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Sexuální a psychologické aspekty života mužských komerčních sexuálních pracovníků v Praze

Sexual and psychological aspects of the lives of male sex workers in Prague

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Abstrakt

Hlavní město České Republiky Praha je oblíbenou sexuální turistickou destinací pro muže, kteří vyhledávají sexuální služby mužů. Nabízení sexuálních služeb je zde pokládáno za trestný čin a v porovnání se zeměmi západní Evropy nabízejí mladí muži své sexuální služby za nízké ceny. Tento kvantitativní výzkum si klade za cíl identifikovat některé demografické a osobní charakteristiky těchto mladých mužů v sexuálním průmyslu. Na jaře 2011 eskorti přes internet ($N=20$) a muži nabízející sexuální služby v barech a klubech ($N=20$) vyplnili anonymně dotazník. Výsledky poukazují na to, že zatímco muži nabízející sexuální služby v klubech mají za sebou problémovou minulost a často nabízejí své služby v sexuálním průmyslu za účelem ekonomického přežití, je v Praze větší skupina sexuálních pracovníků - eskortů přes internet, kteří pocházejí ze zázemí typického pro průměrnou Českou mládež. Výsledky testů osobnosti ale zjistily, že se obě skupiny prokazují silnou asociální povahou v porovnání s běžnou Českou mládeží. Výsledky výzkumu o duševním zdraví (úzkost a deprese) poukazují na to, že práce muže jako sexuálního pracovníka sama o sobě nesouvisí s jeho zdravým psychickým stavem, pokud se neoznačí za homosexuála. Označení se za heterosexuála souvisí s vyšší mírou užívání návykových látek. U těch, kteří se označili za bisexuály bylo zjištěno, že trpí významně větší mírou úzkosti klinického rozsahu a je více pravděpodobné, že pravidelně užívají tvrdé drogy a to především metamfetamin. Jsou popsány skutečnosti pro výzkum sexuální identity a její dopad na studii mužů pracujících v sexuálním průmyslu společně s návrhy na intervenci, která by těmto mužům pomohla, kdyby změnili zaměstnání. V závěru je popsán sociokulturní kontext, který je důležitý pro pochopení činnosti sexuálních pracovníků.

Klíčová slova: mužské sexuální služby, internet eskorty, úzkost, osobnost, sexuální orientace

Abstract

Prague, the Czech Republic is a popular sex tourism destination where sex work is decriminalized and young men offer sexual services at low prices relative to countries in Western Europe. This quantitative survey aims to identify some of the demographic and personality characteristics of these young men in the sex industry. Internet escorts ($N=20$) and sex workers in bars and clubs ($N=20$) completed the survey anonymously in the Spring of 2011. The results show that while sex workers in clubs often have troubled pasts and were forced into sex work in order to survive, the larger groups of sex workers in Prague is made up of internet escorts who have backgrounds which are not atypical for the average Czech youth. Personality test results however revealed both groups to have strong asocial characteristics in comparison to other Czech youth. The results of the measures of mental health (anxiety and depression) indicate that simply working as a male sex worker per se has little relationship to the healthy psychological functioning of these young men, but only in the case where they identify as homosexual. Identifying as a heterosexual is associated with a higher level of substance use. Those identifying as bisexual however reported suffering significantly levels of anxiety within the clinical range and were more likely to regularly use hard drugs, mainly methamphetamines. Implications for the study of sexual identity and its impact on research with male sex workers are discussed as well as plans for interventions to help those who would change their line of work and the importance of the sociocultural context in the understanding of the sex worker.

Keywords: male sex workers, internet escorts, anxiety, personality, sexual orientation

I. INTRODUCTION

The Czech Republic after the fall of communism has become a sex tourism destination (Golgo, 2003). It is fueled by a society which is tolerant towards sexual issues, an economy which until today pays relatively low wages relative to countries in Western Europe and a thriving pornography industry which promotes Czech sexuality to the world. In particular, the gay pornography industry focuses on films with actors rarely older than 18 or 19 years old, but often appearing much younger (Marritz, 2007) which attracts many sex tourists seeking sex with men, in particular younger boys. Sex work is currently decriminalized in the Czech Republic, meaning it is not a crime for individuals to offer sexual services if they are over the age of 18. Although, pimping or the selling of sexual services by a third party is illegal, both the age requirement and the prohibition on pimping can be difficult to enforce in practice.

Hall (2007a) provides an overview of the situation for male sex workers in Prague in his ethnographic study on the exchange of sex for money in young Czech men. Little has changed since his report; sex workers have for the most part been driven from the street and train stations by police, and so they offer their services mainly in bars and clubs which cater specifically to sex workers and their clients, or they offer their services via internet portals for male escorts. Police control of the bars has also limited the number of underage sex workers, but not eliminated it. This is particularly problematic among internet escorts where there is no age verification process required to create an online advertisement.

Government health officials have estimated among all sex workers in the Czech Republic, 5% are males (Mann & Tarantola, 1996). Male sex workers in the Czech Republic have already

been the topic of qualitative research (Hall, 2007b), and film documentaries from the Polish director, Wiktor Grodecki, such as *Not Angels But Angels* (1994) and *Body Without a Soul* (1996) as well as the fictionalized film *Mandragora* (1997). Other interesting case studies of young male sex workers have also been assembled by a leading Czech journalist into the book, *Your Son the Prostitute* (Vlašík, 2009). To date however, quantitative research has only been devoted to the study of female sex workers, (Zikmundová & Weiss, 2003; Zikmundová & Weiss, 2004). No quantitative research has yet addressed male sex workers in the Czech Republic.

II. THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

1. RESEARCH ON MALE SEX WORKERS

1.1 Historical roots of male sex work

It is often said that prostitution is the world's oldest profession when speaking of female prostitutes, however, male prostitution has the same long history with early records dating back to ancient Greece, where homosexuality was not stigmatized (Naphy, 2006). However, in Athenian society, the concept of pederasty was the preferred means of supporting young men in an honorable way, meaning that sex was not exchanged directly for money, but rather older wealthy patrons provided education, guidance and financial support in a relationship which often became a sexual one, however, social rules prohibited the exploitation of young men solely for money.

Under Roman rule, the exchange of money for sex with young boys lost its position as an honorable and valued relationship between mentor and mentee and became institutionalized and taxed (Naphy, 2006). Roman citizens could hire male prostitutes without much stigma, however the role of the prostitute himself was equivalent to that of a slave or foreigner. If a Roman citizen were found to have accepted money for sex, then they risked losing their privileges such as the right to vote, in addition to the damage to their general reputation. In general, as the social views towards homosexual acts became increasingly stigmatized, the status of a young man who would exchange his body for financial support sank further and further (Fone, 2000) bringing on the end of pederasty and consensual sex among male citizens. Male sex workers were from this point unable to reach any higher level of status, and remained trapped in the slave class to which they were born (Freidman, 2014), unlike female sex workers who could aspire to become high class courtesans. Rather, children of the poor were abandoned, or even legally sold into sex slavery, which continued until all homosexual acts were made illegal in 533, forcing male prostitution completely underground.

As Christianity cemented its grip on Europe and the dark-ages ensued, homosexual acts became increasingly dangerous (Naphy, 2006). This continued throughout the Dark Ages across Europe, as any man engaging in sex with another man could be subject to punishment and even death. Male sex work then became an even more hidden activity with deadly consequences for many. Not until the early 19th century did male prostitution begin to reemerge from the darkest shadows of secrecy and reappear on the streets of Europe and America (Kaye, 2014).

1.2 Early scientific studies of male sex work

The earliest comprehensive reviews of homosexuality in general and male sex work in particular were published by Magnus Hirschfeld and Havelock Ellis (Kaye, 2014). Ellis's review constituted the first comprehensive analysis of male sex work from a cross cultural perspective, from around Europe and abroad to India and China, but he focused on the situation for the male prostitute in his home of England, where he describe the common type of soldier prostitution, where poor lower class heterosexual young men would often supplement their income by performing homosexual acts with wealthy benefactors for money (Ellis, 1927). Hirschfeld pointed out that these soldier relationships were more reminiscent of the pederasty of ancient Greece, as the soldiers frequently developed long standing relationships with their clients, despite their heterosexual orientation (Hirschfeld, 2000). Although there were periods of well-known transsexual male sex workers in the London and New York, called *fairies* (Kaye, 2014), the predominant view of sexologists such as Kurt Freund were that the majority of male sex workers were heterosexual males, which he confirmed in one phallometric study in the 1970's. During this time of liberalization of gay rights, further scientific research specifically on male sex workers began to appear.

1.3 Modern research on male sex work

Early sexologists differentiated the passive sexual behavior of so-called *fairies*, or inverts from the active sexual behavior of so-called perverts, who took the dominant male role, and were therefore seen as less flawed. This distinction gradually disappeared as any man who had any sex with men became increasingly relegated to the new medical category of the *homosexual* which emerged in the early 1900's. Military prostitution however continued as an accepted practice, with the men benefiting not only financially, but also through gaining social skills to help them in their quest for upward mobility. At the turn of the century, the narrative around male sex work fell firmly within the realm of "vice" (Romesburg, 2009).

The ostracization of male sex workers who did not identify as gay by the gay community occurred mainly during the 1970's (Kaye, 2014) resulting in their marginalization from the gay community. Today, acceptance of escorting has become more common in the homosexual community, although it is still associated with a fair degree of stigma (Koken, Bimbi, Parsons, & Halkitis, 2004).

Sexual identity has previously been a variable of interest regarding sex workers, particularly with regard to HIV transmission, however no significant relationship was found between infection and sexual identity, rather the greatest risk was for those sex workers engaging in receptive anal sex, which was more common among homosexual sex workers than bisexual or heterosexuals (Boles & Elifson, 1994).

Scott's (2003) semiotic analysis of scientific discourse further elucidates the evolution of male sex work in the scientific as it shifted from a moral problem to an issue of sexual identity through to the public health concerns generated by the AIDS epidemic and the consequent vector

of disease approach pursued by most researchers in the late 20th century. In the 1990's the focus on male sex work began to shift, focusing rather on the beneficial economic opportunities, in particular relative to low paying traditional jobs (Calhoun & Greg, 1996; Davies & Rayah, 1997). Later for example in New Zealand where prostitution was legalized, Ings (2012) traced the development of the language surrounding male sex work from early local slang to modern terminology of legitimate business.

The predominant view among sex researchers in the 21st century has tended to favor the position that this is a legitimate form of work. Bimbi (2007) clearly describes the shift in the view of male sex work from pathological to a legitimate form of business, and the move away from using value laden terminology such as *prostitute* to the more neutral terminology *sex worker* which has become the norm among researchers. However, this depends on the type of sex work they are familiar with (Harriman, Johnston & Kenny, 2007). Those working with homosexual or high-end prostitutes have a significantly more positive view than those who encounter street workers or heterosexual sex workers who turn tricks just to survive. Yet overall, their occupation as a male sex worker has fewer stigmas and risks than those which are faced by female sex workers (Vanwesenbeeck, 2013).

In a recent study of American sex workers, their sample had a mean age of 28 for street workers and 43 Internet escorts (Mimiaga, Reisner, Tinsley, Mayer, & Safren, 2009), while a more recent analysis of Internet escort profiles found the majority of sex workers reported an age between 21 and 25 years old (Blackwell & Dziegielewski, 2013), however other research on male Internet escorts has suggested their actual ages are usually higher than what they advertise (Walby, 2012).

2. TYPES OF MALE SEX WORK

2.1 Male street prostitution

Studies of male street prostitutes typically find this group of sex workers have had dysfunctional childhoods and have little or no family support (Leichtentritt & Arad, 2005), are more likely the victims of abuse (Valera, Sawyer & Schiraldi, 2001) and are often undereducated, lack other job skills and need fast cash to survive (Flowers, 2001). They frequently enter prostitution to support a drug habit (McCabe et al., 2011). In the past, street workers were often the victim of assault and robbery (Kaye, 2007), yet they do not usually fit the mold of helpless victim and often show quite a resilience in how they face the challenges of homelessness. However taking on the role of victim was essential in obtaining government assistance.

In another study of mostly homeless street hustlers in Houston, Texas (Timpson, Ross, Williams & Atkinson, 2007), most of their respondents were involved in significant drug use and frequent unsafe sex primarily with other men, but also with women. The majority of these men were homosexual, with only 20% identifying as bisexual and 10% as heterosexual. A large number of the men reported an HIV positive status. This street work is similar to those hustling in bars and clubs (Weitzer, 2005).

The type of men attracted to sex work differs significantly depending on the region and the culture. McCabe et al. (2011) in their study of 12 male prostitutes in Ireland found that a large number of the men reported serious depression and suicidal ideation. In addition, many had drug problems, primarily with heroin. Regarding sexual orientation, only one of the participants reported being gay and one bisexual. This is also the case in the Caribbean, male sex workers typically identify as bisexual or heterosexual, as homosexuality is associated only with the

passive recipient of anal sex (Padilla, 2008). Sexual identity also plays a role in Hong Kong, where Kong (2009) reported that the most significant stressor for Chinese male sex workers was the feeling of being perceived as less masculine, and they employed a variety of cognitive strategies to minimize this stress. Raible (2011) in his ethnographic research with male sex workers highlights the fluidity which these men express regarding their own sexual identity, feeling that they must pick a side, when they themselves have not clearly made up their mind if they are a bisexual, a heterosexual who has occasional sex with men, or a homosexual who also enjoys sex with women.

One key element of the exit strategy for young male sex workers on the street is the formation of positive relationships, which impart a resilience regardless of the age at which they began sex work (Leary & Minichiello, 2007). In many cases this relationship may be with a regular client who provides not only financial but also emotional support. For some young men, their older clients help them meet a need for acceptance from an older adult that was missing in their own family life (Raible, 2011).

2.2 Male internet escorts

Research regarding male internet escorts has typically found fewer social problems, with these sex workers being primarily motivated by money and the easy nature of the work rather than a lack of any other opportunities (Uy et al., 2004). They also however have been found to have experienced higher levels of childhood sexual abuse than the general population (Parsons, Bimbi, Koken & Halkitis, 2005).

In Russia, where the current anti-homosexual propaganda laws are being enforced, men are more likely to sell sex on the internet than in gay clubs where it is technically forbidden (Niccolai, King, Eritsyan, Safuillina & Rusakova, 2013). It may be the classic case of exchanging sex for money, but also less obvious types of prostitution, where sex is exchanged for expensive gifts or clothes. Exchanging sex for drugs also occurs, mostly in the train station. Safe sex was the norm, however many reported incidents where they did not use a condom, for example for extra money or with a female partner. Psychopathology does still come into focus, for example in a recent study of Russian male sex workers found all reported histories of physical or sexual abuse in childhood and the majority qualified for a diagnosis of borderline personality disorder (Maximov & Kholmogorova, 2011). However given the cultural climate with regard to homosexuality in Russia, this is not surprising and may reflect more on the current adverse climate for gays in Russian than on the actual phenomena of male sex work in general.

The trend in recent years is for the type of young man engaging in sex work to become more and more diverse, with fewer of the problematic life histories usually associated with sex work in the past (Logan, 2010; Minichiello, Scott & Calendar, 2013). It is possible to find older men still engaging in sex work, however, in one quantitative study, Logan (2010) did find a significant effect for age of the sex worker, with older men being paid less and younger men at a premium.

Although sex researchers on the whole have abandoned the vector of disease approach, recent research in the USA suggests that HIV-infection is still a significant problem, especially in sex workers using drugs, with over a third of a recent sample reporting HIV positive status (Reisner, Mimiaga, Mayer, Tinsley & Safren, 2008); and frequently reporting unsafe sex practices and drug use during sex which increases their risk of contracting HIV (Blackwell & Dziegielewski,

2013). Therefore, despite the shift towards legitimizing sex work, attention still needs to be devoted to educating this population about the risks of STD's and introducing better substance abuse treatment programs to avoid future outbreaks of infection.

3. RESEARCH ON SEXUAL IDENTITY

3.1 Defining sexual identity

The study of sexual orientation is difficult, with controversy surrounding even the definition of the term (Sell, 1997). In particular, scientists interested in human sexuality have debated most over defining bisexuality among males. There are two schools of thought on the issue. One position is that bisexual feelings and behavior are the norm and sexual orientation varies continuously on a scale from completely heterosexual to completely homosexual (Kinsey, Pomeroy & Martin, 1948). In Kinsey's time, bisexual behavior was thought to be common, with estimates beginning at a high of 37% of males reporting same-sex activity (Kinsey, Pomeroy & Martin, 1948), then decreasing to more conservative estimates of approximately 20% (Fay, Turner, Klassen, & Gagnon, 1989). Modern estimates are closer to 10% (Ellis, Robb & Burke, 2005).

Others take the position that bisexual identification is just a stage en route to accepting one's homosexuality. For instance, within one study of gay men, 39% of them had previously identified as bisexual (Kinnish, Strassberg, Turner, 2005). In addition, another international study found that, while there are consistent differences in several personality measures for gay versus straight men, bisexual men tend to be more similar to gays than straights (Lippa, 2008).

Because of both the inconsistencies which can appear in self-reports of sexual orientation and the subsequent failure to find consistent differences in personality measures, recent research has therefore focused in more detail on psychological determinants of sexual orientation such as feelings and erotic fantasies (Ellis, Robb & Burke, 2005). Self-reports of sexual orientation taking into account several measures such as attraction to individuals, masturbatory fantasies, and preference for erotic videos have been found to be reliable in gay and bisexual youth (Schrimshaw, Rosario, Meyer-Balburg, Scharf-Matlick, 2006) but only using test-retest analysis over a period of two weeks, which would not rule out a transitional type of bisexual-to-homosexual identity which would occur over a much longer time interval.

3.2 Comparison of homosexuality and bisexuality

From an evolutionary perspective (Ciani, Lemmola, & Blecher, 2008), the results are also unclear, as an analysis of maternal fecundity of bisexual men found similar results to gay men. This view postulates an evolutionary advantage, whereby mothers of homosexuals have a greater number of offspring and their homosexual children could assist in providing additional resources which would benefit the family without overextending its ability to support more offspring. However, the distinguishing factor for determining homosexual as opposed to bisexual dispositions is still under investigation, and the fact that bisexuals would have an opportunity to reproduce negates the basic premise of this family-helper hypothesis. Nevertheless, recent physiological measures of erectile response (responses to various types of straight, gay and bisexually oriented pornography) suggest that bisexuality attraction does exist as a unique orientation with men holding a bisexual identity showing true physical arousal to both sexes (Cerny & Janssen, 2011).

Efforts to find differences between gays and bisexuals in other areas have also produced several inconsistencies. An area where bisexuals have been found to differ from gays is in their knowledge and risk of HIV, with bisexuals having less knowledge about HIV and lower perceived risk, despite more risky behavior (Rotheram-Borus, Marelich & Srinivasan, 1999). Other more recent studies which considered sexual orientation as a variable have confirmed that the higher level of sexual compulsivity in both gay and bisexual men can lead to increased risk of HIV transmission (Parsons, et.al., 2008; Kelly, et. al. 2009). In general, sexually compulsive behavior has also long been associated with psychological distress, such as mood and anxiety disorders (Black, 1998), and so should effect gays and bisexuals equally. An early study regarding substance abuse found that among adolescents, bisexuals have a greater risk of substance abuse than gays (Russel, Driscoll, & Truong, 2002). However, a more recent study of bisexual and gay adults found increased drug use for both groups (Groves, Parsons, & Bimbi, 2010).

3.3 Mental health and sexual orientation

Negative attitudes towards sexual minorities have traditionally been associated with poor mental health for those who face discrimination (Mays & Cochran, 2001). Meyer (2003) in a meta-analysis found a higher prevalence of mental disorders among both homosexuals and bisexuals. Minority stress, meaning a hostile environment as well as discrimination and the general stigma against sexual minorities is believed to be the main cause of their mental distress.

Research on bisexual men in particular has found that they do not have any safe space to express their sexuality, but rather compartmentalize their orientation to fit the groups they are currently with, resulting in feelings of isolation (Dodge et al., 2012). Coming out is associated

with more positive views of one's orientation (Detrie & Lease, 2007) and associated with more positive feelings of well-being. Bisexuals often feel that they should hide their identity in order to fit in with the gay community, which can be unwelcoming or even hostile towards bisexuals (McLean, 2008). Some research indicates that for bisexuals who self-identify and come out to others have fewer emotional and behavioral problems compared to those who do not self-identify (Rotheram-Borus and Langabeer 2001), other studies find no difference between those who are out versus those who keep their identity a secret (Rosow & Almazan, 2005). However, association with people who have negative attitudes towards sexual minorities increases the risk of mental health consequences for both gay and bisexual youth (Ueno, Gayman, Wright & Quantz, 2009).

3.4 Mental Health for non-heterosexual men

Recent studies which considered male sexual identity in the general population found a high level of sexual compulsivity in both gay and bisexual men (Parsons et al., 2008; Kelly, Bimbi, Nanin, Izienicki, & Parsons, 2009), which has long been associated with psychological distress, such as mood and anxiety disorders (Black, 1998). Rates of depression have been found to be consistently higher among homosexuals and bisexuals than heterosexuals in the general population (Mills et al. 2004). Despite recent trends in acceptance for sexual minorities, mental health disparities continue to be consistently observed (for meta-analytic reviews, see King et al., 2008) Internalized homonegativity is still considered to be a leading factor in poor mental health for these populations (Vanden Berghe et al, 2009). Homosexual and bisexual men are also at greater risk than heterosexual men to be a victim of sexual coercion which also increases the risk of mental health problems. (Kuyper & Vanwesenbeeck, 2011). Substance abuse as well as

symptoms of depression and anxiety are even more common in gay and bisexual men who have been homeless or live in poverty (Kurtz, 2008).

However the research is not always conclusive, with some studies showing no greater risk, at least for suicide (Parker, 2005) and cautions against the use of convenience samples. Previous research has found bisexuals at a greater risk for mental health problems such as anxiety, depression and risk of suicide (Jorm, Korten, Rodgers, Jacomb & Christensen, 2002). Greater concealment and fewer opportunities for coming out are seen as contributing factors (Hatzenbuehler, 2009) leading to poor mental health in men who identify as bisexual (Lewis et al., 2009; Sheets & Mohr, 2009). Younger bisexual men in particular are vulnerable to the stress of hiding their identities (Shilo & Savaya, 2012) in particular when family religiosity was considered. Bisexual youth were the most likely to feel marginalization (Cox, Vande Berge, Dewalle & Vincke, 2010). Young and bisexual respondents were more likely to report poor social well-being, although not always more depression than other sexual minorities (Kertzner, Meyer, Frost & Stirratt, 2009). Due to their lack of acceptance by the gay community, bisexual men are at greater risk of mental health problems, again due to their greater likelihood of concealment of their sexual orientation (Schrimshaw, Siegel, Downing & Parsons, 2013). Lower self-esteem also leads to greater symptoms of anxiety (Rosario, Schrimshaw & Hunter, 2006) and subsequently to an increase in risky sexual behaviors.

