service work (e.g., food and beverage service, aesthetic and therapeutic body work services) much of which makes up a growing part of Canada's labour market (Godin & Kittel, 2004). With the unequal distribution of wealth and income increasing in Canada, many frontline service workers typically experience poor salaries, instability, and exposure to workplace hazards—a deprivation of the social citizenship rights afforded to others in the labour force (Benoit et al., 2009). The sex industry can offer better opportunities than other interactive service work positions provide, and individuals with care-giving responsibilities may be particularly drawn to it (Ibid.). Yet, as this project demonstrates, Canada's Criminal Code constrains relationships between managers, clients, and workers within the sex industry. Furthermore, stigma faced by managers makes their work more stressful than other frontline service occupations.

The varying structural and legal-political contexts of workers in this industry have significant implications for their occupational health and safety. Film, television, and academic scholarship typically depict those who manage sex workers as predatory pimps (Jeffrey & McDonald, 2006; Bruckert & Law, 2013). In the United States, for example, cultural contexts such as legal and social racism, law enforcement and legal systems, patriarchal social structures, poverty, and drugs drive a particular stereotype of the pimp (Ibid.). Research of sex industry

management, however, has been sparse and the few studies that exist are limited to men who control street prostitution (Ibid.) Recent research provides considerable evidence that street-level pimps has become increasingly rare in Canada over the course of the last decade (Gillies, 2013; Jeffrey & McDonald, 2006). Further, evidence of predation by managers or seems exaggerated; Canada's Parliamentary Subcommittee on Solicitation states that evidence suggests that "people who are forced into prostitution against their will by a third party are by no means in the majority" (cited in Bruckert and Law, 2013, p. 16).

Academic literature based on the sociology of service work has become more common during the past decade (Lopez, 2010), and researchers are beginning to look at management roles in the service industry. For example, researchers have examined how managers in frontline service work influence the experiences of both workers and customers (Bolton & Houlihan, 2010). This interest follows a larger trend towards re-conceptualizing labour relations from a dyadic between managers and workers to a "trilateral relationship" (Belanger & Edwards, 2013) or a "three-way interest alliance" (Leidner, 2006; Sallaz, 2002).

Within the three-way alliance, customers can act as antagonists or allies of workers and/or managers. Korczynski (2002, 2004, and 2007) notes that the service triangle has led to a customer-oriented bureaucracy, in which companies have to manage conflicts between price efficiency and customer service. Consumers serve as important stakeholders in the organization of labour. Some researchers describe this as a further source of control or oppression for service workers in contrast to manufacturing workers (Fuller and Smith, 1991; Williams and Connell, 2010). Williams and Connell note, however, that rigid boundaries between the categories of workers and consumers may no longer hold. In high-end retail, they argue:

> Workers consent [to regulations pertaining to physical appearance] despite the deplorable conditions because these stores resonate with their consumer interests, not with their

interests as workers. The typical high-end retail employee represents what we call a hybrid "worker-consumer" who identifies with and finds pleasure being associated with particular brands (2010, 351).

Similarly, Bruckert and Law (2013) found that the divide between managers, to whom they refer by the general term third parties, and sex workers is arbitrary:

> The difference between sex worker and third party is also not as distinct or hierarchical as the stereotypes would suggest—we found that these roles overlapped, informed, and alternated for many of our participants. In this regard, 29 were sex workers at the same time as being third parties and 13 were former sex workers (p. 13).

Managers frequently come from sex-work backgrounds themselves, and may not wield the same level of authority that other managers have in shaping work practices due to the tendency of indoor sex workers to position themselves as self-managed independent contractors. Bruckert and Law's (2013) findings suggest that, rather than examining management as a dyadic relationship occurring between manager and employee (as in the case with literature pertaining to "pimps"), researchers should address the findings of complex interrelationships among social actors in the workplace, which resembles other service sectors. This characterization encourages a move away from the traditional focus on criminality, deviance, and pimping to a more nuanced position.

Managers working in the sex industry share similarities with other interactive service work managers; however, there are also a few important differences. Unlike other service occupations, the sex industry in Canada is located in the informal economy, which J.J. Reimer (2006) defines as "the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services that have economic value, but are neither protected by a formal code of law nor recorded for use by government-backed regulatory agencies" (p.25). Managers of the sex industry do not have the same citizen-based workplace protections and programs, such as legislated occupational health and safety standards and employment, as other service workers (Bruckert & Law, 2013).

Furthermore, the sex industry is a stigmatized occupation (Benoit et al., 2015; McCarthy et. Al, 2014). The legality issues and stigma play out in a variety of ways, including how managers hire and train new workers, how conflict is resolved, and the impact of the law through managers' interactions with police and municipal enforcers.

This doctoral dissertation investigates the service sector "triangle" between sex industry managers, sex workers and their clients located in massage and escort businesses in five regions across Canada. Key aims of this dissertation are to: 1) examine how managers negotiate triangular power relations between sex workers and their clients in escort and massage businesses in the research sites; 2) investigate how the socio-cultural environment affects managers' hiring/training strategies and how they experience conflict/aggression in the workplace; and 3) to determine how the legal environment (municipal by-laws; policing) shapes these negotiations. As part of a project that addresses the general question as to whether sex industry managers resemble their counterparts in other frontline service agencies, this dissertation provides useful insights into how current social, political, legal, and cultural sanctions contribute to or hinder occupational health and safety for individuals involved in the sex industry in Canada. This research is a novel contribution to the sociology of service work literature because there is very little research that explores the role of managers in the sex industry in any detail and what is available often focuses on how management is perceived by workers or otherwise shapes their experiences. Furthermore, understanding the role and experiences of managers within the sex industry is especially important given the passage of Bill C-36 in December 2014, which made commercial sex enterprises and third party material benefit within these enterprises essentially illegal in Canada.

The outline of this dissertation is as follows: Chapter 2 begins with a brief review of management of personal service industries, followed by a review of the theoretical concepts used in this dissertation. Gaps in the literature are discussed followed by the research questions that aim to fill these gaps. Chapter 3 provides a description of the methods and data used in this dissertation project. Chapter 4 provides an overview of management workplace hiring and training activities and responsibilities. Chapter 5 examines how conflict and aggression between sex workers and clients is experienced by managers, and strategies used by managers to avoid potential conflict. Chapter 6 provides an overview of how the legal environment (municipal by-laws and the police) shapes the negotiation of alliances. Chapter 7 focuses on the implications of the findings for the relevant literature. Chapter 8 provides a summary of the project, discusses its limitations, and makes some concluding remarks.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In keeping with the understanding of sex work as a type of personal service employment carried out in the sex industry, this literature review addresses a wide array of research relevant to personal service industries. In order to conceptualize three-way alliances of personal service work in advanced capitalist societies, the chapter draws on various theoretical concepts such as Bourdieu's theory of capital (1986), Braverman's (1974) labour process theory, and Hochschild's (1983) emotional labour theory. Bolton and Boyd (2003) and other theorists highlight the different types of labour—emotional, aesthetic, and body—involved in interactive service work. Hakim's (2010) theory of erotic capital is presented because it is especially useful for understanding other types of capital sex workers and other workers in sexualized service industries draw upon. Existing studies of managing personal services industries is presented followed by an overview of management of the sex industry. The chapter concludes with a presentation of knowledge gaps in the literature and research questions used in this study to fill some of these gaps.

2.1 Management of Personal Service Industries in Advanced Capitalist Societies

Frontline service work, or "interactive service work" (Leidner, 1991), involves face-to-face contact with customers (England, Hermsen & Cotter, 2000). Recent developments in economic restructuring and technological advancement have resulted in a reduction of manufacturing jobs and an increase in service work (Krahn & Taylor, 2005). These changes relate to shifts in market competition and a reorganization of the labour force (Benoit et al., 2009), generally coinciding with decreasing wages, increasing part-time work, de-unionization, and reduced safety in the workplace (Godin & Kittel, 2004). Frontline service work includes

better paid and higher status work such as nursing, social work, and teaching, but also

encompasses lower-status occupations in call centres, seniors' homes, and retail outlets (Harvey,

2005). All of these jobs typically require direct interaction with clients/customers in the

provision of personal service. In this sector, research has addressed, for example, food and

beverage providers (Benoit et al., 2009; Leidner, 1993), flight attendants (Hochschild, 1983), and

those that provide grooming and other aesthetic services (Benoit et al., 2009; Benoit, McCarthy

& Jansson, 2015). Management in interactive service industries in advanced capitalist societies is

constructed as part of a three-way alliance, consisting of triangular relationships between

managers, workers, and clients (Lopez, 2010). In general, the triadic relationships between

customers, workers, and managers permit any of the three groups to form alliances with or

against each other (Anderson, 2006; Lopez, 2010; Sallaz, 2002). Lopez (2010) describes the

relationship as follows:

> The complex play of interests in the service triangle means that in some situations, the
> interests of workers and customers align together against those of managers. In others,
> managers and customers' interests may align against workers; equally, there are
> situations in which the interests of managers and workers align in the direction of
> exerting control over customers. (p. 255)

2.2 Bourdieu's Theory of Capital and Braverman's Labour Process Theory

Bourdieu's theory of capital (1986) explains how employees can use different forms of

material and symbolic capital to navigate their place in this triangulated employment sector.

These include: a) economic capital, which is the amount of resources—money, assets, and

land—that one can use to reap financial gain; b) cultural capital, which refers to the pedigree of

educational, work, or training experience that that helps determine the value of a worker; and c)

social capital or the ways in which a person's associations and social relationships to individuals

or groups in power are valued and can be leveraged into other forms of capital (Ibid.).

Labour process theory complements our understanding of three-way alliances in the service work triangle specifically. Harry Braverman (1974), an industrial worker in the United States turned political theorist, examined his own work experiences through a Marxist perspective to create his labour process theory. The theory identifies three attributes of labour under capitalism: 1) indeterminacy (the open-ended nature of the employee contribution to production); 2) structured antagonism (stemming from exploitative workplace relations); and 3) a connection between the labour process and external economic agents (Braverman, 1974). His views are instrumental in examining how individuals work, what skills they use on the job, who controls their work, and how they are paid. Braverman (1974) asserts that under capitalism management "steals" workers' skills, reduces the pleasurable nature of work, takes the power that controlling their skill would otherwise confer on them, diminishes their wages to that of unskilled workers, and places increasing demands on them. For Braverman, the working class is subject to the whims of management and capitalist brutality. He analyzed the local systems of management and control, and how these reduce the power of certain segments of the working class, specifically those work skills that unskilled labour and machine power cannot reproduce. Braverman (1974) theorizes that increasing demands can reduce workers' joy and sense of accomplishment on the job, and exploit their capital assets. It suggests that the dynamic of unequal social relationships both limit, condition, and drive the structuring of paid employment (Braverman, 1974).

2.3 Hochschild's Theory of Emotional Labour

Subsequent scholarship has extended Braverman's theory to include how social factors such as race, class, and gender relationship serve to perpetuate unequal social relationships in service work. Hochschild (1983), for example, notes that not only does the capitalist worker lose

the joy and satisfaction of labour within a structure of inequality that the way this play out is distinctly gendered. In her book, *The Managed Heart (*1983), Hochschild describes emotional labour as the process whereby management requires service providers to control and display the emotions that align with the imperatives of the organization for which they work. In a service setting, emotional labour involves showing a genuine concern for customers' needs, smiling, and making positive eye contact. These actions provide a positive experience for the customer and add to a customer's perception of service quality and likelihood of returning (Ibid.). Research suggests emotional labour takes a toll on service workers and requires a specific set of "deep acting" skills resulting in strain and a loss of a sense of identity.

According to Lopez (2010), Hochschild's work "is hands down the most influential idea to emerge from the sociology of service work" (p. 254). The study examined airline flight attendants' relationships to managers and customers. Hochschild finds that management requires flight attendants to be cheerful at all times, even in the face of irate customers, and to ignore their own fears in the event of turbulence in order to calm passengers (Ibid.). Because passengers are paying for services, Hochschild sees it as a form of control that management has over its workers. Describing an industry in which, at the time, women predominated among flight attendants and men predominated in management in the airline industry, Hochschild identifies the intersection of class and gender to as part of the forces that shape "feeling rules" (Hochschild, 1983). Emotional labour is often seen as "women's work"—something that women are "naturally" good at like childcare, house work, sex work, etc.—and this work tends to be devalued and exploited. Emotional labour is a kind of affective labour that is not easily bracketed off from other kinds of work which is why it often is devalued and exploited. Emotional labour is a form of capital that gets devalued, according to Hochschild. There is rarely training around it, and therefore if a

worker fails to meet expectations of providing good emotional labour, she is seen as being a "bad worker" rather than an "untrained worker" requiring a particular kind of investment. Workers are often hired for having this skill; however it is not seen as a skill like others but rather more as a personality attribute.

2.4 Building on Emotional Labour: Body and Aesthetic Labour

Miliann Kang's article (and later book), *The Managed Hand* (2003) extends Hochschild's theory to "body labour" and seeks a more intersectional analysis by looking closely at issues of race. Kang examined why nail salons in New York City have become so popular, as well as why nail salon workers are predominantly Asian immigrants and more particularly, Korean women. Kang's analysis highlights the ways in which global inequality and systemic racism writ large play out in the interpersonal dynamic of a nail salon wherein racialized and immigrant women are put in the service of pampering women of relative privilege. Contrary to notions of beauty service establishments as spaces for building community among women (Ibid.), *The Managed Hand* finds that while tentative and fragile solidarities can emerge across the manicure table, they generally give way to even more powerful divisions of race, class, and immigration.

A closely related concept in the service work literature is that of aesthetic labour (Bourdieu, 1986). Warhurst et al. (2000) define aesthetic labour as:

> A supply of "embodied capacities and attributes" possessed by workers at the point of entry into employment. Employers then mobilize, develop and commodify these capacities and attributes through processes of recruitment, selection and training, transforming them into "competencies" or "skills" which are then aesthetically geared towards producing a "style" of service encounter (p. 4).

Research on aesthetic labour, set in the context of restaurants (Warhurst et al., 2000), amusement parks (Van Maanen, 1992), and retail stores (Warhurst, et al. 2000; Williams and Connell, 2010), acknowledges that white employees receive preferential status because they

convey middle class membership and represent a socially valorized beauty standard. The work to date does not explore how racialized (Zamudio & Lichter, 2008), economically disadvantaged and physically diverse workers are treated within settings that call for aesthetic labour, or how they work to either challenge or maximize their combination of dispositions.

According to Bolton and Houlihan (2005), customers, managers, and workers are differentially situated within the power dynamics of the service sector triangle that co-constructs interactive service work. Both managers and workers experience pressure to treat the customer as a dominant (Hochschild, 1983). Bolton & Houlihan (2005) highlight the ways in which workers hold and use power of their own within the dyad, but they do so in an intrinsically subordinate position. Korcynski (2009) maps three main areas of power that shape subjective experience of the customer-worker and manager-worker relationship: the tension and burden associated with needing to please the customer and the manager at the same time. The author's conceptualization is useful in highlighting how,

> … specifically, spontaneous, individualized conflict may be played out against the customer as the party who is experienced as the prime alienating figure rather than against the more distant management figure who plays such a central role in structuring the worker-customer relationship (Korcynski, 2009, p. 956.)

However, when the relationship is "caring" rather than instrumental, is ongoing, and affords both worker and customer equal power, workers may see the worker/customer dyad as fulfilling (Ibid., p. 256).

Rosenthal and Strange (2004) find that management control can be a resource for workers as they engage with customers. While customers do sometimes exert control "the rhetoric of the customer also proves to be a resource for workers in their conflicts with managers"

(Bolton & Houlihan, 2010, p. 255). In both cases, workers draw on the power of others to bolster their own power.

2.5 Hakim's Theory of Erotic Capital

As already indicated, Bourdieu (1984) developed a theory of capital to understand social mobility, social and economic processes, and social interaction as distinct entities in social processes (Hakim, 2010: p. 499). The theory underscores that everyone possesses specific types of capital that can be used to their benefit. These forms of capital include, cultural, social, and economic, which may be translated into social mobility and economic gain. In hiring for interactive service jobs, educational attainment, family of origin and upbringing, cultural taste (or perception of "class") among other qualities often factor into managers' determination of what makes a strong hiring candidate. As noted above, aesthetic and body labour are equally as important to highlight. For example, the modeling, food and beverage, and sex industry often hire based on appearance. Some of this is natural good looks; however some of it is the cultural capital that arises from looking a particular way (hyper-feminine, cool, edgy, exotic, sexy, etc.)—that can be achieved vis-a-vis clothing, make-up, etc.

Catherine Hakim (2010) conceptualizes aesthetic, body and sexual labour as "erotic capital" which she defines as "the ability to use one's sexuality and sexual effervescence within personal and professional markets" (p. 507). According to Hakim erotic capital "has become just as valuable an asset as economic, social, and cultural capital" (p. 507). She argues that women in advanced capitalist societies have more erotic capital than men (Ibid.) and they also work harder in using it to increase their power in the workplace and society at large. Erotic capital is an important asset in existing labour markets requiring emotional labour, particularly in, for example, positions where sexuality is a large a part of performance (p. 503; Hochschild, 1983).

Escorts and massage workers most definitely fall into that category, where [oftentimes] women are paid for their erotic capital, and receive commercial value from it (Ibid.). Erotic capital has many different elements associated with it, some of which are more important than others depending on the market and culture in which it is situated (Ibid.). Hakim presents the following six elements of erotic capital: beauty, sexual attractiveness, social interaction, liveliness, social presentation, and sexuality. These elements are described in Chapter 4 given their obvious importance to sex work. While managers in the sex work industry look for these qualities in a worker, so do many other frontline service jobs including food and beverage service, modeling, sales, etc.

2.6 Management in the Personal Service Industry

While there is no accepted definition of managers as a category that can be generalized across workplaces, Rosemary Stewart defines managers as "anyone above a certain level, roughly above foreman whether . . . in control of staff or not" in 1976 (p. 4 as cited in Hales, 1986). Based on this definition, Colin Hales (1986) proposes to define managers by what they do rather than who they are. He identifies nine common aspects of managerial work:

(1) Acting as figurehead and leader of an organizational unit;

(2) Liaising or the formation and maintenance of contacts;

(3) Monitoring, filtering and disseminating information;

(4) Allocating resources;

(5) Handling disturbances and maintaining work flows;

(6) Negotiating;

(7) Innovating;

(8) Planning;

(9) Controlling and directing subordinates (p. 95).

In addition to these demands are those that come with holding an "in-between" role, between workers and customers, as well as workers and upper levels of management (Lopez, 2010). The liminality of this role leads some researchers, including Dopson, Risk, and Steward (1992) to describe this category of work as blurred, and note that even at a judicial level there is a failure to clearly distinguish this role. In their words,

> The expression "manager" should not be too narrowly construed… [it could be] any person who in the affairs of the company exercises a supervisory control which reflects the general policy of the company for the time being or which is related to the general administration of the company (Lord Denning as cited in Dopson, Risk and Steward, 1992, p. 41).

Wright and Singelmann (1982) position supervisors and managers as simultaneously bourgeois and proletarian because capital dominates them; but they dominate workers. This is important because it highlights that managers take up varying roles, they exist in a space where they both exercise but are also responsive to power structures. Some of the key functions of management in other service sectors, however, may be reshaped in the sex industry due to the legal context and stigma that exists. The following section explores management in the sex industry, taking into account these considerations.

2.7 Management in the Sex Industry

While there is no widely agreed upon operational definition of a "sex work manager," what has become clear is the need to move beyond outdated and stereotypical predators capable of contemptible behaviour (May, Harocopos & Hough, 2000). Those who manage sex work are subject to societal contempt and hostility due to stigma resulting in negative stereotypes —men who rape, sell women for sex, and batter people as part of their regular work in controlling the prostitution scene (Davis, 2013). From this perspective it is hard for some to acknowledge the

varied ways in which managers, bosses/owners, drivers, other third parties, as well as sex

workers themselves, ultimately determine their varied experiences within the industry (Durisin

and Love, 2013; Lewis et al., 2005; Lowman, 2000). A few researchers have been working at

defining this often overlooked role in the industry based on their empirical research. One recent

study on sex industry managers in Switzerland, for example, defines the group as "men and

women who earn their income through operating a business (brothel, contact bar) in the sex trade.

They assume the role and responsibility of an employer towards sex workers, who in return work

for them legally, self-determined" (Ibid.) Another study describes managers, broadly, as persons

who maintain the provision of "support services and infrastructure such as administration,

security, drivers, client management, public relations, and advertising" (Gillies, 2013). Given the

range of activities managers undertake within the sex industry, researchers use the term "third

party" in lieu of manager. According to Parent et al. (2013), a third party is any individual

involved in the service transaction who is neither the client nor the worker. This individual

coordinates, controls, or supervises sex workers' labour process or labour practices for either

indirect or direct financial compensation. Crucially, this term highlights the complexity of sex

workers' relationships with those around them, as it encompasses the fact that a sex worker may

employ, or be employed by, a third-party (Gillies, 2013).

