



Review: [Untitled]

Reviewed Work(s):

Making Work, Making Trouble: Prostitution as a Social Problem by Deborah R. Brock
Valerie Jenness

Contemporary Sociology, Vol. 28, No. 5. (Sep., 1999), pp. 613-615.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0094-3061%28199909%2928%3A5%3C613%3AMWMTPA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-K>

Contemporary Sociology is currently published by American Sociological Association.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/asa.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

The JSTOR Archive is a trusted digital repository providing for long-term preservation and access to leading academic journals and scholarly literature from around the world. The Archive is supported by libraries, scholarly societies, publishers, and foundations. It is an initiative of JSTOR, a not-for-profit organization with a mission to help the scholarly community take advantage of advances in technology. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

work largely based in a psychiatric research setting. The authors demonstrate the importance of obtaining information from parents, teachers, and children, because the information each of these sources provides is both unique and limited in scope. They also demonstrate the importance of considering simultaneously environmental and biological factors and the complexity of the issues that arise when one attempts to do so. Their discussions of the nature and consequences of a hyperkinetic disorder, the necessity of focusing on specific parent-child relationships as compared to general-family characteristics, and the need to consider how the behavior of children shapes the characteristics of the parent-child relationship are particularly valuable. One also obtains a feel for the nature and the complexity of the processes involved as one moves through the different stages of childhood and into adulthood.

Gerald Patterson and Karen Yoeger's theoretical formulation attempts to explain how late-onset delinquency differs from early-onset delinquency. The authors find some support for the position that late-onset delinquents tend to have more social skills than early-onset delinquents, and that late-onset delinquents tend to become involved with delinquent peers at an older age. However, they found that "a single model of an antisocial child involved with delinquent peers at grade 4 provides an acceptable fit for both early-onset and late-onset delinquents" (p. 163). The data they present suggest that the distinction between early-onset and late-onset delinquents is not particularly strong.

The book concludes with two papers. In one, James Tedeschi shows how a social interactionist theory of coercive actions involving threats and acts of harm are related to deviant behavior. In the other, Karen Heimer and Ross L. Matsueda present a symbolic interactionist theory of motivation and deviance. Tedeschi pays particular attention to proactive and reactive acts of aggression, to factors that decrease the individual's confidence in the effectiveness of noncoercive acts, and the issues of identity maintenance and development. Heimer and Matsueda emphasize the centrality of the self as an object and the cognitive process of role taking, and how, under different conditions, these may be related to deviant behavior. There is a close overlap of the topics covered in these two chapters, but the interpretations of what is going on differ substantially. Since both point to

important processes, their juxtaposition enhances their contribution.

This book is aimed at a professional audience. It brings together a very diverse set of approaches, some of which will be unfamiliar to most readers. The reader also gets a clear sense of how these perspectives overlap and the tension between them. In short, the book makes a valuable contribution.

Making Work, Making Trouble: Prostitution as a Social Problem, by **Deborah R. Brock**. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998. 206 pp. \$45.00 cloth. \$18.95 paper. ISBN: 0-8020-0976-X.

VALERIE JENNESS
University of California, Irvine
jenness@uci.edu

Melville wrote in *Moby Dick* that "sin that pays its way can travel freely, and without a passport; whereas Virtue, if a pauper, is stopped at all frontiers." He was, fortunately or unfortunately, probably right. However, to understand *how* a particular form of vice—prostitution—travels across the urban landscape, moving beyond Melville's dictum and toward Brock's analysis in *Making Work, Making Trouble: Prostitution as a Social Problem*, would be a wise move. Her book encourages a complicated portrayal of how prostitution travels in an urban environment.

Placing prostitution at the nexus of law, community organization, and the local politics of commercialized sex, Brock intends mainly to "demonstrate how, regardless of approach, prostitution takes on greater social meaning at some time than others, and becomes the target of public, media, and state action" (p. 4). To this end, Brock relies upon interview, archival, and official data to trace the changing contours of urban prostitution and efforts to control sex for sale in Canada from the 1970s to the 1990s. She analyzes how particular forms of prostitution were constructed as social problems and were thus the target of social control at various moments in Canadian history. More specifically, she analyzes how the changing character of law defines elements of prostitution, how policing practices do and do not reflect changes in law, how community groups continue to play a crucial role in the regulation of prostitution, and how various social control efforts designed to curb prostitu-

tion merely reorganize it so that it becomes more or less visible in the public sphere.

First, this is a book about the geography of prostitution in Canada. As Brock explains, "prostitution has been relocated through regulatory and policing activities. The trade has been shifted from relatively private indoor places of business to the markedly public sphere of the streets. It has been moved from street to street within neighborhoods and cities. Its guise changes, from massage parlours to encounter studios to escort services, in an attempt to circumvent the law. . . . but clearly, the legislators, the courts, and the police cannot make prostitution disappear" (p. 138). Taking the inevitability of prostitution as a given, in chapter after chapter Brock skillfully analyzes the structural and cultural factors that determine both the form prostitution takes and the specific locale(s) in which it resides. Most notably, she develops a provocative analysis of how the police contribute to media portrayals of prostitutes that, in essence, generate a moral panic among select sectors of the morally concerned citizenry. This, in turn, produces the further regulation of prostitution.

Brock also demonstrates the various ways Canadian law and efforts to enforce it have shaped the practice of commercialized sex in Toronto and other Canadian cities. For example, she offers a detailed analysis of how Bill C-49 (legislation that restricts communication for the purpose of prostitution) was first introduced, subsequently enforced, and ultimately deemed ineffective by the very citizenry responsible for its passage (e.g., members of the alliance of residents' organization, police, and city officials). In the most illuminating chapter, "A New Legal Strategy for the Policing of Prostitutes," Brock details how the passage of Bill C-49 encouraged police to undertake mass arrest tactics for their "street sweeps," detain prostitutes and customers overnight, engage in entrapment, and help create media portrayals of prostitution that merely underscore the problematic nature of prostitution as something intimately connected to neighborhood decay.

Although the police practices described throughout this book failed to eliminate prostitution, they did achieve record arrests and what Marx (1984) termed "the ironies of social control" (i.e., the regulatory practices create that which is being regulated). In this case, one of the ironies was comical: "the city implemented

changes in street directions to deter cruising customers. This resulted in a confusing array of one-way streets and no turn signs, and only succeeded in making prostitutes shift from street to street. Toronto residents' organizations, charging that police had lost control of the streets, began to take matters into their own hands" (p. 89). By tracing moves and counter-moves such as this, Brock vividly describes a cat-and-mouse game between agents of social control and the subjects of social control. Throughout, she is attentive to the intended and acknowledged consequences of this engagement, as well as the unintended and unacknowledged consequences of this engagement.

Moving beyond a strict focus on the impact of the law on prostitution, Brock considers the role governmental committees and reports played in generating moral panics that construct prostitution as a particular type of social problem in need of legal redress and social service responses, despite the questionable adequacy of these measures. In particular, she analyzes the work of the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (also known as the Fraser Committee) and the work of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (also known as the Badgley Committee). These committees were important insofar as they "occupy a privileged space in the discursive organization of prostitution since they are oriented towards the legal practices that serve to reproduce the relations of social regulation" (p. 113). Treating these committees and their attendant reports as "hegemony in action" (p. 61), she uses them to provide an account of how prostitution is constantly being reconstructed as a particular type of social problem. In the case of the Fraser Committee, for example, she argues that, as a result of its work and report, there was "not only a considerable expansion of the regulation of public space, but a broadening of the definition of public space itself" (p. 69). The committee "reconfigured public/private distinctions in order to address the public nuisance aspects of street prostitution while creating greater freedom for the trade in private spaces" (pp. 75-76). Similarly, her thorough examination of the work of the Badgley Committee reveals how juvenile prostitution came to be defined as a national social problem, especially by the press. In this case, "juvenile prostitution" was defined by ill-informed ideas about the identity and behavior of "street kids," as well as an unsubstantiated

link between early sexual abuse and entry into prostitution. As Brock explains, "the committee brought about a shift in the perception of juvenile prostitution from one of a marginal social problem constituted by individual and isolated case histories in police and social service records, to a reconceptualization of it as a central manifestation of the *sexual abuse of children*" (p. 102). This reconceptualization served as an additional justification for the continued crack-down on adult prostitutes, while ignoring the repercussions of an expansion of policing activities.

On numerous occasions throughout the book, Brock rightfully points out that prostitutes themselves often have been "prevented from entering discourses which determine their work and construct their identities" (p. 137); moreover, she argues, "the standpoint of men and women in prostitution has to be kept in mind" (p. 137). Therefore, she tells the reader, "I use the standpoint of women working in prostitution as a point of entry" (p. 11). However, except for some extended quotations in the first chapter and an occasional reference to the Canadian Organization for Prostitutes' Rights (CORP), Brock presents very little evidence of the standpoint of juvenile or adult prostitutes. This is unfortunate insofar as she acknowledges that "prostitutes demonstrate a 'practical consciousness' about their work, and hence, how their lives are organized" (p. 22). Including more along these lines would round out Brock's compelling analysis of how prostitution is made into a social problem in Canada. As it stands, we can only continue to ask the question W.E.B DuBois posed with regard to a different type of marginalization: How does it feel to be the problem? For all of its accomplishments, and there are many, this book does not answer this question in regard to prostitutes.

Reference

Marx, Gary. "Ironies of Social Control: Authorities as Contributors to Deviance Through Escalation, Nonenforcement and Covert Facilitation." Pp. 413-30 in *Deviant Behavior*, edited by Delos H. Kelly. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Heroin in the Age of Crack Cocaine, edited by **James A. Inciardi** and **Lana D. Harrison**. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998. 289 pp. \$45.00 cloth. ISBN: 0-7619-0423-9. \$19.95 paper. ISBN: 0-7619-0424-7.

MARK PEYROT
Loyola College, Maryland
Mpeyrot@loyola.edu

The title of this book is misleading. Although I expected much emphasis on the relationship between crack cocaine and heroin, there is very little. The book's nine original papers do deal with heroin in the modern (crack) era, but contain almost nothing about whether cocaine use leads to heroin use or vice versa, or whether this has changed as the crack form has cannibalized the market for powder cocaine. One exception is the discussion by Neaigus et al. and Chitwood et al. of a few instances in which respondents report using each drug to balance the effects of the other. Chitwood et al. and Johnson et al. make brief mention of how crack influenced heroin dealing and law enforcement.

Although we do not learn much about direct influences between heroin and crack at the market or user levels, the book does a good job of describing the current heroin scene and the changes that have occurred over time. Kinlock et al. present an overview of the history of heroin over the last century and dispel some of the myths about opiate use before criminalization.

A topic widely discussed across several chapters is the shift in the techniques of administering heroin. Earlier cohorts of users started with sniffing and progressed, often rapidly, to injecting. Several chapters note the increased shift to smoking as the method of choice among new users. This shift is attributed largely to the increasing purity of heroin sold at the street level, which permits users to get high without using the more efficient technique of injecting. The increase in street-level purity is a response to the increased unwillingness to inject drugs due to a fear of HIV/AIDS among persons not already addicted. This demonstrates a marketing adaptation by suppliers to a changing consumer base.

Several authors suggest that the increased availability of smoking-quality heroin may be creating a new cohort of users—younger, whiter, and more affluent. Conversely, Johnson et al. note that the number of arrestees who have used heroin is lower than in the past, and conclude that the new cohort of heroin users is smaller