Research about risk taking behavior has however also been inconsistent, with some studies finding bisexual men to engage in fewer risky sexual behaviors (Engler, et al. 2005, Kelin, 2009) and others finding a higher rate of unsafe sexual practices (Munoz-Laboy & Dodge, 2005, 2007). When HIV status is positive, the risk of clinical depression or anxiety become even more pronounced (Berg, Mimiaga & Safrens, 2004, 2008).

3.5 Mental health for “mostly heterosexual” men

Risks for mental health and substance abuse are also found in heterosexually identified men who are not exclusively heterosexual in their behavior (Vranglova & Savin-Williams, 2014). In fact, there is increasing recognition that there are elevated risks for both mental health problems and substance abuse for anyone who is not exclusively identified as either heterosexual or homosexual (Bostwick et al., 2010; Loosier & Dittus, 2010).

3.6 Studies of bisexuality in the Czech Republic

Studies regarding bisexuals are increasing but still relatively rare, in part due to the fact that the number of people who identify as bisexual in the general population is very small, so extremely large sample sizes are usually necessary to obtain enough non-heterosexuals for analysis. For example, Ellis, Robb, & Burke (2005) in the USA sampled 2574 males and found only 34 homosexuals and 34 bisexuals. In national surveys conducted in the Czech Republic, where we conducted our research, 98% of males indicate their orientation as heterosexual, with less than 1% identifying as homosexual and approximately 2% reporting they are unsure of their orientation (Weiss & Zvěřina, 2001). As just over 2 % of male respondents in this study also indicated they had had more than one sexual encounter with a same-sex partner, we can conclude that this group could include both bisexuals and homosexuals who have not yet self-identified as gay. For females, these findings are similar with 97% reporting heterosexuality, 2% unsure and less than 1% identify as homosexual. However, studies of female prostitutes in the Czech

Republic have found a much higher incidence of bisexuality among female sex workers (Zikmundová & Weiss, 2004) than in the general population (Weiss & Zvěřina, 2001). Half of all female sex workers reported same-sex experience, 6% considered themselves lesbian and 13% considered themselves bisexual (Zikmundová & Weiss, 2004).

4. MENTAL HEALTH AND SEX WORK

4.1 Mental health and sex work in women

The relationship between sex work and poor mental health among female sex workers has long been established, with studies having found as many as two thirds of these women suffering symptoms of PTSD (White, 1998) in addition to increased symptoms of depression (Roxburgh, Degenhardt, & Copeland, 2006). Many of these symptoms are the result of the high proportion of female sex workers who are victims of human trafficking, but even in studies where the majority of participants were engaged in sex work of their own volition, often symptoms of mental illness were reported (Rössler et al., 2010; Seib, Dunne, Fischer, & Najman, 2012), with approximately one in five female sex workers having reported symptoms of clinical depression (Chudakov, Ilan, Belmaker, & Cwikel, 2002) and higher rates of suicide than in the general population (Ling, Wong, Holroyd, & Gray, 2007).

4.2 Mental health and sex work in men

Less research has focused on the mental health issues of male sex workers, with the focus being traditionally on HIV transmission (see Aggleton, 1999, for a comprehensive review). This work did suggest, however, that sexual identity plays a key role in the overall psychological well-

being of the male sex worker. Therefore an aim of our study is to investigate the extent to which sexual identity plays a role for male sex workers specifically.

4.3 Sexual identity in male sex work

Regarding sexual identity among male sex workers, researchers in the USA typically have found a high percentage of bisexuals in their samples, ranging from 20% (Smith, Grov, & Seal, 2008) to nearing 40% (Boles & Elifson, 1994; Ross, Timpson, Williams, Amos, & Bowen, 2007). Studies of female prostitutes in the Czech Republic have also found a much higher incidence of bisexuality among female sex workers (Zikmundová & Weiss, 2004) than in the general population (Weiss & Zvěřina, 2001). Half of all female sex workers reported same-sex sexual experience, 6% considered themselves lesbian and 13% considered themselves bisexual (Zikmundová & Weiss, 2004). The aim of this analysis was to determine the relationship between sexual identity, sex work, and mental health.

5. CURRENT LEGAL STATUS OF SEX WORK IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

5.1 Legalization of the Sex Industry in Europe

One regular topic of debate in the Czech Republic is the legalization of sex work. To date, the status of sex work in the Czech Republic is decriminalized, meaning it is not illegal for individuals to sell sex, but to profit from the sale of sex (pandering) is illegal, as stated in the Czech criminal code:

“A person who engages, forces or corrupts somebody else to prostitute oneself or a person who exploits the fact that someone has sexual relations against payment, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for at most three years.” (Article 204 of the Criminal Code)

The efficacy of legalization has been a topic of much debate in the scientific literature. The best example of legalization in Europe comes from the Netherlands, which in 2000 legalized brothels in addition to individual prostitution (Weitzer, 2010; Outshoorn, 2012; Huismen & Kliemens, 2014).

The goal of legalization is generally considered to be improvement of working conditions for sex workers, allowing for participation in national health care and social security, and the reduction of child prostitution and human trafficking (Outshoorn, 2012). The Netherlands chose to raise the legal age for prostitution to 21, issue state registration cards and require that clients check that a sex worker is legally registered. It also enforced the registration of brothels as legal businesses, however, many sex workers in these brothels remained registered as independent contractors rather than employees due to loopholes in the tax system. Whether the working

conditions of the sex worker improved is an issue of great debate (Weitzer, 2010) and the results of the research vary greatly depending on the position of the researchers, with some finding serious victimization still frequently occurs (Raphael and Shapiro, 2004) but there may be systematic bias in the sampling of these studies (Weitzer, 2010). Other research suggests some general improvements (Huisman & Kliemans, 2014), however legalization has not eliminated human trafficking or coercion into sex work, and may have only altered its form to more complex forms of exploitation, for example by pimp/boyfriends.

Regarding the legalization specifically in the Czech Republic, the parliament is currently debating a new law which would legalize both individual and organized prostitution, however, non-profit agencies which work with female sex workers have a number of serious problems with the legislation and are lobbying to defeat this attempt at legalization (<http://rozkosbezrizika.cz>, 2014). They contend that the law will over-regulate sex work and the fear of stigmatization from providing all of their personal details to a national register, and the complete illegalization of street prostitution will only lead to repressive fines. Also, the requirement for health testing that is proposed has been determined to be ineffective by the World Health Organization and other health watchdog groups. Also the restriction on private employment will force many sex workers to work for organized brothels where working conditions are unfavorable, and there is no provision to create safe zones for would-be street workers such as those that exist and function well in Holland, Germany and Switzerland. The law will not solve the main problem which is establishing exit programs to help sex workers find other forms of employment. Therefore, at least for this current proposal for legalization, there is little support among sex workers or their advocates.

III. EMPIRICAL STUDY

1. GOALS OF THE RESEARCH

One purpose of this study was to compare the experiences of both internet escorts and sex workers who offer their services in bars and clubs, and add to the growing body of research on sex work in the Czech Republic. Another aim of the research was to investigate what role sexual orientation or sexual identity plays in the lives of sex workers. Studies of sexual orientation among sex workers in general find a much greater diversity of sexual orientation (Zikmundová & Weiss, 2004) than in the general population (Weiss & Zvěřina, 2001). Therefore it is worthwhile to begin with a brief overview of the controversies and difficulties in defining bisexual identity or orientation and some of the conflicting results about the impact it can have on behavior.

Our study aimed to investigate the psychological effects on the mental health of sex work of these male sex workers in general. For many young men, this type of work is a means of survival and it is seen as easy money so it is attractive not only to homosexuals, but any young man who finds himself in financial difficulty, whether gay, straight or bisexual (Bar-Johnson & Weiss, 2014a). Past research has not tended to present results of mental health in terms of sexual orientation or identity, so this was another aim of investigation for our study.

Our study also sought to provide some quantitative confirmation that there also exists a higher incidence of bisexuals among male sex workers (MSW) than in the general population. If so, based on previous research regarding bisexuals in general, we sought to investigate if there also exists a higher incidence of psychological distress in the form of mood or anxiety disorders among bisexuals in this uniquely sexual work environment.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Participants were recruited randomly from among those offering their services on the internet via the website www.gayromeo.com, which has the largest section of profiles dedicated to male escorts in the country, as well as by repeatedly visiting three of the most popular bars and clubs in the city which cater exclusively to men seeking the services of male sex workers.

2.1 Recruiting of participants: Internet escorts

The principle investigator visited the escort website on several occasions at various times of day, and using a profile created on the website, contacted the escorts to offer them the possibility to participate in the study for which they would be paid. Of the approximately 200 plus profiles on the site, 30 were selected using a random search of profiles and then screened to be sure they had had at least one client in the last 30 days. Two of those contacted were excluded as their profiles were new and they had not yet had any clients, one contacted was a German visiting Prague and would not be able to complete the survey instrument which was in Czech, and seven refused to participate citing lack of time. So of the 27 eligible for the study, 20 completed the survey for an overall response rate of 74%. For those who agreed to participate, the researcher allowed the participant to choose a public location to meet in order to complete the survey. All participants chose a café or restaurant and a face-to-face meeting was organized.

When the participant arrived, the principle investigator immediately asked them not to provide their real name in order to protect their anonymity. Then a quiet area of the establishment was selected where the participant could have privacy while completing the survey. The investigator explained the purpose of the survey, answered any questions, and then provided

them with the self-administered survey together with an envelope where they were instructed to seal the completed survey when they finished. Upon returning the completed survey, they received a 500 crown (20 Euro) cash incentive for their participation. The participants completed the survey in the proximity of the researcher to ensure they read and answered each question, but at a distance where their written answers could not be directly observed to protect their feeling of anonymity. Only a few respondents had questions during the survey, which the researcher clarified (mainly to provide synonyms for words or expressions which were unclear to the respondent). It took most participants between 45 minutes to one hour to complete the survey.

2.2 Recruiting of participants: Sex workers in bar and clubs

The second sample of sex workers, also contacted in the Spring of 2011, seek their clients in Prague's gay bars and clubs, several of which are exclusively devoted to men seeking paid sexual encounters with men and the young men who provide these services. Terminology differs for this type of sex work, and is often value laden, such as hustlers or rent-boys, so the authors will continue to refer to them simply as sex workers, but in reality, although no longer physically on the street, this type of sex work is in reality a sort of hybrid of 'street work' and 'indoor' work. Although their work is sanctioned by the bar and club owners, in order to comply with Czech law, the businesses have no formal relationship with the sex workers, who come and go freely. The clubs have no financial gain from the sex workers directly, but rather make their profits from cover charges, the sale of high priced drinks, the rental of private rooms to the clients or private taxi services to take sex workers and clients to their hotel. Therefore the type of sex worker which we typically find here in clubs and bars is demographically more similar to those found on the street in other major cities.

The principle investigator, with the assistance of one of the older escorts interviewed from the internet survey, approached the owners of 3 clubs in Prague where the clientele consists exclusively of men seeking paid sexual encounters with male sex workers. These included a nightclub, a hotel bar and a day bar. The investigator visited each site on two occasions always accompanied by the informant, who had been in the business for several years and was known and trusted by many of the sex workers and bar staff. This informer was paid a nominal amount for his time and assistance. Upon arriving, the investigator approached all the escorts present with the offer to participate in the research, and if they had some reservation about the legitimacy of the project, the informer stepped in to reassure them that this was part of a legitimate study sponsored by the Sexology Institute of the state university in Prague, Charles University, which is well known and prestigious. This reference from one of their own was sufficient for all the sex workers to continue speaking with the researcher and to hear the details of the study. In total 25 sex workers were approached and all agreed to schedule appointments at a later time in order to complete the survey at a location of their choosing, however, only 20 arrived at the meetings and completed the survey, for a response rate of 80%. Based on estimates from the barmen in these clubs, the number of male sex workers currently offering their services in these three clubs combined probably totals around 50 to 75 young men at any given time.

Similar to the procedures with internet escorts, the principle investigator met with the participants at the agreed time, explained the study and the 500 crown (20 Euro) compensation, and then provided them with the self-administered survey. This group of participants had more questions regarding the wording of some items on the survey than the internet escorts, suggesting a lower level of reading comprehension, however their requests for clarification at least suggest that they took the completion of the survey items seriously and wanted to supply accurate answers. Respondents took from one hour to an hour and a half to complete the survey.

2.3 General characteristics of the sample

The following section presents the participants' responses to the various demographic questions in the survey. In this section the results are presented for all respondents, followed by a more detailed analysis of the sub-samples of respondents who were recruited from the Internet (n=20) and from the sex workers in clubs and bars (n=20) separately for comparison purposes.