Research indicates that managers have greater control over the practices and norms of sex

work environments in comparison to other parties involved in the sex industry, which means that

managers can both improve or hinder the health and safety of sex workers and clients within the

workplace (Sanders, 2005).

Bruckert and Law (2013) offer novel insights into this under-researched subject in their

study on Ottawa-based sex workers' views on working with third parties in the sex industry. The

authors reveal that sex workers in their study indicate that "employers, managers and agencies may offer benefits including security and training, but can also be economically exploitative, unprofessional and even sites of abuse" (Bruckert & Law, 2013: 20). In their report, the researchers present candid discussions on what managers do and how their roles play out, based on interviews with a diverse sample from both the in-call and out-call sectors of the sex industry. Their findings suggest that managers and third parties' roles and behaviours are complex, fluid, and ever-changing. They also reveal that "while for the most part escort agency third parties were aware of the need for security and sexual health protocols, they were less preoccupied with safeguarding the emotional health of their workers" (Bruckert and Law, 2013:54). This revelation is unsurprising, given that it reflects Canadian labour laws in general, whereby the "importance of safeguarding workers' emotional health is often overlooked by employers in many labour sectors and has certainly historically been seen as outside of the expectations mandated through provincial occupational health and safety legislation" (Ibid., p. 53).

2.8 Gaps in the Research

While much important work has been done looking at the role of managers in the sex industry, knowledge gaps persist, including:

1) Lack of nuanced analyses of management in the sex industry. Most investigations characterize all people working in management roles uncritically as "pimps" or "predators." Even the sex work literature that is more work-focused has been preoccupied with managers' exertion of control over workers (Bruckert and Law, 2013);

2) Few studies that compare sex industry management with management in other frontline service sectors;

3) Lack of investigation of the triangular relationships between managers, workers, and clients in the sex industry;

4) Scant attention to the structural conditions and regulations (such as federal and municipal bylaws) that affect escort and massage establishments, and whether or not the laws influence relationships between managers, sex workers, and clients (Weitzer, 2007).

2.9 Research Questions

Addressing the lacuna in the literature, the following questions provide the framework for my analysis: 1) how are triangular power relations negotiated by managers with sex workers and their clients in Canadian escort and massage businesses; 2) how does the socio/cultural environment affect the everyday lives of managers and how do they experience conflict/aggression in the workplace; and 3) how does the legal environment (federal and municipal by-laws; police) and stigma shape the negotiation of these alliances? This research seeks to fill the gaps in the literature, shedding new light on the complexity and heterogeneity existing in Canadian escort and massage businesses. Examining the sex industry through the lens of occupational safety and health highlights ways in which managers play roles in creating safe work sites, which contributes to a decrease in violence and other health risks for those involved in the sex industry face on a daily basis.

2.10 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the relevant literature pertaining to management of personal service industries in advanced capitalist societies. The concept of triangular relationships, or three-way alliances (Leidner, 1991) was presented, followed by an examination of theoretical literature guiding these concepts. Hakim's erotic capital was examined, particularly in relation to its relevance within sexualized service industries.

Knowledge gaps were presented, followed by the research questions guiding this dissertation.

The following chapter describes methods and data used in this research.

Chapter 3: Data and Methods

Introduction

This chapter addresses the data and methods guiding the project, including the decisions made with regards to research sample, method, and data analysis strategies. It is divided into two main sections. Section 3.1 describes the data (inclusion criteria, sample size, and location) and Section 3.2 describes the methods used in this dissertation (recruitment, data collection instrument, data analysis, and ethical considerations).

3.1 Data

3.1.1 Management Study Data

This dissertation draws on data from a project led by my doctoral supervisor, Dr. Cecilia Benoit, entitled *Team Grant on Contexts of Vulnerabilities, Resiliencies and Care among People in the Sex Industry.* The study includes six interlinked projects: an ongoing knowledge exchange project focused on disseminating emerging research results on violence and resiliency in the sex industry, as well as five intersecting projects focusing on sex workers, regulatory agencies (including the police, municipal legislators, etc.), clients, managers, and sex workers' intimate partners. Of these, Project 5 entitled, *Supervising Sex Work: Challenges to Workplace Safety and Health* (henceforth referred to as "the managers' project") provides the qualitative data for this dissertation. Individuals were eligible for the study if they met the following criteria: a) were 19 years of age or older; b) earned an income for at least six of the last 12 months from instructing or directing sex workers professionally; and c) managed sex workers in one of the five Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs): Victoria, St. John's, Kitchener/Waterloo, Montreal and Calgary. The study sample included interviews with 55 managers. The national study also sought research

participants in Fort McMurray, and one interview was completed, but the site was dropped from the parent study due to the difficulty of finding participants.

3.1.2 Sub-Sample

For the purposes of this dissertation, I analyzed data from interviews with participants who managed escort or massage service providers who have a supervisory relationship to sex workers. Managers from erotic dance establishments were excluded because exotic dancers' work experiences differ from these other sex workers. Managers operating on the street were also excluded on the basis that their business model did not conform to either category of massage or escort agency in the survey data. Therefore, this dissertation presents analysis of a total of 43 interviews from escort and massage businesses.

Table 3.1: Demographics (N=43)

Female		62.8%
Median age		36.9 (range 21-64)
Visible Minority		19%
Completed High School		87.8%
Ethnicity: White		81.4%
Ethnicity: Aboriginal		11.6%
Other Ethnicity (Black, North African, West African, Chinese, South Asian, Southeast Asian)		7%
Manages male[1] workers ("sometimes to "all the time")		9.3%
Manages female workers ("sometimes" to "all the time")		97.3%
Has worked as a sex worker (overall):		51.2%
	Female	69.2%
	Male	20.0%

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[1] Only one manager mentioned managing trans workers.

As the table above illustrates, the sub-sample of this research shares many characteristics with other Canadians (Benoit et al., 2014): they are in their 30s and 40s, most hold a high school diploma, and most are White. Additionally, almost two-thirds of respondents identify as female, contrary to stereotype. The median age of the managers in this sub-sample is 39 years old, and 51 percent have worked as sex workers in the past. Ninety-seven percent of the managers interviewed oversee female workers, reflecting the fact that (as in other personal service occupations) most workers in the sex industry are women. These findings share similar results with Bruckert and Law's (2013) study, in which 38 out of 55 third parties are female, and just over half had been sex workers. A very small number of participants in the sample manage trans workers.

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Recruitment

To meet the inclusion criteria for the managers' project, potential participants were restricted to those who earned an income by supervising sex workers and whose duties included all or most of the duties associated with supervisors; hiring, training, monitoring, and disciplining workers and setting workplace standards. The researchers used this definition to contact potential participants through advertisements on websites and by establishing contacts lists of escort and massage businesses advertised on the internet, phone books/yellow pages, and newspapers. In each research location, team member referrals also resulted in a small number of participants. The recruitment process included first sending an email to the business, then phoning the business and then dropping a hand delivered research invitation (to business that had a physical address).

3.2.2 Data Collection Instrument

Participants who met the sample criteria were invited to take part in a mixed-interview instrument that included both a survey and open-ended set of interview questions. More existing research on the role of managers in service contexts guided the research in the sense that researchers had to ask about responsibilities in relation to both workers and clients. Researchers asked about rewards and stressors as well as occupational health more generally because these topics are essentially universally applicable to workers. They also asked about violence because it is a topic that has received much attention in the literature and is central to the objectives of overall parent research framework. Co-applicants and key collaborators and knowledge users aided in the development of the interview questions. The researchers piloted interviews in one research site (Victoria, BC) and adjusted the questions based on feedback prior to wider data collection. Questions explored occupational history, workplace rewards and challenges, health and safety concerns, workers' access to health and social services, and experiences of and views about the laws and level of violence in the sex industry. Existing research on the role of managers in service contexts guided the research because the researchers knew they had to ask about responsibilities in relation to both workers and clients. Researchers asked about rewards and stressors as well as occupational health more generally because these topics are essentially universally applicable to workers.

The research method is primarily exploratory, especially in the qualitative section, because, as noted in Chapter 2, there is little extant literature on the subject to guide a more specific formulation of the questions (Morse, 2003). Qualitative researchers note a number of standards of rigour applicable to the approach (Creswell, 1998). This managers' project is exploratory in nature, given the current lack of information related to the research questions

(Hoepfl, 1997). Therefore, I employed qualitative tools as a means of illumination and understanding managers' roles in these workplaces. Qualitative research leads to understanding people's lives, stories, and behaviours (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Thematic analysis provides, as Luborsky and Rubinstein (1995) write, "direct representation of an individual's own point of view and descriptions of experiences, beliefs and perception" (Luborsky & Rubinstein, 1995, p. 90). In this study, the approach gives *voice* to a highly misunderstood and hidden population. The central aim of my research, therefore, is to present the lived experiences and meanings of managers *in their words,* allowing for new and exciting fruitful inquiry.

Thematic coding of the data is based on the responses to the following questions: 1) what are the characteristics or skills you look for when hiring (experience, personality, looks, and race); 2) how do you train new service providers; 3) how do the laws, municipal, provincial, federal, affect your workplace; 4) As a manager, have you observed conflict/aggression in your workplace? Have you observed conflict between service provider and yourself? Have you observed conflict between client and yourself? Have you observed conflict between client and service provider? 5) What strategies do you use to deal with conflict/aggression?

3.2.3 Data Analysis

A systematic and clear description of data collection and analysis techniques facilitates inter-observer consistency—that is, multiple observers coming to some consensus on what exists in a social setting, or within interview data (Bradshaw & Stratford 2010, p. 69.). This is important because findings can be misinterpreted. As a former sex worker, I bring my own experience to bear on my interpretations, and coming to consensus with two knowledgeable researchers was an important aspect of my analysis process. Ensuring the presence of the full range of relevant and salient themes and topics required for this dissertation and to ensure the

discovery of models and patterns involved several steps. First, I worked closely with my two co-supervisors to develop a preliminary manual coding scheme for analysis of the data on hiring/training and managers' views of police and municipal bylaw officers. All three of us separately coded 20 transcripts, identifying what we saw as the most salient themes. Following this, we compared our findings in a series of meetings in an iterative process, making inferences about what the coded data meant to each member of the team. We then went back and forth about our own interpretations of the data (language, terminology, and relevant themes) and how to make "sense" of it, including how the data were able to provide answers to the research question(s). When we reached consensus I used the revised coding scheme for further analysis. My co-supervisors re-checked everything following coding of the relevant data from all of the transcripts based on the updated scheme to ensure findings were relevant based on our weekly meetings and discussions, and to ensure findings were reproducible.

In addition to the above coding, the section on 'conflict' was coded by two team grant members of the managers' project, one of whom is a co-principal investigator and the other a research assistant. NVivo was utilized for their coding of conflict and aggression, and more importantly three-way alliances between managers, clients, and workers. The same steps as above were followed, and I was able to double-check the results to ensure our findings were consistent. The RA coded the data and the three of us compared and re-checked the coding in order to provide valid results. Three sets of relationships were coded and analyzed, broken down as follows: 1) conflict between customer and manager; 2) conflict between manager and worker; and 3) conflict between worker and customer. A comprehensive analysis of how the themes contribute to my understanding of the data was developed, and a description of the results of managers' responses was written up.

As indicated above, researchers often improve validity in qualitative research by confirming findings with key informants with first-hand knowledge of the research phenomena, and at the same time, are aware of standards of academic inquiry (Bungay et al., 2010). To further enhance validity, my co-supervisors—both of whom are highly familiar with the research subject and methods of critical, analytical inquiry—also reviewed the research questions, the data, and the results (Noble & Smith, 2015). This review also contributes to the external validity of the findings, ensuring that the research process is not only empirically valid, but that the analysis and findings are theoretically relevant, providing an addition to the scholarly literature.

3.2.4 Ethical Considerations

The dissertation research addresses many of the ethical issues common to research with human subjects (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, 2010). However there are two ethical issues that relate to the particular characteristics of adults involved in the sex industry in Canada that emerged in connection with the project. First, issues of courtesy stigma (Phillips et al., 2012) were relevant. Courtesy stigma refers to managers having stigma by association with sex workers. The second issue relates to the likelihood that the research data might include information on illegal or reportable activities. Existing laws pose two challenges to the confidentiality of research participants; a court could apply for access to the data (Bruckert and Law, 2013) or provincial child protection legislation could impose a positive legal duty to release research data (Ibid.). Given these possibilities, the utmost care was taken to protect the privacy and confidentiality of research participants, given the magnified need for protections. Our protocol was designed after a careful survey of the available literature regarding best practices for ensuring privacy and confidentiality at all stages in the research process, starting from recruitment and ending with the destruction of all identifiable data. Potential participants were

provided an explicit description of this protocol before consent to participating. Research

invitations thus stipulated that potential participants could only contact the data collection team

themselves to accept invitations to participate. This was to protect potential participants from

being identified by community partners who helped by distributing invitations. This measure

also had the advantage of reducing the possibility that potential participants would feel coerced

to participate by the community partner.

Other measures to protect privacy included the selection of neutral locations for in-person

interviews, such as the library or anonymous institutional office or a rented office space. The

researchers involved in the project destroyed identifying information needed to arrange

interviews as quickly as possible, and sought verbal consent instead of written consent. The

interview guides for qualitative interviews include instructions to avoid identifying person,

business, or place names. The researcher further anonymized collected data by removing all

inadvertently identifying information during data entry and transcription. All individuals who

were granted access to raw data, including interviewers, transcribers, and analysts, signed

confidentiality agreements. All interviews were kept confidential and all tape recordings and

transcripts were kept in a password protection electronic file, while all hardcopy surveys and

confidentiality agreements were kept in a locked filing cabinet in a private location where only

the research team would have access, and participants were informed of this. Fortunately, no data

emerged that would trigger mandatory reporting, and no judicial application occurred in the

course of the research.

A central goal of this research is to address one of the three core principles of the 2010

Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans: Justice

(Canadian Institutes of Health Research, et al. 2010). The new guidelines are very clear in stating

that equity in research "requires distributing the benefits and burdens of research participation in such a way that no segment of the population is unduly burdened by the harms of research or denied the benefits of the knowledge generated from it" (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, et al. 2010, p.10). Given the history of how research sometimes presents sex workers in a biased and stigmatizing manner, this dissertation pays particular attention to this issue. The necessary coordination of the approval of the research protocol by many different ethics boards posed the most significant risk to the project related to research ethics. The expertise of team members in ethics harmonization initiatives aided in addressing this problem. The University of Victoria Ethics Committee approved the protocol.

Ethical measures also included informing participants that they could refuse to answer any question that made them feel uncomfortable and that interviewing could be stopped at any time they requested. They provided permission to record and received explanations of protocols around the use of digital-recording devices and transcripts. Throughout the interview process, participants were free to withdraw without explanation, and to take breaks at any time. It is worth mentioning that all of the participants completed the interviews.

3.3 Summary

This chapter outlined the researcher's data and methods used in this dissertation. In sum, this dissertation project deploys a qualitative exploratory analysis with the aim of understanding how managers negotiate relations within their worksites in five regions across Canada, and how legal sanctions contribute to or hinder these negotiations within the escort and massage sex industry. Like any frontline service work, managers are responsible for hiring and training new workers. The following chapter presents an overview of who managers look for and how they are trained.

Chapter 4: Who Gets Hired and How Are They Trained?

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate characteristics managers look for when hiring new workers and how these workers are trained. Bourdieu's theory of capital is used to determine elements managers look for, along with an examination of Hakim's erotic capital.

4.1 Elements of Capital Used to Hire New Workers

As indicated in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, frontline service managers are responsible for hiring and training new workers. Bourdieu's theory of capital was discussed, outlining three main elements: cultural, social, and economic capital. Hakim (2010) adds a fourth but equally as important element—erotic capital. The table below outlines the types of capital managers seek when hiring new workers.

Table 4.1 Elements of Capital Managers Use When Hiring New Workers (N=38 Managers*)
  *A total of 38 managers answered this question.

Elements of Capital	N=38 Managers
Cultural (Bourdieu)	20
Social (Bourdieu)	0
Economic (Bourdieu)	6
Erotic (Hakim)	38

4.1.1 Cultural Capital

Twenty managers stress the importance of workers having cultural capital—either in the form of formal credentials or possessing life skills and know-how. For instance, participants make comments such as, "they go to university" (M6) to signal the perceived value of the worker. Others agree: "They have to be educated. I'm not saying a university education degree. I need someone who can have a conversation in French and English. They'll go out to dinner with a

client and be able to uphold an intelligent conversation whether for a whole evening or if it's just

an hour, it doesn't matter" (M6).

A second element of cultural capital, previous work experience, is also deemed important

to managers in this study (similar as in other industries). Several managers indicate they are

looking for older, more experienced workers: "So like the older women who, you know, they've

been around for a while, they know what's going on and they've done all that stuff" (V5).

Another way in which cultural capital is revealed is through managers' preference for hiring sex

workers that look "white" as it connotes "classiness" as it more closely conforms to mainstream

normative beauty standards. For instance, when one manager was asked if she hired First Nations

workers, she states: "They're more outside workers, or Backpage workers … they cleaned up the

streets and they all moved to Backpage" (C2). Another manager says:

> I look for white girls, mixed girls, realistically nobody wants a really dark, black girl.
> Nobody wants to hear that but it's true. If she's black, black, black nobody wants her for
> the most part. Most white men don't want her, most black men don't want her at all, most
> Asian men are afraid of her (C6).

This kind of blatant racism is found in other narratives as well:

> I don't know what it is, but generally, they like- the whiter you are, the better. Even if
> you were a black girl and you had long straight hair that would be better for you.
> Something like that, it just seems to be more…yeah. Just softer, I think. I think is [more]
> softer and delicate, and…other races tend to look at white women as the more softer kind
> of individual I think (C8).

As the demographics of the sub-sample shown in Table 3.1 suggests, the majority of managers

themselves are White, female, and with at least high school education. Managers looking to hire

new workers are seeking similar types of capital, highlighting how structural inequities such as

gender, race and class exist. Additionally, the preference for workers to conform to dominant

cultural beauty ideals is closely linked to notions of gender and appropriate femininity. For

instance, workers are selected who exhibit certain mannerisms, skills, and tastes that are seen as

linked to a particular class and gender of worker in advanced capitalist societies, "You know, be

kind; not swear mid conversation … you know your mannerisms, all different things. So we have

a pretty, you know, straightforward, one on one little conversation" (C8).

4.1.2 Social Capital

Social capital includes an individual's associations and relationships to groups or

individuals in power (Bourdieu, 1984). Social capital, the set of relations individuals can draw on,

is not evident to managers in terms of hiring. While there may be some overlap with education

through the social connections made, managers discussing workers having experience as being

desirable; "knowing someone in the business" is not reflected in the interviews.

4.1.3 Economic Capital

Economic capital includes the amount of tangible resources an individual has, such as

money, assets, and land (Bourdieu, 1984). While managers in this study do not hire for economic

capital in this way, six managers in this study are certainly looking for workers who "appear" to

have money: "We're a higher end agency. We charge more than for the average agencies out

there and so if our customer is willing to pay the rate we have I'm not going to send him, mean

to say, I'm not going to send like bottom of the barrel" (M5). Like high-end hotel chains and

restaurants, the notion of the "high end" customer is apparent, and workers are expected to act in

accordance with the perceived demographic:

> We have a certain standard to maintain, you know, obviously we're not looking for girls
> that look like, and I mean this might seem a bit shallow, but we're not looking for girls
> that look like they should be working on the street, we have a clientele base that expects a
> certain standard of woman and they're paying for a service and we want to make sure that
> they're getting the best service (M14).

4.2 Erotic Capital

As indicated in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, Hakim (2010) describes six elements of erotic capital: beauty, sexual attractiveness, social interaction, liveliness, social presentation, and sexuality. All of the 38 managers interviewed believe erotic capital to be important element. The first element, beauty, is described by Hakim as facial beauty consisting of the following attributes: an even skin tone, sculpted facial structure, facial symmetry, being photogenic, or society's definition of a "pretty women" by North American conventional standards. Six managers state beauty as an important category they consider when selecting new workers: "I have to have, the lady has to have, you know, pretty looks …*"* (M6). "You should know when applying for this type of job, that you know, you should be pretty…" (M14). Another manager says: "But obviously they have to look good. They have to be a certain way" (M5).

Sexual attractiveness, while similar, is the second feature of erotic capital according to Hakim; however, this differs slightly from beauty. In addition to having a "sexy" body (which varies in terms of cultural preference), sexual attractiveness also includes expressions of traditional femininity and masculinity and sex appeal. Only two managers cite this trait as something they look for: "platinum blondes … you know skinny blondes with big tits" (V3).