Figure 1. Age of respondents

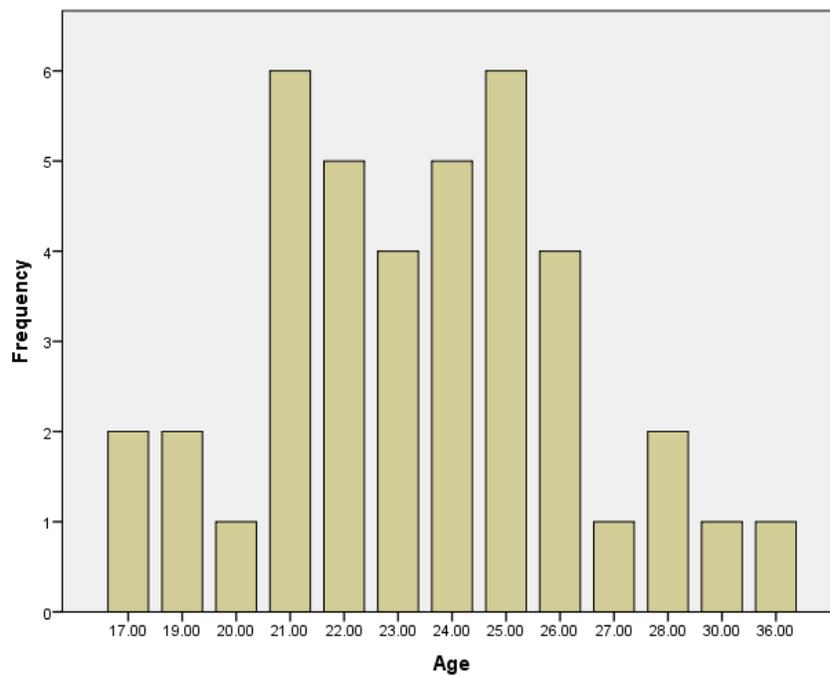


Figure 2. Years of education completed

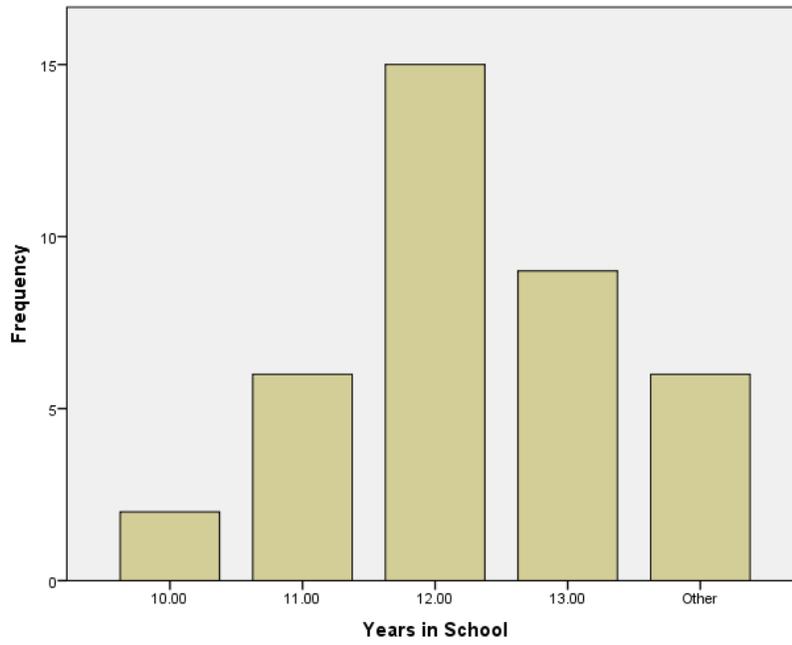


Figure 3. Region of Origin

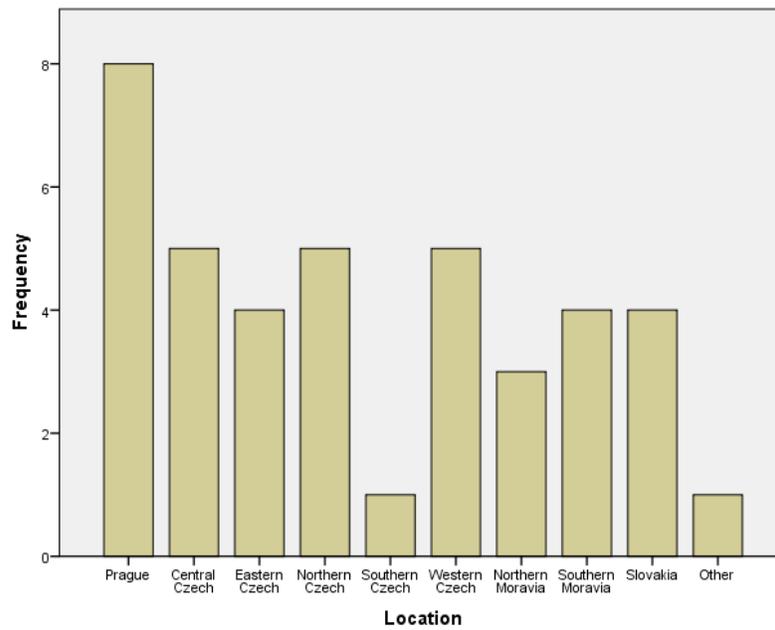


Figure 4. Current accommodation situation

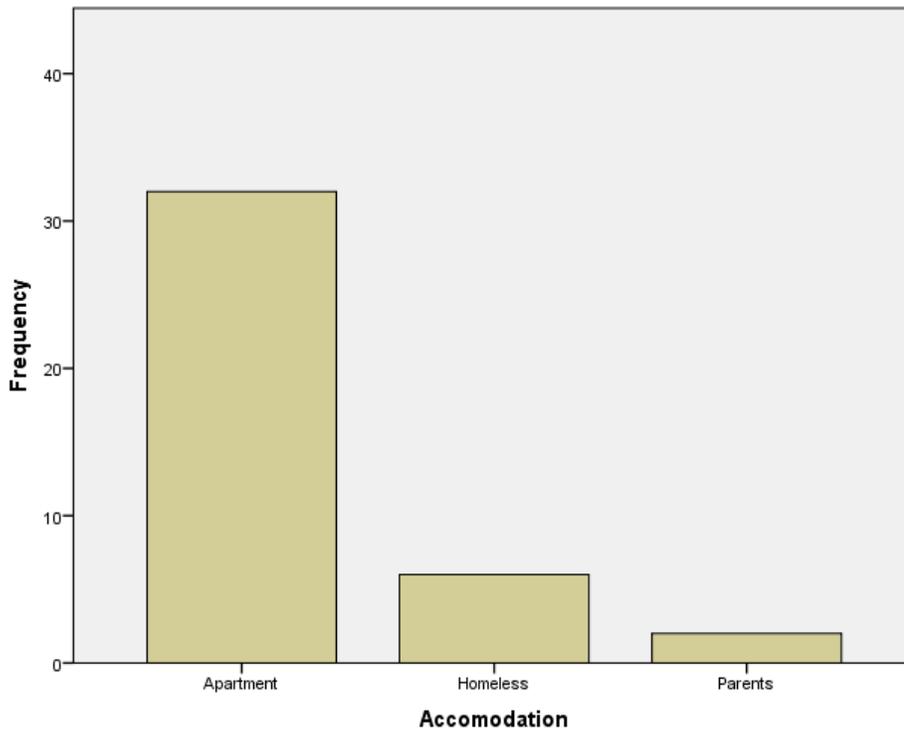


Figure 5. Sexual orientation

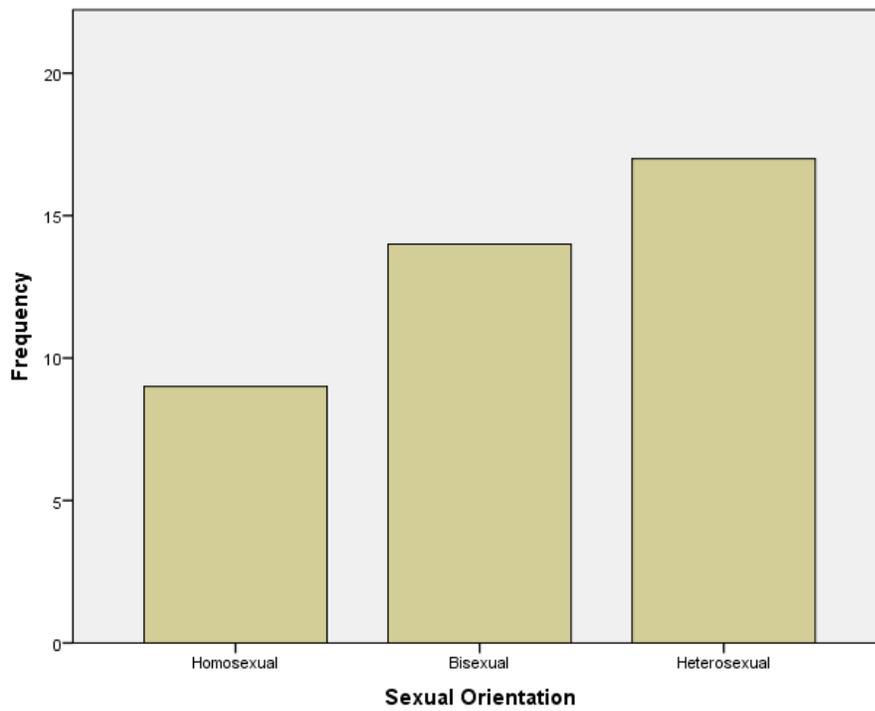


Figure 6. Family structure when growing up

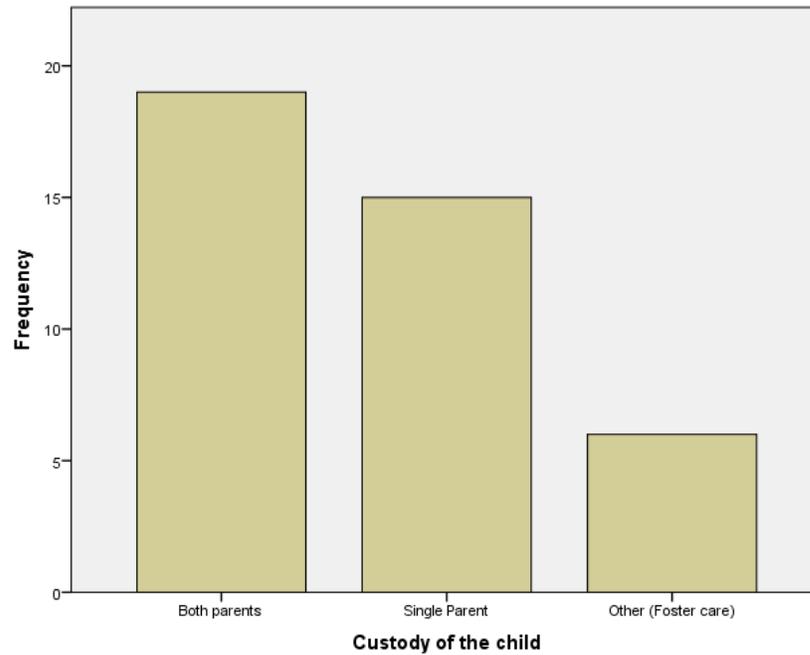


Figure 7. Styles of parenting in the respondents' home environment

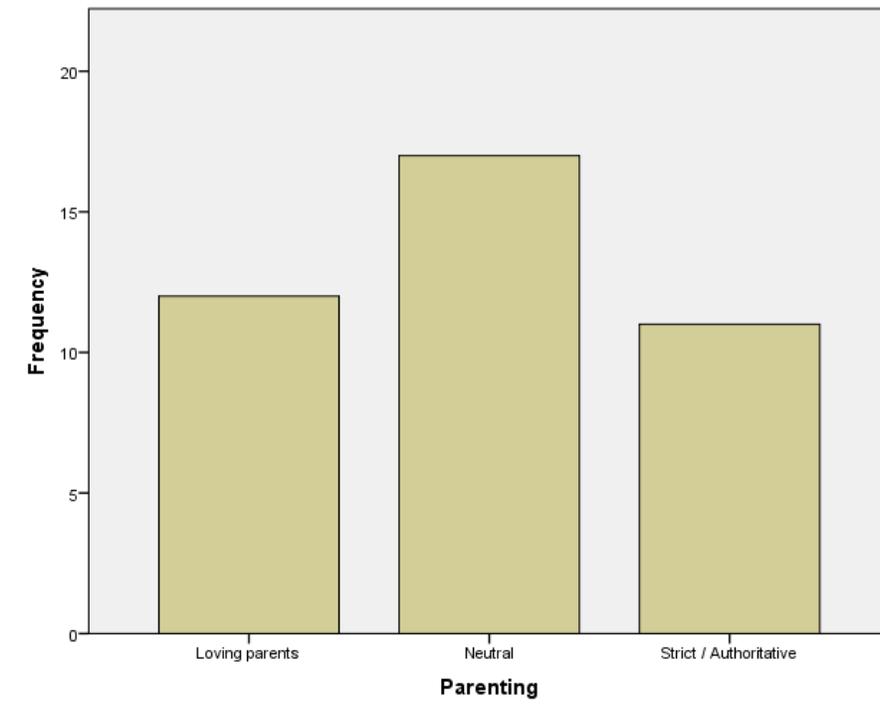


Figure 8. General self-assessment of childhood

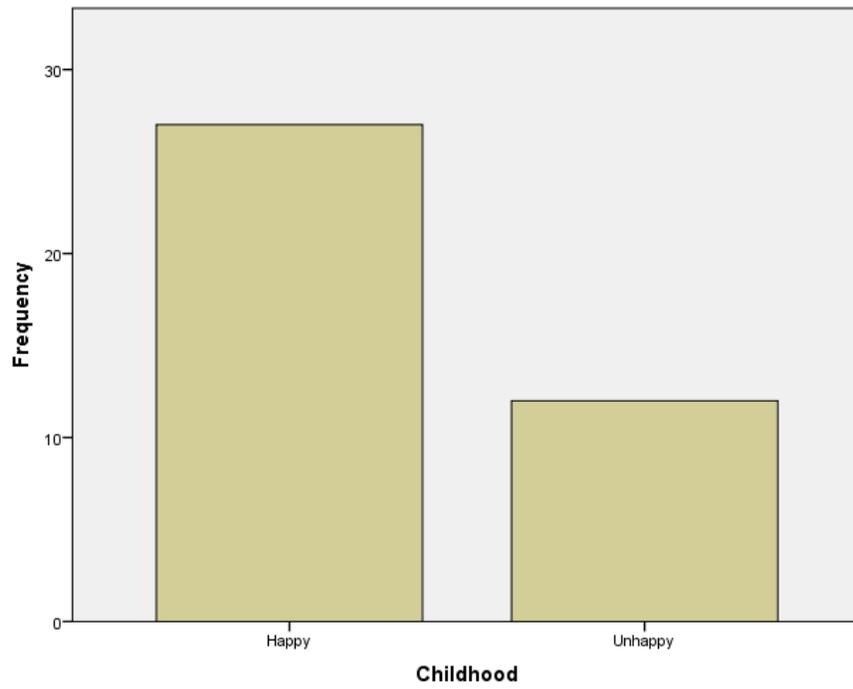


Figure 9. Current relationship with parents

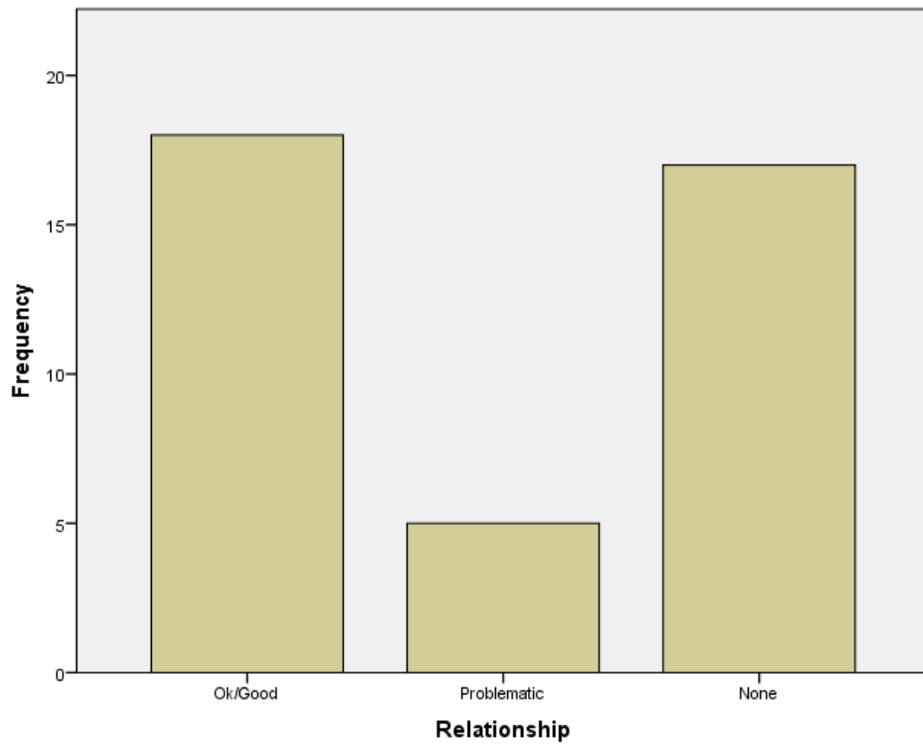


Figure 10. Grades in school

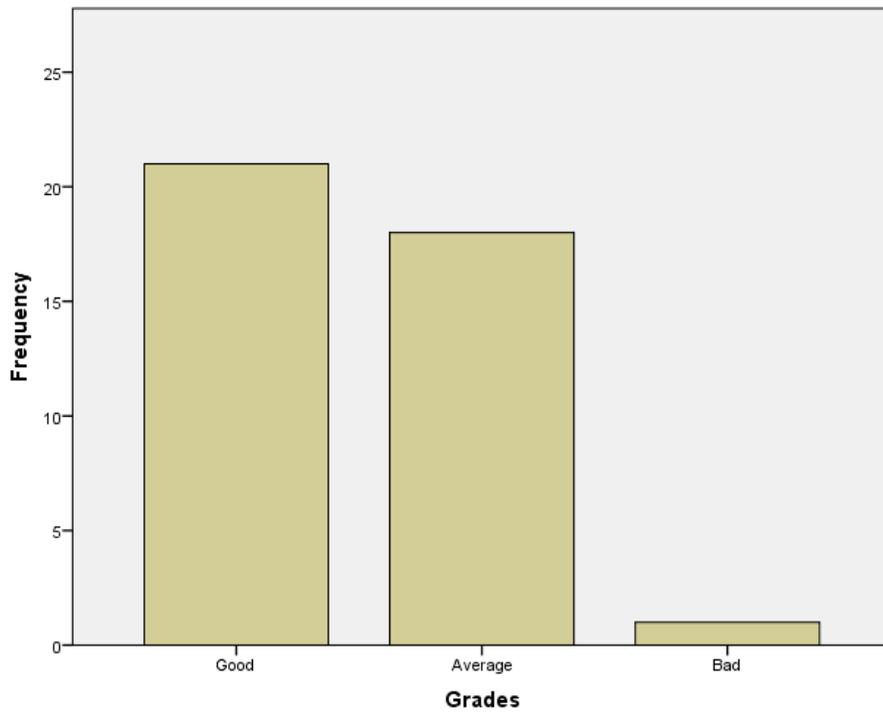
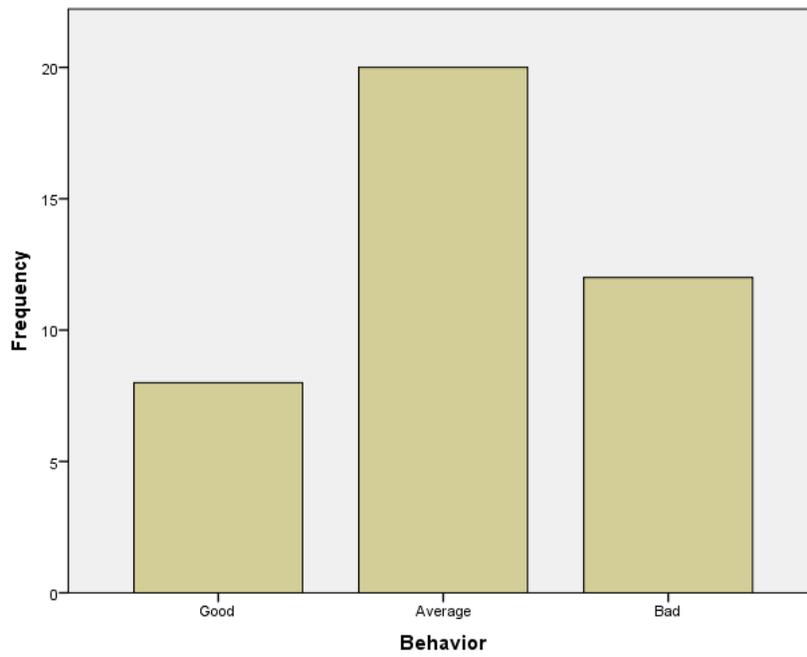


Figure 11. Behavior in school



3. METHODS

This paper is based on data from a mapping project by the Sexology Institute of the 1st Medical Faculty of Charles University to apply a quantitative research approach to the study of male sex workers in Prague, the Czech Republic, supplementing the previous qualitative research on the subject. Anonymous surveys were completed by 40 male escorts and sex workers over a period of 3 months beginning in 2011. Informed consent was obtained verbally from each respondent before they were given the questionnaire. Respondents were paid 500 CZK for participation in the study, which was financed by the principal investigator.

3.1 Survey of Sexual Behavior

The survey contained several demographic questions including sexual orientation, sexual behavioral reports with their partners as well as with casual sexual partners, or one night stands, modeled after a national study of sexual behavior (Weiss & Zvěřina, 2001) and their experiences as sex workers (type of sex work, years in the business, number of clients per month, average wages, any cases of violence with clients, etc.).

3.2 Temperament and Character Inventory - Revised

We also included in the survey battery, the TCI-R personality test, using the validated Czech translation (Preiss, Kucharová, Novák & Stepánková, 2007). The TCI-R instrument measures seven main temperament and character traits using 25 subscales (Cloninger, Pryzbeck,

Svrakic & Wetzel, 1994) using a 240 item questionnaire. Although we originally planned to use the Czech validation norms from the general population as a basis of comparison, a more relevant study which tested the TCI-R on a large sample of Czech adolescents with separate means for each gender was consequently published (Snopek, Hublova, Porubanova & Blatny, 2012) and we felt these norms from adolescent males offer a better basis of comparison to the young men who are involved in sex work.

3.3 Becks Depression Inventory

We measured depression using the Czech version of Beck's Depression Inventory (validated by Preiss & Vacíř, 1999) which consists of 21 multiple choice items designed to assess typical symptoms of depression

3.4 Zung's Self-Report Anxiety Scale

Anxiety symptoms were assessed using the Czech version of Zung's Self-Report Anxiety Scale (validated by Filip, 1997). This checklist contains twenty items listing typical symptoms of depression which the respondents then indicate the frequency at which they experience them. The four answer choices ranged from *never or rarely* to *very often or always*.

4. RESULTS

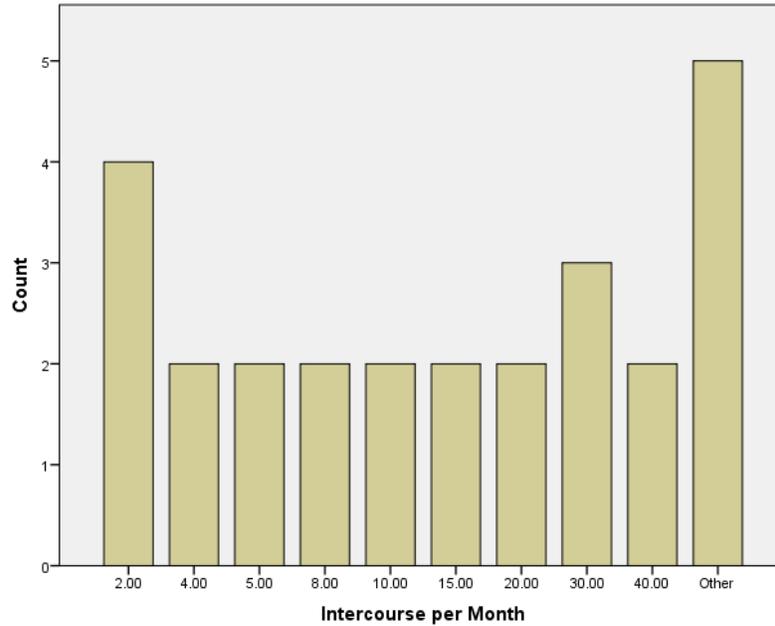
Behavioral reports of sexual activity in private and work life were controlled to check for consistency with the respondent's self-reported sexual identity by comparing reports of partner sex (with male or female partners), and casual sex or one night stands (with males and females) in the last month. Correlations were used to test for relationships between depression and anxiety and several factors, such as time in the sex work business, average number of clients per month, as well as frequency and type of sexual activity. For the main contrasts in the study, the more robust non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test was employed for all comparisons, using exact calculation, followed by post-hoc Mann-Whitney U comparisons, applying the Bonferroni correction for both the Kruskal-Wallis and Mann Whitney U comparisons to limit inflation of alpha and control for Type I errors. These statistics were used to calculate the differences among self-identified sexual orientation groups (heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual) for both the depression and anxiety scales. SPSS for Windows version 18 was used for all analyses.

4.1 Results of Sexual Behavior Survey

Regarding their relationship status at the time of the survey, overall, 55% percent of the respondents were single, of the 45 % reporting a partner, of those 83% reported a female partner, and 17% reported a male partner. All respondents reporting a female partner were heterosexual, and all respondents reporting a male partner were homosexual. No bisexuals in the study reported a partner of either gender. Regarding sexual intercourse with their partners, 40%

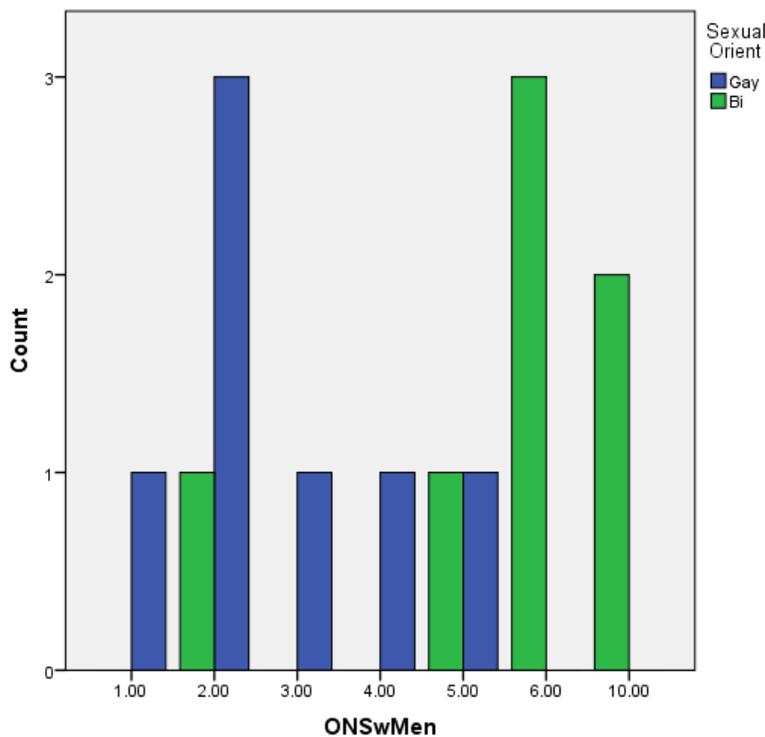
reported using a condom, and 50% reported other forms of birth control, 10% did not use birth control. Frequency of intercourse with a partner varied greatly, see Figure 12.

Figure 12. Frequency of intercourse with partner per month.



The survey also asked about casual sexual encounters, or one night stands (ONS) outside of work with both male and female partners. Casual encounters with men by gay men were reported by 78% of respondents, while only 50% of bisexual men reported casual sex with men outside of work. However the bisexual men had sex with significantly, $F(1,12) = 9.79$, $p = 0.009$, more male partners per month ($M = 6.4$, $SD = 2.82$) than the homosexual males ($M = 2.7$, $SD = 1.38$), producing a bimodal distribution, see Figure 13.

Figure 13. Number of same sex casual sexual partners in the last month for homosexual (gay) and bisexual (bi) men.



Respondents were also asked about their heterosexual casual sex encounters with women in the last month, with one homosexual reporting one encounter, among bisexuals, 21% reported casual sex with a women, with a skewed distribution in number of partners (Median = 2), and for heterosexuals, 77% reported ONS with women, the number of partners also had considerable variability, but was normally distributed ($M= 3.7$, $SD = 3.82$).

Regarding condom use with casual sexual partners, 89 % of homosexuals reported regular condom use, while only 64% of bisexuals and 35% of heterosexuals reported regular condom use during one night stands.

Table 1. Age at first intercourse by sexual orientation and gender of partner

	First man	First Woman
Heterosexual	X = 18,5 (SD = 2.49)	X = 14,4 (SD = 2.75)
Bisexual	X = 16,2 (SD = 2.50)	X = 14,5 (SD = 1.73)
Homosexual	X = 14,8 (SD = 1.83)	X = 15,3 (SD = 2.25)

Subjects were asked to report their age at first intercourse, or coital debut, the means for each sexual orientation for each gender are reported in Table 1. In all cases the age of first intercourse is significantly lower than the national average of 18.2 years with a standard deviation of 2.79 years (Weiss & Zverina, 2001), except for the age of first male intercourse for the heterosexual respondents, all of whom indicated that this was their first sexual encounter for money.

Sexual abuse in childhood was reported by 7.5% of respondents, 2 heterosexual respondents were molested (defined as having sexual relations with an adult under the age of 15) by a men on a single occasion, and one bisexual reported repeated molestation by both a male and female acquaintance.

Respondents were also asked a number of questions regarding their specific sexual activities in the past month both in private and at work. The percentages of respondents engaging in each activity in their private sexual life are presented by sexual orientation in Table 2.

Table 2. Percentage of respondents engaging in sexual behaviors in the past month in their private lives by sexual orientation

Private Sexual Behavior	Homosexual	Bisexual	Heterosexual
With men:	<i>percent</i>	<i>percent</i>	<i>percent</i>
Masturbated by a male	67%	36%	6%
Masturbated another male	67%	21%	-
Received oral sex	56%	21%	12%
Performed oral sex	67%	29%	6%
Receptive anal sex	33%	14%	6%
Insertive anal sex	33%	14%	-
Receptive analingus	33%	21%	-
Performed analingus	11%	21%	-
With Women:			
Masturbated by woman	11%	79%	71%
Received oral sex	11%	64%	65%
Intercourse	-	85%	82%

We also asked respondents to estimate how many times in the past month they engaged in these behaviors. Bisexuals and heterosexuals were more likely to receive oral sex from the client, while homosexual sex workers were more likely to perform oral sex, presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Mean (and standard deviation) of occurrences for each sexual behavior in private in the past month by sexual orientation

Private Sexual Behavior	Homosexual	Bisexual	Heterosexual
With men:	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>
Masturbated by a male	1.6 (1.66)	2.6 (5.96)	1.4 (3.73)
Masturbated another male	1.4 (1.42)	0.8 (1.67)	-
Received oral sex	1.8 (1.30)	5.7 (4.04)	4.0 (0)
Performed oral sex	7.5 (3.32)	2.0 (1.09)	2.0 (0)
Receptive anal sex	2.0 (1.73)	3.5 (2.12)	4.0 (0)
Insertive anal sex	1.3 (0.58)	2.0 (1.41)	-
Receptive anilingus	1.3 (0.57)	8.0 (3.46)	-
Performed anilingus	1 (0)	2.5 (2.12)	-
With Women:			
Masturbated by woman	0.2 (0.67)	17.2 (25.70)	6.3 (9.47)
Received oral sex	0.1 (0.33)	9.2 (15.27)	5.2 (7.66)
Vaginal Intercourse	-	13.3 (14.09)	9.1 (9.97)

The sexual behaviors reported are relatively consistent with the participant's self-identified sexual orientation, with only one homosexual respondent reporting any opposite sex activity and only two heterosexual respondents indicating any same-sex sexual activity in their private lives. Overall bisexuals reported more frequent sexual activity with both male and female partners relative to the homosexual and heterosexual respondents respectively for nearly all forms of sexual activity.

We asked the about the same sexual activity with regard to the sex practices the participants performed at work as a sex worker. There were significant differences in the sexual acts engaged in depending on the sexual orientation of the sex worker ($\chi^2(16) = 28.00, p = 0.02$). Nearly all of the respondents engaged in mutual masturbation with their clients, but

regarding oral sex, homosexual and bisexual respondents were more likely to provide it to their clients, while heterosexual respondents were more likely to receive it from their clients, see Table 4.

In addition, roughly half of homosexual sex workers engaged in anal sex (both active and passive) whereas for bisexual and heterosexuals, they engaged in anal sex less frequently overall and when they did engage in anal sex, it tended to be in the active role.

Table 4. Percentage of respondents engaging in sexual behaviors in the past month in their job as a sex worker by sexual orientation

Working Sexual Behavior	Homosexual	Bisexual	Heterosexual
With men:	<i>percent</i>	<i>percent</i>	<i>percent</i>
Masturbated by a male	100%	79%	82%
Masturbated another male	100%	71%	71%
Received oral sex	89%	79%	94%
Performed oral sex	89%	93%	59%
Receptive anal sex	44%	21%	24%
Insertive anal sex	56%	43%	41%
Receptive anilingus	22%	57%	29%
Performed anilingus	11%	7%	0%

Regarding the frequency of sexual behaviors, there were no significant differences between the sexual orientations except both homosexuals and heterosexuals were significantly less likely to receive anilingus than bisexuals, $F(2, 18) = 4.81, p = 0.02$, see Table 5.

Table 5. Mean (and standard deviation) of occurrences for each sexual behavior at work in the past month by sexual orientation

Working Sexual Behavior	Homosexual	Bisexual	Heterosexual
With men:	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	<i>Mean (SD)</i>
Masturbated by a male	6.1 (5.33)	6.4 (7.19)	7.1 (8.67)
Masturbated another male	7.6 (5.68)	5.6 (7.46)	5.8 (7.88)
Received oral sex	4.1 (2.80)	5.6 (5.93)	6.5 (7.28)
Performed oral sex	5.4 (3.67)	7.0 (6.12)	7.5 (7.71)
Receptive anal sex	3.2 (1.92)	4.2 (3.70)	4.4 (3.36)
Insertive anal sex	2.5 (1.38)	7.5 (7.94)	5.1 (6.10)
Receptive anilingus	2.0 (1.41)	7.6 (4.50)	3.8 (2.92)
Performed anilingus	3.0 (0)	5.0 (0)	-

4.2 Results: Internet Escorts

The average age of the respondents was 23 years old (with a standard deviation of 3 years), and they had been offering their services for between 2 months up to 6 years. Their earnings from sex work averaged 36 000 CZK per month (or approximately 1 440 Euro) however there was wide variation, from as low as 7 000 CZK (280 Euro) per month to as high as 96 000 CZK (3 840 Euro), seeing an average of 14 clients per month, 80% of whom were foreigners, with the most common nationality being German.

Questions about their personal history did not reveal anything atypical, in fact they were surprisingly average in most respects. Nearly all the respondents describing their childhood as happy, all had completed their basic education with average or good marks and none reported behavioral problems in school. None reported any childhood sexual abuse, however overall, they did report their first sexual experience significantly earlier than the Czech population norms; 15 was the average age reported for their first sexual encounter with both male and female partners,

while the Czech norm is 18 years, (Weiss & Zvěřina, 2001). Regarding their sexual orientation 45% reported a homosexual orientation, 40% considered themselves bisexual and 15 % reported a heterosexual orientation. They came from all regions of the Czech Republic, with about 25% natives of Prague, and 15% from neighboring Slovakia.

For their current situation, a majority (55%) reported having good relationships with their families, with only one respondent reporting serious family problems, and only one reporting problems with accommodation; all others reported living alone or with their partner or friends in rented apartments. Regarding relationships, a third of the homosexuals reported having a regular (male) partner, and half of the bisexuals and heterosexuals reported having a (female) partner.

When asked why they began sex work, 50% reported a financial emergency had motivated them, while 30% just wanted to improve their current financial situation, and 20% stated that it was purely because they enjoy sex. Overall, only 15% of respondents reported being satisfied with their career in sex work, while the majority, 60% reported that they planned to change to another type of work in the near future, where another 15% would like a change but felt they could never find work which paid so well. There were also 10% who were desperate to change as soon as possible but had no concrete idea how to do so. Concerning the influence sex work had had on their life, a majority were neutral, but 20% reported a positive experience, for example in self –esteem derived from being an object of desire, while another 20% found the influence rather negative and degrading.

Perhaps the most negative result from the survey was the incidence of violence against the escorts, with one in five reporting having been physically beaten by a client, and an additional one in four having been forcibly raped by a client, meaning forced into receptive anal sex. In general condom use was the norm, with all respondents stating an HIV-negative status and reporting that they undergo regular testing at least once per year, however 15% reported having

unsafe sex with both clients and their partners in private, which is a matter of concern. Drug and alcohol use was also an issue, with 65% reporting regular drinking and 20% reporting daily use of marijuana, however, none reported regular use of harder drugs, and only 15% occasional use, mainly of the local Czech-type of methamphetamine called Pervitin. All of the internet escorts reported having the legally required government health insurance.

When asked about how they first began sex work, 45% reported that they were first offered money directly by a potential client, whereas 20% were recommended to the business by a friend, the remainder stated it was their own idea to create an escort profile without outside influence. However, it seems that the pornography industry plays a key role in introducing young men to sex work as well, with 40% of the escorts reporting having worked in the porn industry prior to starting to offer private sexual services to clients. When asked if they felt prostitution should be fully legalized and regulated in the Czech Republic, although 60% said yes, only 10% believed they would actually register with the government as a sex worker.

4.3 Results: Sex Workers in Bars and Clubs

The average age of the respondents was 24 (standard deviation of 4 years) and they had been offering sexual services for a period of between 2 months up to 7 years. They reported average monthly earnings of 21 000 CZK (840 Euros) but with great variation from as low as 3 500 CZK (140 Euros) to as high as 50 000 CZK (2 000 Euro), with an average of 11 clients per month. They reported 85% of their clients were foreigners, with Germans accounting for the largest group, but also clients from around the world, e.g. the USA, the United Kingdom, Italy, France and the Netherlands.

Unlike the relatively positive profiles of the internet escorts, the personal histories of sex workers in bars and clubs were consistently more negative, with 45% reporting an unhappy childhood, 20% not completing their basic education, and 25% having had behavioral problems in school. Sexual abuse in childhood was also mentioned by 10% of the respondents. Like the internet escorts however, they also began their sexual life on average 3 years earlier than the Czech norm, and also they come from across the country, with 40% from Prague, 50% from other regions of the Czech Republic and 10% from Slovakia.

Currently 75% had no or poor relationships with their family, and 25% reported having no permanent place of residence. The majority of the sex workers in clubs reported a heterosexual orientation (70%) and the remaining 30% considered themselves bisexual, no respondent reported a homosexual orientation in any of the bars or clubs. Among the heterosexuals, 64% reported having a partner, but all of the bisexual respondents reported being single.

The reason they cited for becoming a sex worker in this group was overwhelmingly their desperate financial situation, with 90% indicating that they would have ended up on the street if they had not engaged in sex work, and 80% indicating that their primary reason to continue sex work was to survive, however 20% indicated it was only a source of additional income. More so than internet escorts, 30% felt satisfied with their work, however, there were also 20% who were desperate to find a new job. Relative to the internet escorts, half as many of the sex workers in clubs had a realistic plan to change jobs, and as suggested by a comment written into one of the surveys, *I am already starting a new job as a drug dealer*, their outlook appears bleaker. The subjective influence of sex work on their life also did not differ significantly from the internet escorts with 25% reporting a negative influence and 10% reporting a positive influence, with the majority feeling the effect was neutral.

The most negative result for these sex workers was regarding drugs and alcohol, with over half regularly using alcohol and marijuana and 25% using hard drugs like Pervitin or methamphetamines daily. One respondent scribbled into the margin of the last page of the survey, a vulgar slang expression which loosely translates as *Pervitin destroyed my whole life!* In addition, 15% reported daily gambling (on the video terminals common in Prague casinos and bars), a problem not reported by any internet escorts. And although the same number of sex workers in bars reported having been physically assaulted by their clients (20%) as the internet escorts, none reported any instance of rape.

All but one of the respondents claimed their HIV status was negative and that they were tested regularly, one respondent reported having never been tested. However 55% did not practice safe sex in private and 15% were unsafe both with clients and in their private lives. In addition, 15% reported that they did not currently have any health insurance, in violation of Czech law.

The reasons for getting involved in sex work also varied among the respondents, with 35% having first received an offer of money from a client, 25% were recommended the work by a friend, and the remainder simply decided to try it without any outside influence. Pornography in this group also played a role, although not as large as among internet escorts, with 25% having started first in pornography prior to sex work. These sex workers were rather more likely to start working in pornography after they had begun to work as a sex worker (30%). Regarding legalization of prostitution, 40% agreed it is a good idea, but only 5% would register as a sex worker in the case it became legal.

4.3 Results: Contrasts between Internet Escorts and Sex Workers in Bars and Clubs

The main hypotheses suggesting that the Prague sex tourism scene caters to men seeking predominantly younger men and underage adolescents was not supported. In fact, the correlations were near zero when comparing age of the sex workers and the number of clients per month ($r = -.01$) or monthly income ($r = -.07$), and only 10% of the respondents were under age 18. Nor was there any relationship between the length of time working as a sex worker to subjective job satisfaction ratings ($r = -.04$).

The second goal was to investigate the differences in these two types of sex work, Internet escorts versus sex workers offering their services independently in specialized bars and clubs. There were also no significant differences between the groups related to ratings of job satisfaction. Regarding the participants' reported sexual orientation, homosexual sex workers worked only via the Internet, while in bars and clubs the sex workers were predominantly heterosexual (see Table 1). With regard to coital debut, both groups typically reported their first sexual intercourse with women (for heterosexuals and bisexuals) and men (for homosexuals and bisexuals) as beginning in their early teens. However, for all heterosexuals their first paid encounter with a male client was also their first encounter with a male sex partner. This occurred later in their teen years, resulting in the only significant difference between the groups, see also Table 5. In addition, three sex workers in bars reported childhood sexual abuse, while no Internet escorts reported such abuse.

Table 5. Sexual Orientation and Coital Debut (Age of First Intercourse) for Internet Escorts (n=20) and Sex Workers in Bars and Clubs (n=20)

Orientation	<u>Internet</u>	<u>Bars/Clubs</u>	Fisher Exact Probability Test (2 tailed)
<i>Homosexual</i>	9	0	p<.001*
<i>Bisexual</i>	8	6	
<i>Heterosexual</i>	3	14	

	<u>Internet Mean</u> (SD)	<u>Bars/Clubs</u> Mean (SD)	<u>Independent t-test</u>
Coital debut age (with female)	15.2 (1.91)	13.9 (2.52)	t (35) = 1.64, p = .11
Coital debut age (with male)	16.0 (2.65)	18.2 (2.45)	t (37) = -2.76, p = .01*

The study also compared the ages and salaries of both types of sex workers using independent t-tests. Due in part to the high variability within groups, there was only one significant difference. The Internet escorts charge on average of 22% more per night than the sex workers in bars, although the general trend was for Internet escorts to charge more per hour, see more clients and earn more money as well (see Table 6). Most sex workers began around 20 years of age, although our study did find two internet escorts who were under the legal age of 18 at the time of the survey.

Table 6. Comparison of Age and Income for Internet Escorts (n=20) and Sex Workers in Bars and Clubs (n=20)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Internet</u>	<u>Bar/Club</u>	<u>t-test</u>
Age	23.0 (2.68)	24.1 (4.16)	t (38) = -.95, p = .35
Age range	17 - 28	17 - 36	
Age starting sex work	20.6 (2.76)	20.8 (3.70)	t (38) = -.12, p = .90
Months in the business	28.4 (21.91)	39.5 (57.89)	t (38) = -.81, p = .43
Clients in past month	10.1 (9.09)	6.9 (5.54)	t (38) = 1.34, p = .19
Income past month (CZK) †	33 350 (28 043) 1 334 EUR	22 921 (12 960) 916 EUR	t (37) = 1.48, p = .15
Price per hour (CZK) †	2560 (408) 102 EUR	2421 (507) 96 EUR	t (37) = 0.95, p = .35
Price per night (CZK) †	8105 (2 508) 324 EUR	6277 (1 903) 251 EUR	t (35) = 2.49, p = .02*

† All wage data was collected in Czech Crowns. However a rough conversion to the Euro is added here for readers less familiar with the Czech currency.

Although not statistically significant, there seems to be a trend for sex workers in bars to continue in sex work longer, with their time in the business reported as on average about one year longer than the Internet escorts, despite beginning at approximately the same age. Both types of sex workers come from across the country, with approximately 40% from Prague, 50% from other regions of the Czech Republic and 10% from Slovakia. Only one foreigner (a German escort) was encountered during the sampling process; however, both groups of sex workers reported that over 80% of their clients come from abroad. Both types of sex workers indicated Germans accounted for the largest group of clients, but often clients from other countries were reported, e.g. the United States, the United Kingdom, Italy, France and the Netherlands.

To investigate the background of the escorts, some of the survey questions focused on their childhood and current family relations. Internet escorts were significantly more likely to report growing up in a traditional two parent home and tended to also report a happy childhood and current good relationships with their parents at a higher frequency than sex workers in bars and clubs, see Table 7.

Regarding their living situation, 25% of the sex workers in bars and club reported being homeless at the time of the survey, while only 5% of Internet escorts had no permanent accommodation.

Table 7. Comparison of Sex Workers Reported Family Environment Between Internet Escorts (n=20) and Sex Workers in Bars and Clubs (n=20)

	<u>Internet</u>	<u>Bar/Club</u>	Fisher Exact Probability Test (2 tailed)
Raised by both parents††	14	5	p = .01*
Raised by single parent	4	11	
Parents were loving††	9	3	p = .04*
Parents were strict	3	8	
Happy childhood	17	11	p = .08
Unhappy childhood	3	9	
Current good relationship with parents	11	7	p = .34
Problematic / no relationship with parents	9	13	

†† Cells may not total 20 for each comparison as the answer choices of “other” and “neutral” were excluded from the analysis for clarity

The comparison of alcohol and drug use indicates that sex workers in bars and clubs tend to drink alcohol and use marijuana more than the Internet escorts, and regarding methamphetamine use, the sex workers in bars and clubs were significantly more likely to regularly use the local methamphetamine, Pervitin, see Table 8.

Table 8. Comparison of Use of Alcohol, Marijuana and Methamphetamine (Pervitin) Use Between Internet Escorts (n=20) and Sex Workers in Bars and Clubs (n=20)

	<u>Internet</u>	<u>Bar</u>	Fisher Exact Probability <u>Test (2 tailed)</u>
Drinking alcohol			
<i>Never or occasionally</i>	16	11	p = .17
<i>Regularly or Daily</i>	4	9	
Smoking marijuana			
<i>Never or occasionally</i>	15	8	p = .05
<i>Regularly or Daily</i>	5	12	
Methamphetamine use			
<i>Never or occasionally</i>	20	14	p = .02*
<i>Regularly or Daily</i>	0	6	

In addition, 15% reported daily gambling (on the video terminals common in Prague casinos and bars), a behavior not reported by any of the Internet escorts.

Also, sex workers in both groups reported being victims of violence on the job, with 15% of Internet escorts and 20% of sex workers in bars and clubs stating they had been beaten by a client, however, the risk of rape by a client (forced receptive anal intercourse) tended to be higher for Internet escorts (25%) than sex workers in clubs (5%). These differences were not significant. However, it is important to note that none of the participants reported the attack to any police or authority figure.

4.5 Results: Personality Factors

We also included in the survey battery, the TCI-R personality test, using the validated Czech translation (Preiss, Kucharová, Novák & Stepánková, 2007). Statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS version 18 and Cohen's *d* is also reported to emphasize effect sizes. We first compared the mean for the general population of male adolescents (*N*= 411) with our sample of 40 sex workers in general (using a *t*-test), see Table 9.

Table 9. Comparisons of TCI-R scores for the sample of all sex workers (N=40) to norms for Czech teenage males (N=411) from Snopek, Hublova, Porubanova & Blatny, 2012

Main Scales	Code	Population Mean	Std. Deviation	Sample Mean	Std. Deviation	t	p	Cohen's d
Novelty seeking	NS	105.4	14.4	108.2	13.6	-1.24	.22	
Harm Avoidance	HA	89.1	14.6	88.7	15.6	.16	.88	
Reward Dependence	RD	97.5	12.1	95.7	14.3	.77	.45	
Persistence	PS	112.9	17.0	118.7	16.3	-2.14	.04	.34
Self Directed	SD	131.8	14.5	125.3	25.7	1.58	.12	
Cooperative	CO	120.7	14.5	114.5	12.4	2.97	<.01*	-.43
Self Transcendence	ST	69.1	13.4	72.3	17.4	-1.13	.26	

Subscales	Code	Population Mean	Std. Deviation	Sample Mean	Std. Deviation	t	p	Cohen's d
Explore/excite	NS1	32.5	4.2	31.1	4.0	2.10	.04	-.35
Impulsive	NS2	24.8	5.0	26.5	4.9	-2.09	.04	
Extravagant	NS3	25.8	6.9	29.7	7.7	-3.09	<.01	.56
Disorderly	NS4	22.3	3.7	21.0	4.2	1.89	.07	
Anticipation worry	HA1	29.8	5.1	29.9	5.9	-.10	.92	
Fear unknown	HA2	19.6	4.6	20.2	4.5	-.80	.43	
Shy with stranger	HA3	20.5	5.2	19.3	4.9	1.47	.15	-.24
Fatigability	HA4	19.1	4.5	19.5	4.8	-.51	.62	
Sentimentality	RD1	24.2	3.9	26.4	5.7	-2.39	.02	.57
Open to warm comm	RD2	34.3	5.7	34.2	6.5	.09	.93	
Attachment	RDD3	19.6	4.2	18.7	5.2	1.06	.29	
Dependence	RD4	19.4	3.0	16.4	4.1	4.51	<.0001	-1.00
Eager	PS1	25.4	5.2	28.8	5.2	-3.95	<.001	.65
Work hardened	PS2	27.6	4.6	27.4	4.5	.27	.79	
Ambitious	PS3	34.0	5.1	35.9	5.1	-2.25	.03	.38
Perfectionist	PS4	25.9	5.0	26.4	5.0	-.60	.55	
Responsibility	SD1	28.4	4.2	28.8	4.6	-.53	.60	
Purposeful	SD2	21.9	3.4	21.2	4.1	1.05	.30	
Resourceful	SD3	17.0	2.90	16.8	3.6	.34	.73	
Self acceptance	SD4	27.4	6.40	24.6	7.1	2.40	.02	-.44
Congruent second nature	SD5	37.1	4.80	36.7	4.8	.50	.62	
Social acceptance	CO1	28.3	4.10	25.9	4.4	3.31	<.01	-.58
Empathy	CO2	16.6	2.70	17.2	3.0	<1.22	.23	
Helpfulness	CO3	28.1	3.70	26.0	2.9	4.23	<.0001	-.56
Compassion	CO4	21.9	5.30	20.9	6.2	.99	.33	
Principled	CO5	25.7	3.90	24.5	3.8	1.90	.06	-.32
Self forgetful	ST1	30.1	5.80	31.9	7.0	-1.57	.12	
Transpersonal identification	ST2	20.20	5.10	20.9	4.5	-.93	.36	
Spiritual acceptance	ST3	18.80	5.80	21.1	5.1	-2.69	.01	.39

*significant after Bonferroni correction (p<.007)

In addition, we also compared the means for internet escorts and sex workers separately (using ANOVA), the full results can be found in Table 10.

Table 10. Comparisons of TCI-R scores between Internet Escorts (n=20) and Sex Workers in Bars and Clubs (n=20)

Main Scales	Internet Mean	Internet Std. Deviation	Bar Mean	Bar Std. Deviation	F	p	Cohen's d
Novelty seeking	112.6	12.6	103.9	13.4	4.49	.04	0.69
Harm Avoidance	86.2	20.0	91.3	9.2	1.05	.31	
Reward Dependence	97.2	16.8	94.3	11.4	.39	.53	
Persistence	124.2	12.7	113.3	17.9	4.97	.03	0.86
Self Directed	121.8	32.9	128.9	15.8	.75	.39	
Cooperative	113.3	15.4	115.8	8.7	.41	.52	
Self Transcendence	71.8	21.8	72.9	12.0	.04	.85	
Subscales							
Explore/excite	31.5	4.3	30.6	3.6	.51	.48	
Impulsive	27.6	5.3	25.4	4.2	2.09	.16	
Extravagant	30.8	9.1	28.6	6.1	.85	.36	
Disorderly	22.7	3.7	19.4	4.2	7.22	.01	0.91
Anticipation worry	29.3	7.2	30.5	4.4	.37	.55	
Fear unknown	19.3	5.7	21.1	2.5	1.66	.21	
Shy with stranger	17.9	5.8	20.7	3.4	3.50	.07	
Fatigability	19.8	5.2	19.1	4.6	.20	.65	
Sentimentality	27.0	7.1	25.9	4.0	.33	.57	
Open to warm communication	35.9	6.4	32.6	6.3	2.73	.11	
Attachment	19.3	5.9	18.1	4.4	.54	.47	
Dependence	15.1	4.9	17.8	2.5	4.87	.03	-0.55
Eager	30.6	4.6	27.1	5.2	5.02	.03	0.76
Work hardened	28.9	3.3	25.8	5.1	5.27	.03	0.94
Ambitious	37.5	4.6	34.4	5.2	4.17	.05	0.69
Perfectionist	27.3	4.5	25.6	5.5	1.15	.29	
Responsibility	29.5	4.2	28.1	5.0	.92	.34	
Purposeful	21.9	3.8	20.5	4.2	1.29	.26	

Main Scales	Internet Mean	Internet Std. Deviation	Bar Mean	Bar Std Deviation	F	p	Cohen's d
Resourceful	17.0	3.4	16.6	3.9	.12	.73	
Self acceptance	20.9	6.5	28.3	5.6	14.84	<.001	-1.13
Congruent second nature	38.1	5.7	35.3	3.1	3.70	.06	
Social acceptance	25.9	5.0	26.0	3.9	.01	.92	
Empathy	17.6	3.3	16.9	2.8	.52	.47	
Helpfulness	26.3	2.8	25.8	3.1	.24	.63	
Compassion	20.3	6.7	21.6	5.7	.47	.49	
Principled	23.4	4.6	25.6	2.4	3.57	.07	
Self forgetful	33.6	6.7	30.3	7.0	2.24	.14	
Transpersonal identification	20.2	4.9	21.5	4.1	.83	.37	
Spiritual acceptance	21.1	5.6	21.1	4.6	.00	.98	

*significant after Bonferroni correction ($p < .007$)

Although the authors recognize the inherent risks of inflation of alpha in the performance of multiple inference tests, as the significant results are consistent with both our hypotheses and past research, we feel they are valuable to consider, although conclusions should be drawn with caution.