Similar to emotional labour, the third element of erotic capital is based on ways of interacting and skills that can be *learned and developed*. An overwhelming majority (25 out of 38) managers interviewed mention this element; they speak about grace, charm, personality, and more importantly, the ability to cater to and put others at ease. Hakim (2010) indicates that these could be skills like being flirtatious and appearing desirable, which are often learned and can prove to be very profitable and valuable. To illustrate: "I expect them to be kind and courteous

with the clients;" (M14). Another manager states "outgoing personality that will make the client come back" (M17).

The fourth element of erotic capital—liveliness—is cited by Hakim as being important. Liveliness, while similar to social skills, includes an element of physical fitness and energy - someone who is the life of the party and uses their energy to engage with others (Hakim, 2010). Liveliness is an important characteristic to only one manager, who states: "If you're shy and introverted, there's no way you're going to survive in this business. Because you have to be creative.…" (KW8).

The fifth element of erotic capital is social presentation, defined by style of dress and accessories, ways of wearing hair and make-up, and decorating oneself to indicate social status. Hakim gives the description "monarchs and presidents dress for public functions to emphasize their power and authority" just as "ordinary people going to a party or other social event dress to make themselves attractive as well as to announce their social status and wealth to any strangers they meet" (2010, p. 500). This is also a learned behavior, which in the case of those in service industries can be used to convey a sense of class and authority. Managers in this study are interested in a certain "class" of workers when hiring, not unlike the standards in hotel or food and beverage industry. One manager states that when someone contacts her and wants to work at her escort agency, she would let them know that she wants them to dress as if they are going to a board meeting for a downtown oil and gas firm: "I think one of the rules is that you always wear a dress or a skirt. You don't wear capris, you don't wear shorts; you don't wear pants, right? A plain, black pencil skirt instead of the pants" (C5). When asked why she would ask potential employees to meet her dressed that way, her response is:

> I believe that's probably most of the people who I'll be catering to people with a lot of disposable income. So chances are they're either going to be at the executive level in oil

and gas or law firms or doctors or something. So if you can dress appropriate for that so you're good to go with a doctor or a lawyer or an entrepreneur or that kind of thing. Because if I'm asking $600 an hour you have to present as that. (C5)

The sixth a element of Hakim's erotic capital (2010) is sexuality. Sexuality is a measure of how effective an individual is as a lover. Some elements of this include "sexual competency, energy, erotic imagination, playfulness" (p. 50) and can no doubt be used in combination with other elements of erotic capital. Hakim notes: "a strong libido does not by itself guarantee sexual competence; however, people with a strong libido are more likely to acquire the experience that eventually leads to greater skill" (p. 501). This indicates that this is a skill that can be taught, learned, and developed. Three managers in this study believe sexuality to be a distinguishing characteristic, although in some cases, managers do tend to prefer older, more experienced workers: "We try to go with older more stable girls that have husbands and kids and have a side job and it's just easier to manage. It's a lot easier to manage." (M20).

As indicated above, Hakim's erotic capital builds on social capital, primarily consisting of a combination of social skills and cultural capital. An important aspect of erotic capital is based less on aesthetic advantages and more upon ways of interacting with others; namely, social skills. These skills are often seen as intrinsically feminine because women have a longer tradition of developing and exploiting [erotic capital], and women tend to make up the majority of hospitality, entertainment, and sex industry where these skills prove to be the most valuable. Erotic capital is defined as "the whole package:"

> It's the girls who have the whole package, all around, inside and out, those are the ones that I would want to work with, like, the professionals. You know, and that's exactly it, if I was to open my house it would be with professional women and most of them that I am thinking of right now are, there are a few younger ones, but most of them are older, elegant, distinguished women who know how to carry themselves with a man who has a lot of money (V8).

Beauty is… The girl could be not physically beauty, but she, you, there's something coming out of her, you know. Her eyes, or her whole self, this is for me; it's beauty" (M1).

There was just something about her, and none of the guys could even tell me what it was. Like I said, is she super open minded? Is he providing unsafe sex? What is she doing? And they couldn't even tell me if they wanted to, it was like nothing in particular, it was just her whole persona (C2).

4.3 How Are They Trained?

In addition to the types of capital they bring to the job, training is an important component for new employees in service work occupations. In the earlier section a discussion on the concept of emotional labour, factoring in race, gender, and class, was presented. Aesthetic labour—looking sound and sounding right (Nickson, Warhurst & Dutton, 2005)—is evident in terms of what managers look for when hiring new recruits. Erotic capital—personality, attitude, looks and, sexuality—are attributes managers seek when hiring new workers. Hakim indicates that erotic capital "requires some basic level of talent and ability, but can be trained, developed, and learnt, so that the final quantum goes far beyond any initial talent" (p. 512) This goes beyond emotional labour by displaying a sense of elegance and distinction. Hakim's theory helps us understand training in the sex industry. As one manager states: "Outgoing personality that will make the client come back, so a girl who has—who wants it, who wants to be there to make money" (M17) The following section helps provide an overview of the training strategies some managers use for new workers.

Training workers is an important element to examine when looking for potential conflict that may arise in three-way alliance formation. If there is little to no training provided, conflict can emerge and safety is at stake. If, however, training is provided, it is important to examine by whom and to what extent it is carried out. The following section reveals three distinct

observations that arose from the analyses: 1) managers provide no formal training; or 2)

managers provide training in-house; and 3) managers pair new workers with a mentor, typically

someone who has worked in the business for a while and can "show a new worker the ropes."

Table 4.2 How Managers Train New Service Providers (N=24*)

   *A total of 24 managers responded to this question.

How do you train new service providers?	N = 24
No formal training	7
Training:	
By managers in-house	11
By service providers	6

4.4 No Formal Training

Previous studies examining training strategies used by managers of the sex industry find

little training offered and, more particularly, training on how to deal with challenging situations

(Bruckert and Parent, 2006; Pitcher, 2014). This research presents similar results; mainly that

managers intentionally do not train workers out of a fear of legal reprisal. For instance: "It puts

me in too much legal problems if I'm training the girl. What if she's a police officer? What if

she's working for the police? This way I have no connection to it." (C6) Another manager makes

similar comments, highlighting that training could be at best ambiguous:

> When I do interview them I always think, OK they're an undercover cop wearing a wire.
> So you know I've had people actually ask me, "Do I have to have sex with the client?"
> And I'm like, "Of course not." If the client wants that and maybe they do want to sit and
> talk, I don't know. But you have to be careful that way. (C5)

Because of the fear of police (and, one might argue the law in general), this manager

places all responsibility on the worker, potentially adding additional strain on the relationship:

"They know if anything goes wrong they're going to take it. They're going to get the charge"

(C6). Another manager responds: "I just throw them right in, into the field pretty much" (KW2).

Workers were therefore left to navigate their own way: "I can't tell them what they have to do on

their calls, so they have to know what they're doing. I tell them that guys are going to expecting

kissing, and they're going to be expecting fun, anything above and beyond that…that they

choose to do will determine how busy they're going to be. So it kind of gives them a good idea

and some incentive and "OK, maybe I need to know more", you know, I tell girls they need to

like what they're doing, otherwise they shouldn't be doing it" (C2).

4.4.1 Training

There are two main themes that emerged for managers who said they actually trained new

workers—either they provide the training themselves or refer the workers to a mentor—often a

more experienced sex worker who can show the new worker the ropes. When managers provide

in-house training, aesthetic labour is a common practice that is used. Drawing on Bourdieu's

(1984) notion of dispositions, Warhurst and Nickson (2007) define aesthetic labour as:

> A supply of "embodied capacities and attributes" possessed by workers at some point of
> entry into employment. Employment then mobilise, develop and commodify these
> capacities and attributes through processes of recruitment, selection and training,
> transforming them into "competencies" or "skills" which are then aesthetically geared
> towards producing a 'style' of service encounter. (p. 4)

As indicated in the above statement, aesthetic labour (which is part of erotic capital) is

equal to certain dispositions workers can take on, and managers can exploit these qualities to

their advantage in order to beat the competition. Furthermore, these dispositions are further

trained and developed as soon as the employee has been hired. Researchers have examined

aesthetic labour over the past decade, ranging from the upscale retail industry (Williams &

Connells, 2010), fashion modeling (Entwistle & Wissinger, 2006), the hospitality industry, and

hairdressing salons (Chugh & Hancock, 2009). This study's findings show that aesthetic labour

is most certainly present, especially in terms of training techniques used by managers. According

to Pettinger (2011), sex work is "embodied personal service work." It differs from other service

occupations (including nursing) because it entails work on and with bodies to provide

personalized sexual services. Managers utilize elements of erotic capital—notably how to put a

client at ease and be a good entertainer—when they train new workers through the creation of the

"ideal sex worker"—one whom clients want to see regularly. Says one manager about utilizing

elements of erotic and cultural capital to draw clients in:

> How to be professional and at the same time to make a client feel relaxed and in the
> moment because really you know our industry is about entertainment. We want them
> instead of going and spending money at the golf course, we want them to come and get
> their exercise and entertainment spending some time with the lady. We're just competing
> for entertainment dollars from our clients so how do we … instead of someone going to
> the movies or whatever, how do we get them to spend their dollars here. How do we get
> them to come back and keep watching the same movie again or the same girl again? (V2)

Another respondent reports:

> But I also tell them, "you know when you go to see a client you treat them with the most
> respect, and polite and, you know what I mean, make them happy, because you want
> them to call back". That's basically about it. (NL4)

4.4.2 Training by Managers In-House

Managers provide in-house training with their new employees, including administrative

functions such as walking them through advertising, setting up profiles on the web sites, loading

pictures, etc. "I show them, I have an online Google drive and every service provider has a

private call log, so I share that with them and then show them how to, it's pretty self-explanatory,

how to log the call" (C1). Some managers also provide in-house lessons about having the right

equipment: "Ok, this is what you need. This is what you should take with you. You should take

condoms, lubricant … you have your little to-go package, if you will, and that's what's in it"

(C3). Another respondent spoke about the cleaning that would be required and how to do it

properly: "And then after that it's just a matter of this is how you clean a mirror; this is how you

mop a floor" (C8). In-house training, however, does not involve discussions about what the

actual sessions with clients would be like and what to expect. This represents a key omission that could increase worker safety and client satisfaction.

4.4.3 Training by Service Providers

In many cases, mentors are assigned to new sex workers to "show them the ropes", including how to do sales: "…when it comes to the actual call or the actual service call then we have other girls in the agency that, being with the agency for a very long time, that they're basically acting as a mentor towards the new girls" (C3). Such mentorship includes instruction about what to expect on a call, or observational calls where they would have a novice watch others at work or work themselves alongside an experienced colleague or with a regular client. Specifically, "We also have, we also have something called … observation call. So then actually the new girls actually go with established escorts into their calls and they would be observing the entire call." Alternatively, some novices were given or received a massage/sex from a manager.

4.5 Summary

This chapter presented findings on skills and attributes managers seek when they hire new workers, followed by a conceptualization of training provided. The chapter began with a brief presentation of Bourdieu's theory of capital. An overview of the characteristics managers seek when hiring was presented. While workers with cultural and economic capital possess the traits managers are looking for, Hakim's theory of erotic capital overwhelming these traits resonates as the most important. Attributes such as grace, charm, personality, energy, etc.—all elements included in erotic capital—are skills that can be learned and developed. Erotic capital can be trained and therefore becomes useful in explaining emotional labour. A number of various components of erotic labour come together and create a desire among managers to hire this sort of individual. Sex workers who have enough money to dress well, keep themselves well

groomed, and have a good personality—i.e., charm, personality, intelligence, sex appeal, liveliness—are considered the full package. Many of the workers are older and self-possessed in their demeanor and therefore embody ideas of class, culture, and eroticism.

In sum, managers' stories reveal similarities and differences to what is described in the social science literature regarding "capital"; specifically, manager's work toward hiring employees that embody notions of what it means to be "the perfect escort/massage worker". They do this so as to make them marketable to the upper-class male clients they ideally wish to serve. Similar to Bourdieu's (1984) observations, managers' actions, behaviours, and ways of knowing their world are situated by their social positioning, and thus strongly shape hiring practices. When asked about qualities they look for in hiring, managers are most interested in those who were seen to represent particular raced, classed, and gendered ideals, similar to the hiring practices found in the hotel or food and beverage industry.

The sex industry, like other loosely-organized labour markets, possesses "few formal management rules and little or no organized training on how to act when delivering services to customer(s)" (Benoit et al. 2009). My research suggests that given the current environment, managers ideally want self-managed/trained workers, which is why they value experienced workers, especially given that there is no indication that any kind of training in the area of erotic labour is made available. Out of twenty-four responses from managers, seven managers provided no training at all and six managers assisted new workers. Of the managers who did provide training, much of the training consisted of "talking them through" what a session would look like as well as a review of the administrative duties related to the work (e.g., placing an advertisement—a practice that managers are now prohibited from doing due to Bill C36). Agencies in the sex industry fulfill much of the same role in that they are businesses that

coordinate and facilitate the delivery of an erotic, sexual, or interpersonal service to clients. As managers suggest, they want self-managed workers—those who are experienced or have the requisite skills to do the job with minimal instruction. Managers who provided little to no training cited their fear of being arrested as a main reason; this highlights some of the harms associated with the criminalization of sex work. Given the complexity of the work, and its occasional danger, training would be to the workers' advantage and create a better service for customers. Managers who provide training would have a more reliable and stable workforce. Training is an important component; however both the moral and legal landscape interfere with this because of several reasons: 1) some managers expressly do not acknowledge the level of service that occurs between client and workers because it would be illegal for them to organize that service; therefore, they do not want to contribute to any evidence that they organize/direct that level of services. Managers, then, are capable of turning a blind eye; 2) some managers maintain a moral position in the sex industry by not directing workers with respect to body labour. These are those who say they provide the connection, the context and the support service (similar to those above) but they do not dictate the nature of sexual interaction as it would be wrong to do so (legally but also as a matter of morals). Some of these individuals might prefer the mentorship model though. Also, the fact is that not all managers, even if they were in a position to provide training both in terms of legal and moral context, actually have expertise in the service encounter; some do if they have sex work backgrounds but others would not necessarily regard themselves as having the expertise and regard themselves as having more expertise in marketing and customer relations of a slightly different sort.

A lack of training is one of the reasons that conflict between sex workers, managers, and clients arises. For example, tensions can arise between new workers and their mentors on the job

when and if they are not provided with adequate information on how to interact with clients. This in turn can influence the worker and client relationship, especially when clients do not feel that they received "good service" from a newly hired worker. Managers training workers in administrative duties but failing to engage them in the hands-on experience of working with clients could also create conflict due to the worker feeling alienated and insufficiently trained. The next chapter examines how conflict is experienced within and across these relationships, including strategies managers use to avoid aggression.

Chapter 5: Conflict/Aggression in the Workplace

Introduction

This chapter examines triangular relationships between managers, customers, and workers in managers' narratives regarding conflict they have observed and/or been part of in the workplace, as well as the strategies managers use to reduce the likelihood of conflict and aggression in these relationships. To begin, the extent of conflict/aggression that exists in personal service industries is illuminated. Following this, managers' responses of conflict/aggression and three-way alliances are presented. The chapter concludes with a list of strategies managers use to avoid or lessen conflict arising in the workplace.

5.1 Conflict/Aggression in Personal Service Industries

Research on interactive frontline service work generally suggests such workplace conflict in advanced capitalist societies is commonplace and two or three-way aggression among managers, clients, and workers is relevant (Lopez, 2010). Workplace conflict may be pervasive; a study of service industries documents "a tug of war between workers and management to a three way contest for control between workers, management, and service recipients" (Belanger & Edwards, 2012, p. 435). The labour process becomes a "frontier of control" because it is the site of struggle over who determines the nature and form of work (Chong, 2009). Labour process theorists discussed in Chapter 2 argue that managers maintain control while *appearing* not to (Belanger & Edwards, 2013). They set expectations for workers, including customer-related norms and the need to "deep act" in order to meet customers' demands (Hochschild, 1983). These findings are similar in the sex industry, except for the impact of the law and the stigma that surrounds this work. It should also be noted that observing how conflict and intrapersonal tensions play out in the sex industry is an important factor in understanding victimization.

Victimization is not exclusive to this work, however. For example, in British Columbia and

Alberta a 2001 study indicates that emergency care nurses experience much higher degrees of

violence than sex workers (Benoit et al., 2014):

> During the last five work shifts, 22% reported that they had been physically assaulted by
> a patient, visitor, co-worker or other person, 40% said they had been threatened with
> physical violence, 62% reported being emotionally abused, 13% reported verbal sexual
> harassment, and 0.5% said they had been sexually abused (Ibid., p. 17).

In this research, while conflict is eluded to during the interviews, in many cases managers do not

expand further on these observations. For instance, while they may comment that the most likely

parties involved in conflict in the workplace are customers and workers, they do not necessarily

have a specific example to refer to, or they might emphasize that in general very little conflict

happens. Also, while the conflict illustrated below was coded within each dyad by the type of

conflict, one source (individual) could be reporting multiple types of conflict. Therefore, while

conflict in the sex industry does exist, it is important to note that the prevalence of conflict from

the point of view of managers is relatively low. The following table describes overall conflict in

triangular relationships, followed by a breakdown of triangular experiences of conflict among

managers, workers and clients.

Table 5.1 Types of Conflict/Aggression between Workers and Clients

Total	N=33 (Managers)
Verbal	12
Non-Verbal	5
Physical Aggression	8
Ambiguous (Not Indicated)	8

Out of a total of 43 managers, 33 managers report conflict/aggression between workers

and clients. This response rate is low, indicating one of two factors: 1) questions were not

answered specific to this type of conflict; or 2) very little conflict is reported by managers,

indicating a relatively low level of violence. This supports previous research indicating that less

violence occurs in off-street work environments (Sander, 2005; O'Doherty, 2011). Also,

responses are from managers (who are 'absent' from the service exchange), and therefore these

results may not be as reliable as those coming from workers or clients.

The types of conflict occurring between workers and clients provide the following

definitions of categories: "verbal" includes name calling, threats, and shouting; "non-verbal"

includes theft or actions such as stalking; "physical aggression" includes some kind of physical

intimidation or hands on violence (including condom removal); and "ambiguous" captures those

instances in which the participant did not clarify the form.

Twelve out of 33 managers state verbal aggression sometimes occurs between workers

and clients. One manager describes such a conflict in more detail:

> It was a drunk client, who came in the evening. And he knew that I had just one African
> girl who stayed. Because we had already finished at five. He accepted as he was drunk,
> maybe he did not understand. When the girl came in, he began insulting her: "You're
> black, get out of here. You're not beautiful. I want another. Give me my money back."
> (MP16).

Five managers discuss non-verbal aggression, and only eight out of 33 managers state

physical aggression occurs between the worker and client (including attempted condom

removal):

> There's a guy, he was pushy, he was a Pakistani, and the lady said "no, no, no" – being
> forceful, removing the condom without permission. and she went to leave the room and
> she grabbed and the client grabbed her and she knew some basic martial, how to get away
> from grasp, so there's some basic things she knew, so it all worked out. (KW10).

Another manager adds:

> The worst thing I've ever seen was a girl was very upset because one client was
> incessantly trying to remove his condom, and he was intoxicated, and he just would not
> get over the fact that he had to keep it on, he wanted it off, and she wanted it on, and she

said "ok well look, I'm leaving because I'm not going to let you do me without a
condom, and that's it (MP14)

Given the large number of service exchanges that occur over an average time period of seven

years managers in this study are managing workers (Benoit et al., 2014) however, responses

reflected upon by the managers in this study indicate that physical aggression is rare between

workers and clients.

5.2 Manager-Client Conflict and Aggression

Table 5.2 Types of Conflict/Aggression between Managers and Clients

Total	N=22(Managers)
Verbal	16
Non-Verbal	2
Physical Aggression	1
Ambiguous (Not Indicated)	3

Out of 33 managers who respond to this question, there are only 22 responses, suggesting

once again that conflict between managers and clients is rare within these work settings. In terms

of the conflict reported, verbal aggression is by far the most common. Sixteen out of 22

managers refer to this, stated explicitly by one manager who notes: "verbal abuse is common"

(C7).

Two managers in the study report non-verbal aggression instances such as the following also

occur:

And he insisted to accompany her to the bus stop and then he got on the bus and fucking
went all the way to the metro with her, and she was super uncomfortable and like…and
so we had to write back to him and let him know like, "Listen, this is not acceptable."
(MP18)

This manager describes emphasizing to the client that following the worker intrudes on her

personal life, and potentially puts her in an awkward position if someone she knew saw her being

followed by a client. Additionally, following the worker carries a significant threat of violence.

The manager goes on to say:

> And I always tell the girl, "If you feel in any way that you're not safe; that the situation is risky for whatever reason, even if you're halfway through the call, fucking give the money back to the guy and walk out. Apologize, don't look for trouble, don't- don't look for confrontation, don't get stupid, just walk out, give the money back. There's a sea of clients out there, we don't know problems, so, avoid him" (M18).