4.6 Results of mental health and sexual identity analysis

The respondents in our sample had a mean age of 23.6 ($SD = 3.36$). The subjects self-identified their sexual identity as heterosexual ($n = 17$), homosexual ($n = 9$) or bisexual ($n = 14$); all subjects selected only one orientation, however there were differences depending on the location.

Self-reports of sexual identity were further confirmed by the responses to the questions about their current sexual relationships. Of the homosexuals who reported having partners (34% of these respondents) - all had male partners, of the heterosexuals reporting having partners (59% of these respondents) - all had female partners and of the bisexuals reporting partners (38% of these respondents) - all also had female partners. Further behavioral confirmation of sexual identity was found in the sexual behavior measures; for example no heterosexuals reported sexual encounters with male partners outside of work, but both homosexuals and bisexuals reported such casual encounters with male partners, and only heterosexuals and bisexuals reported intercourse with female partners. Only 3 respondents had a history of sexual abuse.

Our general hypothesis that symptoms of mental distress can be directly associated to aspects of sex work was not supported. Although our previous analyses (Bar-Johnson & Weiss, 2014a) showed that sex workers in bars and clubs had more problems, for example with drug use, than internet escorts, in terms of their mental health, there were no significant differences between these two types of sex workers, see Table 11. However, the mean scores for both depression and anxiety were near or above the criteria for a clinical diagnosis for a substantial proportion of respondents.

Table 11. Comparison of Internet escorts and sex workers in specialized bars and clubs for depression and anxiety; means (standard deviations) and percent of respondents with a score at or above the minimum score for a clinical diagnosis are presented. Scores over 12 for depression and over 45 for anxiety are considered to be in the clinical range.

	Depression	Anxiety
Internet Escorts	9.8 (7.58) 40%	36.6 (5.73) 10%
Sex workers in bars/clubs	12.9 (10.94) 45%	39.2 (12.65) 35%

Also, no relationship was found between the symptoms of depression and anxiety with any of the other factors measured associated with their sex life or sex work, see Table 12.

Table 12. Correlation of sex workers age, years of experience and number of clients as well as frequency of sexual activity in personal and work life (in the past month).

	Pearson r*	
	Depression	Anxiety
MSW current age	-.02	.16
Age starting in escorting	.06	.06
Years in Business	-.07	.10
Average clients per month	.19	.07
<i>Private sex life</i>		
Frequency of sex with partner	.05	.20
One Night Stands with women	.07	.05
One Nights Stands with men	.14	.16
<i>Work sex life</i>		
Frequency of active anal sex	.12	.07
Frequency of receptive anal sex	.29	.41

**No correlations were statistically significant*

Only the variable of frequency of receptive (passive) anal sex at work approached a significant correlation with increased anxiety, but overall, it does not seem that sex work is directly involved in the mental distress of these participants.

We did find as we had predicted that the reports of symptoms of mental distress were lower for homosexuals working as MSW; Kruskal-Wallis tests were employed for the 2 main factors: depression and anxiety. For this sample of MSW, a non-significant trend for depression was observed with lower scores for homosexuals, Mean 7.1 (4.81) and higher for heterosexuals 11.2 (9.05) and bisexuals 14.3 (11.50) but the variability within groups was too great to draw firm conclusions, see Figure 1.

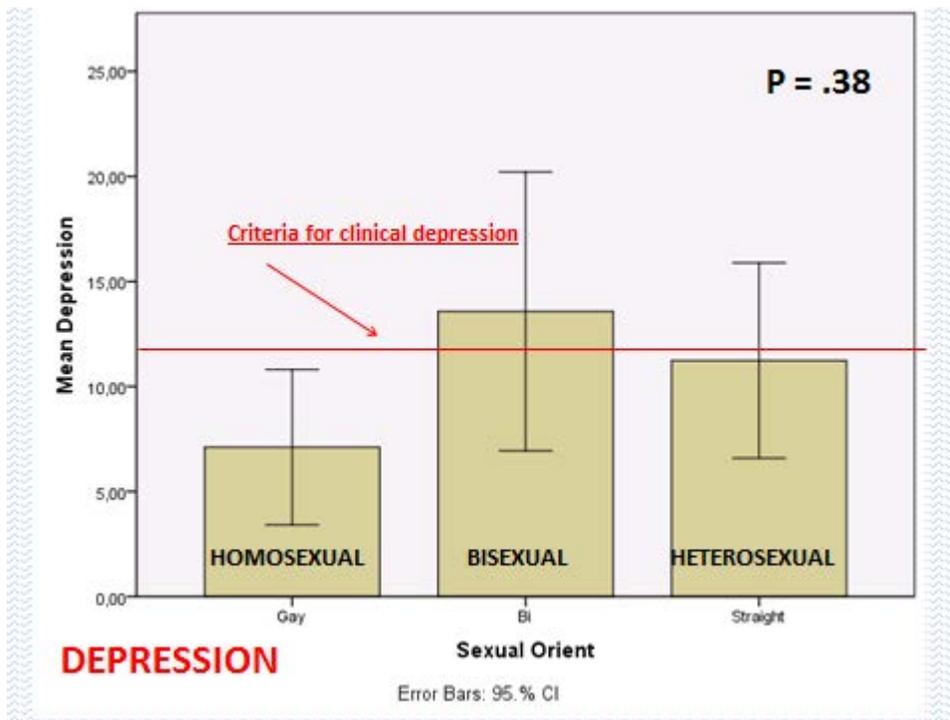


Figure 1. Scores on the Beck's Depression Inventory by sexual orientation, score over 12 indicate clinically significant levels of depression.

For the significant effect of sexual identity and anxiety, $H(2) = 9.71, p = .008$, further post-hoc Mann-Whitney U tests were employed to compare bisexuals to both homosexuals and heterosexuals using the Bonferroni correction ($\alpha = 0.017$, two-tailed). Bisexuals showed significantly more general symptoms of anxiety than both homosexuals, $U = 14.50, z = -2.96, p = 0.002$ and heterosexuals, $U = 51.50, z = -2.48, p = 0.012$. The results of this statistical analysis can be found in Figure 2.

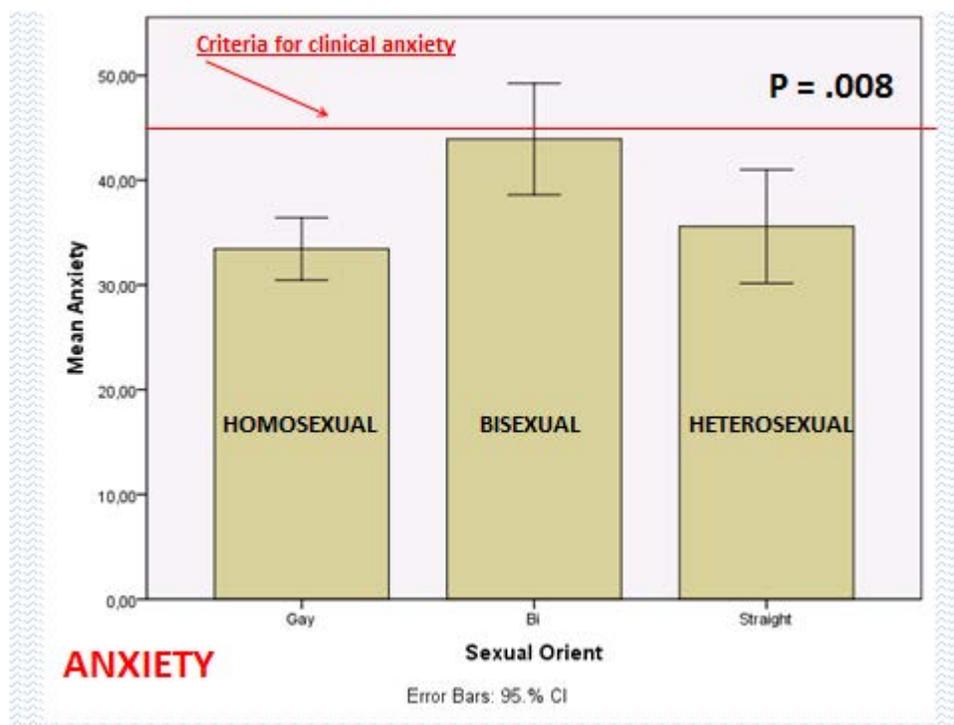


Figure 2. Scores on Zung's Anxiety Scale by sexual orientation with scores over 45 indicating clinically significant levels of anxiety.

We also made an assessment of safe sex behavior using a composite scores based on the overall number of reported sexual intercourse in the past month (both at work and in private) in which a condom was not used. However, as all respondents reported using a condom during

intercourse with clients, these numbers represent unsafe intercourse with a partner or a one night stand in the sex worker's private life, with either female (in the case of heterosexuals) or males (in the case of homosexuals) or both males and females in the case of bisexuals, see Figure 3.

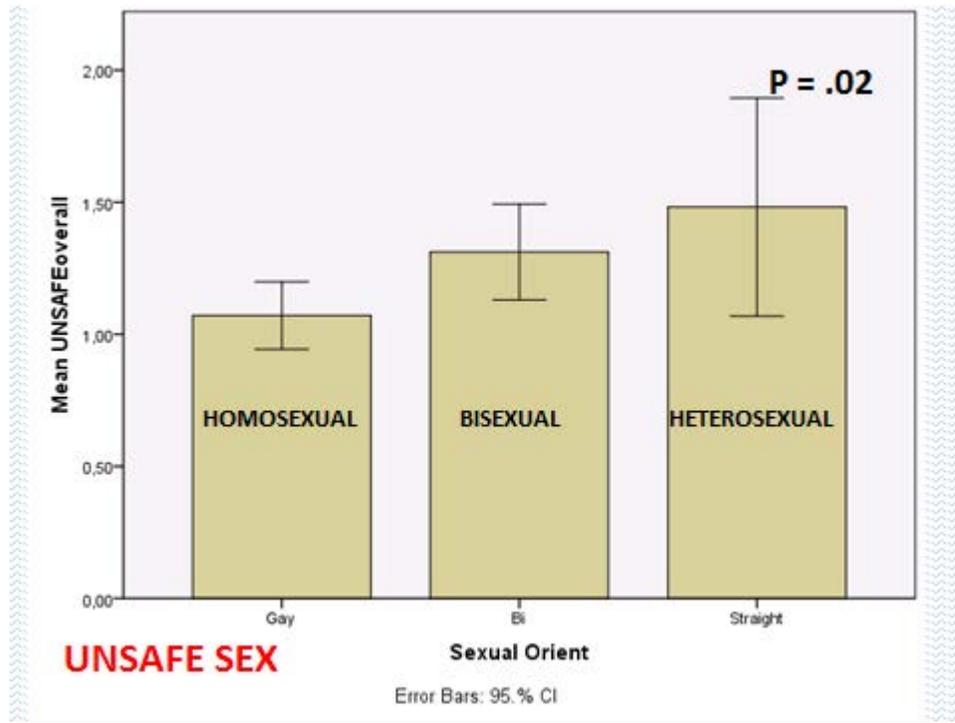


Figure 3. Mean number of unsafe sexual intercourse in the past month, by sexual orientation.

The results were as predicted, with homosexuals reporting the fewest unprotected sexual encounters and heterosexuals having the most unprotected sex.

4.7 Qualitative Observations

Although all participants were asked not to give their names in order to maintain their anonymity, many of the internet escorts stayed to talk with the researcher following the completion of the survey, sometime for as long as 2 hours. The issue of their partners was the most common to come up in these conversations. Some respondents made it a point to emphasize that they are not gay and that they have a girlfriend, and that they are doing this job only for the money. One of the first respondents invited me to a coffee shop in the lobby of a luxury apartment complex where he lived to complete the survey, and he said that he was only able to afford such an exclusive address because he and his girlfriend made a lot of money in the sex industry, both of them working as escorts. Several other participants raised the issue of partners with me, usually by first asking if I have a girlfriend, to which I responded that I am gay and have a male partner. In one case, one of the younger respondents, who I assume to be bisexual, said that *maybe (he) should find a boyfriend too, as he has too many problems with his girlfriend*, although he obviously intended it as a joke, it occurred to me that he may be genuinely conflicted about his orientation. Among those respondents who told me that they were gay, all used the opportunity to justify why they engage in sex work. One reported that it was to support himself only until he finished school, and that he was already in the process of interviewing for jobs abroad as a paramedic, another was raising money to finance a website with gay oriented news and entertainment, while a third was raising money for costumes for his cabaret show. In each case they made it very clear that sex work was only a temporary stepping stone to finance some future goal, which was not the case with any of the respondents who mentioned girlfriends. Instead these presumably heterosexual or bisexual respondents usually mentioned that this work allowed them to live a better life than any other type of work, but their focus was always on the

present and there was no mention of future plans. On the contrary, two of the older respondents (mid-twenties) expressed remorse that they had not planned for the future, as they were now having trouble finding enough clients to survive. One respondent even broke down in tears, as he related his fall from the early days as an escort in an exclusive club where he was earning a monthly wage over 10 times the national average salary, and how he had rented an expensive flat and lived an extravagant lifestyle. As he got older, however, clients expressed less interest, he eventually lost his flat and was currently desperately seeking an older, financially secure benefactor who would take him in. It was his hope to find someone abroad, but he was despondent that he may not be able to, and he clearly appeared to be suffering significant depression about his current situation. Although he claimed to be writing a book about his experiences and expressed dreams of becoming an author, it seemed he had no concrete idea what to do to survive other than to continue in some sort of exchange of sex for his livelihood. This is consistent with the findings of Hall (2007a) that becoming a “kept boy” is one of the goals of many young sex workers, as it involves a more stable life situation and continued access to the lifestyle they have become accustomed to.

Unlike the very forthcoming internet escorts, none of the sex workers in the bars or clubs stayed for more than a few minutes after completing the survey, however one respondent was in tears as he returned the survey, as I suspect it forced him to reflect on his own desperate situation. It is worth commenting however, on the situation in the bars and clubs, which according to the escorts has improved in recent years. In the past, these bars were known as rather dangerous places to visit, the sex workers were often beaten or threatened by the club owners, and were subject to frequent police raids in the late 1990’s mainly to control for underage boys. Now, most clubs are under new ownership and the owners take greater care to be sure boys under 18 do not enter. In addition, most of the bars have removed the casino style slot machines reducing the

temptation for sex workers with cash on hand to gamble away their earnings, and one barman informed me that he was instructed by the management not to admit any sex workers who appear visibly under the influence of drugs, in particular, methamphetamines. These changes have improved the situation of male sex workers, who no longer seek clients in the dangerous train station, but now have a safer environment to engage in their business, however their work conditions remain in great part at the whim of a few, mostly foreign, club owners. This does however, seem to suggest that the decriminalization of prostitution, combined with enforcement of laws against child prostitution and pimping, has had a rather positive effect on the conditions for male sex workers.

5. Case Study: Structured Interview

As a follow up, in the tradition of grounded ethnological research, I had the opportunity to conducted a series of semi structured interviews with one of the escorts I had met during the study later after the analyses had been completed, with the goal of seeing if he could provide some insight into his own personal experiences in sex work as well as his emotional reactions to them. The part of the study was based on the tenets of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The participant agreed to meet on several occasions in 2013 to answer my questions regarding his experiences as a sex worker and his motivations and feelings associated with his trajectory into the business. The interviews were conducted at a public café on 4 occasions over a period of 6 months during 2013.

In the interest of protecting his anonymity, several details will be presented in a more general form. The questions and his answers, as translated from field notes (the interview was conducted in Czech) are provided below.

When did you come to Prague and what was your motivation?

The participant was a Czech resident in his mid 20's and had come to Prague in the mid 2000's at the age of 18. He came from a small village in the east of the country with few job prospects. After completing technical high school, he chose to move to the capital, Prague where he hoped to find more lucrative career opportunities, as well as to escape a difficult family situation. He came to Prague by bus with all his savings, the equivalent of 200 Euro.

How did you first become involved in the sex industry?

He was young, tall, athletic and attractive and therefore an obvious target for the booming pornography industry in Prague, since within 1 hour of arriving at the bus station, while getting something to eat, he was approached by a pornography producer and asked if he would like to make a (straight) porno. He agreed and the producer arranged for accommodation and he shot several scenes (compensated at about 150 euro per scene). Within the next few weeks, he had made enough money to rent a small room in a shared apartment on a weekly basis. He continued his work in pornography only until he was able to secure another position, as a receptionist in a fitness center. He stated that aside from the financial rewards, he had little interest in working in the sex industry and did not enjoy his work in heterosexual pornography.

How did you then become involved in sex with men?

It was not long after that when a much older male client training at the center offered him a large amount of money to do private stripping and posing for him at his home. He accepted this offer which led to monthly visits with the client that eventually included providing oral sex resulting in even greater monetary rewards. At this point, his sex work was mainly to supplement his income. He reported that he found having oral sex with this much older man “disgusting at first” but later he came to appreciate that the man was nice to him and very generous, and he said that “he got used to it”. This was his only homosexual experience up to this point in his life.

Do you have a girlfriend and does she know about your sex work?

During this period, he stated that he also met his girlfriend, through connections at the porno industry, where she also worked at first as an actress and then later as an escort for men. At the time they began dating, she was spending about 2 weeks per month working in a legal brothel in another European country, and 2 weeks she spent in Prague. He knew about her work and seemed unconcerned, as she made excellent money, and offered for him to move into her luxury apartment as their relationship became more serious. She was aware of his appearances in heterosexual porn, but he did not tell her about his previous work with men, and discontinued his meetings with his regular sponsor after he began living with his girlfriend. Although he expressed some concerns for her safety, he didn't feel that her sex work was an issue in their relationship and described them as being happy for some time. However as the relationship became more serious, problems began

to arise, mainly over fights that she was making most of the money and he was not contributing enough to the relationship, so this was his motivation to return to sex work.

How did you become more involved in sex work with men?

He reported that he first contacted some pornography producers, of which in Prague there are many, and within one day was offered a role in an erotic massage video, where he would be touched and masturbated by other men, but would perform no other sex acts. He did this a few times, but the pay was rather low for this type of scene and he did not want to engage in any other sex acts on film to protect his identity, therefore he decided that escorting would be a more lucrative solution. Like many young men in Prague, his first step was to launch an escort profile on www.gayromeo.com with a few headless pics of his torso, but as he was in very good shape, he had a client organized within one day of launching the profile. Within the first month, he had seen several clients and already made approximately 1000 Euro. Several clients asked to meet him again, and he quickly developed a set of regulars. The types of encounters varied greatly, from pure muscle posing and masturbation to dominant sadomasochistic role play, to active and passive anal sex. He had several offers from clients abroad (mainly in New York) who offered him much larger sums of money (1000 USD or more) however he did not have a passport and was hesitant to travel.

How did you feel about having sex with men as an escort?

Although not excited or enthusiastic about the sex, he stressed that these men were all nice to him, paid the fee (200 Euro) and often gave him an additional tip or present, and he also mentioned that they were younger and better looking than with his first experience, so he didn't find it disgusting anymore. This continued for approximately 6 months until after a fight with his girlfriend, one of the regular clients (married to a woman) offered him the chance to move into his house and be a full-time companion at a salary of 2000 Euro per month. As he had nowhere to live and found the client to be a generally nice guy, he accepted the offer and moved into his own room in the large house.

He was required to spend a few nights a week sleeping in bed with the client and engage in active and passive anal sex however the rest of the time he was basically free to do as he liked. For the first few months, he found this situation very stressful, as every aspect of his life was de facto under the control of his client, and this was the only time he reported feeling any anxiety. He discontinued his work with other clients, and began to take on more roles as a personal assistant to the client, running errands, driving him, and in general doing what needed to be done.

After several months, however, the client decided to hire him officially as an assistant, and they agreed that there would be no more sex work. During this time, he reconciled with his girlfriend, and now spends some nights per week with her and some staying at the house of his employer. The employer meanwhile has found another younger escort for a sexual relationship, apparently a pattern which

has occurred several times, as at least two other “ex-boyfriends” are still employees of his company as well.

How would you describe your sexual identity?

When I asked this question, he immediately answered that he is a bisexual. I asked how he knows that, and he said because although he is only really excited about sex with women, he also feels a “loving bond” with his employer and after many sexual encounters together, he found aspects of sex with men pleasurable. When I asked if he would have sex with other men outside of a business relationship, he was less sure, stating that maybe it could happen but at the moment he is committed to his girlfriend and they are talking about getting married.

Do you foresee yourself getting involved in sex work again in the future?

His response to this question was a definitely “no”, which he qualified, “unless absolutely necessary”. However, he did add that he had no regrets about his experiences as a male sex worker. Instead, he would like to move to the management side of the business and is working on opening an internet escort agency hiring female sex workers as a way for his girlfriend to be able to end her work as an escort, something he would like her to do so they can get married and start a family.

6. DISCUSSION

6.1 Discussion of comparison of internet escorts with sex workers in bars and clubs

Our findings regarding sex workers in public bars and clubs showed similar results to those found in previous studies of male street workers. These Czech sex workers tend to have disadvantaged childhoods, problems in school, begin their sex life much earlier than the average Czech, although the extent of these problems seems to be much less severe in Prague than among sex workers in other countries, such as Ireland (McCabe et al., 2011) or the USA (Mimiaga et al., 2007). They do however still show a tendency to be homeless, to have problems with drugs and alcohol, and engage in risky sex, but at least according to their self-reports, the rate of HIV is far lower than among sex workers in Western countries. Nevertheless, it seems they have slipped through the relatively robust social safety net of the Czech government so they have found in sex work, what at least to them, seems the only reasonable solution to their difficult life situation. Few have any real plan to find other work, they have little education, and few skills, as well as a work ethic best described by a quote from the movie *Mandragora* (1997) where a sex worker advises a new recruit that the secret to success is to *do as little work as possible for as much money as you can get*. However, even for those who manage to find regular work, some will still face stiff penalties from the government, which would garnish their legal wages for years in order to pay off the large debts they accrued for their unpaid health insurance during their time working on the black market as sex workers. Although most would prefer to get out of the business of sex work, few have any real plan how to accomplish that. Our research suggests current club owners have taken some positive steps to curb underage prostitution, discourage open drug abuse and minimize the opportunity for gambling addiction. However previous research (Smith & Seal,

2008) has suggested a supportive healthy workplace environments also play an important role in promoting safer sex, something which was not currently observed in the businesses we visited, as there were no condoms or any information about HIV available in any clubs. This should be targeted by future interventions as a potential avenue to decrease risky sexual behavior.

It is worth commenting however, on the situation in the bars and clubs, which according to the sex workers has improved in recent years. In the past, these bars were known as rather dangerous places to visit, the sex workers were often beaten or threatened by the club owners, and were subject to frequent police raids in the late 1990's mainly to control for underage boys. Now, most clubs are under new ownership and the owners take greater care to be sure boys under 18 do not enter. In addition, most of the bars have removed the casino style slot machines reducing the temptation for sex workers with cash on hand to gamble away their income, and one barman informed me that he was instructed by the management not to admit any sex workers who appear visibly under the influence of drugs, in particular, methamphetamines. These changes have improved the situation of male sex workers, who no longer seek clients in the dangerous train station and dark streets of Prague, but now have a safer environment to engage in their business. However their work conditions remain in great part at the whim of a few, mostly foreign, club owners. This combined with the fact that there were fewer violent crimes against these sex workers relative to internet escorts, does seem to suggest that the decriminalization of prostitution, combined with enforcement of laws against child prostitution and pimping, has had a rather positive effect on the conditions for male sex workers in Prague. The bars and clubs where they seek their clients offer them some sense of community as well as a less anonymous environment for potentially dangerous clients to be seen and identified.

Also surprising is the much larger group of internet escorts, precisely because they do not fit the typical profile of a sex worker. These are for the most part fairly well-educated, happy and

otherwise typical young men. Due to the ease of finding clients over the internet, their numbers seem to be only increasing with new escort profiles appearing on the web almost daily. This group of sex workers seem for the most part naïve to the inherent danger of sex work, which is in fact greater for them due to the anonymity of the internet. Nearly half of those internet escorts surveyed admitted to being the victim of a violent crime, a fact most of the young men who create internet profiles are at present are almost certainly unaware of, as there is no objective information about the escort business available for these young sex workers.

The only consistent demographic factor in our study associated with both the internet escorts and sex workers in clubs was the early onset of sexual life. This consistent with past reports (Earls & David, 1989) finding this to be more important than family or other demographic variables in determining likelihood of becoming involved in sex work.

Our study highlights the need for informational campaigns targeting both specific groups, escorts and sex workers in clubs, to advise young men of the risks and dangers inherent in sex work and to try to present a more realistic picture of the business so at least they can make an informed decision about their choice to engage in this kind of work. In addition, although there currently exist extensive services for female sex workers (www.rozkosbezrizika.cz) as well limited services directed at homeless young men (www.sance.info), there are currently no social services specifically targeting the complex needs of most male sex workers. They often may require complex services to start a new life including temporary housing, drug rehabilitation, psychological counseling services, job qualification training, as well as legal counseling, for example in working with health insurers to negotiate repayment of debts. These interventions beyond simple drug or alcohol rehabilitation and HIV information have also been found as important for community-based organizations in interviews with other sex workers (Parsons, Koken & Bimbi, 2007), however their research focused on older, more upscale and career type

sex workers. Regardless, although it has long been established that job rehabilitation for young sex workers creates an atmosphere for stable social adjustment (Allen, 1980), and that failure to create alternative opportunities will result in an inevitable decline into social ostracism, drug abuse and mental problems (Caukins & Coombs, 1976), little has been done to offer alternatives to these Czech sex workers. Informational campaigns and the creation of an outreach intervention program will be crucial to reducing the risk and harm for male sex workers in Prague. Reaching those who suffer from mental instability, for those who are currently economically successful, has proven difficult for such interventions in the past (Gandy & Deiser, 1970) and this is likely to still be true today.

6.2 Discussion of personality inventory

Regarding the seven main Temperament and Character types (Cloninger, Pryzbeck, Svrakic & Wetzel, 1994), only for the dimension of *Cooperativeness* was the overall result significantly lower than the population of adolescent Czech males. There overall lower score was derived mainly from the subscales of low *Social Acceptance*, meaning an unfriendly disposition, low *Helpfulness*, indicating an egoistic and self-centered personality, and low scores on the subscale of *Principled*, indicating a willingness to treat others in an unfair way, to lie, manipulate and deceive to serve one's own interests. This is not surprising, as engaging in sex work in Prague seems to foster little if any concern for others, and several sex workers expressed a general disdain of clients, and is consistent with other qualitative research which found asocial personalities to be more common among male sex workers (Cates & Markley, 1992). As Cloninger, Pryzbeck, Svrakic & Wetzel (1994) consider these to be a stable traits, the assumption

here is that these are character traits which probably existed prior to beginning sex work, although it seems they would likely be reinforced by this environment.

Another dimension where find elevated levels for all sex workers was observed is in the subscale of *Extravagance*, a part of the *Novelty Seeking* dimension. This tendency to try to impress others with their money and tendency to spend without regard for the future was clearly evident in the dress and style of the sex workers, who typically wore the most expensive name brand sportswear and shoes available, spending far more on fashion than is typical in the general population. It was also evident in their choice of meeting places, which were usually in upscale and very pricey bars or cafes.

Regarding the dimension of *Harm Avoidance*, only a lack of shyness around strangers achieved statistical significance, and concerning *Reward Dependence*, a significantly high level of *Sentimentality* was reported. Clearly one cannot be shy around strangers in the business of sex work, and the overly emotional personalities of these young men were sometimes evident even in the interview process, for example the respondent who returned the survey in tears. Also, a low level of *Dependence* on others was reported, consistent with previous research showing a marked distrust of others among male prostitutes (Simon, et. al. 1992). For the dimension of *Self Transcendence*, scores were elevated only for *Spiritual Acceptance*, which can indicate a degree of magical thinking, as seemed to be the case of the homeless sex worker who firmly believed that his as yet unwritten memoirs would make him rich and famous.

The dimension of *Persistence* was also elevated, but this resulted mainly from the significantly higher scores of the internet escorts on the dimensions of *Eagerness*, *Work-Hardened* and *Ambitious*. For example, all of the interviewed subjects who conveyed a clear and reasonable plan for their exit from the business came from the internet escorts, and their entry into sex work could be seen as a desire to make money at all costs to meet their goals. Such

characteristics as enthusiastic desire to meet material expectations has been suggest as one of three main pathways leading to prostitution (Leichtentritt & Arad, 2005). However, internet escorts also scored significantly lower on *Self Acceptance*, which suggests they tend to have lofty fantasies about their future, but react to challenges by becoming emotionally disturbed rather than making constructive changes. As Cloninger, Pryzbeck, Svrakic & Wetzel (1994) consider these all to be a stable personality traits, the assumption here is that these are also character traits which probably existed prior to beginning sex work, although it seems they would all likely be reinforced by this environment as well.

6.3 Discussion of mental health and sexual identity

Our general hypothesis that sex work can have a negative impact on the mental health of the sex worker was not directly substantiated. Although sex workers in bars and clubs were found to have more troubled pasts and more problems with drugs and alcohol than internet escorts (Bar-Johnson & Weiss, 2014a), there was no overall effect of the type of sex work on their mental health. Also the age of the sex worker, the amount of time they have been in the business or the number of clients they see on average have no relationship to their mental health. The type and amount of sexual activities both in their private life and in their work life were also unrelated to their mental health, suggesting that sex work per se does not play a direct role in the mental health of the sex workers, although the overall level of mental distress was relatively high with nearly half of the overall sample reporting clinical levels of depression and roughly a third reporting clinical levels of anxiety (Bar-Johnson & Weiss, 2014b).

In our sample, the majority of male sex workers investigated were not in fact homosexual, but heterosexual or bisexual. Although great care was taken that any man engaged in sex work at

the time had a chance to be selected for the study and response rates were high, it is never possible to obtain a representative sample. Therefore we should not draw any firm conclusions about the exact percentages of gay-for-pay sex workers in the Czech Republic, although our percentages are similar to that of previous research on MSW in the USA (Boles & Elifson, 1994; Ross et al., 2007; Grov & Seal, 2008;).

Many of these bisexual men reported levels of anxiety which can be classified as moderate to severe, significantly higher than that reported by their homosexual and heterosexual peers. Nothing in the study suggested an alternative explanation for these differences in negative outcomes other than their sexual orientation. The most common interpretation of these results is that these bisexuals are in fact ego-dystonic homosexuals, resulting in increased stress and a negative impact on their mental health. This would be consistent with the finding that homosexuals who had previously identified as bisexuals were consistently less positive about their sexual identity and less comfortable with others knowing their identity than those who developed a homosexual identity directly (Rosario, Schrimshaw, Hunter, & Braun, 2006). Bisexual men have also been found to hold more homophobic attitudes, and perceive others as less accepting of homosexual activity than homosexual men (Stokes, Venable, & McKirnan, 1997). A study in neighboring Germany found this negative perception to be true in the general public as well, with men in a national survey rating male bisexuality as the least favorable group compared with gays, lesbians, transgendered individuals and bisexual females (Steffens & Wagner, 2004). As the principal investigator, my experience from spending time in the clubs confirmed that the sex workers seemed to appear stereotypically hypermasculine: drinking beer, watching football, rough-housing and talking in sexually explicit ways about women while referring to homosexuals in a derogatory fashion.

Another explanation for anxiety in bisexual male sex workers may come from the general theory of minority stress (for a comprehensive review, see Meyer, 2003). As homosexuality and bisexuality are viewed less favorably by society, those individuals who identify with these groups have increased stress due to the vigilance necessary to deal with this prejudice. However, this effect is reduced among people who make a positive identification with others in their group and take advantage of extra support which their community offers. Although I do not know the reason that respondents selected a bisexual identity, the possibility exists that bisexuals choose their identity not out of a sense of pride in their sexual identity, but rather as a way of proving that they are somehow more similar to the dominant heterosexual culture than the minority homosexual culture from which they draw their clients. This is a catch 22 since the dominant heterosexual culture tends to reject them by grouping them together with homosexuals (Eliason, 1997) and their clients, whom they often appear to hold in disdain. In addition, they may not be accepted by the gay community who may regard them as in denial about their homosexuality. It is also possible that they simply avoid seeking acceptance by the gay community because their experiences, needs and interests are different, which in turn excludes them from the mutual support which the gay community offers to homosexuals. For this reason, future research also needs to establish the attitudes of male bisexual sex workers towards the LGBT community as well. It did not seem that there was any grouping among the sex workers along the lines of sexual identity or orientation; rather it seemed this was a private matter best concealed from co-workers.

Previous research has suggested that increased depression and anxiety are more typical of bisexuals who later move towards identification as homosexual. More symptoms of psychological distress were found in approximately two thirds of a sample of over 500 American bisexuals who later identified as homosexual than among the one third whose bisexual identity remained stable (Stokes, Damon & McKirnan, 1997). Therefore a partial explanation of our

findings could be due to the fact that some of these men who identified as bisexual in our sample are in fact homosexuals who have not yet come to accept this identification. However, a longitudinal study would be necessary to substantiate this claim of ego-dystonic homosexuality and to assume this to be the only reason would certainly be an oversimplification.

It seems that in our sample, self-identifying as a bisexual does not provide a stable basis of identity beyond its definition as a person who has sex with both males and females and it does not seem to provide any sense of community. In the case of these bisexual male sex workers, they may fear being ostracized by their heterosexual peers as being homosexuals if it is discovered that they engage in recreational sex with men, while at the same time they may distance themselves from the gay community by emphasizing their desire for sex with women and playing a macho and homophobic role. It would therefore seem that their bisexual identity offers them none of the support of belonging to a sexual minority, but incurs the greatest prejudice against them. It remains to be established if this is due to the low number of bisexuals in the Czech population (Weiss & Zvěřina, 2001), a lack of organizations specifically supporting bisexuals in the Czech Republic, or perhaps because bisexuals rarely share their identity in the same way as homosexuals. It could be this self-imposed isolation from other self-identified bisexuals which leads to a high degree of alienation and results in feelings of anxiety.

One might expect that the stigma associated with gay-for-pay behavior may be mitigated by the liberal views of Czechs regarding sexuality in general (Weiss & Zvěřina, 2001), as well as their pragmatic view towards earning money. A comment indicative of this pragmatism occurred in one of our preliminary interviews with sex workers during the design phase of the study. The principal investigator asked one heterosexual escort from an industrial region in the northwestern part of the country if it was difficult for him as a heterosexual to perform sex acts with other men, to which he replied, *it's better than working in the (coal) mines*. This pragmatic view is also

evident in a 2005 case where a popular Czech television station, TV Nova, aired their version of the Big Brother series. One of the (heterosexual male) housemates was expelled by the producers when it was revealed he had made gay pornography in the past, but public outcries of unfairness had him reinstated on the show¹. In a country where the sex business is everywhere and salaries are generally low, it seems Czechs as a society do not have any problem accepting that heterosexuals can perform homosexual acts for money and it should not affect their perceived sexual orientation or their favorability as a public figure. Yet despite the relatively open Czech culture, it still it seems that for this group of sex workers, a bisexual identity is a clear predictor of psychological distress. This raises several important factors to consider for future studies of male sex workers. It is important for future researchers working with male sex workers to consider including a test of internalized homophobia to assess their attitudes towards their own sexual identity and then to establish the extent of LGBT groups or services provided for and utilized by bisexual sex workers as well as their attitudes towards these groups.

Our study did not support our main hypothesis, that sex work can be directly associated with mental health problems. Our findings do suggest the issue of sexual identity is an important issue to consider when looking at the mental health of male sex workers. This is important for social service organizations in order to address the needs of male sex workers in general, as well as the understanding that a bisexual identity can be a simple predictor of other problems when working with these sex workers individually. In conclusion, although many of the sex workers in the study reported levels of symptoms which would qualify them for diagnosis of depression or anxiety, for homosexuals and heterosexuals engaging in sex work in the Czech Republic, problems with psychological health are not as prevalent as for those who consider themselves bisexual.

¹ News (in Czech) about Filip Trojovský and Big Brother: http://aktualne.centrum.cz/tema/big-brother_688/filip_702/

6.4 Discussion: Case study

Since there is little longitudinal research about the career of a male sex worker, I feel that this small case study warrants inclusion in this manuscript, not because it is typical, or meant to explain the results, but because I feel it provides at least some overview of how a straight young man may come to view himself as a bisexual. Clearly this is a case of a man who had a relatively short and productive career as a sex worker, which allowed him to achieve his goals with a minimum of hardship, and even moments of empowerment. The anxiety which he did experience seemed to be associated with his lack of power in the relationship, rather than because of the actual sexual acts he performed.

His story of forming a close bond with his regular client is reminiscent of the types of stories related by Walby (2012) in his interviews with high-end career internet escorts in Toronto, London, and New York. The only difference is that he chose not to make international escorting a career, but rather continued to view it as a short term solution to his financial and housing problems with the goal to eventually leave the business as soon as it would be viable. This difference is most likely due to the fact that the escorts interviewed by Walby were gay, whereas this case involves the case of a predominantly heterosexual with self-confessed bisexual feelings. Although this story so far has a happy ending, it is simply one case study and in no way should be considered typical of Prague escorts on the whole. It demonstrates how a young man with no homosexual experiences can easily become involved in the gay porn and escorting industry in Prague, and what may be a possible progression which in this case is probably the best case scenario. It however does not necessarily reflect the experiences of the majority of the sex workers with participated in our study, whose fate remains unknown.

However, it does introduce an interesting additional hypothesis to explain the high levels of anxiety among the bisexuals in our study. These are young men in a period of transition in their own sexual identities, and a transition from a heteronormative identity to one which is deemed much less socially unacceptable by both the general population as well as the gay community. Our original conclusion that many of these bisexuals could be suffering from anxiety due to the stress of transitioning to a homosexual identity, but this case suggests there may also be a subset of bisexual sex workers who are in fact transitioning from a heterosexual identity to a bisexual one. It is certainly possible that a portion of our respondents were suffering from anxiety around their reevaluation of their own heterosexuality. Hall (2007) reported on some formerly straight boys who found themselves involved in long term relationships, originally based on money, but later also on emotional attachment, and this could lead to a reorganization of their own sexual identity to that of bisexual. It could be more reminiscent of a form of pederasty which was common in previous centuries (Naphy, 2006; Kaye in Minicello & Scott, 2014), when young working class boys were mentored by older affluent men seeking sexual encounters, but also providing a valuable life skills which would eventually allow them to create a better life for themselves than would have been possible without such assistance. Homosexuality and bisexuality were not labeled at that time in the same way unless the males were very feminine in their behavior, so there was probably less pressure from society to form a bisexual identity than today when LGBT rights are on the rise and with increased social acceptance has come an increased pressure to amend one's sexual identity to reflect one's sexual behaviors. This group of heterosexuals transitioning to a bisexual identity could also account for a portion of the observed anxiety in our study, in the same way as those who are transitioning to a homosexual identity.

6.5 Contrasts with other research on male sex workers

The trend in research on male sex works has progressed through stages over the years (for a complete review see Minichiello & Scott, 2014). Early research focused on pathological characteristics of the sex workers as deviants, later during the AID crisis, as a vector for disease into the mainstream population, and later as a cause of psychological problems. The latest trend has been towards legitimizing sex work and attempting to reduce the stigma of this career option, however, it is our argument, that the research in this new tradition focuses too heavily on the modern economies of American, Western Europe and Asia, and does not take into account the issues of income disparity across developing regions. Male sex workers in Prague have experiences more similar to those in other former soviet countries and in modern Russia, but with fewer social prejudices against them. For the majority of sex workers in Prague, this is not a viable career, nor was there any other realistic option for them when they began this type of work. Once they begin to engage in sex work, they find the lifestyle too attractive to leave until their age or appearance forces them to, as they become accustomed to making good money for little effort.

One important reason for the discrepancy between our findings that many sex workers experienced symptoms of psychological distress and the relatively well adjusted participants of the study by Walby (2012) is that of the 550 escorts he contacted, from which 30 agreed to participate in his research, for a response rate of approximately 5%. He found that these escorts had primarily positive experiences and formed relationships with their clients, as in our case study above. It may be a fair deduction that 5% is a realistic number to represent those escorts with a sufficiently positive story that they would agree to such invasive interviews, and therefore it is no surprise that this small percentage of sex workers find their work to be what Walby was

inspired to title his book: *Touching Encounters*. Our research is in agreement with Walby that sex workers who identify as gay do indeed have fewer problems and are more likely to report a positive experience from sex work. However, in Prague at least, gay male sex workers are in the minority, and our response rate was over 70%, suggesting it may give a broader picture of sex work as a whole in the Czech Republic.

6.6 Limitations of the research

Although obtaining a true representative sample is not possible for this type of population, care was taken that the broadest possible sample of males currently engaged in sex work in Prague would have the possibility to be selected for the study. Also, recent research by Savin-Williams (2014) has pointed out the problem with using the traditional three category system of asking participants to report their sexual orientation, heterosexual, bisexual or homosexual. They found the category of bisexuality to be poorly defined as a label. In a study conducted by Vranglova and Savin-Williams (2014) evidence for an additional category, mostly heterosexual, was found to have some validity, and I believe had this category been added in my research, it would have offered a better view into which respondents truly feel an equal attraction to both sexes and respondents who are predominantly heterosexual yet have developed strong emotional and/or physical connections with their same-sex clients leading them to experiment more with same sex behavior. It is my opinion that future research particularly among male escorts would benefit greatly from this additional sub-category. Also, it is imperative that health care workers acknowledge bisexuality and accept it as a legitimate orientation (Dodge et al., 2012).

6.7 Future Research

An important area for further research on sex work in the Czech Republic should be on the gay pornography industry, due to its close connection with the sex work industry. This would provide a better picture of how young men are recruited into both industries. Finally, our informal conversations with the participants, particularly with the internet escorts, raised the interesting question of how working as a sex worker impacts the personal relationships and partnerships of these young men as well as its impact on their partners, an area which has received little attention in the scientific literature. Further, the possibility exists that in the Czech Republic, sexual identities may not be as stable for men as previously supposed. This would be an excellent study population to investigate further the nature of bisexuality.

In the last 5 years, research in the area of male sex work has exploded, however, there are vast cultural differences, and a wide variety of types of sex work which make drawing generalizations difficult if not impossible. One thing which is missing in nearly all of this research is data on the long term effects of sex work. Smith and Grov (2011) provide a good example of how a small “family-run” brothel can be a positive experience, and it is quite similar to one of the bars in which we conducted our interviews. A good natured owner provided conditions which were positive for the boys who worked there and created a sense of community, however, their study ends when the owner suddenly disappears. Oddly enough, the disappearance of the owner in their study roughly coincides with the appearance of this new and friendly American owner of the club here in Prague, but any suggestion they are the same person would obviously be pure conjecture. The point being, that we do not really have any information about the long term career outlook for these young sex workers, and so at least in Prague, it is still premature to attempt to normalize sex work. Although there have been great economic

strides in the last 20 years, Czech Republic remains a poor country relative to its rich German neighbor, and as a result, male sex workers in Prague still play on a rather uneven playing field.