The lack of physical conflict between managers and customers likely reflects managers' lower in-person contact time with clients, but clients may also perceive managers as more powerful than workers, either physically or with respect to blacklisting them in the future.

Of the conflict reported by managers outlined above, there is also a range of sources of conflict, which is broken down into two main categories: 1) who is described as the chief complainant or initiator of conflict; and 2) why the individual is described as the initiator. Managers overwhelmingly report clients are the source of conflict, with workers a secondary source. The subjects of contention includes non-compliance or not following the rules as set out by the worker or the manager; dissatisfaction with service, condom removal, an unwillingness to pay, substance use, and finally, asking to see the worker independently and/or stalking the worker. None of these sources of conflict tend to be mutually exclusive. For instance, when one manager was asked under what circumstances she had seen aggression she responds: "Usually if the client wants to do something with the girl, or forcibly tries to do something she doesn't want to do or doesn't want to pay." This comment suggests non-compliance with the worker's personal boundaries as well as an unwillingness to pay. Another example is cited below:

> Uh, in the in-calls I've seen, let's say, the most often that I've seen, is guys in the in-calls unsatisfied with the service, um, and uh, wanting their money back. And then like the girl, obviously, they can't, and not just because we need, we want the money, look as soon as the girl is naked, you owe her, okay? She gave you a blow job, you had sex with her, I don't care, even if it lasted fifteen minutes, like, you owe her that money. I'm sorry, that was the price. (M5)

The conflict begins because the customer is dissatisfied with the service, often because it does

not last long enough, or the worker is not enthusiastic enough, or because she is unwilling to do

certain sexual acts. The customer then becomes unwilling to follow through on their end of the

service exchange: payment. These disparities in expectation alongside a failure to communicate

effectively create the conflict. Another manager describes ambiguity surrounding prices:

> If you brought $50 because you thought you're going to get, like, Greek [anal
> intercourse], and it turns out, you're not. You have to be realistic about it and that's what
> I tell the clients. They're "how much is it?" and I'm like "it's negotiated in the room."
> "Well how am I supposed to know what to bring?" And I'm like, "well just gauge it on
> what your expectation would be."… [And] most of them are pretty aware that this is
> going to be an extra 100 bucks, easy. And some girls, the guy shows up and he's got 80
> bucks and he's like, "I want a BBBJ" [oral sex without a condom] and she's, "I'm not
> going to give you that but I'll give you a little bit of the deeper kissing and this, on top of
> it or whatever." And that's a combination sort of thing and that would generate their
> extras or like they would pump up things. (V8)

Other conflicts arise not because of miscommunication but because of customers'

misconception that sex workers have no right to personal boundaries.

According to managers' responses, the most common way to resolve the conflict is to end

service. They typically describe the manager supporting the worker, stating that if they perceive

a genuine misunderstanding, or some level of error on the worker's part, they would seek to

appease the customer through a refund or by rebooking a service with a different worker. One

participant describes supporting a worker without question:

> Where girls come out of the rooms and said like, he's not respecting me. He's not being
> respectful or whatever. Um, one time a girl, she was, it was, he didn't even doing
> anything physical, he was just verbally disrespectful to her. I just went in and was like,
> sessions over, get your clothes on. Immediately, he was like, I'm sorry, I'm sorry. What
> can I do? I'm sorry. I shouldn't have done that, I'll apologize to her. I shouldn't have said
> that. I misunderstood. I didn't mean to disrespect her. No, it's too late. She doesn't want
> to see you. You know, she's going to be uncomfortable with you now. So, I'm sorry, like,
> I'll give you another chance down the road. In that situation I gave him the chance to

come here one more time but, you know, you watch it. You treat the girls with respect. (V2)

Another manager agrees:

Ah, I give them shit. I explain to them, to him, I'm like, look, t'sais, this is, this is sex okay, it's like you're paying for this, you can't know in advance how it's gonna be, and I don't know you. I don't know how she is in bed or whatever, so look, you're unhappy, lesson for you today, do not call her again. Do not, whatever, it's too late. (M5)

Another manager specifies that sex workers do not pursue conflict:

Generally [conflict] does not happen unless the client is acting aggressive toward the service provider. It generally doesn't happen. The girls are very patient too. They will say no nicely until you keep going and then they will walk out. They won't put hands on the person; they will just walk out of the room so then if I'm there or [name of another manager at the same establishment] they will lash out. But the girl that was in the room doesn't lash out because then she's targeted. She just walks out, her main concern is to leave the room, and then he can be thrown out after. (KW9)

Police officers or drivers were called on to intervene at times, but this is rare, given managers' fear of the law and potentially being arrested, as well as a general anxiety and not wanting the "hassle" that comes from an official police complaint—especially given the stigmatizing social environment. One manager describes this situation: "He wouldn't leave. It was just me and a girl; there was no one, so we had no choice but to call the police to get him out. And we called the drivers afterwards because we did not know what was waiting for us on the street [and might have offered assistance]" (M16). Another manager describes appeasing customers after the fact, saying that when she receives complaints she would just send a different worker next time. Another manager describes a conflict between a worker and a client in which he had sided with a client:

She fucked up because he had 40 minutes left and she just called it way too early. She could have got away with it if she left at 45 minutes [15 minutes shy of the hour he was expecting]. If she just would have laid in bed and chit-chatted a bit and talked it out another 20 minutes, she would have been fine. But she called it way too early, she called

it in the first 20 minutes and he was like, "this isn't over yet," and she said, "yep, you're all done" and he's like, "no I'm pretty sure it's multiple shots." So she came down and she was all… (and I'm) "nope I'm pretty sure he's right, sorry" (V8).

Similarly, a manager states that sometimes workers are "rude and snippy about the time and things like that, in case, it just wasn't the right fit. I keep describing it that way (laughs). I just tell the guys, 'It's just the wrong fit, let me make it up to you" (C4). Similarly in this instance the worker is too intoxicated to work:

> It was just a fuck right up. It was three o'clock in the morning and…it didn't quite happen that way. It was, she was supposed to be there for a certain amount of time. Half-an-hour before she was supposed to be calling out, client called and told me the girl part way through the call seemed to be very messed up and she did do a lot of drugs. So that could be true, appeared to be very messed up, all of a sudden went weird and just left. (V3)

Another nonverbal conflict is initiated by the worker:

> I had one girl who was going to calls and if the guy was drunk I'd tell her "he's a little bit drunk", she would just go in there, take the money [without providing promised services], go out to the guy to drive away and these customers were calling me with complaints about it. So, I got rid of her. (KW1)

But other than that I can't think of anyone else causing irreparable harm to a client" (C4).

Managers also describe blacklisting clients as needed:

> If he really—you know, of—if they really have an issue they can call the boss and take it up with her. Usually if they are the problem, they won't. Like, what would you [client] like, "No, you treat her like crap now you're on our bad date list. Sorry! You're not coming back here." (V10)

5.3 Manager-Worker Conflict & Aggression

Table 5.3 Types of Conflict/Aggression between Managers and Workers

Total	N=20
Verbal	13
Non-Verbal	5
Physical Aggression	2
Ambiguous (Not Indicated)	0

A total of 20 managers indicate conflict/aggression occurs with workers. Managers describe workers' behaviour or dissatisfaction with company policies as the primary sources of conflict. These polices include workers' substance misuse, stealing, being unreliable, being disrespectful or threatening, and disputing scheduling and fee policies. More than one manger also cite "stepping out"—workers engaging in paid sex independently with a customer they had secured through the agency, without giving a portion of the fees to the agency—as a source of conflict. The practice, according to one manager: "leads to tension" (M2).

Thirteen out of 20 managers describe the most common conflict: being subject to verbal aggression: "Sometimes the girls; as there are new girls. Because you cannot know the disposition of all girls, they can insult you, threaten you. You don't know who I am, you'll see. But then it's blah, blah, blah. I don't take it really seriously" (M16). Another manager refers to tension over schedules, but concludes: "Everyone here gets along pretty well" (NL3). One manager describes a worker saying she is not working for him anymore because she did not like the agreed-upon rate of compensation, but the worker called back within days ready to work.

In rarer scenarios managers will fire a worker because of a serious conflict with a client: "There's only one situation where someone was accused of stealing and we had to terminate her.

Five managers describe rare instances of non-verbal aggression. For example, one manager believes a break-in was retaliation for firing a worker, while another manager states:

> I've had girls steal from me. I've had girls threaten me. I've had girls put stuff on the internet about me, lots of bullshit, right? (C6)

According to two managers, physical aggression occurs. This is clearly illustrated by the following response:

> Another girl threatened to hit me one night … And she just goes, "I'm going to hit you." I'm like "go ahead, you get one fucking shot, cops are going to be here and your ass is

going to be in jail. So you better hit me fucking good, you bitch." She was going to hit me because I told her to turn the music down (M6).

To resolve conflicts, managers reprimand workers verbally or assign them fewer shifts. They fire them as occasionally, but not too often. One manager describes ignoring behaviour to which he objects:

> After three years and two hundred and fifty girls, they are all the same. Okay. Nobody's reliable in this business, nobody, like no girls. You have a few exceptions, so no, you don't get mad; the only emotion that I allow myself is being disappointed. Like, ah fuck, that's too bad. But I don't get angry. You don't text them back, shit, you don't do anything because in the end, if you piss them off, they'll leave, and then you don't make money so you shut the fuck up, and when she comes in you make sure you make the money and, you know what I mean?

Unlike other service work occupations, ignoring bad behaviour by a worker seems to be a common strategy that managers use in escort and massage sector businesses. This could be because, according to managers, it is not easy to find "good" workers. A number of managers made similar comments suggesting that they often did not address workers' objectionable behaviour.

5.4.2 Screening

Twenty-five managers use various screening techniques to avoid conflict or aggression: "In my case, I think I have a good balance of security-risk/security balance I think is pretty good because of all the screening I do. If I didn't do the screening, then I'd probably start thinking about having cameras and a panic button and all that" (M18). Twenty-seven managers mention "bad date" lists: "I set my girls up with my regulars and I try to screen them to the bad date lists and the black lists and the no shows, and that's all you can do" (M18). Fourteen managers speak about using "bad date" sheets as a screening method:

And then, later that day, or the next day after that I got a phone call from one of the other girls, from one of the other agencies. If something really bad happens we typically, like for a really bad date, we'll phone each other, or at least I do. Some of them do, I don't get many phone calls from them. But I do, for sure, if someone is a real bad date, I phone all the agencies and let them know right away" (V2).

Eighteen managers screen clients over the phone for signs of rudeness, aggression, substance use, etc. One manager puts it like this:

So, to me, security, beyond having someone there and beyond having a phone and- it really starts with knowing who the client is. Not who specifically, we don't ask for his papers or nothing like that, but knowing his age, usually knowing his profession or like getting an idea and just reading what he writes and how he writes, it makes all the difference in the world to us (M18).

This element of the screening process is unlike what most managers would do in frontline service industries; due to their provision of sexualized labour, sex workers are more intimate with their clients than others. Also, the "reading of the clues" that is so apparent is all that is available to managers in the sex industry because the legal context/stigma creates barriers to a more open exchange of information. Another strategy for screening clients is collecting personal information of clients. Four managers cite this as a useful strategy:

I've called many times and said 'so and so said she saw', 'we have no record of it'. It's like you don't keep a record of your clients? I have a on a hard drive which I keep in a safe, like the chip, the portable hard drive, I have a spread sheet and if you put john, all the johns will come up, if you put up [street name] so cross references absolutely everything: first name, last name, phone number, address, absolutely everything (C2).

While some managers talk about bad date reports when asked, many do not voluntarily bring up the subject and do not cite it as a significant safety strategy. In fact, only two managers discuss bad date reports when probed. It seems likely that this is not a safety strategy at the top of managers' minds for a number of reasons. It is true that managers keep information for their own within agency use regarding problem clients and bad date information is shared in online forums,

but organized sharing of this information is problematic for a few reasons expressed by

respondents. First, it is a business in which people operate in isolation often with little

knowledge or trust for others running similar businesses, highlighting the sex industry's "off the

grid" nature. Second, violent bad dates are relatively rare in indoor environments (Sanders, 2005)

so managers are keeping track of clients who cause a hassle more often and this is not regarded

as important enough to share, given the barriers to sharing information. Third, other bad date

sheets/online forum reports—such as those prepared by sex worker agencies—are regarded as

most relevant to street-based work and they are sometimes too generic in their information to be

truly useful. Some managers had a surprising lack of knowledge about resources of this kind.

5.4.3 Physical Security

Managers enhance physical security through a number of measures. Nineteen managers

say they station multiple individuals on site as a way to provide security:

> In the day time it's not a big issue because we got people right there, people right there, and everywhere you know, but after 5:30, after getting dark, especially when I'm here sitting with them, to make sure everything's ok, you know, probably sleeping most the time unless have a client, you know, I'm here. There's always two girls on" (NL5).

Nine managers reference having up-buzzer or buzz-in locations, guard dogs, mace, or security

cameras: "I guess just the security cameras. We've got pepper spray in the rooms…. We

shouldn't have it, it's illegal but whatever, I don't care. I'll Mace somebody as soon as look at

him, if need be" (NL3). Most frontline service businesses do not have this level of security

concern, which is probably more typical of law enforcement. One manager states having a driver

is useful to ensure the worker's safety is not compromised: "Some phone calls, you know you

get a vibe from somebody, it's not a good vibe, they sound sketchy, then yeah like yeah I'll let

the driver know that like you know 'can you just make sure that everything goes well?' But other than that, yeah, it's pretty good" (NL2).

5.4.4 Psychological Security

Six managers cite psychological security as being important. This is achieved through creating a 'perception' of security (pre-warn client there is security, stating someone is outside or pretending to do a phone check-in):

> When a client calls, I want him to know that I know where he's going to be. I know his phone number because I'm saying "I'll take your name and phone number and have her call you," so I want him to know that I know his number, I know his address, I know how long she's going to be there for, and I want to say out loud, when she's done 'OK I'll call you from the car', so then he knows that she has to do a safety check when she's in her vehicle, so if she doesn't, I'm going to be up her butt, I'm going to be up his butt and I have many times. And they weren't doing anything, they weren't done yet and they were still fooling around and she stayed an extra half an hour without letting me know but he wasn't getting charged extra for it (C2).

> 'Cause sometimes, even in the, with the agency, like, it just wasn't possible to have a driver sitting out front of every out call. But you give the perception that someone's close. Um, you give them, you definitely, not the perception. It's very important to always have somebody else know exactly where you all, and who you're with (V5).

5.4.5 Check-Ins

Nine managers state check-ins are important. There are three main ways this is accomplished: in-call knock-in/knock-out methods, outcall call-in-call-out methods, and "code" language used over the phone.

> We are always paying attention, like OK, she went into the call at this time. She's running ten minutes over let's go knock on the door and see if she's…if anything's going wrong or whatever. We do have, you know, procedures in the sense of making sure that people are safe and checking in and communicating with each other or whatnot. Drivers on outcalls stay within a block radius even if it's a guy we've been there 30 times before (V2).

> Yes. I mean aside from the obvious, you know, I always encourage the girl to have their work phone out, they call when they get there so that the client can see it, then they have

it beside the bed and then I encourage them to have their personal phone in their purse. And to put their purse in the bathroom, because then, if something goes wrong and you're naked and if you can make it to the bathroom and lock yourself in, you still have a phone (C1).

And most of our code word is like, using like Baileys, "I could use a Baileys right about now." And nobody thinks baileys, that's an alcohol right, girls are addicted, right, so that's our code word (KW3).

5.4.6 Communicating Boundaries

Six managers in this study talk about communicating boundaries by establishing services

and rules of engagement before the session with the worker and client began: "But I warn the girl

who will do him. Then I tell her: 'When you agree what you will do and how much it will be, ask

for the money right away.' This is what we do" (M13). Another subtheme that emerges is

managers empowering workers to establish boundaries if the worker feels unsafe. Six managers

use this technique, which one manager describes as follows:

> If you feel in any way that you're not safe; that the situation is risky for whatever reason, even if you're halfway through the call, fucking give the money back to the guy and walk out. Apologize, don't look for trouble, don't—don't look for confrontation, don't get stupid, just walk out give the money back. There's a sea of clients out there, we don't want problems, so, avoid him (M18).

While most frontline service providers probably do not expect the kind of frequency that this

comment suggests, most do have situations in which they would refuse service because of a

client's behaviour. Similarly, another participant states that it is important for managers to:

> … make sure the girls understand that they can kick a guy out, that helps a lot, that gives them power to make decisions, makes them understand that they're not going to get in trouble with us if they call it. If it's not working for you then you know…if it's getting to the point you're feeling concerned for your safety, call it. We'll back you on that. I think that's…the number one's [way to protect workers' safety] (V3).

A total of seven managers match clients with workers in an effort to reduce potential conflict:

> We do really demand a certain level of respect here. And they haven't had a problem. I think I'm really picky on the phone. So if somebody phones up and just says, I don't care,

any old girl, like whatever, just send me…to stick my dick into. I would never book someone like that. We're by appointment only so that when the client gets here they're excited about who they're coming to see. So they're more apt to be respectful…. It's, I'm coming to see Jane and Jane sounds like a beauty and I just looked at her pictures and fantasized about her on the Internet. Phone girl just got me really excited about how she sounds, and her personality. We always try when we give descriptions we not only always talk about the girls' looks but we also talk about their personality (V2).

Sixteen managers also mention conflict avoidance strategies they *do not have* but wish for, including having in-call locations or alarm systems in place: "Uh, a, a video camera at the front door, for sure. Um, license plates" (V5). Other strategies managers want is having a different legal regime—one that differentiates between true victimization and efforts to support safety:

There definitely are issues within this industry that need to be rectified, but the problems aren't the industry itself, it's some of the people that profit from this industry and how they're profiting from it. It could be, it could be this very safe thing like what I'm trying to do or it can be this completely dangerous thing like human trafficking…. That's what I think about this industry and the laws that regulate this industry (M14).

Ultimately, many managers in frontline service businesses may have to address the safety of their workers; as their comments reflect, this is an area of bigger concern for sex industry managers than most. The fear of arrest if they are to contact the police adds an extra layer of stress that the manager of a dog walking business or a pizza delivery service simply does not have to address. Managers' understanding of their role as security for their workers remains a constant in sex work and other businesses.

5.5 Summary

Findings reveal that conflict is most commonly reported between worker and customer. The second most common relationship dyad to report conflict is between manager and customer, and the least amount of conflict is reported between manager and worker. Significantly, conflict between manager and customers most commonly begins as conflict between worker and

customer, with the manager taking over or intervening. Most conflict managers describe is with customers, mainly in the form of verbal aggression such as name-calling, shouting, or threats. Customers' refusal to follow the terms of service or their dissatisfaction with the service they received is another reason for conflict. Managers resolve conflict by stepping in to back up the worker and remove the customer, or by reprimanding the worker and refunding the customer's money. Conflicts between managers and workers usually consist of workplace complaints, such as dissatisfaction with assigned shifts or the rate of pay, although workers' drug use or theft also precipitated conflict. The findings suggest managers and workers rarely experience conflict in a substantive way. Belanger and Edwards (2013), argue service employees often do not express discontent, and sex workers may not for some of the same reasons—they usually do not demand change for the sake of the customers, either because they do not wish to inconvenience them, or they understand the ramifications of not fully meeting customer needs. However, unlike Belanger and Edwards' findings, there are some instances where managers encourage workers to set the terms of service up front and to disengage if those terms are not met. Sex workers may be more likely to confront problem clients than waitress or airline staff and sex workers' managers may be more likely to support them to do so.

Conflicts between clients and workers or clients and managers resemble conflicts in other types of business in that the primacy of clients under capitalism—otherwise thought of in terms of, "the customer is always right"– can be a major source of such conflict. However, sex industry managers often deal with a heightened level of risk not common in other industries because the nature of the work itself imposes risk and the law offers limited protection when the constant threat of arrest minimizes reporting.

This chapter described triangular relationships between managers, clients, and workers and how conflict and aggression are experienced and resolved. The findings indicate that, most of the time, experiences of conflict and aggression are minimal and interactions run smoothly; however, there are times when tension arises and if these tensions are not dealt with properly, they could lead to aggression and, in some cases, even harm. Apart from the pervasive stigma overshadowing the Canadian sex industry it is unlike other interactive service industries due to punitive federal and municipal laws restricting its legal management and penalizing those involved. Furthermore, very few studies examine managers' views of the agents involved in enforcing municipal by-laws operating in Canadian cities. The following chapter discusses these findings in order to determine the effect the legal framework has on managers' ability to operate.

Chapter 6: Managers' Views of Municipal By-Law Officers and the Police

Introduction

In Canada, municipal by-laws are in place to regulate a variety of service industries including restaurants, nightclubs, and beauty salons. Many businesses, including many front line service providers, work with agents of the law for licensing and regulation; restaurant managers interact with health inspectors, managers of preschools interact with child welfare professionals, and construction workers must cooperate with building inspectors. Sometimes the police are called upon to enforce these regulations. The sex industry is also regulated by municipal by-laws. In the five Canadian cities that were include in this dissertation, municipal regulation of escort and massage businesses ranges from detailed to non-existent (See: Appendix A). Overall, many municipalities in Canada license escort services, body rub parlours, and massage parlours which operate as legitimate businesses and simultaneously as commercial sex venues, but also use bylaws to prohibit other activities such as nude encounters or out-call massages (Craig, 2011). The purpose of this chapter is to present managers' views on municipal by-law officers and the police in regard to sex industry regulation and the negative impact on unpredictability for management.

6.1 How Managers View Municipal By-Law Officers

Managers in this study were asked about their views of municipal by-law officers in relation to their work. The following table provides collated responses from managers, broken down into categories and subcategories. Results indicate 29 managers view by-law officers positively, while 14 managers have negative views. A total of four managers have mixed or neutral views. In general, the managers that were interviewed have very definite views toward

these officials, which are predominantly positive. As the data was analyzed further, several

subthemes emerged in each category, presented below.

Table 6.1 Managers' Views of Municipal By-Law Officers

Responses (N=43 Managers)	
Positive views	
Generalized positive view	4
Positive interaction described	18
Municipal by-law officers as effective/trustworthy	2
Municipal by-law officers as respectful	5
Subtotal	29
Negative views	
Generalized negative view	8
Negative interaction described	1
Municipal by-law officers as ineffective/untrustworthy	5
Municipal by-law officers as disrespectful	0
Subtotal	14
Mixed/neutral views	
Generalized mixed/neutral view	3
Distinction between good by-law officers and bad by-law officers	1
Subtotal	4
Total	**47***
* Total exceeds number of responding participants because participants may list multiple categories.	

6.1.1 Positive Views

Managers most often reveal a positive view of municipal by-law officers through actual

interactions with them. By-law officers are reported as being approachable, polite, and friendly:

"Oh yeah, first name basis, like if I saw them walking down the street, stop and say hi" (C2).

"And last year, they only came in once … and they were polite, they just come in and they ask to

see the licenses" (KW4). Four managers have a generalized positive view of municipal by-law

officers, as long as restrictions and guidelines were being properly followed: *"...* they [bylaw

officers] just come up and make sure everything's good, like there's no locks on the doors, like

of the rooms, just making sure they're following the bylaw" (KW8). Two of the managers also

believe that bylaw officers are effective/trustworthy and someone they can count on in terms of giving clear advice on how to run a legitimate business: "When we changed our licensing from massage to aesthetics the bylaw officer told us 'Now you are just like everybody else,' and it was just like this thing, like this inside secret that we should've figured out a long time ago" (C8). Finally, a total of five managers view municipal by-law officers as respectful: "I'm on really good with the city; we're on good terms as far as I know. If they want to know something they can call me and I will probably tell them; and they don't come in and harass me at all which I'm thankful for" (C6). "When we found out that we're just like everybody else and the bylaw officer was actually pretty cool, just made us realize that wow, maybe we're looking at it a bit differently. Maybe they are trying to protect us" (C8).

6.1.2 Negative Views

Eight managers share generalized negative views of municipal by-law officers. It should be noted however, that they often did not necessarily have an issue with the officers specifically, but the actual zoning by-laws:

> I'm not allowed to be near churches, schools, in a neighborhood unless my building is like, unless the neighborhood's behind my building, so it's difficult for me, like I've been wanting to look for a place to buy, but with all the criteria that they have it's so hard. Because you can't be within 100 feet of anything, and the zoning as well, like you have to have a certain zoning (KW8).

High licensing fees also contribute to negative dispositions toward these officials:

> Why are we being charged $1500 a year for a business license? What are you doing with that money? But that's the age old…tax dollars, where do our tax dollars go, where does our money go [indecipherable]. There is a lot of injustices in that (V2).

Managers also find the laws to be vague and ambiguous:

> … but we find the municipal enforcement thing is just really patchy, so's the federal. It's just really patchy. Which is really hard for people because it's like, you have to then figure out what is the context here, because it's a little bit of a guessing game (C8).

Only one manager, however, describes having negative interactions with by-law officers:

> I think they're a little bit arrogant with us. And they - last time they came, they actually asked a lot of personal questions that I told the girls they were not obliged to answer. Like "How much money do you make a day?" Well what does that have to do with permits or smoking or my exit sign? So, yeah, the last time they came, I was a bit disappointed. (M20)

6.1.3 Mixed/Neutral Views

This is the smallest subcategory where managers have mixed or neutral views of by-law officers, or where they have both positive and negative views in one narrative: Managers state there are good by-law officers and bad by-law officers. Managers viewing by-law officers in a positive light view these officials as being non-intrusive: "And they don't come in and harass me at all which I'm thankful for" (C6). One manager states it depends on who the by-law officer is at the time:

> They could do either. It's in their power. I know that right now the lady whose like, the bylaw, the head bylaw chick, she used to be, police officer…or she was, anyway something with police enforcement and apparently she doesn't agree with the status of escort agencies. She doesn't agree that they should be legal (V10).

6.2 How Managers View the Police

This section presents findings from managers' interactions with the police. Are managers' views of the police subcultural in nature—where managers reject the laws outright (Carr et al., 2007), or are they more indicative of cultural attenuation (Warner, 2003; see also Carr et al., 2007)—where dissatisfaction of the law is temporary and largely based on negative experiences with the police (Ibid.). The following table provides collated responses from managers' views of the police. Thirty-five managers view the police positively and 18 have negative dispositions toward the police. Three managers have mixed/neutral views. In general, the managers that were

interviewed have very definite views toward these officials, which are predominantly positive.

As the data was analyzed further, several subthemes emerged in each category, presented below.

Table 6.2 Managers' Views of the Police

Responses (N=43 Managers)	
Positive views	
Generalized positive view	13
Positive interaction described	8
Police as effective/trustworthy	3
Police as respectful	11
Subtotal	35
Negative views	
Generalized negative view	8
Negative interaction described	1
Police as ineffective/untrustworthy	6
Police as disrespectful	3
Subtotal	18
Mixed/neutral views	
Generalized mixed/neutral view	2
Distinction between good police and bad police	1
Subtotal	3
Total	**56***
*** Total exceeds number of responding participants because participants may list multiple categories.**	

6.2.1 Positive Views

Out of 43 managers interviewed, a total of 35 managers reveal having positive views
toward the police because of their role in maintaining safety in the sex industry: "But when it
comes to safety it's especially 100% my girls; 100% if I had to call them [the police] I would call
them" (M6).

Eight managers talk about positive interactions they have with the police, viewing them
to be non-judgmental and supportive. This manager, in particular, recalls an incident that could
have led to arrest but ended quite differently:

So I mean, it wasn't like me running a business. It was I had no license anymore, and we were all addicted to drugs. We had drug dealers at the house, or whatever. It was, you know, it wasn't desirable, and I remember the, you know, speaking with the VICE or whatever, and she's going, "You're fucked up, man,' and, like, "But you're not the person that I've heard that you are." Or whatever, 'cause she heard all these horrible stories, you know. Me locking girls in attics, it's really these stories that, you know. And she goes, you know, "If you get your …" you know, like, just, "If you get your act cleaned up," Or whatever, "I won't hesitate to recommend you." Like, or, "I'll," you know, "I'll let you run an agency, but you've got to get yourself cleaned up" (V5).

Another manager says: "They come and they gave us a card, "If you have any problems at any time, you call us" so we have the card sticking on a board if we do have problems, we will call them" (M17).

Another subtheme that emerged is effectiveness/trustworthiness. This is reflected in a variety of ways including the role of police to capture and arrest violent clients, as indicated by this respondent:

I was a…a…a crazy guy used to have escort come in, strangle them, so the police ask me, they knew I knew about the guy, I said "no, I don't know, but if I …" and one night the guy called in, 'cause I had his address and the police gave it to me, I said "bah, he's calling again" so the police went and they got him and they put him in jail (M1).

Effectiveness/trustworthiness of the police is also revealed through three of the managers' experiences of the police showing up and dealing with unruly clients and potentially dangerous clients:

I remember one time we had, I had a couple of [clients] that showed up at the agency in [city name] at [sex agency name] and I knew them from another agency and they were bad news and I went to shut the door in his face, and he beat the window of the door in with a gun, he had a handgun his pants, and he hit the window, smashed the stained glass window, so I hit the panic button (NL8).

The final subtheme is respectfulness. Eleven managers cite police as being very respectful. One manager speaks about an incident in which police responded quickly to an

emergency call over a difficult client, and the attending officer is both respectful and curious about the business:

> It took about two and a half minutes for the police to show up and by the time the police showed up my driver was already chasing one of them down the street and everything had happened, but the police officers were there talking to me and you know, really open to everything, and then one of them looked at me, he goes "you guys have dungeon here, don't you?" and I said "yeah, yeah we do", he goes "can I see it?", I was like "Yeah sure why not?", took him down, showed him the dungeon, you know, the wall of dildos, and he was just in awe (NL8).

When asked if a police officer is being respectful when called for dispute resolution with a drunk client, another manager states: "Absolutely, they didn't, 'oh god we're in a massage parlour' I think they were more concerned with him being drunk and being in a car, as well, like he had his car here" (KW8). Another manager speaks about the police being called and showing up in plain clothes and an unmarked police car: "I didn't want to freak anybody out, that's not why I came to you. I didn't want to come here and screw up your business for the day because probably no one would come in here if there was a cop car parked out in the parking lot." I was like, "I appreciate it. It's good of you to do that" (NL3).

6.2.2 Negative Views

Eight managers reveal negative generalized views of the police due to a variety of issues, including fear of arrest: "I mean there is always the fear you could get shut down, uh, I mean that can happen" (M9). Managers also state they cannot rely on the police because they believe police will not respond when needed: "I had a guy assault me in the studio about three or four years ago and I really didn't feel there was any point in calling the police. They're not going to do anything anyways. They're not going to give a shit …*"* (C6). One manager describes a negative interaction with the police:

Well I had contact lenses in actually, I had in those purple contact lenses, they're called grey crystals, just made my eyes look bigger, and then, it actually turned in to "well what kind of drugs is she on? What's she doing" and [friend's name] was like "she has fucking contacts in what are you talking about?" like it turned into basically well what are you girls doing? What have you done? And what did you do to provoke it? What did you say to him? Kind of one of those sorts of deals, like it just turned (NL8).

A total of six managers view the police as being ineffective or untrustworthy: "I don't trust them at all that's about it" (C6). "Now, I wouldn't trust a cop" (KW10). "I don't have much interaction with them but I think there's a level of trust that needs to be established before they can make my job easier and safer" (C4). The lack of trust is mainly due to fear of being arrested: "Because of my work obviously because everybody is looking to talk to you and throw you in jail" (C5). Stigma is another factor: "… there's like this whole real stigma about this industry (M18), along with discrimination towards workers:

I tell the ladies, "If the guy's [client] an asshole call the cops" and that actually, the lady did call a cop once, because he was too gropey. He sat there and, I wasn't in the area, called the cops, charge him with assault. Cops came, told him to go, and wouldn't charge him with assault. I'm going "wow" here you got an assault case, oh ok, it's at a parlour therefore you have every right to assault a woman?" (KW10).

Three managers find the police to be disrespectful:

I remember like I said the night that [friend's name] had the incident with a client that I had to show up at her place, she had her client go ape shit and it was one that was really attached to her, and when the police showed up, as soon as she said my name, two of them went off into the corner and were like snickering, and there was one female officer and one other officer and they were snickering and giggling and laughing, and you can hear them, like I'm not deaf, I can hear what you're saying, you know…. (NL8)

6.2.3 Mixed/Neutral Views

Only two managers have a generalized neutral view of the police because of their apparent invisibility within these work locations: "I don't see them at all. They don't exist in my business. They've gone and knocked- even part of the equation and the only time I talk about the

police is usually the first interview I have with the girl …" (M18). When asked about the police making this manager's job easier and safer or harder and less safe: "It's almost neither. Like I have to think about that one to be fair about the system, but, it's, it's really neither. They're not, they're not helping; they're not hurting in any way" (KW10). Another respondent has mixed views of the police depending on the officer: "I've been treated very well by a lot of police. I have a jaded, you know, impression on the police, 'cause I've been treated very shitty by the police, too" (V5).

6.3 Summary

This chapter began with an overview of the role of municipal by-laws and the police, particularly in relation to their authority and control in regulating massage and escort businesses. Findings reveal that the majority of managers' views of municipal regulators are positive. By-law officers are seen as trustworthy in terms of ensuring the businesses are running safely and operations are intact. Unlike Craig's (2011) findings, managers found little tension between criminal sanctions and municipal regulation and were quite pleased with their experiences with by-law officers, even though regulators and police have a lot of discretionary power, which makes interactions with them unpredictable. Negative views are presented, however, due to by-law officials' authority and control over zoning, licensing, and other regulations. While the literature states there is a systemic level of distrust of the police in certain settings (Harkin, 2015), findings from this study reveals managers' dispositions toward the police are overwhelmingly positive. Furthermore, Goldsmith's (2005) observations that the police could be viewed as unjust or unfair are not supported in this analysis. Based on the analysis, the ambiguity and unpredictability of the legal environment plays an antagonizing role in the negotiation of alliances; however managers who have had actual interactions with these officials generally view

them as effective mediators.

Given the sampling methods of the manager project, my findings are not generalizable to sex industry managers as a whole; they represent, instead, part of the range of experiences and opinions of sex industry managers. It seems likely that the range of experiences in other industries resemble those of sex industry managers, except that sex industry managers experience courtesy stigma in a way that most other managers do not. Thus, I would expect that sex industry managers would be *less* likely to view officers of the law positively than their counterparts in other businesses. My findings suggest they are more similar to these counterparts than gut instinct may suggest. Finally, while Canada's federal laws were in the process of changing while interviews were conducted (with the introduction of Bill C-36), the context of the law do not appear to have much impact on managers' responses. In other words, given the unpredictability and ongoing "vagueness" of federal law in Canada, managers were living in a state of uncertainty and fear even *before* the official implementation of Bill C-36. Also, while municipal by-laws differed from city to city, there does not appear to be any systematic variation regarding how police officers and municipal by-law officers treated managers.

Chapter 7: Discussion

Introduction

As is clear from the findings above, an examination of management of the sex industry in five urban regions of Canada at present has many parallels with other personal service industries, including the need to hire and train new workers, dealing with conflict in the workplace, and municipal by-law regulations. Like many such industries, it often involves youthful workers paid on an independent contractor basis and a power dynamic characterized by the sovereignty of customers. While sex industry managers may work under greater threat of physical violence to their workers than most personal service managers, any personal service that involves direct, in-person client contact—from a delivery service to spa services to taxi driving—can call on managers to address this threat. Sex work resembles restaurant service in that it involves a certain level of performance and often involves late hours; it resembles the services of salon workers in that it involves physical contact between workers and customers. These elements have ramifications that managers in each of these industries must address in a way that protects their bottom line.

However, as also reported above, there are some unique challenges to managing the Canadian sex industry, two of which emerge as pivotal: the illegality of sex industry management and the pervasive stigma impacting all individuals involved. In this chapter I discuss my findings on: 7.1) issues facing management in personal service industries that are similar to those found in managing the sex industry; and 7.2) the unique challenge of managing the sex industry, as reported in my own findings and also in other studies on sex industry management.

7.1 Similarities Managing Personal Service Industries with the Sex Industry

Managing the sex industry shares many similarities with managing other personal service industries. Like other interactive service work, managers, clients, and workers are differentially situated within the power dynamics of the service sector triangle (Bolton & Houlihan, 2005) and power relationships are evident. Findings suggest that as in Rosenthal's (2004) study, management control is seen as a resource to workers in terms of intervening in customer/worker disputes. Findings from this study also confirm that, as labour process theorists have observed with workers, managers are often caught between competing demands of both worker and client (Belanger & Edwards, 2013). Like other industries such as restaurants and bars, managers often appease customers by refunding their money. Managers also note, however, that workers would "step out" with clients (often referred to this as "stealing" clients) in some cases. These findings are reflected by Lopez (2010) where workers and clients would "align together against the complex play of interests of managers, and there were also situations where managers and workers would align in the direction of exerting control over clients" (p. 255).

Within the worker-customer dyad, previous research has found customers to be sovereign (Hochschild, 1983) and serve as what Korcynski (2009) calls the "prime alienating figure" (p. 956). In escort and massage businesses, however, this is not necessarily the case due to the legal and moral context of sex work. Clients are disciplined by prostitution law as are managers, and both are participating in receiving or organizing a service that is socially unsanctioned within a discourse that suggests these individuals are exploiters. To illustrate, a customer in a restaurant does not have to question his or her right to service when in a restaurant and similarly as a manager of other socially sanctioned services, the customer does not have to instruct the worker to give good services. Neither is necessarily true in the sex industry. Therefore, "more distant

management figures play a central role in structuring the worker-customer relationship" (Ibid.). Findings suggest that sex workers form relationships with customers that are more caring than instrumental, similar to the nurses Korcynski studied (Ibid.). Also, similar to Korcynzki's (2009) study, the client is the "prime alienating figure" (p. 956) that plays out in conflict, with the more distant manager being responsible in structuring the worker-client relationship (Ibid.). However, most of the conflict reported by managers begins between customers and workers, with either party calling up managers to intervene.

Managers of the sex industry also share similarities with other personal service occupations in terms of hiring practices. New workers are hired who fit into the criteria of being personable, well-groomed, and polite. These traits reinforce Bourdieu's (1984) concept of cultural capital, highlighting factors such as race, class, and gender. Managers are most often looking for educated workers who dressed and groomed in a way that suggests high class status; however there are also references to suggest that there is a place for everyone provided the right attitude exists—someone who is friendly, reliable, etc. (Ibid.).

In addition to Bourdieu's elements of capital, managers seek workers who possess erotic capital. According to Hakim (2010), women have more erotic capital than men because they have to work harder at it and it is most relevant in occupations such as the sex industry or other entertainment industries (Ibid.). One significant difference, however, is that erotic capital is the *primary* form of capital managers in the sex industry are seeking when hiring new workers. Erotic capital builds on social capital; namely, interaction and skills that are learned and developed, and managers want workers with social interaction skills such as having a certain grace, charm, and visible sexuality. These same characteristics are often found in service work occupations such as bar or nightclub servers, although perhaps to a lesser extent. It is important

to recognize erotic capital for two primary reasons: 1) it helps to explain the concept of emotional labour; and 2) managers look for erotic capital because it is something workers already have and therefore do not have to be trained. This makes managers' jobs easier which, in turn, enhances profitability of the organization and the worker as well. Erotic capital, in essence, describes femininity, a trait that is a natural fit for women in today's capitalist society. However, because patriarchy constructs "moral" ideologies that prevent women from exploiting erotic capital to achieve economic and social benefits, some feminist theorists have been unable to remove themselves from this patriarchal perspective that reinforces "moral" prohibitions on women's sexual, social, and economic activities and women's exploitation of their erotic capital (Ibid.). It should be noted, however, that recent research emphasizes, for the most part, sex workers are empowered in their work and therefore should not be seen only as victims lacking agency (Benoit et al., 2015). Including erotic capital as an asset better explains everyday social interaction in massage and escort labour markets. Also, as noted above, because sex work between client and sex worker largely occurs behind closed doors, it is unclear if the opportunities to manage emotional labour (as Hochschild did with airline workers) are the same in this context because managers do not have much influence over displays of it, and moreover they experience a moral tension with respect to instructing workers on the performance of their jobs due to legal context. While there are definitely some distinctions with other service work, this is worth noting for future studies examining emotional and body labour theories in the sex industry. In addition, sex workers are expected to be capable of pleasing the client on their own, suggesting that most managers see themselves as providing a service that allows for workers and clients to be connected; however, they do not see themselves as necessarily governing the minute details of the service encounter.

Service work managers are also required to train new workers; however oftentimes training consists of little "hands-on" work and falls into the 'learn-as-you-go' category. This is certainly the case for sex work managers, and the lack of training in this study also positions managers to intervene when sex workers are experiencing conflict or aggression from clients. This form of conflict is the most reported in this study and findings from other studies share similar results (Benoit et al., 2015). This could be especially problematic, especially if workers are working off-site at a hotel room or a client's residence where safety mechanisms are not in place. For the most part, however, managers in this study play an important part in sex workers' overall safety, being sources of potential protection through the establishment of certain "house" rules, such as screening clients, hiring security and/or having security cameras on site, and maintaining schedules and procedures, and receiving ongoing support from co-workers and bosses (O'Doherty, 2011 Benoit and Millar, 2001; Sanders, 2005). These findings support other findings that reveal compared to their street-based counterparts, sex workers working in off-street or managed environments are found to experience less violence from managers and clients, as well as findings of Ghose, Swendeman, and George (2011), which state that managers brothels in Sonagachi, India, are paramount in promoting safety practices such as distribution of condoms (and thus the promotion of safer sex) and intervening in incidents of violence against sex workers.