7. CONCLUSION

Regarding sex work as a whole, the Czech Republic has been and will likely continue to be a destination for sex tourism and more should be done for the health and safety of both male and female sex workers. Although many of them support the legalization of sex work in theory, for the system to work, it would be necessary to exert some influence on the demand as well. It seems that the most effective legislative changes would involve both a clear and easy system for sex workers to become legal entrepreneurs with all the health and social benefits of working legally but also to deter black market sex work by making it a crime to solicit sex from an unregistered sex worker. This would provide all the benefits of legalization while avoiding the pitfall of generating more demand and a de facto an increase in sex work on the whole. It would also deter young people with an idealized view of sex work from entering this profession without forethought by decreasing the demand for young sex workers who have not been properly registered and informed of the risks.

9. SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

- **The majority of male sex workers surveyed reported either a heterosexual or bisexual orientation while the smallest group of respondents were the homosexual sex workers.**
- **Early coital debut was reported by nearly all respondents, beginning at around 14 years of age, however, sexual abuse in childhood was not reported more often than in the general population.**
- **Most respondents began sex work around the age of 20, for a significant number, this was following their career as a gay porn actor.**
- **Sex workers in the Czech Republic come almost exclusively from the Czech or Slovak Republics, although the vast majority of their clients are foreigners, indicating that the Czech Republic is a destination for sex tourism, particularly from Germany.**
- **The majority of sex workers began, and continue, to engage in sex work out of financial necessity, even though most would prefer to find other types of work, few have a concrete plan how to do so.**
- **Although overall about half of the sex workers were single, a majority of the heterosexual respondents reported a female partner and no bisexual respondents reported any serious relationship; of those with partners, 60% did not report using a condom for protection with their partner, although all but one (who had not been tested) reported a negative HIV status.**

- **A few casual sexual encounters outside of work were reported by a majority of homosexual sex workers and some heterosexual sex workers, however bisexual sex workers reported more than double the number of casual sex partners each month over the other two groups.**
- **Bisexual respondents reported the highest amount of nearly all types of sexual acts both at work and in private with both males and females, indicating hypersexuality in this group.**
- **Many sex workers were victims of violence or rape by their clients, however none of them reported these incidents to authorities and this risk was higher for Internet escorts than for those working in bars and clubs.**
- **Sex workers, particularly from the group of Internet escorts, did not differ significantly from the average Czech youth in education, upbringing or personality, and even the workers in bars and clubs are less troubled than the kinds of street workers engaging in male sex work typically found in other cities around the world.**
- **More than half of the sex workers in general reported symptoms of at least mild depression and anxiety, however significantly more bisexual sex workers in particular reported anxiety which met the criteria for clinical diagnosis of a mental disorder.**
- **Alcohol and drug use was reported more frequently by sex workers in bars and clubs, especially methamphetamines**

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V. SURVEY

1. V dětství jsem vyrůstal:
 - S oběma rodiči
 - Pouze s matkou
 - Pouze s otcem
 - Střídavě u matky a u otce
 - U jiných příbuzných (například prarodičů)
 - Bez rodičů, a to:
 - V dětském domově
 - V ústavu (pastáku)
 - V náhradní rodinné péči

2. Své dětství považuji za:
 - Spokojené, šťastné
 - Nešťastné, špatné

3. Svou výchovu považuji za:
 - Přísnou, tvrdou (tělesné tresty, bití)
 - Ani přísnou ani laskavou
 - Laskavou, milující

4. Můj vztah k rodičům v současné době:
 - Žádný kontakt
 - Nepravidelný / občasný kontakt
 - Mám pravidelný kontakt s rodiči, ale zároveň s nimi mám hodně problémů
 - Mám asi normální vztah s rodiči, jako každý ve mém věku
 - Považoval bych můj vztah s rodiči jako velmi dobrý

5. Teď bydlím: *(pokud se situace často mění, můžete označit více možností)*
 - U rodičů / s rodinou
 - Sám v bytě
 - S partnerem / kou
 - V pronajmutím bytě s dalšími lidmi
 - V ubytovně, v práci nebo škole
 - Nemám pravidelné místo bydlení, ale většinou najdu místo u kamarádů
 - Nemám pravidelné místo bydlení, a stane se, že musím spát na ulici nebo ve zařízení pro bezdomovce

6. Ve škole, jsem měl prospěch:
 - Špatný (stalo se, že jsem i propadnul)
 - Průměrný
 - Dobrý

7. Ve škole jsem:

- Měl hodně problémů s chováním
- Měl jen malé problémy s chováním – stejně jako každý
- Neměl žádné problémy s chováním

8. Kolik let školy nebo učení jste ukončil dohromady?

(včetně základní školy, učňáku, střední nebo vysoké školy)? ____ let

9. Sexuální orientace:

- Homosexuální (gay)
- Bisexuální
- Heterosexuální
- Nevím/Nejsem si jistý

10. V současné době mám stálý partnerský vztah, trvající déle než 1 měsíc:

- Ne
- Ano
 - Pokud ano, vztah je s
 - mužem
 - ženou

Kolik sexuálních styků jste měl s partnerem/kou v posledním měsíci? ____ krát

Používáte kondom při styky s partnerem/kou?

- Vždy
- Příležitostně
- Ne

11. Kolik náhodných partnerů (mužů) jste měl za poslední měsíc? ____ (pokud žádného - pište 0)

- Pokud ano, používáte kondom při styky s náhodným partnerem?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne

12. Kolik náhodných partnerek (žen) jste měl za poslední měsíc? ____ (pokud žádnou - pište 0)

- Pokud ano, používáte kondom při styky s náhodnou partnerkou?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne

13. V jakém věku jste měl první soulož se ženou?

- Neměl jsem žádný
- Bylo mi (kolik let?): _____
 - Byla to:
 - Stálá partnerka
 - Náhodný styk (na jednu noc)
 - A byla to žena:
 - Přibližně mého věku
 - Podstatně starší

14. V jakém věku jste měl **první** soulož s mužem?

- Bylo mi (kolik let?): _____
 - Byl to:
 - Stálý partner
 - Náhodný styk (na jednu noc)
 - Pracovní styk
 - A byl to muž:
 - Přibližně mého věku
 - Podstatně starší

15. Byl jste někdy sexuálně zneužit v dětství?

- Ne
- Ano

Pokud ano, bylo to:

- Jednou
- Opakovaně

A ten člověk byl (*můžete označit více*)

- Někdo z rodiny
- Známý člověk - dospělý
- Neznámý člověk

Ohledně Vaši současné práce jako eskort, či prostitute, či poskytovatel sexuální služby:

16. Odhad průměrný počet klientů **za měsíc** : ____

17. Počet klientů za poslední měsíc (za poslední 30 dní): ____

18. Kolik let poskytujete profesionální sexuální služby? ____ let

Pokud méně než 1 rok, ____ měsíců

19. Pracuji především:

- Samostatně, doma nebo u klientů
- Pro klub / hotel, který je specializován na poskytování sexuálních služeb

20. Najdu své klienty (označte vše tykající):

- Ve spolupráci se specializovanými kluby/hotely, které poskytují sexuální služby
- Samostatně na internetu / či inzerce
- Samostatně v gay klubech
- Samostatně na ulici či ve věřených prostorách
- S pomocí prostředníků, kterým platím podíl

21. Odhadněte podíl, jaká část vašich klientů jsou Češi a jaké procento pochází z ciziny?:

___ % Češi / Slováci

___% Cizinci , z nich největší počet pochází z jaké země?

- Německo/Rakousko
- Anglie
- Amerika
- Ostatní: _____
- Nevím/ je to různé

Sexuální chování: *Prosím odhadněte, kolikrát za poslední měsíc jste praktikoval následující sexuální aktivity. (Nnezáleží, zda byl s jedním nebo více partnery)*

22. Nechal jste muže honit Vaše péro za peníze (**pracovně**) za poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? ___ (za posledních 30 dní)

23. Nechal jste muže honit Vaše péro v soukromí (**nepracovně**) v poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? ___ (za posledních 30 dní)

24. Honil jste péro někoho za peníze (**pracovně**) v poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? ___

25. Honil jste péro někoho v soukromí (**nepracovně**) v poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? ___

26. Nechal jste muže vykourit Vaše péro za peníze (**pracovně**) za poslední měsíc?
- Ne
 - Ano, a to kolikrát? ____
 - A používal jste kondom?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne
27. Nechal jste muže Vaše péro vykourit v soukromí (**nepracovně**) v poslední měsíc?
- Ne
 - Ano, a to kolikrát? ____
 - A používal jste kondom?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne
28. Vykouřil jste někomu za peníze (**pracovně**) za poslední měsíc?
- Ne
 - Ano, a to kolikrát? ____
 - A používal kondom?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne
29. Vykouřil jste někomu v soukromí (**nepracovně**) za poslední měsíc?
- Ne
 - Ano, a to kolikrát? ____
 - A používal kondom?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne
30. Měl jste pasivní roli při análním styku (jeho penis do Vašeho zadku) za peníze (**pracovně**) za poslední měsíc?
- Ne
 - Ano, a to kolikrát? ____
 - A používal kondom?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne

31. Měl jste pasivní roli při análním styku v soukromí (**nepracovně**) za poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? ____
 - A používal kondom?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne

32. Měl jste aktivní roli (Váš penis do jeho zadku) při análním styku za peníze (**pracovně**) v poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? ____
 - A používal jste kondom?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne

33. Měl jste aktivní roli při análním styku v soukromí (**nepracovně**) za poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? ____
 - A používal jste kondom?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne

34. Nechal jste muže lízat Váš zadek za peníze (**pracovně**) za poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? ____

35. Nechal jste muže lízat Váš zadek v soukromí (**nepracovně**) v poslední měsíc ?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? ____

36. Lízal jste zadek někoho jiného (muže) za peníze (**pracovně**) za poslední měsíc ?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? ____

37. Lízal jste zadek někoho jiného (muž) v soukromí (**nepracovně**) za poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? ____

Sex s ženami

38. Nechal jste **ženu** honit Vaše péro za poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? _____

39. Nechal jste **ženu** vykouřit Vaše péro za poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? _____
 - A používal jste kondom?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne

40. Měl jste soulož do pochvy s ženou za poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? _____
 - A používal jste kondom?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne

41. Měl jste anální styk s **ženou** za poslední měsíc?

- Ne
- Ano, a to kolikrát? _____
 - A používal jste kondom?
 - Vždy
 - Příležitostně
 - Ne

Pracovní podmínky

42. Poskytování sexuálních služeb je:

- Můj jediný zdroj peněz, nic jiného nepodnikám
- Můj jediný zdroj peněz, ale současně dobu i studuji
- Můj hlavní zdroj peněz, ale mám i pracovní poměr jinde
- Mam hlavní pracovní poměr jinde, ale vydělávám si peníze navíc touto cestou

43. Jaká je Vaše průměrná sazba za hodinu? _____ (v Kč)

44. Jaká je Vaše průměrná sazba za celou noc? _____ (v Kč)

45. Pokud lze platit zvlášť, jaká je průměrná sazba za vyhonění péra? _____ (ve Kč)
46. Pokud lze platit zvlášť, jaká je průměrná sazba za vykouření péra? _____ (ve Kč)
47. Pokud lze platit zvlášť, jaká je průměrná sazba za anální styk? _____ (ve Kč)
48. Stalo se, že jste bral víc peníze za sex bez kondomu?
- Ne
 - Ano
49. Typický výdělek za sexuální služby měsíčně (Kč - čistý příjem):
- Pod 5 000
 - Mezi 5 000 – 10 000
 - Mezi 10 000 – 15 000
 - Mezi 15 000 – 20 000
 - Nad 20 000
50. Typický výdělek za práci **NETýkající se** sexuální služby měsíčně (Kč – čistý příjem):
- Pod 5 000
 - Mezi 5 000 – 10 000
 - Mezi 10 000 – 15 000
 - Mezi 15 000 – 20 000
 - Nad 20 000
51. Pracuji v současné době taky jako porno herec:
- Ne
 - Ano
 - A pracoval jsem:
 - Nejdříve jako porno herec, pak jako poskytovatel soukromé sexuální služby
 - Nejdříve jako poskytovatel soukromé sexuální služby, a pak jako porno-herec
52. Myslíte si, že poskytování sexuální služeb jako prostitut by mělo být zcela legální jako je například v Holandsku?
- Ano
 - Ne
 - Nevím
53. Pokud by se tak stalo, a prostituce byla legální v ČR, registroval byste se jako prostitut na živnostenský úřad?
- Ano
 - Ne
 - Nevím

54. Při práci jako poskytovatel sexuální služby:

Byl jsi fyzicky napaden klientem?

- Ne
- Ano

Pokud ano, bylo to:

- Jednou
- Opakovaně, a to kolikrát? _____

A bylo to tak vážné, že jste vyhledal lékařskou pomoc?

- Ne
- Ano

A mělo to trvalé následky (například jizvu)?

- Ne
- Ano

Oznámil jste někdo tuto událost policii?

- Ne
- Ano

Pokud Ano, byl někdo obviněn ze spáchání činu?

- Ne
- Ano
- Nevím

55. S klientem, byl jste někdy donucen k sexuálnímu aktu, s kterým jste nesouhlasil?

- Ne
- Ano

Pokud ano, bylo to:

- Jednou
- Opakovaně, a to kolikrát? _____

Byl jste i násilím přinucen k pasivnímu análnímu styku?

- Ne
- Ano

Pokud ano, používal pachatel kondom?

- Ne
- Ano

56. Rozhodl jsem se začít pracovat v oblasti poskytování sexuální služby:

- Protože mi někdo nabídl peníze za sex, tak jsem to zkusil
- Sám jsem se rozhodl, bez ovlivňování nikoho jiného, a začínal jsem hledat klienty sám
- Známy, který už měl takovou práci, mi to doporučil
- Viděl jsem inzerát, kde hledali takovéto pracovníky pro kluby
- V klubu mě někdo oslovil a informoval mě o možnosti dělat takovou práci
- Jinak: _____

57. Můj hlavní důvod zkusit tuto práci byl:

- Vydělat rychle peníze pro nutné potřeby (jídlo, nájem, pro základní životní potřeby)
- Vydělat peníze navíc, abych si zlepšil životní úroveň
- Protože mám rád sex, je zajímavé si takto vydělávat
- Jiný důvod: _____

58. Se svou prací poskytováním sexuální služby jsem spokojen (*zakroužkujte pouze jedno číslo*):

Plně nespokojen 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 *úplně spokojen*

59. Mám pocit ze vliv mé práce na mě osobně je:

- Většinou pozitivní, cítím se lépe, sebevědoměji
- Nemá žádný vliv na mě osobně, je to jen práce
- Většinou negativní, cítím se hůř, ponížený

60. Do blízké budoucnosti:

- Jsem spokojen se svou prací, a neplánuji žádnou změnu
- Už mám určité plány, jak změnit svou práci v budoucnu
- Rád bych změnil práci, ale jen pokud najdu takovou, kde bych si vydělal stejně
- Plánuji najít si něco jiného co nejdříve, i za horší platební podmínky
- Jiný názor: _____

○

61. Jsem:

- HIV negativní (ne, nemám „AIDS“)
- HIV pozitivní (ano, mám „AIDS“)
- Nevím

62. Kdy jste se naposledy nechal testovat na HIV?

- Ne, jsem HIV pozitivní
- Nikdy jsem nebyl na testu HIV
- Byl jsem na testu během posledních 6ti měsíců
- Byl jsem na testu před více než 6ti měsíci

63. Jak často chodíte na testy?

- Ne, jsem HIV pozitivní
- Pravidelně, minimálně jednou za půl roku
- Pravidelně, minimálně jednou za rok
- Nepravidelně
- Nikdy

64. Byla Vám v životě diagnostikována nějaká sexuální choroba? Označte případně více.

- Gonorea (kapavka)
- Syfilida
- Hepatitida (Žloutenka)
- Ostatní (které): _____

65. Pro všech následující drogy, označte kroužkem Vaše zkušenosti:

	Nikdy jsem nezkoušel	Zkoušel jsem jenom párkrát	Užívám příležitostně	Užívám to pravidelně (alespoň 1x za týden)	Užívám to (skoro) denně	Cítím se na tom závislý
Cigarety	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Alkohol	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Marihuana/tráva	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Extasí	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pervitine/Piko/Perník	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kokaine	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Heroin/Subotex	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Něco jiného: (jaký?)						
-----	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

66. Zkušenosti s hraním na hracích automatech	Nikdy jsem nezkoušel	Zkoušel jsem jen párkrát	Hraju jen příležitostně	Hraju pravidelně (alespoň 1x za týden)	Hraju (skoro) denně
	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

67. Zaměstnání - Jsem:

- Student
- Zaměstnanec (přihlášený)
- Pracuju brigádně (nepřihlášený)
- Nezaměstnaný

68. Mám zdravotní pojištění:

- Ano
- Ne

69. Osobní Údaje:

Věk: _____

70. Národnost:

- Čech
- Slovák
- Ostatní

71. Pocházím původem z:

- rahy a okolí
- Střední Čechy
- Východní Čechy
- Severní Čechy
- Jižní Čechy
- Severní Morava
- Jižní Morava
- Slovensko
- Ostatní – Žádný z předešlých

Příloha č. 1

Prohlášení:

Prohlašuji, že jsem závěrečnou práci zpracoval samostatně a že jsem řádně uvedl a citoval všechny použité prameny a literaturu. Současně prohlašuji, že práce nebyla využita k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu

Souhlasím trvalým uložením elektronické verze mé práce v databázi systému meziuniverzitního projektu Theses.cz za účelem soustavné kontroly podobnosti kvalifikačních prací.

V Praze, 9.1.2015

Michael Bar-Johnson

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Bar-Johnson', written over a light gray rectangular background.

Podpis

Příloha č.2

Identifikační záznam:

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Univerzita Karlova v Praze

1. lékařská fakulta

Autoreferát disertační práce



Sexual and psychological aspects of the lives of male sex workers in Prague

Michael Bar-Johnson

2015

Doktorské studijní programy v biomedicíně

Univerzita Karlova v Praze a Akademie věd České republiky

Obor: Lékařská psychologie a psychopatologie

Předseda oborové rady: **Prof. MUDr. Jiří Raboch, DrSc.**

Školící pracoviště: **Sexuologický ústav, Apolinářská 4, 128 00 Praha 2**

Školitel: **Prof. PhDr. Petr Weiss, Ph.D.**

Disertační práce bude nejméně pět pracovních dnů před konáním obhajoby zveřejněna k nahlížení veřejnosti v tištěné podobě na Oddělení pro vědeckou činnost a zahraniční styky Děkanátu 1. lékařské fakulty.

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Abstrakt

Hlavní město České Republiky Praha je oblíbenou sexuální turistickou destinací pro muže, kteří vyhledávají sexuální služby mužů. Nabízení sexuálních služeb je zde pokládáno za trestný čin a v porovnání se zeměmi západní Evropy nabízejí mladí muži své sexuální služby za nízké ceny. Tento kvantitativní výzkum si klade za cíl identifikovat některé demografické a osobní charakteristiky těchto mladých mužů v sexuálním průmyslu. Na jaře 2011 eskorti přes internet ($N=20$) a muži nabízející sexuální služby v barech a klubech ($N=20$) vyplnili anonymně dotazník. Výsledky poukazují na to, že zatímco muži nabízející sexuální služby v klubech mají za sebou problémovou minulost a často nabízejí své služby v sexuálním průmyslu za účelem ekonomického přežití, je v Praze větší skupina sexuálních pracovníků - eskortů přes internet, kteří pocházejí ze zázemí typického pro průměrnou Českou mládež. Výsledky testů osobnosti ale zjistily, že se obě skupiny prokazují silnou asociální povahou v porovnání s běžnou Českou mládeží. Výsledky výzkumu o duševním zdraví (úzkost a deprese) poukazují na to, že práce muže jako sexuálního pracovníka sama o sobě nesouvisí s jeho zdravým psychickým stavem, pokud se neoznačí za homosexuála. Označení se za heterosexuála souvisí s vyšší mírou užívání návykových látek. U těch, kteří se označili za bisexuály bylo zjištěno, že trpí významně větší mírou úzkosti klinického rozsahu a je více pravděpodobné, že pravidelně užívají tvrdé drogy a to především metamfetamin. Jsou popsány skutečnosti pro výzkum sexuální identity a její dopad na studii mužů pracujících v sexuálním průmyslu společně s návrhy na intervenci, která by těmto mužům pomohla, kdyby změnili zaměstnání. V závěru je popsán sociokulturní kontext, který je důležitý pro pochopení činnosti sexuálních pracovníků.

Abstract

Prague, the Czech Republic is a popular sex tourism destination where sex work is decriminalized and young men offer sexual services at low prices relative to countries in Western Europe. This quantitative survey aims to identify some of the demographic and personality characteristics of these young men in the sex industry. Internet escorts ($N=20$) and sex workers in bars and clubs ($N=20$) completed the survey anonymously in the Spring of 2011. The results show that while sex workers in clubs often have troubled pasts and were forced into sex work in order to survive, the larger groups of sex workers in Prague is made up of internet escorts who have backgrounds which are not atypical for the average Czech youth. Personality test results however revealed both groups to have strong asocial characteristics in comparison to other Czech youth. The results of the measures of mental health (anxiety and depression) indicate that simply working as a male sex worker per se has little relationship to the healthy psychological functioning of these young men, but only in the case where they identify as homosexual. Identifying as a heterosexual is associated with a higher level of substance use. Those identifying as bisexual however reported suffering significantly levels of anxiety within the clinical range and were more likely to regularly use hard drugs, mainly methamphetamines. Implications for the study of sexual identity and its impact on research with male sex workers are discussed as well as plans for interventions to help those who would change their line of work and the importance of the sociocultural context in the understanding of the sex worker.

Introduction

The Czech Republic after the fall of communism has become a sex tourism destination (Golgo, 2003). It is fueled by a society which is tolerant towards sexual issues, an economy which until today pays relatively low wages relative to countries in Western Europe and a thriving pornography industry which promotes Czech sexuality to the world. In particular, the gay pornography industry focuses on films with actors rarely older than 18 or 19 years old, but often appearing much younger (Marritz, 2007) which attracts many sex tourists seeking sex with men, in particular younger boys. Sex work is currently decriminalized in the Czech Republic, meaning it is not a crime for individuals to offer sexual services if they are over the age of 18. Although, pimping or the selling of sexual services by a third party is illegal, both the age requirement and the prohibition on pimping can be difficult to enforce in practice.