While sex industry managers in this study share similarities with other personal service managers, there are significant differences namely, legal issues surrounding sex work and the stigma that is associated with sex industry work. These two important exceptions are highlighted below.

7.2 The Unique Challenge of Managing the Sex Industry

As illustrated above, managers working in the sex industry share similarities with other personal service work managers; however there are two significant differences: 1) the illegality of the sex industry compared to other service work occupations. This illegality is the case for Canada; however this is not the case in other countries such as New Zealand (Mossman, 2010).The following section begins with an overview of the legal aspects of the sex industry followed by an examination of how stigma impacts managers' ability to work.

7.2.1 The Illegality of Sex Industry Management

Providing sexual services in Canada is not illegal, but there are laws in place that overwhelmingly restrict how sexual exchanges are carried out. On June 4, 2014, the Conservative government of Canada introduced new prostitution legislation called *The Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act*, otherwise known as Bill C-36. This bill passed into law on November 4, 2014 and then it went back to the House of Commons for royal assent. The law came into effect on December 6, 2014 thereby criminalizing the purchase of sexual services, gaining material benefit from the sale of sex services, selling sexual services where individuals under the age of 18 are present (including parks, child care settings, and schools), and advertising for the purposes of selling sexual services. The law is modeled on the partial criminalization of sex work in places such as Sweden, Iceland, and Norway where purchasing has also been criminalized, a process which proponents argue shifts the stigma and shame of sex work from the worker to the client (Benoit & Shumka 2015, p. 15; McCarthy, Benoit and Jansson, 2012). Laws were in a state of flux given that in September 2010 the Canadian Ontario Superior Court Justice, Susan Himel, struck down certain provisions of the Criminal Code relating to prostitution on issues of constitutionality. Specifically, Justice Himel

found that laws banning "common bawdy houses"—places occupied and retained solely for the purpose of providing sex services—and activities that provided assistance to persons procuring sex services from a "common bawdy house" (such as) giving directions or providing transportation), as well as laws banning communication in a public place or in licensed facilities, endangered the lives of sex workers. Such laws interfered with sex workers' ability to work in settings with others, preventing erotic in-house massage parlours from protecting the livelihood and wellbeing of their employees.

Later the Ontario and Federal Governments issued an appeal to the Ontario Court of Appeals to reinstate the laws Justice Himel had struck down in September 2010, and in 2012 the Ontario Court of Appeals upheld the prohibition against living on the avails of prostitution in cases of exploitation, and the ban on communicating for the purpose of selling sex services in public places. It deemed provisions unconstitutional that had outlawed common bawdyhouses, but stayed the decision for 12 months while the government proposed a replacement. Then, on December 20, 2013, the Supreme Court of Canada upheld Justice Himel's decision, declaring that bans on street soliciting, brothels and individuals living on the avails of prostitution create dangers for sex workers who cannot engage in screening processes or retain bodyguards under these laws and may operate in isolated and dangerous areas because of them (Attorney General (Canada) v. Bedford, 2013; McCarthy, Benoit & Jansson, 2012; Bruckert & Law, 2013).

When the interviews for the manager project were conducted in 2013, the new law had not yet been implemented. Laws were in a state of flux given that in September 2010 the Canadian Ontario Superior Court Justice, Susan Himel, struck down certain provisions of the Criminal Code relating to prostitution on issues of constitutionality. Specifically, Justice Himel found that laws banning "common bawdy houses"—places occupied and retained solely for the

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these laws and may operate in isolated and dangerous areas because of them (Supreme Court of

Canada, 2013; McCarthy, Benoit & Jansson, 2012; Bruckert & Law, 2013).

Prior to and during this new more restrictive policy, municipal by-laws also govern sex

work in Canada. Many municipalities' license escort services, body rub parlours, and massage

parlours. The cities in the sample used for this dissertation have licensing provisions including

Calgary, Victoria, Montreal, and Kitchener/Waterloo (See: Appendix A). These enactments of

these licensing provisions and related bylaws most often reflect activism on the part of residents

who view street-based sex workers as a public nuisance (Lowman, 2000, 2001). Furthermore,

they are enacted to place controls on indoor work itself (who can legally be there, who cannot, and/or how many businesses can be present) and they are often tied to enabling police and other kinds of surveillance. In Victoria, for example, the licensing that established is heavily influenced by a public concern with youth sexual exploitation so there were by-laws enacted to allow police to check on that specifically.

While in-call sex work businesses are technically illegal, municipalities cannot prohibit prostitution; only the federal government has that legislative power. The federal law has always been ambiguous about defining sex work, however; therefore, municipalities often have to address this ambiguity in part through business licensing and regulation, and there are various models where municipalities are trying to work that out (i.e. some locations allow erotic massage only but not escort services, some place allow for escort services but have bylaws that prohibit activities with reference to the Criminal Code, and some locations have licensing provisions for neither kind of business). As Barnett, Nicol & Walker (2012) note:

> Local police are in fact more likely to use municipal bylaws to regulate prostitution than to lay charges under the criminal code, given that it is easier to issue tickets for an infraction of a bylaw than to collect evidence for a criminal charge. Bylaws can also be more easily moulded to fit a local context (p. 15).

A number of municipalities across Canada have enacted bylaws requiring special business licenses for escort/dating services, adult entertainment, and massage parlours. These licenses generally impose restrictions on hours of operation, age of staff and customer, type of advertising, and in some cases restrict where a business can operate or require routine police screening. There is little that is general about the provisions and they are not necessarily taken up in a consistent manner. Some municipal laws also restrict the time of the provision of services, or distinguish between sexual massage and non-sexual massage based on whether genitals are

touched (Shaver, 2005). The threat of arrest or legal censure also ties employers' hands in relation to clients and employees. As Bruckert and Law (2013) note in their study of third parties in the sex industry, an angry client or former employee can threaten any sex-work business with a report to law enforcement, regardless of whether a particular manager is striving to run a fair and well managed operation. This makes it difficult to fire employees or seek remedy against clients or employees who steal or conduct other malfeasance.

Bruckert and Law (2013), in their comparison of a brothel to a house-cleaning business, emphasize the risk of criminal prosecution as the major distinction in the functioning of the two. Much of the processes and business considerations are the same. Confronted with the intangibility and inseparability of production and consumption, house-cleaning businesses must not only promote and attract clients but also endeavor to ensure that their customers receive a "good service"—through cleaning, no damage or theft, and efficient, reliable, and punctual service delivery—without, typically, overseeing the service encounter. To that end, cleaning service businesses will, among other things, hire suitable staff, screen employees and train workers. They will also schedule appointments carefully, offer assurances for redress in case of dissatisfaction, and perhaps provide transportation for their workers. Indeed, the managerial administration of services and quality control are precisely the "value added" components that justify the fees third parties charge customers; and the reason why their middle and upper class clients use their services rather than hire an independent cleaner. All of these aspects apply to sex work; managers of brothels, as the researchers note, undertake highly similar means to protect their business from the threat of less expensive independent providers of sexual services. Yet the risk of criminal prosecution hampers the activities of a sex industry manager that might wish to seek redress against employee or customer malfeasance. The perceived threat of criminal

prosecution and generalized anxiety about moral censure from the community operates to restrain managers. Therefore, they are protecting themselves from the law as well as distancing themselves from 'pimp' or 'exploiter' stereotypes.

Though the sex industry in many ways operates as any other entertainment or service industry would, its legal status makes relationships between sex workers, managers, and clients and law enforcement problematic. There are many factors that lead workers and managers to distrust police. Diarmaid Harkin (2015) explains the complex interactions between police and community members in which a two-person interaction becomes more complicated when factors such as dominance and subordination are involved. As Harkin writes: "the citizen may be cautious of the officer's capacity to use force, whereas the police officer meanwhile, needs to suppress his or her personality and live up to the obligation to behave 'professionally' Harkin, 2015: p. 3). Harkin also explores the concept of democratic policing—the "dilemma for public constabularies to mutually serve the majority without encroaching on the democratic entitlements of all citizens" (Harkin, 2015 p.2)—and how pre-existing social contracts play a role in interactions with managers' relationships to law enforcement.

Historically, according to Goldsmith (2005), the structural location of the police relative to other groups such as immigrants or indigenous individuals causes these individuals to view the police as being unfair and failing to follow proper procedures. Sex workers and managers fall within this category. Research conducted in the United States indicates that people involved in the sex industry have a widespread suspicion of law enforcement and are likely to come into conflict with law enforcement due to the criminality of their work (Goldsmith, 2005). Some of the themes which Goldsmith (2005) finds contributes to a decrease in trustworthiness of police officers is a lack of accountability, unresponsiveness to community requests (which includes

neglect and indifference from officers), enforcement of unpopular initiatives, an 'us versus them' mentality, corruption, and use of excessive force. Themes that increase trustworthiness of police are transparency, reducing corruption, increased responsiveness, accountability, acting fairly and justly, and reducing force and intimidation (Ibid.).

As a context for manager and worker interactions with law enforcement, is the (at times) contradictory legal status of sex work. Historically, Canadian laws have intermittently recognized that sex work businesses are part and parcel of the broader occupational environments. The licensing of massage parlours, brothels, and private homes in some municipal jurisdictions acknowledges sex work as a type of labour in which a service is exchanged for a fee. At the same time, federal laws reflect an ongoing resistance to regard sex workers and third parties who support or supervise them within a labour framing, but instead view them through a lens of criminality or victimization.

In Canada and the United States, there is a decline in public trust in societal institutions such as the police (Bradford, 2010). While some members of the public are positive about the police, others are more negative and even cynical, especially those representing as minorities (Carr et al., 2007). There are many aspects that lead to systematic distrust in police. Drawing from Georg Simmil's (1950) social theory on forms, secrecy and trust, Harkin (2015) explains the complex interactions between police and community members, whereby a two-person interaction becomes more complicated when factors such as dominance and subordination are involved: "the citizen may be cautious of the officer's capacity to use force, whereas the police officer meanwhile, needs to suppress his or her personality and live up to the obligation to behave "professionally" (Simmil in Harkin, 2015 p. 3). Harkin also explores the concept of democratic policing—the "dilemma for public constabularies to mutually serve the majority

without encroaching on the democratic entitlements of all citizens," (Harkin, 2015 p.2) and how pre-existing social contracts play a role in interactions with managers' relationships to law enforcement. Though, there are many limits to this way of policing, a major factor being that individuals overwhelmingly feel they can only provide input as opposed to authority and autonomy, "that the police are ultimately 'in command' and it is not a 'true' democratic relationship of parity and exchange" (Harkin, 2015, p. 10).

According to Goldsmith (2005), the police may be seen as unjust or unfair as a direct result of processes followed or outcomes achieved, particularly in relation to their structural positioning relative to certain groups such as minorities. In this situation, we could place sex workers, or those directly involved in the sex industry, as members of a sub-group that would periodically be in conflict with law enforcement due to the grey area surrounding the legality of their work. In Goldsmith's study, themes reinforcing trustworthiness of police include transparency, reducing corruption, increased responsiveness, accountability, acting fairly and justly, and reducing force and intimidation. On the other hand, themes Goldsmith finds that contribute to a decrease in trustworthiness of police officers include lack of accountability, unresponsiveness to community requests (which included neglect and indifference from officers), enforcement of unpopular initiatives, an "us versus them" mentality, corruption, and use of excessive force (Ibid.). This leads to dispositions towards law enforcement to be overwhelmingly negative, particularly among certain populations that come into contact with police more regularly than others (inner-city neighbourhoods, for example) (Carr et al., 2007).

Carr et al. (2007) discuss the term "legal cynicism" to illustrate this fact. Legal cynicism, commonly referred to as negative disposition, is defined as a cultural frame in which the law and the agents of its enforcement are viewed as illegitimate, unresponsive, and ill-equipped to ensure

public safety. Previous research examining the potential effects of legal cynicism finds that dissatisfaction with police and the legal system occurs in two primary ways: through subcultural and attenuated value systems. The first approach views skepticism in the police as a result of a community's involvement in a subculture that "validates deviant behavior and is antagonistic toward the rule of law" (Carr et al., 2007: p. 450). The second approach states that while communities may be temporarily cynical of the police due to negative experiences with them, they are still intolerant of crime as a whole (Ibid.).

Carr explores this issue further by studying Philadelphia delinquent and non-delinquent youth. Of the sample of youth of colour and from high-crime neighbourhoods, the negative disposition is rated at 61.8 percent, followed by 11.8 percent positive (Carr et al., 2007, p. 457). These views are formed by various factors. The majority of the negative attitudes towards police are based on a first-hand or second-hand negative experiences, not feeling the police are doing an effective job in their neighbourhood, or general police corruption. In some cases, negative attitudes are formed based heavily on a subculture or "code of the street" (p. 446) with no personal encounters that influence their disposition. Other influencers are frequent exposure to media reports of abuse and corruption (Ibid.). Legal cynicism is also not apparent, though these cases are much less frequent and less based on actual interactions (p. 460). The most frequent factor that fosters a positive disposition of police is the fairness of the interaction and process versus the actual outcome (Carr et al., 2007; Nivette et al., 2014). If the person reports that the police treated them fairly and respectfully, they leave the situation with a positive attitude, despite whether or not they received a positive outcome. Carr's research also shows that the negative attitudes are temporary based on the respondent citing a solution to their community's high crime rate as police being more visible and an active part of the community "as opposed to

a perceived alien occupation force" (p. 470). Findings from this research show cultural attenuation (based on negative experiences of actual police interactions) rather than the subcultural approach (where youth reject the police outright).

Oftentimes it takes one negative experience to change a perception of police: "Before we got raided I felt we could call the police if we had to, if there was a problem we could confront the police. Not anymore" (Lewis & Maticka-Tyndale, 2005: p. 443). According to Nivette et al. (2014)'s research, perceptions are mainly based on personal interactions. Rosenbaum et al. (2005) also states that a positive and negative experience with police influences attitudes in a fairly predictable manner.

Findings from this dissertation reveal that managers who have had actual interactions with municipal by-law officers and the police find them to be positive, contrary to Carr's (2007) research with inner-city youth. This could be due to the hidden nature of massage and escort businesses compared to street prostitution (Benoit et al., 2015). Managers, for the most part, do not view the police and legal system as "illegitimate, unresponsive, and ill-equipped to ensure public safety," (Carr et al., 2007, p. 450) although a general level of untrustworthiness of by-law officers and police exists because of the fear of arrest and the ongoing uncertainty of the law. While managers may have been temporarily cynical of the police due to negative experiences with them, for the most part they trust them enough to call upon them if needed. As in Carr's (Ibid.) research, managers report that the police treat them fairly and respectfully and they leave the situation with a positive attitude whether or not they received a positive outcome. Managers' perceptions of police based on personal interactions influences their attitudes (Nivette et al. 2014; Rosenbaum et al., 2005).

A final observation worth noting is that some managers in this research state that being

licensed gives them a sense of "legitimacy" to operate as any other business. This clearly demonstrates managers' lack of understanding of federal and municipal by-laws in Canada, which may reflect, as Barnett and Nicol (2012) note, the grey areas around the law resulting in a balancing act that in part "consists in maintaining the illusion that escort services and massage and adult entertainment parlours are not fronts for prostitution-related activities" (p. 18). The ability to maintain that pretense changes with those in authority who oversee different aspects of sex-work related businesses.

Sex work-related businesses in Canada are typically at risk of far higher sanctions than other kinds of businesses should a municipality find that they have breached licensing or zoning regulations. For instance, six provinces have adopted Safer Communities and Neighbourhoods acts that allow the closure of buildings or properties if a case can be made that the sites are habitually being used for prostitution-related activities (Barnett, 2008). This initiative came into effect in 2002. Ultimately, these acts can be used to compel a property owner to "do everything reasonably possible" to prevent the activities, and gives the court power to vacate or temporarily close the property, or terminate a lease agreement (Barnett & Nicol, 2012). As of 2007, in Manitoba alone, more than 200 houses providing drug, prostitution or sniff (houses that supply solvents that are typically "sniffed" by individuals creating a euphoria, and much cheaper than cocaine, heroin or other street drugs commonly used) have been shut down (Province of Manitoba, 2007). Fortunately, managers in this study were not evicted from their workplaces or told to shut down.

In terms of the law's impact on training, results from this study indicate a lack of guidance from managers on the rules of engagement with clients, as indicated in previous research (Bruckert & Parent, 2006). This could potentially potential make sex work more

dangerous than other service sector occupations (Ibid.: p. 5), due to its quasi-legal and hidden

nature. Criminalization of aspects of the Canadian sex industry leads managers in this study to be

apprehensive about certain types of training to new employees (Bruckert & Law, 2013). Even

though they are motivated to train new hires, they are apprehensive due to the criminal nature of

the work. Furthermore, they can be arrested for running a common bawdyhouse or "enticing a

person who is not a prostitute to a common bawdy-house" (Bruckert & Law, 2013: p. 85). In

some situations, managers pair up new workers with a mentor, mainly because they see this as a

way to avoid arrest. Furthermore, some managers do not always feel equipped to give instruction

about the particulars of the service encounter and some managers feel it is not morally correct to

do so. Belanger and Edward (2013) describe a phenomenon as management by the customer,

which also emerges in the present research. Customers demand acts or services (not wanting to

use a condom, getting more services than originally agreed upon) in the middle of a session and

then become upset when the worker refuses.

Along with the legality issues surrounding sex work, stigma exists as well. This makes

managing escort and massage businesses more difficult than other frontline service occupations.

The concept of stigma, and its relationship to sex industry management, is outlined below.

7.2.2 Stigma Surrounding Sex Work Management

The term "stigma" is complex, and is often associated with sociologist Erving Goffman

(1963) concept of "spoiled identities" for those who deviate physically, behaviourally, or ethno-

culturally from dominant norms and values. These individuals are subject to disapproval and

marginalization (Ibid.). Stigma is subdivided into two types: enacted stigma, which is the result

of prejudices being translated into discrimination by others, and perceived or felt stigma, which

is an individual's assumption or fear that others will discriminate, often resulting in various

modifications of behaviour and thought (Benoit et al., 2010; Goffman, 1963). Stigma is likely a profoundly personal experience, with individuals developing a range of responses and coping strategies (Ibid.). Stigma is also a dynamic process that is given shape within interpersonal interactions while simultaneously being linked to competition for power and tied into existing social mechanisms of 'exclusion and dominance' (Benoit et al., 2010; Corrigan et al., 2004). According to Link and Phelan (2001), stigmatization begins with identifying and labeling human differences, followed by a process of stereotyping in which individuals are linked to undesirable characteristics.

There is are at least two types of stigmas which are especially relevant to the study of managers of the sex industry: 'disease and illness-associated stigma -- individuals are stigmatized because they have contracted an illness or disease or have been diagnosed with a health-related disorder that is associated with a particular set of negative attributes (Benoit et al., 2010); and group-associated stigma—discrimination based on such personal attributes as race, ethnicity, sex, gender, sexual orientation and occupation (Ibid.). Managers who worked as sex workers may experience both types of stigmas; whereas managers without previous experience in the sex industry may view themselves through the lens of the negative perception of the community (as pimps or exploiters). This, in turn, results in the fear of being judged negatively (Jackson et al., 2007; Phillips & Benoit, 2005), social withdrawal (Link & Phelan, 2001), and low expectations and few demands on services such as health care, law enforcement, and employments rights and benefits (Jackson et al, 2007; Shaver et al., 2011). Managers also exhibit felt stigma if they fail to report abuse to the police due to their feelings of shame, intimidation, or assumptions that police officers will treat them poorly once certain information is revealed (Shaver et. al., 2011). Managers in this study certainly place low expectations and few demands

on law enforcement, and many times state they would hesitate to call the police unless it is an

absolute emergency, for fear of putting them in the spotlight of managing the sex industry.

The literature also suggests individuals use various managing, coping and resistance

strategies to 'counteract' the negative impacts of stigma (Sanders, 2005; Frost, 2011). Managers

do so by not training workers or assigning mentors to them so they would not have to deal with

the "sex" part of the training process. Coping strategies used in combating enacted sex industry

stigma includes rational or pragmatic responses (Sanders, 2005; Wong et. al., 2011). Even

though a number of managers report feeling angry or hurt by negative community responses,

many do not appear to accept the labels that had been placed on them, viewing their position as

managers -- not in the context of moral or pejorative evaluations of sex work management -- but

rather by assessing their employment within a more pragmatic or rational evaluation of their

circumstances (Wong et al., 2011). Nonetheless, the stigmatization experienced by managers

seems to accord closely with the theoretical analysis of the 'whore' stigma and social, cultural,

and moral norms which underline it (Ibid.). At the socio-political level, the marginalization and

lack of status can be understood as an example of 'structural violence'—deriving from the social,

political, and economic environment (Wong et al., 2011).

As demonstrated above, stigma can have a profound impact on the health of those

working in the sex industry, including managers. However, there is no coherent conceptual

framework or evidence base for interventions (Benoit et al., 2010). Furthermore, there is little

understanding on how and why both types of stigmas intersect and become concentrated among

the sex industry, translating into diminished health concerns (Ibid.). Little research has been

conducted placing stigma as a key social determinant of health alongside others acknowledged

by the World Health Organization, and even less is known about the integration of individual-

level approaches to stigma (such as how sex work managers experience, adapt to, resist and negotiate stigma) within wider macro-level social processes that seek to ensure dominance and exclusion, among other health inequities (Ibid.). Working across the health and social sciences and activism with government and policy groups is an excellent way to develop a more coherent and sustainable theory of stigmatization that facilitates empirical research and devises practical interventions (Benoit et al., 2010). The following section provides a list of recommendations that can be useful interventions to address the illegality aspects of the sex industry and the stigma surrounding it.

7.3 Recommendations

Even within the constraints posed by illegality and stigma, the findings presented above indicate that sex industry managers are in a position to strengthen occupational health and safety strategies in escort and massage businesses. The recommendations below fall into four main categories: community policing initiatives, social marketing strategies to reduce institutionalized stigma, "in-reach" service delivery, and educational/training workshops.

7.3.1 Community Policing Initiatives

A large majority of the pubic distrusts the police, and yet there has been little empirical evidence in the trust literature about the problem of trust in police (Goldsmith, 2005). Since sex workers are now able to work legally in Canada, it makes sense to concentrate on building trust with the police. Community policing initiatives could help re-establish trust through promoting organizational strategies that support problem-solving techniques through the systematic use of partnerships in order to address the immediate conditions that give rise to occupational health and safety. Community policing initiatives could be established to ensure the safety of all citizens, including sex workers.

In Victoria and Vancouver, for example, community policing initiatives are already in place, and if similar initiatives were implemented in other cities across Canada, occupational health and safety could be improved, along with more open communication and less fear about calling upon police when needed. A sex worker police liaison could provide support and intervention for sex workers, provide referrals to those wishing to leave the sex industry, and work closely with sex work organizations, as well as escort and massage businesses. The liaison could be actively involved in providing "bad date" lists to massage and escort businesses. He or she could also deal with violence against workers and assist in follow-up investigations and justice processes. Most importantly, community policing initiatives could lead to a better understanding of how the law actually *works*, aiding in addressing the lack of understanding of reflected by managers in this study.

7.3.2 Social Marketing Strategies to Reduce Institutionalized Stigma

Social marketing strategies to reduce institutionalized discrimination could have broad impact such that police officers, municipal by-law officers, and other service providers recognizing and accepting sex work as *work*, and all individuals involved in the sex industry as deserving members of our communities. Social marketing can build trust between the community and sex workers, sex industry managers, and their allies. Members of the sex work community should play leadership roles in public education activities. Social marketing strategies, however, should be approached with caution due to their unanticipated affects, including the deepening of discrimination (Lee et al., 2008; Pescosolido et al. 2008; Scrambler, 2009). Public education messages developed by the sex work community could be more effective by continuing to build on relationships with media representatives, churches, and government officials who are sympathetic to sex workers' needs, producing more impactful

message (Benoit et al., 2009). Education messages should focus on dispelling myths about management of escort and massage businesses, recognizing the diversity in the sex industry, and ways of working with the police, municipal by-law officers, and the government to improve working conditions for sex workers (Ibid.).

7.3.3 "In-Reach" Service Delivery

Services such as one-on-one support counseling, educational workshops addressing parenting issues, mobile nursing services, intimate relationships, safety and self-defense practices, financial planning, the law and self-care, supported access to crucial health promotion/prevention education (both at work sites and in the community), supported access to existing employment, education, and health services, and an updated bad date sheet should focus on reaching massage and escort managers/sex workers in their work environments, as a complement to the outreach services currently available to street-based sex industry workers in many Canadian cities. Given the substantially larger population of individuals working in indoor sex industry settings, this has vast potential. Such programs could address the health and safety needs of this subpopulation of individuals working in indoor sex industry environments who are unlikely to access health and social services. In-reach services could increase contact with this isolated and hidden population of individuals and engage them in service delivery design, various forms of training, and employment opportunities for those wishing to leave the sex industry. The basic premise of in-reach is to coordinate delivery of services to workers and managers in indoor environments. An off-site office could be used for meetings and one-on-one support services. In addition, the off-site office could be a discrete setting designed to be welcoming to individuals who have concerns about being identified as sex workers or sex work managers and would therefore not normally access community-based services. Enlisting sex

workers and former sex workers, as well as managers, and members of law enforcement in service provision would enhance their positive impact.

In-reach would provide an exemplary opportunity for existing services and educators to reach a population currently underserved. Enlisting individuals from the target service population in developing the content of the services delivered and the criteria used to evaluate the efficacy of those services, a model that was effective in the SWAT program (Strega et al. 2009), would strengthen the program's benefits. An advisory group in each participating city made up of local experts and community stakeholders (including local academic researchers, health and social service experts, representatives of government, as well as the justice system); including sex workers and former sex workers would support project staff.

7.3.4 Educational/Training Workshops

This research reveals that managers have little opportunity or comfort providing training for workers, and this compromises the needs of both clients and workers—particularly with respect to clear communication—creating tension and conflict. It also reveals that discussing limitations and expectations of workers is critical. If a worker is unwilling to provide certain services, this should be discussed during the training period. Managers should explain how the pay works and what the worker can expect to earn. Workers can also experience strain if they are repeatedly on "schedule" and not making money due to overbooked shifts; therefore managers should be educated on the tension this creates for workers. Sex education training would also be useful for new workers, along with conflict resolution training.

Training on occupational health and safety strategies should also be provided, including creating innovative ways to provide onsite security. Posters and other materials should also be provided with basic information for sex workers and clients, including sexually transmitted

infections, regarding STIs, sexual health, pregnancy and contraception options, a list of resources for health services and support, an overview of the law and legal rights, how to deal with triggers, posttraumatic stress disorder, etc. Harm reduction supplies such as condoms, hand soap, cleaning supplies, clean towels, and female condoms should be made available, along with proper education about cleaning of workspaces. Providing training to workers on how to screen clients effectively is critical. While managers are the first point of contact to clients, workers should also be made aware about screening tactics, especially with Bill C-36 (otherwise known as the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act*) currently operating in Canada, which can criminalize third parties if they are deemed to be "material benefitting" from the profits of prostitution. Finally, similar to occupations such as nursing (Benoit et al., 2015), sex work exposes managers and workers to health risks such as the unpredictable, emotional demands of unruly or drunk clients, exposure to dangerous working conditions, and irregular work hours. Training could transmit the first-hand knowledge of workers occupying these positions and the strategies they have developed to new workers. Strategies for improving health and safety practices for sex workers could include organized debriefing opportunities, mentorship, and teambuilding.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Introduction

This dissertation provides a sociological focus on sex industry management, examining a few of the roles, responsibilities, and operations in managers' daily lives. Rather than presenting these individuals as vilified "pimps" this research undertakes an examination of escort and massage businesses within two personal service occupations: escort and massage businesses. This research moves beyond the dyadic relationship of managers and workers to a trilateral relationship (Belanger & Edwards, 2013), highlighting the service industry triangle that exists within these worksites. According to Korzynski (2007), this service triangle leads to what he calls a customer-oriented bureaucracy, placing clients as important stakeholders in the organization of labour (Ibid.). While some researchers argue this is a source of control or oppression (Williams & Connell, 2010), others argue that the rigid boundaries do not hold true. In other words, the lines are blurred and alliances are developed in various ways, addressing the complex relationships among social actors in service sector occupations.

Unlike other service sector occupations, however, managers located within escort and massage businesses are located in the "informal" or ""shadow" economy (Reimer, 2006) infiltrated with stigma and illegality. It is important to note, however, that while this may be the case in Canada, it is not necessarily reflective in other parts of the world. This dissertation examines how these legality issues and stigma play out through managers' hiring and training strategies, the impact of the law and how conflict is negotiated and resolved among all three parties. With the implementation of Canada's new law (Bill C-36), this research is timely as it addresses the importance of management's role in the sex industry and their valuable role in providing occupational health and safety. Like any other personal service occupation, triangular

power relations exist in these work sites and managers fulfill a role in mediating conflict and

aggression. However, with the recent passing of the new legislature, managers are at even greater

risk of legal repercussions and therefore are longer able to play a role in these alliances.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation provided a review of management in personal service

industries, followed by an examination of the theoretical concepts used in this research. These

concepts were interwoven throughout Chapter 4 in terms of how managers hire and train new

workers. Experiences of conflict and aggression were presented in Chapter 5: two primary dyads

of manager-client and manager-worker were presented, noting the importance of recognizing that

conflict typically begins between the client and worker. If the manager is not allowed to

intervene, this has serious safety implications for sex workers working in these environments.

Chapter 6 presents findings that managers who have had actual interaction with municipal by-

law officials and the police viewed them as positive. The accounts of the managers in this study

provide insights into their role in managing escort and massage businesses. Due to the hidden

nature of these businesses, however, findings reveal that more support is needed for all involved

in the sex industry. Managers' experiences are complex and varied and their needs are

multidimensional; however with the prevailing stigma and legality issues surrounding the sex

industry, it is difficult for managers to navigate the system and protect all involved. The

following section summarizes findings from this project, followed by limitations of the study.

8.1 Summary of Findings

This dissertation demonstrates that managers of escort and massage businesses face

similar challenges to managers in other frontline interactive service work sectors, including

conflict resolution and aggression in the workplace. Working under the constraints of federal and

municipal bylaws existing in Canada and the ambiguity of these laws exacerbates many of these

challenges. Other service industries do not typically have to send new workers to get police checks, nor are they under the threat of being shut down or raided. Frequent changes in the law have further complicated the situation, as workers and managers expect them to change again without notice. Stigma, societal attitudes, and interaction with bylaw officers, law enforcement, health authorities, and other regulatory actors all contribute to a dynamic in which sex work functions in the shadows, leaving actors with little recourse to legal remedies to conflict or communication errors.

Employment practices in escort and massage businesses highlight the importance of what Hakim (2010) identifies as erotic capital, building on Bourdieu's (1984) theory of capital - based on the argument that people possess types of capital they can use to their benefit and that employers value. Bourdieu identifies capital such as educational attainment, social relations, work experience, and interpersonal skills; Hakim specifically considers the importance of erotic capital, or the ability to use sexuality and sexual effervescence. The socio/cultural environment in massage and escort businesses mimic that of entertainment occupations, where managers seek workers who have erotic, cultural, and economic capital. Managers in the sex industry sector recognize the importance of considering cultural capital in hiring employees or working with independent contractors in their businesses. Managers favour prospective employees who have a university education, which they consider useful in engaging in conversation with clients. They also consider candidates with social skills associated with education, social class, or wide life experience more favourably. Employers also value work experience in the industry, and some express a preference for older workers, somewhere between the ages of 28 and 35, as a result.

But while age might not be critical, managers have a strong preference for workers who conform to white Eurocentric definitions of "attractive" appearance, based on the norms of white,

upper-middle class beauty. This preference crosses over into overt racism that includes discrimination against Black and First Nations workers. Managers also specifically rule out offering employment to anyone who has the appearance of or background as a street worker. Some managers define their clients as "high end," such as affluent managers and professionals. They seek prospective employees or contractors who conform to their idea of appropriate companions for such clients. Managers' hiring practices also demonstrate the relevance of Hakim's (2010) work on erotic capital. Beauty is an obvious element, and managers state workers have to be "pretty" (defining beauty in the conventional Eurocentric social construct). Hakim identifies erotic capital as including learned skills that translate into particular ways of interacting; in other words, employees who can interact easily with clients, put them at ease, and flirt with or charm them. And Hakim includes sexuality as an element of erotic capital, and having this element determines success in seeking employment more than any other attribute. This translates to the necessity of conducting further research on sexualized occupations using Hakim's theory of erotic capital.

The dissertation also explored the role of training for new employees or contractors. While some managers provide training, many provide it through the mentoring relationship. This is probably less than in other frontline service occupations, but this is partly facilitated because sex workers do work somewhat independently, in a way that workers in a retail store or restaurant do not. The menu does not change by your server in a restaurant, and basically all of the servers' actions interact with the chef's. Managers who do not train reference the risk of criminal charges as a deterrent because they hope to plead ignorance as to the type of services they are supporting, which training makes impossible. Their employees have to figure out what is required and ways to deal with difficult or dangerous clients on their own, or managers being

called upon to intervene in such cases. In cases such as these, peer-to-peer training can be beneficial. Managers' training efforts often reflect the principle of aesthetic labour as defined by Warhurst and Nickson (2007), with the goal of creating an image, behaviour, and appearance consistent with the agency's perception of its clients' desires. This is, of course, is not unlike the application of the principle by retailers, restaurants, and other businesses. Managers also train on basic information about advertising, how to set up a website, and how to communicate with the agency about appointments – something that may not be offered or as important in other service sectors. Like other service sector occupations, managers also provide training on basic information pertaining to safety such as the importance of lube and condoms (although these cases are rare). Managers' focus on risk management or de-escalating high risk situations are avoided for the most part and this is where managers pair new employees with a more experienced worker in a mentoring relationship. In these cases, the experienced worker explains what to expect on calls, how to deal with clients, and other aspects of the work. In some cases, the new employee accompanies the mentor and observes a call. Some potential consequences are obvious, in terms of safety and conflict and new employees' feeling poorly prepared for the work.

The lack of training also increases the risk of workplace conflict. The research explored elements of workplace conflict in the sector and managers' strategies for avoiding or dealing with conflict. It focuses on the triangular relationship and three resulting dyads—conflict between client and manager, between manager and worker, and conflict between client and worker. Conflict is most commonly reported between worker and client and managers are typically called upon to resolve it. In another consequence of the legal environment, many managers are concerned about a lack of allied supports available to them when such conflicts involve a customer refusing to pay or becoming violent. Nevertheless, the main causes of

customer conflict, ranked by managers' perception of importance, are clients not following the rules set by the worker or agency, client dissatisfaction with service, clients who remove condoms, refusal to pay, substance use, and attempts to date or stalk the worker. The causes tend to overlap; a customer dissatisfied with service or the worker's limits might refuse to pay. An underlying cause in many cases appears to be disparities in expectations and a failure to communicate effectively about services, rules, costs, and expectations, a problem fears of undercover law enforcement activities exacerbates. Conflict most frequently takes the form of verbal aggression, followed by physical aggression and verbal aggression. The most common form of resolution of worker-client conflict is to end service, with managers siding with the workers. In other cases, managers would offer a partial refund or the opportunity to book with a different worker – siding with the client. In rare cases, managers find workers at fault in the conflict and fire them. These incidents usually involve a worker stealing from a client. Some managers call on police to deal with difficult or potentially violent clients. As noted above, the research finds conflict in that the client-manager dyad almost always has its origins in the client-worker relationship. Verbal aggression is the most common type of conflict with clients. Real or threatened physical aggression involving managers is rare, perhaps because managers they have less in-person contact with clients or because clients feel they have greater power. In terms of de-escalating conflict with clients, managers generally resolve conflicts by reasoning with and placating the client, reprimanding the client and demanding future compliance, removing the client, and/or banning the individual. This speaks to managers' need to take control and assert their authority. With the passing of Bill C-36, this has serious safety implications for the health and safety of workers.

Manager-worker conflicts do not involve physical aggression. The most common conflict mode is verbal aggression, although non-verbal aggression, such as workers posting derogatory comments online, is also apparent. The causes of conflict include worker dissatisfaction with shift assignments, pay, ways in which calls are booked, or the fees employers charge workers. Managers also report conflict when workers arrange dates directly with clients (referred to as "stepping out"), cutting the agency out of the process. To resolve this, firing the worker or assigning fewer shifts or bookings is common. Another common theme apparent in this study is managers' acceptance of "bad behavior" as being the norm for this type of work.

While some aspects of sex-industry workplaces share a commonality with other businesses, the legal and regulatory framework, from the Criminal Code provisions to municipal bylaws and licensing requirements, sharply differentiates the sector. The Canadian sex industry operates as quasi-legal. Few studies have examined managers' views of the agents involved in enforcing municipal by-laws operating in Canadian cities. Managers' responses indicate that the regulatory framework and threat of criminal prosecution reduces safety and increases vulnerability. (While the research was undertaken under the former bawdy house provisions of the Criminal Code, it seems likely that it also applies to the new provisions of Bill C-36 criminalizing anyone "who receives a financial or other material benefit" directly or indirectly from the sale of sexual services.) Another common trend worth noting is the pervasive stigma managers have to deal with on a daily basis that does not exist in other personal service industries.

In other countries such as New Zealand, sex work became decriminalized through the passing of the Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) in 2003 (Abel et al, 2010). In order to determine the effectiveness of decriminalization, Elaine Mossman (2010) interviewed 38 brothel owners

and operators in five cities across New Zealand. Findings reveal that managers have seen improvement in the welfare, health and safety of sex workers in several ways. First, safer sex practices are now mandatory and clients can be legally charged if they fail to use a condom. This decreases clients' denial to use condoms. Second, although managers state that access to health information for workers can be improved, it has become easier for sex workers who experience violence to report these incidents to the authorities. In fact, the reporting of such violence has increased since the industry has been decriminalized. Third, brothel managers support prosecutions of those who hired underage workers, contrary to what mainstream media portrays as predators controlling vulnerable young girls. However, like the vagueness of Canada's municipal by-laws, managers in Mossman's study expressed discontentment and confusion over monitoring and enforcement (Ibid.). Organizations that are responsible for health and safety checks, for example, such as the Occupational Safety and Health division of the Department of Labour, have provided few, if any at all, of these checks within these sex industry establishments. Managers in Mossman's study also state that improved access to health information for all those involved in the sex industry can be greatly improved through the implementation of "in-reach" discussed in the "recommendations" section of this dissertation. Lastly, the author states that the social exclusion of sex workers has lessened somewhat in decriminalized regimes (Ibid.). Street-based sex workers, however, still appear to experience the most violence and suffer from stigma more than their off-street based counterparts.

In Canada, the regulatory framework and its application are complex and vary by community. Municipalities frequently introduce measures to limit street sex work, and also take steps to regulate or eliminate off-street sex work as well, including special business licenses, high licensing fees, regulations around advertising and location and requirements for police

inspection. Court rulings on these measures have not brought clarity around the extent of municipal power. Sex-work-related businesses in Canada are typically at risk of far higher sanctions than other kinds of businesses, should a municipality find that they have breached licensing or zoning regulations. In the five Canadian cities where this research is undertaken, municipal regulation of sex work venues range from detailed to non-existent. As Barnett and Nicol (2012) note, the grey areas around the law result in a balancing act that in part "consists in maintaining the illusion that escort services and massage and adult entertainment parlours are not fronts for prostitution-related activities" (p. 18). The need to pretend that the business do not offer sexual services makes it harder to provide a safer workplace by providing condoms, for example, or discussing services, rules and expectations with clients. For some managers, this extends to being unwilling to seek help from police when they or their workers are the victims of crime.

Craig (2011) argues that the lack of clarity in federal law has given municipalities an extraordinary level of discretionary power in regulating the sex industry. Businesses have little option but to comply with onerous and often costly municipal regulations, because they fear that not complying could result in criminally charges. In most municipalities, the licensing requirements are more complex than other service sector businesses and require higher licensing fees. High licensing fees complicates the decision as to whether they even want to seek licensing. (In Vancouver, for example, a body-rub parlour pays $8,018 a year for a license, compared to $300 for every other business (Craig, 2011). Managers also find a wide variation in interpretation and enforcement of the regulations and bylaws, with treatment depending much on the attitude of the individual municipal officer involved. Managers take differing approaches to the benefits and risks of abiding by the municipal requirements. Some fear that licensing and regulation opens

them up to additional problems, including law enforcement attention. Others state that being licensed gives them greater confidence in seeking police help or dealing with problems with municipal authorities.

Managers are reluctant to raise concerns about practices they consider unfair. The threat of criminal liability discourages political advocacy against unfair or unreasonable municipal regulation. Nonetheless, in spite of these discrepancies, the majority of managers indicate that they view bylaw officers positively. Positive views tend to reflect the nature of interactions with municipal bylaw officers; managers find them to be approachable, polite, friendly, and respectful. Some managers note that following the bylaws existing within their municipality makes such interactions easy. The regulations themselves, rather than the actions of the bylaw officers, typically shape negative views.

In terms of the police, the majority of managers have positive views. This is somewhat surprising given Harkin's exploration (2015) of the limits of managers' ability to interact on an equal level with police officers and the work of Goldsmith (2005) on the potential for police actions to be seen as unjust, particularly in relation to minorities, which could include workers in the sex sector. It should be noted, however, that negative interactions with police in Goldsmith's study primarily comes from disenfranchised minority populations (something that is not particularly relevant in the off-street sex industry). Lewis and Maticka-Tyndale's (2005) study finds that many escorts have disdain for the police based on their perception that legal processes are unfair and they have had direct negative interactions with police officers; however, they still view police as useful in terms of their safety. The same holds true with this research. The literature raises the question: Are managers' views of the police subcultural in nature—that is, do they reject the laws outright (Carr et al., 2007)—or more indicative of cultural attenuation—

evidencing dissatisfaction with the law is temporary and based on negative experiences with the police (Warner, 2003; Carr et al., 2007). Results from this research show that managers' views are more indicative of cultural attenuation (Ibid.). Unlike Craig's (2011) findings, this study suggests that while managers may experience tension between criminal sanctions and municipal regulation, they are quite pleased with their experiences with bylaw officers. While the literature states there is a systemic level of distrust of the police in settings such as the sex industry (Harkin, 2015), many managers in this study have positive impressions of police. Furthermore, the analysis does not support Goldsmith's (2005) observations that the police are viewed as unjust or unfair. The number of managers with positive views, however, does not change the underlying issues in the relationship between municipal agents and police. Managers, workers, and contractors find themselves in a perpetual state of maintaining discretion by minimizing evidence about the nature of the business. This can compromise health and safety, and conflict with clients based in a lack of clear communication demonstrates this in part. Clamen, Bruckert & Nengah Mensa (2013: p. 51) note sex work managers are reluctant to report crime for fear of attracting the attention of authorities. Managers in this research report that they would only call upon the authorities if the safety of their workers (or themselves) is at stake. In most cases, they are content to deal with conflict on their own.

This research is only a beginning. The managers to whom it gives voice have much more to say. Yet studies like this one can help the state to reform its systems. In Victoria, British Columbia, for example, the police play an active role with sex workers and sex work organizations and collaborate regularly with outreach agencies and sex workers to ensure their safety. Findings such as recounted here can aid in similar reforms. PEERS Victoria, a local non-profit agency serving sex workers, continually updates a Victoria "Bad Date" Sheet, and the

organization works closely with the Victoria Police in reporting violence against persons in the

sex industry. There is also a monthly group running at PEERS that provides education and

support in an informal setting serving dinner to sex workers in independent and agency-based

indoor environments. This group meets to build community, share safety and advocacy concerns

and solutions, and to gain access to key support providers in the community. It meets every

month and one or two guest speakers representing local services (lawyers, police, members of

government, tax and accounting specialists, health providers) chosen by the group attend and

answer questions. Initiatives such as this would be useful in other jurisdictions.

The research presented here is important in many ways. First, the existing body of

knowledge on management of escort and massage businesses is extremely limited. Second,

policy and occupational health and safety guidelines created on the basis of this research

provides a material benefit to workers. Third, the research problematizes the stereotypes and

assumptions in the literature and society at large, showcasing the complexity and heterogeneity

of the sex industry as a whole. Fourth, by providing managers with the unique opportunity to

voice their experience, share their insights, and contribute to new forms of knowledge, it

documents their lived reality and enables further research that builds on its findings.

Due to their positions of authority and control, managers in the sex industry play a unique

role in preventing victimization of sex workers and their clients. The research illuminates the

complexity of three-way relationships within sex work settings and how these relationships are

shaped by legal environments (Benoit et al., 2015). This research has the capacity to create

change, to empower people, to change beliefs and to offer insights into a population that

researchers and policymakers alike have historically ignored or neglected. It provides rich

qualitative data on the stories and the impacts of managers and their relationships with the other

two corners of the triangle—workers and clients—that previous research has failed to convey.
The research adds to the lack of empirical evidence, spanning policy or public conversation
about management in the sex industry while at the same time challenging the reader to re-
conceptualize managers as more than predatory "pimps." By providing a detailed, rich account
of managers' everyday experiences in terms of hiring, training, conflict resolution, and how the
legal environment hinders their ability to effectively communicate and negotiate alliances, the
study challenges stereotypes of dominant power relations. Some of the literature and abolitionist
circles alike have failed to examine escort and massage business workplaces through an
occupational lens. By providing a more nuanced picture of these work locations, situating
managers as a part of the three-way alliance wheel, rather than simply focusing on sex workers
as a homogeneous group, it provides illumination for all parties interested in addressing the place
of the sex industry in society.

8.2 Limitations of this Research

While this dissertation provides a novel contribution to the literature on management of
escort and massage businesses as well as the literatures on frontline service work it is not without
important limitations. First, although a sample size of 43 participants is a good number for
qualitative research, the size of the sample and sampling method prevents generalization to *all*
managers of the sex industry in the cities' sample, let alone Canada at large or beyond. However,
in-depth interviews provide authentic information that can be used for future exploration.

Second, this dissertation research is exploratory and descriptive in nature, with an
emphasis on micro (hiring and training strategies managers use), meso (how conflict/aggression
is experienced in the workplace), and macro (how managers view the law and how stigma plays
a role) level analyses of managers' experiences in escort and massage service sites.

Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to explore the ways in which these work sites may be similar or dissimilar to other work sites where stigmatized populations exist. Research examining these three-way alliances in multiple sites would allow for a better understanding of how varying work contexts influence experiences of conflict and aggression. Furthermore, it would be useful to compare managers' findings with those of clients and workers in order to determine what (if any) discrepancies exist. A comparative sample would have additional benefits, including observation of potential variances in conflict/aggression based on specific populations being managed, organizational features of the worksites, and/or the demographic characteristics of the workforce. While further research with a larger comparative sample could be conducted with a qualitative design, it might be useful to carry out a primarily quantitative mixed methods design that focuses on questionnaire-based data collection with select qualitative questions administered to a subsample of respondents. For example, the development of measures that highlight different coping and management strategies would be a useful addition to the measures used in this project, allowing researchers to explore the effectiveness of different strategies used to increase occupational health and safety for individuals working in stigmatized settings.

Nonetheless, this dissertation is successful in revealing the experiences of managers working in escort and massage businesses across Canada, highlighting the challenges they face as a result of the illegality and stigma that exists in this industry. We, as a society, have a lot to learn from them.

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Appendix A: Municipal By-Laws

The following is a list of municipal by-laws operating within the five regions in Canada where this research is conducted—Calgary, Kitchener/Waterloo, St. John's, Victoria, and Montreal.

Calgary:

There are three laws specific to sex work in the municipality: The Body Rub License Bylaw, the Dating and Escort Service Bylaw and the Exotic Entertainers Bylaw. There is also a Massage License Bylaw that is intended for types of massages that are not sexual in nature but at the same time are not licensed under the Massage License Bylaw of Alberta.

- Body Rub License Bylaw—53M2012.[2] Took effect Jan 1, 2013. The definition of a body rub is a massage performed by someone who is NOT a licensed massage practitioner according to the Massage License Bylaw of Alberta. Body- rub centres cannot be located in a house, in a massage centre, or in a body-rub office (where the business of the work is done).

- No body rubs can be conducted between 11 a.m.-6 p.m., and the phrase "body rub" can't be used in any advertising.

- A body-rub centre must be licensed, and that license requires all personal details of the holder of the license (name, address, etc.)

- All workers must be licensed individually as body-rub practitioners, who can only work at one body-rub centre. Their "true full name" must be kept on the centre's list

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[2] http://www.calgary.ca/PDA/DBA/Documents/licence/body_rub_licence_53M2012.pdf

and be available at all times, they must be 18 or older, and they are required to wear non-transparent clothing that covers from neck to mid-thigh.

- A licensed body-rub practitioner must have completed 250 hours minimum from a recognized institute, and the city will determine what qualifies as a "recognized institute"

- All body-rub centres must undergo an annual police check

  - Every practitioner must keep a register at the centre that records name of practitioner, time/date/location, and name of client booked for body rub

- Dating and Escort Service Bylaw - 48M2006[3]

- Every agency registered under this bylaw must keep record of all employees—true name, birthdate, address, phone

- They must keep a record of all clients, including name, phone and location, service and fee charged

- Every worker must be licensed and can work at only one dating and escort service, and must notify the licensing inspector with 14 days' notice if they want to change agencies.

- No dating/escort services between 2:30 a.m. and 7 a.m.

- No dates at the office

- No members of the public can disrobe at the office

- No office can be located in a residential land use area

- Exotic Entertainers Bylaw—47M86[4]

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[3] https://www.calgary.ca/PDA/DBA/Documents/licence/dating_and_escort_service_bylaw.pdf?noredirect=1

- Similar regulations apply as for a dating and escort service bylaw, including keeping a register of any client who books an exotic entertainer

- Exotic entertainment services cannot be located in a residential zone

- No exotic entertainment between 2:30 - 7 a.m.

- No touching of genital areas, no requirement that workers have to touch or be touched

- Massage License Bylaw - 52M2012 [5]

- This bylaw excludes certified massage practitioners licensed for medical or therapeutic massage treatments given by a qualified person licensed under Alberta law. Massage centres licensed under this bylaw cannot be body-rub centres

- Practitioners of this type of massage must be associated with at least one massage centre licensed under this bylaw, but are not required to maintain a list of clients or restricted in hours of operation or location. They can also work at more than one massage centre.

Kitchener/Waterloo:

This municipality has one bylaw related to sexual services—Adult Entertainment Parlours - and another governing Alternative Massage Centres. Specific regulations or licensing requirements around dating/escort services are not spelled out in the bylaws.

- Adult Entertainment Parlours (chapter 502 in business-license section of bylaws)[6]

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[4] http://www.calgary.ca/PDA/DBA/Documents/licence/exotic_entertainers_bylaw.pdf

[5] http://www.calgary.ca/PDA/DBA/Documents/licence/massage_licence_bylaw.pdf

[6] http://code.municipalworld.com/kitchener/502.pdf

- Adult entertainment is defined for the purposes of this bylaw as goods, entertainment or services designed to appeal to erotic or sexual appetites. This includes massage with the exception of medical/therapeutic treatment

- There are 5 classes of licensing, from A to E. For the purposes of this research, Classes D and E are the only two that have relevance, as the others relate to erotic printed material, videos, etc.

- Class D is kneading/rubbing but excludes "alternative massage." Class E is anything with a principal feature of nudity, including wet t-shirt contests. Partial nudity is defined as any clothing that "less than completely and opaquely covered in areas of genitals, buttocks, or female breast below top of areole."

- In the Class D category, only 2 licenses are permitted in the entire municipality, and the two specific addresses are listed in the bylaw. Site restrictions for this class overall is to be located a minimum 100 meters min from school, day care or religious institute, and the site must not face residential locations.

- Attendants in Class D must be licensed. Touching of genital/buttocks area is prohibited, but breasts are permitted.

- Class E—Only 2 licenses are permitted in the entire municipality and these 2 addresses are specified in the bylaw. All physical contact prohibited, including breasts, under a Class E license. No services can be offered in private/enclosed areas, and washroom areas must be monitored every 30 minutes.

- Business license fees in these two categories are significantly higher than other license fees. A Class D attendant pays $104 annually while an operator pays $4306. Operators of Class E establishments pay $5168 annually.

- Alternative Massage Centres[7]

- This bylaw regulates centres that provide kneading/rubbing services that differ from therapeutic massage

- Hours are restricted to 9 a.m. to 8 p.m.

- Prohibited: Touching of genital area, skimpy clothes or lingerie, massages done in locked rooms, use of sex toys or condoms

St. John's, Newfoundland:

This municipality has only an Adult Materials Display Regulation[8] that governs the height of displays of pornographic material and the age of entrance for customers (19 and over)

Victoria, British Columbia:

This municipality is one of 13 municipalities in Greater Victoria and encompasses the downtown core of the region. It governs escort/dating services under the Escort and Dating Service Bylaw[9], which establishes licensing requirement and fines for 11 offences.

- Escorts must be 19 or older and pay a $250 license fee every year. Agencies must also be licensed.

- The 11 offences under the bylaw are listed in Schedule M of the municipal regulations and include: operating without a license; failure to display a license; employing of unlicensed provider; failure to notify the municipality of a name change; hiring

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[7] http://code.municipalworld.com/kitchener/508.pdf

[8] http://www.stjohns.ca/bylaws.nsf/nwByLawNum/1087

[9] http://www.victoria.ca/assets/Business/Permits~Licences/Escort%20Bus%20App%20(2).pdf

employees under 19; entertaining client on premises; failure to maintain records; unlawful telephone use; offering services outside lawful hours; providing services outside lawful hours; failure to display license.

- All fines are $500 with the exception of infractions of employing someone under 19 or entertaining on premises. These two have a $1000 fine.

Montreal, Quebec:

This municipality governs sexual services under Bylaw 94-077—BY-LAW CONCERNING THE URBAN PLANNING OF THE CITY OF MONTRÉAL.[10]

- C-5 use is an Establishment Dealing in Eroticism

- The bylaw defines "erotic" as something that excites or tend to excite the sexual instinct by showing the human body in such a way as to draw attention to women's breasts, pubis, genitalia or buttocks

- An Establishment Dealing in Eroticism could be anything from a store selling pornographic magazines and videos to peep shows, cinema, or where goods/services are supplied by a person who is naked, partially covered or wearing transparent garments

- Restrictions are primarily around shielding the passing public from having to know what kind of activities are going on inside the building, and restrictions on floor space, location (only where C5 zoning is permitted), and specific requirements around

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[10] http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/sel/sypre-consultation/afficherpdf?idDoc=4813&typeDoc=1

distance from residential areas and facilities in the E category (spaces/buildings related to sports, recreation, community activities).

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Open Ended Questionnaire—Managing Sex Work Businesses

Work History

1. **How did you come into this line of work?**

    - Did you know people in the industry before you started working (probe: roles,

      influence)?

    - How did you develop the skills for this line of work? Are there skills you would like

      to develop? Does your personal background influence your management experience

      (probe: including your gender, previous work in the sex industry)?

    - How does this work compare with other jobs you have had, including other roles in

      the

      sex industry?

Your Workplace

2. **Please describe a typical day at work—your activities and responsibilities.**

    - Who do you manage? What is involved in management? (Range of third parties in

      workplace: drivers, security, etc.).

    - What level of influence do you have over the way the business is run? Are there areas where

      service providers have more influence over the work than you do?

    - Do you work for someone else? Do you have business a partner(s)?

    - What do you find most and least enjoyable about running the business?

    - What does your workplace look like—i.e. in what kind of place do you and those you

      coordinate/manage work?

Providing Supervision

3. **What are the factors that contribute to positive and more challenging relationships with those you work with?**

- What are the characteristics or skills you look for when hiring (experience, personality, looks, race)?

- How do you train new service providers?

- What are your basic expectations of workers? Do you ever use discipline or fines with workers?

- When does it become necessary to fire someone?

- How do you develop advertisements? Are there qualities or attributes of the business and service providers that are minimized or highlighted (race, age, body type)? Are workers involved?

- Are there protocols around collecting payment from clients?

- How are house fees split up? How are house fees collected? (Probe: differences with out-calls).

- Does your work require identification or documentation from workers? Describe any experiences being approached by, or hiring, employees without necessary immigration or visa documentation?

- Do you have visiting service providers? Do your service providers tour to other places? Do your service providers travel with clients? How are these arrangements made? What are the pros and cons associated with travelling workers?

<u>Clients</u>

4. Please describe your work activities and responsibilities with clients.

- Describe your strategies for matching clients with service providers.

- Describe the clients you serve (age, race, gender, class, sexuality, disability, regulars versus clients not known to you). *Define Regular

- How important is it for you to build a reputation with clients? How do you do this?

- What makes a good client/what makes a challenging client? How do you handle challenging clients?

- When does it become necessary to refuse service to a client (age, behaviour, requests)?

- Do you keep a blacklist? How does one get blacklisted?

- How are xxxtra's or non-typical requests negotiated? What are typical xxxtra's? Are there any xxxtra's your business avoids?

<u>Work and the Law</u>

5. How do the laws, municipal, provincial, federal, affect your workplace?

- Earlier you mentioned you do/do not have a business license? What influenced your decision? Do you feel comfortable with the information collected during the licensing process (company name, address, etc.)? Should business licenses be public?

- How did you choose your business location (pro's con's, role of discretion in this decision)? What is your businesses' relationship like with neighbourhood or residential associations? Do these groups ever put pressure on you, your business, or your employees or customers in any way?

- If your business does not have a physical location, why not?

- Can you tell me more about your contact with municipal officers, police or other regulators such as immigration officials? Do you know what kind of information they have collected about your business and what happens with the information they collect? Has your gender, work, age, or race shaped these interactions in any way?

- Do you see police as making your job easier and safer, or harder and less safe? In what ways?

- Does your business interact with private security groups (including hotel security or staff)? In what ways?

- What are your thoughts on the Ontario Bedford Ruling which decriminalized bawdy houses and livings off the avails—in what ways could this change in the law impact your workplace?

Health and the Workplace

*For this project, we are defining violence as "any act in which a person is abused, threatened, intimidated or assaulted."

6. Do you have practices that help to avoid the possibility of violence or aggression at work and increase safety? What are they?

- What situations are more risky or approached with more caution than others?

- How do you screen clients?

- Are there things you wished you could do to increase workplace safety?

- Are there things you do not do for safety out of concern that your identity or business might be subject to negative attention?

- Do you communicate with others about your blacklist/bad date report? How could bad date reporting be improved in your area?

7. As a manager, have you observed conflict or aggression in your workplace?

- Describe conflict and aggression from clients to service providers.

- Describe conflict and aggression from service providers to clients.

- Describe conflict and aggression between workers.

- Have you experienced conflict/aggression from service providers or clients?

- Have there been situations where you responded with assertion or aggression with workers or clients? Do you know of other managers who have?

8. What are additional health concerns in your workplace?

- How has this work affected your health

- Do you have access to health supports—for workers and for yourself?

- Are there any strategies for workplace wellness that you'd like to put in place but haven't been able to?

- Who do you turn to for support with work challenges and stresses?

<u>**Discrimination**</u>

9. What are the pros and cons of this work on your family and personal life? Does your partner, children, or family know about your work? Do they provide support?

- What are common misconceptions about your work?

- How do you think your experience of stigma or discrimination compares with others that you work with?

10. What are your plans for the future?

Thank you very much for sharing your experiences. Is there anything else you would like to add to help others understand your work?

Appendix C: Overview of In-Call versus Out-Call Workplaces across Canada

Sex industry workplaces vary widely; they cover a diverse line of service work that encompasses the selling of sexual services, fantasy, and intimate massage in occupational environments that range from street corners and parked cars, to high-end escort agencies, clients' hotel rooms, a worker's own apartment or house, and other adult entertainment venue. Location distinguishes in-call from out-call sex services. In-call refers to services provided in a designated place that clients come to for the purposes of receiving sexual services, while out-call services involve the sex worker going to a venue chosen by the client, such as a private home or hotel room (Canada Attorney General v. Bedford, 2013). Jurisdictions that have legalized sex work, such as Queensland, Australia, permit in-call services, licensing brothels and workers who operate from their homes, but out-call services continue to be illegal (Crime and Misconduct Commission, 2006). Despite attempts by various Canadian municipalities to control the quantity and location of escort agencies and massage parlours, sex work remains largely unregulated in Canada. Canada's new prostitution law does not distinguish between in-call and out-call venues in terms of how the law applies to sex workers, but the purchase of sex has now been criminalized regardless of where the provision of those services takes place. In British Columbia, approximately 20% of the sex industry involves street-based sex work, wherein clients purchase sex from sex workers soliciting off the street (often referred to as "the stroll") (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Pivot Legal Society, 2006). Both the in-call and out-call services can involve managers, although many sex workers who provide in call and out-call services do so without management.

Escort agencies in Canada include in-call services, out-call services, and agencies that offer both (Bruckert & Law, 2013). Some agencies are collectives, where employees share in the

decision-making around operations and give a percentage of the fees they receive for sexual services to cover common operating costs. Other agencies have a top-down management structure, with management taking a percentage ranging anywhere from 20 to 50 percent of each sex worker's earnings in exchange for providing a location, advertising services, reception or answering service, and in the case of out-calls, drivers to transport workers to and from appointments with clients outside of the agency (Ibid.).

Canadian laws effect in-call workers differently from out-call workers, which is why out-call only agencies came into existence. With the new laws, however, it is unclear how commercial enterprises will be operationalized via the law. One would presume, for example, that a fixed in-call location will be evidence of a commercial enterprise. In this case, there may be continuity between the old laws and the new one that does not favour in-call work. With the old laws managers might have been caught up under the "communication" law, living off the avails, and bawdy-house laws in theory, but under the new laws they are likely to be caught up under the material benefit provisions and technically that could be the case regardless of whether it is an in-call or out-call business. At this point, it is difficult to predict until more charges are laid and heard in court. Criminal charges against in-call workers usually invoke laws prohibiting bawdy houses, while charges against out-call workers usually center on laws against communicating for the purposes of prostitution (Shaver et al., 2015). Canadian federal laws generally control location of the work rather than the actual selling of sexual services (Ibid.).