Hall (2007a) provides an overview of the situation for male sex workers in Prague in his ethnographic study on the exchange of sex for money in young Czech men. Little has changed since his report; sex workers have for the most part been driven from the street and train stations by police, and so they offer their services mainly in bars and clubs which cater specifically to sex workers and their clients, or they offer their services via internet portals for male escorts. Police control of the bars has also limited the number of underage sex workers, but not eliminated it. This is particularly problematic among internet escorts where there is no age verification process required to create an online advertisement.

Government health officials have estimated among all sex workers in the Czech Republic, 5% are males (Mann & Tarantola, 1996). Male sex workers in the Czech Republic have already

been the topic of qualitative research (Hall, 2007b), and film documentaries from the Polish director, Wiktor Grodecki, such as *Not Angels But Angels* (1994) and *Body Without a Soul* (1996) as well as the fictionalized film *Mandragora* (1997). Other interesting case studies of young male sex workers have also been assembled by a leading Czech journalist into the book, *Your Son the Prostitute* (Vlašík, 2009). To date however, quantitative research has only been devoted to the study of female sex workers, (Zikmundová & Weiss, 2003; Zikmundová & Weiss, 2004). No quantitative research has yet addressed male sex workers in the Czech Republic.

Hypotheses and Aims of the Project

One purpose of this study was to compare the experiences of both internet escorts and sex workers who offer their services in bars and clubs, and add to the growing body of research on sex work in the Czech Republic. Another aim of the research was to investigate what role sexual orientation or sexual identity plays in the lives of sex workers.

Our study also sought to provide some quantitative confirmation that there also exists a higher incidence of bisexuals among male sex workers (MSW) than in the general population. If so, based on previous research regarding bisexuals in general, we sought to investigate if there also exists a higher incidence of psychological distress in the form of mood or anxiety disorders among bisexuals in this uniquely sexual work environment.

Our study further aimed to investigate the psychological effects on the mental health of sex work of these male sex workers in general. For many young men, this type of work is a means of survival and it is seen as easy money so it is attractive not only to homosexuals, but any

young man who finds himself in financial difficulty, whether gay, straight or bisexual (Bar-Johnson & Weiss, 2014a). Past research has not tended to present results of mental health in terms of sexual orientation or identity, so this was another aim of investigation for our study.

Materials and Methods

This paper is based on data from a mapping project by the Sexology Institute of the 1st Medical Faculty of Charles University to apply a quantitative research approach to the study of male sex workers in Prague, the Czech Republic, supplementing the previous qualitative research on the subject. Anonymous surveys were completed by 40 male escorts and sex workers over a period of 3 months beginning in 2011.

The survey contained several demographic questions including sexual orientation, sexual behavioral reports with their partners as well as with casual sexual partners, or one night stands, modeled after a national study of sexual behavior (Weiss & Zvěřina, 2001) and their experiences as sex workers (type of sex work, years in the business, number of clients per month, average wages, any cases of violence with clients, etc). We also included in the survey battery, the TCI-R personality test, using the validated Czech translation (Preiss, Kucharová, Novák & Stepánková, 2007). We measured depression using the Czech version of Beck's Depression Inventory (validated by Preiss & Vacíř, 1999) and anxiety symptoms using the Czech version of Zung's Self-Report Anxiety Scale (validated by Filip, 1997).

Recruiting of participants took place in two phases, one method for internet escorts and a second for sex workers in bars and clubs. To reach the internet escorts, the principle investigator

visited the largest gay escort website in Czech Republic on several occasions at various times of day, and using a profile created on the website, contacted the escorts to offer them the possibility to participate in the study for which they would be paid. Of the approximately 200 plus profiles on the site, 30 were selected using a random search of profiles and then screened to be sure they had had at least one client in the last 30 days. Of the 27 eligible for the study, 20 completed the survey for an overall response rate of 74%.

The second sample of sex workers, also contacted in the Spring of 2011, seek their clients in Prague's gay bars and clubs, several of which are exclusively devoted to men seeking paid sexual encounters with men and the young men who provide these services. Terminology differs for this type of sex work, and is often value laden, such as hustlers or rent-boys, so the authors will continue to refer to them simply as sex workers, but in reality, although no longer physically on the street, this type of sex work is in reality a sort of hybrid of 'street work' and 'indoor' work.

The principle investigator, with the assistance of one of the older escorts interviewed from the internet survey, approached the owners of 3 clubs in Prague where the clientele consists exclusively of men seeking paid sexual encounters with male sex workers. These included a nightclub, a hotel bar and a day bar. The investigator visited each site on two occasions always accompanied by the informant, who had been in the business for several years and was known and trusted by many of the sex workers and bar staff. In total 25 sex workers were approached and all agreed to schedule appointments at a later time in order to complete the survey at a location of their choosing, however, only 20 arrived at the meetings and completed the survey, for a response rate of 80%. Based on estimates from the barmen in these clubs, the number of male sex workers currently offering their services in these three clubs combined probably totals around 50 to 75 young men at any given time.

For those who agreed to participate, the researcher allowed the participant to choose a public location to meet in order to complete the survey. All participants chose a café or restaurant and a face-to-face meeting was organized. When the participant arrived, the principle investigator immediately asked them not to provide their real name in order to protect their anonymity. Then a quiet area of the establishment was selected where the participant could have privacy while completing the survey. The investigator explained the purpose of the survey, answered any questions, and then provided them with the self-administered survey together with an envelope where they were instructed to seal the completed survey when they finished. Upon returning the completed survey, they received a 500 crown (20 Euro) cash incentive for their participation. Participants typically took from 45 minutes to 90 minutes to complete the survey.

Results

Among the internet escorts, the average age of the respondents was 23 years old (with a standard deviation of 3 years), and they had been offering their services for between 2 months up to 6 years. Their earnings from sex work averaged 36 000 CZK per month (or approximately 1 440 Euro) however there was wide variation, from as low as 7 000 CZK (280 Euro) per month to as high as 96 000 CZK (3 840 Euro), seeing an average of 14 clients per month, 80% of whom were foreigners, with the most common nationality being German.

Questions about their personal history did not reveal anything atypical, in fact they were surprisingly average in most respects. Nearly all the respondents describing their childhood as happy, all had completed their basic education with average or good marks and none reported behavioral problems in school. None reported any childhood sexual abuse, however overall, they

did report their first sexual experience significantly earlier than the Czech population norms; 15 was the average age reported for their first sexual encounter with both male and female partners, while the Czech norm is 18 years, (Weiss & Zvěřina, 2001). Regarding their sexual orientation 45% reported a homosexual orientation, 40% considered themselves bisexual and 15 % reported a heterosexual orientation. They came from all regions of the Czech Republic, with about 25% natives of Prague, and 15% from neighboring Slovakia.

Concerning the influence sex work had had on their life, a majority were neutral, but 20% reported a positive experience, for example in self –esteem derived from being an object of desire, while another 20% found the influence rather negative and degrading. Perhaps the most negative result from the survey was the incidence of violence against the escorts, with one in five reporting having been physically beaten by a client, and an additional one in four having been forcibly raped by a client, meaning forced into receptive anal sex.

Among the sex workers in bars and clubs, the average age of the respondents was 24 (standard deviation of 4 years) and they had been offering sexual services for a period of between 2 months up to 7 years. They reported average monthly earnings of 21 000 CZK (840 Euros) but with great variation from as low as 3 500 CZK (140 Euros) to as high as 50 000 CZK (2 000 Euro), with an average of 11 clients per month.

Unlike the relatively positive profiles of the internet escorts, the personal histories of sex workers in bars and clubs were consistently more negative, with 45% reporting an unhappy childhood, 20% not completing their basic education, and 25% having had behavioral problems in school. Sexual abuse in childhood was also mentioned by 10% of the respondents. .Currently 75% had no or poor relationships with their family, and 25% reported having no permanent place of residence. The majority of the sex workers in clubs reported a heterosexual orientation (70%)

and the remaining 30% considered themselves bisexual, no respondent reported a homosexual orientation in any of the bars or clubs. Among the heterosexuals, 64% reported having a partner, but all of the bisexual respondents reported being single.

The main hypotheses suggesting that the Prague sex tourism scene caters to men seeking predominantly younger men and underage adolescents was not supported. In fact, the correlations were near zero when comparing age of the sex workers and the number of clients per month ($r = -.01$) or monthly income ($r = -.07$), and only 10% of the respondents were under age 18. Nor was there any relationship between the length of time working as a sex worker to subjective job satisfaction ratings ($r = -.04$).

The second goal was to investigate the differences in these two types of sex work, Internet escorts versus sex workers offering their services independently in specialized bars and clubs. There were also no significant differences between the groups related to ratings of job satisfaction. Regarding the participants' reported sexual orientation, homosexual sex workers worked only via the Internet, while in bars and clubs the sex workers were predominantly heterosexual. With regard to coital debut, both groups typically reported their first sexual intercourse with women (for heterosexuals and bisexuals) and men (for homosexuals and bisexuals) as beginning in their early teens.

The study also compared the ages and salaries of both types of sex workers using independent t-tests. Due in part to the high variability within groups, there was only one significant difference. The Internet escorts charge on average of 22% more per night than the sex workers in bars and clubs, although the general trend was for Internet escorts to charge more per hour, see more clients and earn more money as well. Most sex workers began around 20 years of

age, although our study did find two internet escorts who were under the legal age of 18 at the time of the survey.

Both types of sex workers come from across the country, with approximately 40% from Prague, 50% from other regions of the Czech Republic and 10% from Slovakia. Only one foreigner (a German escort) was encountered during the sampling process; however, both groups of sex workers reported that over 80% of their clients come from abroad. Both types of sex workers indicated Germans accounted for the largest group of clients, but often clients from other countries were reported, e.g. the United States, the United Kingdom, Italy, France and the Netherlands.

The comparison of alcohol and drug use indicates that sex workers in bars and clubs tend to drink alcohol and use marijuana more than the Internet escorts, and regarding methamphetamine use, the sex workers in bars and clubs were significantly more likely to regularly use the local methamphetamine, Pervitin. In addition, 15% of sex workers in bars and clubs reported daily gambling (on the video terminals common in Prague casinos and bars), a behavior not reported by any of the Internet escorts.

Also, sex workers in both groups reported being victims of violence on the job, with 15% of Internet escorts and 20% of sex workers in bars and clubs stating they had been beaten by a client, however, the risk of rape by a client (forced receptive anal intercourse) tended to be higher for Internet escorts (25%) than sex workers in clubs (5%). These differences were not significant, however, it is important to note that none of the participants reported the attack to any police or authority figure.

All but one of the sex workers in bars and clubs claimed their HIV status was negative and that they were tested regularly, one respondent reported having never been tested. However 55% did not practice safe sex in private and 15% were unsafe both with clients and in their private lives. Among internet escorts, condom use was the norm, with all respondents stating an HIV-negative status and reporting that they undergo regular testing at least once per year, however 15% reported having unsafe sex with both clients and their partners in private, which is a matter of concern.

All of the internet escorts reported having the legally required government health insurance however for sex workers in bars and clubs, 15% reported that they did not currently have any health insurance, in violation of Czech law.

Regarding the analysis of personality factors, of the seven main Temperament and Character types (Cloninger, Pryzbeck, Svrakic & Wetzel, 1994), only for the dimension of *Cooperativeness* was the overall result significantly lower than the population of adolescent Czech males. There overall lower score was derived mainly from the subscales of low *Social Acceptance*, meaning an unfriendly disposition, low *Helpfulness*, indicating an egoistic and self-centered personality, and low scores on the subscale of *Principled*, indicating a willingness to treat others in an unfair way, to lie, manipulate and deceive to serve one's own interests .

Regarding the mental health and sexual orientation of the respondents, We found that the reports of symptoms of mental distress were lower for homosexuals working as MSW; Kruskal-Wallis tests were employed for the 2 main factors: depression and anxiety. For this sample of MSW, a non-significant trend for depression was observed with lower scores for homosexuals, Mean 7.1 (4.8) and higher for heterosexuals 11.2 (9.0) and bisexuals 14.3 (11.6) but the variability within groups was too great to draw firm conclusions. For the significant effect of

sexual identity and anxiety, $H(2) = 9.71$, $p = .008$, further post-hoc Mann-Whitney U tests were employed to compare bisexuals to both homosexuals and heterosexuals using the Bonferroni correction ($\alpha = 0.017$, two-tailed). Bisexuals showed significantly more general symptoms of anxiety than both homosexuals, $U = 14.50$, $z = -2.96$, $p = 0.002$ and heterosexuals, $U = 51.50$, $z = -2.48$, $p = 0.012$.

Discussion

Our general hypothesis that sex work can have a negative impact on the mental health of the sex worker was not directly substantiated. Although sex workers in bars and clubs were found to have more troubled pasts and more problems with drugs and alcohol than internet escorts (Bar-Johnson & Weiss, 2014a), there was no overall effect of the type of sex work on their mental health. Also the age of the sex worker, the amount of time they have been in the business or the number of clients they see on average have no relationship to their mental health. The type and amount of sexual activities both in their private life and in their work life were also unrelated to their mental health, suggesting that sex work per se does not play a direct role in the mental health of the sex workers, although the overall level of mental distress was relatively high with nearly half of the overall sample reporting clinical levels of depression and roughly a third reporting clinical levels of anxiety.

In our sample, the majority of male sex workers investigated were not in fact homosexual, but heterosexual or bisexual. Although great care was taken that any man engaged in sex work at the time had a chance to be selected for the study and response rates were high, it is never possible to obtain a representative sample. Therefore we should not draw any firm conclusions

about the exact percentages of gay-for-pay sex workers in the Czech Republic, although our percentages are similar to that of previous research on MSW.

Many of these bisexual men reported levels of anxiety which can be classified as moderate to severe, significantly higher than that reported by their homosexual and heterosexual peers. Nothing in the study suggested an alternative explanation for these differences in negative outcomes other than their sexual orientation. The most common interpretation of these results is that these bisexuals are in fact ego-dystonic homosexuals, resulting in increased stress and a negative impact on their mental health.

Another explanation for anxiety in bisexual male sex workers may come from the general theory of minority stress. As homosexuality and bisexuality are viewed less favorably by society, those individuals who identify with these groups have increased stress due to the vigilance necessary to deal with this prejudice. A third possible explanation arose following a post hoc interview with one bisexual internet escort. These sex workers are young men in a period of transition in their own sexual identities, and a transition from a heteronormative identity to one which is deemed much less socially unacceptable by both the general population as well as the gay community. Our original hypothesis that many of these bisexuals could be suffering from anxiety due to the stress of transitioning to a homosexual identity, but this one case suggests there may also be a subset of bisexual sex workers who are in fact transitioning from a heterosexual identity to a bisexual one. This group of heterosexuals transitioning to a bisexual identity could also account for a portion of the observed anxiety in our study, in the same way as those who are transitioning to a homosexual identity.

Conclusions

The trend in research on male sex works has progressed through stages over the years (for a complete review see Minichiello & Scott, 2014). Early research focused on pathological characteristics of the sex workers as deviants, later during the AID crisis, as a vector for disease into the mainstream population, and later as a cause of psychological problems. The latest trend has been towards legitimizing sex work and attempting to reduce the stigma of this career option, however, it is our argument, that the research in this new tradition focuses too heavily on the modern economies of American, Western Europe and Asia, and does not take into account the issues of income disparity across developing regions. Male sex workers in Prague have experiences more similar to those in other former soviet countries and in modern Russia, but with fewer social prejudices against them. For the majority of sex workers in Prague, this is not a viable career, nor was there any other realistic option for them when they began this type of work. Once they begin to engage in sex work, they find the lifestyle too attractive to leave until their age or appearance forces them to, as they become accustomed to making good money for little effort.

Our study did not support our main hypothesis, that sex work can be directly associated with mental health problems. Our findings do suggest the issue of sexual identity is an important issue to consider when looking at the mental health of male sex workers. This is important for social service organizations in order to address the needs of male sex workers in general, as well as the understanding that a bisexual identity can be a simple predictor of other problems when working with these sex workers individually. Although many of the sex workers in the study reported levels of symptoms which would qualify them for diagnosis of depression or anxiety, for

homosexuals and heterosexuals engaging in sex work in the Czech Republic, problems with psychological health are not as prevalent as for those who consider themselves bisexual.

Regarding the normalization of sex work among male sex workers in the Czech Republic, it is worth commenting also on the current situation in the bars and clubs, which according to the escorts has improved in recent years. In the past, these bars were known as rather dangerous places to visit, the sex workers were often beaten or threatened by the club owners, and were subject to frequent police raids in the late 1990's mainly to control for underage boys. Now, most clubs are under new ownership and the owners take greater care to be sure boys under 18 do not enter. In addition, most of the bars have removed the casino style slot machines reducing the temptation to sex workers with cash on hand, and one barman informed me that he was instructed by the management not to admit any sex workers who appear visibly under the influence of drugs, in particular, methamphetamines. These changes have improved the situation of male sex workers, who no longer seek clients in the dangerous train station, but now have a safer environment to engage in their business, however their work conditions remain in great part at the whim of a few, mostly foreign, club owners. This does however, seem to suggest that the decriminalization of prostitution, combined with enforcement of laws against child prostitution and pimping, has had a rather positive effect on the conditions for male sex workers.

Regarding sex work as a whole, the Czech Republic has been and will likely continue to be a destination for sex tourism and more should be done for the health and safety of both male and female sex workers. Although many of them support the legalization of sex work in theory, for the system to work, it would be necessary to exert some influence on the demand as well. It seems that the most effective legislative changes would involve both a clear and easy system for sex workers to become legal entrepreneurs with all the health and social benefits of working

legally but also to deter black market sex work by making it a crime to solicit sex from an unregistered sex worker. This would provide all the benefits of legalization while avoiding the pitfall of generating more demand and de facto an increase in sex work on the whole. It would also deter young people with an idealized view of sex work from entering this profession without forethought by decreasing the demand for young sex workers who have not been properly registered.

Summary of Main Findings

- The majority of male sex workers surveyed reported either a heterosexual or bisexual orientation. The smallest group of respondents were the homosexual sex workers.
- Early coital debut was reported by nearly all respondents, beginning at around 14 years of age. Childhood sexual abuse was not reported more often than in the general population.
- Most respondents began sex work around the age of 20, for a significant number, this was following their career as a gay porn actor.
- Sex workers in the Czech Republic come almost exclusively from the Czech or Slovak Republics, although the vast majority of their clients are foreigners, indicating that the Czech Republic is a destination for sex tourism, particularly from Germany.
- The majority of sex workers began, and continue, to engage in sex work out of financial necessity, even though most would prefer to find other types of work, few have a concrete plan how to do so.
- Although overall about half of the sex workers were single, a majority of the heterosexual respondents reported a female partner and no bisexual respondents reported any serious

relationship. Of those with partners, 60% did not report using a condom for protection with their partner, although all but one (who had not been tested) reported a negative HIV status.

- A few casual sexual encounters outside of work were reported by a majority of homosexual sex workers and some heterosexual sex workers, however bisexual sex workers reported more than double the number of casual sex partners each month over the other two groups.
- Bisexual respondents reported the highest amount of nearly all types of sexual acts both at work and in private with both males and females, indicating hypersexuality in this group.
- Many sex workers were victims of violence or rape by their clients, however none of them reported these incidents to authorities. The risk was higher for Internet escorts than for those working in bars and clubs.
- Sex workers, particularly from the group of Internet escorts, did not differ significantly from the average Czech youth in education, upbringing or personality, and even the workers in bars and clubs are less troubled than the kinds of street workers engaging in male sex work typically found in other cities around the world.
- More than half of the sex workers in general reported symptoms of at least mild depression and anxiety, however a significantly more bisexual sex workers in particular reported anxiety which met the criteria for clinical diagnosis of a mental disorder.
- Alcohol and drug use was reported more frequently by sex workers in bars and clubs, especially the methamphetamines

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Příloha 4. Seznam publikací doktoranda

Bar-Johnson, M. & Weiss, P. (2014). A Comparison of Male Sex Workers in Prague: Internet Escorts versus Men Who Work in Specialized Bars and Clubs, *Journal of Sex Research*.
(doi:10.1080/00224499.2013.848256) **IF: 2.86**

Bar-Johnson, M. & Weiss, P. (2014). Mental Health and Sexual Identity in a Sample of Male Sex Workers in the Czech Republic. *Medical Science Monitor*. 20:1682-1686 **IF: 1.36**

Příloha 8c

Protokol o úplnosti náležitostí disertační práce

Titul, jméno, příjmení: **Michael Bar-Johnson, Mgr.**

Název práce **Sexuální a psychologické aspekty života mužských komerčních sexuálních pracovníků v Praze**

Školitel: **Prof. PhDr. Petr Weiss, Ph.D.**

Prohlašuji, že jsem odevzdal (a) disertační kvalifikační práci v souladu s:

Opatřením rektora č. 6/2010 (dostupné z <http://www.cuni.cz/UK-3470.html>)

Opatřením rektora č. 8/2011 (dostupné z <http://www.cuni.cz/UK-3735.html>)

Opatřením děkana č. 10/2010 (dostupné z http://www.lf1.cuni.cz/file/21321/opad10_10.pdf)

Zároveň prohlašuji, že jsem do Studijního informačního systému vložil (a) plný text

vysokoškolské kvalifikační práce včetně všech povinných souborů:

- abstrakt v českém jazyce

- abstrakt v anglickém jazyce

- autoreferát

Při vkládání textu práce a všech souborů jsem postupoval (a) podle návodu dostupného z

http://www.lf1.cuni.cz/file/25838/navod_vkladani_prace.pdf .

Nahrané soubory jsem následně zkontroloval (a).

Odpovídám za správnost a úplnost elektronické verze práce a všech dalších vložených elektronických souborů.

4 exempláře práce svázané v tzv. celoplátěné vazbě odevzdané na Oddělení pro vědeckou

činnost a zahraniční styky 1. LF UK obsahují všechny povinné náležitosti:

Příloha č. 1 – Titulní strana, Prohlášení, Identifikační záznam, Abstrakt v ČJ a Abstrakt v AJ

http://www.lf1.cuni.cz/file/21323/opad10_10_pril1.pdf

Příloha č. 3 – Autoreferát disertační práce

http://www.lf1.cuni.cz/file/21325/opad10_10_pril3.pdf



Datum: 9.1.2015 Podpis studenta

Kontrolu úplnosti náležitostí provedla osoba pověřená garantem: