(Un)doing occupational citizenship:
sex workers' experiences of everyday violence and resistance in Lima, Peru

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Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy of the University of London

2018

Department of Social and Environmental Research
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LONDON SCHOOL OF HYGIENE & TROPICAL MEDICINE

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Abstract

Sex workers face extensive violence and poor access to justice, at the intersections of criminalisation, multiple stigmas and inequalities. This topic has received little attention in Peru, where sex work is legal within licensed venues but where the majority of people work in the legally ambiguous space of "clandestine" prostitution—subject to municipal by-laws and police repression. Here I present analyses generated via a participatory qualitative study, conducted collaboratively with Peruvian sex-worker, gay and transgender rights activists, which explored everyday violence and resistance in the lives of people who sell sex in central Lima. I argue that publicised police and *serenazgo* (citizen-safety) raids not only pose direct threats of violence, extortion, arrest and disclosure to sex workers, but they also work to perform 'moral, safe and healthy' spaces for morally-conforming citizens while casting sex workers as 'out-of-place' in and beyond these spaces. Yet sex workers rework these spaces, through evasion, discretion, and social, economic and affective relations, to protect their income and themselves, in a broader landscape of physical and economic insecurity. At times they make overt claims to occupy and generate income through these spaces unconditionally—*acts of occupational citizenship* that constitute them as citizens despite their not being treated as such by the state. Yet these acts are not without risks of further violence and arrest, and they are complicated both by the potential for dominant institutions (e.g. public health, media) to amplify or mute their claims, and by the workings of stigma management. Participants' tendency to emphasise particular aspects of their identities—as respectable citizens and responsible workers— resisted certain normative constructions of sex work(ers), gender, sexuality, class and race, but reproduced others, thus recasting but not necessarily contesting boundaries between in-place citizens and out-of-place others. I discuss implications for sex work policy, public health practice, and collective action.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank everyone who participated in this study for sharing your time and your stories with us so generously.

Thank you also to Iván Gonzales, Angela Villón, Gabriela Mariño and Miguel Saurín, the *Proyecto El Día a Día* co-research team, for your dedication, inspiration, patience and friendship, without whom this research would not have been possible. Thank you also to Maricielo Peña Hernandez for initial involvement in the team.

Thank you to Ximena Salazar and Carlos Cáceres, at USSDH, for your advice during fellowship development and study design, and particularly for your kind welcome, support and guidance during fieldwork, including introducing me to the co-research team, involving me in the academic life of the Unit, inviting me to present early analyses and providing constructive feedback.

Thank you to Cicely Marston, my supervisor, for calm, insightful advice throughout, and specifically in relation to fellowship development, designing and carrying out the study, providing substantive steer over the analysis and framing of chapters 5 & 6, including commenting on multiple drafts of these chapters and on drafts of chapters 1 to 4 and 7.

Thank you to Sarah Bernays for advice over study design, fieldwork and analysis, for regular skype debriefings during fieldwork, and for your support and friendship throughout. Thank you to Lucy Platt and Tim Rhodes for advice on fellowship development and analysis, and for your support in securing write-up time amid other projects. Thank you to Tim for substantive comments on paper 5, and Lucy for discussions and co-writing that indirectly informed chapters 1 and 7. Thank you to Ana María Buller for advice on fellowship development, study design and early analyses. Thank you to P.G. Macioti, Luca Stevenson, Stewart Cunningham and Teela Sanders, and to Maggie O'Neill, for discussions/co-writing that indirectly informed chapters 1 and 7, and chapter 4, respectively. Thank you to Luis Guerra for so kindly reviewing all translations included in this thesis.

Thank you to the Medical Research Council for providing funding for this work through a predoctoral Public Health Scientist fellowship.

Thank you also to other colleagues and friends in Lima and London, including: Jennifer and Rachael for administrative support; Carolina, for organising key informant interviews; Flor, Mary and Amilda for transcription; Eli for ethics application support; Alfonso, Clara, Fernando, Griselda and Manolo for advice, discussions and friendship; Laura, Laura and Oscar for advice, company and a sense of family; Tara and Angela for advice and friendship; and Diana and Ricardo for Spanish classes and welcoming conversation.

Thank you to my family and friends, and especially my Mum and Dad, who have always got behind everything I do.

And finally, thank you to my beautiful, fearless wife who has supported me in this project, and in everything else, since the day we met.

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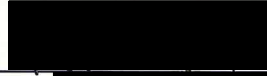## SECTION C – Prepared for publication, but not yet published

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Stage of publication	**Not yet submitted**

SECTION D – Multi-authored work

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Contents

Abbreviations

AMP	Atención Médica Periódica (literally 'Periodic Medical Attention'; formerly mandatory routine HIV/STI screening for female sex workers)
CARE-Perú	Peruvian NGO affiliated with CARE International, organisation focusing on poverty reduction and social justice
CBO	Community-based organisation
CERITS	Centro de Atención y Referencia de Infecciones de Transmisión Sexual y del VIH (Sexually Transmitted Infection and HIV Care and Reference Centre)
DNI	Documento Nacional de Identidad (National Identity Card)
GFATM	Global Fund against AIDS, Tuberculosis & Malaria (Global Fund)
IESSDH	Instituto de Estudios en Salud, Sexualidad y Desarrollo Humano (Institute of Studies in Health, Sexuality, and Human Development; non-profit affiliated to USSDH (see below) at the Peruvian Cayetano Heredia University)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bisexual and/or transgender
LSHTM	London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine
MHoL	Movimiento Homosexual de Lima (Homosexual Movement of Lima)
MINSA	Ministerio de Salud del Perú (Peruvian Ministry of Health)
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NSWP	Global Network of Sex Work Projects
PLAPERTS	Plataforma Latinoamericana de Personas que Ejercen el Trabajo Sexual (Latin American Movement of People who Exercise Sex Work)
PNP	Policía Nacional del Perú (Peruvian National Police Force)
RedTrans	Red trans del Perú (Trans Network of Peru)
RedTraSex	Red de Mujeres Trabajadoras Sexuales de Latinoamérica y el Caribe (Network of Women Sex Workers of Latin America and the Caribbean)
Runa	Instituto Runa de Desarrollo y Estudios sobre Género (Runa Institute of Development and Studies about Gender)
SIS	Sistema Integral de Salud (literally 'Integral Health System', a government health insurance subsidy programme for the poorest communities)

STI   Sexually transmitted infection

UNAIDS   Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

UNFPA   United Nations Population Fund

UPCH   Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia (Peruvian Cayetano Heredia University)

USAID   United States Agency for International Development

USSDH   Unidad de Salud, Sexualidad y Desarrollo Humano (Unit of Health, Sexuality, and Human Development at UPCH; affiliated to non-profit IESSDEH above)

WHO   World Health Organization

Chapter 1—Introduction

Violence has major implications for the health, livelihoods and rights of people who sell sex. Internationally, sex workers describe physical, sexual, and verbal attacks, extortion and theft, enacted by institutional and social actors within and outside of sex work (Crago, 2009; Rhodes et al., 2008; Scorgie et al., 2013b; Cepeda and Nowotny, 2014; Deering et al., 2014). Other pervasive attacks on sex workers' dignity and personhood include humiliating, derogatory, and dehumanising treatment, arbitrary arrest and detention, forced testing for HIV and/or sexually transmitted infections (STIs), exclusion from health and social care services, entrenched stigma, and widespread state failures to provide protection and justice (Mayhew et al., 2009; Scorgie et al., 2013a; Nichols, 2010; Krüsi et al., 2016; ICRSE, 2014). These violations can be understood as *structural* (Farmer, 2003), *symbolic* and *everyday* forms of violence that, by being institutionalised and legitimised as the natural "order of things" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 168), become normalised and invisible (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois, 2004) (see Chapter 2, *Structural, symbolic & everyday violence*).

The extent to which individual sex workers experience violence, however, is highly varied, contingent upon multiple and intersecting legal, political, social, and economic influences (Deering et al., 2014; Sanders, 2016; Platt et al., Forthcoming) (see *The structural & social context of violence*, below). Nevertheless, the question of whether or not violence in sex work is 'inevitable' remains at the heart of highly-divided debate surrounding its governance and very meaning (Sanders, 2016) (see *Governance & understandings of sex work*, below). Much research on sex workers' experiences of violence has been undertaken in settings where sex work is partially or fully criminalised, with far less work undertaken in settings where it is

(partially[1]) legal and regulated by the state (Weitzer, 2009). There is limited research on the topic in Latin America[2] (Van Meir, 2017), a region in which pervasive postcolonial, structural inequalities, and state and political violence, have hindered efforts to secure citizens' civic, social, and economic rights (Sanchez R, 2006; Cruz, 2016; Dagnino, 2003; Meltzer and Rojas, 2013), and where sex worker and other social movements have long organised against police brutality (RedTraSex, 2007; Hardy, 2010a). In Peru sex work is legally regulated, yet sex workers operating outside of licensed venues—as the majority do—are subject to municipal by-laws and police repression (Salazar, 2009; Arbulú Bramon, 2004). In the 1990s, Nencel (2001: 3) considered a discourse of 'sex work' to be inconceivable in Peru, at a time when the country's dominant feminist discourse equated selling sex with sexual slavery (El Pozo, n.d.). Since then, a national sex worker rights movement has formed, forging alliances with regional and transnational sex worker, LGBT and transgender organisations, academics, human rights lawyers, national and international agencies, to challenge police and other violence, and advocate the recognition of sex work as work (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010; Lalani, 2014).

In this thesis, I explore how structural, symbolic, and everyday forms of violence manifest in the lives of people who sell sex in Peru's capital city, Lima, and how they navigate and resist their threat. Conscious of highly polarised representations of sex work(ers) in law, policy, media, and research internationally (Krüsi et al., 2016)—and "orientalist" tendencies in much writing about the Global South from the Global North[3] (Sabsay, 2012)—I pay close

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[1] I say 'partially' since this approach typically only permits sex work in certain spaces under certain conditions.

[2] By 'Latin America' I mean countries south of the Mexico-U.S. border which were colonised by Spain, Portugal and France. I use this term in recognition of shared aspects of history, culture and language, yet conscious of the region's diversity (for debates on the term's usage, see e.g. Chang-Rodriguez, 2007).

[3] I refer to the 'Global South' and 'North' not to reinforce a dichotomy or suggest homogeneity within regions, but to reflect the "uneven and unequal geopolitical power relations" between them (Brown et al., 2010: 1568).

attention to the everyday power relations and spaces that structure sex workers' lives, and through which they negotiate and resist threats to their safety, health, income, and citizenship rights. In so doing, I heed calls for a critical focus on the geographies of violence (Springer and Le Billon, 2016) and health (Cummins et al., 2007), acknowledging the centrality of space in sex workers' citizenship struggles (Sabsay, 2011; Van Meir, 2017; Sanders, 2009). Here, I understand space and citizenship not as fixed, but socially (re)produced and open to contestation (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005; Isin, 2009) (see Chapter 2, *Space* and *Citizenship*). Methodologically, I draw on participatory action research principles (O'Neill et al., 2004), reporting on a qualitative study undertaken in collaboration with sex worker, LGBT, and trans rights activists in Lima[4]. I do so to centre sex workers' voices, while reflecting critically upon the extent to which I have achieved this in the context of individualised doctoral research.

Organisation of the thesis

This thesis comprises seven chapters, two of which are written as draft research papers. In the rest of this chapter, I discuss how violence in sex work has been studied and represented, internationally and in Latin America specifically; and how sex workers have organised to resist its threat. In Chapter 2, I outline the core concepts informing this thesis—violence, stigma, space, and citizenship—and their empirical investigation in the contexts of Latin America, sex work and their intersection (i.e. sex work in Latin America). Here, I also discuss theories of power, structuration, performativity, and resistance that connect these concepts and my broader analytical lens. In Chapter 3, I review existing literature on sex work in Peru

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[4]I differentiate between 'LGBT' and 'trans' rights/organisations because, despite inclusion in name, trans people and their concerns have frequently been marginalised within LGBT movements internationally (Davidson, 2007).

and situate this relative to intersecting inequalities, battles over urban space, recent political violence, neoliberal reforms, 'participatory governance', and a growing sex worker rights movement. In Chapter 4, I outline and reflect critically upon the methodology, data collection, and analysis processes that I/we[5] have employed in this research. I then present two main analyses. In Chapter 5 (paper 1), I examine how sex workers interact with institutional and social actors to perform and contest imagined 'moral, safe, and healthy' spaces. I argue that police, municipal *serenazgo* (citizen safety) officers, and media perform 'moral' space by visibly and sometimes violently targeting sex workers while obscuring the authorities' failure to produce safe spaces. Sex workers quietly rework these spaces through social and economic relations, alliances and trade-offs, and sometimes make overt claims to space—acts of *occupational citizenship* that constitute them as citizens, despite their not being treated as such by the state. In Chapter 6 (paper 2), I analyse how participants' foregrounding of identities in and apart from sex work function to resist certain normative constructions of sex work(ers), gender, sexuality, class, and race, while reproducing others, with effects on stigma management, and linked citizenship claims. In both chapters, I discuss implications for sex work policy, policing, public health practice, and collective action. In Chapter 7, I discuss the empirical and theoretical contributions, and limitations, of this thesis relative to the broader literature. I also make recommendations for future research, in Peru and elsewhere.

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[5]While co-researchers and I operated as a team during fieldwork, I carried out key aspects of study design before arriving in Peru and in-depth analysis after departing, the power relations of which require acknowledgement (see Chapter 4, *Participatory research approaches: goals & critiques*, and *Language, translation & dissemination*).

Public health: towards a focus on violence & (in)justice

A rich social science and community literature documents the violence that sex workers face (Crago, 2009; Sanders, 2016; Vanwesenbeeck, 2001), against which activists[6] have long organised (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; Chateauvert, 2015; Mgbako, 2016). Yet sex workers' safety has only recently begun to receive wider attention in the field of public health (Deering et al., 2014; Rhodes et al., 2008; Shannon et al., 2008a). The more dominant focus on sexual health can be traced back to 19th-Century venereal disease programmes, and related efforts to regulate prostitution (Corbin, 1986), but also to contemporary HIV research, prevention, and funding agendas in which sex workers feature as 'at-risk' or 'key' populations (Mama Cash et al., 2014; WHO, 2014). Studies and interventions which consider sex workers' health in broader terms often do so primarily in relation to implications for HIV risk (e.g. Decker et al., 2010)—sometimes out of concern for wider population health (e.g. Prüss-Ustün et al., 2013), and without necessarily considering the structural context of sex workers' lives, needs, and aspirations (Shannon et al., 2014). Paradoxically, and in common with the social science literature (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001), most public health research[7] has focused on female sex workers even though, in many contexts, transgender (trans)[8] and male sex workers are at far higher risk of HIV (Poteat et al., 2015; Baral et al., 2015).

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[6]Where I refer to activists and (public health) academics/researchers, I do so to emphasise particular positions and activities. In practice, they are not mutually exclusive (Maxey, 1999).

[7]Here I refer to research undertaken by researchers who are based in public health institutions/departments and/or whose work broadly adopts a (critical) public health focus. I include myself in this. In practice, there is no such neat divide between social science and public health literature, as many of us write at their intersections.

[8]In this thesis, I use the terms 'female' and 'trans'—rather than those I use when writing and talking about Global North settings ('cis(gender) female/woman' and 'trans(gender) female/woman')—in recognition that in Latin America transfeminine people (i.e. people gendered male at birth who identify as feminine or female) do not necessarily consider themselves to be female and/or women (RedLacTrans, 2017; Stryker and Aizura, 2013). This is not to discount the many people who do identify as (trans) women or the violence of having one's gender identity

Public health researchers are, however, increasingly focusing on the violence and stigma that sex workers face, related structural influences, and their extensive health consequences (see e.g. Deering et al., 2014; Okal et al., 2011; Krüsi et al., 2016; Beattie et al., 2010; Lazarus et al., 2012), amid growing collaborations with sex workers (Biradavolu et al., 2009; Cornish, 2006a; Scorgie et al., 2013b; Shannon et al., 2007), and increasing recognition of the structural determinants of health and HIV (Marmot, 2005; Blankenship et al., 2000; Gupta et al., 2008; Evans et al., 2010). Physical, sexual, and psychological violence can have a direct and lasting impact on physical and mental health (Roxburgh et al., 2006; Ulibarri et al., 2010; Shahmanesh et al., 2009). These forms of violence may also reduce willingness to seek health care (Beattie et al., 2010; Choi et al., 2008; Ravi et al., 2007) and opportunities to negotiate condom use (Shannon et al., 2008a; Rhodes et al., 2008), and increase exposure to HIV (Reed et al., 2011). Pervasive stigma can compromise sex workers' safety, erode social support networks, restrict access to justice, health, and social care, and profoundly limit recognition of their rights (Lazarus et al., 2012; Wong et al., 2011; Scorgie et al., 2013a; Sanders and Campbell, 2007; Price, 2012). Challenging violence and stigma are thus of central importance to sex workers' health, social justice, and citizenship (Overs and Loff, 2013; Fraser, 2009).

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questioned, attacked or dismissed (see Chapter 2, *Gender, performativity & intersectionality* and *Gender & sexuality in Latin America*). Where I say 'trans sex workers', I am referring to transfeminine people who sell sex. Trans men/transmasculine people's experiences of sex work have received very little research attention, although studies in Canada and the U.S. indicate it to be relatively common for trans men to report ever having sold sex (16-44%) (Clements-Nolle et al., 2001; Sevelius, 2009; Reisner et al., 2010; Bauer et al., 2013). No studies have explored transmen/transmasculine people's sex work in Latin America.

Shifting representations of sex work & violence

Dominant representations of sex workers' lives often bear little relation to their material realities and aspirations (Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2008; Weitzer, 2009). Academic studies have often contributed to (re)producing notions of female sex workers' presumed deviance, (psycho)pathology, hypersexuality, victimhood, and powerlessness (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001) (see Chapter 2, *Discursive production of sex work stigma*). Amid long-standing preoccupation with 'motivations' for selling sex, researchers in the Global North have at times focused on the relationship between childhood sexual abuse and entry into sex work, often generalising findings from small, specific samples[9] to all sex workers in all places (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001; Macioti et al., 2017). There has been far less research of this nature in the Global South, albeit with some exceptions (e.g. Ulibarri et al., 2009; Ulibarri et al., 2013), which Vanwesenbeeck (2001: 259-62) attributes to an apparent greater acceptance that most people sell sex for economic reasons—although Nencel (2001)'s work in Peru indicates that such acceptance does not necessarily extend to sex work policy debates (see Chapter 3, *Prostitution debates & geographies: repeated visions*). Similarly, various authors have used evidence of street-based female sex workers' extremely high rates of violence and post-traumatic stress to confirm their pre-stated position that all sex work is inherently damaging (e.g. Farley and Barkan, 1998). Despite clear methodological flaws (see e.g. Weitzer, 2005; Sanders, 2016), such work continues to be cited widely in (public health) research and political debate internationally, including in Latin America (see e.g. Ulibarri et al., 2011; Pando et al., 2013).

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[9]Typically (young) women and/or homeless youth selling sex in street-based settings in the U.S. (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001; Macioti et al., 2017).

The smaller literature on male sex work began from a similarly pathologising position, locating 'deviance' and 'damage' within the individual and/or his environment, which was presumed to be characterised by violence, illness, crime, and exploitation (for reviews, see e.g. Bimbi, 2007; Scott et al., 2005; Kaye, 2007; Minichiello et al., 2013). The scarcer still research on trans sex work reflects broader discourses relating to trans people's health and identities (Stryker, 2006), shifting in recent years from a profound othering to recognition of the extensive violence and discrimination that trans sex workers face (see e.g. Lyons et al., 2017; Atluri, 2012; Rhodes et al., 2008). Yet the tendency in epidemiological research to conflate trans women and other transfeminine people with 'men who have sex with men' continues to mask their specific health needs (see e.g. Perez-Brumer et al., 2016).

Internationally, most violence-related sex work studies have concentrated on physical and/or sexual assaults, by clients and/or 'pimps'[10], against female sex workers operating in street-based settings (e.g. Kurtz et al., 2004; Karandikar and Prospero, 2010; Weitzer, 2009), who often report particularly high rates of such abuse (Deering et al., 2014; Katsulis et al., 2010). However, researchers are increasingly including a more diverse range of sex workers, venues, and violations, incorporating trans and male sex workers' experiences, indoor and/or independent sex work, clients tricking sex workers into providing unagreed or unpaid services, and police violence, coercion, extortion, and denigrating treatment (e.g. Nichols, 2010; Rhodes et al., 2008; Crago, 2009; Scorgie et al., 2013b; Sanders and Campbell, 2007). A

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[10]Some authors use this term to describe any men involved in organising and profiting from women's sex work, or without providing a definition. While the term widely evokes racialised stereotypes of violent, criminal and morally comtemptible men (Horning and Marcus, 2017), these relationships in reality span a complex array of social, economic, and affective dimensions (O'Neill, 2013). See Blanchette and da Silva (2017) for further discussion of the complex realities of third-party involvement in sex work in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (see *Governance & understandings of sex work* for discussion of the term's political use).

growing literature examines female sex workers' experiences of violence by partners (e.g. Panchanadeswaran et al., 2008; Ulibarri et al., 2010) and describes the financial and emotional independence that some women derive from sex work after leaving abusive partners (Choudhury et al., 2013; Katsulis, 2009: 51).

In recent decades, there has been a significant shift towards examining the legal, political, social, and economic influences on sex workers' experiences of violence (e.g. Katsulis et al., 2010; Prior et al., 2013; Brents and Hausbeck, 2005; Deering et al., 2014) (see *The structural & social context of violence*, below). Within this literature, the differing framing of sex workers' agency and vulnerability has a subtle but important influence on knowledge generated. Studies across diverse settings—in some cases interviewing only those who have experienced or witnessed violence—demonstrate how sex workers deal with violence, the contextual factors that exacerbate its threat, and its health consequences (e.g. Kurtz et al., 2004; Okal et al., 2011; Panchanadeswaran et al., 2008; Ratinthorn et al., 2009). However, such studies do not always explore how sex workers avoid and/or resist violence.

Research that also explores sex workers' safety strategies (Katsulis et al., 2010; Lewis et al., 2005; Sanders, 2004a; Plumridge and Abel, 2001), everyday resistance (e.g. Scorgie et al., 2013b; Basu, 2016), and structural and sex worker-led violence-prevention and collective action (e.g. Reza-Paul et al., 2012; Sanders and Campbell, 2007; Biradavolu et al., 2009; Hardy, 2010a) illustrates how sex workers' actions and decisions are constrained and enabled by multiple power relations (see *The structural & social context of violence*, and *Sex worker rights movements & alliances*, below). Similarly, researchers are increasingly examining how trans and male sex workers' experiences are shaped by social, economic, and cultural norms and global transformations (Bimbi, 2007; Scott et al., 2005; Kaye, 2007; Aggleton, 1999; Aggleton and

Parker, 2015; Minichiello and Scott, 2014), the material, symbolic, and affective opportunities that sex work may offer (e.g. Kulick, 1998; Sausa et al., 2007), and the ways in which sex workers are fighting back against their (spatial) exclusion (Di Pietro, 2016; Edelman, 2011; Atluri, 2012) (see Chapter 2, *Geographies of sex work* and *Sex workers' citizenship*).

Governance & understandings of sex work

Questions surrounding violence and agency are at the heart of a highly polarised debate over how sex work is governed, lived, and understood (Sanders, 2016; Kempadoo, 1998). Broadly speaking, 'radical' feminists typically argue that the sex industry constitutes a form of violence against women, in which (mostly) male managers and clients exploit female workers (Farley et al., 1998; Jeffreys, 1997). Presuming women are forced to work by an individual, extreme poverty, or other life circumstances, they consider consent to paid sex impossible and reject the language of sex work, instead referring to prostitution and 'prostituted women' or 'prostituted victims' (Raymond, 1999; Farley et al., 1998). According to this view, abolition of the industry is the only way to redress related harms and achieve gender equality—with proposals for how to achieve this centring on criminalising the purchase of sex and the involvement of 'pimps' and other third parties[11], and encouraging sex workers to 'exit' the industry (Raymond, 2004b; Jeffreys, 2010). Sex worker rights activists and allies, on the other hand, argue that the sale and purchase of sex is not inherently violent, but is made more

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[11]By third party, I mean any individual who facilitates another person's sex work. These may include venue owners and managers, receptionists, drivers, landlords, partners and so on. In radical feminist discourse, they are typically grouped under the term 'pimp' and characterised as universally exploitative and violent, the use of the term 'manager' criticised for 'sanitising' these relationships (Horning and Marcus, 2017). Ethnographic research across demonstrates these relationships to be myriad and complex, involve varying degrees of autonomy, control, violence, protection and affection (O'Neill, 2013; Horning and Marcus, 2017).

dangerous by criminalisation, stigma, and a lack of labour protections (Kempadoo, 2003; Jackson, 2016; NSWP, 2010). As such, they typically call for sex work to be decriminalised and recognised as a legitimate form of labour while prioritising sex workers' self-determination (Kempadoo, 2003; NSWP, 2005)—albeit differing in the extent to which they critique work as a whole, in the context of capitalism (ICRSE, 2016a). It is in this spirit that activist Carol Leigh (1997) coined the term 'sex work'.

Proponents of the abolitionist position are criticised for refusing to acknowledge the agency of people who sell sex—most evident in their construction of all sex workers as female victims of male violence, and the conflation of (migrant) sex work and trafficking (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; Agustin, 2007; Scoular, 2004). They also largely disregard trans and male sex workers (Weitzer, 2006; Bernstein, 2007). Sex worker rights activists, on the other hand, are often accused of being a privileged (largely white, western) minority that does not reflect the experiences and desires of wider communities of people who sell sex (Price, 2012). Abolitionists condemn those who support sex work decriminalisation for what they argue is tacit acceptance of gendered exploitation and patriarchal subordination of women, and the downplaying of harms experienced by people who sell sex—frequently labelling them as 'pro-prostitution' on these grounds (Raymond, 2004a; Farley et al., 1998).

Some sex worker rights activists and allied academics have indeed conceptualised sex work in broadly 'liberal' feminist terms, as an empowering and sexually liberating job (see e.g. Delacoste and Alexander, 1988). However, most have long argued that sex workers' lives and decisions are shaped by racial, gendered, classed, and economic power relations at local, national, and transnational scales, and that "sexuality and sexual activity can serve simultaneously as a site of exploitation … and as a site of agency" (ICRSE, 2016a: 9; English

Collective of Prostitutes, 1990; RedTraSex, 2007). Sex worker organisations internationally have campaigned against poverty, violence against women, political oppression, racism, repressive immigration policies (English Collective of Prostitutes, 1990; RedTraSex, 2007), and in support of LGBT and trans rights (Chateauvert, 2015), drawing attention to the structural violence that sex workers face at these intersections (ICRSE, 2014; ICRSE, 2015; ICRSE, 2016a; ICRSE, 2016b) (see Chapter 2, *Gender, performativity & intersectionality*).

The notion that sex worker rights activists are a privileged, white minority ignores the diversity within the movement internationally, not least long-standing sex worker organisations in the Global South and those formed by working-class, street-based sex workers (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; Hardy, 2010b). The priority that sex worker organisations afford tackling violence is also evident in its central positioning in much community research, guidance, and activism (Crago, 2009; NSWP, 2012; RedTraSex, 2007). Public health researchers are increasingly, but not exclusively, aligning with this position (see e.g. our debate Grenfell et al., 2016; Byng et al., 2016; Platt et al., 2016), as evidence grows of the intersections between the structural determinants of health and the injustices against which sex worker rights activists organise (Overs and Hawkins, 2011; Decker et al., 2015; Deering et al., 2014; Scorgie et al., 2013b).

This debate is broadly reflected in Latin America, but there are some important specificities. In contrast to other regions, sex work in Latin America is often state regulated[12], whereby selling and organising sex is legal in licensed premises meeting (local) government health regulations, but illegal elsewhere (Overs, 2016). Although this model may offer those

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[12]Although legal scholars advocate the term 'legalisation' for clarity, I use 'regulation' as the closest translation of the terms used widely in Latin America ('*reglamentación*' & '*regulación*') (see e.g. Katsulis, 2009; Nencel, 2001).

eligible to work within it safety and health benefits, feminists across the spectrum criticise the state regulation of prostitution—abolitionists arguing that it institutionalises the exploitation of women (e.g. El Pozo, n.d.), and sex worker rights activists and others criticising the resulting two-tiered systems that restrict those operating within the system and exclude, and continue to criminalise, the most marginalised sex workers (Katsulis et al., 2010; Nencel, 2001). Public health researchers, however, have frequently remained silent in this respect or have focused solely on implications for HIV and STI control (Grenfell et al., 2018; Forbes, 2010), in Latin America and elsewhere (see Chapter 3, *Regulation: a brief overview*).

Van Meir (2017) provides valuable comparison of regulationist and abolitionist approaches. In Argentina—where all forms of organising sex work are illegal, but brothels were until recently tolerated—the government has now adopted an abolitionist stance, framing sex work as a "violation of rights", referring to 'people in prostitution' as opposed to 'sex workers' and closing indoor sex work venues (Van Meir, 2017: 29; Fassi, 2015). In Ecuador, although the state does not formally recognise sex work as labour, some officials use the language of sex work, and anti-trafficking departments distinguish—at least discursively—between voluntary sex work and trafficking. However, activists in this setting argue that venue closures aimed at addressing exploitation have done more to harm sex workers than tackle trafficking (Van Meir, 2017: 29). Research in Mexico, meanwhile, reflects the coercive and exclusionary elements of a state-regulated system that obliges sex workers to register with the authorities and comply with routine sexual health tests, while excluding many sex workers from registering (Katsulis, 2009) (see *The structural & social context of violence: Research in Latin America).* In Brazil—one of the few countries internationally that recognises sex work as an official occupation (NSWP, 2002)—raids on sex work venues have

increased dramatically in recent years, as part of anti-trafficking and urban renewal initiatives, amid growing abolitionist support and the notion that regulation is counter to its image as a modern nation (Blanchette and da Silva, 2011; Amar, 2009).

There is also an important distinction to be made in relation to sex worker rights movements in Latin America. While both regional networks advocate for sex work to be recognised as a legitimate form of labour, they differ on whether or not third parties should be criminalised (see *Sex worker rights movements & alliances*, below). In Chapter 3, I discuss how the debate surrounding the governance and meaning of sex work has unfolded, and continues to do so, in Peru (see *Prostitution debates & geographies: repeated visions*).

The language of sex work in (this) research

The language of *sex work* versus *prostitution* has important political, epistemic, and material implications (Jeffreys, 2015; Koken, 2010). By introducing the term *sex work*, Carol Leigh (1997) sought to move away from the stigma implied by *prostitution* and *prostitute*, and to bring the sale of sex into a labour rights framework. Internationally, many activists now use the term *sex worker* as a shared identity around which to make collective citizenship claims (Koken, 2010). Researchers, practitioners, and some policy-makers are increasingly adopting the term, albeit with variable acknowledgment of its political and symbolic meaning (Jeffreys, 2015; Weitzer, 2017). Others avoid the language of sex work entirely, not necessarily in alignment with abolitionist discourses but because many people who sell sex do not consider themselves to be sex workers (Cabezas, 2004). Writing before Peru's national sex worker organisation had formed, Nencel (2001: 3) argued that "calling Peruvian prostitutes sex workers (with all its political implications) would be a misrepresentation of their social reality".

In this thesis, I use the terms *sex work* and *sex worker* in recognition of their political and social justice goals yet conscious that people who sell sex do not necessarily identify this way (Levy, 2015: 26-7; Kempadoo, 1998: 3-9). At times, I use the phrases 'selling sex' and 'people who sell sex' in an effort to capture this diversity (Levy, 2015: 26-7). I use the term *prostitution* to reflect the language of policies and laws, and the term *prostitute* to reflect its historical use and reclaiming as a political identity by some activists (Blanchette and Murray, 2016; RedTraSex, 2007: 49). In translations of interview excerpts, I use the terms employed by participants. I follow researchers and activists who acknowledge the diverse identities, realities, and aspirations of people who sell sex and who seek to deconstruct rather than reproduce the binary that selling sex either constitutes empowerment or exploitation (see e.g. Sanders, 2006; O'Neill, 1996). I begin[13] from the position that people who sell sex make decisions, experience and resist violence in a context of gendered, racialised, and economic power relations—in broad alignment with the intersectional feminist position that many sex worker rights activists and academics adopt (Katsulis, 2009; ICRSE, 2016a) (see Chapter 2, *Power, agency & structuration*). Following other feminists, I state my position here in rejection of a positivist notion of researcher 'objectivity' (Haraway, 1988) (see Chapter 4, *Epistemological & ontological influences*). I do so to acknowledge the relationship between my (prior) understanding and the research process (Koken, 2010)—which have each been shaped by the conversations I have had, and the time I have spent, with people who sell sex in Lima, London and elsewhere, as well as by the work of other feminist researchers (see Chapter 2).

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[13]Here I am referring to the framing of this thesis rather than the outset of this study. Although this *was* also the position I started out from, I make this point to recognise the iterative, as opposed to neatly chronological, nature of the research process and production of the thesis.

The structural & social context of violence

Recent reviews

Drawing on social science and public health literature largely from Global North settings, Sanders (2016) argues that sex workers' safety is contingent upon the interrelated influences of space, governance, and stigma. She highlights the well-documented differences between street and indoor sex work, attributing risks of violence in the former partly to seclusion, criminalisation, and intersections with drug markets—relative to the protection, greater control, and increased possibilities of working with others in indoor spaces (Sanders, 2016: 100). Yet other research also demonstrates the importance of attending to the varied on and off-street locations in which street-based sex workers experience violence[14] (Prior et al., 2013), and the visibility of outdoor spaces—to police, residents, and passer-by—that can pose threats of physical and verbal attacks (see e.g. Lewis et al., 2005). Sanders (2016) highlight that these actors may be sources of violence, in addition to clients, vigilantes, other sex workers, partners, and those involved in controlling sex workers' activities.

Sanders (2016) stresses the relative safety of licensed premises and managed zones[15] compared with more isolated work environments, rushed screening and negotiations, and difficulties reporting violence in criminalised systems (citing Crago, 2009; Pitcher and Wijers, 2014). She points out that licensing laws in the Netherlands exclude migrant workers (see Chapter 2, *Sex workers' citizenship*) but, given the regional focus of the review, does not discuss other exclusionary and coercive elements of state regulation described in other settings (see

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[14]Analysis in Australia, for example, demonstrated that counter to frequent assertions, the majority of assaults experienced by street-based sex workers occurred in private, off-street locations (Prior et al., 2013).

[15]Delimited outdoor areas where sex workers can operate legally, under certain conditions (Sanders, 2016).

below, and *Research in Latin America*). She juxtaposes the "anti-sex worker" (Sanders, 2016: 107) environment in Sweden—where the purchase of sex has been criminalised and harm reduction programmes have been cancelled in favour of conditional exiting programmes (Levy and Jakobsson, 2014)—with improved safety in New Zealand, where decriminalisation has allowed sex workers to challenge contractual breeches and exploitation (Abel, 2014). She observes how widespread "discourses of disposability" (Lowman, 2000) and "rhetoric of abhorrence" (Kinnell, 2006), reproducing notions that sex workers do not matter and should be "erased", are frequently apparent in media coverage, public debate, sex work governance, and police responses to sex workers' reports of violence (Sanders, 2016). However, Sanders (2016) also offers an encouraging case study of how this is changing in one setting: in Liverpool, U.K, since police stopped arresting sex workers and began treating violence against them as hate crime, reporting and conviction rates have improved dramatically.

In a later, mixed-method international review on the effects of criminalisation and policing on sex workers' safety and health, colleagues and I including Sanders (Platt et al., Forthcoming) found that, on average, sex workers who had directly experienced repressive policing practices (e.g. fines, arrest, detention, extortion, or violence) were three times more likely to experience violence by a client or partner. Qualitative studies across diverse geo-political and economic settings demonstrated how criminalisation and policing consistently disrupted sex workers' workspaces and protective strategies. This was apparent in how sex workers responded to threats of enforcement—by rushing or forgoing their screening and/or negotiation processes in policed street-based areas (O'Doherty, 2011), or working alone to avoid being suspected of managing sex work where this was prohibited (Pitcher and Wijers, 2014). It was also reflected in the ways in which police and anti-trafficking raids displaced sex

workers into unknown, isolated locations far from safety networks (Maher et al., 2015; Maher et al., 2011; O'Doherty, 2011; Ratinthorn et al., 2009; Okal et al., 2011; Simic and Rhodes, 2009).

Evidence from Sweden, and Vancouver, Canada, indicated that these effects were not diminished when the purchase of sex was criminalised and its sale purportedly decriminalised[16], and that service providers and police in these contexts had adopted fatalistic attitudes towards violence against sex workers (Levy and Jakobsson, 2014; Krüsi et al., 2014). In Tijuana, Mexico—where sex work is regulated and HIV/STI testing was at the time mandatory—licensed venues and tolerance zones offered greater protection against violence. Yet they largely excluded trans and male sex workers, undocumented migrants, minors, and people living with HIV (Katsulis et al., 2010). Sex workers' relationships with police were precarious, dependent upon their continued engagement in routine HIV/STI screening to maintain their registration status—loss of which risked fines, arrest, or detention. In New Zealand, sex workers reported improved relationships with police and access to justice since sex work has been decriminalised (Armstrong, 2014; Abel, 2014). However, as subsequent work highlights, they remain legally obliged to use condoms in all commercial sexual exchanges and migrants cannot secure work visas for sex work (Armstrong, 2017).

Studies across settings demonstrated how policing practices institutionalised violence, either through direct police assaults and demands for money or sex to avoid arrest, or by denying sex workers access to justice (Ratinthorn et al., 2009; Okal et al., 2011; Simic and Rhodes, 2009; Rhodes et al., 2008; Scorgie et al., 2013b; Sherman et al., 2015). Sex workers frequently described being criminalised, ignored, blamed, or discredited when reporting

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[16]I say 'purportedly' because evidence from Sweden indicates that sex workers are still pursued and/or restricted by police and law under this system, including through laws against renting properties to sex workers (Levy, 2015).

violence, leaving them reluctant to do so (Nichols, 2010; Scorgie et al., 2013b; Sherman et al., 2015; O'Doherty, 2011; Dewey and St. Germain, 2014; Okal et al., 2011). Studies also documented police targeting street-based, migrant, and trans sex workers of colour (Ratinthorn et al., 2009; Rhodes et al., 2008; Simic and Rhodes, 2009; Scorgie et al., 2013b; Nichols, 2010; Levy, 2015), dismissing drug-using sex workers as "junkies" (Sherman et al., 2015) and treating trans and male sex workers with "contempt", humiliation and denigration (Rhodes et al., 2008; Nichols, 2010; Okal et al., 2011). Raids restricted sex workers' movement during and outside of work hours (Nichols, 2010; Dewey and St. Germain, 2014) and disrupted access to outreach and central health services, as well as hindering their self-organisation (Scorgie et al., 2013b; Maher et al., 2015). Thus, criminalisation and policing exacerbated existing social, economic, gendered, racial, and health inequalities.

Evidence from Rajahmundry, India, meanwhile, demonstrated how sex workers have successfully reformed policing practices in the context of a sex-worker led, NGO-supported HIV prevention programme (Biradavolu et al., 2009). Establishing a multi-party crisis intervention team[17] to monitor, pursue and penalise police bribery and violence achieved marked improvements in sex workers' safety and police treatment. However, the system placed a heavy workload on peer educators, while financial worries and the lengthy criminal justice process deterred some from pursuing their cases. Nevertheless, as the authors argue, this offers a pertinent example of how sex workers have "re-calibrate[d] an overwhelmingly unequal power relation with the police" through a combination of "community empowerment, collective action, and network-based governance" (Biradavolu et al., 2009:

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[17]The team comprised sex worker 'peer educators' and community organisers trained as frontline responders, as well as lawyers, human rights activists, politicians, government officials and journalists (Biradavolu et al., 2009).

1546). This illustrates the importance of examining and addressing policing in action, rather than focusing solely on laws (Scoular, 2010; Draus et al., 2015). Our mixed-method review, by contrast, identified common themes across diverse settings and so provided limited insights into context-specific processes, power relations, and effects (Platt et al., Forthcoming).

A review of the international epidemiological literature identified additional structural factors that increase sex workers' risk of violence, including economic and housing insecurity, stigma, having been forced or coerced into sex work, lower levels of education and/or "sexual relationship power" (e.g. possibilities to negotiate condom use), and not belonging to a sex worker collective or having access to peer-led health services (Deering et al., 2014). However, most included studies did not measure all of these social and structural factors, some did not clearly define force and coercion, and just one measured the effects of a proxy for stigma.[18] Their typically cross-sectional design left them unable to establish 'causation', and the wider limitations of epidemiological studies—which conceptualise relationships between 'risk-' or 'protective' factors and 'outcomes' as linear rather than iterative and contingent (Rhodes, 2009)—limit what they reveal about "the complex interrelationships between factors that produce violence" (Deering et al., 2014: 51).

These reviews provide important insights into some of the legal, political, social, and economic influences on sex workers' safety and work environments. However, with the exception of Biradavolu et al. (2009)'s study, they provide little detail on how sex workers navigate, resist, and organise against violence, in ways that may generate safer work environments within hostile legislative and social landscapes, and/or push back against them.

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[18]Comparing sex work in/outside the more culturally-accepted *Devadasi* tradition in India (Deering et al., 2014).

Furthermore, few included studies relate to Latin America, to which I now turn. Below and in Chapter 2, I discuss in more detail how sex workers are organising to challenge violence and stigma, and claim space, recognition, and rights (see *Sex worker rights movements & alliances*, and Chapter 2: *Geographies of sex work* and *Sex workers' citizenship*).

Research in Latin America

In Latin America, activist reports and research demonstrate that violence—and police violence and corruption in particular—are predominant concerns for many sex workers. In a number of countries, high-profile murders of sex worker activists have not been investigated, including those known or suspected to have been committed by police officers (Hardy, 2010a; RedTraSex, 2007). In Brazil, violent anti-trafficking operations revealed large-scale police involvement in corruption and trafficking networks (Amar, 2009). In this context, a growing literature explores sex workers' experiences of safety, violence, and related contexts (Choudhury et al., 2013; Rocha-Jimenez et al., 2016; Cepeda and Nowotny, 2014; Katsulis, 2009; Katsulis et al., 2010; Ulibarri et al., 2011; Conners et al., 2016).

A recent survey in Tijuana and Ciudad Juarez—two cities on the Mexico-U.S. border which at the time *did* and *did not* state-regulate sex work respectively[19]—documents female sex workers' recent experiences of physical and sexual violence by clients (Conners et al., 2016). The minority of women (5%) who had experienced such violence were more likely to select 'street' as their main work sector (including providing services in hotels), to see clients who mostly lived outside of Mexico and/or injected drugs, and to have witnessed violence

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[19]Sex work policies in Mexico operate at state level, and so vary across the country (Katsulis et al., 2010).

against other female sex workers[20]. However, the survey did not ask women about where they had experienced violence, where else they worked (over a fifth reported more than one location), or about their experiences of arrest, extortion, or violence by police and other actors. Noting four-times higher prevalence of client violence in a previous survey (Ulibarri et al., 2011), Conners et al. (2016) hypothesise that legal red-light districts—where the prior survey concentrated recruitment—may be more associated with client violence than other settings, contrary to their own findings and that of qualitative research in the area (see below).

In Tijuana, qualitative research demonstrated how sex work had enabled some women to become independent and leave a violent partner, which left them feeling better equipped to manage their lives and health, despite also facing violence at work (Choudhury et al., 2013). For migrant women in Tecún Úman and Quetzaltenango, Guatemala, meanwhile, partner- and gang-violence, together with economic considerations, had frequently motivated their migration (Rocha-Jimenez et al., 2016). International migrants who were aware that they were entitled to enter the country legally were less vulnerable to violence than those who, unaware of this policy, had migrated through undocumented border crossings. Doubly-disadvantaged as sex workers and non-citizens, international migrants were extorted and had identity documents destroyed during police and immigration raids on sex work venues. They also experienced physical and sexual assault during detention and deportation procedures. Those who felt that they had had positive migration and sex work experiences (e.g. being able to fund their children's education) had a greater sense of agency and resilience.

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[20]They were also more likely to work in Tijuana's red-light district, report police/military as clients, see regular police patrols and witness other sex workers being arrested, but these associations were not significant in adjusted analyses (Conners et al., 2016).

Qualitative research in Ciudad Juarez and Laredo, also on the Mexico-U.S. border, documented female sex workers' experiences of safety and violence—the latter enacted by clients, bar owners, police, and other sex workers (Cepeda and Nowotny, 2014). In indoor venues within tolerance zones—where women generated income for bar owners by encouraging customers to buy drinks, and provided sexual services in the same setting—the constant presence of others (security, police, other sex workers) offered a sense of security. However, women were also under "constant surveillance and control", supervised by older women (*madrotas*), often living in rooms above the bars, and obliged to undergo weekly HIV/STI checks and carry an ID-card that identified them as a sex worker. Despite the controlled conditions, competition, and threat of violence by bar owners and other sex workers, women considered this preferable to the risks of street-based sex work. Women who worked outdoors and provided services away from any "safety net" (e.g. in alleys, cars, hotels) were much more vulnerable to client and police violence, and might have to pay "quotas" (bribes) to avoid arrest or detention. Bars and clubs outside of tolerance zones offered some protection, but provision of services off-site (e.g. in a hotel), reduced possibilities of third-party intervention. Women's employee status as un-salaried waitresses also restricted their autonomy. The authors attribute high rates of client violence to the "highly volatile" context of the Mexico-US border, and the position of women, and particularly sex workers, in patriarchal society. Women rarely reported violence to the police, particularly that enacted by officers, for fear of retaliation, and some felt that they "deserve" client violence as "part of their job" (Cepeda and Nowotny, 2014: 1527).

Katsulis and colleagues' (2009; 2010) mixed-method ethnographic research in Tijuana provides further insights into the effects of the regulation system. In tolerance zones female

street-based sex workers operated in well-lit, populated spaces where they had peer safety networks. However, these spaces were highly competitive, required contacts to gain access to them, and offered less protection than indoor venues. Unregistered sex workers in more secluded areas benefited from an "ebb and flow" of clients and greater anonymity (Katsulis et al., 2010: 350). Yet they were less likely to work in familiar hotels or around known peers, and were treated as "social pariahs" by registered sex workers, as well as being much more vulnerable to police and client violence, and extortion. Thus, they relied on tactics such as carrying weapons, phones, and identifying possible "escape routes" to protect themselves (Katsulis et al., 2010: 352). For those who were registered, tolerance-zone venues offered protection but less flexibility relative to childcare commitments, and the "party-like" atmosphere conflicted with some women's traditional values. Trans and male sex workers, who typically did not (trans) or were not encouraged to (male) register, experienced the highest rates of violence, most often by police but also by clients and strangers (Katsulis, 2009: 133). Unregistered sex workers were half as likely to report violence to the police as their registered peers (Katsulis, 2009: 90).

In this setting pimps were a rarity, which Katsulis (2009: 42) hypothesises may relate to fewer requirements for management and protection in the more "institutionalised" context of regulated sex work. Yet she considers the broader effects of the regulation system a form of structural violence, given that it reinforces existing inequalities, exacerbates exposure to violence for unregistered sex workers, and impedes their collective organisation (Katsulis, 2009: 72). Yet because removal of the system appeared unlikely and registered workers

experienced greater protection, she recommends improving[21] rather than disbanding it—as well as ending the criminalisation of unregistered workers. She urges sex workers' involvement in any policy changes (Katsulis, 2009: 150-2).

In Mexico City, trans sex workers experienced worse violence than male sex workers—by clients, police, male sex workers and "the gay community"—which the authors attribute to their "visibly 'different' appearance and body transformation" (Infante et al., 2009: 133). Although working in bars, clubs, and beauty salons offered greater protection than street-based settings, they also yielded fewer clients. In some zones, both trans and male sex workers were charged "commission by pimps" and they might have to fight physically to access work space. Study participants had often migrated to Mexico City after being rejected and/or attacked by family or community members, and partly attributed the "bad things" they experienced to the "violent and marginalised community" in which they lived—although some young men had developed peer "survival networks". Trans sex workers suffered intense stigma, discrimination, and unemployment, and lacked support networks and access to trans-specific healthcare. Male sex workers—particularly those working outdoors in parks—lacked food, housing, employment, education, and healthcare (Infante et al., 2009: 134). The authors mention an active LGBT movement, but they do not discuss whether participants were connected with this, or any local sex worker groups. Nor do they comment on policing or legislation.

Van Meir (2017)'s research contrasts abolitionist and regulated contexts in Argentina and Ecuador, respectively. In Buenos Aires, Argentina, venue closures displaced sex workers

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[21]For example, removing coercive elements, employing peer outreach workers, encouraging registration, and prioritising sex workers' safety and rights.

into street-based settings, while independent sex workers operating indoors were restricted by the outlawing of advertising and police raids on private apartments. In Quito, Ecuador, restrictions on brothels' opening hours reduced flexibility, while closures of unlicensed hotels had left street-based sex workers with fewer places to take their clients. The municipality's efforts to relocate street-based sex workers to a licensed venue had generated fears of lesser control and greater competition—the latter anticipated to disadvantage older and trans sex workers in particular. Sex workers in both cities viewed indoor environments as safer and more comfortable. However, many considered brothels exploitative given their large cuts, schedules, and rules.

Sex workers in both countries also described police corruption and abuse and linked reluctance to report violence, although there have been recent improvements in Ecuador (Van Meir, 2017). In Quito, where outdoor sex work is legally ambiguous, street-based sex workers used to experience frequent police arrest, detention, violence, and humiliation, with targeted attacks on trans sex workers' gendered expression[22]. However, sex workers have begun to alter this landscape through organised and everyday acts of resistance. In the city of Machala (Ecuador), a large group of sex workers had gathered to record police abuse during their collective arrest, transferring the evidence to a feminist organisation that threatened to report the officers involved. This resulted in a rapid reduction in police violence. In Quito's historic city centre, meanwhile—an area undergoing intensive 'urban renewal'—Wilking (2014: 11) argues that sex workers "actively subvert police control through creative strategies, often

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[22]Violence included sexual, physical, and verbal assaults, being tear-gassed, chased, forcibly transported to, and abandoned outside of the city, and driven around in open trucks as a means of humiliation. For trans sex workers, officers forcibly cut their hair (Van Meir, 2017).

coordinated with other sex workers, to defy police orders and maximize their solicitation via covert opportunism". Van Meir (2017) summarises sex workers' resistance as follows:

> "In their relatively successful organization against police control … sex workers asserted their rights to public space and maintained collective power over their workspaces. Their refusal to accede to police removing them from the streets, despite the violence they experienced as a consequence, demonstrates the value they place on the street." (Van Meir, 2017: 21)

Sex worker rights movements & alliances

Over the past 30 years, sex workers have organised globally to denounce violence, criminalisation, and police repression, and to demand their human and labour rights (Kempadoo, 2003; RedTraSex, 2007; Koné, 2016; Mgbako, 2016). Yet much writing on sex worker activism has centred on the Global North, with the effect of "universalizing the subject from bounded locations and experiences" (Kempadoo, 1998: 12-13). Kempadoo (1998: 12-13) attributes this in part to some feminists' efforts to distance themselves from "histories of the over-sexualisation of non-western women in western cultures". Yet she also critiques "North American-Western European hegemony" in writings about sex work (Kempadoo, 1998: 14).

In Latin America, sex worker rights movements have been active for several decades, most having formed to fight police repression and brutality, and broader violence (Reynaga et al., 2004; Kempadoo, 1998; Hardy, 2010b; Koné, 2016; RedTraSex, 2007). The region's first transnational network, RedTraSex[23] was founded in 1997, connecting women sex worker activists across 15 countries, to advocate for legal and police reforms, quality healthcare and labour rights, and freedom from violence and stigma, urging the authorities to investigate the

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[23]*Red de Mujeres Trabajadoras Sexuales de Latinoamérica y el Caribe* (Network of Women Sex Workers of Latin America and the Caribbean).

unsolved murders of organisations' leaders and other sex workers (Hardy, 2010b)—achieving considerable successes in many of these respects (Koné, 2016). In 2014, activists across Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, and Mexico founded a second network, PLAPERTS[24], including sex workers of all genders. PLAPERTS organises around many of the same issues as RedTraSex but the networks differ on legal reforms. RedTraSex (2017) advocates laws that recognise autonomous female sex work but that prohibit the involvement of third parties whom they consider always exploitative. PLAPERTS (2017), on the other hand, advocates the decriminalisation of the latter, on the grounds that such laws are often misused to criminalise sex workers and their partners/families, and given existing laws to address exploitation (Van Meir, 2017).

Internationally, sex workers have become key political actors, delivering and developing HIV programmes, policies, and guidelines (WHO et al., 2013; Overs, 2002; Campbell and Cornish, 2012). They have successfully encouraged international health and human rights actors to advocate decriminalisation of sex work, in the interests of sex workers' health, safety and rights (Beyrer et al., 2015; Amnesty International, 2016). They have achieved important material gains in some settings, including improved access to healthcare, income support, credit, banking, and education (Hardy, 2010a; Cornish and Campbell, 2009; Basu et al., 2004); reductions in police raids and violence and, in a minority of cases, law reform (Hardy, 2010a; Abel, 2014; da Silva et al., 2013; Beattie et al., 2010; Biradavolu et al., 2009).

Yet such efforts face several challenges. Sex worker-led organisations receive under a third of the private funding available for sex-worker health programmes and they experience

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[24]*Plataforma Latinoamericana de Personas que Ejercen el Trabajo Sexual* (Latin American Movement of People who Exercise Sex Work).

ongoing difficulties in securing funds beyond a health remit; as such, many rely upon members volunteering (Mama Cash et al., 2014). The barring of all USAID-funding recipients from supporting sex work decriminalisation, and insistence that they explicitly oppose prostitution, has forced many sex worker health projects to close (Ditmore and Allman, 2013; Busza, 2006). Meanwhile, initiatives which afford some sex workers particular roles—e.g. as peer educators or community researchers—can reproduce hierarchies and tensions, as well as raising questions over whose voices represent diverse communities (Busza, 2006; Leite et al., 2015). Nor do such approaches always challenge power relations between sex workers and dominant institutions (Leite et al., 2015) (see Chapter 4, *Participatory research approaches*).

Amid the widespread discrediting of sex workers' voices (Price, 2012), Gall (2007) argues that unionisation has been hindered by a lack of identification with a 'sex work' discourse—among people who sell sex, labour unions and the public. Furthermore, intense stigma, criminalisation, police harassment, and competing time pressures deter joining sex worker organisations (Gall, 2007; Kerrigan et al., 2008; Murray et al., 2010; Hardy, 2010b). Other barriers include employers' restrictions, competition (Cornish and Ghosh, 2007; Mathieu, 2003; Busza, 2006), and the individualised nature of the work, such that individual resistance tactics may seem more "immediate, relevant and effective" (Gall, 2007: 85).

Experiences in Latin America are illustrative of these complexities. Hardy (2010a) attributes the unique success of Argentina's female sex worker union to their strategic alignment with labour and other social movements[25]—positioning themselves as workers and working-class. As well as securing access to non-judgemental health care and income support,

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[25]For example, they allied with the *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo*—a group of women whose children had "disappeared" during the military dictatorship and who rallied in defiance of the regime (Hardy, 2010a).

and co-founding a school for sex workers' and other women's children, they overturned police edicts that had allowed police to detain street-based sex workers, effectively decriminalising the sector. However, the latter generated intense political, media, and public panic in relation to trans sex work, and ended amid a growing abolitionist movement supported transnationally by radical feminists (Sabsay, 2011; Fassi, 2015; Van Meir, 2017). Nevertheless, trans activists in this setting have aligned with "marginal 'okupas' [trespassers], street-vendors, organized prostitutes, and picketers" to resist their collective spatial exclusion through privatisation (Di Pietro, 2016), and sex worker activists continue to advocate for legal recognition of their rights (Fassi, 2015) (see Chapter 2, *Geographies of sex work in Latin America*).

In Brazil—where the prostitutes' rights movement[26] has secured legal recognition of sex work (da Silva et al., 2013) and the Ministry of Health refused a large USAID grant because sex workers were their partners (Hinchberger, 2005)—HIV programmes have ended rights-based messages (Leite et al., 2015) amid an increasingly abolitionist agenda, and sex workers' opposition was widely ignored as violent anti-trafficking operations were rolled out (da Silva et al., 2013; Blanchette and da Silva, 2012; Amar, 2009). Murray (2015) therefore warns of the hazards of "state-sanctioned activism"—albeit noting that sex workers continue to engage in grassroots activism, including using public space to resist violence (Fassi, 2015; Murray, 2015; Blanchette and da Silva, 2012; Blanchette and Murray, 2016) (see Chapter 2, *Geographies of sex work in Latin America*).

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[26]This movement typically uses the term 'prostitute' rather than 'sex worker' (Blanchette and Murray, 2016).

Conclusion

Sex workers' safety is increasingly recognised as a public health concern which requires an understanding of its social and structural context, including the ways in which sex workers navigate and resist threats of violence (Katsulis et al., 2010; Shannon et al., 2008a; Blankenship et al., 2006). Existing research across disciplines and settings provides important insights, demonstrating the central importance of laws, policing, space, collective-organising and linked gender, racial, and economic power relations and inequalities. Sex workers internationally, and in Latin America in particular, have long organised against the extensive violence that they face, particularly by police and other institutional actors.

Internationally, there are emerging examples of collaborations between sex workers and other social movements, civil society, and state institutions that are driving police and legislative reforms, to take sex workers' safety seriously, hold those who assault or mistreatment them accountable and ultimately treat them as full citizens. However, these remain restricted by broader, divisive debates surrounding sex work governance and the extent to which sex workers are viewed as victims without agency, subjects requiring (biomedical) surveillance and control, or individuals capable of claiming their rights. This has profound effects on state and police responses to sex work, the spaces available to sex workers, and the possibilities for them to challenge the uneven power relations in which their daily lives and spaces are enmeshed. However, there are few grounded case studies that examine how these power relations play out in the everyday spaces of sex workers' lives in Latin America, amid important barriers to organising that often disproportionately affect those sex workers who are already most marginalised.

Aims & objectives

The overarching aim of this study was to explore the social and structural context of violence in the lived experiences of people who sell sex in Lima, Peru. As I outline in Chapter 2, I include structural, symbolic, and everyday forms of violence, and the experiences of female, trans, and male sex workers.

The specific objectives of the study were to:

- Describe sex workers' experiences of structural, symbolic, and everyday violence, and investigate how these forms of violence interact

- Explore the tactics that sex workers employ to navigate and resist violence and stigma

- Explore institutional perspectives on how social and structural factors do, and could, shape sex workers' experiences, and resistance, of violence

- Make recommendations to inform policy, practice, and advocacy in relation to challenging the structural, symbolic, and everyday violence that sex workers experience

Additional, overarching methodological objectives were to:

- Collaborate with sex workers in Lima to co-produce contextual, action-oriented knowledge

- Reflect critically upon the role of participatory approaches in challenging traditional power relations of knowledge production, in the fields of sex work and public health

Chapter 2—Theoretical & empirical framings

In this chapter, I outline the key concepts that inform this thesis, discussing critically how they have been employed in and about Latin America, and in sex work research internationally and regionally. I begin with the theories of power, structuration, performativity, and resistance that underpin my overall approach. I then discuss concepts of structural, symbolic, and everyday violence, and closely related stigma, examining how they have/not been combined with relational theories of power and agency. Finally, I outline the understandings of space and citizenship upon which I draw—examining how they have been conceptualised in the contexts of Latin America, sex work, and sex work in Latin America—before summarising how these theories, together, constitute the theoretical framework of this thesis.

Power & resistance

Power, agency & structuration

As is evident from Chapter 1, questions of power, agency, and gender are central to sex work debates (Koken, 2010; Ahmed, 2011). By arguing that women who sell sex are powerless in the face of absolute male domination, abolitionists assume only structural forces to be at work, albeit rarely defining the agency that sex workers are presumed to lack (Koken, 2010). Yet, framing all paid sex as violence against women masks the structural inequalities and injustices (e.g. poverty, racism, xenophobia, drug use and related inaccessibility to safer workplaces, housing, welfare and justice) which "expose some [women who sell sex] to greater occupational hazards than others" (Katsulis, 2009: 345), and says nothing about trans and male sex workers (Levy, 2015: 79). Meanwhile, a liberal feminist position that frames sex work solely as a matter of individual choice aligns with the neoliberal notion that people act and

make decisions free of structural constraints (Goode, 1997)—a position often attributed to, but rarely held by, sex worker rights activists (ICRSE, 2016a) and others who advocate decriminalisation of sex work (see e.g. Byng et al., 2016; Platt et al., 2016). Radical and liberal feminist positions on sex work therefore reinforce the structure/agency dichotomy that post-structuralists have vehemently rejected (Bourdieu, 1990; Giddens, 1984). Yet activists and academics across diverse settings call for a move beyond binaries of oppression versus empowerment (Weitzer, 2009; Tucker and Tuminez, 2011; Doezema, 1998), to situate sex workers' agency, decisions, safety, and well-being relative to gendered, racialised, and classed power relations (ICRSE, 2016a; Weitzer, 2006; Katsulis, 2009).

Foucault (1978; 1979) argued that power in contemporary times is exercised through all social relations, and via norms and techniques rather than solely through laws and state institutions. He argued that modern nation-states work to discipline bodies and control populations through surveillance and regulation, or *biopower*, particularly in the realms of sexual conduct and medicine (Foucault, 2008; Foucault, 1978; Hubbard, 2012a: 13). His linked concept of *governmentality* articulates how governments work to produce compliant and ordered citizens who, equipped with knowledge, come to govern themselves (Foucault, 1991). His analyses of Panopticon surveillance[27]—the design of prisons such that prisoners, unaware of when they were being observed, self-censured (Foucault, 1979)—have been particularly influential. Foucault (1980) also argued that dominant power relations dictate which discourses and voices are deemed credible and which are suppressed, and thus what comes to be considered as 'truth'—legitimacy which, in turn, reproduces their power. Such

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[27]This work did not always engage with how such surveillance censured sexuality (Howell, 2007: 300), an omission Foucault (1978: 27) addressed in later work.

knowledge-power relations (Foucault, 1980) are apparent in the framing of sex workers' voices as unreliable and/or unrepresentative by those in positions of dominance (Price, 2012). They are also reflected in writing about the Global South from the Global North, both in exoticising, (neo-)colonial accounts and in scholarship that imposes western analytical frames without engaging with contextual meanings and practices (Sabsay, 2012; Brown et al., 2010).

Foucault developed concepts of biopower and governmentality as neoliberalism was gaining popularity, defined by Harvey (2005: 2) as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced … within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade". This is reflected in states' shifts from providing health and welfare services, to equipping individuals with knowledge through which they should avoid risk (Krüsi et al., 2017). Biopower and governmentality have been used to critique how individually-targeted HIV programmes both enact social control over the bodies of people deemed at-risk of or living with HIV, and responsibilise them for their own 'risk behaviours' without attending to the broader contexts of their health and lives (Pienaar, 2016; de la Dehesa and Mukherjea, 2012; Krüsi et al., 2017; Bourgois et al., 1997) (see *Biological citizenship*, below).

Bourdieu (1977; 1984; 1990; 2006) conceptualises power in symbolic and cultural terms. He argues that our *dispositions*—socially and culturally-embedded practices, such as dress, language, conduct—shape our *habitus* or "practical sense". This, in turn, gives us a feel for the "rules of the game" (*doxa*) that govern the various *fields* within which we operate (e.g. institutions, networks) (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, rather than making rational decisions and following explicit rules, it is our habitus, and the *logic of practice* to which it gives rise, that govern our practices in any given situation (Bourdieu, 1990). Fields, and our position within

them, are shaped by the forms of *capital* we have at our disposal—economic (assets), social (networks) and cultural (e.g. knowledge of appropriate forms of language and behaviour) (Bourdieu, 1986); they are thus enmeshed in power relations (Stoebenau, 2009: 2046; Bourdieu, 1984). In his linked theories of *symbolic power* and *symbolic violence*, Bourdieu (1979) argues that these power relations become "masked" by the privileging of dominant groups' interests (see *Structural, symbolic & everyday violence*, below). As a result, the *status quo* is *misrecognised* as "natural", including by dominated groups, who become complicit in the systems that oppress them (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2004; Bourdieu, 1979).

Bourdieu and Foucault have been criticised for downplaying agency (Petersen and Bunton, 1997: 155; Alexander, 1995; Archer, 2003: 11-12), and for paying insufficient attention to gender (e.g. Fraser, 1997; Lovell, 2000; Hekman, 1996) and, in Foucault's case, postcolonial settings (Stoler), with linked critiques specific to sex work. While Foucault did much to centre socially-marginalised populations such as prisoners and sexual minorities, he and other queer theorists have had relatively little to say about sex workers (Beloso, 2017). Meanwhile, some have argued that Bourdieu's notion of misrecognition suggests that marginalised groups exhibit 'false consciousness' (Burawoy, 2012). The latter concept is particularly objectionable to sex worker and trans activists, having been used by prominent radical feminists to argue that sex workers who claim to have freely made the decision to sell sex are simply unaware of their patriarchal oppression (Levy, 2015: 47-8) and that trans people "internalise outmoded masculine or feminine stereotypes" (Stryker, 2006: 4).

Although Foucault wrote of "docile bodies", his later work on sexuality did allow for an "active self" (Foucault, 1978; Foucault, 1987; Foucault, 1988). Habitus and misrecognition, meanwhile, need not be interpreted as a denial of agency *per se*, but as "necessary [practical]

strategy" made visible by both conformity and transgression (Fernández-Esquer and Agoff, 2012; Bourdieu, 1998)—and as concepts that explain some but not all practices (Elder-Vass, 2007: 328). Thus Bourdieu (1998) does consider conscious reflection on one's habitus possible, though not commonplace. It is useful, here, to turn to Giddens (1984)'s theory of *structuration*. Giddens argues that structures (institutions, social systems, and norms)—(re)produced through the repetitive acts of individual and collective agents—are both the "medium and the outcome" of human action (agency), both constraining and enabling. Yet agents are also capable of achieving transformative social change by rejecting or reworking related norms and systems (Giddens, 1984). Rather than studying solely the experiences of individual actors or society as a whole, Giddens (1984) urges scholars to study *practices* to understand how systems are reproduced and transformed. Contrary to Bourdieu (1998), he considers reflexivity not just a possibility but an essential aspect of social processes (Giddens, 1984).

Feminists, queer theorists, and sex work scholars have drawn heavily on Foucault and, to a lesser extent Bourdieu, to analyse power relations beyond fixed notions of male dominance (e.g. Cornwall and Lindisfarne, 1994; Nencel, 2001); to critique juridico-legal and biopolitical governance (e.g. Scoular, 2010; Hubbard, 2012a; Wojcicki and Malala, 2001); and to examine relationships between criminalisation, stigma, and intersecting inequalities (Simic and Rhodes, 2009; Krüsi et al., 2016; Boesten, 2012). Wojcicki and Malala (2001: 116), for example, employ a Foucauldian analysis to argue that female sex workers' practices must be understood not as the acts of powerless women suffering sexism, racism, and poverty but as part of their "power struggles" with clients and others—as they seek to "maximiz[e] possibilities and potentials in an inhospitable and difficult environment". What appear to be

'risky' behaviours in public health terms, then, may in fact constitute protective tactics in broader economic, safety-related, and affective terms (Wojcicki and Malala, 2001).

Furthermore, feminist research philosophies draw parallels with Foucault (1980) in arguing that knowledge and knowledge-producers are always embedded in political, social, cultural and economic power relations (Haraway, 1988) (see Chapter 4, *Epistemological & ontological influences*). Meanwhile, Butler (1990)'s questioning of taken-for-granted assumptions about gender and our 'sexed bodies' draws direct inspiration from biopower and governmentality (Boesten, 2014: 220). Some authors (e.g. Lovell, 2000) also argue that combining concepts of habitus and symbolic power with feminist and queer theory (e.g. Butler, 1990) can help to understand practices as agentic yet informed by class.

The linked concept of *empowerment* is central to sex worker 'community-mobilisation' (public) health interventions and some sex worker activism. Originally developed as a means of raising collective-consciousness and driving transformative social change, empowerment was understood as a relational process concerned with challenging unequal power relations, linked to recognition and claiming of rights (Cornwall, 2016). Yet its individualised reformulation in much contemporary writing and programme development has been widely critiqued (Sholkamy, 2010; Grace, 1991), including in the context of sex worker HIV programmes (see e.g. Cornish and Campbell, 2009; Tucker and Tuminez, 2011). These authors urge a focus on the structural and social conditions that may facilitate or impede the success of such interventions—in other words, returning to relational understandings of power and agency. Later in the chapter, I discuss linked debates surrounding (neoliberal) individualised and collective conceptualisations of citizenship (see *What is citizenship & who are citizens?*).

Gender, performativity & intersectionality

Butler (1990) argued that gender identity is achieved through the "stylized repetition of acts through time" and "compelled by social sanction and taboo". Thus, gender is *performative* not in the sense of conscious sayings and doings, but through acts which have "been going on before one arrived on the scene" (Butler, 1988: 526). Yet since such acts are citational, they are open to slippage and subversion (Butler, 1990; Gregson and Rose, 2000). Butler's work has had a profound influence on feminist and queer theory (see e.g. Breen and Blumenfeld, 2005), calling into question the alignment of biology, bodies, sexuality, and gender, the naturalisation of heterosexuality and binary, fixed notions of gender (Butler, 1990). Yet she has also received intense criticism for privileging discourse to the neglect of material inequalities (e.g. Nussbaum, 1999). In later work, Butler (2009: 8) addresses links between performativity, repression and precarity directly, arguing that sexual and gendered norms have profound implications for whose lives are "liveable" and whose bodies "intelligible", holding the potential to "permit people to breathe, to desire, to love and to live, and … [to] restrict or eviscerate the conditions of life itself". Indeed, she criticised Fraser (1998; 1995) for conceptualising 'sexual injustice' in exclusively cultural terms, without considering related economic injustices (Butler, 1998).

Butler has also been criticised by transgender studies scholars and community activists who argue that her work suggests that "gender can be changed or rescripted at will, put on or taken off like a costume"—a critical concern to those for whom such a stance would "risk a profound misrecognition of their personhood" and in the context of vehement anti-transgender sentiment in radical feminist writing (Stryker, 2006: 11). Yet as Stryker (2006) points out, and Butler (2004) clarified in later work, *performativity*—grounded in speech act

theory—does not suggest that gender is a voluntary performance. Counter to 'constative acts' that describe or report and can be deemed 'true' or 'false', gender is a performative act achieved by 'doing'. Thus "the biologically-sexed body guarantees nothing; it is necessarily there, a ground for the act of speaking, but it has no deterministic relationship to performative gender" (Stryker, 2006: 10). Building on extensive writings by trans authors, transgender studies emerged in reaction to long-standing, juridico-medical pathologisation of gender-nonconformity, and a fraught relationship with gay and lesbian movements (Stryker, 2006; Stryker and Aizura, 2013). By rendering visible power relations of gendered difference—and critiquing "conditions that … allow gender normativity to disappear into the unanalysed, ambient background"—the field is of broad theoretical and political relevance to analyses of gender and power (Stryker, 2006: 3).

A rich literature attends to the social construction of femininities and masculinities. Early feminist work challenged biologically-deterministic characterisations of women, but has been heavily criticised for universalising the category of women, from a white, middle-class, western perspective (hooks, 1984; Hill Collins, 2000; Nicholson, 2013: 1). In response, feminist writers and activists are increasingly employing *intersectionality*—a term first coined by Crenshaw (1991) to reflect the specific oppression that Black women experience (Davis, 1983; hooks, 1984; Hill Collins, 2000)—to examine the intersecting axes along which women and others experience and resist violence, stigma and marginalisation; in other words, to "make visible the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it" (Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006: 187; Logie et al., 2011; Nichols, 2010; Katsulis, 2009). Yet the expanded use of intersectionality has also been critiqued. Noting a lack of clearly-described methodologies, McCall (2005) urges researchers to view identity categories

as dynamic and socially-produced. Others have questioned whether such categories are even separable, although critical realists highlight the value of their analytical distinction even if they are ontologically unified (Gunnarsson, 2017). In Latin America, multicultural feminists have used intersectional approaches to challenge the "discursive colonization of Western feminisms" (Espinosa Miñoso, 2009: 37). Yet as Di Pietro (2016: 682) argues, this requires attention to how marginalised groups resist and reclaim "hegemonic transcript[s] of gender, racial, and class identities". Indeed, intersectional analyses have often left unaddressed questions of "who defines when, where and which of these differences are rendered important in particular conceptions, and which are not" (Ludvig, 2006: 245).

Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994) argue that assumptions of universal male dominance hinder the generation of knowledge about power, gender, and sexuality. Thus, they call for a "dislocating" of masculinities, considering how their construction and performance may differ in relation to class, race, and sexuality, and economic, social, political, and cultural contexts. Connell (2005) argues that a model of "hegemonic masculinity" dominates, valuing aggression, strength, risk-taking, competition and sexual dominance. Yet such attributes are culturally and socially reproduced, and contingent upon concurrent masculinities that are subordinate, complicit, and/or marginalised (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 829) thus call for analyses of the dynamics and "geographies of masculinities" with concurrent focus on women's agency.

Gender & sexuality in Latin America

The concept of *machismo*, like that of hegemonic masculinity, has had a profound influence on research and popular stereotypes in and about Latin America—holding that 'Latin' men are

expected to dominate, in the public sphere and sexually, through unyielding aggression, arrogance, and control (Castaneda, 1996). The related concept of *marianismo* holds that women should embody passivity, purity, and nurture (Stevens, 1973)—the ideal 'sacrificial mother' imbuing "moral virtue, altruism and self-sacrifice" (Molyneux, 2006: 59). Yet analyses of *machismo* have been widely criticised for failing to account for racial, class, and sexuality-related diversity, and for racist representations of 'Latin' men in Anglo-American literature (Gutmann, 1996; Beattie, 2002; Nencel, 1996; Gutmann, 2003). Similarly, the concept of *marianismo* has been critiqued for its fixed vision of gendered power relations and extensive use beyond it conceptual origins (Mexico) with little empirical grounding (Navarro, 2002; Nencel, 2001). Thus, neither concept accounts for dynamic processes of gender and sexual expression (Kramer, 2005). Following Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994), Nencel (2001) makes the case for combining Foucauldian analyses of power with performativity in exploring the subjectivities of men who buy sex, and women who sell sex, in Peru (see Chapter 3, *Prostitution debates & geographies: repeated visions*).

There are important differences in how sexual and gender diversity are categorised, conceptualised, and lived in Latin America relative to the Global North[28]. Traditionally, male (homo)sexualities have been defined in accordance with sexual 'roles': *activo* ('active', similar to 'top') men adopting an insertive role are considered heterosexual and masculine, while *pasivo* ('passive', similar to 'bottom') men adopting a receptive role are viewed as homosexual and feminine (Cáceres and Rosasco, 1999; Clark et al., 2013; Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008). Yet

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[28]I concentrate here on sexual and gender diversity specific to male same-sex sexualities and transfeminine identities, the complexities and cultural specificities of which I go on to discuss. See (Thayer, 1997; Martínez, 2008; Rodríguez, 2003) for discussions of lesbian and broader queer identities, scholarship, literature, and activism in Latin American communities.

while this may offer men greater flexibility than fixed Anglo straight/gay identities (Lancaster, 1988), practice is not always as closely aligned as the above definitions infer (Parker, 2003; Cáceres, 1995). Gutmann (2003: 9-11) urges researchers to recognise *pasivo*-identified men's agency and situate their subjectivities relative to culture, history, sexual and gender norms, as well as the profound influences of neoliberalism, growing international sex markets, racialised representations of Latino masculinities, and Global North "models of sexuality" (Gutmann, 2003: 11, 18). Indeed, the term 'gay' has been taken up widely men in Latin America, particularly among the middle and/or upper classes (Clark et al., 2013), as well as by social scientists, journalists and in "popular vernacular" (Gutmann, 2003: 17). Yet others argue that the emergence of identities and activism can be attributed as much to "national developments" and "local histories" as external influence (Encarnación, 2016: 39).

Gender nonconformity is also distinctly conceptualised and lived relative to Anglo-American transgender identities (Stryker and Aizura, 2013). The term *travesti* remains widely used, including as a self- and collective identity, to describe those who, having been assigned male gender at birth, "adopt clothing, gestures and styles gendered female, mak[ing] permanent or semi-permanent body changes and attract[ing] feminine terms of address" (Cornwall, 1994: 113). Many do not consider themselves female or women *per se*—identities that are instead often associated with the capacity to give birth—but, rather, feminine (Pollock et al., 2016; Cornwall, 1994; Kulick, 1998). In ethnographic work in Salvador, Brazil, Kulick (1998) explains that *travestis* used female pronouns to address each other but considered it ludicrous that they might be considered women. They rejected boyfriends who showed interest in their penises or in being penetrated, as this would disqualify such boyfriends from being men, and it was typically only during sex with clients (who often asked to be

penetrated) that they experienced sexual pleasure (Kulick, 1998). In Lima, Pollock et al. (2016) argue that appearing as feminine was affirmed by being seen and desired by men. Di Pietro (2016), however, argues that *travestis'* performativities subvert and reclaim racialised representations of their bodies as hypersexual and scandalous, similarly to (Kulick, 1998)'s observations of "scandal as resistance" (see *(Everyday) resistance*, below).

Some but not all activists in Latin America have adopted the term *trans*(*género*) (trans(gender)) (RedLacTrans) to encompass transfeminine people who identify as *travesti*, transgender, transsexual or trans women (*mujeres trans*)[29] (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010; Runa, 2007: 17; Campuzano, 2008; Campuzano, 2009). Social scientists have typically employed the term *travesti* (e.g. Cavagnoud, 2014), sometimes interchangeably with *transgender* (Kulick, 1998), *trans* (Nureña et al., 2011) and/or *trans woman* (Pollock et al., 2016), while epidemiologists are increasingly using the latter (e.g. Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012) in departure from conflation with 'men who have sex with men' (Perez-Brumer et al., 2016). In this study, participants variously used *mujer/chica trans* (trans woman/girl) and *travesti*, and occasionally *transsexual*, to describe themselves and others (see Chapters 4-6). I have sought to reflect this diversity, following the *Instituto Runa* (2007) and others (e.g. Salazar and Villayzan, 2010), by using 'trans' as a short-hand, umbrella term. Otherwise, I employ the terms that participants and other authors use, retaining *'travesti'* in Spanish as its culturally-specific meaning does not translate directly into English (Kulick, 1998). I do so conscious of how categories of sexual and gender diversity have, at times, been transposed from Global

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[29]As well as trans men/trans masculine people (*hombres/varones trans*). Yet my focus is on transfeminine people, given their greater (documented) involvement in sex work in Latin America. There are no data relating to trans men selling sex in Lima, nor did we meet any trans men during fieldwork, to our knowledge.

North to Global South without consideration of local meanings (Atluri, 2012; Sabsay, 2011; Stryker and Aizura, 2013: 3-4). I do not use the term cis(gender), except to reflect on my own positionality (see Chapter 4, *Reflexivity & positionality*), and/or when used by other authors, as it is not used in Peru.

(Everyday) resistance

Rather than considering power as necessarily oppressive, Foucault (1978: 95) stressed its productivity, arguing that "where there is power, there is resistance". Yet he also offered the less hopeful view that such resistance typically serves to strengthen rather than disrupt dominant power relations (Foucault, 1978: 95). Arguing that research on resistance had focused disproportionately on visible, organised movements and rebellions, Scott (1985) turned his attention to *everyday resistance*. He argued that marginalised or 'subaltern' groups critique dominant norms through *hidden transcripts*—the ways they behave, speak, act and joke 'off-stage'—as compared with *public transcripts* of ostensibly compliant behaviour in the presence of dominant groups. de Certeau (2011: 35), meanwhile, distinguishes between the *strategies* of powerful groups that seek to maintain the dominant (spatial) order, and marginalised groups' *tactics*—subtle, everyday (spatial) practices that "elude discipline" and rework the "actual order of things … to their own ends" (de Certeau, 2011: 26, 96).

Scott has been criticised for underestimating the importance of social movements, particularly in Latin America, and the 'pessimistic' notion that small acts of resistance are the only achievable and/or desirable way to challenge the *status quo* (see e.g. Gutmann, 1993). Others are critical of an overemphasis on intentionality and the dichotomies of hidden/public transcripts and dominants/subalterns (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). Kulick (1996: 3), for

example, argues that *travestis* resist representations of themselves and their lives not through offstage hidden transcripts but public displays of 'scandal'. Nencel (2001), meanwhile, makes explicit her decision not to employ the concept of *everyday resistance* in her research with female sex workers in Lima. Instead, she opted to employ Scheper-Hughes (1992: 533)'s notion of *existence* that recognises both the "destructive signature of poverty" and the "creative, if often contradictory means" through which people "stay alive and even … thrive with their wit and their wits intact". de Certeau (2011), on the other hand, has been criticised for seeing resistance in *all* ways in which spaces and systems are used, regardless of how such practices relate to power (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). In a critical review, Vinthagen and Johansson (2013: 39) propose that everyday resistance be understood as practice (rather than conscious intention), intersectional, contingent and "historically entangled with (everyday) power".

Violence

Structural, symbolic & everyday violence

In public health and psychology, violence is typically characterised in terms of direct force, threats, coercion, and hostility (WHO, 2002; Keashly and Harvey, 2005). Yet anthropologists and sociologists also include assaults on an individual's "personhood, dignity, and sense of worth or value" (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois, 2004: 1). The concept of *structural violence*—originating in peace studies (Galtung, 1969) and Latin American liberation theology (Gutierrez, 1983: 132) and employed widely by medical anthropologist and clinician, Farmer (2004)—draws attention to the political, economic, and social forces that reproduce suffering and limit life choices along the axes of extreme poverty, racism, and gender inequality.

Analyses of structural violence thus reveal the power relations that (re)produce "unequal access to resources, services, rights, and security" in a postcolonial world (Bourgois, 2009: 9). The concept seeks to move away from victim-blaming and locate responsibility in dominant institutions and groups:

> "Structural violence is violence exerted systematically—that is, indirectly—by everyone who belongs to a certain social order: hence the discomfort these ideas provoke in a moral economy still geared to pinning praise or blame on individual actors. In short, the concept of structural violence is intended to inform the study of the social machinery of oppression … We will therefore need to examine, as well, the roles played by the erasure of historical memory and other forms of desocialization as enabling conditions of structures that are both 'sinful' and ostensibly 'nobody's fault'" (Farmer, 2004: 307).

Farmer (2003: 40-42) urges examination of how transnational political and economic forces, past and present, structure contemporary suffering and restrict agency. Following Bourdieu, he rejects the structure/agency dichotomy but is critical of exaggerated achievements of resistance in anthropological writing (Farmer, 2004: 273).

Farmer's conceptualisation of structural violence has received various critiques. Some consider it an opaque concept that needs to be "elaborated, complicated and diversified" (Bourgois and Scheper-Hughes, 2004: 318), with closer attention to the "subtleties and complexities of power relations and the microeconomics of difference" (Green, 2004: 319-20), and the specific effects of race and gender (Bourgois and Scheper-Hughes, 2004). One way to attend to the "micrologics of power" (Green, 2004: 319) is to couple analyses of structural violence with those of symbolic and everyday violence, and related theories of (bio)power (Bourgois and Scheper-Hughes, 2004; Foucault, 1978). Similarly to symbolic power, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) conceptualised *symbolic violence* to reflect how the privileging of dominant groups' interests, through language, images, and symbols, legitimises inequalities

such that they appear "natural", including to those that they oppress. *Everyday violence*, meanwhile, relates to the "invisible genocides ... [of] hitherto unrecognised, gratuitous and useless social suffering" and the "social production of indifference" to such violence (Scheper-Hughes, 1996: 889)—suffering that become normalised, and thus goes unnoticed, through its very pervasiveness.

The call for structural violence analyses to better address interrelations of race and gender, meanwhile, can be addressed through critical intersectional approaches (Janes and Corbett, 2009; McCall, 2005). In research with women who sell sex in Kenya, for example, Beckerleg and Hundt (2005) highlight the importance of situating participants' experiences relative to those with whom they share some but not all identities and/or circumstances, to understand the unique and shared mechanisms through which structural violence may operate. Some authors haves sought, explicitly, to emphasise the "powerlessness" of demonised groups, to encourage readers to "recognize emotionally as well as intellectually their common humanity", as in Bourgois (2002: 227)'s ethnographic research with Puerto Rican crack dealers in New York City. While the latter is a vital endeavour amid neoliberal discourses of blame, such efforts require great caution in sex work studies, to avoid replacing assumptions of deviance with those of victimhood (Sanders, 2016; Scorgie et al., 2013b).

Structural violence in sex work: where does agency fit in?

Analyses of structural, symbolic, and everyday violence have provided important insights into how policing, stigma, and related inequalities shape sex workers' vulnerability to HIV (Shannon et al., 2008a), direct violence (Lyons et al., 2017), and (in-)access to healthcare and justice (Basnyat, 2017; ICRSE, 2014). Yet such work has varied in the extent to which it

examines agency and resistance. In Vancouver, Canada, following legislative change that criminalised the purchase of sex and ostensibly protected sex workers as 'victims', Krüsi et al. (2016) argue that continued police failures to respond to their reports of violence constitutes a form of everyday violence. Also in Vancouver, Lyons et al. (2017) demonstrate how transphobia intersects with criminalisation, sex work- and drug-related stigma, to reproduce symbolic and structural violence—reflected in client violence on discovery of trans sex workers' gender identity; police blame and failures to protect them; and self-blame for violence. In various cities across Serbia, ubiquitous and violent "moral policing", targeting trans and Roma sex workers most brutally, was widely accepted as part of the job, and exacerbated their marginalisation (Rhodes et al., 2008; Simic and Rhodes, 2009). Trans sex workers also experienced client violence and "contempt" but employed tactics of resistance, including responding with violence and "cheating" clients[30] (Simic and Rhodes, 2009: 9).

As discussed in Chapter 1, Katsulis and colleagues' (2010; 2009: 72) work in Tijuana illustrates how structural violence connects with direct, physical violence—the regulation system excluding already-marginalised sex workers from the relative safety of tolerance zones/venues. Katsulis (2009: 72) argues that a structural violence approach "allow[s] one to move beyond the victim/perpetrator dichotomy at the level of the individual and into these social settings that encourage, produce, or otherwise enable violence of the more physical kind." Yet the authors also pay close attention to sex workers' agentic safety tactics, within the constraints of their working environments, the regulation system, and related social, cultural, and economic power relations (Katsulis et al., 2010). Others have employed

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[30]For example, faking penetrative sex, overcharging or robbing (Simic and Rhodes, 2009).

Foucauldian notions of power to similar ends. Shannon et al. (2008a) demonstrate how for women engaged in survival sex work in Vancouver, Canada, their agency, access to services, and capacity for HIV risk reduction were restricted by a lack of secure legal work locations, repressive policing, boyfriends acting as what women described as "glorified pimps"[31], the everyday violence of abusive clients, and drug withdrawals. Nevertheless, women retained a measure of control over their safety and income, for example by screening clients, setting prices, and working in pairs.

A structural violence lens has also been employed to examine the reworking of dominant power relations in the context of community-mobilisation programmes. In common with other studies (Biradavolu et al., 2009; Lalani, 2014), Argento et al. (2011) document how sex workers and practitioners in Karnataka, India have worked collaboratively to improve relationships with police and lodge[32] owners and develop community-based safety strategies, leading to reductions in police violence and improved reporting. However, they also observed an increase in violence by male partners, which they hypothesise may be a response to sex workers' increased assertiveness but may also reflect their greater willingness and capacity to report violence (Argento et al., 2011). Critically, these authors do not envisage sex workers' practices or decisions as free from structural constraints but as centrally connected to them, recalling *structuration* theory (Giddens, 1984).

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[31]Shannon et al. (2008a) offer a more nuanced account of the relations of affection, money, control, and drug use shaping these relationships than is apparent in much of the public health and broader sex work literature (Horning and Marcus, 2017), albeit focusing more on dimensions of control than affection.

[32]Locations in which women provided sexual services (Argento et al., 2011).

(State) violence & neoliberalism in Latin America

Latin America is a politically- and culturally-diverse region, but a number of common issues are salient to analyses of violence. High rates of partner, interpersonal, and community violence (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006; Briceño-León and Zubillaga, 2002) are variously attributed to economic inequalities, rapid urban growth, and shifts in social norms, drugs markets, firearm availability, and organised crime (Cruz, 2016; Briceño-León, 2005; Figueroa, 1996). However, some authors argue that such patterns can only be understood in terms of pervasive state and structural violence (Cruz, 2016). Sanchez R (2006: 178) argues that the structural violence reflected in extreme racial, class, and gender inequalities—and exacerbated by International Monetary Fund (IMF)-imposed structural adjustment[33] and neoliberal reforms (Portes and Hoffman, 2003)—led to increases in 'criminal' and 'radical violence'[34] and responses of state violence. Addressing community violence thus requires a structural lens, and analysis of the state's role, as opposed to "repressive measures to 'restore law and order' and 'punish lawbreakers'" (Sanchez R, 2006: 180). Yet this requires policy makers to reject binaries of "formality-informality, legality-illegality, victim-attacker, and criminal-citizen" (Sanchez R, 2006: 180).

Since the structural re-adjustment era, informal economies (Stephen, 1997)— activities that are unregistered and unregulated by the city or state, and that do not incur taxes or offer contracts, benefits, or labour protections (Gandolfo, 2009: 222)—have grown dramatically.

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[33]This involved conditions being placed on IMF and World Bank loans, including privatising state-owned industries, reducing government subsidies, cutting state-run services and devaluing currency—aimed at making states more profitable and more likely to repay former loans. These programmes spelt the continued economic and political influence of the Global North, and the U.S. in particular, in Latin America (Kay, 1993).

[34]By 'radical violence', Sanchez R (2006) is referring to leftist armed struggles and terrorist movements waging war on elitist governments.

Despite their interdependence and the fact that many people participate in both (Gandolfo, 2009: 222), Stephen (1997: 9-10) argues that the division between formal and informal sectors holds "an important political function", conjuring images of a "haphazard and unimportant part of the economy" that is illegitimate, marginal and traditional, counter to "a 'modern' sector" (Stephen, 1997: 9-10)—such representations ignoring that informal economies are themselves "a product of capitalism" (Campoamor, 2016: 159).

Studies examining state responses to crime in Latin America have typically concentrated on institutional weaknesses, corruption, and public mistrust rather than analysing states' roles in enacting and sustaining violence (Cruz, 2016). Cruz (2016: 6) attributes this lacuna partly to expectations that the (re-)democratisation of states post-authoritarian rule would generate a "political order less conducive to social violence", yet this has not been the experience in many countries. In Peru, Boesten (2012) links state violence to high rates of violence against women, and reinforced racial and class inequalities. This is reflected in the state's complicity in sexual violence, largely against indigenous poor women, during a two-decade internal conflict (1980s-90s)[35], their subsequent refusal to be held accountable, and ongoing failures to address domestic violence despite long-standing programmes. Thus, she argues that there is a need to examine the state's role as "perpetrator of violence" and to acknowledge that its efforts to promote women's rights are at odds with the "ideological agenda of preserving the family unit at all costs" (Boesten, 2012: 376). In an economically and socially-marginalised neighbourhood of Lima, Buller Soto (2010: 149, 163, 232) argues that violence between men becomes a "short-cut" to enacting masculinity in a

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[35]See Chapter 3, *Political violence, neoliberalism & moves towards 'participatory' governance.*

context of pervasive racism, social, and economic inequalities, "area stigma", and the "terrorist legacy" of political violence. Later in the chapter, I discuss the closely-linked issues of citizenship and social movements (see *Citizenship in Latin America*).

Stigma

Stigma—an important mechanism and effect of structural, symbolic, and everyday violence—is widely acknowledged in sex work research but often without explicit theorisation (for notable exceptions, see e.g. Scambler and Paoli, 2008; Weitzer, 2017; Koken, 2012; Pheterson, 1993). Goffman (1963: 14) first defined stigma as a "discrediting" (visible) or "discreditable" (invisible) attribute or behaviour that diminishes the individual "from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one". Despite frequent criticism for this individual focus, Goffman (1963: 14) in fact also argued that stigma is generated through social interactions between those who do and do not possess the attribute in question; processes that Link and Phelan (2001) differentiate into labelling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination. Stigma thus reflects how the 'self' relates to the 'other', operating by way of:

> "…exclusionary, dichotomous contradictions that allow us to draw safe boundaries around the acceptable, the permissible, the desirable, so as to contain our own fears and phobias about sickness, death and decay, madness and violence, sexuality and chaos" (Scheper-Hughes, 1992: 374).

Scambler and Paoli (2008: 1849) differentiate between *shame* (stigma) and *blame* ('deviance'), the former denoting a form of "social unacceptability for which the bearer is not personally responsible"—a state of *being*—and the latter a deviation from accepted norms for which the individual has some "moral culpability"—a wrong*doing*. Stigma may be 'enacted' by others, or 'felt' as an internalised sense of shame/blame or fear of enacted stigma (Scambler and Hopkins, 1986). It is therefore relational, power-infused, and structural, (re)producing and

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sustained by uneven power relations that set apart the "devalued" from the "superior" (Parker and Aggleton, 2003: 16).

Goffman (1963) described various stigma management tactics, such as *passing* (i.e. keeping one's stigmatised identity/practice/condition hidden), *covering* (selective disclosure), not disclosing information about one's life, and only spending time with like-peers, yet he did not consider how stigma is *resisted* (Weitzer, 2017). Thoits' (2011) differentiation between *deflecting* and *challenging* stigma is useful here. For Thoits (2011), deflecting stigma involves masking or distancing oneself from a particular identity (i.e. 'that's not me', 'I'm not that kind of …', 'that's not all I am'). Challenging stigma, meanwhile, involves questioning its premise (effectively asking 'Why should this aspect of my identity be stigmatised/ing?'). The former might thus be achieved by avoiding situations in which the relevant identity, practice or condition could be revealed, and/or downplaying its importance, while the latter may involve some form of confrontation. Despite this neat analytical division, everyday tactics for navigating stigma may often involve elements of both deflection and challenge (Thoits, 2011). Less work has theorised how stigma is resisted collectively (Weitzer, 2017).

Discursive production of sex work stigma

Extensive academic and community literature documents the stigma that sex workers experience across diverse settings, including its intersections with criminalisation, racism, xenophobia, poverty, drug use, misogyny, transphobia, homophobia, and HIV-related stigma (see e.g.Scambler and Paoli, 2008; Logie et al., 2011; Wong et al., 2011; Foley, 2017; Padilla et al., 2008). Pheterson (1993; 1990: 397) employed the term 'whore stigma' to reflect a "social and legal branding of women" who are thought to be or behave like prostitutes, based on the

"female dishonour" of having multiple and 'indiscriminate' sexual partners—a stigma not exclusive to, but exacerbated for, women who sell sex given the additional stigmatisation of paid-for sex. Extensive scholarship has examined the relationship between sex work stigma and legal, spatial, and biological forms of governance (e.g. Sabsay, 2011; Scoular, 2004; Kotiswaran, 2010; Hubbard, 2012a). Such work demonstrates that efforts to prohibit and regulate prostitution have (re)produced and reflected notions that people who sell sex are deviant, dangerous and diseased 'others', threatening families, communities, nation-states, and modernity (Guy, 1991; Drinot, 2006; Hubbard, 2004a; Blanchette and da Silva, 2011; Rivers-Moore, 2010); in contemporary terms, an anti-social 'nuisance' disrupting public safety, morality, health and urban development (Scoular, 2010; Sanders, 2009; Bell, 1994). Abolitionist approaches, on the other hand, have variously characterised sex workers as pitiful (female) victims to be 'rescued' from vice, unhygienic conditions, and/or exploitation, amid anxieties surrounding immigration and other global transformations (Drinot, 2006; Scoular, 2010). This is exemplified by 19th discourses of 'white slavery' (Guy, 1991; Drinot, 2006), and contemporary ones of 'sexual' and 'modern slavery' which conflate voluntary sex work and/or migration with trafficking without interrogating the role of repressive immigration measures (O'Connell Davidson, 2012; Levy, 2015).

The construction of sex workers as dangerous/'risky' and vulnerable/'at-risk' is also reflected in contemporary (public) health policies and practices (Krüsi et al., 2016; Drinot, 2006; Brown and Sanders, 2017). Regulatory models which mandate routine HIV/STI testing and psychological assessments construct sex workers as 'vectors of disease' (Foucault, 1978; Drinot, 2006) and sex work as intrinsically damaging (A Diverse Group of Berlin-Based Sex Worker Activists, 2016), respectively—discourses implicitly reinforced by the silence of public

health and medical professionals over such policies (Grenfell et al., 2018). Such representations are also reinforced by research, policy and practice that considers sex workers' health only insofar as its implications for the HIV epidemic (Prüss-Ustün et al., 2013), and that responsibilises them to avoid 'risky' practices and/or collectively labels all sex workers as 'at-risk' without attending to contingent social and structural conditions (Shannon et al., 2008a; Krüsi et al., 2017; Grenfell et al., 2018). As discussed in Chapter 1, sex work laws and, to some extent related public health policies, have neglected trans and male sex workers. Nevertheless, a growing literature documents the history of shaming and blaming discourses surrounding male sex work, the widespread assumption of trans women's involvement in sex work, and the particular stigma trans and male sex workers experience at the intersections of sex work and presumed sexual and/or gendered transgression (Padilla et al., 2008; Lyons et al., 2017; Infante et al., 2009; Nichols, 2010) (see Chapter 1, *Shifting representations of sex work & violence*).

In recent decades, the concept of sex work as work, and the related issue of sex workers' rights, have emerged as an important counter-discourse to stereotypical representations of sex work(ers). This is reflected in the long-standing activism of, and writings by and about, sex worker movements (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; Macioti and Geymonat, 2016; Reynaga et al., 2004), and their collaborations with dominant institutions—evident, for example, in the recent policy positions of international health and human rights organisations (WHO, 2012; Amnesty International, 2016). While a key political goal of the sex worker rights movement is to move from a framework of criminalisation to one of labour rights, challenging stigma is a central element (see *Collective stigma resistance*, below). Yet as outlined in Chapter 1, there are multiple barriers to collective organising and this counter-discourse is far from universally employed by people who sell sex. Dismantling

sex work stigma thus requires insights into the complex ways in which sex workers negotiate and/or challenge it through everyday narratives and practices, as well as more formalised actions (Robillard, 2010).

Dealing with stigma

Across diverse settings, female sex workers describe variously managing stigma by passing, covering and "coming out" fully (Koken, 2012); employing mockery and humour (Downe, 1999); using drugs; and separating work and personal lives, physically, socially, and emotionally[36] (Robillard, 2010; Sanders, 2005; Brewis and Linstead, 2000; Day, 2007: 34-39). For those who provide sexual services alongside other work, such as Latin American women working in U.S. *cantinas*[37], ambiguity and euphemisms can "partially distort, often very subtly" work-related stigma—through a logic of practice made visible by the few who resisted culturally-embedded gender norms by expressing pride in their work (Fernández-Esquer and Agoff, 2012: 417). For others, framing their work as occupational and/or themselves as (sex) workers can help to resist sex work stigma and improve self-esteem, reflected in the experiences of street-based sex workers in Argentina (Hardy, 2010a), escorts in the U.S. (Koken, 2012), and extensive writings by sex workers and activists (see *Collective stigma resistance*, below). Koken (2012: 223) hints at the reflexive process involved, arguing that this requires a "reimagining [of] the meaning of sex work away from deviancy".

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[36]The separation of work and personal identities has been written about more broadly as a form of emotion and impression management (see e.g. Brewis and Linstead, 2000)—one which may be stressful and require considerable emotional labour (Brewis and Linstead, 2000; Hochschild, 1983)—and as a business strategy, capitalising on clients' gendered and racialised desires (see e.g. Sanders, 2005).

[37]Bars/canteens where women provide company to men who buy them beer and who are often assumed to, and may, also provide sexual services (Fernández-Esquer and Agoff, 2012).

Whether intentional or not, then, some of these discursive tactics clearly function to deflect (e.g. not disclosing one's work) and challenge sex work stigma (e.g. describing it as a job and/or source of pride). Yet others operate in more subtle, complex ways. Research across diverse settings demonstrates how female sex workers' foregrounding of their identities as mothers who make sacrifices for their children—and distancing themselves from notions of sexual pleasure—may help to resist blame (Rivers-Moore, 2010; Carrasco et al., 2017; Zalwango et al., 2010; Nencel, 2001). In Tarija, Bolivia, Robillard (2010) argues that women's self-presentation as mothers and honourable *señoras*[38] drew on idealised feminine attributes of honour, nurture, and maternal sacrifice. Yet it also challenged the dominant imaginary of sex work in so doing. Meanwhile, female sex workers in San José, Costa Rica, who gradually voiced a wider range of material and social possibilities that their work enabled, resisted notions that they threaten modernity, instead demonstrating that they are 'neoliberal subjects' whose strategies align with the demands of a free-market economy (Rivers-Moore, 2010).

A smaller literature explores how male sex workers manage intersecting stigmas relative to broader norms and global processes. Research in Mexico and Dominican Republic demonstrates how men might hide their work (Infante et al., 2009), invent other occupations to explain income, present girlfriends to family members to "perform heterosexual normalcy", and/or stress that they sell sex for economic reasons only (Padilla et al., 2008: 385). In Rio de Janeiro, meanwhile, for young men selling sex to foreign tourists, possibilities of consumerism and hopes of migration served both as "emotional management technique[s]" and ways to "rethink their position in society and possible relationship to a globalized world", even if such

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[38]A term inferring a particular position in local class and ethnic hierarchies (Robillard, 2010).

expectations were rarely fulfilled (Mitchell, 2010: 95). In the U.S., male escorts might seek to pass, cover, or frame their sex work as occupational, altruistic and/or "normative in the gay community" (Koken et al., 2004: 13)—tactics that can be understood to deflect and resist stigma respectively. Few data are available on trans workers' stigma management *per se*, but tactics for avoiding violence by clients include seeking to "pass" as (cis) women (Lyons et al., 2017). Meanwhile, Katsulis et al. (2010: 118) demonstrate how trans sex workers in Tijuana may adopt the role of "dutiful daughter or sister" in providing financial support to their families—not articulated in the context of stigma management but that of gender performance more broadly. Research across settings also demonstrates how sex work may provide spaces through which trans sex workers can live out, be desired for, and generate income through their femininity (Campuzano, 2008), amid intense transphobia and related social and economic marginalisation (Sausa et al., 2007; Campuzano, 2008).

Sex workers' emphasis on certain working practices provides further insight into stigma management, as well as community norms. Research across diverse settings demonstrates that sex workers emphasise their integrity, professionalism and authenticity (Lindemann, 2013; Pheterson, 1993); prioritising safety, health and hygiene (Simic and Rhodes, 2009; Pheterson, 1993); operating in regulated venues and abiding by registration requirements (Robillard, 2010; Foley, 2017); maintaining control over relationships with clients and working autonomously (Pheterson, 1993; Weitzer, 2017; Morrison and Whitehead, 2005); and working as escorts as opposed to on the street (Morrison and Whitehead, 2005)—sometimes in direct criticism of those who do not work in these ways (Robillard, 2010; Lindemann, 2013). These narratives might also, at times, connect with those of motherhood:

in Tijuana, women who were sole providers framed their consistent use of condoms with clients as a means of protecting their children (Choudhury, 2010).

These discursive tactics disrupt binary constructions of sex workers as dangerous/risky and vulnerable/at-risk (Krüsi et al., 2016) and so may help to resist stigma for those who are able and/or willing to engage in these working practices (Weitzer, 2017). However, these representations can also produce a distant other (Simic and Rhodes, 2009), separating sex workers along the lines of moral, economic, and health-related capital and responsibilities, through "regimes of stigmatization" (Lindemann, 2013)—deflecting rather than challenging broader sex work stigma. They may also have differing effects in terms of blame and shame. Law (1997: 114), for example, observes how stressing a *lack* of choice over one's work, for example on financial grounds, can "appropriat[e] … the naturalness of choice" to avoid moral condemnation, yet this requires framing oneself as un-agentic.

Deflecting and challenging stigma, then, involves complex negotiation of dominant norms, discourses and counter-discourses relating to sex work, gender, and sexuality. Yet while these analyses provide insights into how sex workers manage stigma at the intersections of sex work, gender, and sexuality, they offer fewer insights into intersecting power relations of class and race, and how sex work stigma is resisted collectively and structurally.

Collective stigma resistance

Weitzer (2017) highlights a number of approaches to resisting sex work stigma: using the "neutral language" of 'sex work' as opposed to 'prostitution'; mass media strategies to challenge stigmatising discourses; decriminalisation; "mobilization" of owners and managers; sex worker activism; and academics' engagement in challenging stereotypical notions of sex

work(ers). Although this offers a useful focus on challenging stigma structurally, Weitzer's commentary has been critiqued for paying insufficient attention to gendered, classed and racialised relations of power (Phoenix, 2017). Furthermore, while he acknowledges some community literature, he does not discuss sex workers' use of art, theatre, photography, and protest (e.g. Macioti and Geymonat, 2016; Mgbako, 2016; NSWP, 2016) or stigma resistance within sex worker-led HIV programmes (e.g. Blankenship et al., 2010; Biradavolu et al., 2012; Cornish, 2006a; Carrasco et al., 2017). Finally, by dismissing individual "acts of resistance" against sex work stigma as having "little or no impact on the wider society" (Weitzer, 2017: 4), he does not consider how these acts may connect with contemporary grassroots sex worker activism.

Campbell and Deacon (2006: 413) are critical of anti-stigma work that privileges individual (e.g. counselling, tolerance) or macro-structural approaches (e.g. laws, policies) to the neglect of the other. They therefore urge analyses of how individuals self-discipline "in ways that support the economic and political *status quo*" yet, in specific circumstances, "contest, even transform, stigmatising representations and practices" (Campbell and Deacon, 2006: 413). Similarly, Biradavolu et al. (2012) argue that anti-stigma work should not rely solely on coping skills and tolerance, but on "produc[ing] social transformations through mobilisation of disadvantaged communities". Scambler and Paoli (2008: 1860) consider such resistance "pivotal for collective or bottom-up health initiatives" but argue that political change is likely to require alliances with other social, labour and/or women's[39] movements. Cornish (2006a) proposes three means through which community mobilisation programmes

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[39]The authors' focus on female sex work may be why they do not explicitly mention LGBT, gay or trans rights movements. Indeed, much work with women who sell sex presumes their heterosexuality (Dennis, 2008).

can actively challenge sex work stigma. First, they may articulate stigma/discrimination as not inevitable but due to a lack of recognised rights. Second, they may offer examples of other groups that have been successful in claiming rights. Third, they may identify examples of members of their own community whose circumstances have improved materially.

Stigma-resistance efforts within such programmes provide valuable insights. In Rajahmundry, India, Blankenship et al. (2010) observe how sex workers reworked a stigmatising, ill-informed governmental HIV awareness campaign, in which they were obliged to participate as 'peer educators'. They did so by holding parallel events, disseminating information on their own activities and accurate HIV-related messages, challenging stigmatising representations, and reframing themselves as health educators—in other words, repurposing the infrastructure of dominant institutions to challenge them. Yet even these activities reproduced certain elements of stigma, as guest speakers variously called for sex workers' "rehabilitation" and framed sex work as a social service preventing other women from being raped or infected with HIV (Blankenship et al., 2010). Biradavolu et al. (2012) demonstrate that programme efforts to challenge stigma were successful to the extent that peer educators were willing to publicly identify as sex workers and encourage others to attend clinics. Yet women who worked discreetly from home in rural areas remained reluctant to attend, in part to avoid being seen with known sex workers (Biradavolu et al., 2012).

In a similar programme in Corumbá, Brazil, some women sought to improve collective status by forming a sex worker association and challenging discourses of immorality, while others sought to improve individual status, and achieve social mobility, by aligning with activities and groups not associated with sex work (Murray et al., 2010). The authors therefore argue that community mobilisation programmes that foster shared spaces for "critical self-

reflection"—by sex workers, programme managers and researchers alike—and emphasise "acceptance and solidarity" in collective action, are likely to be more effective than those that "mobilis[e] around a 'sex worker identity'" (Murray et al., 2010: 293). In Tarija, Bolivia, Robillard (2010) recommends that anti-stigma initiatives aimed at the authorities and the public promote sex workers' "femininity and motherhood" while reflecting sex workers' diverse identities and experiences—although she does not discuss how the latter might be achieved and/or how such an approach might affect sex workers who are not mothers (Nencel, 2001). She also notes that, while the term 'sex worker' is of symbolic and strategic importance, it is rarely used by women in Tarija, although most did identify as workers. Here it is worth recalling Hardy (2010a)'s work in Argentina, and the symbolic and material gains sex workers have achieved—including in relation to rejecting stigma—by organising around a worker identity in alignment with those in other industries.

Space

Space in public health research on sex work

Space is a central theme in much sex work research but rarely is it conceptualised in depth (see *Geographies of sex work*, below, for important exceptions). Furthermore, public health research frequently examines effects of 'place' in isolation of individuals' relations to it (Cummins et al., 2007). Epidemiological and some qualitative analyses, for example, frequently link certain sex work locations with greater or lesser 'risk' (see e.g. Deering et al., 2014's review). Yet they typically characterise these as fixed environments without capturing the social, economic, and political relations that constitute them (Goldenberg et al., 2015) or how sex workers navigate, move between, and/or rework them (Draus et al., 2015; for

exceptions, see e.g. Shannon et al., 2008b; Shannon et al., 2009). This has implications for both discursive representations and material understandings of how violence and stigma are produced and resisted.

Public health researchers studying sex work are increasingly employing Rhodes (2002: 88)'s *risk environment* concept, which considers types of environments (physical, social, economic and political) and levels of environmental influence (micro and macro) that co-constitute "the space—whether social or physical—in which a variety of factors interact to increase the chances of … harm". Key aims include capturing the "contradictory and situated pressures" shaping individuals' practices and decisions (Rhodes, 2002: 86), and "shift[ing] responsibility for harm" to implicated social, political, and economic institutions (Rhodes, 2009: 88). Analyses using this framework have documented important influences on sex workers' safety and health. In Phnom Penh, Cambodia (Maher et al., 2011) and Mumbai, India (Bandewar et al., 2016), such analyses have demonstrated that anti-trafficking raids, coupled with gentrification, and expanded mobile phone technology, have led female sex workers to move from brothels and red-light districts to less organised and visible settings. There, they lacked access to outreach services, peer and manager protection, increasing their vulnerability to violence, police harassment and sexual health risks (Maher et al., 2011; Bandewar et al., 2016). In Baltimore, U.S., Sherman et al. (2015)'s focus on the police risk environment documented frequent experiences of stigma, sexual extortion and violence by officers, and their reports being widely discounted.

Conscious of the potential for over-determinism, Rhodes (2009) encourages the coupling of risk environment analyses with structuration theory (Giddens, 1984), to consider how individuals are both constrained and enabled. The heuristic does not, however, provide

an explicit conceptualisation of space. Nevertheless, (qualitative) public health researchers are beginning to draw on the work of geographers to examine the effects of sex work governance and related urban processes, and their implications for sex workers' safety, health and citizenship rights (Krüsi et al., 2016; Draus et al., 2015) (see *Geographies of sex work*, below).

Space as socially produced, performed & contested

Critical of representations of space as a container or surface in/on which we live our lives, Lefebvre (1991) conceptualises space, to quote Jones (1994: 1), as a site where "social relations are reproduced (gender, race), invented (myths, stereotypes), identity constructed ('who you are depends on where you are'), and power exercised or opposed". Thus, while space is a site of domination, it may be diverted or appropriated for other means (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre (1991) differentiated analytically between three forms of space (albeit recognising their intersections and tensions): space which is *perceived*, through popular spatial practices often disregarded by those in power; space *conceived* by 'professionals' (e.g. urban planners, developers, scientists) through dominant discourses, imagery and forms of knowledge (representations of space); and space *lived* bodily (spaces of representation). Similarly, Massey (2005) understands space not as static and pre-determined but as continually made and remade through relations of power between actors, symbols and objects—in other words, it is relational, varied and always in the making. She urges us to recognise time and space as co-constitutive (put simply, space produces history and time produces geography) and not to draw boundaries around places, but to understand them as "articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings" (Massey, 1994: 6-7).

Struggles over urban space may therefore be practical and political—a means of preserving and reconfiguring spaces of work and life, but also of challenging the dominant order and claiming one's "right to the city" (Lefebvre, 1991). Gregson and Rose (2000: 434) use the concept of performativity (Butler, 1990) to argue that spaces and discourses are "brought into being" not only through actors' conscious acts but through their repetitive practices. These practices reproduce dominant discourses and discipline subjects' performances but, through their iteration, may 'slip' and disrupt the *status quo*. The authors are critical of overreliance in human geography on Goffman's (1959) concept of performance as conscious acts by rational agents, rather than understanding subjectivities, identities and spaces as coming into being through their enactment.

Geographies of exclusion, difference & sexualities

The relationship between identity construction, space and power is central to scholarship on the geographies of difference, exclusion (Sibley, 1995; Cresswell, 1996) and sexualities (Bell and Valentine; Browne et al., 2007). Sibley (1995) argued that people considered dangerous or polluting are spatially excluded through processes of abjection and boundary-making—grounded in psychoanalytical theories that our fears of being unable to separate our bodies and self from defilement generate anxiety and disgust. This produces "geographies of exclusion" and a dismissal of the voices of those excluded (Sibley, 1995). Cresswell (1996: 55), meanwhile, argued that notions of what is appropriate in a particular space constructs certain practices and bodies as 'in place' and others as 'out of place'[40]—working to "naturalize

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[T]his recalls Douglas (1966)'s influential work on 'matter out of place'.

distinctions between normality and deviance" (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003: 79), establish 'truth' and maintain order.

Spatial transgression could be read as a lack of knowledge of these norms, but it may also reflect a *critique* of them, "part of an act of resistance, using our power to challenge what is seen as normal and correct" (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001: 206). It is thus crucial to examine these geographies from the perspectives of those they seek to exclude (Hubbard, 1999b: 184-5; Sibley, 1995). de Certeau (2011)'s tactics of everyday resistance are pertinent here. Yet as Hubbard (1999b: 172) stresses, resistance is evident not only in direct challenges to power and "acting 'out of place'", but also in efforts to rework spaces out of the view of powerful groups—what Scott (1985) terms 'off-stage'. Scholarship on the geographies of sexualities links closely with Cresswell's work, reflected in Browne et al. (2007: 4)'s articulation of the role of place and "common sense" in disciplining our actions:

> "Not only are the places we inhabit made through our repeated actions such that we take their normality for granted, but these places produce us precisely because we so often do what we are *supposed* to do—what is 'common sense in a given place".

Initial work focused on sexual minorities, observing how lesbians and gay men had to conceal their same-sex affection and/or desire in 'everyday' spaces, and how by appropriating heterosexual spaces, they sought to resist the dominant spatial order (Browne et al., 2007; Hubbard, 2000: 129, 205)—although Hubbard (2001) questions the emancipatory potential of the latter (see *Sexual citizenship* and *Sex workers' citizenship*, below). More recent attention has turned to how heterosexuality is "naturalised in (and through) space", via performances, laws, and norms that discipline transgression (Hubbard, 2000: 194). This delineates 'moral' and 'immoral' space, the former reproducing acceptable performances of heterosexuality and

the latter condemning and confining transgressive ones, albeit through boundaries that are "always contested … in a state of becoming" (Hubbard, 2000: 200, 211).

Space & 'urban renewal' in & beyond Latin America

During the second half of the 20th Century, many Latin American cities underwent dramatic shifts, as large populations migrated from rural areas, middle and upper classes moved out into surrounding suburbs, and central colonial-era buildings were divided into smaller living quarters by working-class residents (Griffin and Ford, 1980; Bromley and Mackie, 2009). Urban space and security have become increasingly privatised amid extensive neoliberal reforms and high levels of violence (Janoschka and Sequera, 2016; Véliz and O'Neill, 2011). Yet public space has also been the site of large-scale protests, including those that ended authoritarian governments and preceded the (re-)emergence of democracies (Irazabal, 2008).

Concepts of gentrification and revanchism, originating in the U.K. and U.S. respectively, are increasingly employed in analyses in Latin America (see e.g. Janoschka et al., 2014; Swanson, 2007). Gentrification, originally used to describe middle-class people moving into working-class neighbourhoods in London, U.K. (Glass, 1964), has since been expanded to explore broader 'urban renewal', including state-led initiatives (see e.g. Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Janoschka and Sequera, 2016). Analysing gentrification and 'zero tolerance' policing in New York City in the 1990s, Smith (1998) argued that these practices constitute a form of 'revanchism', whereby wealthy (white) elites were "taking back" urban spaces from racially and economically-marginalised inhabitants. Yet authors employing these concepts have not always considered the multiple ways in which related policies are enacted (Flusty, 2001), or how they are navigated and reworked by

marginalised groups and support agencies to produce complex geographies (DeVerteuil et al., 2009). In Latin American cities, such analyses need to be situated relative to: large informal economies; entrenched postcolonial inequalities; major urban transformations; and the uneven power relations of transnational "policy mobility" and "knowledge exchange" (Janoschka et al., 2014; Janoschka and Sequera, 2016).

Authors employing these concepts in Ecuador (Swanson, 2007), Guatemala (Véliz and O'Neill, 2011) and Peru (Aufseeser, 2014; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Gandolfo, 2014) argue that municipal authorities' displacement of informal street vendors and 'street children'[41] have framed them as threats to public safety, progress, middle and upper-class interests and tourism—in part, informed by 'zero tolerance' policies and discourses of childhood originating in the U.S. and Europe. Swanson (2007) argues that such efforts serve a revanchist, "whitening agenda", while Bromley and Mackie (2009) refer to "policy-led gentrification". Yet analyses of how these groups resist their spatial exclusion render visible the political, social, cultural, and economic power relations that shape these spaces and the possibilities for their disruption (Mackie et al., 2014; Bromley and Mackie, 2009). In Cusco, Peru, for example, informal street vendors' struggles with municipal police have achieved material, if not cultural gains, as they have regained access to certain spaces but not respect for their culturally-embedded means of income-generation (Mackie et al., 2014). As Véliz and O'Neill (2011: 83) argue, what authorities and urban planners imagine as "raw material for development" is viewed by those excluded as a "right and a resource".

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[41]A term used to describe young people under the age of 18 who work and/or sleep in public, outdoor spaces (see e.g. Aufseeser, 2014).

Geographies of sex work

Sex workers' location in urban space has long received scholarly and political attention (Hubbard, 2012a: 35 ; Symanski, 1981; Rubin, 1975). A growing body of empirical studies, largely in the Global North, examines how sex work policies, policing, planning and regulation, neoliberal urban policies and processes, and wider power relations, shape the geographies of sex work (for reviews, see e.g. Hubbard, 2012a; Hubbard, 2012b). Such work demonstrates how sex work laws and policies have typically worked to confine, contain and surveille sex workers in certain spaces (e.g. red-light districts, state-regulated brothels) and displace or exclude them from others (e.g. prostitution-free zones) (Hubbard, 2014; Laing and Cook, 2014; Edelman, 2011). A central tenet of these governing strategies is the maintenance of boundaries between moral and immoral space (Hubbard, 1999b), displacing and containing sex workers "away" from the 'public' (Laing and Cook, 2014: 7; Hubbard and Whowell, 2008)—particularly children, families and those religiously or culturally opposed to sex work (Hubbard, 2014). These processes work not only by removing sex workers themselves, but also symbols of their presence, such as advertising (Hubbard, 2001). Municipal planning and licensing laws (Hubbard, 2014) and, in some contexts active demolition of red-light districts (Bandewar et al., 2016), work to displace sex workers and venues, as corporate development interests align with efforts to 'tackle' prostitution, and make way for families and consumers (Ross, 2010; Prior et al., 2011). Sanchez (2004), meanwhile, argues that increasingly exclusionary "spatial governmentality" in western cities seeks not to displace sex workers but to "banish" them from urban space and society.

Hubbard (1998; 1999b; 2000; 2008) draws on Sibley's (1995) and Cresswell's (1996) work to demonstrate how such policies operate through abjection—constructing sex workers

as dangerous, unhygienic, and other—and boundary-making. Thus, red-light districts are designed to prevent 'pollution' and 'disruption' contaminating other spaces, locating sex workers in a "liminal landscape of danger and display" to contain the 'problems' and 'disorder' of the city (Hubbard, 2000: 204; Hubbard, 1998). This discursive and material marginalisation produces a "moral geography" whereby certain practices are only morally permissible in certain places (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003: 79; Hubbard, 2012a), and authorities policing sex work become central to enforcing the moral spatial order (Hubbard, 2004a; Sanders, 2004b). Concurrent public health measures and surveillance (e.g. CCTV cameras) institute bio-political and disciplinary forms of governance (Hubbard, 2014).

A number of studies illustrate intersections with broader relations of gender, sexuality, class, and race. Hubbard (2004b: 666) demonstrates how efforts to remove female sex workers from prime spaces in western cities "re-inscribe" both economic and "patriarchal relations in the urban landscape"—effects obscured by the framing of such policies as fostering 'community safety' and gender equality, and by the singular focus of much scholarship on the role of capitalist development (Hubbard, 2014). In Vancouver, residents (Krüsi et al., 2016), including middle-class (white) gay men (Ross, 2010; Ross and Sullivan, 2012), aligned with private security guards, business owners and politicians to protest the presence of street-based sex workers, many of whom were trans women of colour, producing "whitened [spaces] … made safe for bourgeois (queer) capitalism" (Ross, 2010: 197)—in a context where sex workers are institutionally understood as "victims" and police guidelines instruct officers to respect their rights and safety (Krüsi et al., 2016). In Washington D.C., the policing of a 'prostitution-free zone', which allowed officers to temporarily displace those sex-working or suspected of doing so, involved regular profiling of trans women of colour, excluding them

as "racial, sexed, and gendered others" (Edelman, 2011: 862). While police raids may respond to complaints of 'nuisance' behaviour, they may also reflect "muscular and punitive 'zero tolerance' policing" in alignment with "middle class sensibilities" (Hubbard, 2014: 4). The spatial governmentality (Sanchez, 2004) of sex work therefore cannot be decoupled from broader urban policies and practices and the gendered, racial, and class relations of the city (Hubbard, 2014).

Although these strategies have highly negative consequences for people who sell sex, a growing number of studies examine how sex workers rework these spaces and resist their exclusion (Hubbard, 2000; Brewis and Linstead, 2000; Hart, 1995; Hubbard, 1999b). Sex worker activists have organised to denounce these policies and related abuses—through street protests and parades (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; Chateauvert, 2015), occupation of churches (NSWP, 2016), impromptu performances (Blanchette and Murray, 2016; Chateauvert, 2015), online campaigns, written responses, and policy briefs (Crago, 2009; Asijiki, 2017; ICRSE, 2014). They have at times engaged directly with police and local governments (Biradavolu et al., 2009; Lalani, 2014) and other civil society and social movements—reflected, for example, in trans groups organising against the prostitution-free zone in Washington DC (Edelman, 2011), and HIV activists and practitioners working with sex workers to challenge police raids and violence, in Peru and India (Lalani, 2014; Biradavolu et al., 2009). Yet others have experienced a lack of such support from such groups: in Vancouver, few (white) gay men and labour/community organisers joined sex workers' fight against their displacement (Ross and Sullivan, 2012; Ross, 2010).

Less work has examined sex workers' everyday tactics of spatial resistance (de Certeau, 2011). Examples include direct challenges to "law and order" but also, and most

often, the ways in which sex workers "rework and divert … spaces to create an alternative meaning of space—a space that has its own morality, rhythms and rituals which are often invisible to outsiders" (Hubbard, 1999b: 183). Hubbard and Sanders (2003: 80) argue that red-light districts are produced through a "complex assemblance" of, and conflict between, the spatial ordering strategies of the "state, law and citizenry" (representations of space) and the tactics of people selling sex there (spaces of representation). Sex workers, then, are not "passive recipients" of spatial governance strategies but are active in reworking spaces to occupational ends (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003: 87).

As such, Hubbard and Sanders (2003: 97) argue that sex work also has the potential to "create new 'spaces of representation' that challenge the heterosexual ordering of society". Yet they warn against overemphasising sex workers' resistance, given the asymmetrical power relations governing these spaces. Research in Detroit, U.S., illustrates these complex relations of power, governance, and resistance. Draus et al. (2015: 453) juxtapose the "fluidity" of spaces of street sex work and drug use, and the mobility of sex workers between them, against the more "rigid … racial segregation patterns and gender hierarchies". They do so to draw attention to sex workers' agency, however constrained, as they move "within and around these spaces", while also examining how their daily lives are "circumscribed by economics, illicit substance use, and the objective risks of the street and the police" (Draus et al., 2015: 453).

Geographies of sex work in Latin America

A growing literature explores geographies of sex work in Latin America (see e.g. Pope, 2005; Van Meir, 2017; Katsulis, 2009; Sabsay, 2011; Blanchette and da Silva, 2011). In Rio de Janeiro,

Blanchette and da Silva (2011) document how pre-Olympics urban renewal programmes and anti-trafficking initiatives led to the closure of sex work venues in central, middle-class neighbourhoods, mirroring initiatives surrounding mass-sporting events internationally (Deering et al., 2012; Richter et al., 2010; Hubbard and Wilkinson, 2015). Purportedly aimed at protecting children, tourists and victims of exploitation, but typically invoking "health code violations", these closures displaced female sex workers to outer, working-class suburbs where they have become reliant on men that they describe as "pimps" and "militia"—the latter referring to "vigilante gangs … who charge protection fees from local merchants and become the ipso fact rulers of their region" and who are frequently "off-duty, retired or fired members of the city's public security services" (Blanchette and da Silva, 2011: 141, 143). Yet sex workers have also used urban space—through what the authors term "puta politics"—performing impromptu comedic sketches and converting this into a platform to denounce the violence they experience in these spaces (Blanchette and Murray, 2016). Murray (2015: 1) argues that such grassroots activism has "disrupted hierarchies … between institutional structures and the street" despite the "deleterious effects of institutionalization and bureaucratization"—referring here to activists' shifting relationship with the state (see Chapter 1, *Sex worker rights movements & alliances*). While not necessarily adopting a spatial lens, these analyses reflect how sex workers resist their material-discursive exclusion from urban and political spaces and rework them to practical and political ends.

Van Meir (2017)'s research offers insights into the everyday ways in which sex workers use space and resist their displacement. In Quito, laws and by-laws sought to contain sex

work, spatially and temporally, in 'houses of tolerance'[42] out of public view. Such initiatives, while apparently responding to residents' complaints, also related to presumptions that sex work "brings crime" as well as harming tourism and the historic city centre (Van Meir, 2017). Although the author does not articulate it as such, this representation of space renders visible uneven, transnational, racial, and economic relations of power in a postcolonial context. By contrast, the Argentinian government's abolitionist position, working to close bars and small brothels (*privado*) in increasing numbers, reflects an "alternative, ideological motivation for controlling sex work space", seeking to erase sex work. Van Meir (2017: 27) contrasts this with Hubbard and Sanders (2003: 82)'s observation that states have, in the past, typically sought not to "destroy" prostitution but to "enclose" it. Her observations, then, align with the total "banishment" that Sanchez (2004) described. Yet sex workers in both countries have resisted these governance strategies, by lobbying government officials and enacting street protests (Van Meir, 2017). In Buenos Aires, sex workers responded to an abolitionist campaign that encouraged residents to tear down their advertisements by posting new flyers that rejected the conflation of sex work and trafficking. In Quito, a sex worker had sex with a client in the street to protest the municipal closure of nearby hotels, resulting in their ultimate re-opening. Van Meir (2017) considers these the most effective means of disrupting enforcement and improving sex work spaces. She also recognises sex workers' daily negotiations of space, but does not discuss how they do/not connect with more formalised collective action.

A number of studies provide insights into spatial dimensions of sex workers' relations with residents, vendors, tourists, and others. In Sao Paolo, *travesti* sex workers shared

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[42]Municipally-licensed sex work venues, bound by various health and safety codes (Van Meir, 2017).

struggles with street vendors, including securing urban space, antagonistic relations with residents and business owners, police harassment and high rents (Garcia and Lehman, 2011). In Buenos Aires, the overturning of police edicts (Hardy, 2010a) that temporarily decriminalised sex work provoked fierce political and residential opposition, sensationalist media coverage and subsequent legislative amendments, culminating in the development of an official red-light district in the city's main park, *de facto* for trans sex workers (Sabsay, 2011). (Trans) sex work was constructed as counter to the "rules of coexistence", (re-)producing idealised figures of the subject-citizen and the other, dictating who is and is not entitled to 'public' space, and indeed what public space "can be" (Sabsay, 2011: 217, 223). Meanwhile, *travestis* who migrate between the northwest of Argentina and Buenos Aires battle over sex work space and organise against privatisation of public spaces (Di Pietro, 2016). Di Pietro (2016: 684) situates this relative to "homonormative", neo-colonial tourism projects marketing Argentina as a gay-friendly destination, from which lesbian and gay tourists can travel to the "untouched and indigenous past". By "disengag[ing] from homonormative gayscapes", *travesti* sex workers work to redefine and decolonise these spaces (Di Pietro, 2016: 684, 687).

Pope (2005) examines the power relations that generate and sustain the "physical, social, and moral spaces" of sex work in Havana, Cuba. She charts how sex tourism has increased as ties with the west have grown since the early 1990s. During this time, the dollar was legalised, tourists became permitted to stay in private accommodation (as opposed to specified hotels) and the state began to tolerate sex work[43], as a means of attracting western tourists who sought out an exoticised and racialised other. This shift enabled sex workers to

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[43]Counter to the prohibitionist stance of the 1959 revolution (Pope, 2005).

access dollars, which had particular value amid high inflation (Pope, 2005; Hubbard, 2012b). Yet it also moved sex work from geographically-bounded red-light districts to a broader array of dollar-only premises, with the increasing involvement of pimps and other contacts, such as partners, mothers, and other relatives. Thus, while sex work offers women "money and, with that, influence in the new capitalist economic spaces", it remains bound up in the uneven economic and racial power relations of sustained western influence (Pope, 2005: 113).

In Tijuana, Katsulis (2009: 62) demonstrates that diverse spaces of sex work are impacted by police enforcement, the latter "fluctuat[ing] in response to popular demands, media stories, and changing municipal leadership", but also to shifting definitions of prostitution[44], amid wider panics over the "social chaos and moral decline" of mass urbanisation. Given the inequalities reproduced by the regulation system (see Chapter 1, *Structural & social context of violence: Latin America*), sex work spaces are gendered, racialised, and classed, broadly heteronormative but also "giv[ing] social space" to non-normative gender and sexual relations. They are thus shaped both by "macroeconomic forces" of migration and inequality and "social and cultural" influences (Katsulis, 2009: 69)—each of which have important implications for citizenship (Butler, 2009; Richardson, 2017).

Citizenship

Sex work scholars are increasingly employing the concept of citizenship to examine how laws, policing, and other forms of governance place restrictions on sex workers' rights. Recent work also considers how sex workers are organising to demand their rights even when they are not

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[44]Including "what kinds of prostitution or prostitutes are seen as dangerous" and what is considered the most appropriate means of addressing the increasing number of people selling sex (including people under 18) (Katsulis, 2009: 62).

recognised as citizens. Here, I review debates around the conceptualisation of citizenship, including in Latin America, before examining two forms of citizenship—sexual and biological—that are increasingly prominent in research relating to sexualities and HIV, respectively. I then discuss how citizenship has been explored in sex work scholarship.

What is citizenship & who are citizens?

Historically, two models of citizenship have dominated. The 'republican' model argued that active participation in the 'public' sphere makes one a citizen—restricted, at the time, to men and property owners (Isin, 2008). The 'liberal' model centred on the protection of (private) civil liberties and rights from state interference, proffered by one's legal status as a citizen (Isin, 2008). Both models have been criticised for reproducing the notion of a public/private divide and for ignoring the oppression of women and marginalised groups (Isin, 2008). Yet the liberal model remains dominant in contemporary notions of citizenship, grounded in universalist principles of liberty and equality (Isin, 2008). While citizenship remains widely understood as a legal status (Isin, 2009: 374), there is growing emphasis on its practice, enacted and negotiated in multiple sites, with discussions emerging as to how it may "extend beyond" state boundaries (Isin, 2009; Cammaerts, 2007).

Closely linked are debates over whether citizenship dominates—as a reflection of governance by ruling classes—or whether it has the potential to emancipate, as "an expression of social movements" (Isin, 2009). Citizenship delineates who count as citizens (insiders), subjects (strangers, outsiders) and abjects (aliens), and how they must "govern themselves and each other"—in relation to legal, political, social, and cultural matters, including sexuality (Isin, 2009: 372). Indeed, Giddens (1991) argues that cultural forms of citizenship—based on

"communities of interest" (e.g. gender, race, sexual identity, age, region) as opposed to "communities of birth"—are increasingly relevant. Yet becoming a citizen is achieved not only by conforming to "insider" practices but also by contesting and transforming them. As these debates continue, Isin (2009: 370) sees citizenship itself as "an institution in flux", called into question by the 'activist citizen' figure, which "opens its boundaries wide" (Isin, 2009: 384).

Contrary to the notion of active citizenship—which involves participation in formal civic processes by people already granted citizen status—Isin (2009: 381) theorises *acts of citizenship* to describe those that "produce subjects as citizens" whether or not they are recognised as such. *Actors* of citizenship constitute themselves not only by drawing attention to injustices and human rights, but by "usurping the right to claim rights" (Isin, 2009: 381). These acts have purpose, rupturing the embedded practices, disciplines, and routines of habitus, allowing individuals to "create a scene rather than follow a script" (Isin, 2009: 379). They are also performative, involving decisions but not reducible to "calculability, intentionality and responsibility" (Isin, 2009: 381). They are not necessarily positive or negative, inclusive or exclusive: acts aimed at "inclusion, diversity and tolerance", for instance, might counter-produce "exclusion, homogeneity and intolerance" (Isin, 2009: 380-1). Nevertheless, they are "answerable to justice", seeking change for oneself and others, calling into question the law that "misrecognizes them" (Isin, 2009: 381).

As opposed to already-instituted sites of active citizenship (e.g. voting and social security) (Isin, 2009: 370), acts of citizenship generate "new sites of contestation, belonging, identification and struggle" (e.g. bodies, streets, courts, media, networks and borders) (Isin, 2009: 379). They may also extend "towards urban, regional, transnational and international

scales" (Isin, 2009: 371). *Acts* of citizenship thus generate new *sites* and *scales* of citizenship (Isin, 2009: 371), performing and blurring boundaries between those who (legally) belong and those who do not (Pine, 2010).

Closely linked, here, is Fraser's (2009; 1995) understanding of *social justice*, which holds that in order for people to be able to participate equally in social life, there is a need for appropriate (re-)distribution of resources, recognition of 'culturally' marginalised communities (e.g. on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality), and representation in civil and political spaces. Although, as discussed earlier, she has received criticism for not attending to the intersections between cultural and economic forms of injustice (Butler, 1998) (see *Gender, performativity & intersectionality*, above).

Citizenship in Latin America

In Latin America, the concept of citizenship has been central to post-independence nation-building (Meltzer and Rojas, 2013) and more recent re-democratisation efforts (Dagnino, 2003). In opposition to authoritarian regimes, a diverse range of social movements fought collectively to demand justice and accountability for state violence and corruption, later claiming broader economic, social, cultural, and political rights (Dagnino, 2003). These movements worked to redefine traditional notions of citizenship—historically rooted in land owners' and workers' rights—to address the concerns of specific groups and materialities (e.g. housing, health, and basic services), as well as political recognition and representation (Dagnino, 2003). Participation became central to this struggle, such that citizenship became less about the relationship between individual and state and more about shared responsibilities, including over community spaces (Dagnino, 2003).

Recognising the power of citizenship discourses, states began to incorporate and reshape the concept. They did so by emphasising shared decision-making and policy development by social movements and state agencies—exemplified by Brazil's participatory budgeting, and replicated elsewhere (e.g. *mesas de concertación* (consensus roundtables) in Peru) (Dagnino, 2003) (see Chapter 3, *Political violence, neoliberalism & participatory governance*). As in other regions, the language of citizenship has also been incorporated into neoliberal projects, shifting emphasis from collective solidarity to individual moral responsibility—reconfiguring poverty and inequality as matters of survival and charity, as opposed to struggles for respect, dignity, and citizenship (Dagnino, 2003).

Women's fight for citizenship is illustrative of these shifts. In the 1980s-90s, a growing feminist movement emerged, typically among "middle-class and intellectual women", although its simultaneous emergence in Peru in female-dominated social movements led to a "more flexible and open" feminism regionally (Stephen, 1997: 4, 13; Miller, 1991). Maternal identity—long central to women's activism in the region (Molyneux, 2007: 36)—has since been incorporated into economic development programmes, for example, by encouraging women to take up informal income-generating activities that would complement childcare and domestic duties. Such initiatives had little effect on women's poverty and reinforced dominant gender norms, but they also generated spaces in and from which women could challenge these norms (Boesten, 2010: 12-13; Stephen, 1997: 10). However, social policies relating to women and their children continue to reproduce racial and economic inequalities. In Peru, for example, policies aimed at ending child labour frame poor women who street vend together with their children as exploitative, and unable to plan for their children's future (Campoamor, 2016). Yet women fiercely contest these representations, instead presenting

themselves as responsible parents who watch over their children and instil in them a strong work ethic, aware of their own mortality (Campoamor, 2016). This highlights the limits of citizenship claims based on maternal identity when, by virtue of their occupation, women are characterised as 'bad mothers'.

Efforts to instate a "'modern' liberal" notion of citizenship in Latin America have been hindered by weak institutions and law enforcement, and limited successes in tackling corruption and establishing institutional accountability (Meltzer and Rojas, 2013). As such, social rights typically do not match formally-granted political and civil ones; and poverty, persisting racial, gender and economic inequalities, and in-access to basic services, remain widespread (Meltzer and Rojas, 2013). Furthermore, the production of 'good citizens' and safe public spaces are frequently framed as contingent upon removing "the poor, the morally degenerate, the vagrant, and the dissenter" (Meltzer and Rojas, 2013), echoing earlier discussions of urban governance. Nevertheless, diverse social movements across the region continue to fight for redistribution, recognition, and representation (Fraser, 2009). Rojas (2013: 581), for example, employs the concept of *acts of citizenship* to demonstrate how indigenous peoples in Bolivia have reformulated western conceptualisations of citizenship—grounded in homogenous notions of equality and conditions of "assimilation"—by emphasising difference and challenging the idea of a singular universe and modern civilisation (Meltzer and Rojas, 2013).

Sexual citizenship

The concept of sexual citizenship—initially focused on rights to sexual expression and consumption (Evans, 1993)—has been employed widely to examine how civil, political, and

social rights are contingent upon conformity to heteronormative expectations (Hubbard, 2000; Richardson, 1998). Those who conform to these norms are 'rewarded' and those who do not are "effectively invisible to the state"—as regards rights, but not responsibilities (Hubbard, 2000: 208). Much of the sexual citizenship literature has centred on gay men and lesbians in the Global North, initially examining consumerist power (Evans, 1993: 63; Richardson, 2017: 211). Latter work has considered how normative ideas about sexuality, gender, race, and class may circumscribe citizenship, questioning whether the extension of rights to (some) sexual minorities (e.g. same-sex marriage) resists or preserves citizenship as an institution (e.g. Duggan, 2002: 179; Richardson, 2017). Increasing attention is also being paid to other regions and populations, including trans sex workers in Latin America (e.g. Sabsay, 2011) (see *Sex Workers' Citizenship*, below).

While this work has been important in "queering" citizenship, a number of authors offer critiques (Richardson, 2017; Sabsay, 2012; Brown et al., 2010; Hubbard, 2001). First, the concept has often focused on intimate relations, in common with broader individualised notions of citizenship (Richardson, 2017: 217). Critics analysing sexual citizenship in relation to *public* space, meanwhile, have provided important insights (Bell and Binnie, 2000; Hubbard, 2001). Sexuality and space studies have paid attention to how access to urban space is frequently contingent upon conformity to heteronormative expectations, despite the notion that such spaces are "democratic and open" (Hubbard, 1999b: 143). Yet Hubbard (2001) is sceptical of the potential for public space to act as a site of sexual citizenship, arguing that "sexual dissidents'" transgression into heteronormative space, as a means of de-naturalising heterosexuality, subjects their bodies to surveillance and control. What is needed, on the contrary, is privacy—spaces beyond the gaze of the state and those who seek to reinforce

dominant norms (Hubbard, 2001). Richardson (2017) argues that there is a need for similar work in contexts where people lack access, or are restricted, to private spaces.

A number of authors have noted a lack of attention to intersectionality in sexual citizenship studies (Richardson, 2017). Epstein and Carrillo (2014), for example, address an important gap by examining how sexual and national citizenship intersect, through a case study with Mexican gay men living in San Diego. Richardson (2017: 218) also critiques the neglect of economic inequalities, of particular salience where sexual citizenship rights and economic situations are directly connected—as they are for sex workers. Relatedly, sexual citizenship analyses have often privileged western notions of sexuality and (liberal) citizenship, extending notions of "individual rights-bearing" and "choosing subject[s]" to contexts where collective rights and responsibilities are prioritised, without sufficient consideration of how such choices may also be linked to social and economic capital (Richardson, 2017: 216-7; Sabsay, 2012). Atluri (2012) argues that members of the *Hijra* community in India have typically only been acknowledged as political actors when their spiritually-connected identity is reduced to "transgender" and they are framed as "rights-based subjects". Authors thus urge decolonising analyses (Sabsay, 2012; Atluri, 2012; Richardson, 2017).

In Latin America, contrary to extensive scholarly attention to the politics of women's and indigenous peoples' inclusion and exclusion, far less work has focused specifically on sexual and gender minorities (Amuchástegui, 2007). Gay and lesbian rights groups emerged later than women's and indigenous movements, as material concerns were prioritised over symbolic ones, and collective rights over individual ones, in a broader context of

heteronormative agendas, stigma, and diverse groups and interests (Cáceres and Vargas, 2004; Corrales and Pecheny, 2010; Corrales, 2015). Thus, while lesbian and gay collectives joined feminist and other organisations in re-democratisation efforts, they often did so without making claims specific to sexual diversity and recognition (Cáceres and Vargas, 2004). HIV-related activism later supported sexual citizenship claims, and feminist, gay and lesbian movements began advocating for sexual rights within a framework of broader social justice and equality (Cáceres and Vargas, 2004). While originally marginalised within gay and LGBT fora in common with international trends, Latin America today has a strong trans rights movement (RedLacTrans; Corrales and Pecheny, 2010).

Biological citizenship

Building on theories of biopower and governmentality, Rose and Novas (2003) employed the concept of biological citizenship to articulate how claims to rights, resources and belonging are increasingly made on a biological basis, such as shared health conditions. Yet this can also serve to discipline and divide, rewarding those who adopt 'healthy' practices, comply with preventative and treatment guidance, and become 'health experts', and excluding those who do not (Paparini and Rhodes, 2016). This concept has been employed most widely in the field of HIV, in which community activism has been the driving force behind mobilising funds for treatment and research (Paparini and Rhodes, 2016: 503). People living with and/or deemed 'at risk' of HIV, for example, have gained political leverage through new identities as health educators, policy advisors, and researchers (see e.g. Lakkimsetti, 2014). Yet these identities also distinguish between those who are and are not enlisted into such activities (Leite et al., 2015), and members of these groups are often deemed individually responsible for avoiding 'risky' behaviours (Krüsi et al., 2017). Nguyen (2007; 2005)'s closely linked concept of

therapeutic citizenship examines how people living with HIV make claims to anti-retroviral therapy and support services. Yet they are simultaneously expected to conform to certain (biomedical) norms, such as adhering to treatment and attending regular appointments (Krüsi et al., 2017).

Similarly, authors in Latin America demonstrate how HIV-related activism has given rise to new forms of cultural—or in Rose and Novas (2003)'s terms, biological—citizenship, as groups of people living with and/or deemed 'at risk' of HIV have organised successfully to claim access to treatment, prevention, and related social support (Gutmann, 2003: 13; Cáceres et al., 2008a; Cataldo, 2008). Yet Cáceres et al. (2008a) argue that such claims, in Peru, concurrently involved a 'downplaying' of claims relating to sexual and gender diversity. The recent recognition of trans women in public health policies and research, meanwhile, is a shift in which trans activists and their collaborations with allied academics and practitioners, have been instrument (Salazar et al., 2016).

Sex workers' citizenship

Differentiating sex work from other occupations, Sanders (2005: 321-2) stresses the need for sex work studies to "centralize sexuality as a defining feature of the economic, political, and social relations that determine the organization of prostitution". A number of studies have explored how sex workers are denied their rights based on non-conformity to sexual and gender norms, sometimes but not always employing the concept of sexual citizenship. In Canada, Lowman (2000: 1003) argued that a "discourse of disposal" frames how street-based, indigenous sex workers are positioned, in media and sex work policies, as "noncitizens, as rubbish, not to be cared about", othering and distancing them from "normal women"

(Sanders, 2016: 104). Sanchez (1997: 543) makes a similar argument, contending that sex work laws in urban north-western US—which criminalise both the sale and purchase of sex—construct women who sell sex as "sexual outlaws", subjecting them to legal authority but denying their rights to protection and justice; in effect, "creat[ing] a space for violence". In Vancouver, Ross (2010: 197) argues that gay (white, cis-gender, male) residents' complicity in the displacement of trans sex workers of colour has contributed to their "collective disavowal … as citizens", reinforcing the boundaries of (not) belonging along gendered, racial and class lines.

A number of authors examine how recent policy shifts apparently moving away from enforcement have restricted sex workers' citizenship and the spaces available to them. In Vancouver, the shift towards viewing all (female) sex workers as victims and sex work as "inherently dangerous" has enabled police to eschew their responsibilities of protection that "other citizens can take for granted", framing exiting sex work as the main route to safety (Krüsi et al., 2016: 6-7, 10). In the U.K., Scoular and O'Neill (2007: 764) argue that policies of "forced welfarism"—whereby street-based sex workers must participate in mandatory 'support' meetings, abstain from soliciting and commit to exiting sex work to avoid criminal justice involvement—produces a conditional form of citizenship. This offers greater social inclusion to those who, by exiting, abide by norms of work and sexuality, and further excludes those who do not. Outshoorn (2014), meanwhile, examines sex workers' "contested citizenship" in the Netherlands, where removal of the ban on brothels in 2000 allowed Dutch and EU residents, but not non-EU citizens, to work in licensed venues, later requiring them to register with the authorities. Albeit not defining citizenship specifically, Outshoorn (2014: 172) considers the categorising of people into those who "accrue … benefits and penalties" a key

technique of power. She argues that the policy reproduced racial inequalities, had a "subtext" of "a will to control" and deprived rather than securing rights[45] (Outshoorn, 2014: 177, 185).

Sanders (2009) links sex workers' sexual citizenship to urban geographies and politics, arguing that women who sell sex are constructed as anti-social and "anti-sexual", counter to "gentrified notions of modern city living and leisure spaces" (Sanders, 2009: 520). Here, she conceptualises sexual citizenship as the granting of "privileges and taken-for-granted 'rights' such as the right to sexual expression" to those whose sexual behaviour is deemed acceptable by society (Sanders, 2009: 518), noting the influence of work on homosexuality (Weeks, 2003). She also stresses that sex workers' sexual citizenship struggles relate in part to states' failures to recognise sex work as labour. Thus, she points implicitly to the fact that sex workers' citizenship claims relate not only, or necessarily predominantly, to rights of sexual expression, but to rights to work in sexual economies. Thus, while some sex workers may indeed seek to queer urban spaces (Hubbard, 2001), their claims to and through public space are also economic/occupational and frequently respond to a lack of private spaces in which to seek and provide services to clients—reflected, for example, in Van Meir (2017)'s research.

In the context of sex and romantic tourism[46] in Cuba and Dominican Republic, Cabezas (2004: 1001-2) considers sexual rights a more useful means of framing women's citizenship struggles than labour rights—on the basis that participants resist the term sex worker because it "comes with its own disciplinary functions and tends to signify the participation of a

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[45]The policy generated poorer and more exploitative working conditions for non-EU citizens and was unlikely to improve the "social rights" of those working legally, given that they received no benefits but were bound by employee-like requirements (Outshoorn, 2014).

[46]Women and men might develop relationships with tourists for material benefits and opportunities, but typically not requesting money directly (Cabezas, 2004: 1001-2).

subordinate racial, gender, and class 'other'"[47]. She considers this an effective means of aligning with other sexual minorities; however, she does not discuss connections with people working in other informal economies, or with citizenship struggles at the intersections of gender, class, and race (Cabezas, 2004: 1003).

In Buenos Aires, Sabsay (2011: 225) provides insights into the parallels and divergences between individual sexual citizenship claims, and those relating to collective occupation of urban space. She argues that national laws that protect sexual and gender diversity do not necessarily challenge the "centrality of the heteronormative norm" and the "reigning ethos of coexistence" (Sabsay, 2011: 226). Yet trans sex workers' presence on Buenos Aires' streets generated anxieties over the meaning of these spaces, resulting in discursive and material practices that excluded them from public spaces *despite* laws recognising and protecting them as citizens (Sabsay, 2011). In India, Atluri (2012) urges analyses of citizenship in performative terms, noting how *Hijras* enact resistance through their gendered occupation of public space, despite police brutality, criminalisation, and related efforts at their displacement.

Hubbard (1999b: 212-3) offers the cautiously hopeful vision that sex work spaces could become sites of resistance offering a "sense of democracy, freedom and self-determination" and producing a form of "(circumscribed) citizenship". In this way, sex workers might use urban spaces to insist upon recognition of their "existence" and the reframing of sex work as "a legitimate and even healthy expression of sexual desire"—a shift that, at the time, appeared

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[47]Working-class and darker-skinned women are considered sex workers, targeted by police raids and incarcerated in 'rehabilitation' centres, while middle-class and lighter-skinned women are not (Cabezas, 2004: 1001-2).

doubtful but not impossible in western urban contexts (Hubbard, 1999b: 212-3). While this would not necessarily prevent inequality and disadvantage, it could secure improved protection, rights, and support for sex workers, effectively "granting them full sexual citizenship" (Hubbard, 1999b: 199). Such resistance is certainly evident in contemporary spaces of activism (see e.g. Macioti and Geymonat, 2016; Chateauvert, 2015; PLAPERTS, 2017; Cornish et al., 2010; Biradavolu et al., 2009; Blankenship et al., 2010). Yet the extent to which sex workers' voices are heard remains contingent upon their recognition as agents and political actors and, at times, links with dominant institutions (Read, 2012).

Andrijasevic et al. (2012) employ the concept of *acts of citizenship* to examine how sex workers are contesting the contingency of rights based on EU citizenship status. The authors trace the development of the *Declaration of the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe*—drafted by sex workers from EU and non-EU countries in collaboration with human rights lawyers, to demand free movement and other rights—which they presented before the EU parliament before enacting a linked street protest. Although these activities could be construed as forms of active citizenship drawing on existing instruments (e.g. human rights law) and channels (e.g. presenting to parliament), sex workers simultaneously challenged conventional meanings of citizenship tied to nation-states (Andrijasevic et al., 2012). The authors thus consider these acts of citizenship because sex workers disrupted the *status quo* by collectively constituting themselves as "'new' subjects of European citizenship", regardless of their EU status (Andrijasevic et al., 2012: 512). Lakkimsetti (2014), meanwhile, demonstrates how sex workers in India have enacted biological citizenship claims on the state, using their positions as health educators collaborating with the Ministry of Health to challenge repressive legislative and policing approaches to sex work.

Conclusion: bringing these theories together

In this thesis, I combine concepts of structural, symbolic and everyday violence (Farmer, 2003; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2004; Scheper-Hughes, 1996), and stigma (Scambler and Paoli, 2008), with postmodern conceptualisations of power (Foucault, 1979), structuration (Giddens, 1984), performativity (Butler, 1990) and everyday resistance (Scott, 1985; de Certeau, 2011). I employ these concepts to examine how sex workers negotiate, question and resist violence, stigma and inequalities, paying attention to the role of state and social actors (Sanchez R, 2006). I consider violence and stigma as relational, power-infused, spatialised processes that operate at macro (systems, policy), meso (community, organisations) and micro (individuals and social relationships) levels (Scambler and Paoli, 2008; Parker and Aggleton, 2003; Springer and Le Billon, 2016), and that might be avoided, negotiated and challenged in varied ways (Thoits, 2011), individually and collectively (Campbell and Deacon, 2006).

I pay close attention to the workings and effects of disciplinary and biopolitical (self-)governance (Foucault, 1978; Foucault, 1979; Foucault, 1980), examining how sex workers and other actors, through their practices and performances (Butler, 1990; Butler, 2009), accommodate, collude in, question and disrupt dominant relations of power (Bourdieu, 1979; Giddens, 1984). I understand tactics of everyday resistance (Scott, 1985; de Certeau, 2011) as practices that are intersectional, contingent, spatially- and temporally-situated, enmeshed in power relations (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). Informed by a critical intersectional approach (McCall, 2005), I pay attention to articulations of identity and difference. I do so conscious of context-specific meanings of gender and sexuality (Sabsay, 2012; Brown et al., 2010) and of gender, racial, economic, and spatial inequalities at local, regional, and transnational scales (Sanchez R, 2006), yet conscious that such boundaries—however

entrenched—are dynamic and contested. I understand space as a socially-produced (Lefebvre, 1991), performed (Gregson and Rose, 2000) and dynamic site through which power relations, subjectivities, and identities are reproduced, reworked, and contested (Massey, 2005). I pay attention to how boundaries—e.g. between moral and immoral space (Hubbard, 1998; Hubbard and Whowell, 2008), in and out-of-place bodies (Cresswell, 1996), citizens and others (Sabsay, 2011)—are drawn and contested (Sibley, 1995), discursively and materially. I do so conscious of struggles over urban space in Latin America (Jones, 1994; Janoschka and Sequera, 2016; Irazabal, 2008), and the ways in which sex workers may exceed and resist their exclusion (Sibley, 1995; DeVerteuil et al., 2009).

Rather than beginning from an already-defined form of citizenship (e.g. national, sexual, biological), I explore how sex workers do/not constitute themselves as actors of citizenship (Isin, 2009; Isin, 2008; Andrijasevic et al., 2012) and the ways in which their rights are circumscribed and restricted (Scoular, 2010; Hubbard, 2001; Sabsay, 2011; Sanders, 2009) through material, discursive and spatial practices. I do so conscious of contemporary debates surrounding citizenship in Latin America (Dagnino, 2005), and calls to examine the intersections between sexual and economic dimensions of (sexual) citizenship (Richardson, 2017). I focus less on organised movements and more on how claims are articulated through sex workers' everyday practices and narratives—albeit recognising that these may be linked, materially and discursively. I follow Rojas (2013) in extending acts of citizenship from a focus on international migrants' claims to those of disenfranchised populations within the citizenry. I do so conscious that such acts may not necessarily have effects that are emancipatory and/or inclusive (Isin, 2008), and with careful attention to their relations to multiple, dominant relations of power.

Chapter 3—The context of Peru

In this chapter I review existing research about sex work in Peru. I situate this relative to the history and geography of the country, and of Lima specifically. After a brief introduction to the sex industry and its regulation, I describe the few studies and reports that have focused on sex workers' experiences of violence, stigma and exclusion, and their health implications. I then situate this relative to: inequalities of class, race, gender, and sexuality; spatial struggles in the context of mass rural-to-urban migration, political violence, and neoliberal reforms; the construction and policing of 'clandestine' sex work, sexuality, and gender; moves towards 'participatory governance' and the growing sex worker rights movement. In so doing, I aim to discuss critically what is known, thus far, in relation to how sex workers in Peru experience, navigate and resist violence, individually and collectively, and how these processes connect with and may rework the social and economic relations of the urban landscape.

Sex work in Peru: an introduction

In common with the international literature, much sex work research in Peru has concentrated on HIV, STIs and associated 'risk practices', typically among female sex workers (e.g. Kinsler et al., 2014; Campos et al., 2013; Perla et al., 2012; Sanchez et al., 1998; Cárcamo et al., 2012) and sometimes those working in licensed brothels only (e.g. Kinsler et al., 2014). Yet a growing body of work takes a broader perspective, incorporating the experiences of trans[48] and male sex workers (Cáceres et al., 2015; Cavagnoud, 2014; Cáceres and Jiménez, 1999; Nureña et al.,

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[48]As discussed in Chapter 2 (see *Gender & Sexuality in Latin America*), I use 'trans' to include transfeminine people who identify as trans(gender), trans(gender) women, transsexual or *travesti*, in recognition of diverse gender identities in this context (Runa, 2007; Salazar and Villayzan, 2010). Where I use the latter terms, I do so to reflect other authors' usage. Where I refer to 'trans sex workers', I am referring to transfeminine people who sell sex.

2011; Bayer et al., 2014c; Bayer et al., 2014b), examining issues of violence and mental health (Bohorquez et al., 2010; George et al., 2016; Salazar, 2009) and employing qualitative and ethnographic methods to better understand the social conditions of sex workers' work, health and lives (Nencel, 2001; Bayer et al., 2014c; Mujica, 2013; Cavagnoud, 2013). As I go on to discuss, this literature offers important insights into how sex workers experience and resist structural, symbolic, and everyday violence.

Regulation: a brief overview

Peru adopts a legal regulation approach to sex work but in practice the industry is governed through a range of national laws, municipal by-laws, and law enforcement practices (Drinot, 2006; Arbulú Bramon, 2004). First introduced in the early 1900s, this legal framework obliged women who sold sex to register with the authorities[49], submit to weekly medical examinations and work in licensed establishments (Nencel, 2001: 21; Garcia, 2010). Women who did not comply were denoted 'clandestine' and could be penalised for "offenses against public order"[50] under a vagrancy law (Nencel, 2001: 23). Approved venues, which included brothels, 'tolerance' and 'appointment houses'[51] (Nencel, 2001: 22), were restricted to locations which did not "offend … the moral rights of the poor", on "boundary streets" at a distance from schools, barracks, or monasteries (Drinot, 2006: 336). In an attempt to avoid exploitation by pimps, only women were permitted to run brothels and tolerance houses. The promotion and exploitation of prostitution, and being 'kept' by a prostitute, were criminalised (Nencel, 2001:

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[49]In 1983, responsibility was transferred from the Ministry of the Interior to municipal authorities.

[50]These included "publicly offend[ing] honour, with words, songs, merriment or obscene gestures" (Nencel, 2001: 23).

[51]Tolerance houses (*casas de tolerancia*) permitted music, dance and alcohol sales, and appointment houses (*casas de citas*) were24-hour guesthouses offering hourly room rental to couples only.

22-23). Today, national prostitution laws criminalise procuring, pimping, and promoting prostitution, and purchasing sex from a minor. These offenses carry prison sentences of up to eight years (Arbulú Bramon, 2004).

In 1993 and 1997, respectively, mandatory requirements to register with the authorities and attend government STI clinics (CERITS[52]) for routine HIV/STI testing (*Atención Médica Periódica*) were lifted (Perla et al., 2012; Nencel, 2001). However, women working in some venues still require a health certificate from the Ministry of Health (which requires compliance with routine screening) (Konda et al., 2008b). Police may visit these venues and check for valid health cards—arresting those who do not have one and obliging them to undergo HIV/STI testing, as well as premises' managers (RedTraSex, 2016a). Venue licensing also now falls under the authority of regional and municipal governments and thus there is some variation in approach[53]. Nevertheless, sex work outside of licensed venues continues to be treated by the authorities as 'clandestine' (Salazar, 2009) and subject to municipal by-laws (see *The contemporary policy context of central Lima*, below)—a point that often goes unmentioned or critiqued in the public health literature (for exceptions, see e.g. Kohler et al., 2016; Salazar, 2009; Perla et al., 2012; Garcia, 2010), in common with other settings (Grenfell et al., 2018). The term 'clandestine' may also be used to refer to female sex workers who rarely or never undergo routine screening and who operate in "unrecognised" venues not accessed by

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[52]*Centro de Atención y Referencia de Infecciones de Transmisión Sexual y del VIH* (Sexually Transmitted Infection and HIV Care and Reference Centre)

[53]Two regional governments, in Callao (adjacent to Lima) and Loreto province (where Iquitos is located) recognise sex workers' rights. Yet other municipalities such as central Lima have increased fines for prostitution-related offenses in recent years (RedTraSex, 2016a) (see *The comtemporary policy context of central Lima*, below).

government outreach services (Perla et al., 2012)—reflecting the ongoing intersections of juridico-legal and biological governance.

Salazar (2009: 33, 101) argues that the regulation system creates a "fictitious difference between legal and illegal forms of sex work" whereby sex work outside of licensed venues is not a crime but is pursued violently. Despite repeal of the vagrancy law in 1982, female sex workers in many parts of the country continue to experience frequent police raids, arrest, detention, and violence (Nencel, 2001: 232; Salazar, 2009), and trans sex workers are frequently and violently targeted by police and *serenazgo* officers (Runa, 2007)—municipal 'citizen safety' units who assist the police but who do not have powers of arrest or carry firearms[54] (Plöger, 2012). The little information available indicates that men who sell sex also experience enforcement (NSWP Latin America Regional Correspondent, 2016). Furthermore, the Ministry of the Interior's 2013-2018 national citizen safety strategy aims to "promote action plans to recuperate streets and avenues to eradicate prostitution, drug addiction, alcoholism, [and] informal street vending" (RedTraSex, 2016a: 3). I discuss the implications of this legislative and policing system below (see *A (public health) focus on violence*) and later in the chapter (see *Prostitution debates & geographies: repeated visions*).

Forms & spaces of sex work

Peru's diverse sex industry operates largely outside of licensed venues (Campos et al., 2013; Cáceres et al., 2015). Female sex workers may meet in outdoor spaces (streets, squares, parks, highways), brothels (*prostíbulos*), bars, video pubs, night clubs, saunas, massage parlours, and

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[54]*Serenazgo* officers (roughly translating as watchman units) were originally voluntary but were brought into local government in the 1990s. The entry and training requirements are less demanding than those of police officers (Plöger, 2012; Gandolfo, 2014).

via agencies, phone or online (CARE-Perú, 2008b; Campos et al., 2013). Except for venue-based sex work, women typically move to nearby hotels, guesthouses (*hostales*) or rented rooms (*cuartos*) to provide sexual services, or to a client's home or car, but very rarely in outdoor spaces (CARE-Perú, 2008b; Campos et al., 2013; Nencel, 2001).

Ethnographic and survey research reflects similar diversity in trans and male sex work. Early studies explored the experiences of men who sought clients in parks and plazas in middle-class Lima neighbourhoods (Cáceres and Jiménez, 1999; Cáceres and Rosasco, 2000) but more recent research in Lima and cities in the Amazon region (see Figure 1, below) incorporates a wider variety of venues, modalities, and neighbourhoods (Nureña et al., 2011; Bayer et al., 2014c; Bayer et al., 2014b). In working-class neighbourhoods, trans and male sex workers often meet clients in outdoor spaces, bars, and clubs—an activity known as *fleteo* when practised by men (*fletes*)[55]. They may provide sexual services in a nearby hotel, guesthouse, or their rented room when allowed (Bayer et al., 2014a; Bayer et al., 2014b; Runa, 2007), although many establishments ban trans people and same-sex couples[56] (Runa, 2007) and some housekeepers/landlords do not allow clients. Trans sex workers may work on peri-urban highways, in unlicensed brothels, hotels and nightclubs, sometimes alongside female sex workers (Nureña et al., 2011; Salazar, 2009), and some men work as *transformistas*—wearing 'feminine' clothes and make-up while working outdoors at night and presenting as 'masculine' at other times and in other places (at and outside of work) (Pollock

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[55]This and the related term *flete* (a man who sells sex in this way) remain in common use but I do not use them, except where participants or other authors do so, in common with Bayer et al. (2014c: 375) who notes some men's "strong dislike" of the term.

[56]In Lima there are a small number of 'scene' hotels (*hostales de ambiente*) that are aimed at 'LGBT' guests, but at least one of these is open to gay men only (Runa, 2007).

et al., 2016; Nureña et al., 2011). Men working in venues may market themselves as strippers, hosts (*anfitrión*) or waiters (*mozo*), providing sexual services in nearby hotels or inside venues (Nureña et al., 2011). Independent sex work appears to be expanding, facilitated in part by greater access to internet and mobile phone technology (Nureña et al., 2011; Cáceres et al., 2015). In addition to bars, night clubs, saunas, porn video clubs (male sex workers)[57], porn cinemas (trans and male sex workers), and via agencies, trans and male sex workers may seek clients via online/print advertising and personal networks, often providing services in apartments (Nureña et al., 2011; Bayer et al., 2010). Earnings, client numbers, and the involvement of third parties vary across sectors and regions (CARE-Perú, 2008b; Kohler et al., 2016) (see *Social & economic (power) relations of sex work*).

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[57]Night clubs with dark rooms and private booths screening porn (Nureña et al., 2011).

Figure 1: Map of Peru

Map data ©2017 Google, Imagery © TerraMetrics

Peru has three geographically and, to some extent, culturally distinct regions: the coast to the west, the highlands (*sierra*/Andes) running the length of the country and the jungle (*selva*/Amazon) in the (north)east.

Authors also describe forms of "compensated" or "transactional" sex which they consider distinct from organised sex work (Cáceres et al., 2008b; Salazar et al., 2005; Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008). In working-class neighbourhoods in Lima and Trujillo (see Figure 1), young, heterosexually-identified men may offer company or sex to "effeminate homosexual men"[58], in return for money, drinks, food, clothes, and/or "unconventional" (e.g. anal or oral) sexual practices in which women do not want to participate and in which men

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[58]See discussions of gender and sexuality in Latin America (Chapter 2, *Gender & sexuality in Latin America*) and in Peru specifically (see *Inequalities & identities at the intersections*, below).

feel that they *should* not participate (Cáceres et al., 2008b; Salazar et al., 2005; Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008). Men engaging in compensated sex typically meet at parties, community chicken-dinners (*polladas*)[59] or volleyball tournaments[60] and have sex in abandoned houses, construction sites or in parks at night, if not permitted entry into guesthouses. They may also generate income through petty theft, selling drugs, and/or small gang activities (Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008). Young women who socialise and/or have relationships with these men may also engage in transactional sex with wealthier men, in exchange for material goods or longer-term financial support for themselves and/or their children; they may also do paid sex work in other cities (Salazar et al., 2005). In Iquitos, Lalani (2014) describes women spending time on the main promenade with the goal of meeting tourists who may offer them gifts, money, and/or the opportunity to travel overseas. Yet they do not view themselves as sex workers—in common with experiences elsewhere (Cabezas, 2004). Later in the chapter, I discuss how sex work is linked with other 'informal' and 'formal' economies (see *Connections with other (in)formal economies*). In Chapter 6, I consider the implications of how participants view their work for activism and public health.

UNAIDS estimates that there are 65,000 female sex workers in Peru—a highly approximate figure based on expert opinion rather than empirical analysis (Sabin et al., 2016) and thus subject to the general uncertainties of such statistics (Cusick et al., 2009). No national data are available relating to trans and male sex work, but Bayer et al. (2014a) project—employing size estimation techniques—that in the region of 1000 trans and male sex

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[59]A fund-raising party where a community member sells chicken and drinks to cover their unexpected expenses, such as healthcare costs.

[60]See Perez (2011) for discussion of the significance of volleyball among sexual and gender minorities in Peru.

workers work in street- or establishment-based settings in Lima. However, this does not include the growing independent sector (Nureña et al., 2011). Findings that around a third of gay, bisexual, and other men who have sex with men (Cáceres et al., 2015), and almost two thirds of trans women[61] in Lima, report current or recent sex work (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012) suggest far higher numbers in the wider industry. Most women who sell sex are aged between their 20s and 40s and typically begin doing so in their early to mid-20s. However, a larger minority[62] in the poorer Amazon region report starting before the age of 18 (see *Connections with other (in)formal economies*, below) (CARE-Perú, 2008b) and some women continue into their 60s and 70s (Campos et al., 2013; Perla et al., 2012; Sanchez et al., 2003). Most trans and male workers are under 30 (Bayer et al., 2014b; Runa, 2007), reporting starting to sell sex at an average age of 18 or 19, although some may continue into their 40s (Nureña et al., 2011).

A (public health) focus on violence

Available reports indicate that, while sex workers of all genders[63] report diverse forms of violence, trans sex workers are targeted most brutally, often in acts characterised by the national Ombudsman (*Defensoría del Pueblo*)[64] as "torture, cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment" (Salazar, 2009: 46). In 2006, a series of high-profile attacks by *serenazgo* officers in

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[61]I use the term 'trans woman' here in keeping with the authors' terminology.

[62]18%, compared with 5% in Lima according to *CARE-Perú*'s (2008b) survey, and 6% across the country (Campos et al., 2013).

[63]Here I refer to people known to do sex work in Peru, reflected in this and other literature (i.e. cis women and men, and transfeminine people). This is not to suggest that transmen may not also sell sex in this setting.

[64]A constitutionally-autonomous body founded in 1993 to protect individual and community rights, and to ensure the efficiency and accountability of public services and state administrations (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2018).

Lima left multiple trans women and *travestis* injured and generated outcry among LGBT and human rights organisations, nationally and internationally (Runa, 2007). In response, the NGO *Instituto Runa* (*Runa*) (2007) set out to document trans sex workers' experiences of violence across the capital. Almost two thirds (65%; 70/107) had experienced some form of violence that year, most often by *serenazgo* officers but also by police, 'neighbourhood watch' groups (*rondas vecinales*), gangs, partners, and others. They described *serenazgo* officers intimidating and attacking them with batons, dogs, and tear gas, intentionally targeting silicone-enhanced parts of their bodies, and extorting money (*cupos*) or unpaid sex. They also described forcible transportation to isolated locations where they were robbed, stripped, and abandoned. Police harassment and violence included chases, insults, and beatings to "persuade" them to leave their work zones, and arbitrary detention without charges—almost all (94%) having experienced the latter at some point (Runa, 2007).

A later report drawing on grey literature and focus groups reflects a similar picture nationally, as well as identifying parallels and divergences between the experiences of trans and female sex workers (Salazar, 2009). Both groups reported harassment in and outside of work, insults, extortion, violence, arbitrary arrest and detention, confiscation of condoms and, in some settings, *serenazgo* officers destroying their ID and/or health cards[65]—although female sex workers were more likely to be targeted by police than *serenazgo* officers (Salazar, 2009: 103-4). Three further reports provide insights into female sex workers' experiences of institutional violence: two reporting on a survey and series of focus groups by NGO *CARE-*

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[65]Documents, formerly mandatory, indicating that registered sex workers are up-to-date with their HIV/STI screening. They remain a requirement in some sex work venues (Salazar, 2009).

Perú[66] (2008b; 2008a) exploring *empowerment* and health with members of sex worker organisations and government STI-clinic (CERITS) attendees across four cities (see *Sex workers' perspectives on rights & 'empowerment'*, below); and focus groups undertaken by the Peruvian branch of RedTraSex, as part of a region-wide series, exploring female sex workers' experiences of institutional violence (RedTraSex, 2016a)—presumably among RedTraSex members, but there are no details provided as to how participants were recruited.

CARE-Perú's (2008a) focus groups participants described police arriving unannounced at sex work venues, demanding fees from venue owners, and money or unpaid sex from female sex workers to avoid arrest, continually harassing those who resisted (Salazar, 2009). In Lima, participants described violent raids, detention without court orders, insults, humiliation, theft of money, cell phones and valuables by officers, and fears of their work being revealed to family via police and media (CARE-Perú, 2008a: 19). A small proportion of survey participants in Lima and neighbouring Callao (4%) reported paying officers fees (*cupos*)—a practice not reported in other cities—but focus group participants across settings described officers demanding sex in exchange for early release from detention (CARE-Perú, 2008a). Very little research has explored male sex workers' experiences of institutional violence but Konda et al.'s (2008a) conference abstract reports that 40% of trans and male sex workers in Lima and Callao reported having been mistreated by police. However, they do not disaggregate data by gender, workplace, or neighbourhood, or define mistreatment.

In RedTraSex's (2016a) focus groups, all participants had experienced some form of "abuse of authority or violence" in their work. Women working in venues described police

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[66]Peruvian branch of an international NGO implementing 'poverty reduction' programmes.

arriving unannounced, with the *Fiscalía* (public prosecutor's office, responsible for overseeing criminal investigations), demanding to see their ID and health cards and filming them, or bribing them to avoid these actions—at times, accompanied by journalists. The premise of these operations was typically grounded in identifying minors, undocumented migrants, and people with outstanding criminal charges against them. Women working outdoors described physical and verbal abuse by police and *serenazgo* officers, and constantly being asked for bribes to avoid arrest and to secure release from detention. When resisting officers' demands, they were insulted further. The authors describe officers fencing off various streets during raids so that people could not escape, arriving loudly on motorbikes, in vans and trucks, and demanding that women move on. Women were transported to the police station in trucks and were filmed or photographed there, then detained for several hours while police checked if they had any outstanding charges against them (RedTraSex, 2016a).

A number of studies provide insights into violence by other actors. In Lima, trans sex workers described being attacked, robbed, and having their heads forcibly shaved by 'neighbourhood watch' groups—typically young male residents who patrolled areas lacking police presence, sometimes enlisting the help of gangs (Runa, 2007). In Cavagnoud's (2014) ethnographic research in a working-class neighbourhood in south Lima, trans sex workers faced extortion, robbery, and rape, by gangs of young men—targeted based on their substantial earnings, the relative absence of police, and ready availability of drugs and alcohol. They were also terrorised by truck and bus drivers, the former driving towards them at speed and throwing rotten chickens at them; the latter driving close by and shouting homophobic insults (Cavagnoud, 2014). Other forms of violence included attacks and demanded repayment by clients who expected them to be "women" (Salazar, 2009), and

threats or attacks by other sex workers in contexts of competition and hierarchy—although peers also came to each other's defence when assaulted by clients and gangs (Cavagnoud, 2014) (see *Third parties: complex relations of power & protection*, and *Peer relationships: competition, safety & resistance*, below).

Female sex workers in Callao report levels of sexual, physical, and emotional violence at work (13%, 17% and 45%) (Bohorquez et al., 2010) comparable with those reported by women who sell sex in other settings (Deering et al., 2014), but more frequently than women in other occupations in working-class Lima neighbourhoods (Musayón Oblitas and Caufield, 2007). Yet these findings are limited by a lack of contextual information, such as who enacted this violence, where it took place, where women worked or how violence was defined (Bohorquez et al., 2010). *CARE-Perú* (2008a; 2008b) provides more detail: a quarter of women across cities reported threats of physical violence since they had started selling sex, in a minority of cases with a weapon (8-14%) and typically by clients, but also by pimps, police and *serenazgo* officers in Lima and Callao. However, no details are provided on whether threats were enacted, where they took place or indeed if they happened during work hours, nor are 'pimps' defined. In linked focus groups, most female sex workers across cities described having experienced some form of aggression or violence by clients, especially those who refused to use condoms, tried to secure services without consent, or who were drunk or high (CARE-Perú, 2008b). In some settings, women also described brothel owners' verbal abuse, inflated fees and being forced to rob clients, insults from passers-by and violence from pimps if they tried to work in another zone (CARE-Perú, 2008a: 19). Nencel (2001) and *CARE-Perú* (2008a) describe the individual safety tactics women employed, such as providing services in a hotel rather than a client's home (CARE-Perú, 2008a), only leaving a venue with

trusted clients, and travelling home with the same taxi driver after each shift (Nencel, 2001: 106, 184, 237). I discuss collective tactics below (see *Peer relationships: competition, safety & resistance*).

Just one small qualitative study has described male sex workers' experiences of violence, in street-based settings in Lima, the author stressing men's social vulnerability and threats by clients, gangs and the authorities (Caro, 1999). In ethnographic research with trans and male sex workers in Lima and several Amazon-region cities, Nureña et al. (2011) briefly mention the frequency of violence in street-based settings, enacted by other sex workers, "pimps", "street delinquents" and *serenazgo* officers, noting the relative safety of certain locations and sectors (e.g. online) in study participants' views. However, they do not specify whether this relates to male and/or trans sex workers' experiences specifically, or provide details of these individuals or their relationships with sex workers (Nureña et al., 2011). In a recent survey, one in five men working outdoors in central Lima reported experiencing or enacting[67] violence in recent interactions with clients, most often physical violence or "emotional harm" (not defined), but a minority had also experienced (but not perpetrated) forced or unwanted sex (10%). However, the settings, circumstances, men's responses, and violence by other actors at work, are not reported (George et al., 2016). Men participating in a national sex work consultation mentioned risks of client violence and forced drug use (see *Growing rights movements & collaborations*, below) (Salazar, 2009: 40), but no further details are provided.

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[67]Men reported experiencing and enacting violence in roughly equal proportions (George et al., 2016).

Few data are available on sex workers' experiences of violence outside of work. In *CARE-Perú*'s(2008a: 22', 2008 #15: 16-18) research, women across cities reported varied forms of abuse by partners, most frequently insults but also physical aggression and forced sex, some experiencing violence when a partner or family member found out about their work. There are also reports of women having been purposefully 'outed' to their children by neighbours (Salazar, 2009). In central Lima, male sex workers were far more likely to experience and enact recent violence in the context of relationships with partners (~40%) than with clients, most often emotional or physical but also sexual violence (6-10%) (George et al., 2016). *Runa* (2007) lists partners as one of several 'other' sources of recent violence against trans sex workers, and broader research indicates that some may view such violence as validation of their femininity (discussed further below) (Pollock et al., 2016) (see *Inequalities & identities at the intersections*, below).

Existing reports typically indicate that sex workers of all genders are unlikely to report violence and discrimination to the authorities, although the participants in RedTraSex (2016a)'s research were most likely do to so. Among *CARE-Perú*'s (2008b) survey participants, under a third of women threatened had sought help—in less than half of cases from police, less often from friends or neighbours, and rarely from health professionals, NGOs, lawyers or the Ombudsman. Similarly, Konda et al. (2008a) found that fewer than one in five (17%) trans and male sex workers had reported their police mistreatment to the authorities or an NGO, and the same low proportion knew of any organisation from which help could be sought in such circumstances. In *RedTraSex*'s (2016a) research, however, 45% of women had reported the institutional violence they had experienced—which may reflect their likely membership of sex worker organisations—with those working in public spaces more likely to do so than

those working in closed spaces (venues). Reasons for *not* doing so including lack of trust in the justice system, fear and unfamiliarity with judicial processes. I discuss sex workers' limited access to justice, and examples of shifts in practice, further below (see *(Moral) policing: spaces of violence, blame & indifference* and *Growing rights movements & collaborations*).

A number of studies in Peru add to the international literature (see Chapter 1, *Public health: towards a focus on violence & (in)justice*) documenting the consequences of violence for sex workers' physical and mental health. In Callao, women who had experienced violence at work were significantly more likely to report severe depression—a condition they were also more likely to experience if they reported lower earnings, using drugs, having children, and starting sex work under 18[68] (Bohorquez et al., 2010). Nencel (2001: 218-9) describes female sex workers' "no-way-out situation", and a related toll on their physical and emotional well-being, as they sought financial security amid a repressive regulation system, dominant media and 'helping' discourses, and extreme poverty—all of which limited possibilities of improving their working conditions (see *Prostitution debates & geographies: repeated visions*, below). Some participants in *CARE-Perú*'s (2008b) focus groups described prolonged periods of sadness and anxiety despite satisfaction at providing for their children, and the emotional consequences of daily (feared) stigma—but these issues are not explored in further depth. The authors do, however, note that sex worker organisations constituted key spaces of reflection and solidarity that women felt improved their self-esteem (see *Sex workers' perspectives on rights & 'empowerment'*, below).

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[68]The authors do not discuss how these factors might interrelate to affect women's mental health.

George et al. (2016) demonstrate a direct link between male sex workers' experiences of violence and sexual health. Men who had experienced recent violence were more likely to be living with HIV, and both those who had suffered and enacted abuse were less likely to use condoms during anal sex (George et al., 2016). The authors explain this in terms of individual-level biological (e.g. physical trauma), 'risk' (e.g. high number of sexual partners) and emotional factors (e.g. accepting unprotected sex to avoid further abuse) but they do not discuss social and structural influences that could increase men's vulnerability to violence *and* HIV (see Chapter 1); other authors, for example, argue that men who transact sex in 'public places' are exposed to both due to rushed sex and negotiations (Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008). George et al. (2016) do, however, acknowledge that stigma and criminalisation are likely to deter men from *reporting* violence, particularly when experienced in the context of sex work[69]. They and other authors (George et al., 2016; Salazar, 2009: 103-4; Bohorquez et al., 2010) call for violence-related support and mental health services to be incorporated into HIV/STI programmes for sex workers—a gap that the Ministry of Health (MINSA)'s most recent strategy partially addresses (MINSA, 2015) (see *Growing rights movements & collaborations*, below). With the exception of Salazar (2009), these authors do not discuss the need to tackle related issues such as sex work laws, policing, institutional stigma, and unsafe working environments. Nor do they discuss in any depth how sex workers navigate and/or resist threats to their safety.

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[69]They also note that stigma can limit access to health, housing and social support services which could, in turn, help address violence.

Political, social & economic shifts, persisting injustices

Inequalities & identities at the intersections

Since the mid-20th Century, Peru has shifted from a primarily rural, indigenous population to a racially-diverse, largely urban one (Boesten, 2010: 8-10). Amid mass rural-to-urban migration and major population growth, a third (9 million) of inhabitants now live in Lima. The coastal region is home to the majority of *mestizo* (biracial indigenous and white), *criollo* (white), Afro-Peruvian and Asian-Peruvian populations, while the more sparsely populated Andes and Amazon regions are majority indigenous areas[70]. Peru's recent and rapid commodity-driven macroeconomic growth has led to significant reductions in poverty (INEI, 2017), and its re-classification as an "upper middle-income" country. However, income inequality remains stark and many Peruvians have not experienced meaningful improvement in their material conditions (Boesten, 2010).

Studies of inequalities in Peru have typically centred on economic and class divides. However more recent literature considers intersections with race, gender, and sexuality (Boesten, 2010: 8; Thorp et al., 2006). Indigenous- and Afro-Peruvians are disproportionately affected by poverty, limited access to education, employment, and health services (Thorp et al., 2006; Benavides et al., 2015), amid a subtle but deeply entrenched racism (Portocarrero, 1993; Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008)—reproduced by media representations and in humour

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[70]The national census has not recorded ethnicity since 1940. Available data suggests that 45% of Peruvians are indigenous, 37% *mestizo*, 15% white, and 3% Afro-Peruvian or Asian-Peruvian (Boesten, 2010; Thorp et al., 2006)—the former descendants of slaves on coastal plantations and the latter of immigrants. However, Afro-Peruvian rights organisations estimate that the population of Afro-Peruvians is up to 10% (see e.g. World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, 2018). The Amazon region is the least densely populated but most ethnically diverse region, home to over 65 distinct ethnic groups (Thorp et al., 2006).

(Vega, 2010; Herrera, 2017; Sue and Golash-Boza, 2013). Women, and indigenous and Afro-Peruvian women in particular, experience lower wages, poorer working conditions, less job security (Boesten, 2010) and are less likely than men to spend family income on their own healthcare needs (Ewig, 2006). Women, and particularly indigenous women, experience very high rates of partner violence (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006) and are unlikely to report it to the police (Boesten, 2012). Pollock et al. (2016) characterises the frequency of verbal and psychological partner abuse as "so common as to be considered 'normal' by many Peruvian women". Yet government efforts to address poverty and violence against women have typically reinforced hegemonic relations of race, gender, and class (Boesten, 2010) (see Chapter 2, *(State) violence & neoliberalism in Latin America*).

Amid frequent familial rejection and discrimination by landlords, employers and medical providers, sexual and gender minorities face specific barriers to accessing education, employment, housing, and healthcare (Cocchella and Machuca, 2014; Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008; Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012; Pollock et al., 2016). In Lima, almost a third of trans women—an estimated 64% of whom are currently engaged in sex work—cannot cover their basic needs amid widespread exclusion from the formal labour market, despite higher than average education levels[71] (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012). Accessing public services is particularly complicated for trans people and those who left home as minors, as this requires a national ID card—issued to adults on presentation of their birth certificate which, until recently, had to be collected from one's region of origin—a costly and potentially painful

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[71]Sixty-two percent had completed secondary education and 17% had completed higher education. As the authors note, they did not explore whether participants began gender enhancement/affirmation during or subsequent to their education (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012).

prospect for those rejected and/or living far from home (Cocchella and Machuca, 2014; Silva-Santisteban and Salazar, 2009). Over 40% of trans sex workers contacted by Runa (2007: 38) had no ID card and most who *did* were registered with their given male name, amid strict and costly pre-requisites for changing one's legal name and gender. As such, presenting and even possessing an ID card could both negate their gender identity and make their transgression visible, with contingent risks of stigma, discrimination, and violence (Runa, 2007: 32).

Violence against sexual and gender minorities, and trans people in particular, remains common (Cocchella and Machuca, 2014; Campuzano, 2008). Authors attribute this to local and national authorities' toleration and trivialisation of such violence; the "habitual violence" of *serenazgo* repression under conservative mayors; sensationalist media coverage, related indifference, mockery, and ridicule (Runa, 2007: 23); and religious condemnation of homosexuality (Salazar, 2009: 20). Although public attitudes have become more tolerant in recent decades, vocal denouncements by conservative groups and the Catholic church continue to hold considerable influence (Cáceres et al., 2008a). Ugarteche (1993) argues that colonists' supplanting of liberal sexual attitudes with repressive ones partially explains the current paradox in Peru that everything is possible in terms of sexuality so long as it is not discussed (Nencel, 1996)—reflected in the phrase, 'God forgives the sin, not the scandal'[72] (Cáceres et al., 2008a).

As in other parts of Latin America, minority sexual and gender identities do not align neatly with western categories. Men frequently identify as *activo* or *pasivo* (Cáceres and Rosasco, 1999; Clark et al., 2013; Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008) (see Chapter 2, *Gender &*

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[72]The original phrase is "*Dios perdona el pecado, pero no el escándalo*".

sexuality in Latin America), although gay and *moderno* are increasingly common identities—the latter signifying that men adopt either sexual role (broadly equivalent to 'versatile')—particularly for men working in "white collar" jobs and/or sex work, or residing in Lima (Clark et al., 2013; Cáceres et al., 2008a; Goodreau et al., 2007). Nureña et al. (2011) argue that *fletes* often present as masculine and identify as heterosexual or bisexual but Bayer et al.'s (2014b) survey suggests a more complex picture, in line with Cáceres' (1995) findings that presentations of masculinity and femininity, and sexual 'roles' and identities, do not necessarily neatly align.

The self-identity *travesti* remains common in Peru. Grounded in qualitative research in Lima, Pollock et al. (2016) argue that most *travestis* sought to appear as a woman rather than become one. Many opted not to undergo gender affirmation surgery, both due to its prohibitive cost and their own and their clients' pleasure and desires—although some trans sex workers "strongly reject" clients' requests to be penetrated (Pollock et al., 2016; Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012). Pollock et al. (2016) observes that most *travestis* undergo gender enhancement[73] procedures to help them "pass" as women, and to maximise their desirability to men, social acceptance, and earning potential in sex work. The most common procedures include injecting hormones or industrial silicone (*aceite de avión*), typically without medical supervision[74] (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012). Pollock et al. (2016) argue that *travestis'* gendered performances mirror traditional roles, reflected in their submission/forgiveness and their male

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[73]See *Sex work, health inequalities and health services*, below, for discussion of access to these treatments in Peru. I follow Pollock et al. (2016) and other authors (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012) in referring to gender enhancement here, as opposed to transitioning/affirmation, based on how trans people in this setting describe these processes and their gender identities.

[74]It is common for another *travesti*/trans woman to administer silicone injections, in line with Kulick (1998)'s observations that this became an additional source of income and a profession for some.

partners' jealousy, control and violence—the latter seen as validation of the male gaze, while defending oneself might require displays of strength that "crack" femininity (Pollock et al., 2016). Yet as Di Pietro (2016) argues in Argentina, *travestis'* performances of femininity can also be read as an appropriation and reworking of their popular representation. *Travestis* who present as more masculine, meanwhile, may provoke "strong reactions", including within *travesti* communities (Campuzano, 2008).

Political violence, neoliberalism & participatory governance

In the 1960s and 70s, amid the postcolonial legacy of privileging landowners' and corporate interests, Peru's military government sought to expand the voting, land, and labour rights of indigenous and working-class Peruvians (Vergara, 2014). However, they were largely unsuccessful in "break[ing] with the old order" (Vergara, 2014: 35-36; Boesten, 2010: 8-9). In 1980, during the first democratic elections for almost two decades, the Maoist *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) movement "declared war on the Peruvian state" and began terrorising large swathes of the Andean region (Boesten, 2010: 9). Ten years on, the presidential election of populist Alberto Fujimori signified an apparent departure from elitist politics[75] and saw him launch a major counterinsurgency against *Sendero Luminoso* (Vergara, 2014), including by formalising grassroots, armed rural self-defence groups (*rondas de autodefensa/campesinas*) (Fumerton, 2001; Crabtree, 2006: 51). During the 20-year conflict, an estimated 70,000 people were killed, in roughly equal proportions by *Sendero* and government forces, the vast majority indigenous people in the Andean region (Thorp et al., 2006). The police and military perpetrated sexual and physical violence with impunity against

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[75]As an entrepreneur and first-generation immigrant, Fujimori was seen as the antithesis of the ruling bourgeoisie (Gandolfo, 2009).

indigenous women and suspected or convicted *Sendero* members (Boesten, 2012) (see Chapter 2, *(State) violence & neoliberalism in Latin America*). In 1991 and 1992, in response to the growing presence of *Sendero* in Lima and a related bombing campaign, a government-controlled death squad massacred 15 residents of Barrios Altos[76], central Lima—wrongly suspected of being *Sendero* members—and a group of nine students and their professor at La Cantuta university, on the city's outskirts (Meléndez and León, 2010). In 1992, the leader of *Sendero Luminoso* was captured in Lima, a turning point in the conflict (Meléndez and León, 2010).

The same year, backed by the military, Fujimori dissolved Congress, assumed full legislative and judicial authority and suspended the constitution, increasing presidential powers (Mauceri, 1995). In the context of a severe economic crisis, his series of free-market economic shock policies[77], including major reductions in state services and jobs and privatisation, resulted in rapid and exponential increases in living costs (Vergara, 2014)—a large poverty relief fund having little impact on women's situations (Boesten, 2010). Market and health sector reforms were rolled out "by stealth" (Ewig, 2006; Franco and Bocanegra, 2014: 110), introducing user fees and means-testing that left an estimated 20% of the population ineligible for free healthcare and unable to afford services (Ewig, 2006)—a prevailing source of stress for poor families (Campoamor, 2016). During his administration Fujimori introduced a series of policies to address violence against women amid efforts to gain favour with the international community, but these privileged protection of the family unit over women's rights, and poor, indigenous women experienced highly discriminatory treatment in domestic violence support centres (Boesten, 2012) (see Chapter 2, *(State) violence*

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[76]Residents were attending a community fund-raising barbecue (Meléndez and León, 2010).

[77]A condition of continued IMF and World Bank loans (Vergara, 2014).

& neoliberalism in Latin America). He also presided over a large-scale forced sterilisation programme that disproportionately affected poor indigenous communities, who continue to fight for compensation as yet not received (Boesten, 2010). Shortly after his unconstitutional re-election for a third term in 2000, videos emerged evidencing Fujimori's extensive involvement in corruption and embezzlement, upon which he resigned and fled to Japan (Mauceri, 1995).

These and subsequent years saw major shifts in, and privatisation of, security services, with a 30% reduction in the national police force and an expansion of *serenazgo* units (Plöger, 2012). In 2003, a move towards 'participatory citizen security' (Marquardt, 2012) rendered municipal funds contingent upon local residents' active and often financial participation[78] (Plöger, 2012; Marquardt, 2012). While apparently popular, this approach has undoubtedly reproduced geographic inequalities, as poorer communities in marginal suburbs are made responsible for 'solving' insecurity in their neighbourhoods (Marquardt, 2012; Plöger, 2012). Meanwhile, the attempts of middle and upper-class residents to demand institutional accountability are discouraged (Marquardt, 2012). Following Brazil's model of participatory budgeting, Peru also introduced a series of *Mesas de Concertación* (consensus roundtables), through which civil society and local government sought to develop consensus over social policies (Dagnino, 2003), with variable success (see *The contemporary policy context of central Lima*, below).

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[78]Examples include joining public safety patrols, and raising funds for security gates and guards (Plöger, 2012; Marquardt, 2012).

In 2009, Fujimori was sentenced to 25 years in prison for human rights violations, yet he remains a highly divisive political figure[79], retaining strong public and Congressional support (Mauceri, 2010). Attempts, since his administration, to reform the political system, the judiciary, and the police have largely failed to improve efficiencies and reduce corruption, leaving public mistrust widespread (Plöger, 2012; Crabtree, 2006). Franco and Bocanegra (2014) attribute this to two main problems. First, reformers have typically focused on the content of laws, rather than the state's bureaucratic and resource-related capacity to enforce them. Second, new laws are typically written without sufficient analysis of social or political context (Franco and Bocanegra, 2014: 108), framed as technical rather than "embedded in and a reflection of the state-society relationship" (Boesten, 2010: 6).

Franco and Bocanegra (2014: 107) argue that, when state institutions are weak, governance through "unwritten codes that citizens and public officers share" becomes more powerful. In this context, state agents' misuse of their power, whether for personal gain or in compliance with superiors, manifests in "selective enforcement" that typically targets poorer, marginalised citizens (Franco and Bocanegra, 2014: 107-8). Boesten (2010: 6) argues that successive governments' "lip service" to citizenship has served to maintain good relationships with international bodies and funders, but has not translated into concrete realisation of civil, social, cultural, and economic rights for the majority of Peruvians (Boesten, 2010: 6). Thus "rights-in-principle" have not become "rights in practice" (Boesten, 2010: 6).

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[79]The current president Pedro Pablo Kuczynski's recent decision to pardon him, as part of an alliance with the opposition, sparked mass protests in Lima at the end of 2017.

The imagined & contested spaces of (central) Lima

Lima is central to Peru's image as a modern nation, but it remains a microcosm of the country's entrenched inequalities. A tenfold increase in the city's population between the 1940s and 1990s had major effects on the spatial, cultural, racial, and class relations of the city (Gandolfo, 2009). Urban space became the "new battleground for class warfare" as rural migrants clashed with land-controlling white urban elites (Gandolfo, 2009: 8). Migrants moved into the city centre and divided colonial-era buildings (*quintas*) into smaller tenements, later forming settlements in surrounding areas popularly termed "land invasions" (Gandolfo, 2009; Matos Mar, 1986). The middle and upper-classes moved into the suburbs, such that the city's wealthiest neighbourhoods directly bordered the poorest ones (Gandolfo, 2009: 8). These spatialised inequalities remain highly apparent today.

Figure 2: Map of Lima (Map data @2017 Google)

These shifts in the use of space also altered the legal, economic and, according to Matos Mar (1986: 61), "moral" ordering of the city (Gandolfo, 2009: 9). As new residents conducted business via family and personal relations rather than institutional ones, a "culture of informality" pervaded all aspects of business, amenities, and even public services (Gandolfo, 2009: 9). The public and political panics associated with this reworking of urban space are well documented (Matos Mar, 1986; Gandolfo, 2009: 222). Citing a 1994 sociology undergraduate who explored how fellow students viewed and used space through maps and descriptions, Gandolfo (2009: 222) notes that central Lima was depicted as "one of the city's most contested spaces […] a place split into distinct zones that either brim over with power and beauty … or that are marked off, believed to be derelict or lost to decay, filth, poverty, and crime".

In 1996, mayor Alberto Andrade launched an intensive 'urban renewal' campaign to "recuperate" the historic centre from those he considered to have "invaded" (Gandolfo, 2014: 147). *Serenazgo* officers were tasked with displacing the thousands of street vendors who had set up semi-permanent stalls, as the mayor sought to encourage investment and, without success, the return of "elite" residents, while restoring colonial-era plazas at considerable expense (Gandolfo, 2014: 154; Aufseeser, 2014). Although the campaign was popular with middle and upper-class residents, Gandolfo (2014: 147) argues that Andrade's traditional and elitist vision contradicted the "working poor's … own ideas about the value of space in the city". The campaign also drew on 'hygienist' discourses (Ronda, 2009) as a new municipal ordinance prohibited activities contravening public "health, morals and good customs" (RedTraSex, 2016a). This involved eradicating 'clandestine' sex work, in collaboration with residents, declaring 27 city blocks in the historic centre a "risk zone for public health and

morality" (Arbulú Bramon, 2004). Streets were "cleaned" of sex workers, *travestis* and 'street children'[80], and all "pay-by-the-hour motels" were forced to close (Gandolfo, 2014: 154).

Although this initiative dramatically reduced the numbers of vendors operating on central Lima's streets (Gandolfo, 2014), it did not ultimately succeed in displacing sex work. One of the refurbished plazas within the 27-block zone described above, where we[81] undertook fieldwork for this project (see Chapter 4, *Getting to know central Lima & potential participants*), is an important focal point for political, social and leisure activity, frequently featuring in major public protests and rights marches, and a popular place for locals and tourists to congregate. The neighbourhood continues to be perceived as crime-prone, despite rates of violence and theft being no higher than in wealthier suburbs relative to population size (López Villanes, 2014: 38). Contemporary municipal campaigns to "restore" the historic city centre—poorly reflected in the quality of accommodation available for economically-marginalised residents (Rita and Allen, 2016)—continue to target sex workers, informal street vendors, and street children for removal (Aufseeser, 2014), in alignment with national citizen security strategies (see *Regulation: a brief overview*, above). Aufseeser (2014) observes how street children and allied organisations rework these urban policies, and counter assumptions of their vulnerability, to retain access to space and income. There has been little analysis of how these urban governance strategies interact with policing of sex work.

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[80]Young people under 18 living and/or working in outdoor spaces

[81]I use 'we' to reflect the collaborative nature of the research (see Chapter 4).

Sex work: social & economic inequalities, relations, and aspirations

Sex work, inequalities & the (in)visibility of class & race

Many of the social and economic inequalities described above affect people who sell sex in Peru. Yet, the specific stigma and criminalisation of their work can also isolate them from those with whom they share such struggles (Nencel, 2001: 216). At the same time, sex workers' realities are more diverse than is often popularly assumed (Nureña et al., 2011). Nencel (2001: 127-30) charts the precarity that female sex workers experienced in central Lima prior to and during Fujimori's economic shock policies, reflecting on the commonalities and divergences between their lives and those of other poor women. Yet selling sex was by far the most lucrative option available to them given that most had little formal education; they had also developed small-scale collective savings schemes to help mitigate oscillating costs (Nencel, 2001: 130). Women working in bars and clubs framed themselves as higher earners with access to a wealthier client base, but the latter did not always materialise nor protect them from the crippling effects of austerity measures (Nencel, 2001: 157).

Later research reflects, perhaps, a more diverse picture. In surveys over the past decade, more than half of female sex workers across cities have reported monthly sex work earnings of at least 1000 soles (S/.) (~US$330)—almost twice the minimum wage at the time of data collection—although this also masks considerable variation and sustained poverty (CARE-Perú, 2008b; Bohorquez et al., 2010; Kohler et al., 2016). Bar and street-based sex workers reported similar daily earnings (S/.60) but different client numbers (1 versus 3 per day), while those operating in brothels earn most but at the lowest per-client fee (Kohler et al., 2016). Women who work in bars, which typically involves later shifts and more alcohol

consumption, are younger, more likely to be single and have higher education, and least likely to have children (Kohler et al., 2016; CARE-Perú, 2008b). Female sex workers based outside of Lima and Callao, and older women, continue to report lower earnings (CARE-Perú, 2008b; Kohler et al., 2016). Yet women across sectors and cities continue to report sex work to be their most profitable source of income (CARE-Perú, 2008b).

Most female sex workers live in their own or a relative's house with full basic amenities (water, sanitation, electricity), have at least one child, do not live with a partner, and are responsible for their own and their family's finances—including relatives who may request funds (Bohorquez et al., 2010; Perla et al., 2012; Nencel, 2001; CARE-Perú, 2008b). Nevertheless, many women opt to keep their work secret from their families, for fear of stigma, rejection, and exploitation (Salazar, 2009; CARE-Perú, 2008a; Bohorquez et al., 2010). Between 37% and 75% female sex workers report having undergone secondary or higher education, and almost one in five in Lima are currently studying (CARE-Perú, 2008b; Campos et al., 2013; Kohler et al., 2016).

Recent research offers insights into trans and male sex workers' diverse financial and living situations, and related geographic inequalities. Bayer et al. (2014c) observe clear distinctions between the lives and work of men who sell sex in central Lima and those who do so in the city's wealthier neighbourhoods. The former group of men invest more time in sex work but earn less[82], typically meeting clients on the street, compared with more frequent and lucrative online and personal contacts for men in wealthier neighbourhoods (Bayer et al., 2014b). Bayer et al. (2014c) attribute men in central Lima's limited access to "middle and high-

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[82]Men in central Lima earned on average US$45/week (~S/.135) at $9/client, compared with $72/week and $24/client for men working in wealthier neighbourhoods.

income" clients and neighbourhoods to their lesser financial and social capital (e.g. gym memberships, extensive/wealthy social networks) and "less developed social skills". However, they do not discuss class, race, or sense of belonging, in the context of Lima's acute geographic inequalities (Gandolfo, 2009); nor do they reflect on how their own positionality may affect their assessments of men's "social skills".

Nureña et al. (2011: 1216), by contrast, observe that trans and male sex workers with "low SES (socioeconomic status) backgrounds", and/or who had migrated from other cities, appreciated the places and people of "higher social status" that they were able to access through their work. Yet, their measure of socioeconomic background introduces unvoiced assumptions over how class and sex work interrelate[83], and their observation that middle- and upper-class sex workers are particularly concerned about disclosure passes without further comment. Class-based power relations and uneven geographies, then, are reproduced within Lima's sex industry, yet sex work also offered opportunities to relate to people and places across entrenched social, racial, and class divides. Meanwhile, research which helps to reflect the diversity and social conditions of sex workers' health and lives (Nureña et al., 2011; Bayer et al., 2014c) can also (unintentionally) contribute to fixed representations of specific groups of sex workers, sectors, and spaces.

This and linked work also highlights geographic differences in trans and male sex workers' living situations. In central Lima, one in five men reported no housing or assets and a further 44% had a low household income, compared with 4% and 35% in other neighbourhoods—thus indicating differences in poverty levels between *and* within areas

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[83]They base this primarily on education, factoring in income and frequency of sex work (Nureña et al., 2011).

(Bayer et al., 2014b). In the city centre, men typically rent a room with friends and/or other sex workers on a nightly or monthly basis (at approximately $1/night), often in "dormitory-style" accommodation[84] (Bayer et al., 2014c: 376). Trans and male sex workers operating in wealthier areas tend to rent apartments alone or with friends longer-term (Bayer et al., 2014c; Nureña et al., 2011). In Southern Lima, where trans sex workers operate along a highway earning 8-15 soles ($2.50-4.50) per client, around a third live with their mother or both parents, in the former case often giving them part of their earnings. Most have not finished secondary school (Cavagnoud, 2014), in contrast to the higher rates of education among trans women across Lima (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012). In Bayer et al. (2014b)'s survey, over a fifth of men had at least one child, but the authors do not explore whether men lived with their children and/or made maintenance payments. Just one in five trans women in Lima report having a partner, very few of whom they live with (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012). There are no quantitative data on trans parenting but Campuzano (2008) notes that a few *travestis* in Peru do have children. Many are also invested in financially supporting and caring for their wider families, including partners, parents, siblings, nieces, and nephews (Campuzano, 2008).

Sex workers in Peru are a mobile population. Nureña et al. (2011) note that young men often leave home, move to Lima, and start to sell sex amid limited resources, employment opportunities, and social support. Trans women may migrate specifically for sex work, particularly from the Amazon region[85], to and outside of the capital and the country (Silva-

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[84]Bayer et al. (2014c: 376) describe "several bunk beds per room, several rooms per establishment, and a few bathrooms for all guests".

[85]Silva-Santisteban et al. (2012) estimate that 18% of trans women in Lima have migrated from this region, relative to 7% and 5% from other coastal cities and the Andean region, respectively, and that 64% are currently engaged in sex work.

Santisteban et al., 2012). This may allow them to access new markets, while Lima also represents a "bridge" to possibilities of international migration and gender-enhancement/affirmation treatment (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010; Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012). Mobility within Peru appears common for female sex workers, 40% having sold sex in at least one other city in the past year (Campos et al., 2013). Sex workers of all genders also report temporarily selling sex in rural areas in connection with extractive and other industries (see *Social & economic (power) relations of sex work*, below).

Race, ethnicity, and international migration to Peru receive little mention in the existing sex work literature. In a survey in Callao, the vast majority of female sex workers self-identified as *mestiza* (Sanchez et al., 2003) but others do not report on this. Region of origin may offer some insights: for example, the Amazon region from which transwomen are most likely to migrate to Lima is a predominantly-indigenous, albeit highly ethnically diverse, region (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012); Bayer et al. (2014c)'s research also included men originating from each of the country's main regions (see *Inequalities & identities at the intersections*, above). Nencel (2001: 186) briefly mentions racial relations and tensions—considering whether two women's mutual animosity related to one being Black and the other, *mestiza*—but this is not central to her analysis.

People who buy sex in Peru are also a diverse, albeit mostly male, population. Sex workers describe clients of varied ages, classes, sexual identities, and nationalities[86], and paying for sex appears to be common for Peruvian men (Diaz et al., 2014; Miller et al., 2004).

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[86] A 2004 survey of female sex workers' adult male clients—recruited from licensed brothels and unlicensed hostels where street-based and other women may well sex—indicated an average age of 31, but a wide age range (18-80); a quarter reported ever having had sex with a man, but sexual identities were not explored (Miller et al., 2004). Men had to be Spanish speakers to be eligible to participate, but they do not report on nationality, race or class.

Available data indicate that female and trans sex workers' clients are usually heterosexually-identified men, and male sex workers' clients are typically gay, bisexual or "closeted homosexual" men (Nureña et al., 2011: 1210)—although in Lima, men report a minority of trans and female clients (Bayer et al., 2014b). A small minority of male sex workers also report sex with female sex workers, although it is not clear whether this involves payment (Bayer et al., 2014b). In central Lima and other working-class neighbourhoods clients are usually Peruvian, while in middle- and upper-class neighbourhoods, sex workers may also see foreign clients (Nureña et al., 2011; Nencel, 2001). None of these studies mention clients' race or ethnicity.

Nencel (2001) is one of few authors in Latin America and internationally (Sanders, 2008) to have explored how constructions of masculinity play out in the subjective accounts of men who pay women for sex, noting how they both diverge from and reproduce dominant discourses. She found that men divided their sexual experiences into ones from which they derived "social and emotional" pleasure and those which relieved "sexual pressure and satisf[ied] their virtually instinctual sexual needs"—the latter relating, often exclusively, to their relationships with sex workers, in alignment with broader discourses relating to masculinity and prostitution in Peru (Nencel, 2001: 218-9) (see *Prostitution debates & geographies: repeated visions*, below). No such ethnographic work has been undertaken with men who buy sex since.

Sex work, health inequalities and health services

Almost one in three trans women in Lima are estimated to be living with HIV (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012). Yet, as a population, they remain underserved by both HIV-related

and broader health services (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2013), amid intense discrimination (see *A (public health) focus on violence*, above). Despite provision being free-of-charge, trans women are less likely than other people living with HIV to access and engage in anti-retroviral therapy (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2013). Authors attribute this to a lack of psychological, social, and family support; side-effects that can harm physical appearance on which many depend for income; and inflexible clinic hours, as well as noting extensive transphobia in health services and the fact that many trans women lack national ID cards required for service access (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2013; Salazar and Villayzan, 2010). Trans sex workers' varied HIV testing and condom use across Lima may also reflect geographic inequalities in health needs and/or service access (Mallma et al., 2014). Gender-enhancement and affirmation treatment—which can also facilitate access to wider services—remains unavailable within the public healthcare system. This leaves trans women largely reliant on the black market for medically-unsupervised hormone and industrial-silicone injection[87], which is both costly and poses considerable health risks (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012)—the latter prohibited for safety reasons (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010).

In central Lima, one in four male sex workers are estimated to be living with HIV, six times the proportion among men working in wealthier areas (Bayer et al., 2014b). Yet 20% of male sex workers have never had an HIV test and over half report not using condoms consistently—a situation which men link partly to limited availability but principally to requests for unprotected sex from higher paying, regular, or known clients (Bayer et al., 2014b). The authors suggest that this may also relate to men's affection for these clients—on

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[87]Few report using private healthcare, given its prohibitive costs (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2013).

whom they depended for "survival"—and their difficulties in "look[ing] ahead" (Bayer et al., 2014c: 383). However, they do not consider whether accepting more money for unprotected sex and focusing on the present might *both* reflect preoccupation with financial insecurity. In Lima and Trujillo, Fernández-Dávila et al. (2008) found that young men compensated for sex, in addition to facing limited employment opportunities, often lacked access to social security on the grounds of not having national ID cards and/or having criminal records. They also did not consider themselves as vulnerable to HIV based on their self-identities as *activo* men. Female sex workers are much less likely (<1-2%) to be living with HIV (Campos et al., 2013; Perla et al., 2012). However, women working outside of licensed brothels appear to be at increased risk, reporting less consistent condom use with clients, inadequate availability of condoms (CARE-Perú, 2008a) and lower likelihood of accessing governmental STI clinics (CERITS) (Campos et al., 2013; Perla et al., 2012).

Until the early 2000s, these services were free-of-charge only to female sex workers who were registered with the authorities. In addition to mandatory periodic screening, health cards were confiscated from those receiving a positive STI result until they had completed treatment (Nencel, 2001: 16). This system therefore reproduced the coercive yet exclusionary effects of regulation systems described elsewhere (Katsulis, 2009); it also had no impact on STI prevalence (Sanchez et al., 1998). HIV/STI screening is now voluntary but strongly encouraged by peer[88] and nurse outreach workers who visit sex work venues—proving more popular than

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[88]In 1996, MINSA's HIV/STI programme, under pressure from the longest-standing activist-led HIV prevention and treatment NGO in Peru, VÍA LIBRE, began training selected female sex workers and 'men who have sex with men' as peer outreach workers (*promotores/promotoras*). They receive small stipends to provide condoms and health information leaflets to their peers and encourage them to attend government STI clinics for routine testing. The programme has had an important influence on organising among marginalised sexual and gender minorities, and spurred the development of several sex worker organisations. However, it has been criticised, latterly, for valuing "recruitment quotas over actual need" (Konda et al., 2008b) (see *Growing rights movements & collaborations*, below).

clic-based services (Campos et al., 2013)—and is still required to receive a health certificate from the Ministry of Health (which some venues require) (Konda et al., 2008b) (see *Regulation: a brief overview*, above). The programme also provides improved screening, free condoms, treatment, and health promotion advice, and has had a greater impact on STI rates (Sanchez et al., 2003; Campos et al., 2013). It has been extended to other groups considered at risk of HIV and STIs, including men who have sex with men, and trans women/*travestis*—although Nureña et al. (2011) notes the need to expand HIV prevention programmes to less visible forms of trans and male sex work (e.g. online).

Researchers recommend that comprehensive trans healthcare be provided via the public healthcare system, incorporating gender-enhancement and mental health services (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010: 14-16; Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012). They urge medical professionals to use patients' chosen female names as a mark of respect, and to help them cope with everyday stigma, discrimination, and extreme violence. They also urge MINSA to improve awareness of such violence among wider authorities, and to provide trans women with "education on rights, empowerment and self-esteem" (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010: 14-16). Noting the risks attached to industrial silicone injection, they do not consider there to be sufficient current evidence to recommend needle-exchange programmes[89], although they encourage further research on this. They do not mention other substance use services—trans women reporting high rates of alcohol use (Deiss et al., 2013) and some marijuana and base cocaine (*pasta básica*) use (Ludford et al., 2013).

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[89]No data are available on needle-sharing, which has been documented in Brazil (Silva-Santisteban et al., 2013).

A new governmental HIV-plan specific to trans women marks important progress, resulting from extensive dialogue between trans activists, academics, international agencies, and MINSA (Salazar et al., 2016). MINSA's 2015-2019 HIV strategic plan also included new objectives to address violence as an HIV prevention measure and develop protocols for violence support services for sex workers. The strategy's development involved consultation with sex worker, trans, and LGBT organisations, HIV activists, civil society representatives, academics, and representatives across government (MINSA, 2015). How these strategies will affect access to HIV services, high rates of partner violence, and extensive related injustices, remains to be seen.

No such strategies have been developed specific to male sex workers. At the time of reporting, Bayer et al. (2014c: 384) were working with male sex workers in central Lima to develop a community centre that would provide HIV/STI prevention and basic health services, "personal development … activities [and] vocational training". They stress that they make no judgements about whether or not men *should* stop selling sex. However, they do not comment on broader structural constraints and influences, such as workplace safety, stigma, community organising, legal frameworks, housing and, crucially, the availability and earning potential of alternative employment for men who do wish to leave sex work. Various authors (Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008; Salazar et al., 2005) urge HIV programmes to address the poverty, prejudice, violence, and drug and alcohol use that young men engaged in compensated sex experience—men who sell sex reporting similar rates of substance use to trans women (Deiss et al., 2013; Ludford et al., 2013). They urge such efforts to foster agency, incorporate collective approaches and engage with masculinities.

Since the 1990s, sexual health NGOs founded as biomedical research collaborations have offered sexual health and psychosocial support services to sex workers, trans women and men who have sex with men (see e.g. IMPACTA, 2017; INMENSA, 2017; EPICENTRO, 2017). A large number of grassroots community-led organisations have also developed to provide HIV-related advice and support, many funded by the *Global Fund against AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis* (Global Fund) (Amaya et al., 2014) (see *Growing rights movements & collaborations*, below). Despite criticisms that the scheme offered insufficient managerial support and training for grassroots organisations, as well as inadequate coordination, monitoring, and evaluation (Cáceres et al., 2013), the Global Fund proved a vital source of funding for these projects. Yet their futures became uncertain once Peru was reclassified as an upper middle-income country and lost ineligibility for further funds (Amaya et al., 2014).

Few data are available on sex workers' access to broader health care. The majority of female sex workers (85%) report having no health insurance and just 3% are covered by the *Sistema Integral de Salud* (SIS) (CARE-Perú, 2008b: 25)—a government subsidy programme serving 20% of the general population (Ewig, 2006). Street-based sex workers voice preference for pharmacy-based sexual healthcare, which authors suggest may relate to discrimination and confidentiality concerns (Perla et al., 2012). Yet pharmacies are relied upon more generally in Peru, as a relatively economical and convenient source of healthcare (Garcia et al., 1998). No data are available about trans and male sex workers' health insurance or pharmacy use.

Community reports document the widespread mistreatment that trans communities, including those who sell sex, experience in health services, including refused care, unwillingness to look at or touch their bodies and refusal to recognise their gender identity, while both gender and sexual minorities report transphobic/homophobic insults (Cocchella

and Machuca, 2014; Salazar and Villayzan, 2010; Salazar, 2009). Female sex workers also describe mistreatment in health services, including moral condemnation, touching of their genitals without medical need, judgement, non-preferential treatment and worsening care on HIV diagnosis, and their sex worker status being communicated to other agencies without their consent (CARE-Perú, 2008a: 25; Salazar, 2009).

Social & economic (power) relations of sex work

Third parties: complex relations of power & protection

In the context of a largely informal economy and a lack of police protection, sex workers' opportunities to generate income, avoid arrest, and protect their safety are contingent on myriad economic, social, and sometimes affective, relationships. Cavagnoud (2014) describes the hierarchical organisation of trans sex workers' highway-based work in southern Lima: they form two groups and are expected to pay a fee to their group leader, an older *travesti*, to access work space. Integration into a group requires a recommendation from another member, payment of fees, and acceptance of the hierarchy, with non-payment viewed as un-collaborative and risking isolation or violence. Yet group members also defend each other when faced violence from clients, gangs, and others. Some pay hotel owners and/or boyfriends for security, and may be financially extorted by gang members, police, and *serenazgo* officers who take advantage of the industry's legal ambiguities (Cavagnoud, 2014). For trans sex workers living in single-parent households, their mother might seek a portion of their earnings amid limited economic alternatives, while participants themselves earned less from sex work than from stealing clients' money or possessions (a practice colloquially termed '*chichi*'). Others describe the presence of pimps in street and prison-based sex work

(Nureña et al., 2011) and various exploitative arrangements—including being obliged to use certain hotels, and being paid very little to provide cleaning, sexual services, and company in certain venues (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010).

Cavagnoud (2014) argues that trans sex workers experience (symbolic) violence and domination through vertical power relations with clients, on the basis of money, sex, and age; with mothers and partners, who may demand some or all of their earnings; with hotel owners, who gain "economic advantage" through rental fees; and with the authorities, through extortion, persecution, repression, and violence. Yet they also enact "oppositional strategies" of resistance[90] to protect their income, and themselves, in spaces "marked by exclusion and transgression" (Cavagnoud, 2014: 150). He argues that these strategies enable them to "conserve a margin of (symbolic) power" and resist uneven economic relationships. Their own enactment of violence, meanwhile, constitutes physical and symbolic survival (Cavagnoud, 2014: 165; Salazar and Villayzan, 2010: 15). Cavagnoud (2014) is pessimistic about the possibilities for formal recognition of trans sex workers' "sexual rights", but he does not discuss the efforts of sex worker and trans activists to drive legislative and social change (see e.g. Salazar and Villayzan, 2010: 15) (see *Growing rights movements & collaborations*, below).

Nencel (2001: 169) pays close attention to female sex workers' relationships with their partners (*maridos*). They were frequently present in what the night-time-economy scene (*ambiente*)[91] and might act as lookouts, but they almost never fulfilled the conventional image

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[90]For example, robbing clients, and using their hands to trick clients into thinking they are penetrating them.

[91]For Nencel (2001: 93), the *ambiente* is characterised by "the sensation of nocturnal enclosure … produced by always working at night". She cites Brunt (1996: 75) to convey the "shared notions of danger", solidarity and identity that form between trusted individuals in this context. Being a part of the *ambiente* is seen to distinguish participants' lives from those who do not belong to it (Nencel, 2001: 153-4).

of a pimp (*proxeneta*) controlling or forcing women to sell sex—despite their popular depiction as such. Rather, they would be denoted *cafiches*[92] (by everyone but their partner) if they were financially supported by, and did not oppose, their partner's sex work—considered 'real' partners only if they asked and supported her to stop, however economically unviable (Nencel, 2001: 170; Nencel, 2005). In more recent research with teenaged and young women in a working-class area of Lima, Cavagnoud (2013) observes the combined "physical protection, emotional support, and economic interest" pervading their relationships with boyfriends, and with women involved in organising their sexual-economic exchanges (*mamitas*). Meanwhile, women participating in transactional sex in Lima and Trujillo might be encouraged by their families to develop relationships with men as a way out of poverty (Salazar et al., 2005). However, dating young men who lacked employment opportunities often left them subject to requests for money, and financially responsible for their family.

In *CARE-Perú*'s (2008b) survey, only in Lima and Callao did a significant minority (19%) of women report paying pimps or madams, while 44% across cities paid fees to venue owners—although the context and conditions of these payments and relationships are not explored. In focus groups, some women described being charged (elevated) fees for room use, condom purchase, and to access certain streets; being pressured by madams to offer unprotected sex and fear of being fired if refused; and agreeing or being pressured to work with women who robbed clients (*gateadoras*) while they provided services (CARE-Perú, 2008a; Salazar, 2009). Yet third parties also offered security, and women who could afford it might pay someone (usually a man) to protect them at night (CARE-Perú, 2008a: 21). Nencel (2001:

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[92]A term that can mean 'pimp' or a man who lives off his (female) partner's earnings.

106, 130) observed how some women preferred street-based sex work relative to brothels and massage parlours for similar reasons. Yet the former was not devoid of such tensions, evident in women's criticism and challenge of landlords who attempted (unsuccessfully) to increase room rental fees without improving conditions (Nencel, 2001: 142). Clubs placed restrictions on where women could work, forbidding them from meeting clients elsewhere, but they offered a safer and less visible environment than street-based sex work (Nencel, 2001: 106, 178). *RedTraSex*'s (2016a) recent report indicates that some women continue to value the freedom offered by working outdoors relative to indoor spaces.

Third-party relations in male sex work have received little research attention. In a conference abstract based on survey data, Bayer et al. (2010) describe an "'autonomy' gradient", whereby men working in central Lima were more likely to pay a portion of their income to a "leader" than those in wealthier areas. No further details are provided. Nureña et al. (2011) observe similar patterns but also note that some middle and upper-class trans and male sex workers make payments to venue managers, escort agencies, and other intermediaries to facilitate access to clients.

Connections with other (in)formal economies

Amid low rates of formal sector employment, sex work often intersects with other 'informal' economies, albeit with differences by gender and neighbourhood. In Lima, two thirds of men selling sex in the city centre, and 81% of men in wealthier neighbourhoods, had other sources of income (Bayer et al., 2014b). Around a third of female sex workers across cities reported concurrent activities (Kohler et al., 2016)—typically working in or running a small business (e.g. shop, kiosk, street vending), as peer outreach workers or in domestic service (CARE-

Perú, 2008a; CARE-Perú, 2008b). Just one in five trans sex workers in Lima reported other work alongside sex work, typically hairdressing, dressmaking or peer outreach (Runa, 2007).

In Lima, teenage and young women's participation in sexual-economic exchange is one of several income-generating activities in which they participate (in addition to selling sweets and cigarettes), in contexts of extreme precarity and familial financial responsibilities (Cavagnoud, 2013). In the Amazon region, where poverty and unemployment are particularly acute, Mujica (2013) observes an interdependence of sexual service provision by teenage and young women, and the food and beverage industry. The promise of sexual services attracts clientele to bars, restaurants, and food stalls, while the sale of food and drinks generates greater profits and camouflage from legal and social sanctions. Young women are typically recruited and supervised by female relatives or family friends who view themselves not as pimps but as running "family businesses", leading Mujica (2013: 149) to view these as "micropolitical exploitation mechanisms" quite distinct from organised trafficking networks described elsewhere in the world.

There are also connections between adult sex work, transport, trade, tourism, the military, and prisons. In the Amazon region, people of all genders may sell sex on passenger ferries and river boats (Orellana et al., 2013; Mujica, 2013), during temporary stays at construction and infrastructure projects, and while working as cooks in logging and mining camps—sexual services being deducted from workers' pay (Nureña et al., 2011). In Iquitos, motorcycle taxi drivers parking near gay venues occasionally sell sex (Nureña et al., 2011). Some women temporarily sell sex to soldiers in rural and/or border areas (CARE-Perú, 2008a), and some young male soldiers (*cachaquitos*) in Lima exchange sex for money, meals, drinks,

or overnight accommodation on days off (Mujica, 2013). Trans sex workers may sell sex in prisons, while imprisoned themselves, or on visit days (Nureña et al., 2011).

Relationships with clients

Existing studies provide some insights into the economic, social and, at times, affective dimensions of sex workers' relationships with clients. Negotiations before providing a service include decisions over where the service will be provided, and who will pay for the room and condom (which may or may not be negotiable) (CARE-Perú, 2008a; Nencel, 2001). Negotiating condom use, meanwhile, may involve seductive, affectionate, and/or firm, informational discussions (CARE-Perú, 2008a)—indeed clients in Lima report first learning about condom use most often from a sex worker (Miller et al., 2004). Yet women might agree to provide certain services (e.g. unprotected sex) to a regular client that they would otherwise refuse, and these men may offer gifts, advice, friendship and/or affection (CARE-Perú, 2008a). In *CARE-Perú*'s (2008a: 20) focus groups, women described shifting, as they gained experience, from being "submissive, innocent, and naïve" to "tough and independent" with their clients, and from "ill-mannered, insolent and rebellious" to "tolerant and affectionate". However, the authors do not consider how women's self-presentation may link with broader acts of stigma management (see Chapter 2, *Dealing with stigma*). Nencel's (2001) observation that some women met their partners while selling sex also reflects how relationships with clients may transcend assumed economic/affective divides.

Nureña et al. (2011) argue that *fleteo* is characterised by upfront negotiations over fees, location, and services with clients. Yet in central Lima, some men's relationships with regular clients appeared to also have affective dimensions (Bayer et al., 2014c), similar to findings elsewhere (Padilla, 2007; Schifter and Aggleton, 1999). Bayer et al. (2014c: 381) attribute men's

"emotional attachment" to their reliance upon clients for survival, comparing this to the "business-like" relationships of men selling sex in wealthier areas, who may consider clients "casual friends, but not as close friends or romantic partners". The authors suggest that their findings may reflect a tendency in Latin America to express love via gift-giving (Schifter and Aggleton, 1999) but they also question the authenticity of affection inspired by monetary generosity, in common with other authors (Padilla, 2007). While they may be hinting at such accounts possibly constituting tactical performances of emotional labour to secure and improve income, as reported by sex workers elsewhere (Sanders, 2005), they do not consider whether separating affection from financial concerns may be the luxury of those unconstrained by such concerns.

For young men compensated for sex in Lima and Trujillo, their relationships with gay men reveal complex economic and gendered power relations, in a context of norms that demand heterosexuality, hegemonic masculinity, and female virginity (Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008). These young men experienced sexual "release" and earned money for drinks, food, and clothes, while gay men found younger men to have sex with whom they knew needed or wanted the money. Gay men were both mocked and needed: more experienced men became adept at "manipulating the[ir] feelings" to secure material benefits, sometimes entering into stable relationships but stressing that this was for financial reasons only (Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008). George et al. (2016) argue that men's relationships with clients and partners are subject to power inequalities, linked to the "unique" threat of being outed, isolation and a "lack of civil protection", but they do not discuss economic or affective dimensions. Existing research provides little detail of trans sex workers' relationships with clients beyond Cavagnoud (2014)'s work described above.

Peer relationships: competition, safety & resistance

Relationships with other sex workers constitute important sources of advice, support, protection, friendship, and solidarity (Nencel, 2001; CARE-Perú, 2008a). Yet Nencel (2001: 118) also observed the transient and distant nature of some women's relationships, amid concerns of advice "backfiring" and creating arguments. Competition complicates peer relationships, as more established sex workers may financially or otherwise control access to sex work spaces, barring or marginalising those who attract more clients (Cavagnoud, 2014; CARE-Perú, 2008b; Nencel, 2001: 134). Such divisions may also operate along the axes of gender, migration, and regulation. In 2010, media reports described 300 female sex workers in Callao protesting against "foreign workers" who they complained were operating without licenses, charging lower rates, and "ruining business" (El Tiempo, 2010). Salazar (2009) describes gendered tensions in certain cities, amid disputes over territory and trans sex workers' greater popularity with clients. Some female sex workers used homophobic insults, voiced frustrations that trans sex workers' robberies scarred off clients and attracted police, and refused to enter spaces that trans sex workers had "contaminated" (Salazar, 2009). Yet relationships with other sex workers were often vital to safety, fellow sex workers offering protection within venues or work zones and providing warnings about aggressive clients (CARE-Perú, 2008a: 21).

Peer relations between men who sell sex are little discussed in the literature. Nureña et al. (2011) argue that high competition for "clients, working spaces, power, and prestige" contribute to frequent violence, but they do not discuss whether these circumstances differ between trans and male sex workers. Bayer et al. (2014c) mention men's shared living

arrangements yet their concurrent social isolation, but they do not discuss peer relations in any further depth.

Relationships with residents: moral policing, social and economic ties

Existing research indicates that residents of sex working areas may collude with or act in the absence of the authorities, in morally policing public spaces, with symbolically and directly violent effects—particularly against trans sex workers (see *(Moral) policing: a culture of blame & indifference,* below). However, sex workers' relationships with residents may also be economically and socially nuanced. This is reflected, for example, in one woman's account of her landlady refusing a neighbour's request to evict her, based on her 'prostitute' status, on account of needing the rental income (CARE-Perú, 2008a). Yet Nencel (2001: 115, 125) argues that, while female sex workers shared experiences, norms, and values with their neighbours as they each attempted to "improve their situation without getting involved in criminal activities", their neighbours may view them as part of the "bad elements" to be avoided in the neighbourhood.

There are no published data on male sex worker's relations with residents. Gay men's relationships with fellow residents in working-class neighbourhoods in Lima and Trujillo reflected how spaces of "peaceful coexistence" might be forged (Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008). Yet this did not prevent them from being considered "scandalous", negative influences on children, nor did it extend to *travestis* (Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008). The only existing reports of trans sex workers' relationships with residents are those of violent attacks by young male "neighbourhood watch" groups (Runa, 2007).

Meanings & functions of sex work: subjective accounts

Critical moments & transitions

Sex workers' subjective accounts of how they began selling sex, their motivations for doing so, and what it means to them provide insights into their needs, struggles and aspirations. They may also reveal the ways in which they negotiate, deflect and resist stigma, as they align with and/or resist dominant- and counter-discourses (see Chapter 2, *Dealing with stigma*). Female and male sex workers describe specific events preceding their entry into sex work, including being thrown out of home for being pregnant or gay, escaping family violence, relationship problems or break-ups, the death of a parent, or losing a job (CARE-Perú, 2008a: 6-7; Cavagnoud, 2013; Bayer et al., 2014c). For men, they then began sex work directly or via an "intermediate event"—typically migrating to Lima and/or joining the army (Bayer et al., 2014c). Both female and male sex workers typically described being introduced by a friend who already worked in the industry (CARE-Perú, 2008a: 7; Bayer et al., 2014c),—the "grand narrative" from which Nencel's (2001) informants rarely departed. Yet ethnographic research points to more gradual entry for people already socially-embedded in sex work spaces. In Cavagnoud's (2013) research, some young women who were selling goods and/or living on the street gradually transitioned into sex work after becoming close to peers who sold sex there. Similarly, Nencel (2001) describes how young women who spent time in night-time economy spaces but who did not (openly) sell sex were considered on the 'edge' of the scene, with the constant possibility of them joining it.

Existing research also reflects how women may transition in and out of sex work amid shifting expectations and needs. In *CARE-Perú*'s (2008a) research, women described how their

often-unfulfilled expectations prior to starting sex work had reoriented towards stopping selling sex, starting a business and "liv[ing] in peace", conscious of the difficulties faced by older sex workers. Yet daily expenses, and unexpected costs such as healthcare, hindered saving. Almost half of women reported ever having stopped—typically due to fatigue, advanced age, or their children's having reached adulthood, and less often because of alternative employment, financial support, or at their partner's request. Their main reason for returning was typically economic need (CARE-Perú, 2008a).

In Bayer et al.'s (2014c) qualitative research, men working in central Lima often voiced a desire to leave sex work. Yet barriers included an inability to "invest in their futures", the affection and "indebtedness" they felt towards their main clients or those who had introduced them their work, and time constraints (Bayer et al., 2014c: 379). While men were optimistic about their futures and potential achievements, they did not have clear "goals and pathways" to achieving them, in contrast with men in wealthier neighbourhoods (Bayer et al., 2014c: 379). Yet, Bayer et al.'s (2014b) survey indicated little difference in men's average duration in sex work between neighbourhoods—raising the question of how narratives of planning to stop selling sex may be framed by normative discourses relating to sex work (e.g. it not being considered a 'career' or a 'respectable' job), and how envisaging a different future may relate to emotional management (Mitchell, 2010).

The sacrifice, conditions & opportunities of sex work

Female sex workers in Peru typically describe sex-working to support their children, few discussing material aspirations beyond daily needs and financial security (Nencel, 2001; CARE-Perú, 2008a). Nencel (2001: 97, 140, 171) considers women's narratives inseparable from public discourses on sex work, whereby stressing that they do it "for the money" and

highlighting its "ordinariness" helped to reject notions of promiscuity—in the context of broader silence around women's sexuality. Yet women might also use their maternal identity to tactical advantage, securing greater sympathy and fees from clients (Nencel, 2001: 97).

Although emphasis on maternal sacrifice remained common in *CARE-Perú*'s (2008a) focus group research, some women described their work as a job that was neither a crime nor a source of shame. The authors acknowledge women's pride in supporting their children and managing their finances, but they suggest that these narratives masked their limited options—noting that women did not necessarily describe their work as "satisfying". Yet they do not consider whether or not this may apply to other available employment, or how women's framing of their work as a legitimate occupation may constitute a reworking of shame/blame in the context of collective organising (see *Sex workers' perspectives on rights & 'empowerment'*). Participants in *RedTraSex*'s (2016a) focus groups described their work as offering them financial autonomy and security, enabling them to cover household and educational expenses, as well as the flexibility to spend time with their children.

In *CARE-Perú*'s (2008b) survey, women were presented with a series of statements to ascertain whether they broadly 'accepted' or 'rejected' their sex work. Notwithstanding the limited scope for such closed scales to capture the complex meanings of sex work, women's responses varied widely by city and extent of sex worker organising. Those in larger cities with higher sex-worker organisation membership rates were much more likely to be "inclined to accept" their work (58% in Lima, 75% in Iquitos)[93] (CARE-Perú, 2008b). This may seem

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[93]In these cities, around a quarter of participants were members of sex worker organisations. By contrast, less than a third of women in Chimbote, where membership was rare, were "inclined to accept" their work (CARE-Perú, 2008b).

counter to accounts of women's dissatisfaction with their work and emotional sacrifice (Bohorquez et al., 2010; CARE-Perú, 2008a). However, there is an important distinction to be made here, between one's feelings about sex work *as a whole*—and the extent to which these may be bound up in broader discourses—and (dis)satisfaction with one's material working conditions (Sanders et al., 2016; Macioti et al., 2017).

For trans and male sex workers, the meanings and functions of their work differed considerably by sector and their linked "socio-economic status" (Nureña et al., 2011). In Lima, those working outdoors or in entertainment venues typically described sex-working as a result of social exclusion and limited training and job opportunities (Nureña et al., 2011), their sex work central to their immediate survival but a source of dissatisfaction (Bayer et al., 2014c). Bayer et al. (2014c) suggest that such accounts may partly serve to deflect anticipated homophobia, some men articulating their fear of enjoying sex with men and wanting to be like men with girlfriends—in common with research elsewhere in Latin America (Schifter and Aggleton, 1999).

By contrast, trans and male sex workers in wealthier areas variously sold sex to pay for long-term accommodation, higher education, fitness, and leisure activities (Bayer et al., 2014c), for adventure, sexual pleasure, or curiosity (Nureña et al., 2011). They often voiced satisfaction in their work, of which they were not ashamed, and which provided additional income—in a context of having control over their working conditions (e.g. refusing clients they did not find attractive) (Cáceres et al., 2015; Bayer et al., 2014c). As discussed earlier, for those who saw their "social mobility" as otherwise limited, sex work was also a means of connecting with people and places of "higher social status" (Nureña et al., 2011). Indeed, Nureña et al. (2011) observes multiple meanings of "economic need": for some it referred to

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economic hardship but for others it reflected aspirations of having money, independence, consumption, middle-class lifestyles, access to prestigious environments and symbols, and possibilities of migration or establishing a business. Similarly, in Lima and Trujillo, compensated sex and sexual-economic exchange both alleviated poverty and enabled young people to engage in consumerism otherwise unaffordable to them (Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008; Cavagnoud, 2013; Salazar et al., 2005).

Although trans sex workers may be viewed as "doubly transgressive" (Cavagnoud, 2014; Salazar, 2009), Nureña et al. (2011) describe charging for sex as widely accepted, and sometimes encouraged, within the trans community. Sex work may offer "a space of personal accomplishment", enabling rapid income generation in an otherwise "hostile" job market; access to HIV- and rights-related information and resources; and a means to make their "feminine bodies visible" (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010: 12). Cavagnoud (2014) links this to broader material and symbolic power relations, arguing that sex work lends trans sex workers "real and symbolic power over oneself and one's environment", despite the dangers and violence they face. Thus, while the social and material contexts they inhabit place restrictions on them, they "conserve a margin of manoeuvre that allows them to intervene as actors of their own existence" (Cavagnoud, 2014).

Sex work governance

Prostitution debates & geographies: repeated visions

The formal adoption of regulationism in Peru in the early 1900s followed decades of fierce debate. Regulationists advanced a 'hygienist' agenda (Drinot, 2006; Garcia, 2010), claiming prostitution was a "necessary evil" (Nencel, 2001). Drinot (2006: 336) argues that its

introduction also reflected concern with nation-building—venereal disease control considered a marker of "civilization and modernity". Meanwhile, abolitionists[94] concerned with "white slavery", and the pitiful and dishonourable fate of "fallen women", called for the industry to be dismantled (Drinot, 2006: 336). These positions framed prostitution quite distinctly: abolitionists argued that external factors (e.g. war and poverty) left women without men to protect them and thus vulnerable to exploitation, while regulationists saw trafficking as a small criminal problem amid prostitution's greater moral threat to family tranquillity and wider social norms—echoing discourses elsewhere that women who sold sex were either in danger or dangerous (Drinot, 2006: 343). The debate mirrored concurrent ones in Europe (Drinot, 2006; Scoular, 2010). Nencel (2001: 13-14) attributes this to the dominance of European-descended male, upper-class doctors and lawyers on each side of the debate in Peru, and the essentialist notion that all prostitution is the same regardless of time, geography, and culture.

Despite a growing abolitionist movement, in 1928, a red-light district (*zona rosa*) was established in a sparsely-populated Lima suburb (Nencel, 2001: 23). All prostitution venues were obliged to relocate to one particular street (Drinot, 2006: 340). Proponents of the district held that it would improve urban sanitation and enable authorities to "watch over" prostitutes (Drinot, 2006: 335). Women, in turn, could "freely exercise their profession without harming the passers-by who have the right not to be disturbed by such spectacles", restoring tranquillity to "central and important neighbourhoods" (Drinot, 2006: 335). Yet Drinot (2006:

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[94]Nencel (2001) uses the term 'abolitionist' to describe this historical movement, in common with other authors (e.g. Guy, 1991). By contrast, she describes what is today often referred to as 'abolitionism' in the Global North as "sexual slavery discourse" (see below).

343) argues that its purpose was to control women more broadly, amid panics relating to their increasing "sexual freedom" and equality demands. Residents' letters demanding the removal of prostitutes revealed fears over their daughters' potential corruption, while police officers' newfound brothel-closure powers afforded them control over spaces that threatened the *status quo*—particularly those where people of different genders, classes, and races mixed (Drinot, 2006: 337).

However, many women continued to work outside of the red-light district, most did not register, and those who *did* did not necessarily attend routine screening, provoking panic in the *Asistencia Pública*—the government body then responsible for registration and screening (Drinot, 2006: 339). The area was closed in 1956, by which time the district had become far more populated and central as the city had grown (Drinot, 2006; Nencel, 2001: 27-38). This experience, however, has not deterred frequent proposals to designate a similar zone, each such occasion reviving the regulation/abolition debate—latterly incorporating a neoliberal "twist" of how such a zone would contribute to the city's 'development' (e.g. new transport lines, municipal income) (Nencel, 2001: 27-38).

Since the 1970s, Peru's abolitionist discourse has been superseded gradually by a feminist discourse of "sexual slavery" (Nencel, 2001: 46), broadly aligning with radical feminist abolitionist discourse elsewhere (see Chapter 1, *Governance & understandings of sex work*). This is the position held by *Movimiento El Pozo*, the only organisation—at the time of Nencel (2001: 46)'s research—apparent to be working with 'clandestine' sex workers in Lima. The organisation is highly critical of the regulation system, arguing that all prostitution, regulated or otherwise, is "controlled by pimps, procurers, administrators of hotels and members of the police and the state" (El Pozo, n.d.; Nencel, 2001: 47). While Nencel (2001: 48)

praises the material support they provide, she criticises their unwillingness to support women's efforts to organise and demand improved working conditions—grounded in assumptions that such actions would only further their oppression. She also considers the alternative income-generating strategies that the organisation proposes "doomed to fail" because they hold so little earning potential relative to sex work (Nencel, 2001: 111). Cavagnoud (2013) is less favourable, labelling those who seek to "socially reintegrate" young women "entrepreneurs of morality"—a term he also extends to law enforcement agents and journalists who seek to displace and (mis)represent sex work, respectively.

Nencel (2001: 3-4) argues that the repetitive nature of regulationist/abolitionist debates and media representations had produced "gendered enclosures" that profoundly limit the gendered subjectivities available to women who sell sex in Lima. Regulation, she contends, evokes notions of prostitution as necessary to satisfy men's "almost … instinctual sexual urges" (Nencel, 1996: 58). Meanwhile, abolitionist and sexual slavery discourses "reproduce the assumptions of the *machismo* model" (see Chapter 2, *Gender & sexuality in Latin America*), characterising male domination over women as absolute, and men who buy sex as "sexually violent" (Nencel, 1996: 58). Female sexuality is treated as immoral or invisible and the sacrificial mother the ideal, or only, true representation of womanhood (Nencel, 2001: 40-42, 140). Media represent women who sell sex 'clandestinely' as dangerous, uncontrollable, irresponsible vectors of disease, and all prostitutes as either shameless "whores" working for luxuries or pleasure, or sacrificial mothers in need—at the same time, dismissing their demands and struggles (Nencel, 2001: 36-49). She attributes this dichotomous representation, in part, to preoccupation across the debate with why women do or do not sell sex (Nencel, 2001: 216).

Despite their frequent targeting by the authorities, trans and male sex workers receive no mention in prostitution laws and policies—a "legal vacuum" that Salazar (2009: 102) argues enables greater violation of their rights. Nureña et al. (2011) argue that public policies continue to reflect partial, stereotyped understandings that link trans and male sex work with "poverty, crime and immorality", without attending to the diverse situations and needs of men and trans people who sell sex.

(Moral) policing: spaces of violence, blame & indifference

In common with international experiences (see Chapters 1 & 2), sex workers in Peru widely report being ignored, undermined, blamed and arrested when reporting violence and abuse by institutional and social actors, leaving many reluctant to seek help (CARE-Perú, 2008a; Salazar, 2009; Cavagnoud, 2014) (see *A (public health) focus on violence*, above). *Runa* (2007: 43) argues that the authorities display "tacit acceptance" of and "indifference" towards such violence, rendering (trans) sex workers "second-class citizens". They and others attribute this to institutional cultures of blame and shame and limited acknowledgement of the structural conditions that (re)produce such violence (Runa, 2007; Salazar, 2009). Although some municipal officials and police officers recognise the influence of sex work stigma and homophobia, many attribute violence against sex workers to the industry's informality and related "disorder" and "insecurity", and/or disputes between sex workers and third parties, often assuming that sex workers are either inherently vulnerable or deviant (Salazar, 2009). There are important examples of improvements in this area, achieved through collaborations between activists, civil society, local government, and police (see *Growing rights movements & collaborations*, below), but these remain exceptional.

The failure of state agencies to record and report violence by occupation, and by sexual and gender identity, obscures the issue and sustains officials' unawareness and/or denial (Salazar, 2009: 103-4)—contributing to the everyday violence of rendering sex workers' mistreatment invisible (Krüsi et al., 2016). A community-academic initiative to monitor violence against sexual and gender minorities, and people living with HIV, is helping to document the situation. However, it does not have the resources to support cases through the criminal justice system, and most reports come from an LGBT NGO specialising in legal advice, rather than directly from individuals (El Observatorio de Derechos LGBT y VIH/SIDA, 2014). No such initiative exists specific to sex work.

Runa (2007: 32, 49) argues that police and *serenazgo* violence against sex workers reflects an abuse of power targeting the intersections of sex work, poverty, sexual and gendered transgression—the ambiguous legality of informal sex work limiting sex workers' opportunities to resist violence and extortion. Indeed, Nencel (2001: 122) argues that women's "nonchalant attitude" towards police bribery reflects their "resigned and impotent position as clandestine prostitutes". More recent reports, however, indicate that sex workers are increasingly recognising, and speaking out about, such situations as a violation of their rights (see *Sex workers' perspectives on rights & 'empowerment'*, below). Accounts of *serenazgo* officers destroying female sex workers' ID and health cards, meanwhile, constitute symbolically violent acts with highly material effects. These acts contribute to sex workers' erasure as citizens, and introduce a range of threats associated with not having a valid ID (e.g. arrest, denied access to health services) and/or health card (Salazar, 2009). Similarly, police filming sex workers during raids, at times accompanied by journalists, disregard sex workers' privacy and exacerbate risks of stigma and violence (RedTraSex, 2016a).

The ways in which sex work policing reinforces the moral spatial order is particularly evident in attacks on trans sex workers' gendered bodies, and efforts to remove all sex workers from 'community'-oriented public spaces. As described above, *serenazgo*, police and young male residents directly targeted silicone-enhanced parts of trans sex workers' bodies, and might also force them to strip and/or cut their hair (Runa, 2007). Neighbourhood watch groups, purportedly aiming to drive out trans sex workers and restore tranquillity, instead (re)produced spaces of violence hair (Runa, 2007). Meanwhile, the presence of gangs that deter trans sex workers from leaving their houses in daylight further limiting their possibilities of moving freely around the city (Runa, 2007: 35).

Coordinated actions by municipalities, police, and residents offer further examples of the moral policing of space. Nencel (2001: 152-3) documents how residents of a middle-class neighbourhood in Lima sent details of sex workers' clients' car registration plates to local newspapers during a municipal 'eradication' campaign. Such efforts remain evident in municipal citizen safety policies in Lima seeking to remove "prostitutes, homosexuals and other undesirables" from 'public' spaces (Torres, 2011; Cavagnoud, 2014), and indeed the Ministry of the Interior's 2013-2018 national citizen safety strategy (RedTraSex, 2016a: 3) (see *Regulation: a brief overview*). Salazar (2009: 95) argues that the authorities exaggerate residents' complaints to justify raids.

While sex workers' lack of access to justice must be understood in the broader context of unequal access to protection and justice in Peru (see *Political violence, neoliberalism & participatory governance*, above), their experiences are uniquely shaped by criminalisation, institutional violence, intersecting shame and blame, and contingent struggles over urban space. Cavagnoud (2014) demonstrates how trans sex workers evade and exceed efforts at

their spatial displacement—for example, by crossing into the neighbouring municipality during *serenazgo* raids and returning immediately afterwards. *RedTraSex*'s (2016a) report, meanwhile, includes brief accounts of women resisting attempts at their arrest and broader police violence and extortion. Other than this work, there has been little exploration of the everyday ways in which sex workers navigate and resist efforts at their exclusion from urban and civic spaces.

Activism & collaborations

Growing rights movements & collaborations

In the 1990s, Nencel (2001: 2-3) considered a feminist discourse of sex work led by women who sell sex in Peru inconceivable. Similarly, Cavagnoud (2014) remains pessimistic regarding change in relation to trans sex workers' rights. Yet activists and other academics—while also frequently critical of the situation—offer examples of incremental progress in relation to sex workers' safety, health, and broader rights.

In 2002, Peru's national sex worker organisation *Miluska, Vida y Dignidad*[95] was founded, uniting existing sex worker groups in the face of "police, institutional and social violence" (RedTraSex, 2007: 65). These organisations have collectively denounced police corruption and mistreatment to the Ombudsman, the public prosecutors' office (*fiscalía*) and the congressional human rights committee (CARE-Perú, 2008a). The movement has also forged links with regional and global sex worker, LGBT and trans rights movements, joining *RedTraSex* in 2004 and co-founding PLAPERTS in 2014 (RedTraSex, 2007: 65; PLAPERTS,

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[95]Named in memory of sex worker rights activist, Miluska, who was murdered in 1998.

2017). Since its establishment in the 1980s, Peru's first gay rights organisation *Movimiento Homosexual de Lima* (MHoL) has become a key political actor and is increasingly involved in national policy fora (Boesten, 2010; Cáceres et al., 2008a). Although trans people's concerns have long been marginalised relative to those of gay men and lesbians (Runa, 2007: 23), a strong transgender rights movement has emerged in recent years (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010: 18). Trans activists are organising to fight for rights and recognition within and beyond the contexts of sex work, HIV, and healthcare (Campuzano, 2008; Pollock et al., 2016; Salazar and Villayzan, 2010; Fraser, 2016). Male sex workers' involvement in activism, while less visible (Cáceres et al., 2015), is growing (PLAPERTS, 2017). Thus, although the 'sexual slavery' discourse remains prominent, a counter-discourse of sex workers' rights has developed (Reynaga et al., 2004; Salazar, 2009; Salazar and Villayzan, 2010).

The growth of these movements can be linked closely to that of HIV-related activism. In 1996, MINSA's HIV/STI programme—under pressure from Peru's longest-standing HIV activist-led NGO, VÍA LIBRE—began training selected female sex workers and men who have sex with men as peer outreach workers (*promotores/promotoras*) (Konda et al., 2009; Lalani, 2014). They were tasked with providing condoms and health information leaflets to their peers and encouraging them to attend government STI clinics for routine testing, receiving small stipends in return. Yet the programme also drove a "new wave of sexual minority organising" in urban, working-class areas (Konda et al., 2009), peer outreach workers going on to form rights- and/or HIV-related community organisations (*associaciones civiles*) (Cáceres et al., 2008a).

A decade later, a series of national meetings began to bring these organisations together. In 2005, a UN-funded meeting of trans activists from across Peru culminated in the

formation of a national transgender movement, *RedTrans*[96] (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010: 37).

Participants in a subsequent workshop identified violence in sex work, particularly by

serenazgo officers, as a primary concern (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010: 38-9) and the following

year activist organisation *La Agrupación Claveles Rojos*[97] began systematically recording and

reporting these abuses (Runa, 2007). In 2007, Peru held a national consultation on sex work

and HIV, aimed at bringing together diverse actors to fight for "the respect of sex workers'

human rights and against HIV/AIDS" (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010: 44). Coordinated by

Miluska, Vida y Dignidad, *RedTrans*, the *Instituto de Estudios en Salud, Sexualidad y Desarrollo

Humano* (IESSDEH)[98] and MINSA, and financed by the United Nations Population Fund

(UNFPA), the event involved over 200 female sex worker and trans representatives, a small

number of male sex workers, 69 national, regional, and municipal officials, civil society, and

academics (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010: 44).

Salazar and Villayzan (2010: 43-44) consider one of the main successes of the latter

event the alliances that emerged between sex worker and trans organisations as they reflected

on their shared struggles. *RedTrans* and *Miluska Vida y Dignidad* subsequently worked with

IESSDEH, legal consultants and MINSA's HIV/STI programme to develop a bill to protect sex

workers' rights, hold accountable those who enacted violence against them, and legally

recognise sex work as labour. Although Congress did not pass it into law, the bill's

formulation reflected unprecedented collaboration of this kind in this setting (Salazar and

Villayzan, 2010: 33). Sex worker activists and allies continue to advocate for such a law

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[96]Trans Network (Salazar et al., 2016).

[97]Red Carnations Group

[98]The Institute of Studies in Health, Sexuality and Human Development, a non-profit affiliated with the Unit at *Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia* (UPCH) where I was hosted during fieldwork (see Chapter 4, *My Hosts*).

(RedTraSex, 2016a), some also seeking "safe work zones"—where sex workers could operate legally with police protection—in collaboration with other members of PLAPERTS (PLAPERTS, 2017; NSWP Latin America Regional Correspondent, 2016).

Sex workers' collaborations with dominant institutions, however, remain dependent upon the extent to which they are recognised as legitimate political actors. In Iquitos, sex worker activists have successfully worked with the Ombudsman, the regional government, and the police to reduce raids, institutional violence, and improve reporting—providing workshops to police about sex workers' human and labour rights, and urging sex workers to call them if they are caught up in raids (Lalani, 2014). Activists had been supported by VÍA LIBRE, through training in administration, management and advocacy, and invitations to Lima to meet key officials. While some had initially dismissed or denigrated them, they are now recognised as key partners locally and are seeking to expand their efforts to nearby cities (Lalani, 2014).

Elsewhere experiences have been more mixed. In Arequipa, relations with the authorities appeared to improve amid pressure from new activist organisations (Salazar, 2009: 103). However, the municipality reportedly lacked interest in taking action, and police continued to extort and film sex workers. In Huancayo, the Ombudsman intervened when venues were shut down to ensure that sex workers were not detained, and their rights not violated—yet police continued not to act on or record reports of violence (Salazar, 2009). Indeed, such collaborations are ultimately contingent upon authorities' willingness to acknowledge the situation and their complicity in it, within the context of an ambiguous legal framework and entrenched institutional stigma (Salazar, 2009). As experiences elsewhere

demonstrate (Murray, 2015; Blanchette and Murray, 2016), such collaborations can also deteriorate rapidly amid shifts in sex work policy, (public) health and criminal justice systems.

HIV activist organisations such as VÍA LIBRE have achieved vital material and symbolic gains, including helping to secure free HIV treatment (initially funded by the Global Fund but now state funded) and establishing laws that protecting people living with HIV against discrimination in health services and employment, in addition to initiating the HIV/STI peer outreach programme described above (Konda et al., 2009). The latter has secured vital prevention and treatment services for these communities and has had an influence far beyond the remit of health (Konda et al., 2009). However, Cáceres et al. (2008a) argue that the "low profile 'public health' discourses" involved has meant that sexual and reproductive health policies have typically avoided the "sexual", limiting engagement in debates over sexual citizenship rights. Recent judicial review allowing trans people to apply to a judge to change their gender without "sex reassignment surgery" reflects important progress in this regard (Jauregui, 2016). However, attempts to include sexual and gender identity as protected characteristics in anti-discrimination and hate-crime law continue to be blocked by a conservative Congress, grounded in the notion that any such overt focus on these communities would pose a threat to children (Cáceres, 2015)—a 2017 presidential decree to institute this reform having been repealed several months later (Fernández Calvo, 2017).

Sex workers' perspectives on rights & 'empowerment'

As discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of *empowerment* is central to many community-based sex worker health programmes. Yet the theoretical basis of such initiatives is highly variable (see Chapter 2, *Power, agency & structuration*). *CARE-Perú*'s (2008b; 2008a) research aimed to

explore and measure female sex workers' empowerment to understand how this affected their health. The authors gauged empowerment through women's narrative accounts and a survey measure. The latter included questions about decision-making over HIV/STI testing; reporting partner and client violence to the police; and reporting institutional abuses[99] to the Ombudsman. Although not articulated as such, this suggests conceptualisation of empowerment as an individual practice and/or state, as opposed to a relational and structurally-embedded process (Cornish, 2006b). Nevertheless, these reports provide valuable insights into female sex workers' organising in this setting, what it means to them, and their perspectives on their rights.

One in five survey participants belonged to sex worker organisations and 11% were peer educators[100] (CARE-Perú, 2008b). Organisation members were more likely to have higher "empowerment" scores, as were those aged 25 and above and who attended monthly HIV/STI screening.[101] In focus groups, women described sex worker organisations as vital spaces for listening, advice, support, help, solidarity and companionship (CARE-Perú, 2008a: 30). Joining such organisations had led to "personal transformation" involving various steps. These included: becoming informed about STI/HIV prevention and rights; being able to report any injustices they experienced without fear; organising to ensure their rights are respected;

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[99]This included police or *serenazgo* harassment, sex work-related arrest, and denied access to healthcare or work space.

[100]This is not necessarily reflective of the wider sex worker population as participants were, in part, recruited via related organisations (CARE-Perú, 2008b).

[101]Women who had higher empowerment scores, who belonged to a sex worker organisation, and/or had an "accepting" attitude towards sex work (see *Meanings & functions of sex work: subjective accounts*, above) were also twice as likely to use condoms consistently with clients. The authors do not consider relationships with other health concerns, such as violence, mental health, or access to care (CARE-Perú, 2008b).

raised self-esteem and "transmit[ting] strength" to other sex workers; and overcoming "disillusionment and frustration" (CARE-Perú, 2008a: 30).

Yet survey findings also indicated a bleak picture in relation to women's recognition of their specific rights. While most (64%) agreed that they had the right not to be discriminated against in any public service, just 2% extended this to not being assaulted by police and 6% to accessing justice. Only 2% of women felt that they had the right to security and 5% to dignified working conditions; almost none (0.1%) felt that they had the right to move freely around the city (*libre tránsito*). To put this in context, 43% of women viewed their work as legal. A higher proportion (16%) agreed that they were entitled to physical and mental well-being (*salud integral*) but just 4% to social benefits (CARE-Perú, 2008b). There is, however, no discussion of how women may have interpreted these questions—critically, whether they were responding as to rights they felt they *should* have or that they were able to *exercise.* Indeed, women participating in focus groups listed many rights they felt they should be entitled to, including to work, organise, and move freely around the city (CARE-Perú, 2008a). Participants in *RedTraSex*'s (2016a) more recent focus groups, meanwhile, were highly aware that their rights were being violated when police filmed, insulted, bribed, hit, arrested and detained them. Yet while they "clearly saw themselves as subjects of rights", uneven power relations left many unable to resist officers' demands (RedTraSex, 2016a).

CARE-Perú (2008a), meanwhile, argues that sex workers have become more empowered to challenge institutional abuse, individually (e.g. responding to police demands by stating one's rights); by seeking representation or institutional support (e.g. to report to the Ombudsman); and by organising to challenge norms and engage in political advocacy. Yet despite participants' awareness of channels for reporting institutional abuse (CARE-Perú,

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2008a: 29), lengthy procedures required persistence and reports were often not pursued and/or did not achieve a positive outcome, particularly in the case of abuses in health services—leaving the community frustrated and despondent (CARE-Perú, 2008a: 29). While *CARE-Perú*'s (2008b; 2008a) reports suggest some improvements in tackling client violence and negotiating condoms at an individual level, women remained unable to challenge poor working conditions, including abuse and exploitation, amid a lack of labour rights (CARE-Perú, 2008b). They also reported continued threats of partner violence, including in relation to attempts to negotiate condom use (CARE-Perú, 2008b).

Women's introductions to, and participation in, sex worker organisations were contingent upon existing relationships with other sex workers, particularly peer outreach workers (CARE-Perú, 2008a: 25). Salazar (2009) notes that relationships between members were "cordial … [but] not free of conflicts"—although reliance on focus group data may have limited opportunities to voice marginal views or critiques. This and other research also points to important barriers to organising, including high turnover in Lima and Callao, concerns over disclosure and "scandal" (Salazar, 2009), not seeing oneself as a sex worker (CARE-Perú, 2008a; Cáceres et al., 2015) and, critically, fear of police reprisals—experiences of which have generated fear in the community, particularly among peer outreach workers (CARE-Perú, 2008b: 27-8).

The contemporary policy context of central Lima

In 2010, the election of former human rights advocate, Susana Villarán, as Lima's first female mayor, promised greater involvement of sex workers, sexual and gender minorities in local policy discussions (Radio Capital, 2011; Promsex, 2011). Her administration established a

Mesa de Concertación on sex work and LGBT-related issues (Mesa de Concertacion LTGB y TS de Lima Metropolitana, 2012; Anonymous, 2011), sought to introduce a by-law outlawing discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity (El Comercio, 2011), and launched various initiatives to tackle social exclusion (for example, making it easier for trans people to access ID cards), amid wider emphasis on violence against women (Ciudadaniasx, 2013; Andina, 2012). However, there was disagreement over the mayor's proposed suburban red-light district, including between activists—some instead advocating for safe work zones (PLAPERTS, 2017; Radio Capital, 2011)—and the *Mesa de Concertación* was disbanded. At the same time, the municipality introduced new fines for practicing, offering, and soliciting prostitution in public spaces, and greater penalties for venues that were unlicensed or disturbed the "order, morals, or peace" of the public and residents (RedTraSex, 2016a; Infante, 2014). The municipality's planning strategy for the city centre also continues to link the policing of sex work areas to urban renewal efforts (Municipalidad de Lima, 2014). Amid her efforts to tackle corruption and formalise the city's transport system, Villarán was considered a threat to powerful business interests. During fieldwork, there was a highly visible campaign to recall her from office (*Revocatoría*) which, although unsuccessful, ended her party's majority (Peruvian Times, 2013). She was subsequently defeated by former conservative mayor Luis Castañeda.

Conclusion

In common with elsewhere (see Chapters 1 & 2), although sex work research in Peru has concentrated on sexual health risks, a growing literature explores the structural and social context of sex workers' health and well-being (Salazar et al., 2005; Bayer et al., 2014b; Bayer et al., 2014c; Silva-Santisteban et al., 2013), as well as paying greater attention to violence. The literature reviewed here begins to illustrate the structural, symbolic, and everyday violence that sex workers in Peru experience. It demonstrates the specific threat of violence posed by municipal and state officials, as well as ways in which repressive policing, extortion, blame, and threats of disclosure restrict sex workers' access to justice. Intersecting economic, racial, and gendered inequalities, political violence, neo-liberalisation, urban insecurity, and a weak and corrupt criminal justice system leave many Peruvians without access to justice, public services, a stable source of income and adequate housing. Meanwhile sex workers, and trans sex workers in particular, are uniquely sanctioned for not conforming to norms of gender, sexuality, and labour. Sex workers, like many other Peruvians, therefore rely upon multiple social, economic, and affective relations to generate income and a sense of security.

In the 1990s, Nencel (2001) argued that female sex workers' possibilities were profoundly limited by their representation in legislative debates, media, and indeed feminist organisations, leaving their efforts to secure better working conditions unsupported and dismissed. Today growing sex worker and trans rights movements, and collaborations with HIV activists, civil society, academics, the Ombudsman and, at times, local governments and police, are working to challenge the injustices that sex workers face. Activists are demanding their labour rights, safe work zones, and freedom from (police) violence and extortion. While regulationist and sexual slavery discourses remain dominant, a counter-discourse of sex

workers' rights has emerged. Nevertheless, entrenched institutional cultures of shame and blame and an ambiguous legal framework mean that police raids and violence continue to be a major threat to sex workers' safety, health, income, and rights.

Yet while public health research is expanding beyond issues of sexual health and individual risk, there has been insufficient attention to sex workers' experiences of violence and stigma, their structural context and how they navigate and resist such threats in their everyday lives. Critically, the work reviewed here demonstrates how academic scholarship can, through language, assumptions, and methodologies, variously reproduce, obscure, draw attention to and challenge dominant representations of people who sell sex (Grenfell et al., 2018).

Chapter 4—Methodology

In this chapter I discuss critically the methodology adopted in this thesis: a participatory qualitative study which I undertook in collaboration with sex worker, LGBT and trans rights activists in Lima. I begin by outlining the epistemological and ontological principles informing this research, before discussing the principal benefits and challenges of employing participatory methodologies and interview methods. I then offer a critical account of how we undertook the research, articulating what was successful and what was not, reflecting on how our positions, relative to each other and to participants, shaped the process.

Approach

Epistemological & ontological influences

In this thesis I employ a material-discursive approach, informed by a feminist, social constructionist epistemology. Feminist epistemologies seek to uncover and critique the ways in which gendered and other inequalities shape knowledge production (Alcoff and Potter, 1993). They share the broad premise that knowledge, and knowledge producers, are situated within specific political, social, and cultural contexts, locations, and relations of power (Haraway, 1988). While some feminist scholars have responded to criticisms of universalised notions of womanhood by attending to the intersections with race, class, and sexuality, postmodernists such as Butler (1990) have sought to decentre the category of 'woman' (see Chapter 2, *Gender, performativity & intersectionality*). Some have welcomed such attention to the "fragmented and incomplete" individual and our "multiple 'selves' … in relation to the different social worlds we inhabit" (Stephen, 1997: 6). Yet others criticise such approaches for

opaque writing, moral relativism, and insufficient focus on the structural forces and material effects of oppression (Benhabib, 1995), in common with broader critiques of postmodernism (see Chapter 2, and below). To address these points, I turn to the broader epistemological and ontological influences informing this thesis.

In contrast to positivist notions of a fixed reality measurable through objectivity, social constructionists urge us to examine critically our "taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world and ourselves" (Burr, 2013: 2). They argue that knowledge is socially produced as we develop shared understandings through language (Burr, 2013). These and other postmodern epistemologies have been instrumental in unsettling fixed, binary understandings of structure/agency, discourse/materiality, and gender (Burr, 2013: 13). Yet social constructionists are often charged with being anti-realist, denying the existence of reality outside of how we interpret and articulate it, raising concerns as to the practical and political utility of such philosophies (Barad, 1996).

Much postmodern work has indeed privileged analysis of discourse, language, and culture over materiality (Putnam, 2015). Yet influential theorists have also attended to the relationship between the matter that constitutes the world (materiality) and the "meaning-making activities" of discourse (Aradau, 2010). Foucault (1972) argued that discourse could not be reduced to language and is better understood as practice—an *effect* and *instrument* of power—analysis of which requires attention to its material processes and products, its historical situatedness (how it came to be) and the social and political conditions that dictate what "counts as the 'truth'" (how it became legitimate) (Hook, 2001: 6). Contrary to notions

of incompatibility with emancipatory research, discourse analysis can thus facilitate resistance as well as critique (Hook, 2001). As Foucault states:

> "Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle" (Foucault, 1981: 52-3).

Yet Barad (1996) criticises Foucault for providing insufficient detail as to how discourse materialises. She urges us to consider "how practices matter" (Barad, 2007: 88), acknowledging that, as Orlikowski and Scott (2015: 3) put it, "our analyses don't just reflect the world, they are active interventions". Following Derrida (1978), Reis (2014: 12) encourages a focus on what people *do* and do *not* say "materially and contextually" when telling stories. In adopting a material-discursive analytical approach, I understand discourse and materiality as dynamic, co-constitutive, contingent, and performative (Barad, 2007: 88), "rendered meaningful through their relations, intersections, entwinement, and/or juxtaposition" (Aradau et al., 2014: 63). I situate participants' material-discursive practices relative to contextual conditions, power relations and (counter-)discourses, paying attention to silences and absences, and to what people say materially (Reis, 2014).

Participatory research approaches: goals & critiques

In this study, activists working as co-researchers contributed to prioritising and refining research questions, recruiting and interviewing participants, and early analytical discussions, as I sought to position myself as a "critical listener" (Price, 2012: 69). I adopted this approach conscious that community voices are often excluded from, and marginalised within, academic and policy debates on sex work (Sanders, 2006; O'Neill, 1996). Yet as this work contributed to my PhD research, funded through an individual fellowship—in which I retained much

control over the research process—it cannot be considered a participatory action research project outright, but rather one that draws on participatory research principles. As I describe the approach and decisions that I and we took, I reflect critically upon how I/we sought to maximise the benefits, and avoid the pitfalls, of participatory approaches, with examples of when this was successful and when it was not. I do so conscious of the power relations implicated in academic-led sex work research everywhere (Sanders, 2006) and research by white 'westerners' in Latin America specifically (Cáceres and Mendoza, 2009a; Kempadoo, 1998: 10).

Participatory research approaches[102] seek to position community members as "active participants in the social construction of knowledge" as opposed to "passive subjects" (Busza, 2004; O'Neill et al., 2004; Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995). Rooted in community development and emancipatory education philosophies (e.g. Freire, 2000 [1970]), the aim is to foreground communities' concerns and priorities, and to afford them ownership over the generation and use of knowledge for advocacy and action (O'Neill et al., 2004; Hubbard, 1999a). In principle, then, they blur boundaries between the "researcher and the researched", as community members adopt responsibilities traditionally held by academic researchers, and academics become "committed facilitators, participants, and learners" (Arieli et al., 2009: 265). They therefore have the potential to challenge what and who are considered 'evidence' and 'expert' (O'Neill et al., 2004) and who controls research and policy agendas (Freudenberg and Tsui, 2014), potentially improving "public accountability" (Shaver, 2005). They offer opportunities to bring together diverse perspectives and resources, exchange skills and knowledge across

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[102]A range of approaches, developed in different fields (e.g. Participatory Action Research, Participatory Rural Appraisal, Participatory Learning and Action), share the broad philosophy of community-driven and -directed research aimed at driving action and change (Busza, 2004; O'Neill et al., 2004; Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995).

the community and academy (Shaver, 2005). They may also encourage participants[103] to speak candidly in dialogue with people with whom they share experiences and/or identities (Shaver, 2005). In sex work studies, participatory approaches can help to disrupt the discrediting of sex workers' voices (see Chapters 1-3) (Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2008), affording them greater say over research, policies and practices that affect them, and recognising them as legitimate producers of knowledge (O'Neill et al., 2004).

Yet participatory approaches also pose epistemological, ethical, and logistical challenges. They risk tokenism (Ditmore and Allman, 2013), for example where communities are 'consulted' without meaningful opportunities to shape the research. Indeed, Seeley et al. (1992) ask whether "externally-imposed health research" can ever be truly participatory. The involvement of some but not other community members can reproduce hierarchies—particularly when those selected as researchers already have greater influence (e.g. as activists) or privileges (e.g. educational requirements, time available, background)—while the notion of 'community' itself can mask "internal divisions, hierarchies, and competitive interests" (Busza, 2004: 211). The uncritical application of such approaches can also result in insufficient reflection on how willing community researchers are to consider viewpoints that differ from their own[104] (Nencel, 2017). Finally, tensions may arise between community and academic expectations over timeframes, goals, and what research can(not) achieve (Shaver, 2005; Busza, 2004). Such approaches therefore require

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[103]I refer to research 'participants' here and throughout, as opposed to respondents, to reflect the co-production of data during interviews. This is not to suggest that such participation equates to co-researchers' more central involvement in the research process.

[104]Although as colleagues and I argue elsewhere (Grenfell et al., 2018), this is not a consideration that is, or should be, limited to community researchers, particularly as we become invested professionally and personally in our fields of research and related policy/activist debates.

particular reflexivity over positionality and power. We must consider who controls the research process (Seeley et al., 1992), how willing and able we are as academics to accommodate shared control (Grenfell et al., 2018), who represents the 'community' (Cornwall, 2003) and who dictates the terms of engagement (Nencel, 2005). Participatory approaches also require adequate commitment of resources, time, and institutional support (Minkler et al., 2003).

Interviewing as a method

Qualitative methodologies are interpretivist in terms of their concern with "how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced" (Mason, 1996: 4). Thus, in employing individual, in-depth interviews as a primary method, I[105] sought not to produce 'factual' accounts. Rather, my intention was to generate insights into how participants experience, view and attach meanings to social processes, practices, and events (Mason, 1996). I considered individual interviews more appropriate than focus groups given the sensitivity of some of the issues we would discuss and to allow expression of marginal views that might not be voiced in group interviews (Morgan, 1996)—an approach that co-researchers supported.

Qualitative interviews constitute an "interactional exchange of dialogue" centred on particular themes, biographies, or narratives (Mason, 2002: 62). They are grounded in the epistemological position that knowledge is "situated and contextual" and that meanings and understandings are co-produced (Mason, 2002: 62). Some feminists argue that interviews can

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[105]I say 'I' here, as I selected this data collection method when developing my fellowship proposal, in discussion with my academic collaborators in Lima, but before forming the co-research team.

support an emancipatory research agenda by "enabl[ing] the voices of marginalised people to be heard on their own terms" (Edwards and Holland, 2013: 20; Lather, 1991). Others argue that the balance of power is inherently skewed towards the interviewer, given their control over the situation, focus and direction of the interview (Kvale, 2006). Yet power dynamics may be less clear-cut in loosely structured interviews led by participants' narratives (Hoffman, 2007). Others consider the very notion of 'giving voice' paternalistic, particularly in the context of research by white, western academics focused on the lives of racially-marginalised women in the Global South (Nencel, 2001: 235; Wolf, 1996).

Broader critiques reflect concerns that interviews privilege the discursive and the interpretive, providing access to what people say rather than what they do (Hammersley, 2006). Some postmodernists view interviews as reproductive of discourse rather than offering insight into how people interpret their worlds (Edwards and Holland, 2013: 21; Gubrium and Holstein, 2003: 29). Yet others see their value when researchers pay close attention to interactions between interviewers and interviewees, and reflect upon how knowledge production relates to social reality (Edwards and Holland, 2013: 21; Gubrium and Holstein, 2003: 29). As discussed above, employing a material-discursive approach also entails a focus on the material practices and effects of discourse.

While conscious of the potential for participant observation to produce rich, situated understandings of practices, spaces, and relationships (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002), I did not set out to employ this as a formal method of data generation. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, I did not have specific training in ethnography and was concerned that my

funders[106] would not prioritise this methodological approach. Secondly, I was concerned that, as a white, foreign woman, my extended presence in sex work spaces in Lima could be viewed as voyeuristic and/or disruptive, and therefore unwelcome. Thirdly, I worried that I would miss elements of group conversations and/or misinterpret interactions, based on my then-limited familiarity with Peruvian colloquial terms and idioms. However, as I began visiting central Lima with a community research assistant (see *Getting to know central Lima & potential participants*, below), it became apparent that these visits would be crucial to contextualising participants' interview accounts and the spaces they talked about. After each visit, I made brief, anonymised notes on what I had learned, and the questions that the visit had prompted, for subsequent discussion with the co-research team (see *Team meetings & early analytical discussions*, below). These visits and notes undoubtedly informed my interpretation of interview data but they did not constitute a formal part of data generation and analysis.

Reflexivity & positionality

Reflexivity and positionality are key aspects of feminist research praxis, but they often receive insufficient attention in academic writing about the sex industry (Sanders, 2006), including in the field of public health (Grenfell et al., 2018). Reflexivity involves researchers' "self-critical sympathetic introspection", recognising that we are part of the world we are studying and making this explicit to our readers (Sanders, 2006; England, 1994). It requires us to reflect on our social 'position' (e.g. gender, race, class, economic position, sexuality) relative to research

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[106]My doctoral research was funded by a predoctoral Population Health Scientist fellowship from the UK Medical Research Council, a scheme that supported studies of social and environmental influences on physical and mental health and well-being.

participants, and how this may "inhibit or enable certain … insights" (England, 1994: 249), both during data generation and processes of analysis and dissemination (Edwards and Holland, 2013: 44). Positionality relates not only to distance between participants and 'outside' researchers but also to shared aspects of identity and experience, whereby certain assumptions may go unspoken—of particular relevance to participatory approaches (Edwards and Holland, 2013: 79). Reflexivity may thus render us more receptive to fieldwork experiences that call into question our theoretical positioning (England, 1994). It may help to reveal, but not erase, uneven power relations between researchers and participants (Best, 2003). England (1994: 251) urges feminist academics to acknowledge that we are reflecting participants' voices through our interpretations, and that our research therefore offers an account of the "between-ness" of participants' worlds and our own. In other words, we must recognise the "partiality of any interpretive claim" that we make as researchers (Best, 2003: 896).

When I began discussions with my Lima-based advisors about developing a research collaboration (see *My Hosts*, below), it was clear that we shared concerns over sex workers' safety, rights, and related structural inequalities. Yet my understanding of sex work was largely rooted in the U.K.[107] and—while I had met many sex workers with diverse migration histories—the contexts of their lives selling sex in the U.K. were likely very different from those of people selling sex in their home countries. One of the many reasons I sought to adopt an empirical, participatory approach, then, was to avoid the risk of "cultural imperialism

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[107]I began carrying out research in relation to sex work in London in 2007, as a research assistant on a mixed-methods study exploring the social and structural determinants of HIV and STIs, in the experiences of migrant female sex workers (Grenfell et al., 2009; Platt et al., 2011).

refracted through international discourses on prostitution" (Kempadoo, 1998: 10). Nevertheless, my position as a white, European, middle-class, cisgender, (bisexual), female academic[108]—and co-researchers' positions as Peruvian, grassroots community activists—had inevitable bearing on the research process. Our respective positions shaped: our team dynamics; our interactions with participants and key informants; what I/we observed during fieldwork and how I/we were seen in these spaces; and how we/I interpreted interview data. There was economic, social, racial, cultural, and linguistic 'distance' between me, co-researchers, participants, and key informants—my being from a country, institution and supported by a funding agency in the Global North, hosted by an institution in the Global South, and not speaking Spanish as a first language. Co-researchers and I shared concerns related to sex worker- and LGBT-rights and social justice but, while I had only read about these issues in Peru before this study, they had lived them. At the same time, although co-researchers shared some identities and experiences with study participants, they had the distinct visibility, authority, and networks of community activists accustomed to collaborating with national, and sometimes international, NGOs and researchers.

Also of relevance to my analytical lens is the fact that, on return to the U.K., I became increasingly involved in participatory research in relation to sex work laws, policing, and violence (Platt et al., Forthcoming; LSHTM Blogs, 2018; Cunningham et al., 2018; Macioti et al., 2017), as well as activist-academic collaborations advocating for legislative reform, health and support services, and research agendas in support of sex workers' safety, rights and social justice (Grenfell et al., 2016; Grenfell et al., 2018; English Collective of Prostitutes, 2016).

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[108]I place 'bisexual' in brackets because, although I was 'out' to all co-researchers, to some participants and a few key informants, I was (and am in general) often presumed to be heterosexual until disclosing otherwise.

During this time, I kept up-to-date with co-researchers' work in Peru via social media and remained in direct contact with some, but not all, of the team. Throughout the rest of this chapter, I reflect on how the above positions and circumstances shaped the research.

Fieldwork & data generation

My hosts

Between October 2012 and August 2013[109], I was hosted by the *Unidad de Estudios en Salud, Sexualidad y Desarrollo Humano*[110] (USSDH) at the *Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia*[111] (UPCH)—an institution well-known nationally and internationally for public and sexual health research (Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia, 2017). USSDH and affiliated non-profit IESSDEH (see Chapter 3, *Activism & collaborations*) comprise social scientists, epidemiologists, technicians, and artists who conduct community-based research, interventions, and activism. Their work relates primarily to the health and rights of sexual and gender minorities, sex workers, and other socially- and legally-marginalised groups. I was welcomed into the group, provided with a desk space and administrative support, and invited to participate in seminars and social events. I studied under the guidance of Dr. Ximena Salazar, anthropologist and Executive Coordinator of the Unit, and Prof. Carlos Cáceres, Professor of Public Health and Director of USSDH. I met with them approximately weekly and monthly, respectively, but they also made themselves available to advise and

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[109] During this time I returned to the U.K. twice, for two and six weeks, respectively.

[110] Unit of Studies in Health, Sexuality, and Human Development.

[111] Peruvian Cayetano Heredia University.

support me as and when needed. Other colleagues at USSDH were generous with their time in discussing current and previous research, interventions, and activism.

During this time, I rented a room in the home of two Peruvian women (mother and daughter) a 30-minute walk from UPCH's campus in Miraflores, a middle-class neighbourhood in south Lima. They and my fellow tenants talked patiently with me about Lima-, Peruvian- and global politics, inequalities, and social justice, as well as assisting me with my linguistic (mis)understanding and including me in family events. I attended one-to-one conversational Spanish classes with a Peruvian tutor several mornings per week (7-9am), as it was approximately eight years since I had been immersed in a Spanish-speaking environment[112]. This improved my confidence in daily conversations, meetings, and fieldwork. It also provided further opportunities to learn about life and politics in Lima and Peru, upon which our conversations typically focused. I continued classes via skype during return visits to London and for several months after fieldwork.

Getting to know central Lima & potential participants

Shortly after arriving in Lima, I asked my advisors to recommend someone who could introduce me to potential study participants in central Lima. I was proposing a focus on this neighbourhood under the guidance of my advisors, as one of the few sites where female, trans, and male sex workers work in close proximity. Ximena recommended a community activist the group had worked with previously and invited him to meet me at UPCH. I introduced myself and the working aims of the project, and he told me about his involvement in health

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[112]In 2003, I spent 11 months studying Spanish and teaching English at an InterAmerican Cultural Studies Institute in Cuenca, Ecuador. In 2005, I then spent six weeks conducting my masters research fieldwork in collaboration with a medical and anthropological team in Puerto Ayacucho, Venezuela.

promotion and research with sex workers, and sexual and gender minorities. He agreed to work with me on a freelance basis as a research assistant and, the following day, we began visiting the main sex work areas in central Lima. We mapped the main sex work spaces and streets noting these details using anonymised codes, and we began letting people know about the study. Over eight months we made several visits per week, on different days of the week(end), usually in the evening (6 or 7-11pm, occasionally later)[113]. On a few occasions we began in the morning or afternoon, particularly if we were due to visit someone at home (see below).

The research assistant was well-known, and quite heavily relied upon, by some of the trans and male, and a few of the female, sex workers we met in central Lima. At the time, he worked for an NGO that provides healthcare and support for sexual and gender minorities, and conducts related biomedical research (see Chapter 3, *Sex work, health inequalities & health services*). Independently, he also provided donated condoms, lubricants, advice, and support to people selling sex in central Lima. He sometimes visited people in their rented rooms, encouraging them to access and/or claim services, as well as accompanying them to clinics and police stations when desired. For these reasons, he was widely viewed as a *promotor* (peer outreach worker).

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[113]As analysis work built up, the research assistant made some visits in my absence, such that in later months I visited once to twice per week. When he visited independently, he would brief and debrief with me about the visits, to discuss recruitment approaches and update me on events.

On each field visit I caught the *Metropolitano*[114] into central Lima, either with the research assistant if we had met at UPCH directly beforehand, or meeting him in the plaza[115] around which our fieldwork centred. We would have a coffee and/or snack nearby, he would update me on recent events and we would plan our fieldwork route. We typically started in the plaza, first talking to men that he knew, about what had been happening, how things were going and any difficulties they were experiencing. If he did not recognise someone but thought that they were selling sex, he would approach them and then invite me to join them if the person was interested in talking. In the plaza we spoke mostly with male sex workers. However, we occasionally also met trans sex workers, hotel owners, clients, and men who engaged in petty theft and/or smoked drugs, often derogatorily termed '*pirañas*' and '*fumones*' respectively, and who might sell sex intermittently for lower-than-average fees. In this space, people were often curious about who I was and what I was doing but rarely did they show overt suspicion, in contrast to conversations with trans and female sex workers elsewhere (see below). Being with the research assistant helped to orient people as to my identity and intentions, and some were intrigued by the subject of the study, given that the research they encountered was usually more biomedical in focus. He became a key 'gatekeeper' (Sanders, 2006) and a close friend, patiently explaining any slang or parts of conversations I had missed.

The plaza around which our fieldwork centred is a popular site of leisure and tourism but also one of civic importance, home to regular open-air debate and frequently featuring in

[114]A municipal-run, rapid bus-transit system opened in 2011 allowing travel across Lima far more quickly (via lanes separated from traffic) and cheaply (S/.1.50 single fare for any distance, at the time of fieldwork) than privately-run buses and minibuses. However, it does not extend to all neighbourhoods or suburbs.

[115]While the area is well-known for sex work I do not name the specific site, to avoid drawing unwanted attention to it (see Chapters 5 & 6 for discussions of how sex workers have been affected by ongoing media attention).

organised protests and rights marches. At its centre lies a monument surrounded by an open paved area, balustrades, benches, lawns, paths, and dotted with trees and street lamps—which illuminate some but not all parts of the plaza. Male sex workers often sat or stood alone or in small groups, seeking clients and sometimes socialising, but they might also walk around to maintain a low profile (see Chapter 5). The plaza's perimeter is lined with cafes, restaurants, shops, and some private residences. During the daytime and early evening, the crowd in the plaza was mixed, including couples, families, groups of young people, co-workers, ambulant street vendors and the occasional tourist, passing through or sitting on benches. Later in the evenings, when the plaza was mostly occupied by (young) Peruvian men, I was a particular anomaly.

Male, and less often female, *serenazgo* officers patrolled routinely, on foot, motorbike, or in municipal or police cars and vans, sometimes approaching men who were working or occasionally appearing if there had been a dispute. We frequently saw officers policing metal barriers closing off narrow streets surrounding the plaza, where hotels used by sex workers had been shut down on grounds of flaunting municipal health and safety or building regulations, or due to suspected pimping and/or trafficking. Less often, we saw police officers stationed on street corners near to but not within the plaza. Officers sometimes looked puzzled at my presence but we rarely interacted directly, except on occasions when we inquired about street closures, and on one afternoon when a *serenazgo* officer handed us leaflets about a local health promotion event.

After spending time in the plaza, we would walk along nearby side-streets and avenues where trans and female sex workers typically sought their clients. Side-streets and their pavements were narrow and less well-lit than the plaza, lined with residential buildings,

hostels, hotels, and small shops. Avenues were wider, saw more pedestrian and road traffic, and housed a greater array of residential, business and leisure-oriented premises, including internet cafes, restaurants, and bars—some of which were additional spaces in which sex workers might seek clients. Although we would discuss similar issues as in the plaza, the environment was less a place where people socialised, meaning that people were typically working—alone or in small groups, and more conspicuously—when we met. We therefore often spent less time talking, leaving if a client approached or if we sensed that our presence was unwanted or potentially disruptive[116]. On several visits we saw *serenazgo* officers parked and/or standing on side-streets (during the day and at night), and police passing by at speed in vehicles (on avenues, at night), the latter prompting groups of sex workers to disperse and flee. On just one occasion we visited a venue where sex workers can take their clients, and spoke for some time with the owner, but our repeated efforts to reach sex workers operating in a local sauna were unsuccessful[117]. We also visited a few prior or potential participants in their rented rooms and/or a nearby café, when the research assistant had agreed this with them in advance, which gave me some insight into the living conditions that he and participants described. While we walked around and later debriefed over a soft drink and/or snack, we discussed our field visit, offering opportunities for clarifications and further questions.

When we met someone new, the research assistant would first approach them, establish if they had time and wanted to talk, introduce me, and explain the focus of the study.

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[116]Nencel (2001: 78-79) notes that visiting women in their work environments at night, as opposed to in a house where they ate lunch, placed different, 'unspoken demands' on her behaviour.

[117]We had decided that the research assistant would make initial contact and negotiate bringing me on a follow-up visit, but the security guard did not agree to this.

He typically initiated conversations and I listened, contributing when appropriate and when I could. Initially I was self-conscious as I struggled to understand the pace of dialogue and slang with which I was not yet familiar[118], but also acutely aware of being an outsider in, and potentially disruptive of, these spaces. However, the research assistant and others that I got to know brought me into conversations, and I gradually became able to participate whether or not he was there, although he was always nearby. Most of the men we met engaged us readily in conversation, although we would not approach someone if they were with or currently trying to attract a particular client.

The trans and female sex workers we met were often more circumspect, particularly if they did not already know either of us, in the context of pervasive concerns around media attention, and the more conspicuous spaces in which we met them (see Chapter 5). On one occasion, three young women asked us to confirm that I was not a journalist, concerned that the bag I was holding in front of me could have concealed a camera. Another time, an older woman asked to see my university ID, before engaging openly in several long conversations about her work and life. These concerns were not absent in our interactions with male sex workers—one man remarked that he had half expected to see cameras upon arrival for his interview, despite our assurances of confidentiality. It was in this context that I declined an invitation by a municipal official to accompany *serenazgo* officers on their rounds. However insightful such a visit might have been, we decided that it posed too much of a risk of sex workers aligning me with the authorities, and feeling that I had been disingenuous about my role and purpose.

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[118]Prior to fieldwork I had only visited Lima briefly, eight years earlier.

During fieldwork, the research assistant and a few of the men I had got to know in the plaza made considerable efforts to protect me in situations that they faced routinely. The research assistant warned off men he thought might try to rob or hit on me. On one occasion, when a row broke out between a group of men and a client claiming to have been robbed the previous night, he asked one of the men to accompany me to the other side of the plaza while he intervened. On a separate occasion, when fieldwork had ended after the last *Metropolitano*, he and another man who worked in the plaza insisted on accompanying me on my alternative bus route home, despite my protests and their living the other side of the city. I was very grateful of their concern, but these situations were also an acute reminder of the extent to which my safety, as a foreign white woman, was privileged.

Working with co-researchers

In November 2012, Ximena and the research assistant each introduced me to two potential co-researchers.[119] One was a former leader of *Miluska, Vida y Dignidad*, one was a trans rights activist, and two others had been involved in the now-disbanded municipal *Mesa de Concertación* on sex work and LGBT issues, and ran small community-led (male) sex worker and trans organisations supported by the Global Fund.[120] All had prior involvement in research, some as survey fieldworkers and others as focus group moderators, but most had not been centrally involved in research teams. Each co-researcher signed a Terms of Reference

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[119]One resigned early on in fieldwork because she was not content with the workload and format, including the need to participate in fortnightly analysis meetings.

[120]During the main data collection period (October 2012-May 2013) these centres were not operational, but they have since opened new centres supported via the Global Fund's 10th and final funding round.

detailing their role, responsibilities, and freelance rate of pay but there were no obligations to accept work offered.

Under Ximena's guidance and drawing on colleagues' and my own prior experiences, I developed and facilitated a five, half-day, participatory training and planning programme for the co-research team (Appendix 1). The programme covered the principles of qualitative methods and interviews; techniques for asking questions, active listening, establishing rapport, opening and closing interviews; and navigating concurrent roles in research, health promotion, and activism. This stimulated productive discussions over how best to facilitate participant-led accounts, and the ways in which open, unambiguous questions could generate more compelling evidence for advocacy (relative to closed or leading questions). The programme also covered the principles and study-specific aspects of research ethics and fieldwork safety (see *Ethical approvals & considerations*, below). Co-researchers shared their experiences of peer counselling to discuss how best to respond to accounts of violence and mistreatment, with support, empathy, and respect.

Finally, we refined the core domains interviews should cover, the interview topic guide and sampling strategy, in alignment with local priorities and realities (see below), the research assistant participating in sessions on sampling and recruitment. The training took place at UPCH and co-researchers received payment, reimbursement for travel expenses, and refreshments. After role-playing interviews during training, each co-researcher undertook a pilot interview (as per the process outlined below), on the understanding that these would be included in the analysis if they generated data of sufficient quality and depth (which they did). Afterwards, we debriefed and I provided feedback (see *Analytical process & reflections*, below).

Formulating & using the interview guide

'Operationalising' exploratory research questions is not a straightforward process, but developing potential questioning strategies can aid the crystallisation and interrogation of concepts to be explored (Bryman, 2004). To identify conceptual areas of potential relevance, I drew on existing international, Latin American, and Peruvian literature (see Chapters 1-3), my prior experience of qualitative research with sex workers, and the guidance of my supervisor and advisors. While I aimed not to over-define 'structural' factors *a priori*, I sought to explore political, economic, social, and cultural influences affecting violence, stigma, exclusion, and resistance. I drafted an example interview guide for my upgrading report[121] and ethics applications, outlining key areas of exploration, rationales, and example questions (Appendix 2). We then adapted the guide, beginning during training and planning workshops and continuing throughout data collection. There was consensus that it would be useful to start with a detailed guide (with suggested questions written out in full) that could be used as appropriate, in any order, led by the participant's narrative (see Appendix 3 as an example). We later reduced this to a short *aide memoir* (Appendix 4) as we became more experienced in interviewing and more familiar with emerging themes.

The interview guide covered: daily-, work-, and home-life; disclosure (work, sexual/gender identity); functions and meanings of sex work; work-related risks; safety and violence at and outside of work; experiences with police, other authorities, and health, support, and legal services; needs and entitlements; and future plans (see Appendices 2-4).

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[121]The upgrading process is the first examination stage at LSHTM which research degree students must pass to move from MPhil to PhD student status. It involves producing a report detailing a literature review and planned methods, as well as holding an open seminar, examined by two academics internal to the institution.

We sought to explore participants' own experiences, as well as those they had witnessed or heard about, inquiring over: (1) everyday experiences and accounts; (2) specific events and how 'routine' or exceptional these were; and (3) how experiences and phenomena varied across different times of day/night, physical and social spaces. We incorporated prompts to explore how experiences differed according to identities, practices and/or situations—for example, age, gender (identity), sexuality, race, ethnicity, poverty, migration, and related aspects of sex work location/organisation.

Exploring (structural, symbolic, and everyday) violence required a range of direct and indirect questioning strategies, combining open questions and follow-up prompts. We asked participants directly about the safety tactics they employed; who and what helped and/or hindered them; and their experiences of violence, including reporting, seeking help and effects on work, relationships, health, and well-being. We also asked more broadly about their: daily routines, relationships, and pressures, in and outside of work; and interactions with state, municipal, private, civil society and activist organisations (e.g. law enforcement, citizen safety, health, social welfare, media, religion, rights). Across these relationships we explored supports, responsibilities, and tensions; expected/anticipated and experienced treatment; and these actors/agencies' and participants' own perspectives on sex work(ers).

We also explored participants' perspectives on their and other sex workers' unmet needs, what their entitlements *were* and *should be,* and related (in)actions of state and other agencies. In conjunction with the above questioning strategies, this allowed us to explore how participants did/not claim their citizenship rights. During training and preparation, we added questions on participants' perceptions of their rights, and prompts on specific working environments, third parties, relationships, and institutions. We ended interviews by asking

about future plans, any other issues participants wished to raise and their perspectives on taking part in the study, to offer space for critical reflections—albeit conscious of the limitations of interviewers themselves enquiring about participants' interview experiences.

Selecting participants: gender diversity, geographic specificity

Before forming the co-research team, I had developed preliminary purposive 'sampling' criteria, proposing to interview adult female, trans[122] and male sex workers who had sold sex in Lima during the past year. I focused on direct sex work (as opposed to other forms of sexual labour, such as erotic dancing) as this is the activity constructed in law and discourse as 'prostitution' (Hayes-Smith and Shekarkhar, 2010). I did not propose including young people under age 18, not because their experiences do not require attention but because their involvement in selling sex is governed, policed, and conceptualised very differently from adult sex work (Arbulú Bramon, 2004)—a focus that my academic advisors and co-researchers supported. I proposed including sex workers of diverse genders for two key reasons. First, I aimed to disrupt silences around trans and male sex work in relation to meanings and governance of sex work (see Chapters 1-3); second, I was keen to explore how sex worker status, gender and sexual identity interplayed in the production and resistance of violence and stigma. Co-researchers were in favour of this approach as they felt it could inform collective activism across genders and at the intersections of sex worker, LGBT, and trans rights. We also considered the relative merits of a case study that would generate 'thick' data

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[122]My advisors and the co-research team were not aware of any trans men/transmasculine people selling sex in Lima, nor did we meet any during fieldwork to our knowledge. Thus while not excluded by design, this study does not extend to this group.

on sex work in central Lima, versus including a wider range of neighbourhoods and sectors (see e.g. Bayer et al., 2014c; Nureña et al., 2011) but potentially sacrificing contextual richness. One co-researcher was initially keen to expand the focus of the study across different neighbourhoods, to capture the varied ways in which female sex workers operated. However, we ultimately agreed on the former approach, to allow us to explore how the experiences of sex workers of different genders working in close proximity converged and diverged. Thus, this approach generated data from the point of departure of a specific geographic site, as opposed to a broader analysis of the sex industry across Lima.

We did not predetermine a 'sample size' but sought to continue interviewing until reaching theoretical saturation (Corbin and Strauss, 1998), balanced against recruitment opportunities and available resources. We used theoretical sampling (Corbin and Strauss, 1998) to reflect maximum diversity in relation to categories that we theorised would shape sex workers' experiences of violence and stigma—based on existing literature, our collective prior research, and advisors and co-researchers' context-specific knowledge. We began by seeking diversity in gender, age, experience of migration, duration in sex work, and work location/sector (within central Lima). After initial analyses, we refined sampling criteria to reflect groups of sex workers (1) who were not yet well reflected in the study; and (2) whose experiences appeared to differ from the majority/consensus ('deviant cases') (Corbin and Strauss, 1998).

On this basis, we sought to recruit: trans and male sex workers who were older and/or originally from Lima; female sex workers who had moved to Lima from elsewhere; participants who sought clients in indoor venues; international migrants; and women who

did not have children. We had some success in relation to the former four groups but not the latter two, and no participants were currently working from licensed venues. Our difficulties recruiting women who did not have children may have been linked to the fact that we were unsuccessful in securing direct access to indoor venues, prior research indicating that women who work in this sector are least likely to have children (Kohler et al., 2016; CARE-Perú, 2008b). This study therefore reflects the experiences of Peruvian nationals selling sex in the 'informal' sector only, and does not include any female sex workers who were not mothers—with implications for stigma management and citizenship claims (see Chapters 5-6).

Recruiting research participants based on criminalised and/or stigmatised practices and identities presents significant challenges (Abrams, 2010). Yet recruitment into this study was less challenging than in my previous experience of research with sex workers (Grenfell et al., 2009; Platt et al., 2011). Working with the research assistant was central to establishing participant's trust and interest in the study. Other key aspects of this were: transparency over the purpose of the research; assurances of confidentiality and anonymity; a flexible approach to interview timing; a convenient and comfortable location for interviews; and compensation for time contributions (see *Ethical approvals & considerations*, below). On the few occasions when a participant did not arrive at the agreed time and location and could not be reached by phone, we tried to reschedule. Yet if the research assistant was able to find someone else who met our broad purposive sampling criteria and who agreed to participate, we took the pragmatic decision to also interview them—on the basis that the interviewer was present, and so as not to disrupt fieldwork momentum.

Interviews with sex workers: process

Between December 2012 and May 2013, we interviewed 30 sex workers, each co-researcher conducting an interview roughly every fortnight. Co-researchers carried out the majority (27) of these interviews, and I carried out three once I was sufficiently confident in my understanding of colloquial language. We had agreed to begin by 'matching' interviewers and participants by gender (identity), to facilitate engagement around shared aspects of identity (Oakley, 1981: 53). We diverged from this arrangement only after each co-researcher had undertaken several interviews. This was productive in generating 'insider' and 'outsider' accounts in relation to multiple experiences and identities.

We held interviews at a small community centre where the sex work/LGBT *Mesa de Concertación* had met, now used occasionally for workshops or events aimed at sex workers and/or LGBT groups but closed at other times. The centre was a short walk from the plaza, located on the first floor of a building accessible through a shared open-air entrance, stairway, and landing. Adjacent and below were residential premises, and directly downstairs was a bar/canteen. The centre itself consisted of one main room, a small adjoining bathroom with toilet and shower, a small kitchen area, and an additional private room. The main room had an overhead electric light and a small window protected with metal bars, and the internal walls were decorated with various artefacts, banners and posters promoting prior events. Furniture included a small round table with four chairs, two sofas, and a corner desk with a computer. Being set back from the main road, it was relatively quiet.

Prior to each interview, the research assistant met the participant at a previously agreed location and time, offered them lunch and accompanied them to the community centre.

In the meantime, I met the co-researcher/interviewer and we reviewed the consent and interview process (see *Ethical approvals & considerations*, below), as well as the most recent revisions we had made to the topic guide. We then set up the room, placing water, plastic cups, and tissues on the table and arranging seating informally. When the research assistant and the participant arrived, we talked briefly about the project and answered any questions they had. The research assistant and I then moved to a nearby café until the end of the interview.

The interviewer reviewed the information sheet and consent form with the participant, answering any questions and seeking their written consent before initiating the interview (see *Ethical approvals & considerations*, below). Interviews lasted an average of 72 minutes (range: 44-118) and were audio-recorded, with the participant's express consent, using a small digital voice recorder (Olympus D-812). At the end of the interview, the interviewer filled out a monitoring log, detailing the participant's age, gender (identity), region of origin (Lima, elsewhere in Peru, overseas), type of work environment(s) (meeting clients, providing services) and duration selling sex (Appendix 5)—asking participants directly if they had not already provided this information during the interview. They explained to the participant that this was to help ensure we captured a diverse range of experiences and that they did not have to disclose any information that they did not wish to. The interviewer then gave the participant a mobile phone credit card and shop voucher worth S/.35 (then ~US$13)[123], in recognition of their time contribution, receipt of which the participant confirmed by signature—using a pseudonym, if they wished. Interviewers also provided participants with

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[123]We had agreed upon these items and value as a team and in discussion with my advisors, to align with practice at USSDH.

details we had compiled of sex worker-friendly health, support, and advocacy organisations (see *Ethical approvals & considerations*, below). After the participant had left, the interviewer contacted me and I returned to the community centre to debrief (see *Debriefing & audio field notes*, below).

Interviews with key informants

From March to August 2013, I carried out 17 interviews with key informants, selected to reflect agencies that appeared to influence—positively, negatively, or otherwise—the context of violence and stigma experienced by sex workers in central Lima. We agreed, as a team, that I would undertake these interviews, because my recent arrival might encourage some informants to voice perspectives that they may not with well-known activists. We co-developed a list of organisations and individuals to approach, based on interviews, fieldwork, and the knowledge of the co-research team, my advisors and other colleagues—seeking to reflect a range of sectors, positions (managerial and front line), genders, and length of service. Informants included representatives of: police; respective municipal departments overseeing 'citizen safety' and 'local communities'; the Ombudsman; MINSA's HIV programme; (inter)national and (non-)governmental agencies funding, managing, and delivering sexual and mental health services (including peer outreach programmes); sex worker, trans and LGBT rights organisations; faith-based NGOs; and broadcast media.

We were conscious of the challenges of recruiting key informants, particularly those who might anticipate the research criticising their agency's policies or practices. The USSDH administrator, experienced in liaising with many of the relevant agencies, contacted key informants by phone, email, and/or invitation letter according to sector-specific norms. She

approached participants diplomatically, clearly explaining the purpose of the research, stressing our desire to understand sex workers' and service providers'/policy-makers' perspectives on these issues. She assured confidentiality and anonymity, and was flexible over interview times and locations. With the exception of an activist who had travelled overseas, all individuals contacted participated. However, we had difficulty identifying and contacting the appropriate police representatives. I was ultimately referred to two officials, neither of whom was directly involved in policing sex work in central Lima but who provided important insights into institutional practices. I had set out to interview a maximum of 15 key informants (based on available transcription budget) but I took up the opportunity of interviewing a second police representative working on anti-trafficking programmes. I also repeat-interviewed one key informant who was keen to talk further away from their workplace.

We held interviews in private rooms at informants' workplaces, at UPCH, in a quiet café or at their home, following the same informed consent and audio-recording procedures as participant interviews (see above, and *Ethical Approvals & Considerations*, below). I used a topic guide similar in focus to participant interviews but tailored to each informant's agency and role (for an example, see Appendix 6)—seeking advice from advisors and co-researchers over specific questioning strategies. I also asked key informants about: their experiences of working with and/or making decisions that might affect sex workers; and how agencies, including their own, did and could shape the context of violence and stigma experienced by sex workers—through policies, practices, interventions, collaborations and/or activism. Interviews lasted an average of 91 minutes (range: 53-136).

Ethical approvals & considerations

Ensuring that research participants are protected and respected, while not assuming them to be vulnerable (Nencel, 2001: 80; Brown and Sanders, 2017), is central to ethical research practice. Before commencing this study, I received approvals from UPCH and LSHTM ethics committees. Yet matters of consent, anonymity, confidentiality, participant and interviewer safety and support, should be understood as ongoing processes throughout the research rather than singular events (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). Here I outline the processes we established in advance, as well as how we addressed ethical concerns as they arose in practice.

Informed consent is a central principle of research ethics but must be understood as a process, not a singular event (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). We provided all participants and key informants with complete information about the study before they consented to participate. Interviewers gave them a copy of the participant information sheet and consent form (Appendices 7 & 8) and reviewed with them the study aim, interview focus and format, assurances of anonymity and confidentiality (see below), and potential risks and benefits. They reminded them that their participation was entirely voluntary, encouraging them to consider any personal or professional problems that their participation could cause. They also stressed that they could withdraw at any time without having to give an explanation. The interviewer answered any questions before seeking the participant's written consent, for which they could use a pseudonym if they wished (see Appendix 7). For participants unable to read (with ease), the interviewer read the information sheet aloud, in full, and the participant signed with a cross in the presence of another member of the team. Although it

would have been preferable for someone outside of the research team to act as a witness, this was unfeasible in the absence of independent staff or volunteers[124].

Confidentiality and anonymity were vital considerations, particularly given concerns of being 'outed' by journalists, authorities, and others (see Chapters 5 & 6). We explained that we would treat all data as strictly confidential, except should an issue of serious potential harm be disclosed. In line with practices at USSDH and broader research ethics guidance (e.g. Economic and Social Research Council, 2010), we informed participants, in advance of their consenting, that if they told us about significant and immediate danger to themselves or to a child, we may need to share the information with a local, sex worker-friendly health or support service. Fortunately, we did not need to enact this, and no participants decided against taking part on being made aware of this. At the request of the UPCH ethics committee, I added specific examples (to the participant information sheet) of the scenarios under which our duty of care would oblige us to break confidentiality, and included the committee's contact details should a participant wish to lodge a complaint. On reviewing the information and consent form for acceptability and comprehensibility during preparatory meetings, co-researchers did not consider any further changes necessary.

We had decided upon one-to-one interviews to allow participants to talk privately about their experiences. However, a few participants arrived for their interview with a friend or partner, on one occasion requesting that they (their partner) remain present during the interview. Concerned that this might restrict the extent to which she could talk freely, the co-researcher explained that the interview was confidential, which the research assistant was

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[124]Inviting a nearby resident/worker would of course have been entirely inappropriate given privacy and disclosure concerns.

concerned might offend the participant and/or her partner. He promptly suggested that her partner join us for a soft drink in the café downstairs while he waited for her, to which they both agreed. On discussion as a team, we agreed to adopt this approach going forward (although it did not arise again).

We stored all study data and documents securely, in accordance with LSHTM and funders' data retention and protection policies. We gave each interview a unique code (interviewer's initials plus interview number) and I entered demographic and work-related data into a password-protected Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. We saved all audio-files in password-protected zip files and deleted originals from digital recorders. We transferred zipped audio-files and password-protected transcripts (Microsoft Word documents) to and from transcribers via a secure data transfer system (see *In-depth analysis*, below). Transcribers had also signed a Terms of Reference and confidentiality agreement whereby they agreed not to discuss any details of interviews, and to delete all audio-files and transcripts after returning final versions to me. On receiving transcripts, I replaced all names of people and places with codes, to avoid identifiability but still allowing analysis of repeat-mentioned spaces and relationships. All study data were stored in password-protected files on an LSHTM home drive to which only I have access, and all consent forms, signed receipts, and participant data forms were stored in a locked cabinet in my office.[125] All excerpts are presented anonymously, with any potentially-identifying biographical details, including names of people and places, removed. I have not used pseudonyms, to avoid selecting a name that any participant may use (some used a range of work/nick-names in addition to their given names).

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[125]During fieldwork I did not have easy access to a locked cabinet in the office, so I stored these in a locked desk in my rented room, to which I had the only key.

We were conscious that interviews might raise difficult or painful memories for participants, as well as identifying unmet needs. We sought to approach discussions sensitively and non-judgmentally, and we discussed at length during training and team meetings how to respond if a participant were to become uncomfortable, upset, or angry. Nevertheless, none of us was clinically or psychologically trained and we anticipated that some participants may require additional support. We offered participants information on local health, support, and advocacy services that we knew to be confidential, accessible and sex worker-friendly, offering to connect them with these organisations if they wished.

We also adopted a fieldwork safety protocol, informed by our own previous research and published guidelines (Shaver, 2005; Sanders, 2006). During interviews the research assistant and I waited in a nearby location until the interviewer called, to notify me that they had finished. We agreed that, if I did not hear from them within 30 minutes of their expected finish time, we would return to the community centre and wait outside in the landing/stairway area, and my advisor at UPCH made herself available to take any urgent calls—measures that we did not need to enact. All interviewers were given a letter confirming their role in the study, in case of any enquiries by the authorities. During training and preparation, we discussed how hearing participants' accounts of stigma, discrimination, and violence might feel. Although co-researchers felt well-equipped to deal with this, we used post-interview debriefings, team meetings, and end-of-study interviews to talk through these and other concerns (see *Analytical process & reflections*, below).

Analytical process & reflections

Debriefing & audio field notes

Immediately after each interview, the co-researcher and I debriefed on the interview process, focus and dynamics, for between 15 and 40 minutes. We first discussed any concerns over the participant's safety and assessed whether this required immediate attention and/or discussion with advisors at UPCH. The interviewer then summarised the content of the interview, reflecting on their dynamic/interactions, the discussion's flow and their feelings about it, including any tensions relating to their multiple roles (e.g. as activists, health promoters, researchers). Initially I asked prompting questions but, as they became more familiar with the reflexive process, co-researchers led these discussions. I had originally asked co-researchers to write field notes, guided by a template, but most were reluctant to do so as it felt too formal and laborious. In the first debriefing session, I realised that these discussions would be a much more fruitful means of encouraging (co-)reflexivity. We therefore agreed to record our discussions as audio-field notes.

Debriefings also offered opportunities for interviewers to reflect on divergences between participants' perspectives and their own. In pilot interviews, some co-researchers slipped into peer counselling roles, for example, assessing participants' knowledge about sexual health and rights—challenges we discussed in our first team meeting as we listened back to audio-clips (see below). As the study progressed, co-researchers became increasingly accustomed to providing participants with any information they required at the end of interview, and bringing frustrations out of interviews and into debriefings. Examples of the latter included co-researchers lamenting participants not recognising/claiming their rights,

and pointing out what they felt were contradictory accounts. This led to fruitful discussion of the complex ways in which participants framed their work (see Chapter 6), and navigating the (blurred) boundaries between research, health promotion, and activism in interview contexts.

Team meetings & early analytical discussions

During fieldwork, co-researchers and I met as a group on average twice per month, to discuss: ethical and methodological considerations; emerging findings; sampling and recruitment; and further questions to explore. On each occasion we met in the community centre for approximately two hours. We discussed recurrent themes, similarities and differences between interviews, questions raised, and areas requiring further exploration. Early recurring themes included: police and *serenazgo* raids, violence, extortion, and failure to protect sex workers; being charged fees to access work space; being looked down upon in public spaces; invasive media broadcasts; comparing oneself to others; and the extent to which participants did/not claim their rights (e.g. to work space, and to dignified treatment by police). It quickly became apparent that trans sex workers frequently described the most brutal treatment by authorities but that participants of all genders had had such experiences, and employed varied tactics for navigating and resisting violence and stigma (Chapter 5).

We also used meetings to further develop interviewing skills.[126] We critiqued audio-clips[127] from the latest interviews, to identify questioning and active-listening strategies that had generated rich, grounded, participant-led narratives. If time allowed, we role-played

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[126]Between meetings, each co-researcher conducted one interview and I listened back to audio-recordings.

[127]In the first meeting we used excerpts of written transcripts, but co-researchers found this somewhat laborious, so we opted to use audio clips instead.

focusing on productive questioning strategies and/or the more challenging interview topics. Finally, we revised the topic guide, incorporating new questions prompted by our discussions. We audio-recorded meetings and I kept a log of emerging themes, to inform later coding (see *In-depth analysis*, below). After each meeting we had lunch in a nearby restaurant, where we typically talked about general goings-on, controversies, and progress in relation to activism and politics, as well as our personal lives. Although some co-researchers already knew each other well, these meetings and lunches were important elements of forging collaborative team relationships.

When we first met, some co-researchers viewed me somewhat sceptically and I was keen to show humility and an openness to learn. As fieldwork progressed, we encouraged each other to challenge our assumptions about the research and each other, and discussed concerns and frustrations as they arose. At the end of fieldwork, I interviewed co-researchers and the research assistant individually about their experiences and perspectives on the study, at the community centre or in a quiet café, audio-recording our discussions with their consent. I encouraged them to reflect critically on the research process and findings, team dynamics, and on their role, influence, and position in the study. I also sought their advice on how best to use the study results to inform advocacy and policy. I was conscious of the limitations of carrying out these interviews myself but, given the working relationships we had developed, I felt relatively confident that they would be frank and direct, which they were.

These provided valuable additional reflections on emerging themes and recommendations, as well as on the participatory research process itself. While co-researchers were broadly positive about the project and had appreciated the experience of being centrally involved in the research team, some expressed frustration at the lack of immediate support

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and results that research could offer. One co-researcher described having felt "enraged and impotent" on hearing participants' accounts of violence, mistreatment, and rejection. Another voiced their frustration that we were unable to provide participants with any direct, immediate support beyond information on and links to external organisations (see *Team meetings & early analytical discussions*, below). These were frustrations I shared, yet we were also all conscious of the need to document these experiences to inform advocacy.

Participation, positionality & analytical lens(es)

Working with co-researchers helped to orient this research towards sex workers' concerns and priorities, as well as offering me valuable insights into related activism and politics in Lima. Nevertheless, my introduction to the context by people known for their roles in health promotion and rights-based activism—and as a visiting researcher at USSDH—had important bearing on: how participants viewed me, us, and the study; their accounts; and our analytical lenses. Despite the research assistant introducing me as a sociologist, and the study's focus on day-to-day life, participants often expected interviews to be biomedically-focused—likely linked to the prominence of epidemiological research in Lima (see Chapter 3, *Sex work in Peru: an introduction*) and the public health orientation of my host (and home) institution. The research assistant displayed humility and compassion during field visits, expressing sorrow (to me) about some sex workers' circumstances and social isolation, and anger at their treatment by the authorities and some public services. Yet he did not hide his disapproval when people missed or avoided routine HIV/STI tests. The fact that co-researchers had to navigate multiple roles and identities as activists, health promoters, and researchers is also likely to have shaped how participants framed their accounts of 'risk', safety, and rights, and the direction of interviews and analytical discussions (Bourgois et al., 1997). Similarly, my

growing focus on the interconnections between sex work laws, policing and collective action—and on the power relations of community-academic research—undoubtedly informed the questions that I asked and the lens through which I 'read' interview data (see *Reflexivity & positionality*, above); although this study, equally, has informed my current focus.

During key informant interviews, I was also conscious of the tension between my critical perspectives—on agencies that appeared to exacerbate or remain indifferent to the violence and discrimination that sex workers experience—and my desire to convey humility and respect as a white European new to Peruvian institutions and etiquette. Interviews with some state and municipal officials were far more formal—in format and dynamic—than those with frontline (health) workers, NGO representatives and activists, and others where it was clear we had shared concerns relating to sex workers' and sexual/gender minorities' rights and social justice. This influenced the ease with which I felt able to pose certain questions, particularly in relation to the role of state and municipal agencies.

Conscious of our multiple roles—and that participatory approaches risk privileging co-researchers' voices over those of participants—we were careful to pay close attention to accounts that diverged from our rights-oriented perspectives as much as those that aligned with them. This approach was facilitated by recruiting a diverse range of participants and key informants, and by co-researchers' own varied experiences in activism.[128] Ultimately, working closely with co-researchers enabled deeper analysis of the convergences and divergences between activism and sex workers' everyday practices. This is reflected, for example, in how

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[128]These included operating independently of the NGO sector, running small community organisations, and being centrally involved in local and national activism and policy development, respectively.

participants' talk about their work and identities variously reproduced and deviated from dominant/counter discourses (see Chapter 6).

In-depth analysis

We began analysing data as we collected them. We used debriefings, team discussions, field visits and corresponding notes to inform subsequent interviews, coding, and sampling. Concurrently, three experienced transcribers in Lima transcribed interviews and debriefings *verbatim*, according to transcription guidelines I had prepared. I reviewed each transcript against the audio-file and marked up any queries or gaps, before returning it to the transcriber to finalise. After familiarising myself with each transcript I wrote an analytical summary (typically 2-4 pages), summarising: the participant's biography; working conditions; environments and key relationships; experiences of and tactics for navigating violence and stigma; experiences with institutions and civil society; key emerging themes; similarities and differences with other interviews; and analytical questions raised. I anonymised, protected, and stored these documents in the same way as transcripts (see *Ethical approvals & considerations*).

During a 6-week return visit to the U.K. (May-June 2013), I began first-level coding, importing transcripts into *NVivo* software (QSR International 2010). I coded transcripts line-by-line, to identify inductive, *in vivo* codes as well as (sub-)themes we had identified during team meetings, reading interviews alongside debriefings to incorporate interviewers' reflections. I coded transcripts iteratively, moving between sections of coded text within and between transcripts, to refine the meaning and scope of codes and sub-codes (Charmaz, 2008). On returning to Lima (July 2013), I gave two presentations of preliminary findings, one to the

co-research team and one to researchers at USSDH. These covered participants' work and living situations; everyday concerns; sources and spaces of violence; tactics for managing violence, stigma, and discrimination; and sex workers' visibility (in 'public' spaces) and invisibility (as citizens). I asked co-researchers and colleagues to reflect critically on the data, emerging themes and recommendations—their suggestions proving vital to driving further analysis. They encouraged closer examination of: the effects of spatial restrictions on sex workers' safety, rights, and lives; how policing, stigma and discrimination affect sex workers' families; and specific actions to urge police, *serenazgo* and media to treat sex workers with respect.

After completing data collection, I continued analyses in the U.K. On second-level coding, I sought to break down and make connections between first-level coded data. This involved moving from descriptive, participant-level codes to concept-driven categories, similar to shifts from 'open' to 'axial' and 'selective' coding in Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2008). I began writing analytical memos for discussion with my supervisor and advisors, which drove deeper interrogation of concepts of space, citizenship, and stigma management. At this point, I drew on theoretical literature to aid conceptual development. This included work in relation to: the social production and performance of space (Lefebvre, 1991; Gregson and Rose, 2000; Massey, 2005); geographies of exclusion and transgression (Sibley, 1995; Cresswell, 1996); acts of citizenship (Isin and Nielsen, 2008); identity management and the power relations of stigma (Goffman, 1959; Goffman, 1963; Thoits, 2011; Parker and Aggleton, 2003); and studies exploring these concepts in relation to sex work, in Latin America and elsewhere (e.g. Hubbard and Sanders, 2003; Sabsay, 2011; Andrijasevic et al., 2012; Lindemann, 2013; Robillard, 2010; Scambler and Paoli, 2008). In some cases, I began with sex-

work specific studies and extended outwards to conceptual literature (as for spatial/geographic literature); in others, my starting point was theoretical literature and I then identified sex work studies which had employed related concepts (as for acts of citizenship). Moving iteratively between coding and analytical memo writing, and informed by this literature, I developed core conceptual categories of *performing and resisting 'moral' space*; *acts of occupational citizenship* (see Chapter 5); *performance of self vs other,* and *practices* and *effects* of *deflecting* and *resisting stigma* (see Chapter 6).

Language, translation & dissemination

The dynamic and unstable character of language, open to multiple interpretations, is amplified in situations of translation (Larkin et al., 2007). Furthermore, translation into English specifically reproduces its hegemony in academic and other fields (Wong and Poon, 2010). Producing this thesis in English, including by translating participants' accounts, therefore raises important ethical, methodological, and logistical questions.

My imperfect Spanish language skills made fieldwork, team meetings, data collection, and analysis challenging. The research assistant's, co-researchers' and transcribers' explanations were extremely helpful but there remained times when I found it difficult to follow in group conversations. Team meetings required language for which I could somewhat prepare but discussions were at times laborious, particularly for co-researchers—a point that one jokingly made during their end-of-study interview. Listening back to audio-recordings while reading transcripts greatly improved my understanding of colloquial phrases, terms, and idioms. Transcribers' explanations of any slang or idiomatic expressions which might be unfamiliar to me were also particularly useful. Using a detailed topic guide during interviews

helped, but I was undoubtedly restricted in formulating follow-up questions. Yet my reliance on more simplistic language, and being a foreigner, was not always a hindrance; at times, it involved participants/key informants offering explanations that might have seemed unnecessary to share with co-researchers. Indeed, I had concerns that presumed shared understandings might go unspoken in co-researchers' interviews—a matter we discussed during training and team meetings. Yet perhaps due to former coupled with the act of having to debrief with me—i.e. recount interview summaries to an 'outsider' with lesser linguistic/contextual understanding—co-researchers increasingly sought rich, descriptive accounts which helped to interrogate presumed shared meanings.

During analysis I retained the data in Spanish, including when writing up drafts, to stay as close as possible to participants' accounts—translating quotes into English only in the very latter stages (Lopez et al., 2008). When I had any doubts about my interpretation and translation, I sought advice from the co-research team (in Spanish), my bilingual (Spanish-English) Peruvian advisors, colleagues, and friends, also drawing on published Peruvian guides and dictionaries (e.g. Martos et al., 2008; Hildebrandt, 2011), and online Peruvian, Latin American and Spanish-English glossaries and linguistic discussion fora. My supervisor at LSHTM, who is fluent in Spanish, also provided nuanced suggestions on interpretations in drafts. A bilingual Peruvian friend with expertise in the research area kindly double-checked my translation of all excerpts included in this thesis. He suggested a small number of minor amendments which did not change their overall meaning.

Pertinent examples of translation complexities I encountered include the gendering of words in Spanish that are not gendered in English, and emotion-related language. Gendered adjectives and nouns provided insights into discursive performativity and (mis)recognition

of diverse sexual and gender identities. For example, participants often referred to men considered/self-identifying as *pasivo* using feminised terms (e.g. '*la pasiva*'), and some used feminised and masculinised terms interchangeably to describe trans people (including themselves). A detailed linguistic analysis was not within the scope of this work (see Chapter 2, *Gender & sexuality in Latin America* for previous research on this). However, I have sought to reflect this nuance at relevant points in translated excerpts, by indicating (f.) or (m.) where feminised and masculinised terms are used, respectively. With respect to emotion-related language, "*vergüenza*" can translate to mean shame or embarrassment, and "*molestar*" to upset or annoy which, on first sight/hearing, conveyed quite different emotions to me. Yet their tone and context helped me decide on the appropriate translation into English. This also helped me to (re-)consider the differences, and interconnections, between these terms in English.

Since this work has contributed to my English-language thesis, analysis and writing are primarily my work. The production of the thesis has also been a lengthier processes than policy-oriented activism and research. Although I discussed expectations and timelines with co-researchers during training and data collection, on return to the U.K. my timetable slipped considerably, amid competing work and teaching pressures, and anxieties over my fledgling skills in sociological theory and writing. I have maintained intermittent contact with some co-researchers and my advisors, and provided a copy of the interim findings and recommendations presentation (in Spanish), for advocacy purposes (see *Team meetings & early analytical discussions*, above). However, I will be returning to Lima to disseminate more in-depth findings much later than I, and they, would have liked. After submitting this thesis, I plan to work with co-researchers and my advisors to develop a Spanish-language policy brief and two dissemination events to be held in Lima. The first event will be for sex workers only

and will feed into the second, which will be open to sex workers, practitioners, policy makers and other researchers, during which we will invite reflections on the findings and recommendations. We will circulate the policy brief widely, via dissemination events and co-researchers' and USSDH's networks. I also plan to produce translated versions of all accepted journal articles in open-access format, pending publishers' approvals (Chapters 5 & 6). Finally, there is a possibility of co-authoring a short, Spanish-language key findings paper to submit to a Peruvian public health journal.

Chapter 5 (Paper 1)

In the following two chapters, I report on analyses which I present here as draft manuscripts for journal submission (see Paper Cover Sheets prefacing this thesis). The Introduction and Methods sections of these chapters therefore necessarily reiterate some material presented in Chapters 1-4. In the first paper, Chapter 5, I report on an analysis emerging from the core conceptual categories of *performing and resisting 'moral' space*; and *acts of occupational citizenship*. Raids on sex work spaces by police and *serenazgo* officers were a recurrent theme in participants' accounts, as was the negotiation of space more broadly. In this paper, we examine how sex workers', officers' and others' material-discursive practices perform and contest these and related spaces. We consider implications for sex workers' safety, well-being, and broader citizenship rights.

Geographies of violence & citizenship: sex work, policing & contested space

Introduction

Spatial governance has a profound effect on the work and lives of people who sell sex. Across diverse geo-political settings, anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking raids, urban 'renewal' strategies, and residents' actions work to displace sex workers from certain urban spaces—disrupting safety networks, income generation, and access to health services (Maher et al., 2015; Shannon et al., 2009; Krüsi et al., 2014; Okal et al., 2011; Simic and Rhodes, 2009). Widespread police repression, extortion and brutality, and authorities' failures to take sex workers' reports of violence seriously, foster impunity for those who perpetrate such attacks, including officials themselves (Crago, 2009; Sherman et al., 2015; Scorgie et al., 2013b). This renders such abuse invisible (Krüsi et al., 2016) and places the onus on sex workers to protect themselves (Sanders and Campbell, 2007). Particular targeting of street-based, trans and racially-marginalised sex workers (Rhodes et al., 2008; Edelman, 2011; Sabsay, 2011; Lewis et al., 2005; Sherman et al., 2015)—and these same groups' frequent exclusion from safer work spaces—reinforces their marginalisation and exposure to violence (Katsulis et al., 2010). The geographies produced at the intersections between these governing strategies and sex workers' tactical responses to them, have important implications for citizenship—a matter that has received extensive scholarly attention in the Global North (see e.g. Hubbard, 1999b; Laing and Cook, 2014; Hubbard, 2014) and increasingly so in Latin America (Pope, 2005; Di Pietro, 2016; Sabsay, 2011; Van Meir, 2017).

Prostitution laws and policing have long worked to contain people who sell sex away from 'respectable' neighbourhoods, residents, and spaces (Laing and Cook, 2014; Hubbard,

2000; Drinot, 2006). They have done so through designating red-light districts, tolerance and 'prostitution-free' zones (Drinot, 2006; Hubbard and Sanders, 2003; Hubbard and Whowell, 2008; Edelman, 2011), using licensing and criminal laws to dictate the permissible location of premises (Sanchez, 2004) and seeking to 'cleanse' streets of sex work advertising (Van Meir, 2017; Hubbard, 2001). Other urban policies and processes also play a part, as residents and businesses join police and local governments to displace sex workers from newly-gentrified neighbourhoods (Krüsi et al., 2016; Ross, 2010) and other areas earmarked for development, consumerism (Hubbard, 2004a) and tourism (Van Meir, 2017).

These strategies reflect and reproduce notions that sex work threatens public morality, health, order (Laing and Cook, 2014; Hubbard, 2000), nation states (Drinot, 2006; Levy, 2015) and progress (Scoular, 2004). "Moral geographies" are thus produced, and enforced, rendering certain practices forbidden in 'moral' spaces and permissible only in 'immoral' ones (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003: 79; Hubbard, 2012a; Hubbard, 2004a). Meanwhile, initiatives aimed at "rescuing" and "rehabilitating" women who sell sex—and those seeking to end "demand" for paid sex with a view to "abolishing" the industry—have respectively evoked powerless (female) victims requiring liberation from vice, poor hygiene (Drinot, 2006), and/or exploitation (Levy, 2015)—while often continuing to restrict their access to justice (Krüsi et al., 2016). These dominant governing strategies have reinforced the gendered (Hubbard, 2004b: 666), classed, and racial power relations of cities (Edelman, 2011; Ross, 2010), variously 'othering' sex workers as "disposable" (Lowman, 2000), "sexual outlaws" (Sanchez, 1997), inherently vulnerable (Krüsi et al., 2016), and/or simply not in keeping with modern urban landscapes (Sanders, 2009).

Sex workers across diverse settings have organised to resist their spatial exclusion, broader criminalisation, stigma, and violence—typically grounded in a counter-discourse of human and labour rights (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; RedTraSex, 2007). Yet risks of arrest and moral judgement, competing time pressures, health concerns, and not identifying as a sex worker have proved deterrents to collective-organising (Cornish and Campbell, 2009; Gall, 2007; Murray et al., 2010; Hardy, 2010b). In this paper, we draw on participatory qualitative research with people who sell sex in Lima, Peru—where police repression and extortion are widely reported amid an ambiguous legal framework, yet sex workers are organising to challenge these practices (Lalani, 2014; Salazar, 2009; RedTraSex, 2016a). We explore how, through their everyday practices, sex workers interact with state and social actors to perform, rework, and contest the dominant spatial order, with implications for citizenship claims.

Sex work, space & citizenship in Latin America

Public space in Latin America has undergone dramatic transformations in recent decades. Across the region, cities have experienced mass urbanisation, authoritarian regimes, major protests and efforts at re-democratisation, neoliberal reforms, rapid economic growth, and privatisation of space (Irazabal, 2008; Janoschka and Sequera, 2016). Urban insecurity and state violence are widespread (Sanchez R, 2006; Irazabal, 2008; Janoschka and Sequera, 2016) and many countries have large informal economies, amid entrenched and intersecting economic, racial, and gender inequalities (Hoffman and Centeno, 2003). The power relations of "contemporary policy mobility and knowledge exchange" also remain distinctly uneven (Janoschka and Sequera, 2016: 1175; Cáceres and Mendoza, 2009a). Nevertheless, public space remains a significant site of protest and reworking citizenship (Irazabal, 2008). Diverse social movements have fought to demand justice for state violence and corruption, and claim

broader economic, social, cultural, and political rights (Dagnino, 2003). Participation is central to this struggle, such that citizenship has become as much about social relationships and shared responsibilities—including over community spaces—as about the relationship between individual and state (Dagnino, 2003). Yet this, in turn, introduces questions over who is and is not entitled to 'public' space (Sabsay, 2011).

Various studies have explored how governing strategies have shaped geographies of sex work in Latin America—where police violence and corruption are predominant concerns for many people who sell sex (Hardy, 2010a; RedTraSex, 2007)—and how sex workers exceed their spatial exclusion. In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, pre-Olympics urban renewal programmes and violent anti-trafficking initiatives (Amar, 2009) led to the closure of sex work venues in central, middle-class neighbourhoods (Blanchette and da Silva, 2011). Ostensibly aimed at protecting children, tourists, and victims of exploitation, but typically invoking "health code violations", these closures displaced sex workers to outer suburbs. There, they became reliant on men whom they describe as "pimps" and "militia"—the latter referring to "vigilante gangs … who charge protection fees from local merchants and become the ipso facto rulers of their region" and who were frequently former or "off-duty" law enforcement officers (Blanchette and da Silva, 2011: 141, 143). Anti-trafficking operations also revealed large-scale police involvement in corruption and trafficking networks (Amar, 2009). Yet sex workers continue to use urban space—through what the authors term "puta politics"—to denounce the violence they experience in these spaces (Blanchette and Murray, 2016).

In 1999, female sex workers in Argentina organised, with the support of labour unions and other social movements, to overturn police edicts that had allowed their arrest and

detention (Hardy, 2010a). Yet this generated intense political, media, and public panic in Buenos Aires, particularly in relation to trans sex workers—who were cast as 'other' relative to the idealised moral resident, and ultimately pushed into a *de facto* red-light district (Sabsay, 2011). By dictating who was and was not entitled to 'public' space, this debate ultimately delimited citizenship (Sabsay, 2011). Nevertheless, *travestis*[129] migrating between the county's Andean region and Buenos Aires continue to battle over sex work space and against its privatisation—amid neo-colonial marketing promoting the city as a gay-friendly tourist destination—in conjunction with street vendors and sex worker organisations among others. In so doing, they work to reclaim their racialised and hypersexualised representation and decolonise urban spaces (Di Pietro, 2016).

Van Meir (2017) contrasts the current situation in Buenos Aires with that of Quito, Ecuador, where sex work is legally regulated by the state. In Buenos Aires, amid a growing abolitionist agenda, raids, closures, and campaigns against sex work advertising are pushing sex workers into less safe, outdoor spaces (Van Meir, 2017; Fassi, 2015). In Quito, Ecuador, where some officials implicitly recognise sex work as labour, relationships with police have begun to improve (Van Meir, 2017). However, the municipality continues to close hotels—operations which sex workers feel are not effectively tackling exploitation, but furthering vulnerability—and attempt to relocate sex workers from the historic city centre to a dedicated venue, out of sight of tourists and potential investors. In both settings, sex workers

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[129]This term is used widely in Latin America, including as a self and collective identity, to describe transfeminine people (i.e. those who were assigned male gender at birth but who identify, dress, behave and/or may make bodily transformations considered feminine) but who do not necessarily consider themselves to be female or women—identities often associated with the capacity to give birth (Pollock et al., 2016; Cornwall, 1994: 113; Kulick, 1998).

have reworked and resisted the dominant spatial order, by moving between spaces to quietly evading police detection, and through organised protests and counter-campaigns (Van Meir, 2017).

Ethnographic research in Mexico, Cuba, and Dominican Republic demonstrates how sex work laws and policing (re)produce the uneven gendered, racial, and economic power relations of urban landscapes (Pope, 2005; Cabezas, 2004; Katsulis, 2009). In Tijuana—a major migration and tourism hub on the Mexico-US border—police enforcement responds to "popular demands, media stories, and changing municipal leadership", amid panics surrounding the presumed "social chaos and moral decline" of mass urbanisation, and shifting notions of which sex work(ers) are "dangerous" (Katsulis, 2009: 62). The broader state-legalised regulation system, meanwhile, restricted access to licensed/tolerated, safer work spaces, effectively excluding poor, trans and male sex workers, people living with HIV and undocumented migrants (Katsulis et al., 2010). In Cuba and Dominican Republic, race and class directly affected how women participating in sex and romantic tourism[130] could move around cities: working-class and darker-skinned women, presumed to be sex workers, were arrested and incarcerated in "rehabilitation" centres, while middle-class and lighter-skinned women were not (Cabezas, 2004).

Study setting: sex work & struggles over urban space in central Lima

In 1928, a red-light district (*zona rosa*) was established in Lima, requiring all licensed prostitution venues to relocate to one street in a then sparsely-populated, working-class

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[130]Seeking relationships with tourists for material benefits and opportunities, but not necessarily requesting money directly.

suburb (Drinot, 2006). Two decades earlier, the introduction of legal regulation had permitted women who registered and underwent weekly venereal disease screening to work in such venues—following a fierce debate between those who sought to regulate prostitution, on grounds of physical and 'moral' hygiene, and those who argued for its abolition, believing prostitutes to be fallen women and/or victims (Drinot, 2006: 336). Women who did not comply were denoted 'clandestine' and could be penalised for "offenses against public order" (Nencel, 2001: 23). Yet most continued to operate outside of the *zona rosa* and in 1956—by which time the neighbourhood had become more populated and central—it was closed down. Repeated proposals to designate a similar zone never took effect (Nencel, 2001: 27-38).

In the 1990s, at a time of violent and racialised internal conflict, aggressive neoliberal reforms, and an increasingly authoritarian government (Thorp et al., 2006; Vergara, 2014; Boesten, 2010), mayor Alberto Andrade launched a campaign to "recover" the colonial-era city centre from those he considered to have "invaded" it (Gandolfo, 2009: 8-9, 222). During the previous four decades, mass migration from largely indigenous rural areas, and a linked "informalisation" of the economy, had generated panic among white, urban elites over the social, cultural, economic, and 'moral' reordering of urban space (Matos Mar, 1986; Gandolfo, 2009: 8-9, 222). Although Andrade's campaign focused primarily on removing informal street vendors, sex workers and *travestis* were also targeted (Ronda, 2009; Gandolfo, 2014: 154)—a new municipal ordinance seeking to eradicate 'clandestine' sex work and declaring 27 city blocks a "risk zone for public health and morality" (Arbulú Bramon, 2004). Andrade sought to encourage investment and, without success, the return of middle and upper-class residents (Gandolfo, 2009). Historic plazas were restored at considerable expense (Gandolfo, 2014: 154),

one of which—around which our fieldwork centred—is today a site of leisure, tourism, and public protest.

Grounded in ethnographic fieldwork prior to Andrade's campaign, Nencel (2001) argued that repetitive regulationist/abolitionist policy debates, media coverage and related dominant discourses (re)produced "gendered enclosures" that seriously limited the gendered subjectivities available to women who sold sex. Women's protests over their working conditions were downplayed by media, and unsupported by feminist organisations working with them, on the belief that such efforts furthered their exploitation—thus a discourse of sex work appeared inconceivable (Nencel, 2001). Since then, female sex workers, including those trained by the Ministry of Health as peer outreach workers (*promotoras*)[131], have formed a national sex worker association, forging links with regional and international sex worker and trans rights movements (RedTraSex, 2007; PLAPERTS, 2017). Sex worker and trans activists have worked with NGOs, academics, and human rights lawyers to develop a bill for the recognition of sex work as labour (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010). Although not thus far approved by Congress, activists continue to advocate for such a law (PLAPERTS, 2017; RedTraSex, 2016a), and work with the Ombudsman, local government, and police to challenge police raids, corruption, and violence (Salazar, 2009). In respect of the latter, they have achieved success in some settings (Lalani, 2014) but in others, collaborations have been hampered by persistent blame, shame, and indifference (Salazar, 2009).

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[131]Peer outreach workers visit venues, licensed and otherwise, to provide condoms and health promotion information, and encourage sex workers to attend government STI clinics for screening. Originally only open to those registered with the authorities, these clinics are now open to all sex workers. Testing is no longer mandatory but is strongly encouraged (Sanchez et al., 2003).

Female and trans[132] sex workers report raids, extortion, and violence by police and municipal 'citizen safety' (*serenazgo*[133]) officers, at times accompanied by media (Salazar, 2009; RedTraSex, 2016a). Trans sex workers have experienced particularly brutal attacks on their gendered bodies and expression by *serenazgo* officers and groups of male residents forming "neighbourhood watch" groups (Runa, 2007). Nencel (2001: 122) found that women were "nonchalant" about police bribery and in a 2008 survey, just 2% felt they had the right not to be assaulted by police (CARE-Perú, 2008b). Authors of more recent community-led research, meanwhile, argue that female sex workers clearly recognise police mistreatment as a violation of their rights (RedTraSex, 2016a). Yet while some may resist arrest and extortion, uneven power relations leave many with little option but to comply (RedTraSex, 2016a). In south Lima, trans sex workers may evade efforts at their displacement—crossing into the neighbouring municipality during *serenazgo* raids—while also enacting tactics of resistance to maximise income, and avoid violence and extortion, in spaces "marked by exclusion and transgression" (Cavagnoud, 2014). Little research has explored male sex workers' experiences of arrest, extortion, or violence, although 40% report having experienced police mistreatment (Konda et al., 2008a). Male sex workers have also been less involved in formal activism to date (Cáceres et al., 2015). Sex workers are unlikely to report violence to the authorities amid fears

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[132]I use the terms 'female' and 'trans'—rather than cis and trans(gender) women as when referring to Global North settings—in recognition that in Latin America transfeminine people do not necessarily consider themselves to be female and/or women (RedLacTrans, 2017; Stryker and Aizura, 2013). Few studies internationally (Clements-Nolle et al., 2001; Sevelius, 2009; Reisner et al., 2010; Bauer et al., 2013) and none in Latin America have explored transmen/transmasculine people's sex work.

[133]*Serenazgo* officers work with police but do not have powers of arrest or carry firearms; the entry and training requirements are also considerably less demanding than those of police officers (Crabtree, 2006).

of arrest, extortion, blame and/or disclosure (RedTraSex, 2016a; Runa, 2007; Salazar, 2009; Konda et al., 2008a).

In 2010, a new mayor and human rights advocate, Susana Villarán, formed a working group (*mesa de concertación*), involving activists, to address issues related to sex work and the LGBT community in Lima (Mesa de Concertacion LTGB y TS de Lima Metropolitana, 2012). However, there was disagreement over a proposed suburban red-light district, some activists instead advocating safe work zones, and the group was eventually disbanded (Radio Capital, 2011). The municipality concurrently introduced new fines for sex work in public spaces, as well as increasing penalties for venues that were unlicensed or "contravene[d] the health, morals and good customs" of central Lima, with objectives of maintaining "public order, morality and tranquillity" (RedTraSex, 2016a: 6, 13; Infante, 2014). Meanwhile, the planning strategy for the historic city centre continues to link policing of street sex work to urban renewal (Municipalidad de Lima, 2014), in line with national 'citizen safety' strategies (RedTraSex, 2016a). During fieldwork, a high-profile campaign to remove Villarán from office (*Revocatoría*) was unsuccessful but ended her party's majority. She was subsequently defeated by the former conservative mayor.

Approach

In this analysis, we draw on theoretical literature across a range of disciplines and fields. We explore *direct violence*, as well as mistreatment, stigma and inequalities institutionalised through state and social practices (*structural violence*), legitimised through language, imagery, and culture (*symbolic violence*), and rendered invisible through their pervasiveness (*everyday violence*) (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 168; Boesten, 2014: 218; Scheper-Hughes and

Bourgois, 2004; Farmer, 2003). We pay close attention to linked, power-saturated processes of stigma (Parker and Aggleton, 2003), shame and blame (Scambler and Paoli, 2008), employing Foucauldian (1979) notions of relational power, exercised via norms and techniques, and *governmentality*, whereby compliant citizens are expected to govern themselves (Foucault, 1991). Conscious of criticisms of over-determinism (Archer, 2003), we follow Giddens (1984) in understanding systems as constraining and enabling human action; and agents as capable of rejecting and reworking norms to drive social change.

Following Lefebvre (1991) and Massey (2005), we understand space not as fixed but as continually "made and remade" through power relations between actors, symbols, and objects. In line with Hubbard (1998; 1999b; 2008), we pay close attention to sex-work-related "geographies of exclusion" produced through abjection and boundary-making (Sibley, 1995), and the ways in which notions of what is appropriate in particular spaces constructs bodies as "in place" or "out of place" (Cresswell, 1996). Yet we also examine how sex workers perform, rework (Hubbard, 1999b) and contest the dominant spatial order, drawing on concepts of *performativity*, *tactics of resistance*, and *acts of citizenship*.

We follow Gregson and Rose (2000: 434) in drawing on Butler's (1990) theory of *performativity* to understand spaces as produced both through actors' conscious sayings and doings (performances) and their repetitive, unconscious practices (performativity)—the latter both disciplining subjects' performances and, through their iteration, open to slippage (Butler, 1990; Gregson and Rose, 2000). de Certeau (2011: 35) uses *tactics of resistance* to refer to subtle, intentional, everyday (spatial) practices that "elude discipline", through which marginalised groups rework spaces "to their own ends", counter to governing *strategies*. We employ a

material-discursive approach, understanding discourse and matter as dynamic, co-constitutive, and contingent (Barad, 1996; Aradau et al., 2014), paying close attention to what people *do* and *do not* say "materially and contextually" relative to dominant- and counter-discourses, past and present (Reis, 2014: 12).

Research exploring sex workers' citizenship has typically focused on the denial of rights on the grounds of nationality (Outshoorn, 2014), non-conformity to sexual and gender norms (*sexual citizenship*) (Hubbard, 2001; Sanders, 2009) and transgression of governing strategies (Scoular, 2010). More recent work has examined sex workers' *biological citizenship*, as sex workers in India have employed their roles as partners in the HIV response to make claims on the state despite concurrent police repression (Lakkimsetti, 2014; Rose and Novas, 2003), and *activist citizenship* as sex workers demand freedom of movement across European-Union borders, regardless of national citizenship status (Andrijasevic et al., 2012). Rather than beginning from an already-defined form of citizenship (e.g. sexual, biological, national), we explore the material-discursive practices through which sex workers enact citizenship claims and through which their citizenship is restricted. Following Isin & Nielsen (2009; 2008) and Andrijasevic et al. (2012), we examine the *acts of citizenship* that rupture *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990), whether intentionally or not, as subjects "constitute themselves as those with 'the right to claim rights'", via new sites and at new scales of citizenship (Isin, 2008: 2). We do so conscious that such acts may not be emancipatory and/or inclusive, and careful not to overemphasise sex workers' resistance given the asymmetrical power relations governing these spaces (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003).

Methodologically, we used a participatory approach to centre sex workers' voices and concerns (O'Neill, 1996). Careful to avoid reproducing dichotomous understandings of

empowerment/victimhood (O'Neill, 1996; Doezema, 1998), we began from the position that people who sell sex make decisions, experience and resist violence, and do/not claim their rights in a context of uneven gendered, racial, and economic power relations (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; Katsulis et al., 2010; ICRSE, 2016a). We included trans and male participants to disrupt silences around their sex work (Levy, 2015: 79; Salazar, 2009) and to explore how gender intersects with other aspects of identity and inequality to shape violence and possibilities for resistance (Crenshaw, 1991; Katsulis, 2009: 9).

Methods

Between October 2012 and August 2013, we carried out in-depth interviews with 30 people who sell sex in central Lima (participants) and 17 key informants. The overall aim of the study, which contributed to PG's[134] PhD research, was to explore the socio-structural context of violence against sex workers in this setting. The study was approved by the Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia (UPCH) and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM) ethics committees. PG hired a community research assistant (RA), an activist outreach worker well-known in central Lima, to introduce her to potential participants. Once to twice per week, on varied days at different times, we walked around the main sex work areas in the city centre[135], talking with sex workers and venue managers, catching up on recent events and observing these spaces, making subsequent field notes. We purposefully selected interview participants to reflect diversity in gender, age, migration, duration in sex work, and work location/venue. PG hired and trained four sex worker, LGBT and trans rights activists

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[134]*I use my initials here, in keeping with this chapter's format as a draft journal article.*

[135]Selected as an area in which female, trans and male sex workers work in close proximity. Previous research indicates that most sex work in this area is low-income and much is street-based (Bayer et al., 2010; Bayer et al., 2014b; Runa, 2007; Nencel, 2001).

as qualitative interviewers (co-researchers)[136], who conducted the majority of interviews with sex workers (n=27). We used a topic guide to direct interviews (while encouraging participant-led narratives), exploring: likes, dislikes and conditions of work; safe, dangerous, and ideal work spaces; daily concerns, relationships, and priorities; interactions with state, municipal, and community agencies; disclosure; experiences and reporting of violence and discrimination; expected and experienced treatment by institutional and social actors; protective strategies; their/others' views on sex work; sex workers' (unmet) needs and rights; future plans.

Interviews took place in a private room at a nearby community centre intermittently used for health promotion, rights, and support workshops for sex workers and LGBT people. All participants gave informed consent, and we provided details of health, support and advocacy organisations, a mobile phone credit/voucher worth 35 soles (~US$13) and refreshments. The interviewer and PG debriefed immediately afterwards to discuss the interview and any safety or ethical concerns. During twice-monthly team meetings we discussed emerging themes and questions to explore in subsequent interviews, as well as refining interview techniques. Latterly, PG interviewed the RA and co-researchers about their experiences on the project. PG also interviewed key informants from the national police force (PNP); 'citizen safety' and 'local communities' municipal departments; the Ombudsman; the national HIV/STI programme; governmental, NGO and faith-based health and support services for sex workers, sexual and gender minorities; activists and peer outreach workers; and broadcast media. We selected agencies which appeared, from interviews and fieldwork, to play a key role in shaping the context in which sex workers experience and resist violence.

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[136] All had some research experience and led sex worker/LGBT organisations. One resigned early on in fieldwork.

Interviews explored their and other agencies' role in this regard, in addition to topics covered in interviews with sex workers.

Interviews were audio-recorded with consent and transcribed in Spanish. We began analysing data during fieldwork, using field notes from observations, debriefings, and team meetings to inform subsequent interviews, coding, and sampling. PG coded transcripts inductively and iteratively (in Spanish), comparing between and within accounts to refine codes, with reference to audio debriefings and interviews with co-researchers, and in discussion with her advisors and co-researchers. First-level coding drew on a combination of *a priori* themes in the topic guide and inductive *in vivo* codes. Second-level coding involved breaking down and making connections between first-level coded data. We moved from descriptive codes to concept-driven categories similar to shifts from 'open' to 'axial' coding in grounded theory (Charmaz, 2008), drawing on relevant theoretical literature to aid interpretation (see *Approach*). All included excerpts were translated by PG and reviewed by a bilingual Peruvian colleague. Informed by a critical intersectional approach (McCall, 2005), we paid careful attention to articulations of identity and difference. We did so conscious of local meanings of gender and sexuality, and of economic, racial, and gender inequalities at local, regional, and transnational scales (Sabsay, 2012), yet mindful that related boundaries—however entrenched—are dynamic and may be contested.

Conscious of how research with marginalised communities can reproduce uneven power relations and stigmatising representations (Simic and Rhodes, 2009), we worked closely with co-researchers to facilitate reciprocal learning, ensure the research addressed sex workers' concerns locally, and reduce the 'distance' between participants and researchers

(O'Neill et al., 2004). Yet participatory approaches can also introduce conflicting priorities, reluctance to criticise a shared world, discounting of perspectives different from one's own and reinforce hierarchies within the community, as well as potential burdening interviewers with reminiscent traumatic accounts (Shaver, 2005). We addressed these issues through one-to-one debriefs and team meetings, encouraging each other to reflect critically on our assumptions, paying close attention to accounts which diverged from our rights'-oriented perspectives as much as those that aligned with it. As a white, European, cisgender female academic, PG was aware of her privilege, her limited linguistic skills and contextual understanding, and her 'outsider' status. Working with co-researchers improved PG's understanding and the relevance of the research, while co-researchers appreciated the research training and experience, and gained access to information which may not have been shared with an outside researcher.

Participants

We interviewed 30 sex workers (10 female, 10 trans, and 10 male participants), aged 18-60, who currently sold sex in central Lima and had been doing so, there or elsewhere, for 1-35 years. All were Peruvian nationals, and just over half (two female, six trans and eight male participants) had migrated from other regions; some had also sold sex in other cities in Peru and, occasionally, other Latin American countries. Over half had a current partner, some of whom knew about their work; and all female and a small number of male, but no trans, participants had children. Most female participants lived with relatives in other neighbourhoods, sometimes staying in central Lima when working. Over half of trans and male participants rented dormitory-style accommodation nearby, often supervised by a housekeeper and subject to house rules (e.g. no clients, fee per client brought to room).

Almost all participants currently met clients outdoors (plazas, parks, avenues, streets), typically providing services in nearby hotels or guesthouses (*hostales*)[137], private houses or uninhabited buildings run as sex-work venues (*casas/huecos*) (female participants) or their rented rooms (trans and male participants). Less often, they provided services in a client's car or home, in a secluded outdoor place (e.g. park, beach) here and in other neighbourhoods. Some also currently or previously used other modes: phone (regular clients), social media and websites; public toilets and internet cafes with private cubicles (male participants); or bars, clubs, saunas, video-pubs, and porn-cinemas. A few men offered company in social spaces and others worked as *transformistas*—dressing and performing 'femininely' while working at night but returning to 'masculine' dress at other times, including to work during the day.

Participants reflected diverse gender and sexual identities. Trans participants variously used the terms *mujer trans* ('trans woman'), *chica trans* ('trans girl') and *travesti* to describe themselves and others (and occasionally *'transsexual'* in reference to others). We have sought to reflect this diversity, following the *Instituto Runa* (2007) and others (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010), by using 'trans' as a short-hand, umbrella term. We use the terms 'trans woman', 'trans girl', and '*travesti'* where participants and/or other authors use them. We retain *travesti* in Spanish as it has a socially and culturally specific meaning that does not translate precisely into English (Kulick, 1998). We do so conscious of how gender and sexual identity categories have, at times, been transposed from the Global North to the Global South, without sufficient attention to local meanings and understandings (Atluri, 2012; Sabsay, 2011; Stryker and Aizura, 2013: 3-4). While a linguistic analysis is beyond the scope of this article, we aim

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[137]Most participants agreed a fee and services in advance but they might also subsequently seek, or be offered, an additional 'tip' (*propina*), meal/drink or gift.

to reflect the varied, gendered way in which trans and some male sex workers talked, and were talked about, in Spanish by denoting relevant (pro)nouns and adjectives as (f.) and (m.) in translated excerpts (Kulick, 1998; Pollock et al., 2016).

Similarly, we describe participants' sexual identities in the terms they used. Although some men described themselves as gay/homosexual, bisexual, or heterosexual, it was more common that they identified themselves and other men by sexual roles. Here they aligned with traditional and contemporary identity categories in Latin America, whereby men described as *pasivo* ('passive', similar to 'bottom') and *activo* (active, similar to 'top') are considered homosexual and feminine, and heterosexual and masculine, respectively, but some men, including male sex workers, are increasingly identifying as *moderno* (versatile) (Cáceres and Rosasco, 1999; Goodreau et al., 2007). Previous research, however, indicates that these identities do not necessarily align neatly with sexual practices (Cáceres and Rosasco, 1999). Trans and female participants who mentioned their sexuality identified as gay/homosexual and heterosexual, respectively. Male participants had male clients only, but some had unpaid sexual/romantic relationships with, and/or bought sex from, (trans) women or *travestis*. Trans and female participants described male clients and unpaid partners only, and none mentioned paying for sex.

Findings

'Public' space & its constituents

Central Lima's squares, parks, avenues, and streets featured heavily in participants' narratives. The plaza around which our fieldwork centred is one of the main outdoor locations in central Lima where male sex workers meet their clients. At its centre lies a monument

surrounded by an open paved area, balustrades, benches, lawns, paths, and street lamps. The streets around the perimeter of the square are lined with cafes, restaurants, shops, and some private residences. Nearby avenues and quieter, darker streets—where trans and female sex workers typically met their clients—are home to shops, canteens, restaurants, private residences, internet cafes, bars and clubs, guesthouses, and hotels. Police and *serenazgo* officers routinely patrol the area, dispersing sex workers and intermittently raiding public spaces and venues suspected of unsanitary conditions (*serenazgo*), pimping, trafficking, or other criminalised activities (police, with the Public Prosecutors' office). Journalists visit intermittently to report on sex work; peer outreach workers (*promotores/as*) provide condoms, health information and promote sexual health services; and sex worker, LGBT and faith-based organisations offer advice and workshops on health, social support, rights, and legal services. Other actors (who are of course not mutually exclusive) include: clients, local business owners and staff, residents, ambulant street vendors, young people denoted as '*fumones*' and '*pirañas*' (derogatory terms for those who smoke drugs and steal, respectively), individuals and groups of people who demand money for access to public spaces (*cobradores de cupos*), non-resident passers-by, and tourists.

The use of public space was a recurrent theme in interview accounts, with striking discord between the governing strategies of dominant institutions and the ways in which sex workers used and reworked these spaces to their own ends. In this analysis, we explore how sex workers and other actors colluded, negotiated, and clashed to perform and contest these spaces, with profound implications for structural, symbolic, and everyday violence, and related citizenship claims.

Performing & extending spaces of (non-)citizenship

'Reclaiming' spaces

Struggles over urban space were imbued with concerns for 'public' morality, safety, and health. During police and *serenazgo* raids in the plaza and surrounding area, sex workers were frequently instructed to "move on" or "disappear", rounded up in vans and detained in police stations, whether or not they were carrying ID.[138] Participants often described police and *serenazgo* raids as targeting their "*whore*", "*pasivo*" and trans identities and bodies, and presumed HIV-positive status[139], reflecting an aggressive 'moral policing' (Simic and Rhodes, 2009). Some also suspected motives of political popularity, particularly in the lead up to the *Revocatoría* vote. Trans participants' accounts of formerly being transported to and abandoned by *serenazgo* officers in remote areas, stripped of their clothes and having their hair forcibly cut, reflect violent policing of their gendered bodies. Participants of all genders typically agreed that trans sex workers were treated most brutally:

> *The serenazgo used to come and they wouldn't even [just] kick us out, no, they would come, grab us, take us to the beach and throw us out naked [...] the police would grab us and beat us, sometimes they would even take us and cut our hair, and a lot of other abusive stuff [...] Now what do the police do to you? They throw [...] tear gas at you [...] they beat you, they drag you*

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[138]Not carrying ID is frequent grounds for arrest, to check for outstanding criminal charges (Salazar, 2009).

[139]Some participants described being called "*sidosas*" by officers, a "derogatory term for someone with AIDS" (Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008).

and aside from that they insult us for what we are too, so much homophobic stuff. (Trans participant, Interview 3; Quote 1[140])

Participants of all genders also described being stopped or arrested when not working—for example, one woman while visiting a friend; trans women/*travestis* when going to the shops or playing street volleyball; and one man when seen kissing another man in the street, who officers promptly planted with drugs and extorted in exchange for not arresting him.

Participants' narratives revealed how state and municipal agents performed 'moral' protection of these spaces—for example, this account of a *serenazgo* officer loudly blaming male sex workers and (presumed) "*fags*" while attempting to displace them:

We [four guys] were sitting around the statue in the plaza and, well, like everyone sits [...] There are always [...] three serenazgo officers who are [...] the biggest pain in the butt. One of them comes up to us and says, "Gentlemen, could you do us a favour and leave?" [...] And [name of an activist/outreach worker] says to him, "But why are we going to leave if everyone is sitting around the plaza, around the statue? If we leave, make all of them leave." [...] He didn't even say anything to us, he called on his mobile [...] "Please [put me through to] the squadron [...] I need help because we have some fags (m.) here who are [...] making the plaza look bad." (Male participant, Interview 10; Quote 2)

By casting (male) sex workers as disruptive of the aesthetics of the plaza, a place central to the identity, social and civic life of the city, this officer constructed them as 'out-of-place' (Cresswell, 1996) in and beyond the plaza's perimeter. The described confrontation also

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[140]All untranslated excerpts are included in Appendix 9, numbered within the body of these chapters for ease of reference. Interview numbers correspond to the order in which interviews were undertaken.

renders visible material-discursive practices involved in performing and disrupting 'moral' space. The narrator and activists' reference to the statue and undisturbed others invokes a notion of civic space open to all, pushing back at the officer's attempt to displace them. Meanwhile, the officer uses mobile technology to articulate men's apparent spatial transgression and to bring in police to reinstate the 'moral' order of the space.

Police and *serenazgo* warnings about CCTV cameras and threats of residents' complaints evoked Panopticon surveillance (Foucault, 1979), demanding that sex workers conform to the moral expectations of spaces—by removing themselves—even in officers' absence ("*Can't you see [the] cameras? You worthless fucking whores!*" Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 3). In some cases, residents participated directly in efforts to displace sex workers. This participant describes one resident's use of objects and bodily fluids—a receptacle, dirty water, urine—to tell (trans) sex workers that they did not belong there, and her own hypothetical resistance:

> *Over there right on the corner, there's a house that whenever you stand there the woman throws water at us, dirty water, she throws pee at us, but thankfully she hasn't done it to me, poor thing too, I [would] break her window, I have a temper, I'm someone who doesn't put up with nonsense, if it's yes, yes, if it's no, no, if you don't respect me no, I'm really direct (f.).* (Trans participant, Interview 3; Quote 4)

These spaces are performed and contested, then, both through the arrangement of material bodies, objects, and places, and through concurrent and subsequent talk about how they are imagined and lived, by sex workers, residents, and the authorities.

Sex workers' access to nearby hotels and residences was frequently restricted by metal barriers at each end of the street policed by *serenazgo* and police officers—highly visible during our

field visits. We heard several accounts of sex workers, and trans sex workers in particular, being denied access to their rented rooms. Some participants also described sudden evictions from rented accommodation by municipal agents on grounds of poor hygiene and safety, although some suspected motives of profit and/or political popularity. Yet this official presents a contrary picture of operations aimed at 'reclaiming' community spaces, imagined for (non-sex working) residents and their children:

> *Thirty-five children on one block, they couldn't go out onto the street because their parents didn't want to let them go out onto the street, because they [sex workers] were doing sex work on the street, so out of fear and because they would see that, but sex work also brings drug dealing, um clients that can be criminals, so there was quite a problem. So the children now-, this street that's closed, they occupy [use] it for sporting and artistic activities and the residents have taken over the street […] some trans sex workers (f.), they still live there, but they don't do this activity there, they've had to move to another place where there are fewer neighbours.* (Municipal official, Key Informant Interview 4; Quote 5)

The notion that sex work "brought" criminality, whether or not sex workers were party to it, meant that their bodies and livelihood strategies came to be read (or scapegoated) as symbols of invading danger. Together with purported fears that children may 'see' sex work, this helped to justify their removal from family-oriented spaces. Yet it is unclear whether these anxieties related to the visibility of sexual acts, or the idea of sex work. Indeed, a police key informant described (trans) sex workers as identifiable by their attire and position, and most participants described providing sexual services indoors and/or occasionally in secluded outdoor spaces (e.g. parks)—suggesting a preoccupation with sex workers' presence rather

than the visibility of sexual practices. These governing strategies thus (re)produced boundaries between in-place (non-sex working, heteronormative) residents and out-of-place others, while reproducing housing and economic insecurity—particularly for trans sex workers. In other words, they produced *uneven geographies of citizenship*.

Some participants concurred with the notion that 'family' and sex work spaces were incompatible. Such perspectives were grounded in a need to shield children from "scandalous" images, and to protect themselves from disapproving looks, talk and raids. Some participants proposed a red-light district and/or indoor workplaces out of public view:

> *The truth is that [pause] for me at least, um, [sex work] looks ugly … but some people don't think the same thing … well, you should work, but in a 'zona rosa' [~red-light district] let's say, where a travesti (f.) can work stably, so as to not be running away from the raids and so much stuff, well it would be more discretion right? Do you get me? But being in the street, you run a lot of risk and because they see you in the street, people themselves look at you and talk badly [about you] too.* (Trans participant, Interview 12; Quote 6)

On first reading, such accounts may appear simply to collude in symbolically violent performances of 'moral' space, in which (trans) sex workers articulate their own bodies as out-of-place. Yet they also work to envision safe spaces that could protect them from the violent and invasive effects of 'moral' spaces and the public gaze—in so doing at least partly contesting the authorities' privileging of residents' well-being. There was, however, far from consensus over what constituted an 'ideal' work space. Indeed, most participants articulated a desire to be left to work in peace—i.e. in their existing work zones (see *Spatial citizenship*

claims, below)—and some female participants described the disadvantages of licensed venues (e.g. fees, lack of flexibility and autonomy).

Performing moral spaces, obscuring unsafe ones

Most participants, and some key informants, were sceptical of the authorities' intentions and abilities to tackle violent crime in central Lima. Indeed, some suggested that targeting sex workers enabled officers to perform a restoring of order without having to confront dangerous situations. This was particularly apparent in participants' frequent accounts of being ignored, and often blamed, insulted, or falsely accused of crime, when reporting attacks or theft:

> *The police don't get involved, well in those type of things [knife fights] but [...] coming with their baton and kicking you out of there, that they're good for. […] You go to the serenazgo, you tell them, "Hey, you know what, such and such person has beaten me up", and instead of the serenazgo helping you, they just insult you. "And why do you have to be standing (f.) there, you worthless fucking faggot (m.)?" [...] It's not normal but they don't take any notice of you.* (Male participant, Interview 24; Quote 7)

> *They don't respect human rights anymore, the authorities that are governing now, they just do what they want […] they don't care about anyone […] they hit people and you complain, sometimes they don't take any notice of us or it'll be because you yourself work in this life [sex work].* (Female participant, Interview 27; Quote 8)

Authorities' responses constructed sex workers as undeserving of the protection offered to morally-conforming citizens, blaming them for the violence they experienced—a situation that widely deterred reporting and fostered impunity for those who attacked sex workers, including officers themselves:

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When you go to the police station to file a report, anything, they treat you badly, they don't do you the papers, they tell you, "Ah yes, but you're a [sex] worker", like that, "you might be a thief, you might lie, you're a prostitute and you (pl.) are like that" […] that's why […] we haven't been either. (Female participant, Interview 18; Quote 9)

Although this contributed to invisibilising their mistreatment (Krüsi et al., 2016), sex workers' reluctance to report should not be read simply as uncritical acceptance of the *status quo*, or necessarily complicity in symbolic violence (Lyons et al., 2017). By pointing out that officers' behaviour was neither "normal" nor respectful of human rights, participants made clear that such treatment, however entrenched, contravened codes of expected moral conduct. This sentiment was echoed by perspectives that state institutions, such as the Ministries of Health and Education, were not adequately addressing (male) sex workers' needs not because they were unaware of their existence but because they simply "*shouldn't be there*".

Some officials recognised that displacing sex workers did not necessarily tackle issues that they considered to produce urban insecurity, including drug and alcohol use, the sale of drugs, violence, trafficking and the "*involv[ement of] minors*":

The problem is that there's alcohol consumption in the street […] drug dealing in the street […] there's aggression or there are attacks, that is the problem […] that there's a trafficker there who is exploiting, um, people who work in this and that they are involving minors, that's the problem, but [if] I go and say, "Ok … I've come to deal with the problem, yeah, it's better if I kick them out, if I throw them out of here", you're not addressing the problem, you're looking to, um, face it at its weakest point, which is the exercise of prostitution. (Municipal official, Key Informant Interview 10; Quote 10)

Yet this same official later justified venue raids on the grounds of protecting public health and reassuring residents concerned about urban insecurity (see *Extending performed spaces*, below). Despite notions that raids, street and venue closures "rescued" sex workers from unhygienic and unsafe spaces, such practices left sex workers with fewer known, affordable and trusted workplaces. These were risks of which participants were often highly conscious, after their own or others' experiences of being threatened or attacked by clients in remote areas without the possibility of peers or staff intervening. Although some participants did complain of unsanitary conditions in cheaper hostels and a lack of security and/or support in others, most described their preferred hotels as relatively clean and safe—particularly those with security guards, where staff retained both their and their client's ID card during the service, and would knock on the door when time was up. Some denounced the "unjust" targeting of venues and staff:

> *There was a 6-sol hotel that they closed, and they sent the guy to prison, unjustly because he wasn't the owner, he was just a simple worker who was doing a job and they accused him of being a pimp.* (Trans participant, Interview 3; Quote 11)

This articulated solidarity with hotel staff is perhaps unsurprising given that many participants described relying on them to intervene if clients became aggressive. Yet it also reveals the contradictory effects of anti-pimping laws aimed at protecting sex workers, and counters notions that third-party involvement in sex work is necessarily (solely/always) exploitative.

Performances of moral authority were undermined by frequent accounts of police and *serenazgo* officers extorting sex workers, economically and sexually, capitalising on their out-

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of-place visibility and ambiguous legal status. Participants described officers requesting or demanding money and/or unpaid sex to avoid displacement, arrest, or false criminal charges, or to expedite release from detention. This man, for example, describes how his "*pasivo*" friends were released from the police station after having sex with an officer while he, presenting as "*activo*", remained in custody:

> *They took us to a police station [...] I saw how the 'pasivos' (m.) got out normally. […] When I'm sex-working I'm really manly because I mostly work as 'activo' (m.) [...] and me […] and other mates that were there without IDs, also several pot-heads, […] they weren't letting us leave, whereas the 'pasivas' (f.), yes [they let them leave] I had two friends (m.) there […] they made them have relations, inside there. I mean they had sex there with the cops [...] [my friend] tells me, "But you missed your chance, you're staying, because we've all already got them off [sexually]*[141] […] there are no more tickets out of here."* (Male participant, Interview 10; Quote 12)

This participant's friend frames this as a strategic opportunity, but he and other participants were often critical of (police) extortion and their peers' complicity (see Chapter 6). Indeed, some described directly resisting officers' attempts *("Are you crazy?", I told him [police officer requesting a reduced-rate service].*" Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 13). One participant described calling in lawyers to secure his release and reported the offending officers to the authorities:

> *I have a friend (m.) who's a public prosecutor […] who has a friend (m.) who's a lawyer, if they have me for more than 24 hours, or if they have me for 10 hours, like that, I get my friend to call*

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[141]The phrase "*sacar su leche*" translates literally as "extract their milk", figuratively meaning bring to orgasm.

the lawyer and he comes and gets me out of [named police station], because there hit you horribly

they, they beat you up until you give them money. They've made me clean bathrooms, everything.

But I'm not stupid (m.), I tell the lawyer they've made me do this and that and they bring out

article 20 that says such and such […] I can't be [there] for more than 24 hours, they can't take

my money, and they even give it back to me, they give it back to me […] I even note down his

name, two of the policemen in there [the station] already have a complaint [against them] [...]

They can't beat me up, they can't hit me, they can't touch me because I haven't done anything to

them. It's the law and all that, and that's just the way my friends are. (Male participant,

Interview 10; Quote 14)

His relationship with a recognised and connected professional—whom he had met on the

'scene' (*ambiente*)—helped this participant access justice in this setting and on this occasion.

This his account demonstrates a reworking, but not necessarily a wider disruption, of the

dominant power relations that restrict access to justice for economically and racially-

marginalised communities ("*You can see how I am, but OK, I have friends who are public*

prosecutors, lawyers." Male participant, Interview 10; Quote 15).

Such resistance was far less feasible when participants were involved in organised theft

schemes in which police officers were complicit:

The whole precinct knows who the gateadoras are, who the madams are, who the landladies are ,

everyone [...] they ask for a tip from the gateadoras, from the landladies, from the madams [...]

Supposedly they know that we steal, well, I mean that we let them steal, and the others steal [...]

they know so we have to give them [something] so that they keep quiet [...] when they get to the

police station, there they have to hand over more money, if it was something big [i.e. they had

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stolen a large amount], they have to give half of what they took, they have to give it to the police. […] Sometimes he'll [officer] say, "No, give me everything, if not you're finished." And you have to give [him] everything. (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 16)

Police and *serenazgo* officers' performances of moral space thus obscured both institutional failings to foster safe spaces, and the complicity of some officers in the illicit economic governance of these spaces—a situation made possible by sex workers' lack of access to justice, underpinned by the blame and indifference that these performances themselves (re)produce.

Extending performed spaces

Despite claiming a need to shield residents and children from images of sexual and gendered deviance, police and *serenazgo* operations often drew attention to people and places that might otherwise have remained unseen. Closed venues were plastered with multiple, visible closure notices[142], and invited broadcasts of operations apparently served to reassure members of the public who were anxious about crime and safety:

Yeah, people feel very unsafe despite never having been a victim … of any crime, um, I think one way to-, one of the ways to be able to-, to contribute to reducing this feeling, is that you can publicise the things you do related to citizen safety, so normally when there's going to be a significant action, the municipalities go to the press, "Hey, today I'm going to … go to a club where there are minors and where they practise prostitution, today I'm going to do a raid where there's a premises that is apparently a hotel, [but] there were sexually exploited minors in there", so I let the press know, the press say, "Oh yeah, thanks, when is it going to be?". "Today,

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[142]Standard practice for municipal venue closures (not specific to sex work).

Saturday, be ready from 8pm", so they join you. (Municipal official, Key Informant Interview 10; Quote 17).

This official's account illustrates how such raids privilege the fears of residents who have not experienced crime over that of sex workers and young people understood to be exploited. It highlights the contradictions of operations ostensibly designed to remove young people from exploitative environments, with no consideration of how these broadcasts threatened their and others' privacy. Indeed, participants described how denigrating media reports increased risks of harassment, mockery, disclosure, and rejection, in and beyond the spaces in which they occurred:

On top of all the reports that have come out about the plaza, everything that's been on TV […] it makes you feel a bit ashamed [...] people pass by and face-on they point at you, "Look, this one's a flete[143]" and they start to bug you, "Hey! How much do you charge?" They look at you and they laugh and turn around and you feel-, you feel bad [...] I don't like people pointing at me, criticising me or making fun of me. (Male participant, Interview 1; Quote 18)

Her mum found out [about her work] because sometimes-, you know they come by here filming, right? And sometimes-, I've also been on television several times, but […] thank God [just] for a few seconds, that's all […] and thank God they haven't seen me, because my-, my family is already asleep at that time. (Trans participant, Interview 9; Quote 19)

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[143]Local term for male sex worker. I do not use the term, in common with Bayer et al. (2014c: 375) who notes that the male sex workers they work with strongly dislike the term.

This activist, meanwhile, felt that broadcasting raids served to "send a message" to organised sex workers who refused to comply with officers' extortion:

> *It was on television that they were raiding that brothel, it wasn't like that, it's just that the girls resisted paying fees [extortion money] and you saw the police grab the girl's face so that she looked right at the camera, so because we don't agree with that act-. This was a message, as if to say, you're helping, if they say that they're in an organisation [and] that they're not going to pay, whoever dares not pay, this is what it's going to be like [when] it's your turn, so the rest, it's as if they repress them, that's it, they're messages that they send them*. (Activist, Key Informant Interview 15; Quote 20)

These reports projected performances—of sex work spaces as dangerous, unhygienic, and deviant; of sex workers as not belonging in public spaces; and of the authorities as capable of reclaiming these spaces—to other temporal and material settings, while media agencies profited from the consumption of these images. This performative governance echoed (historical) regulationist/abolitionist construction of sex workers as dangerous and in danger (Drinot, 2006), while materially threatening their privacy, safety, income, and personal and family relationships.

Meanwhile, officers' demands that sex workers restrict their working hours, and thus potential income, to remain out of the view of children effectively demanded that they privilege the protection of residents' families over that of their own. In so doing, these demands extended the boundaries between deserving citizens and undeserving others to sex workers' homes

They [the police] say we can't go out early because there are children coming out of school […] they say that from midnight when everyone's going to bed, then we can go out [laughs] but at that time, what [clients] are we going to pick up? (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 21)

I'm here for them [my children], I work for them, I live for them (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 22)

These performative spatial governance strategies, then, undid sex workers' citizenship and that of their families, denying their rights to income and protection in and beyond these sites, extending uneven geographies outwards.

Complex relations of space: negotiations, conflicts & citizenship claims

Quietly reworking spaces

Participants described a diverse set of tactics to evade (police) attention and confrontation. Some strove to "*pass unseen*" (e.g. working after dark, staying mobile, avoiding times/spaces known for raids and extortion, dressing/acting discreetly), "*keep quiet*" (e.g. not arguing with officers) and otherwise avoid situations and spaces of risk (e.g. not carrying valuables, hiding earnings, running away during raids). In so doing, they outwardly colluded in performing moral space while quietly reworking these spaces to their own ends. Others described forging social and economic alliances without visibly disrupting the *status quo*—for example, offering *serenazgo* officers soft drinks to encourage them to "*look the other way*", receiving warnings about raids from police officers from one's home town, and befriending older sex workers and others who charged fees for access to work space ("*He doesn't charge me at least because I'm his friend and sometimes when he finds me in a club, he always tells me to join him for a drink.*" Trans participant, Interview 12; Quote 23).

These tactics of evasion and discretion, then, afforded participants immediate financial and physical protection without the sanctions of disrupting the wider moral and economic landscape. This participant, for example, explains how she negotiated with a police officer to continue working while he was on patrol:

> *One day, two days ago […] a police officer came and [said], "You know what, miss?", he said to me like that, "You're a bit exposed (f.), cover yourself up […] From 10pm onwards do what you want […] but I have my job to do, just like you have your job, I have my job" […] when they come intending to talk to you, well, you're a person, you have to understand […] they have a job to do too, they're obeying an order. "Yeah, fine, don't worry, I'll cover up", otherwise what I do is take one sleeve off and [leave] the other part covered […] facing the public, and just the uncovered part towards the wall, so that-, because you know that children pass by, because of that above all.* (Trans participant, Interview 2; Quote 24)

This outward performance of moral space, then, is not simply the outcome of a governing strategy, enacted by a police officer, but a negotiation between an officer and a trans sex worker. She tactically reworks this space to her own economic ends, through the positioning of her body and her clothes. Yet this is contingent upon conforming visibly to the expectations of heteronormatively-ordered space. Indeed, her expressed need to remain unseen to children evokes the symbolically-violent discourse that her gendered body does not belong in spaces imagined for families.

These tactics often relied on other sex workers and their (presumed) peers conforming visibly to the expected moral, and economic, order of these spaces. Those who did not—for example, by dressing and behaving "scandalously", using drugs, or robbing clients—were criticised for

disrupting spaces of work, security, and heteronormativity, and for increasing collective exposure to blame, arrest, and violence:

> *The transsexuals (f.) [...] are more shameless (f.) about [smiling] having sex in the street, I think. They (m.) have sex in the street, us no. They're-, they (m.) dress like they shouldn't dress, us (m.) no. What else can I tell you? They're more 'chonguero' (m.) [always causing a scene] [...] us no. We're discreet about things, because people who don't know and pass through the Plaza [name], what will they think? That you're passing through and going for a walk. But someone who doesn't know and goes along Avenue [name]., I mean they're going to be surprised, aren't they? By the scandalous way that a woman (f.) can dress, a supposed woman (f.).* (Male participant, Interview 10; Quote 25)

By casting trans sex workers as disruptive of tranquillity and gender norms, this participant performs heteronormative space—through his talk and narrated actions—while quietly subverting it through his own work. His account also demonstrates how relations between gendered bodies, practices, and specific places produce uneven, localised geographies of conformity and transgression. Other participants articulated how they physically displaced 'disruptive' others:

> *There's a little fag (m.) who […] he doesn't service [clients], I mean, he ruins our zone, it's not that we discriminate against him but that he ruins our work […] he calls out to the men like that, and standing (f.) right over there like he gropes them, he starts to pat them down, he robs them and runs off, and the guys then think that we all (f.) do that, right? That's why we ended up kicking him out, but I've also worked with travestis around Avenue [name] … around there, I*

work with travestis to the point that they've confused me with them (f.) [laughs], because I'm tall, they confuse me [with them]. (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 26)

By stressing that her frustrations were grounded in occupational, not sexual or gendered, disruption, this woman's account reveals the occupational norms that quietly governed these spaces—albeit with similarly exclusionary effects.

Yet other actors in these spaces could also offer protection. In the absence of recourse to justice, some participants described how relationships with colleagues, friends, partners, and others helped to create safer work spaces:

> *I try to make friends with people who really-, if they see me having problems they're going to help me, if they see that someone's hitting me they're going to defend me […] Now that I have my partner, um, that's it, I work with all the security in the world, because I know that nobody's going to rob me, nobody's going to hit me, because they know him there, I know that maybe if I'm going to go off with a client, the potheads, those ones that see me going aren't going to rob us, neither the client nor me because they know that I'm with that person and they wouldn't mess with me.* (Male participant, Interview 1; Quote 27)

These relationships might have economic and/or affective conditions—some participants (were) paid for or offered gifts for advice and protection, some felt overly dependent on partners as a result. However, they were rarely articulated as fully, or solely, oppressive. Rather, participants presented these relationships as a tactical, albeit sometimes constraining, means of working safely within a broader landscape of insecurity and injustice. Relationships with certain colleagues, partners, and sometimes clients, were also important sources of practical and emotional support amid wider social isolation.

Sex workers' relationships with residents living within in their work zones also had considerable bearing on their position in these spaces. Trans participants in particular described conflicts (as above). Yet residents also comprised business owners, hotel staff, neighbours, and friends who might offer meals, a place to rest during quiet work periods, warnings and refuge during raids, and assistance should a client or anyone else become aggressive. This was in stark contrast with the blame, shame and violence enacted by some non-resident passers-by:

> *Sometimes when people from other places come, pass by in their car, they tell us, "You dirty women, go and wash your underwear!" [But the neighbours] no, they don't say anything. They look at us sometimes […] The majority live in rented houses […] the lady who gives me food, she has her house here […] she says to me, um, "Sweetheart, wouldn't you like, um, some lunch?"[144] […] I pay her and she gives me my food, sometimes when I don't work [i.e. there are no clients] she gives it to me and I pay her later.* (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 28)

> *The guys who play (volleyball) matches let us know, "here comes the raid" and then we know. The ones who play games there, the guys from there, from the neighbourhood.* (Female participant, Interview 11; Quote 29)

> *If I can take clients to my room I take them to my room, because there I know that if something happens at least the lady [housekeeper] is going to jump in, or my neighbours, the rest of the guys that live there are going to jump in for me.* (Male participant, Interview 1; Quote 30)

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[144]She uses the work "menú" to refer to a fixed-price lunch, prepared and sold in the woman's home, an arrangement that Nencel (2001: 115-147) describes in detail.

Notions that residents were a homogenous moral public requiring protection from sex workers thus ignored the reality of the social and economic relations between them, not to mention the fact that some sex workers—particularly trans and male sex workers—were themselves resident in the neighbourhood.

(Spatial) citizenship claims

In addition to quietly reworking spaces to preserve income and safety, some participants articulated purposeful claims to urban space, through interactions with police, *serenazgo*, residents, and people who charged them fees:

> *I would say [to officers/people who charge fees], "Why, if the street is everyone's? We're not working with your body or your house, or your street, the street is everyone's, isn't it? From the pavement inwards is your house, but from there outwards, the street, there's no reason for us to pay [a] fee".* (Female participant, Interview 18; Quote 31)

This participant evokes a notion of public space as shared and democratic. Others staked their claim to work space by organising informally to resist extortion by state and non-state actors:

> *In the area where we work (m.) we're not in the habit (f.) of paying anybody, not pirañas, police, serenazgos or anyone [...] the guy [a 'piraña'] would go and charge [my friend (f.)] two soles [...] and the girl would give him two soles, three soles [...] But he would only charge her until one time the man, the guy, now wanted to charge everyone (f.) [...] The girl said to him, "No. Why should I pay you? Here we don't pay anyone. Are you crazy?" And so the guy hit my friend (f.) with a bottle, and so that made me angry [...] we came to blows [...] I gave him what he deserved, right? I hit him, maybe I'm not someone who fights but yes, I try to defend myself.* (Trans participant, Interview 3; Quote 32)

Amid violent stakes, these trans sex workers constitute themselves as citizens entitled to occupy urban spaces and generate income through them, unconditionally, *despite* their effective lack of legal recourse with which to challenge such extortion. They rupture the script of conforming to the economic demands of this space, to generate workspaces for themselves and their peers. Such claims, then, can be considered *acts of occupational citizenship*—those through which sex workers constitute themselves as citizens with the right to occupy space and generate income in it. Similarly, in the context of the earlier-described *serenazgo* officer's attempt to evict male sex workers from the plaza, the activist's intervention challenges his moral and legal authority over public space and the differential treatment afforded to male sex workers—and other men presumed to be *pasivo*—relative to other citizens:

> *He told the serenazgo, "Who do you think you are? Don't you know [...] we (m.) can go and report you and get you kicked out [fired]?" [...] He insulted [name], he said that [...] faggots (m.) such and such [...] there was a really full-on row. The police came, and [name] also started to tell him, "[...] He is insulting me, I mean look at everyone sitting there. Why doesn't he kick them out too? Why us? For [...] having another, different type of sexual preference [...] this is discrimination [...] Why doesn't he kick out the gentlemen at the back there? And on top of that, to come to "those faggots who are giving [the plaza] a bad image", please! [...] I am a worker (f.), a worker (m.) [...] who gets the guys together to have their [...] [HIV/STI] check-ups."* (Male participant, Interview 10; Quote 33)

By vocally refusing to collude in the performance of heteronormatively-ordered space and drawing attention to his health promotion outreach role, this man contests and disrupts the authorities' performances of moral, healthy spaces, and their *undoing* of his and other men's

citizenship. He constitutes himself and his peers as actors, and the plaza as a site of citizenship—with rights to occupy these spaces, on biological ("*check-ups*"), sexual ("*preference*") and occupational grounds ("*I'm a worker*"). The emphasis on his health promotion role highlights both the synergistic and limiting effect of coupling occupational and biological citizenship claims. On the one hand, this implicitly puts forward conformity to responsible health practices as grounds for belonging in 'public' space. Yet it also demonstrates how activists are using their recognition as public health actors to make claims to fair treatment by law enforcement (Lakkimsetti, 2014). While these acts may be rare and spontaneous, they reflect important connections between formal activism and everyday acts of resistance.

Yet the ways in which traditional media discredited (trans) sex workers' claims to space and justice, highlight how occupational citizenship claims could be undone by dominant institutions, in so doing limiting the possibilities, sites, and scales of such acts of citizenship:

> *We [...] called [a] journalist, when they [the police] injured my friend (f.) so that they could see what the police did, but none-, not one journalist came in that moment [...] We called channel America but they don't want to come because [...] they said that we (m.) travestis are-, I mean, we exaggerate (f.), we're, I mean, right? We're frowned upon (f.).* (Trans participant, Interview 12; Quote 34)

The presumption that "*travestis exaggerate*" demonstrates how their claims to justice are dismissed based on their gendered personhood, when seeking recognition of violence that *targets* their gendered bodies. This also offers a further example of how authorities and media

co-perform a dominant spatial order, restricting (trans) sex workers' recognition as citizens and reproducing the everyday violence of their suffering going unheard.

An activist we interviewed as a key informant described how she and her colleagues had successfully secured the release of female sex workers from detention, with the help of the Ombudsman, after receiving mobile phone calls from women during raids. They had also worked to sensitise officers to sex workers' realities and rights, informally in police stations and through formal training sessions—prompting some officers to contact them anonymously when sex workers were brought in. She and her colleagues had managed to record abuses on several occasions, using the footage to demand accountability and justice, and raise awareness of such abuses via social media—in so doing, subverting the dominant use of media to generate new sites of activist citizenship. Yet some sex workers resisted joining organisations, she observed, either because they felt they could "*defend themselves*" or out of fear of being outed. Indeed, she described police warning sex workers that organisations would disclose their identity, despite her reassurances that "*they would have to kill us for our colleague's name to come out*" (Activist, Key Informant Interview 15; Quote 35). Indeed, relatively few participants had accessed statutory, non-governmental or activist-led organisations for legal advice, support or to report mistreatment by public officials.

Sex workers' acts of occupational citizenship—and related claims to protection, freedom, and justice—went some way to contesting the uneven geographies of citizenship produced at the intersections of police and *serenazgo* raids, spatial restrictions, invasive media broadcasts, "urban renewal" strategies, and wider norms governing "moral" space. Yet these acts risked direct sanctions—of violence, disclosure, discrimination and arrest—and the everyday

violence of their claims going unheard. The way in which such claims were enhanced through links with activist organisations, peer outreach programmes and legal services, highlights the transformative potential of such alliances. Yet their reliance on already-respected institutions and discourses (Read, 2012)—and the silencing powers of police and media—demonstrates the fragility of such acts amid intersecting forces of criminalisation, blame, and shame that continue to dismiss sex workers', and sexual and gender minorities' voices.

Discussion

In this analysis we have argued that, by targeting and displacing sex workers operating outside of the licensed venue system in central Lima, police and *serenazgo* raids, media broadcasts and some residents' actions perform ostensibly moral, safe, and healthy spaces. These performances and their effects are both discursive and material (Orlikowski and Scott, 2015). They cast sex workers as *symbols* and *victims* of dangerous, deviant, and risky spaces, their displacement necessary to "reclaim" and "sanitise" these spaces (Hubbard, 2000). In so doing, they enact boundaries between in-place residents and out-of-place others (Cresswell, 1996; Sabsay, 2011), discounting sex workers' citizenship on sexual, biological, and occupational grounds. This restricts their access to safe work spaces, income, justice and, in some cases, housing. Furthermore, the civic meaning of the spaces from which they are displaced, the extension of these performances elsewhere, and the authorities' failure to provide protection and justice regardless of where they are construct sex workers as *always* out of place (Cresswell, 1996). These performances operate through and give meaning to the assemblages of places, bodies, tools, and technologies involved in raids, broadcasts, and everyday confrontations. Materially and discursively, they (re)produce uneven geographies of violence and citizenship.

Our findings add to existing research in Peru (Runa, 2007; Salazar, 2009; Cavagnoud, 2014) and internationally (Nichols, 2010; Rhodes et al., 2008; Sherman et al., 2015) documenting entrenched practices of police violence and extortion, and the structural, symbolic, and everyday violence of failing to protect sex workers—blaming them for the violence they experience and discrediting their voices (Krüsi et al., 2016). They also render visible the *performance* and *performativity* (Gregson and Rose, 2000) of such governing strategies, as authorities used their efforts to restore 'moral' spaces—at times in collusion with mainstream media—to obscure their failure to produce safe ones. This fostered a climate of impunity—not least for offending officers—and sent a message that the privacy, dignity, and safety of people selling sex did not matter, contributing to the erasure of their suffering and further restricting their citizenship. Scepticism over the authorities' willingness and ability to tackle violent crime mirrors the wider population's mistrust in the criminal justice system, amid unsuccessful institutional reforms, extensive funding cuts and privatisation of security (Plöger, 2012). Yet while access to protection, justice, and social security is restricted for all economically and racially-marginalised communities in Peru (Plöger, 2012), the situation is exacerbated for sex workers, and sexual and gender minorities, at the intersections of criminalisation, policing, shame, and blame. This is particularly profound for trans sex workers, amid attacks on their gendered bodies and personhood and notions that "*travestis exaggerate*", in a context of media representations that mock, deride, and hypersexualise them (Runa, 2007).

Participants' suspicions that raids and evictions were economically- and, at times, politically-motivated conveyed their attunement to the wider power relations of these spaces. In the context of municipal efforts to attract consumers, investors, and tourists (Gandolfo,

2009; Municipalidad de Lima, 2014), sex workers' displacement becomes implicated in neoliberal, revanchist visions—reinforcing the gendered, racial, and economic power relations of the urban landscape at local and transnational scales. Our findings echo both long-standing efforts to erase "vice", health "hazards", and disorder from Lima and other city centres (Drinot, 2006; Van Meir, 2017), and revanchist urban renewal strategies targeting sex workers (Blanchette and da Silva, 2011; Hubbard, 2004a; Krüsi et al., 2016; Sabsay, 2011) and others working in informal economies (Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Swanson, 2007; Aufseeser, 2014; Mackie et al., 2014; Gandolfo, 2014).

Yet counter to revanchist visions, participants' accounts reflected complex geographies produced through the interactions of these governing strategies and participants' tactical reworking of these spaces (de Certeau, 2011)—in common with findings elsewhere in Peru (Aufseeser, 2014; Mackie et al., 2014), Latin America (Van Meir, 2017; Véliz and O'Neill, 2011) and internationally (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003). While tactics of avoidance, discretion and/or strategic alliance conformed in part to expected norms of gender and sexuality, they also worked to preserve micro-spaces of income, safety, and affection in a broader landscape of insecurity and precarity. Understanding these practices simply as a reflection of self-disciplining (Foucault, 1991), 'misrecognition' of the dominant order (Bourdieu, 1979: 92) and/or powerlessness (Wojcicki and Malala, 2001) would thus be a partial reading. What might look and sound like quiet conformity at times constituted tactical, albeit structurally-contingent, trade-offs to maximise income, protection and, at times, affection.

Participants' relations with residents also revealed more complex lived spaces than those envisaged in urban renewal strategies, as they each sought to earn a living in an informal

and unequal economy. Trans participants described more antagonistic relationships, but participants of all genders also described some harmonious ones—similar to the heterogeneity reported in previous research (Runa, 2007; CARE-Perú, 2008a; Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008; Nencel, 2001). This is not to suggest that our findings reflect a broad acceptance of sex work(ers). As Nencel (2001: 125) observes, while female sex workers in central Lima shared many of the same conditions, norms, and values with their (female) neighbours, their neighbours may view them as part of the "bad elements" to be avoided in the neighbourhood. Yet our findings do reveal the contradictions and uneven power relations of institutional strategies that purport to "reclaim" community spaces while disregarding sex workers and other economically-marginalised residents who also constitute those communities.

Participants occasionally articulated what we consider *acts of occupational citizenship*, as they and their peers claimed their rights to occupy and generate income through public spaces, via purposeful acts that broke from outward performances of 'moral' space. In claiming these rights, sex workers constituted themselves as actors of citizenship (Isin, 2009), and Lima's plazas, streets, and police stations as sites of citizenship, *despite* their civic erasure in and beyond these spaces. Meanwhile, activists' use of contemporary communication technology transformed media from a site of domination (CCTV, broadcast media) to one of activist citizenship (camera phones, social media). In common with Rojas (2013), we apply Isin (2009)'s acts of citizenship to struggles that relate not to national borders but to the unseen yet acutely felt boundaries between those deemed to 'belong' and those not. This is not a matter of citizenship status, then, but its relational enactment (Isin, 2009)—its *doing* and *undoing* through the uneven patriarchal, capitalist, and postcolonial power relations of urban space.

We use the term *occupational* to reflect the dual, interconnected claims of such acts: to occupy these spaces *for* and *beyond* earning a living, on a par with other citizens—in other words, to participate fully in the social, economic, and civic life of the city (Fraser, 2009). In so doing, we do not suggest that all participants saw selling sex as a job or a profession (see Chapter 6), that occupational citizenship claims do not also make claims on sexual, biological, or other grounds, or that they are necessarily emancipatory or widely embraced. Indeed, some participants were highly critical of, and sought to displace, those whose non-normative sexual and/or gendered performances disrupted their workspaces. Others sought to conform to the heteronormative expectations of space to 'protect' children. Furthermore, occupational citizenship claims were sometimes amplified, contingent, and/or undone, on biological and/or sexual grounds. Yet by distinguishing between these forms of citizenship analytically, even if they are not separable ontologically, we seek to emphasise how such inclusion/exclusion operates at the (spatialised) intersections of labour, gender, and sexuality.

We acknowledge critiques over the limits of public space as a site of sexual citizenship, when what may be required is greater access to private spaces out of the dominant gaze (Hubbard, 2001). Indeed, some participants did articulate a desire for such spaces and many were critical of the closure of nearby hotels and the lack of indoor work environments. We also acknowledge Cabezas (2004)'s argument that sexual citizenship claims are likely to be more effective than those grounded in labour rights for people who do not consider themselves sex workers. Nevertheless, our findings suggest perhaps an additional platform of shared struggles over income-generating spaces, whether or not participants consider such practices as labour. Research in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, respectively, highlights trans sex workers' and informal street vendors' shared spatial struggles amid increasing

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privatisation, police raids and high rents (Garcia and Lehman, 2011), and their uniting to resist their spatial exclusion (Di Pietro, 2016). In Argentina, Hardy (2010b)'s research demonstrates the successes of sex workers' alignment with labour and other social movements—although subsequent work demonstrates the fragility of such gains amid increasingly abolitionist discourses (Van Meir, 2017; Fassi, 2015) and wider panics relating to gender and sexuality (Sabsay, 2011).

The capacity for everyday acts of occupational citizenship to be amplified and/or muted by links to formal entities highlights their potential and limits in relation to disrupting dominant power relations. Activists' support of sex workers' everyday struggles highlights productive connections between informal acts of resistance and formalised collective action. Meanwhile, by forging links with sympathetic practitioners, academics and institutions, these organisations have been able to position themselves to represent their community and support the redistributive (Fraser, 2009) needs of sex workers for whom the stakes of direct resistance pose too great a threat to their income, safety, and privacy. Yet the fact that few participants were connected to these organisations, together with their reliance on members volunteering (CARE-Perú, 2008a), highlight the precariousness of such citizenship claims, amid persistent stigma and criminalisation, and scarce funding for sex worker-led organisations, locally and globally (Cáceres et al., 2010; Mama Cash et al., 2014).

There are several limitations to this study. Our focus allowed in-depth analysis in a specific neighbourhood, but we did not interview anyone currently working in organised venues, international migrants, third parties (e.g. managers), residents or other occupants (e.g. street vendors)—all of whom may have proffered additional insights into the use of, and

claims to, these spaces. Nor can we know to what extent our findings reflect other areas, sectors (e.g. brothels, bars, saunas) and spaces unrelated with sex work. Including participants of diverse genders allowed us to examine how gender (identity) intersected with sex worker status but this necessarily limited exploration of experience within any one gender group. As part of PG's doctoral research, analysis and writing were primarily her work and were lengthier processes than policy-oriented research and activism. Co-researchers, meanwhile, were more accustomed to counselling, activism, and their more immediate actions. Yet our participatory approach helped to orient the research towards sex workers' concerns and provided reciprocal learning experiences, as co-researchers gained qualitative research skills and PG gained an understanding of the politics of sex work(er activism) in Lima. While our respective roles in public health and activism are likely to have shaped narratives co-produced during interviews, our reflections on this process helped to drive analysis of how accounts related to, diverged from, and complicated (counter-)discourses regarding sex work and "responsible" health and other practices (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, we aimed to understand sex workers' material-discursive practices rather than to reveal objective 'truths'. The fact that Spanish is not PG's first language added complexity, but supervisors, advisors, co-researchers and colleagues provided advice over interpretation. To avoid reproducing the hegemony and exclusivity of English-language academic scholarship, we plan to make a Spanish-language translation of the author-accepted manuscript publicly available.

Policy & practice implications

There is an urgent need to improve how police and *serenazgo* officers treat sex workers and to hold the responsible officials accountable for violence, mistreatment, and corruption. This requires policies and systems that allow people who sell sex to report violence and crimes

against them without fear of reprisals, arrest, or blame. It also demands thorough and transparent investigations of such reports, including violence, extortion, unlawful arrest, and detention by public officials. There is a need for police and *serenazgo* training to include sensitisation to sex workers' realities and rights, developed and delivered in close collaboration with sex worker, LGBT and trans rights organisations, the Ombudsman, relevant practitioners and academics, building on the successes that activists describe in this study and elsewhere in Peru (Lalani, 2014; Contreras, 2011). Improved monitoring would help to draw attention to the violence and discrimination sex workers face (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010) and could be incorporated into or modelled on a similar, existing initiative for anonymous reporting by sexual and gender minorities (El Observatorio de Derechos LGBT y VIH/SIDA, 2014)—ideally with the support of the Ombudsman (Salazar, 2009) to support cases through the criminal justice system. These initiatives require political and resource commitment at a time when Peru is no longer eligible for future Global Fund grants—the primary source of funding for community-led organisations addressing the needs and rights of sex workers, sexual and gender minorities in this setting (Cáceres et al., 2010).

Participants voiced varied preferences for different work spaces, mirroring the debate between activists over safe work zones—where sex workers could work with police protection—versus suburban red-light districts (PLAPERTS, 2017). Given past experiences in Lima and elsewhere (Nencel, 2001; Katsulis, 2009), it seems unlikely that a *zona rosa* would be widely used by or inclusive of a broad range of sex workers. Safe work zones would likely be an improvement on the current situation, provided that no restrictions are placed on who is entitled to sell sex within these zones and their locations are decided upon in consultation with a diverse range of sex workers. Experiences in Mexico demonstrate how mandatory

registration and screening requirements have excluded the most marginalised sex workers from tolerance zones, exposing them to greater threats of violence (Katsulis, 2009). A broader decriminalisation of 'informal' sex work is likely to be yet more effective and inclusive but would require concurrent efforts to tackle cultures of blame and shame within police, municipal and wider authorities, with transparent systems to ensure that sex workers are protected, treated with dignity and respect, and have access to justice, and that holds those who commit crimes against sex workers to account. Legal recognition of sex work as labour would help to provide a framework for policies based on improved working conditions and citizenship rights, as opposed to those grounded in misconceptions and moral judgements (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010). Ultimately, policies that maximise sex workers' choice over work spaces, involve sex workers in the development of such policies and recognise their diverse economic and social realities, are likely to be the most effective means of ensuring their safety and inclusion (Van Meir, 2017).

Yet required changes do not relate solely to sex work laws and their enactment. There is also a need for accountability over the harmful effects of invasive media coverage, and citizen safety and urban renewal policies which seek to "reclaim" community spaces by displacing sex workers, sexual and gender minorities and disavowing them as citizens (Ross, 2010). Together with police and *serenazgo* raids, these practices disrupt sex workers' income, safe workspaces, housing, and privacy, increasing their vulnerability to violence, isolation, and exclusion. Dialogue between a diverse range of sex workers, residents and municipal officials could help to challenge 'othering' and avoid the selective use of residents' concerns to justify municipal urban governance strategies (Salazar, 2009). It could also help to develop a shared understanding of each other's needs and struggles, in relation to the use of space and

joint approaches to addressing insecurity. Counter to notions of *reclaiming* community spaces, this could help to *transform* them into ones of safety and mutual respect, recognising the diverse realities, needs, identities and aspirations of their constituents.

The Ministry of Health's (MINSA)latest HIV/STI strategy has heeded activists' and academics' calls to incorporate strategies to address violence (MINSA, 2015). Its implementation will require integration of violence prevention and support services that are inclusive and respectful of sex workers, sexual and gender minorities, and other economically and racially-marginalised communities, and the involvement of sex worker, LGBT and trans organisations, learning the lessons of previous programmes (Boesten, 2010; Ewig, 2006). It will also require MINSA to participate in dialogue—alongside sex workers—with police, municipalities, and other relevant institutions, to address violence by police and *serenazgo* officers, to ensure that reports of violence are taken seriously, and to tackle less visible but pervasive structural, symbolic, and everyday violence. This includes institutional violence, discrimination, and extortion, as well as policies and practices that displace sex workers, limit safe working spaces, and restrict their access to justice.

Chapter 6 (Paper 2)

In this chapter, I build on the analyses presented in Chapter 5 to explore how participants' narratives relating to their work and identities align with and complicate (occupational) citizenship claims and everyday resistance. Here I report on an analysis grounded in the core conceptual categories of *performance of self vs other*, *stigma processes* and *effects*, and *deflecting* and *resisting stigma* (shame and blame). I examine how participants' discursive practices of foregrounding certain identities and working practices functioned to manage stigma and limit its negative material and discursive effects. I also consider how they simultaneously reproduced, reworked, and disrupted dominant power relations in relation to sex work, gender, sexuality, class, and race. I examine how these practices recast, blurred, and contested the boundaries between deserving citizens and 'problematic' others, with implications for collective action and public health programmes.

Sex workers' narratives of work & identity: implications for stigma management, collective action & public health

Introduction

Representations of sex work(ers): law, public health & activism

Notions of what selling sex means, who is involved and in what circumstances, are central to related governance, public health interventions and activism. Efforts to prohibit and regulate prostitution have long reflected and (re)produced representations of people who sell sex as deviant, dangerous and diseased 'others', threatening families, communities, nation-states and colonial powers (Guy, 1991; Drinot, 2006; Hubbard, 2004a); in contemporary terms, an anti-social 'nuisance' disrupting public safety, health and urban 'development' (Scoular, 2010; Sanders, 2009; Bell, 1994). Abolitionist campaigns, meanwhile, have variously characterised sex workers as pitiful (female) victims requiring 'rescue' from vice, unhygienic conditions and/or exploitation, amid anxieties over shifting gender roles, immigration, and other global transformations (Drinot, 2006; Scoular, 2010; Brown and Sanders, 2017). These discourses—reproduced through media and academic portrayals (Hallgrimsdottir, 2006; Vanwesenbeeck, 2001)— contribute to the violence and violations that sex workers experience (Decker et al., 2015; Krüsi et al., 2016) and the systematic discounting of their voices in civic, political, and academic spaces (Price, 2012: 68-71).

Despite their erasure in sex work policy debates (Levy and Jakobsson, 2014), the cultural representation of trans and male sex workers has been no less dichotomous. Media and scholarship have conventionally located 'deviance' and 'damage' within the individual male sex worker and/or his environment, presumed to be characterised by violence, illness,

crime, exploitation, and discrimination (Bimbi, 2007; Scott et al., 2005; Kaye, 2007; Minichiello et al., 2013). The scarce literature on trans sex workers' lives reflects broader discursive shifts, from profound demonization and pathologisation to growing recognition of the pervasive harms of transphobic violence and discrimination (e.g. Lyons et al., 2017; Rhodes et al., 2008). Nevertheless, much public health work continues to conflate trans women with 'men who have sex with men' (Perez-Brumer et al., 2016).

Despite and in direct resistance to these representations and related political erasure, people who sell sex have organised locally, nationally, and internationally, to denounce their mistreatment and demand the recognition of their human, labour, and citizenship rights (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998). In so doing, they have generated a counter-discourse of sex workers' rights (Price, 2012), largely led by female sex workers but increasingly organising with trans and male sex workers (ASWA, 2017; ICRSE, 2015). Since the HIV epidemic emerged, institutions which historically constructed sex workers as threats to public health have gradually sought to collaborate with them (Leite et al., 2015). Sex workers' increasing involvement in developing HIV policies, interventions, and research has fostered a reorientation towards sex workers' primary concerns and the contexts of their lives (see e.g. Kerrigan et al., 2015; Cornish, 2006b; Ahmed, 2011; WHO et al., 2013)—in common with broader shifts towards tackling health inequalities structurally (Blankenship et al., 2000; Marmot, 2005). Together with the social science and community literature (e.g. Vanwesenbeeck, 2001; Weitzer, 2009; Crago, 2008; RedTraSex, 2016b), this has helped to situate sex workers' health relative to political, social, economic, and cultural influences and global transformations (Shannon et al., 2014; Aggleton and Parker, 2015; Minichiello and Scott, 2014; Katsulis, 2009), and the material, symbolic and affective opportunities that sex work may

offer (e.g. Kulick, 1998; Sausa et al., 2007). Sex workers have adopted multiple roles, as health promoters, programme managers, researchers, and advisors (see e.g. Lakkimsetti, 2014; Blanchard et al., 2017; RedTraSex, 2007).

Yet sex workers continue to be constructed as 'risky' (threatening) or 'at-risk' (vulnerable) (Krüsi et al., 2016) in much public health discourse—reflected in responsibilising them for avoiding 'risky' practices without attending to linked social and structural conditions, and/or charactering them as powerless in the face of risk (see e.g. Shannon et al., 2008a; Krüsi et al., 2017; Wojcicki and Malala, 2001). Broader discourses surrounding sex work are also implicitly reinforced by the silence of some public health and medical professionals in legislative debates (Grenfell et al., 2018). In some contexts, contradictory punitive state responses to sex work have also threatened achievements made via sex workers' collaborations with Ministries of Health (Murray, 2015).

In this paper, we draw on participatory qualitative research with people who sell sex in Lima, Peru—where most sex workers operate outside of licensed premises (Nencel, 2001) and where sex worker and trans rights movements are growing (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010; Miluska Vida y Dignidad, 2017)—to explore narratives of work and identity, and their implications for stigma, collective action, and public health.

Managing stigma & identity

Pheterson (1993; 1990: 397) employed the term 'whore stigma' to describe the "social and legal branding of women" who are thought to be or behave like prostitutes, based on the "female dishonour" of having multiple and indiscriminate sexual partners—a stigma not exclusive to, but exacerbated for, women who sell sex. While trans and male sex workers may not be subject

to this same notion of (dis)honour, they experience particular stigma related to assumed sexual and gendered transgression (Padilla et al., 2008; Nichols, 2010; Rhodes et al., 2008; Lyons et al., 2017). Research across diverse settings also reflects the stigma that sex workers experience at the intersections of criminalisation, racism, xenophobia, poverty, drug use, and HIV (see e.g.Rhodes et al., 2008; Sherman et al., 2015; Scambler and Paoli, 2008; Logie et al., 2011; Lyons et al., 2017).

Female sex workers variously describe managing sex work stigma by passing (keeping their work secret), covering (selective disclosure) and "coming out" fully (Koken, 2012); and by using drugs (Brewis and Linstead, 2000), mockery, and humour (Downe, 1999). They also describe enacting boundaries between work and personal lives, physically, socially, and emotionally (Robillard, 2010; Day, 2007: 34-39). These may function to manage stigma and identity (Brewis and Linstead, 2000), as well as capitalising on clients' desires (Sanders, 2005), but they may also involve considerable emotional labour (Brewis and Linstead, 2000; Hochschild, 1983). A smaller literature indicates how men manage sex work and sexuality stigma by hiding their work (Koken et al., 2004; Infante et al., 2009), inventing other occupations and introducing girlfriends to family to "perform heterosexual normalcy" (Padilla et al., 2008: 385). Research across diverse settings, including in Latin America, also illustrates how female sex workers may foreground their identities as mothers who make sacrifices to support their children (Rivers-Moore, 2010; Carrasco et al., 2017; Zalwango et al., 2010; Nencel, 2001) and men may emphasize the economic basis of their work to resist homosexuality stigma (Padilla et al., 2008). In Tarija, Bolivia, women who sold sex presented

themselves both as mothers and as honourable *señoras*[145], reflecting culturally idealised feminine attributes of honour, nurture and maternal sacrifice while also challenging the dominant imaginary of sex work(ers) (Robillard, 2010). While few such data are available for trans sex workers, tactics for avoiding client violence or rejection include seeking to "pass" as (cis) women (Lyons et al., 2017).

Counter to 'whore stigma', Pheterson (1993; 1990) argued that distinct notions of honour and respectability operate within (female) sex worker communities. Examples include integrity, professionalism, and authenticity (Lindemann, 2013); prioritising safety, health, and hygiene (Simic and Rhodes, 2009); operating in regulated venues and abiding by registration requirements (Robillard, 2010; Foley, 2017); maintaining control over relationships with clients and working autonomously (Weitzer, 2017). Emphasis on good working practices might also connect with other responsible identities—for example, women in Tijuana, Mexico, framing their consistent use of condoms with clients as a means of protecting their children, for whom they were the sole providers (Choudhury, 2010). Yet such representations can also evoke a distant Other (Simic and Rhodes, 2009), at times through direct criticism or pity of those not confirming to such identities and/or practices (Robillard, 2010), producing "regimes of stigmatization" (Lindemann, 2013). Thus, while the importance of sex workers' peer support networks is well-established (see e.g. Shdaimah and Leon, 2016), these dynamics emerge as sex workers navigate intense economic competition, blame, and shame, and contingent threats to their income, safety, freedom, and personhood (Cáceres et al., 2015).

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[145]Literally "lady", but a term that in this context infers a particular position in local class and ethnic hierarchies.

Drawing largely on scholarship in and about the Global North, Weitzer (2017) argues that everyday tactics of stigma management have little effect on the *status quo.* Instead he urges a focus on stigma resistance—collective and structural. Yet he does not consider how tactics of everyday stigma management may relate to, and/or complicate, contemporary grassroots sex worker activism, and broader gendered, racialized and economic power relations (Phoenix, 2017). As well as serving political goals (Hardy, 2010a; Jeffreys, 2015), framing sex work as occupational (Koken et al., 2004), altruistic (Robillard, 2010; Koken et al., 2004) and—in the case of male sex workers—normative within the gay community (Koken et al., 2004), can help to resist stigma and improve self-esteem, through a "reimagining [of] the meaning of sex work away from deviancy", and the power of a worker identity (Hardy, 2010a).

Yet women may resist a "sex worker" identity where lines between "leisure and labor" are blurred and the term has racist connotations, as for those participating in sex and romantic tourism in Cuba and Dominican Republic (Cabezas, 2004: 1003). Similarly, in the U.S., Latin American immigrant women working in *cantinas* (bars/canteens) employ ambiguity and euphemisms to describe their work[146] and relationships with men (commercial or otherwise), which functions to "partially distort, often very subtly" work-related stigma while preserving social support and dignity by conforming to culturally-expected gender norms (Fernández-Esquer and Agoff, 2012: 417). Fernández-Esquer and Agoff (2012) interpret this not solely as the outcome of "conscious deliberation" but also "the unconscious dispositions of the

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[146]They provide company, and may also offer paid sexual services, to men who buy them beer.

habitus"—made visible by the few women who resisted these norms by expressing pride in their work.

Study setting: sex work governance & activism in Lima

In the early 1900s, Peru adopted a legal regulation approach to sex work, which allowed female sex workers to operate in licensed venues if they registered with the authorities and complied with weekly venereal disease screening (Nencel, 2001; Drinot, 2006). This followed a decades-long debate between 'hygienists', who sought to "isolate and concentrate" sex work(ers) on public health and moral grounds, and those arguing for the industry to be abolished amid panics over 'white slavery', mirroring concurrent debates across Latin America and in Europe (Drinot, 2006). Peru's abolitionist discourse has gradually been superseded by a feminist discourse of "sexual slavery" (Nencel, 2001: 46), broadly aligning with radical feminist abolitionists elsewhere (Jeffreys, 1997; Raymond, 1999).

Nencel (2001: 3-4) argues that repetitive regulationist/abolitionist debates and stigmatising media representations have produced "gendered enclosures" that profoundly limit the gendered subjectivities available to women who sell sex in Lima. Media depictions (re)produce notions of women who sell sex 'clandestinely' as dangerous, uncontrollable, irresponsible vectors of disease, and all prostitutes as either shameless "whores" working for luxuries or pleasure, or sacrificial mothers in need[147], while dismissing their demands and struggles (Nencel, 2001: 36-49). Women are thus left in a "no-way-out situation", their collective actions "disempowered by the media" and unsupported by feminist organisations (Nencel, 2001: 218-9). Nureña et al. (2011), meanwhile, argues that public policies continue to

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[147]She attributes this dichotomous representation attributable, in part, to preoccupation, across the debate, with why women do or do not sell sex (Nencel, 2001: 216).

reflect partial, stereotyped understandings of trans and male sex work, linking it with "poverty, crime and immorality", without attending to the diverse situations and needs of men and trans people who sell sex.

In the 1990s, Nencel (2001: 3-4) considered a discourse of sex work inconceivable in Peru. Since then, sex worker organisations—some founded by Ministry of Health-trained peer outreach workers[148]—have formed a national movement, forging links with other sex worker, LGBT and trans rights movements, public health academics and institutions, both locally and internationally (Contreras, 2011; PLAPERTS, 2017; Salazar et al., 2009). Sex worker activists have participated in national HIV strategising and local sex work policy discussions, and worked to challenge police corruption, violence, and discrimination, and improve access to justice and health care (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010; Lalani, 2014). In 2008, they worked with trans rights organisations, civil society, academics, and human rights lawyers to develop a bill to recognise sex work as labour and protect sex workers' safety and rights (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010). Although not passed, activists and allies continue to advocate for such laws (PLAPERTS, 2017; RedTraSex, 2016a).

Yet only a minority of people who sell sex are members of sex worker organisations (CARE-Perú, 2008b; Salazar et al., 2009). Male sex workers in particular may not identify as sex workers, viewing their involvement as individual and transient (Cáceres et al., 2015; Bayer et al., 2014c). Sexual and gender minorities, and trans people in particular, also face specific barriers to accessing housing, education, employment and healthcare amid widespread

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[148]State HIV/STI government clinics, and HIV activist-led NGOs, employ female sex workers, men who have sex with men and trans women/*travestis* as peer outreach workers (*promotores/as*) to provide health promotion advice and supplies and encourage them to attend monthly sexual health screens (Konda et al., 2009).

homophobia, transphobia and family rejection, particularly those migrating to Lima from other provinces as minors and/or without social support networks[149] (Campuzano, 2008). Understanding how sex workers of diverse genders talk about their work, their identities and their rights is thus of importance for collective activism, and for public health programmes seeking to address sex workers' inequalities in health, safety, access to care and justice.

Approach

Goffman (1963: 14) conceptualised stigma as a "discrediting" (visible) or "discreditable" (invisible) characteristic generated through social interactions between those who do and do not possess the attribute in question; described by Link and Phelan (2001) as involving iterative processes of labelling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination. Yet stigma may also be 'felt' as an internalised sense of shame or fear of being actively stigmatised (Scambler and Hopkins, 1986). Scambler and Paoli (2008) further distinguish between *shame* and *blame*, the former denoting a form of "social unacceptability for which the bearer is not personally responsible"—a state of *being*—and the latter a deviation from accepted norms for which the individual has some "moral culpability"—a wrong*doing* (Scambler and Paoli, 2008: 1849). By inferring *no* and *all* responsibility on the individual, shame and blame privilege structure and agency respectively—reflected in sex work discourses of victimhood and danger/immorality (Krüsi et al., 2016).

Stigma, then, is also structural, working to (re)produce dominant power relations, inequalities, and hierarchies (Parker and Aggleton, 2003: 16), linking closely with concepts of

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[149]In order to access health and social care, minors require parental consent and adults must hold a national ID card issued on presentation of one's birth certificate (which must be collected from one's region of origin).

structural, symbolic, and everyday violence (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois, 2004; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2004; Farmer, 2003). Symbolic violence is of particular relevance, whereby current arrangements of power—reinforced through language, imagery and cultural practices—are recognised as the "order of things", including by those dominated (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2004). Yet this is not to say that marginalised groups do not question and resist underlying power imbalances. Following Foucault (1979; 1991), we understand power to be exercised through social relations, norms, and techniques, and through the *governmentality* that encourages citizens to govern themselves and their communities. We pay close attention to how systems constrain and enable human action, and how individuals rework and reject dominant norms (Giddens, 1984), including through acts of everyday resistance (de Certeau, 2011; Scott, 1985).

Goffman (1963) outlined individual forms of stigma management, but he did not consider how stigma may be *resisted* (Weitzer, 2017). Thoits (2011) differentiates analytically between how stigmatised individuals *deflect* stigma, by masking or distancing themselves from its source (e.g. avoiding situations in which it could be revealed, downplaying its importance), and *challenge* it by questioning its premise (which may involve confrontation). Yet she focuses primarily on individual stigma resistance. Campbell and Deacon (2006: 413) call for close attention to the interconnections between individual and macro-structural processes of stigma and stigma resistance, to better understand how individuals may self-discipline "in ways that support the economic and political *status quo*" and how, in specific circumstances, they may act to "contest, even transform, stigmatising representations and practices".

We draw on this diverse theoretical work to examine how stigma is navigated, (re)produced and challenged, through material-discursive practices (Barad, 1996; Reis, 2014) and reflexive thought (Campbell and Cornish, 2012). We examine the intersecting lines along which sex workers may experience, (re)produce, and resist stigma, in relation not only to sex worker status but also gender, race, poverty, sexual and gender identity, and (presumed) HIV status (Nichols, 2010; Logie et al., 2011; Crenshaw, 1991). We pay careful attention to participants' articulations of identity and difference (Sabsay, 2012) yet conscious that such categories are dynamic, and their boundaries may be reworked and/or contested (McCall, 2005).

We drew on participatory approaches to centre sex workers' voices and concerns (O'Neill, 1996) and conscious of the role of academic and other dominant representations in reproducing sex work stigma (Hallgrimsdottir, 2006). While acknowledging our shared, rights-based approach, we paid careful attention to the diversity of participants' experiences, situations, and identities, without assuming their alignment with dominant narratives of (female) victimhood or empowerment (Doezema, 1998). We began from the position that sex workers make decisions, experience, and resist violence, and do/not claim their rights in a context of gendered, racial, and economic power relations at local, national, and transnational scales (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; Katsulis et al., 2010; Rivers-Moore, 2010). We included trans and male sex workers to disrupt silences around their sex work (Levy, 2015: 79; Salazar, 2009) and to explore how gender intersects with other aspects of identity and inequality (Crenshaw, 1991) to shape experiences of violence, stigma, and possibilities for their resistance (Katsulis, 2009: 9).

Methods

Between October 2012 and August 2013, we carried out in-depth interviews with 30 adult female, trans and male sex workers in central Lima and 17 key informants (see below). The aim of the study, which contributed to PG's PhD research, was to explore the socio-structural context of violence against sex workers in this setting. The study was approved by the Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia (UPCH) and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM) ethics committees.

PG hired a community research assistant (RA)—an activist and health promotion outreach worker (*promotor*) well known in central Lima—to facilitate recruitment. Once to twice per week, on varied days at different times, we walked around the main sex work areas in the city centre, talking with sex workers and venue managers, catching up on recent events and observing these spaces, making subsequent field notes. We purposefully selected participants to reflect diversity in gender, age, migration, duration in sex work and work venue types. We collaborated with four sex-worker, LGBT and trans rights activists as co-researchers, all of whom had some (prior) involvement in rights-based activism and health promotion work, providing training in qualitative methods and research ethics. Interviews explored: likes, dislikes, and conditions of work; safe, dangerous, and ideal work spaces; daily concerns, relationships, and priorities; interactions with state, municipal, and NGO/community agencies (public safety/criminal justice, health, welfare, media, rights, faith-based); experiences and reporting of violence and discrimination; anticipated and experienced treatment by institutional and social actors; protective strategies; their/others' views on sex work; sex workers' (unmet) needs and rights; and their future plans.

Interviews took place in a private room at a nearby community centre. All participants provided informed consent. We provided details of health, support and advocacy organisations, a mobile phone credit/voucher worth 35 soles (~US$13), and refreshments. The interviewer and PG debriefed immediately afterwards to discuss the interview and any safety/ethical concerns. During twice-monthly team meetings we adapted the topic guide, refined interview techniques, and discussed emerging themes. Latterly, PG interviewed the RA and co-researchers about their experiences on the project. PG interviewed key informants from the police; municipal departments which oversee citizen safety and local communities; the Ombudsman; the national HIV/STI programme; governmental and NGO sexual/mental health services; sex worker, trans, and LGBT rights and faith-based organisations; and broadcast media. These were agencies that appeared, from interviews and fieldwork, to play a key role in shaping the context in which sex workers experience and resist violence. Interviews explored their/other agencies' role in this regard, in addition to topics covered in participant interviews.

Interviews were audio-recorded with consent and transcribed in Spanish. We began analysing data during fieldwork, using field notes from observations, debriefings, and team meetings to inform subsequent interviews, coding, and sampling. PG coded transcripts inductively and iteratively (in Spanish), comparing between and within accounts to refine codes, in discussion with her advisors. First-level coding drew on a combination of *a priori* themes in the topic guide and inductive *in vivo* codes. Second-level coding involved breaking down and making connections between first-level coded data. We moved from descriptive codes to concept-driven categories similar to shifts from 'open' to 'axial' coding in grounded

theory (Charmaz, 2008) and drew on relevant theoretical literature to aid interpretation (see *Approach*).

Conscious of how research with marginalised communities can reproduce uneven power relations (Simic and Rhodes, 2009), we worked closely as a (co-)research team to facilitate reciprocal learning on context and methods, to ensure the research addressed sex workers' concerns locally, and to reduce the 'distance' between participants and (co-)researchers (O'Neill et al., 2004). We addressed the challenges of this participatory approach—such as conflicting priorities, reinforced hierarchies, potential reluctance to criticise a shared world, discounting of perspectives different from one's own, burdening interviewers with reminiscent traumatic accounts (Shaver, 2005; Busza, 2004)—through careful training, individual and team discussions.

We encouraged critical reflection to challenge our assumptions, paying close attention to accounts which diverged from our rights-based perspectives as much as those that aligned with them. We were also conscious of how our roles—as academics and activists linked to public health institutions—might influence how participants framed their accounts of health and risk (Krüsi et al., 2017). As a white, European, cisgender, female academic, PG was conscious of her privilege, lesser linguistic/contextual understanding and 'outsider' status. Working closely with co-researchers markedly improved her knowledge and language skills, co-researchers gained access to information which may not have been shared with an outside researcher, and PG was able to ask questions that may have seemed obvious to co-researchers.

Participants

We interviewed 30 sex workers (10 female, 10 trans and 10 male participants), aged 18-60, who sold sex in central Lima and had been doing so, there or elsewhere, for 1-35 years. All were Peruvian nationals, and just over half (two female, six trans and eight male participants) had migrated from other regions; some had also sold sex in other cities in Peru and, occasionally, elsewhere in Latin America. Over half had a current partner, some of whom knew about their work; all female, a minority of male and no trans participants had children. Most female participants lived with relatives in other neighbourhoods, sometimes staying over in central Lima when working. Over half of trans and male participants rented daily dormitory-style accommodation in nearby colonial-era buildings, supervised by a housekeeper, subject to house rules (e.g. no clients, fee per client brought to room) and often in a state of ill-repair.

Almost all participants currently met clients outdoors (plazas, parks, avenues, streets), typically providing services in nearby hotels or guesthouses (*hostales*), private houses/uninhabited buildings run as sex-work venues (*casas/huecos*) (female participants) or rented rooms (trans and male participants), and occasionally at a client's home, hotel, or in remote outdoors areas such as under a bridge or on the beach. Some also used other modes, including: providing contact details to existing clients; via social media/online profiles; in bars, clubs, saunas, video-pubs, and porn-cinemas; and, for male participants, seeking clients in public toilets and internet cafes with private cubicles . A few men offered company in social spaces and others worked as *transformistas*—dressing temporarily 'femininely' for work, but not identifying as *travesti* or trans.

Although some men described themselves as gay/homosexual, bisexual, or heterosexual, they more commonly referred to their sexual role with men—*pasivo* (passive), *activo* (active) or *moderno* (versatile)— whereby *pasivo* men tend to be considered homosexual and more feminine, *activo* men as heterosexual and masculine[150], and *moderno* reflecting versatility and a departure from traditional categories (Cáceres and Rosasco, 1999; Goodreau et al., 2007). All men had male clients only, but some also had unpaid sexual and romantic relationships with, and/or bought sex from, (trans) women/*travestis*. Trans and female participants described only male clients, sexual and romantic partners, and none mentioned having paid for sex. Trans and female participants who mentioned their sexual orientation described themselves as homosexual and heterosexual, respectively. Most trans participants and some gay and *pasivo*-identified men described themselves using feminine (pro)nouns/adjectives but did not necessarily identify as female.

Trans participants variously used the terms *mujer trans* ('trans woman'), *chica trans* ('trans girl') and *travesti* to describe themselves and others (and occasionally *'transsexual'* in reference to others). I have sought to reflect this diversity, following the *Instituto Runa* (2007) and others (Salazar and Villayzan, 2010), by using 'trans' as a short-hand, umbrella term. I use the terms 'trans woman', 'trans girl' and '*travesti*' where participants and/or other authors use them. We retain *'travesti'* in Spanish as it has a socially and culturally specific meaning that does not translate precisely into English (Kulick, 1998). We do so conscious of how categories of non-heteronormative genders and sexualities have, at times, been transposed from the

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[150]Previous research, however, indicates that these role-based identities and practices do not necessarily neatly align (Parker, 2003; Cáceres, 1995).

Global North to the Global South, without sufficient attention to local meanings (Atluri, 2012; Sabsay, 2011; Stryker and Aizura, 2013: 3-4).

Findings

Participants' accounts of the meanings and functions of selling sex varied. Yet there was consensus that sex work was widely condemned by Peruvian society, the church, the media, and certain state institutions, grounded in three main premises. First, that it contravened social and religious norms relating to gender and sexuality. Second, that it constituted an "*easy life*" rather than one of humility and hard work. Third, that it posed threats of disease, disorder, and criminality to the community. Some participants openly challenged these discourses, calling for collective rights to safe work spaces, state support, fair treatment, and respect (see Chapter 5). Others reproduced these discourses directly. More often, though, participants deflected and challenged some but not all aspects of sex work stigma by foregrounding responsible and respectable identities and practices, in some cases explicitly distancing themselves from other sex workers. In this analysis, we discuss these narratives, and departures from them, with implications for stigma management, collective action, and public health.

Constructing responsible & respectable identities

Participants frequently foregrounded their 'responsible' identities within sex work and 'respectable' ones outside of it. The former involved emphasising health-conscious, discreet, and honest working practices, such as using condoms, undergoing regular sexual health screens, and not drinking much alcohol or using drugs; avoiding disputes, police attention and public 'scandal'; and not robbing or drugging clients. In this way, they cast themselves as

responsible workers who abided by legal, moral, and community expectations—as 'good' citizens of the sex worker and wider community:

I work legally … I don't like stealing, I don't pickpocket anyone (Female participant, Interview 6; Quote 1)

Interviewer: How do you look after yourself in terms of security, in your work?

Participant: Ah, good hotel, with cameras, because the clients always run off [laughs], they leave the hotels and everything, I'm not a fool (m.), I take them to [name] hotel with a camera and everything. So you leave together. So yeah, I take them there, I protect myself with a condom, I put two condoms on if I know that the person's going to say "no", but guys without a condom, no, no, "Are you crazy? (m.)" I tell them, because you can pick up various things, and apart from that … the penis is really weak, and you can get herpes, I don't know, various things, sexual diseases. (Male participant, Interview 20; Quote 2)

Narratives such as this demonstrated participants' tactics for avoiding violence and infections, but they also resist dominant discourses that sex work(ers) threatened public health, safety, and morality. Participants often also presented themselves as strong and astute workers. This was evident in how they described negotiating services and fees with clients in advance, devising tactics to minimise extortion and theft while maximising income, and "*getting tough*" when insulted, threatened, or facing unwanted sexual or economic demands:

You're having [sexual] relations with him and afterwards he tells you, "Hey, you know what? You haven't provided me a good service, give me my money back", he starts wanting to grab you hard, wanting to take your things off you, or else […] he wants to take the condom off, or he tells you, "turn around" and boom! He turns you around like a chicken on a spit, he wants to take

you from behind […] that's why you have to be strong and act […] like a savage [laughs] as they

tell me, so that the guy's scared and that's it, he doesn't do anything to you. Those are the bad

clients. (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 3)

Narratives of defiance and strength spanned relations with clients, third parties, police, and partners:

[The gateadora[151] told me] "You're my bait[152]". "I'm nobody's bait […] nobody is my owner (f.)",

I tell her. "I'm nobody's bait, I don't belong to anybody." […] And she says to me, um, "Ah, now

you'll see, I'm going to cut your face". "Do what you want […]" I tell her. She left and never

came back. (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 4)

When I had a partner I told him, I mean, "You earn your money and I earn my money, we each

manage our own money and what you do with your money doesn't matter to me. What I do with

my money shouldn't matter to you either and, if you mostly love me like you say you love me,

you will take care of me and give me [money], but from my side don't think that I'm going to give

you one sol." (Trans participant, Interview 1; Quote 5)

Articulated by participants of all genders, these narratives both reflect the risks of economic exploitation and resist the notion that all sex workers are (female) powerless victims when faced with the possibility of such threats.

Participants also foregrounded their identities as *"humble"* (*humilde*) individuals committed to supporting themselves and family members amid limited opportunities¬often implicitly

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[151]Women who work in conjunction with female sex workers, stealing a client's money and/or possessions while they receive sexual services. Proceeds are split (but not necessarily evenly) between the *gateadora* and the worker.

[152]This term is used to describe a woman who provides sexual services while the *gateadora* robs the client. By saying she is "*nobody's bait*", she rejects this *gateadora*'s attempt to coerce her into working with her.

and/or explicitly distancing themselves from notions of indulgence and sexual pleasure. Female, and some male, participants who had children stressed that their work was a way to provide for them financially, which also functioned to pre-empt and deflect moral judgement:

> *What did he [a male relative] tell me once? [...] "What you do is licentiousness […] it's something very liberated, it's something dirty, something filthy, something that God doesn't allow", he says. "How does God not allow it?" I say to him. "God forgives […] if we do it for something good"* (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 6).

> *I'm here for them [my children], I work for them, I live for them.* (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 7)

> *They [my friends] almost don't mind, nor my wife's family either they don't-, because […] part of my wife's family knows [that I sell sex]. But I tell them, "you can't say anything because the money that I make is for my children, it's not for you (pl.), meanwhile check on your sister who's with another idiot (m.)."* (Male participant, Interview 20; Quote 8)

Participants did not necessarily resist discourses of immorality *per se* ("*I felt the money was dirty*"), but might appeal for an exception in cases of economic need and responsibility—as otherwise responsible and respectable citizens. These accounts also unsettled the discourse of sex work as "*easy money*"—a notion voiced by some participants themselves—through descriptions of long hours; police raids, extortion, arrest, and detention; some difficult, unappealing, and/or aggressive clients; and struggles of poverty, hunger, and homelessness:

[People] think that this is trash, that they [(male) sex workers] are pirañas[153], that they're gangsters, that they're people without a sense of life, that don't want to get out of this world. Sometimes they reject you, but they don't realise what it's like to have nothing, how it is living with nothing. Like not having anything to put in your mouth, being cold on the street, sleeping in cardboard boxes, sometimes the pirañas size you up, they don't know [what it's like] not having money in their pocket, that's how it is. (Male participant, Interview 20; Quote 9)

Some participants stressed these needs to claim, in the space of the interview, their as yet unrealised rights to safe working conditions and respect, and to resist the blame of sex work on moral grounds:

The most important think that I can ask is that-, that the municipality lets us work, that they stop beating and humiliating us [...] when truly [...] you take bread to your children, you don't do it because it's a vice but because it's a necessary job to take [food] home, and we are single mothers more than mothers with husbands. (Female participant, Interview 27; Quote 10)

Yet these responsible, respectable, and humble identities were fragile, their capacity to garner acceptance and support contingent on concurrent and often conflicting moral, economic and health-related expectations. Participants' work might be accepted by relatives, for example, on the condition that it allowed participants to fulfil their parenting responsibilities and was practised safely with respect to health risks:

My mother in law knows, my father in law knows, they all know and they respect me because they're-, they're a family that respects what one does, if you're an engineer they respect you, if

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[153]Derogatory term for young men who rob people and who may also sell sex for lower-than-average fees (Ebintra, 2015).

you're a thief they respect you, they say, "So long as you're healthy, you're well and you look out for your children, the rest [doesn't] interest [us]", so they're like that, they do respect me, they don't insult me, they treat me well, the only one that-, the problem is my mum [laughs]. (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 11)

Yet when it became difficult or impossible to fulfil these responsibilities, blame and rejection could (re-)emerge:

I brought nappies for my two little daughters, for my sister's son, I brought chicken, roast chicken, I got home, the next day I paid my mum's shop bills that she owed, I paid her electricity, her water, I bought her gas and my mum was happy, my sister, she was fine. [But when] my money ran out, my mum started insulting me again, discriminating against me and everything. (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 12)

[When my ex-partner found out I was HIV-positive] she turned her back on me and she tells me, "if you die, I don't know you". "You'll know my money, but you won't know me", I tell her, like that. (Male participant, Interview 20; Quote 13)

Moreover, acknowledgement of the material responsibilities that sex work fulfilled did not necessarily prevent (female) sex workers from being characterised as morally unfit parents and influences:

At the beginning I told my mum [about my work] and she accepted [it], I mean it hurt her but she accepted it, and later on she started to insult me, or discriminate against me, so she took my daughter from me and wouldn't let me see her, and now […] she doesn't want me to be with my daughter because she says I'm going to make her the same [as me]. (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 14)

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By claiming acceptance in alignment with 'respectable' non-sex worker identities and 'responsible' sex worker ones, these discursive tactics functioned to deflect, and to some extent challenge sex-work related stigma, but only under certain conditions and for certain sub-groups of sex workers.

Evoking 'others'

Albeit not necessarily directly or intentionally, the narratives discussed thus far constructed *others* in juxtaposition to the *self* that participants presented. People who sold sex without apparent financial need were condemned for "*ruin[ing] the market*" for poorer sex workers, while those who sold sex at low prices to fund drug use were both blamed and shamed:

> *Since that report I see that everyone's starting to come down, they already know the plaza […] they're like that, guys who have a home, they have everything that their parents buy them, their clothes, they dress well [...] they have everything but they want more, their moneybox is full as they say but they want more money and their ruin our zone*. (Male participant, Interview 1; Quote 15)

> *Apart from this bad life, a lot of people spend-, spent all their time[154] in other bad lives too, like drugs, marijuana. And because of that, they get involved with anybody, even if it's for 5 soles, and they don't use condoms and that's where they get infected [...] I think they're the people that most need help.* (Male participant, Interview 10; Quote 16)

Similarly, sex workers considered to be less astute and autonomous, including those who worked to financially support partners or who complied with extortion, were both criticised

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[154]The verb *dedicarse* is often used to describe one's job or career. Here, it conveys the dominant role of drugs and sex work in these men's lives (Bayer et al., 2014c).

and pitied ("*My friend, all she thinks about is making money and keeping her husband.*" Female participant, Interview 11; Quote 17). Those who drew attention to themselves and other sex workers, for example by robbing clients and passers-by, or behaving indiscreetly, were rebuked (see Chapter 5).

Notions of 'good' and 'bad' sex workers also reproduced broader power relations. Female sex workers appealed for empathy and respect by aligning with maternal identities, challenging notions that sex workers could not be good mothers on the one hand, yet did so within normative constructions of women's sexuality and gender:

> *Some of them [officers] insult you, they insult you and put you in the van and they tell you, "Why do you work?" and they insult you, "bitch", they say, "you're a bitch, standing here" […] "I'm a woman, you were also given birth to by a woman, so it's not possible for you to insult us […] Respect, as we've respected you. If you're also going to insult me we're going to have words.* (Female participant, Interview 6; Quote 18)

For men, stressing the economic and performative nature of their work resisted sex work blame but implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, reproduced a (felt) blame of same-sex practices and identities:

> *[Clients] want you to kiss them in the club, and they still pay you for that and I still have to put up with all of that […] some girls, have been with me, they've done sexual services too, they've seen me, and sometimes they also think badly of you and they don't know that it's a theatre, that you do it, you do it for the money, right? Just like them but then they don't understand.* (Male participant, Interview 20; Quote 19)

Meanwhile, some male and female sex workers' descriptions of trans sex workers as behaving and dressing "*scandalously*" constructed a gendered and at times racialised Other, in some cases explicitly dismissing their gender performance and identity:

> *They [travestis] (m.) just talk; uff! [They're] abusive (m.), with their accent that they talk with, right? They're 'charapos' (m.) [racialised slang for people from the Amazon region] and they make you laugh when they talk, they talk their, how do you say? Their language from the jungle, but some insults, that you don't understand [interviewer laughs] and they insult the security guards there more than anything.* (Female participant, Interview 11; Quote 20)

While terms such as '*charapo*' are widely used descriptively in Peru, it is important to note the way in which the accents of people from the Amazon region have been frequently imitated in popular media, in common with broader stereotyping and derogatory use of racialised terms in humour (Vega, 2010; Herrera, 2017; Sue and Golash-Boza, 2013).

These narratives constructed sex work as acceptable only when it fulfilled immediate economic needs *and* was engaged in responsibly and discreetly within broader normative framings of gender, sexuality, and to some extent, class and race. Although participants sometimes evoked pity of those who were less well-off and/or less able to avoid health risks, these narratives also worked to blame sex workers considered unwilling to conform to dominant moral, economic, and biological governing frameworks. These narratives therefore recast the boundaries of moral acceptability and citizenship, shifting them from separating conforming citizens and sex workers, to responsible and respectable sex workers versus 'others'.

Blurring & resisting boundaries

The accounts discussed thus far suggest clear-cut expected codes of working and acceptable reasons for doing so. Yet these boundaries of respectability and responsibility were often blurred, and sometimes directly challenged, when situated relative to material, affective, and sexual realities and desires. Some participants challenged constructions of themselves as 'weak' and/or pitiful amid competing economic and emotional interests and power relations. For example, those who financially supported a partner might frame this as a strategic means of securing protection and even affection, rather than seeing this as a relationship in which they lacked any agency. Others presented paying bribes and extortion as a proactive tactic to secure access to work space and freedom from arrest or attention, in contrast with peers' accusations that such tactics reflected naive complicity (see Chapter 5). A few participants also described how tactically performing an economically humble identity (e.g. dressing in old clothes, not carrying a mobile phone) could generate greater empathy, and thus income, while reducing the risk of being robbed. Furthermore, the few participants who talked unapologetically about engaging in theft or drugging clients ("*pepear*") framed this as an astute means of escaping poverty, maximising earnings, and funding projects, amid unbalanced economic power relations:

> *I worked in a club […] the landlord wanted me to, um, have sex with him but for free, but giving me work in return. I wasn't stupid (m.) about that, I stole 5,000 soles from him […] at my age, being 16 I'd finished secondary school […] because I didn't have anywhere to sleep, I was sleeping in cardboard boxes, eating grilled meat, those little street bones […] from those 5,000 soles I bought my land, I did a lot of things […] I put up sun umbrellas, tents, I could afford it […] I saved my money. […] I was lucky […] they couldn't report me because I was a minor, I could*

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report him, and I had everything to gain. I mean because he had clubs he thought I was going to

listen to him, but I won. (Male participant, Interview 20; Quote 21)

This is not to suggest that these relationships were never exploitative or that these practices did not sometimes have violent consequences, nor to celebrate or condemn these tactics. Rather, such accounts highlight the nuanced power relations implicated, as participants sought to exercise and articulate their agency within wider constraints of economic, physical, and emotional insecurity.

Some participants departed from narratives of economic humility to voice aspirations of improved financial and social status (striving to "*get ahead*", "*progress even more*")—for themselves, their families and, in some cases, in solidarity with the wider sex worker, LGBT and/or trans community—amid intersecting inequalities and stigmas. Plans included buying land, establishing a business, funding studies, finding 'normal' work and, for trans participants, paying for gender enhancement/affirmation treatment (Pollock et al., 2016) while still fulfilling their duties as providers. Participants also frequently voiced broader desires for respect and dignity:

The only question [request] is […] that you try to help us more, the lesbians as well as the gays (m.) [and] us travestis (f.). To be more united (f.) and be able to get ahead, above all what we (m.) most want is that people come to understand us […] not to live inhibited (f.) in the same environment as us (m.) but to go out onto the street, go out to like a normal job, like anybody, to work. Not just being stuck (f.) in the night, in bars, but also be, to have a good view [be accepted] in the face of all society. (Trans participant, Interview 3; Quote 22)

I just want to keep progressing […] start up my business, do something good, or something that

motivates me, right? Get ahead [laughs] […] Have one of those careers, in plumbing, work, get

my certificate […] I want to study, I want to be something in life, right? Yeah, buy another plot

of land because that plot isn't mine anymore […] But if it's something good for my daughters

[…] because it's a house too, how bad would it be to abandon them, and have them out in the cold,

I haven't been that bad (m.). (Male participant, Interview 20; Quote 23)

These narratives thus departed from those of solely humble and/or sacrificial sex work, revealing broader material and social aspirations. Yet these were often bounded within normative framings of sex work, reflected in participants' oft-voiced desires to find "*normal*" and "*dignified*" jobs and to "*re-join society*".

Some participants directly resisted disapproval of consumerism—at times in departure from their own narratives of humility and struggle—describing the material goods and "*little luxuries*" that their work had afforded them, and the gifts and opportunities their work might offer, which could counter their and others' moral reservations. A small number of participants, particularly men, also described how their work and sexual curiosity had introduced them to entirely new "*worlds*"[155] which allowed them to explore their sexuality while deriving economic and social benefits:

I think that sometimes it's bad [sex work]. That I feel dirty (m.), that I have to stop that stuff,

that's it. But I forget that, I forget everything, if what I do right now from a sexual point [of view]

I feel good sometimes and sometimes I've felt bad. I say bad because [...] sometimes you go to good

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[155]Wealthy clients, including foreigners, might drive them to nice hotels in middle-class neighbourhoods, buy them gifts, send them money when needed or, on occasion, take them on trips to other parts of the country or region.

places, or to bad places, or sometimes you see what other people have, plus you don't have it [...]

I feel good sometimes [...] because I have things now that I buy [...] the people who show me their

things, I've already bought them. (Male participant, Interview 20; Quote 24)

There are times when you have to invest in yourself, aren't there? Go to the sauna [...] well, on

those days I go and get a manicure, to unwind too. (Female participant, Interview 11; Quote

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These narratives simultaneously resisted blame for sex work, non-normative sexual identities

and practices, and consumerist desires. Yet they also demonstrated how participation in

wealthier spaces exposed them to class- and race-based stigma, including within non-

heteronormative environments:

When I'm not working? […] I hang out with a different kind of people, I go to transsexuals' clubs,

my own world, my den, but that world is my void more like, because I see people who are more

together in their clothing, behaviour, and society itself notices their behaviour in that world. More

like when they see me they treat me like this […] but me with my money, they look at me and they

approach me […] and I shut them up, they don't look at me anymore with looks like bringing

down my morale, more like I bring their morale down. Because they live off mummy and daddy

[…] I've never lived off my family […] a woman's never kept me [financially], nor a gay. (Male

participant, Interview 10; Quote 26)

While he does not refer directly to race here, racial and economic inequalities are very closely

linked, and spatialised, in Lima: venues in middle-class neighbourhoods having a reputation

for discrimination against indigenous- and Afro-Peruvians (Álvarez, 2014). Striving to get

ahead financially, then, is both an aspiration and a means of deflecting stigma by refusing to

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accept one's position in the dominant social, racial, and class hierarchy. Yet this remains bounded by dominant capitalist power relations: it is by acquiring and displaying symbols of dominance (e.g. clothing, cash), as opposed to challenging their premise and uneven distribution, that he is able to command respect.

By contrast, some participants described how they faced and anticipated less moral judgement when working and living in central, working-class neighbourhoods, which they attributed to residents' economically and racially-marginalised identities and presumed deviance:

> *When I lived here in central Lima [...] everyone, all the neighbours [...] knew that I worked and they never rejected me, they never ignored me, when I would go up they would greet me, "Good morning, Señora [name]" [...] they never disrespected me, they never insulted me, they never whistled at me, I was always going there quietly [...] perhaps because it's a neighbourhood like that, right? Where everyone is like that, 'achorado'[156] as they say, it'll be because of that. But if-, I'm now living in [suburb of Lima], [if] a neighbour sees me and opens their mouth, I know that people are going to look badly at me, because people there are different from people here [...] they'd reject me.* (Female participant, Interview 14; Quote 27)

Such accounts reveal how (anticipated) sex work stigma is spatialised along the lines of the racial and economic relations of the city. They also resist popular notions that sex workers threaten residents and community spaces, revealing the social connections between them (see Chapter 5).

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[156]Berg (2017: 90) argues that this colloquial term is frequently used to describe "undesirable" characteristics or individuals with a "defiant character", often referring implicitly to non-white city dwellers from "lower" social classes.

A small number of participants, mostly female sex workers, fully resisted moral blame for their work, stressing their self-determination, and presenting selling sex as "*a job, no matter what*":

> *And he like says to me [laughing], "No but [...] God doesn't allow it". "Oh", I tell him, "you know what? My life is my life, you have already lived your life, now let me live mine" I tell him. He doesn't say anything to me anymore.* (Female participant, Interview 4; Quote 28)

> *There are times, they look badly at you, they see you badly [disapprove of you] or they treat you badly, right? [...] They insult you, they tell you, "Ah, you're a whore, you're a bitch", right?, they talk like that [...] Before it used to hurt me a lot but now no [...] I come and go because it's a job, no matter what.* (Female participant, Interview 11; Quote 29)

These tactics worked to protect against the emotionally-negative effects of sex work blame, while aligning whether intentionally or not with the counter-public discourse of sex workers' human and labour rights—illustrating connections between everyday narratives of stigma resistance and formal organising, even when participants are not personally involved in the latter.

Taken together, these narratives blurred, and sometimes directly challenged, boundaries between 'good' and 'bad' sex worker identities and practices, situating them in the broader economic and social realities of highly uneven urban, regional, and global landscapes of violence and citizenship.

Discussion

In this analysis, we have argued that participants' foregrounding of particular identities *in* and *apart* from sex work resists certain forms of stigma while reproducing others. Participants'

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emphasis on the immediacy of their economic needs reflects pressing material realities in a context of extreme inequalities, minimal state welfare provision, and underemployment (Nencel, 2001; Nureña et al., 2011; Bayer et al., 2014b; Bayer et al., 2014c; Cavagnoud, 2013; Cavagnoud, 2014). Participants' narratives also worked to resist general and gender-specific representations of sex work(ers) as materialist and/or morally-deviant (Nencel, 2001), challenging homosexuality stigma (Padilla et al., 2008), hyper-sexualisation of racially-marginalised *travestis* (Di Pietro, 2016), and notions that sex work is incompatible with motherhood and honour (Robillard, 2010; Pheterson, 1993). Participants' framing of their working practices as legal, healthy, safe, discrete, and autonomous revealed and reinforced community norms in this setting (Pheterson, 1993). They also disrupted dichotomous representations of sex workers as criminal, dangerous and 'risky' on the one hand, and as powerless, at-risk victims on the other (Drinot, 2006; Krüsi et al., 2016), reworking the dominant notions of honour and respectability underpinning sex work stigma.

However, these narratives resisted sex work stigma partially and conditionally, *deflecting* rather than necessarily *challenging* the boundaries between deserving citizens and 'problematic' others (Thoits, 2011). By claiming exceptions from blame—for female sex workers who otherwise conformed to feminine ideals of sacrificial motherhood and nurture (Molyneux, 2007), for trans sex workers who behaved discreetly, and for male sex workers who rejected notions of sexual pleasure with men—they aligned outwardly with dominant gender and sexual norms. By criticising individuals who sold sex beyond immediate survival needs, and marginalised people who robbed clients, they blamed others' efforts to generate income and get ahead rather than the economic and racial inequalities that sustained the *status*

quo. These narratives, then, worked to (re)produce sexual, gendered, economic, racial, and health-related hierarchies of stigma within sex working communities (Lindemann, 2013).

These narratives also implicitly placed the responsibility on sex workers themselves—rather than on clients, third parties, police, service providers, the state and wider society—to protect their safety, health, autonomy, and welfare (Sanders and Campbell, 2007). This could be taken to infer that performing responsible and respectable identities constitutes "acting out of an already written script" (Isin, 2009: 381; Butler, 1988) in alignment with the notion of *governmentality* (Foucault, 1991). Yet they can also be understood as a tactical re-working of these norms to avoid blame (Law, 1997) while capitalising on the desires and empathy of clients and others (Nencel, 2001; Sanders, 2005). While participants drew, in part, on neoliberal discourses of individual responsibilisation, they also critiqued and reworked them by drawing attention to some (but not all) the material circumstances that shape sex workers' decision-making (Krüsi et al., 2017).

Although emphasis on accepted working practices may help to establish collective norms, disapproval of those who do not or cannot abide by them may limit sex workers' willingness to discuss candidly their own decisions over client selection and autonomy, condom use, and the competing economic, social, and affective pressures under which they make such decisions (Wojcicki and Malala, 2001). Similarly, blanket criticism of those who "give in" to extortion and economic exploitation may discourage others from disclosing being in this situation, for fear of being perceived as naïve or weak. Furthermore, appeals based on maternal sacrifice are likely to remain complicated by the abstraction of moral demands from economic realities. While some women experienced empathy and acceptance on the basis that their work allowed them to fulfil their maternal responsibility, others were presumed to be a

'bad' influence *because* of their work. This bears parallels with policies that characterise poor women who street-vend with their children as exploitative mothers—in stark contrast to women's own accounts that such practices allow them to watch over them and instil a strong work ethic, in preparation for an uncertain future (Campoamor, 2016).

Some participants' accounts, however, blurred the lines between (un)respectable identities and practices, and between autonomy and vulnerability specifically (Doezema, 1998). They did so by situating their working with partners and/or other third parties, payment of extortion, and robbing clients relative to landscapes of physical, economic, and affective insecurity (Scoular, 2004). These working practices involved complex power relations and interests, particularly when public officials were involved. Previous research in Lima documents similar situations, with Nencel (2001) demonstrating how female sex workers' partners might be "on the scene" but rarely reflected the pimp-like relationships described elsewhere, while payment of bribes to police was viewed as inevitable. Bayer et al. (2010) observe a "gradient of autonomy", whereby male sex workers in central Lima were more likely to pay fees to third parties than those operating in wealthier neighbourhoods. In later work, they observe the close economic-affective links in men's sex work, as they expressed "emotional attachment" to the clients upon whom the relied for survival, compared to the "business-like" relationships of men working in wealthier neighbourhoods (Bayer et al., 2014c). In our study, participants of all genders voiced varied relationships with clients, including feelings of affection, but some also described tactical performances to secure empathy and maximise income (Sanders, 2005). Cavagnoud (2014) observes how trans sex workers in south Lima were required to pay fees to older *travestis* to access work space, and how they themselves enacted resistance through robbing their clients, in "spaces marked by

transgression and exclusion"—although our findings point to the highly uneven power relations of such acts where police are complicit in theft and/or extortion schemes (see Chapter 5).

Some participants voiced alternate economic, social and, less often, sexual aspirations, in common with research with men and women who sell or exchange sex in working-class and middle-class Lima neighbourhoods (Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008; Bayer et al., 2014c) and in other Latin American cities (Mitchell, 2010; Rivers-Moore, 2010). In San José, Costa Rica, Rivers-Moore (2010) argues that female sex workers' material aspirations demonstrate that—despite their construction as unproductive—they are "neoliberal subjects" whose strategies fit neatly within those demanded by a free market economy. In Rio de Janeiro, for young men selling sex to foreign tourists, possibilities of consumerism and migration, although frequently unfulfilled, helped to manage their emotions and "rethink their position in society and … a globalized world" (Mitchell, 2010: 95). Yet while men's orientation towards a better future encouraged them to protect their sexual health—in distinct contrast to the sense of hopelessness apparent in ethnographic research in this setting in the 1990s—the individually-focused materialist "dreamscape … may be counter to collective resistance and liberation" (Mitchell, 2010: 109).

In our study, participants' accounts of striving to get ahead reflected the ways in which they sought to achieve economic and social mobility, without necessarily challenging the wider gendered, class, and racial hierarchies of the city, acquiring symbols of capital (cash, clothing) to assert their position. A few, mostly female, participants fully resisted sex work blame by framing selling sex as "*a job, no matter what*" and their life their own to determine. More often, however, participants voiced intentions or desires to secure "n*ormal*" and

"*dignified*" jobs, in contexts of intensely felt and enacted shame and blame. Nevertheless, participants typically voiced a desire to exercise their current work free from police and public harassment, and some articulated collective rights to improved economic and social status, including educational and employment-related opportunities, as well as those relating to space, protection, and justice (Chapter 5).

There are several limitations to this study. We did not interview anyone currently working in licensed venues, international migrants, residents or third parties (e.g. managers)—all of whom may have proffered additional insights into stigma and identity management. Nor can we know to what extent our findings reflect the experiences of sex workers in other neighbourhoods. Including participants of diverse genders allowed us to examine how gender (identity) intersected with sex worker status but this necessarily limited exploration of experiences within any one gender group. As part of PG's doctoral research, analysis and writing were primarily her work, while co-researchers were more accustomed to counselling, activism, and their more immediate actions. Yet our participatory approach helped to orient the research towards sex workers' concerns and provided reciprocal learning experiences, as PG gained an understanding of the politics of sex work(er activism) in Lima and co-researchers gained qualitative research skills. Our respective roles in public health and activism are likely to have shaped the narratives co-produced during interviews. Yet our reflections on this process helped to drive analysis of how accounts related to, diverged from, and complicated dominant (counter-)discourses regarding sex work, risk, and rights. Furthermore, we aimed to understand sex workers' practices of identity and stigma management rather than to reveal objective 'truths'. The fact that Spanish is not PG's first language added complexity, but supervisors, co-researchers and colleagues provided advice

over interpretation. To avoid reproducing the hegemony and exclusivity of English-language academic scholarship, we plan to make a Spanish-language translation of the author-accepted manuscript publicly available.

Policy & practice implications

Our findings demonstrate complex workings of sex work stigma deflection and resistance (Thoits, 2011), variously challenging and reproducing dominant gendered, sexual, class, racial, and biological power relations. This points to the challenges, and importance, of collective stigma resistance that unites around shared struggles with recognition of and respect for difference. There is an urgent need for state and municipal level reforms to challenge the violence, stigma, and exclusion that sex workers and marginalised communities experience in Lima, and for greater involvement of sex workers in policy fora such that their citizenship claims may be heard. There are clear responsibilities and opportunities for public health, feminist, media, and other dominant actors to work with sex workers to support these claims.

Scambler and Paoli (2008: 1860) consider sex workers' resistance to shame and blame "pivotal for collective or bottom-up health initiatives" but they also acknowledge that political change is likely to require alliances with other social, labour, and/or women's[157] movements. In the context of a community-mobilisation HIV programme in Brazil, Murray (2010) observes how some women sought to improve individual status and social mobility by aligning with activities and groups not associated with sex work, while others strove to improve collective

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[157]The authors' focus on female sex work is perhaps why they do not mention LGBT groups, much work with women who sell sex presuming heterosexuality (Dennis, 2008).

status by forming a sex worker association to challenge discourses of immorality associated with sex work. Thus, while the former envisages boundaries between social groups as possible and desirable to traverse, the latter seeks to challenge the premise of the categories upon which these boundaries are founded (Murray et al., 2010). The authors thus warn against public health programmes beginning by "mobilising around a 'sex worker identity'", instead encouraging spaces for "critical self-reflection" by sex workers, programme managers, and researchers alike (Murray et al., 2010: 293, 304). Hardy (2010a)'s work in Argentina, meanwhile, demonstrates how activists have successfully tackled sex work stigma within broader alliances uniting sex workers', and other workers' and working-class struggles, for social justice.

Activist-led NGOs in the HIV sector in Peru have achieved considerable material gains—including driving the development of peer outreach programmes, securing free HIV treatment and anti-discrimination laws against people living with HIV—through "low profile 'public health' discourses" (Cáceres et al., 2008a; Konda et al., 2009; Lalani, 2014). Yet sexual and reproductive health policies have typically avoided the "sexual", limiting engagement in debates over sexual and gender minorities' citizenship rights (Cáceres et al., 2008a). Recent developments, such as the development of an HIV strategy specific to trans women, reflect some progress in this respect, although broader gains in relation to trans and LGBT rights remain hindered by a conservative Congress

Collaborations between sex workers, HIV treatment activists, academics and local authorities have achieved some gains in challenging how *serenazgo* and police officers treat sex workers (Lalani, 2014; Salazar, 2009; Contreras, 2011) and short-term public advertising campaigns in Lima have sought to challenge sex work stigma more broadly (IESSDEH et al.,

2011), but there is a need for longer-term, multi-sectoral efforts, in which sex workers are equal partners, to challenge entrenched institutional cultures of stigma. Experiences in mental health demonstrate that anti-stigma interventions grounded in education, contact, and protest may not be effective unless they work to shift the underlying power relations that sustain stigma (Rusch et al., 2005). In the case of sex work, this requires critical engagement with the unspoken assumptions and rules—surrounding gender, sexuality, race, class, work, and the use/meaning of public space—that inform policies governing sex work, citizen-safety and urban renewal, and broader attitudes towards sex work(ers).

Our findings demonstrate the importance of understanding and attending to difference within sex worker communities when supporting their claims to citizenship and social justice. This is of direct relevance to public health programmes. Health promotion efforts are most effective and ethical when they build on existing community practices (Harris and Rhodes, 2012)—examples of which are evident in participants' narratives. Yet they must also take account of sex workers' diverse economic, sexual, and affective realities and aspirations if they are to engage in frank discussions around 'risk', safety and health. This requires caution, including within 'peer education' programmes, not to reproduce the "hierarchies of stigma" (Lindemann, 2013) that blame and shame certain sex workers as risky, disruptive, naïve, or weak. Attending to the complex and intersecting power relations that shape sex workers' experiences, identities, and decision-making, while recognising their agency in navigating and at times resisting these power relations, would help to resist blame without introducing shame (Scambler and Paoli, 2008).

Chapter 7—Discussion

In this chapter, I situate the analyses presented in this thesis (Chapters 5 & 6) relative to the broader empirical and theoretical literature, revisiting discussions outlined in Chapters 1-3. I reflect critically upon the theoretical and methodological contributions, and limitations, of the thesis, returning to discussions outlined in Chapters 2 and 4. I end by making recommendations for future research, and community-academic partnership working, at the intersections of public health, social science, and collective action.

Summary of key findings

In this thesis, I have presented two main analyses. The first (Chapter 5) critiques policing, citizen-safety and urban renewal policies and practices in central Lima that target and displace sex workers, sexual and gender minorities. I argue that these practices work to perform and 'reclaim' moral, safe, and healthy spaces for an ill-defined public, in part functioning to obscure the authorities' failure to protect sex workers and others from violence. They enact boundaries, in civically and socially important sites, between in-place (non-sex working, heteronormative) residents and out-of-place others, and they extend these boundaries to other material, temporal, and social spaces through surveillance, media technology, and restrictions on working spaces and hours that ultimately affect participants' families. Thus, dominant representations and performances of space cast sex workers as *always* out of place (Cresswell, 1996)—*undoing* their citizenship on the basis that they do not meet the sexual, gender, biological and *occupational* norms of these spaces—producing uneven geographies of citizenship. Yet they also ignore the nuanced social and economic relations between sex workers and other residents that, in reality, constitute these spaces.

Dominant performances of moral, safe, healthy space were far from convincing to, or accepted by, those they sought to discipline. However, they had direct, material effects on sex workers' lives, (re)producing threats of violence, extortion, arrest, disclosure, loss of income, and social isolation. Sex workers' collusion in the outward performance of the dominant spatial order, then, did not simply reflect *misrecognition* of these power relations (Bourdieu, 1979: 92). It involved weighing up what was at stake and how best to maximise income and safety. Through tactics of discretion, apparent compliance, private criticism, and public defiance, sex workers reworked these spaces to their own practical and, at times, political ends (de Certeau, 2011).

I argue that, through some such acts, sex workers disrupted the performativity of habitus, to claim their and others' rights to occupy urban spaces and generate income through these spaces (Isin, 2009). These *acts of occupational citizenship* constituted them as citizens despite their not being treated as such by the authorities. They were not without risks and were restricted by sex workers' continued non-recognition as citizens on the grounds of non-conformity to sexual and/or gendered norms—evident, for example, in media channels ignoring trans sex workers' struggles. These acts might also rely upon links, discursive and/or material, to dominant institutions (public health, law), with the effect of privileging those with closer connections to these institutions. Yet the latter, together with activists' accounts, also demonstrate how sex workers are using their political recognition as public health actors (peer outreach workers) to make claims to broader social justice (Lakkimsetti, 2014). The fact that such acts require sex workers and activists to risk violence, lost income, disclosure, and discrediting, however, demonstrate their high stakes.

The ways in which participants reproduced, reworked, and rejected dominant norms were, however, far from uniform. In the second analysis (Chapter 6), I demonstrate how—through narratives of the meanings, functions, and organisation of their work—participants variously foregrounded responsible and/or respectable identities *in* and *apart* from sex work, with important implications for stigma management and related citizenship claims. On the one hand, these narratives functioned to claim material, affective, and/or recognition-based (Fraser, 2009) benefits for those who conformed to such identities. They also worked to challenge dominant, dichotomous representations of sex workers—as dangerous or vulnerable, as risky or at-risk (Krüsi et al., 2016; Drinot, 2006)—in part by revealing participants' diverse roles, identities, and realities (Zalwango et al., 2010). Female sex workers' narratives of maternal struggle, sacrifice, and responsibility, for example, echoed those documented elsewhere (e.g. Nencel, 2001; Robillard, 2010; Zalwango et al., 2010; Fernández-Esquer and Agoff, 2012). Trans and male participants in this study also stressed their duties to family members—as siblings, children and, in the case of male sex workers, fathers. Participants' narratives also revealed and reinforced alternative community norms that sex workers have established in relation to safety, health, and respect.

Yet by casting 'respectable' and 'responsible' individuals as the 'good citizens' of the sex worker community, and/or as good citizens on the grounds of exception (i.e. *despite* being sex workers), these narratives implicitly and sometimes explicitly produced a less-deserving and/or un-agentic 'other', (re)producing hierarchies of stigma (Lindemann, 2013) along gendered, sexual, racial, class-related, and biological lines. In so doing, they *deflected* rather than *challenging* sex work stigma (Thoits, 2011)—in effect recasting rather than resisting the boundaries between those deemed to belong and those deemed out-of-place.

Some narratives, however, blurred and/or resisted the boundaries between responsible and irresponsible, respectable and unrespectable, deserving and undeserving, strong and weak. This was evident in the ways in which participants situated their struggles, aspirations, working arrangements, and economic and/or social relationships relative to the broader unequal and insecure landscape. Yet while these narratives helped to reveal the complex realities of striving to earn a living and "get ahead", they did not necessarily work to disrupt the wider (spatial) *status quo*. A few participants resisted the premise of the stigma that they and other sex workers experienced outright. Sometimes they did so by framing selling sex as a "job, no matter what", but more often they voiced shared citizenship struggles relating to income, space, sexual, and gender diversity. These findings demonstrate the multiple, intersecting, and often competing power relations through which stigma and stigma management operated. This has important implications for activism and public health.

Contributions & limitations of the thesis

Uneven geographies of citizenship

By understanding space to be dynamic, performative, and contested (Massey, 2005; Lefebvre, 1991; Gregson and Rose, 2000), I have sought to resist the tendency to characterise sex work environments, sectors and/or those working within them in fixed terms (Draus et al., 2015), or to view sex work laws, policing, and dominant norms as the sole determinants of where and how people sell sex and indeed what is permissible in public space (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003)—not to say that these matters do not have profound consequences for sex workers' safety, well-being, and (non-)recognition as citizens. In analysing the performance and disruption of urban space (de Certeau, 2011; Gregson and Rose, 2000), I have sought to avoid

both over-deterministic analysis (Rhodes et al., 2012) and exaggeration of resistance (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003; Farmer, 2004). On the one hand, I document how sex work governance, citizen-safety and urban renewal strategies, media representations, dominant norms, and entrenched inequalities restrict sex workers' room to manoeuvre, discursively and materially. Yet sex workers are actively involved in negotiating, reworking and, at times, contesting the spaces in which they work and live, however constrained. Analysis of everyday struggles over urban space, including events that disrupted the dominant spatial order, helped to render visible the unwritten rules (Cresswell, 1996), performance, and performativity constituting these strategies (Gregson and Rose, 2000; Butler, 2004) and the 'moral' (Hubbard, 2000: 206), 'safe' and 'healthy' spaces they evoked.

This study adds to existing research in Latin America and elsewhere that demonstrates how laws, policing, gentrification, tourism, and related panics surrounding public safety, morality, health, and (dis)order, work to exclude sex workers, and particularly trans sex workers, from prime urban spaces (Van Meir, 2017; Sabsay, 2011; Pope, 2005; Ross, 2010; Edelman, 2011; Blanchette and da Silva, 2011; Hubbard, 2012a). In so doing, they produce discursive and material boundaries between in-place, morally-conforming residents, and out-of-place others (Cresswell, 1996; Sabsay, 2011)—reinforcing patriarchal, capitalist, and postcolonial power relations of urban space, at local, national and transnational scales (Edelman, 2011; Pope, 2005; Cabezas, 2004; Katsulis et al., 2010; Hubbard, 2004b). Yet by reworking and resisting these dominant spatial practices (Van Meir, 2017; Di Pietro, 2016; Hubbard and Sanders, 2003; Hardy, 2010a), sex workers blur and contest the boundaries between deserving citizens and undeserving others.

This study must also be situated relative to a growing literature which demonstrates how other marginalised groups in Latin America, particularly ambulant street vendors and 'street children', are displaced from colonial-era city centres—in the interests of neoliberal (Véliz and O'Neill, 2011), 'protective' (Aufseeser, 2014), and 'whitening' agendas (Swanson, 2007)—and how they are reworking and resisting such strategies, including in alliance with other movements and civil society organisations (Aufseeser, 2014; Mackie et al., 2014). Previous studies in Peru have also demonstrated how the neoliberal privatisation of security, and practices of 'citizen participation', have (re)produced uneven geographies of (in)security, leaving poorer communities under-resourced and having to fund their own security (Marquardt, 2012; Plöger, 2012). Our findings, meanwhile, demonstrate how urban governance strategies that privilege the interests of morally-conforming residents produce uneven geographies of violence, and indeed citizenship, *within* an economically-deprived neighbourhood—extending outwards to other material, social, and temporal spaces. Yet sex workers do not simply comply passively with these strategies. They quietly rework and sometimes loudly contest these spaces and their positions within them.

(Un)doing occupational citizenship

In Chapter 5, I argue that—by making claims to occupy and work in urban space free from violence, corruption, and police intervention—sex workers in central Lima enact a form of *occupational citizenship* which directly contests the governing strategies that deny them income, space, protection, justice, and respect (Isin, 2009). In departure from Andrijasevic et al.'s (2012) focus on acts of citizenship through which sex workers contest international borders, I follow Rojas (2013) in using this concept to explore citizenship claims made by effectively disenfranchised Latin American residents in their home countries. Although these

acts could be read as forms of active citizenship—Peruvian citizens exercising their existing rights to the city—I argue that sex workers' treatment by the state and society effectively undoes their formal sites of citizenship.

Previous studies, largely but not exclusively in the Global North, have provided important insights into the sexual, national, or biological dimensions of sex workers' citizenship. They have demonstrated how sex workers' inclusion/exclusion is dictated by their characterisation—particularly that of street-based sex workers, migrant and/or trans sex workers of colour—as disruptive and threatening others (Sabsay, 2011; Edelman, 2011) not in keeping with modern (Sanders, 2009), gentrifying (Ross and Sullivan, 2012), 'moral' landscapes (Hubbard, 2000) and nation-states (Levy, 2015). They illustrate how sex workers' treatment as citizens has variously been rendered conditional upon attending designated support and 'exiting' services (Scoular and O'Neill 2007) and/or conforming to discourses of victimhood (Levy, 2015), and how their entitlements to work in regulated systems are contingent upon their migration status (Outshoorn, 2014) and/or ongoing compliance with routing HIV/STI testing (Katsulis, 2009). Lakkimsetti (2014), meanwhile, demonstrates how sex workers in India have enacted biological citizenship claims on the state, employing their positions as health educators collaborating with the Ministry of Health, to challenge repressive legislative and policing approaches to sex work.

As discussed in Chapter 5, I add the concept of *occupational* citizenship to reflect the dual, interconnected purposes of sex workers' claims to urban space—to *occupy* and *generate income* through these spaces on a par with other citizens. In using the term 'occupational', I do not suggest that all participants considered selling sex as a profession or that these claims did not also have sexual and/or biological dimensions to them. Indeed, I seek to demonstrate how

sex workers' inclusion/exclusion operates at the (spatialised) intersections of gender, sexuality, and labour, as well as linked power relations of race and class. This responds to calls to attend to the intersections between sexual and economic rights (Richardson, 2017) and social justice (Butler, 1998). It also acknowledges the central emphasis—in participants' accounts and in Peruvian (Miluska Vida y Dignidad, 2017), Latin American (PLAPERTS, 2017; RedTraSex, 2017) and other sex worker rights movements (ICRSE, 2014; NSWP, 2014)—of claims to work spaces free of violence, discrimination, and criminalisation. This concept may also be of relevance to other groups' efforts to secure urban space—such as ambulant street vendors (Mackie et al., 2014)—and to analyses of shared struggles and alliances between these groups and people who sell sex (Di Pietro, 2016; Garcia and Lehman, 2011).

Our findings point to both dominating and emancipatory elements of these acts (Isin, 2009). I show how participants' claims were made, amplified, and/or muted through material and/or discursive links to dominant institutions (e.g. public health, media)—for example, activists using their public health identities to make claims to urban space; and journalists ignoring trans sex workers' efforts to gain coverage of police brutality. Yet I also reveal connections between participation in formalised networks and everyday acts of citizenship in urban space. This is reflected, for example, in the activist outreach worker challenging efforts to displace (male) sex workers; and activists' accounts of responding to sex workers' calls during raids. These everyday acts of occupational citizenship may therefore reflect/be part of broader movements striving for social change. This is not to suggest that all sex workers were engaged in these acts, or that they were necessarily successful in achieving what they demanded. As our analysis in Chapter 6 shows, the complex workings of stigma and stigma resistance complicate collective citizenship claims, as sex workers variously align with,

rework, and contest dominant norms, depending on their relation to them and what is at stake.

Multiple power relations of stigma (resistance)

Critical of Goffman's (1963) neglect of stigma resistance and Thoits' (2011) concentration on the individual level, Weitzer (2017) urges a focus on resisting sex work stigma collectively and structurally. He proposes that this be achieved through using the "neutral language" of 'sex work' as opposed to 'prostitution'; mass media strategies to challenge stigmatising discourses; decriminalisation of the sex industry; mobilisation of owners and managers; sex worker activism; and academic engagement in challenging stereotypical representations of sex work(ers). While these are important endeavours, our findings support others' calls for close attention to gendered, sexual, class, racial (Phoenix, 2017) and, I would argue, biopolitical power relations through which sex workers experience, negotiate, rework, resist and sometimes enact sex-work related stigma. Thus, rather than viewing sex work stigma as a singular phenomenon with a global solution, it may be helpful to view it as a complex, contingent and competing set of power-infused practices (Parker and Aggleton, 2003) that play out in context-specific ways at the intersections of identities, inequalities, desires, and aspirations. This is not to deny the vital importance of challenging sex work stigma collectively at the level of global institutions, nor to suggest that there are not shared elements of sex work stigma and resistance across diverse contexts. Rather, I aim to emphasise the need for concurrent localised, context-grounded approaches.

Collective stigma resistance is made complex by the protective function and/or material benefits that *deflecting* stigma (Thoits, 2011) may offer for one group of sex workers

while simultaneously *enacting* shame or blame against another (Scambler and Paoli, 2008)—particularly in a context of neoliberal models of citizenship which reward those who conform (Scoular, 2010), consume (Mitchell, 2010), and take care of their health (Krüsi et al., 2017), and which privilege individual, private rights over social justice and emancipation (Dagnino, 2005; Meltzer and Rojas, 2013). Yet our findings also reflect some of the shared claims that a diverse group of sex workers made (albeit not necessarily in a collective manner) in relation to securing access to public space, protection, income, dignity, and respect. Research in Brazil and Argentina demonstrates how fostering spaces of reflexivity and solidarity, in careful alliance with supportive labour and social movements, civil society and institutions, can help to identify shared struggles, and achieve material and symbolic gains towards social justice (Murray et al., 2010; Hardy, 2010a). Resisting stigma, then, requires an understanding of the power relations, institutions, and groups that sustain and *benefit* from it as much as those that are marginalised by it. Relatedly, our findings make the case for a structuration (Giddens, 1984) approach to researching and resisting sex work stigma (Misir, 2015), paying close attention to how sex workers, researchers, practitioners, policy makers, and others are constrained and enabled by systems, norms, and power relations that sustain sex work stigma and how we can rework them.

Everyday violence & resistance

Theories of structural, symbolic, and everyday violence stress the entrenched nature of violence, stigma, and inequalities, and the power relations that sustain them (Farmer, 2004; Scheper-Hughes, 1992). Researchers employing these theories may seek to shift the responsibility for harm to implicated institutions (Rhodes et al., 2012) and/or emphasise the

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powerlessness of demonised groups amid the "violence of moral binaries" (Bourgois, 2002). Farmer (2004), like many others, is critical of an overemphasis and/or romanticism of resistance in anthropological writing. Yet without a concurrent focus on the ways in which people on the sharp end of such violence question and/or seek to rework dominant power relations, we risk complicity—shifting from a position of holding marginalised groups responsible for their situations (blame) to denying them any margin of power over them (shame) (Scambler and Paoli, 2008). The material consequences of these representations are highly apparent in police indifference (Runa, 2007; Salazar, 2009) and fatalism (Krüsi et al., 2016; Levy and Jakobsson, 2014) relating to attacks against sex workers, in contexts where they are viewed as morally deviant or as powerless victims, respectively.

In common with others writing at the intersections of sex work, public health, and social science (e.g. Shannon et al., 2008a; Wojcicki and Malala, 2001; Katsulis, 2009), I have sought to avoid reproducing dichotomies of blame/shame and empowerment/powerlessness by coupling Foucault's (1979; 1980; 1991) concepts of relational power and governmentality with theories of structuration (Giddens, 1984; Rhodes et al., 2012), performativity (Butler, 2004), and everyday (tactics) of resistance (Scott, 1985; de Certeau, 2011). This helped to explore both how sex workers "accomodat[ed] and collud[ed]" in dominant power relations (Green, 2004: 319-20)—as macro-structural forces played out in the spaces, relationships and (self-)disciplining demands of their daily lives (Foucault, 1991; Krüsi et al., 2017)—and to examine how they reworked, quietly criticised, and publicly contested dominant norms and power relations.

Participants' accounts frequently performed the social and spatial *status quo*, including by aligning with the symbolically-violent (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2004) discourses that their bodies did not belong in certain spaces and/or were threatening to children—in the context of long-standing conservative opposition to incorporating gender identity and sexual orientation as protected characteristics in hate crimes and anti-discrimination laws, on the grounds that this would "threaten" children (Cáceres, 2015; Fernández Calvo, 2017). We also heard frequent accounts of sex workers being ignored and blamed by the police when reporting violence or theft, and police complicity in violence and extortion, leaving sex workers unable and/or unwilling to report to the authorities in future. This rendered their suffering in and beyond these spaces invisible—what Krüsi et al. (2016) thus consider a form of everyday violence. In common with *RedTraSex*'s (2016a) recent report, some participants felt they had little option but to comply with officers' economic and sexual extortion—although some also departed from this position.

Unlike other authors' findings that trans (Lyons et al., 2017; Rhodes et al., 2008) and female sex workers (Cepeda and Nowotny, 2014) felt they deserved the violence they experienced, most participants in this study criticised their treatment by police and *serenazgo*—particularly their failure to provide justice—even if they often felt powerless to change the situation. Participants voiced a desire to be "*left to work in peace*", safely and without interference. As discussed above, some accounts also demonstrated direct claims to space, and against extortion, in confrontation with state and social actors. This is not to suggest that sex workers in central Lima do not suffer immensely under the continued repression of brutal policing and exclusionary urban governance, the downplaying of their struggles by the media, and intersecting economic, gendered, and racialised inequalities and injustices. Nor is

it to say that all or most necessarily considered it possible to change police practices of extortion, raids, and mistreatment. Yet it *is* to say that they did not necessarily accept this as the natural "order of things" (Bourdieu, 1979: 92). Furthermore, sex workers are increasingly organising, and forming alliances, to challenge these practices—albeit in the context of sustained cultures of blame, shame, and criminalisation.

Some authors, particularly in the context of Latin America, are critical of Scott (1985)'s focus on incremental, everyday acts of resistance, suggesting that he privileges these over large-scale protest movements and their potential to bring about transformative change (Gutmann, 1993). Others argue that he overemphasises resistance, in common with wider critiques of this tendency in anthropological writing (Farmer, 2004). Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2, Nencel (2001: 221) made explicit her decision not to employ the concept of everyday resistance, instead employing Scheper-Hughes (1996)'s concept of "existence" as she explored the lives of women selling sex in Lima. She argued that their agency was characterised by a 'temporariness' and 'immediacy' that allowed "actions of resistance and moments of solidarity to exist side by side with moments that reiterate the unchanging rhythm of their lives" (Nencel, 2001: 221). This sense was certainly apparent in aspects of participants' narratives in this study. Yet what Nencel (2001: 221) considered a rare break from the *status quo* appears to be gradually gaining ground in Lima, amid a growing, grassroots rights movement. In line with Scott (1993), I have sought to demonstrate how a focus on everyday acts of resistance in the context of larger-scale movements may help to reveal their interconnections, as the former becomes the precursor to the latter, but the latter then may also inspire the former. In this study, a focus on the practices of sex workers who do not necessarily have the economic, social, and cultural capital of established activists—and co-

researchers—offered insights into the connections and divergences between the experiences of those who are and are not engaged in collective action, with implications for the traction of such efforts.

The diversity & specificity of this case study

As outlined in chapter 4, our focus on a specific area of Lima, where sex workers of all genders work in close proximity, allowed in-depth analysis of sex workers' spatial and social relations in this setting and—through their narratives—radiating out elsewhere. Although not by design, it also provided insights into how strategies aiming to both 'renew' and preserve historical (colonial) spaces (Municipalidad de Lima, 2014)—in the interests of residents, consumers, tourists and investors—operated in conjunction with policing practices to limit the spaces available to sex workers.

In the Global North, studies of (young) women's engagement in street-based sex work have frequently been used to generate a singular representation of sex work—through both analytical imprecision and strategic political advocacy (e.g. Farley et al., 1998; Jeffreys, 1997)—despite a highly-diverse industry (Harcourt and Donovan, 2005; Weitzer, 2009; Aggleton and Parker, 2015; Sanders, 2006). In Lima, as in many other cities in Latin America, there has been relatively little qualitative research which has explored sex workers' lived experiences (for exceptions, see Nencel, 2001; Nureña et al., 2011; Cavagnoud, 2013; Cavagnoud, 2014; Bayer et al., 2014c)—particularly issues of (police) violence, corruption, stigma, and citizenship. The fact that all participants met at least some of their clients on the street—the site of the most relentless raids and public attention—provided important insights into how policing and stigma shape sex workers' safety, and how they resist their enactment

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and effects. This research, along with that of others, also complicates the notion of 'street-based sex work' as a singular, fixed phenomenon—given the multiple places in which sex workers met and provided services to clients (Prior et al., 2013), and the spaces from which they were excluded because of being framed and policed as 'clandestine' sex workers.

The findings of this study should not be presumed to reflect the needs, realities, struggles and aspirations of all sex workers in Lima, or indeed all sex workers working in central Lima. We cannot know to what extent participants' experiences and perspectives reflect those of sex workers working elsewhere—although a number of participants had worked previously in other sectors, neighbourhoods, cities and, occasionally, countries. As discussed in Chapter 3, Bayer et al. (2014b; 2014c) observed considerable differences in the living situations, earnings, health risks, relationships, and aspirations of men working in central Lima versus wealthier neighbouring suburbs. Research with female (CARE-Perú, 2008b), trans and male sex workers (Nureña et al., 2011) in Lima and elsewhere in Peru also reflects considerable diversity in sex work organisation and socio-economic circumstances between and within cities. These studies have thus helped to challenge singular representations of the sex industry in Lima and Peru. What the findings of *this* study offer are insights into the lives of sex workers from the point of departure of one particular urban area, allowing analysis of historical and contemporary urban processes specific to this site. As I argue above (see *Uneven geographies of citizenship*), combining analyses of violence, stigma, and power with performativity, everyday resistance, and citizenship helped to reveal complex and nuanced power relations within this area and sector.

Inclusion of sex workers of different genders necessarily limited the depth with which we could explore gender-specific experiences. Yet, in common with other research in Latin America (Katsulis, 2009) and elsewhere (Scorgie et al., 2013a; Scorgie et al., 2013b; Pitcher and Wijers, 2014), this allowed us to identify some of the gendered divergences and commonalities in sex workers' experiences and aspirations. To my knowledge, this is the first study in Peru to do so, and thus it offers some insights into the challenges and possibilities for collective action and public health work across these groups. At the same time, sampling to reflect gender diversity—and indeed initially matching participants and interviewers based on shared gender (identity)—risks essentialising and privileging gender (identity) as the unifier of experience, in the same way as comparative analyses of neighbourhoods. Adopting a critical intersectional analytical lens, conscious of the dynamic and performative dimensions of gender and other identity categories (McCall, 2005), I paid close attention to how participants' multiple identities and experiences shaped the ways in which they negotiated and resisted violence, stigma, and spatial governance (Zalwango et al., 2010). Nevertheless, in Chapters 5 and 6, I introduce participants' accounts with reference to their gender (identity), in the absence of pseudonyms. This might have read quite differently had I instead employed other identity categories.

Although we interviewed participants who had migrated from diverse regions across Peru, and we sought to explore how migration, race, and ethnicity shaped experiences, we did not generate much data on these issues—underrepresented in research on sex work in Peru (see Chapter 3) and internationally (see Chapters 1 & 2). Interviewers, me included, did not always ask about these issues, nor did participants raise them directly, as conversations frequently centred on sex worker, sexual, and gender identity categories, and socio-economic

inequalities—although the latter remain very closely linked to race and ethnicity in Peru (Thorp et al., 2006). This could be because participants did not experience or witness racism, or because it is so embedded that it is not remarked upon without prompting. There were a few accounts which reflected racialised stereotypes and some which inferred judgement at the intersections of class and race (see Chapter 6). Others have written about the "subtle racism … [that] fragments and tears social relations" (Portocarrero, 1993, cited in Fernandez-Davila, P. et al. 2008: 354) quite distinct from the overt racism in the U.S. and Europe (Sue and Golash-Boza, 2013), and how humour frequently employs racialised stereotypes (Sue and Golash-Boza, 2013; Herrera, 2017; Vega, 2010).

Race is a sensitive subject in Peru and has not been recorded on the national census since 1940, meaning that estimates of the racial demographics of the population vary widely (see Chapter 3, *Inequalities & identities at the intersections*). In this study, while we asked participants whether or not they had grown up in Lima and most participants told us which city or province they had migrated from, we did not ask directly how they identified in terms of race and/or ethnicity. At the time, I was conscious that I had little understanding of the complexities of ethnicity in Peru and was nervous of imposing my understandings of race and racism, as a white, western woman. Since I began this PhD, I have become increasingly focused on decolonising my academic practice and I have read more about race, ethnicity, and racism in Peru. If I were to repeat this research today, I would certainly include this question. The ways in which race intersects with other aspects of sex workers' identities to shape their experiences is an area that warrants further research with careful attention to cultural meanings of race and ethnicity.

Despite our attempts, we did not manage to recruit anyone currently working in licensed venues, or international migrants, who may have proffered additional insights. In 2010, media reports emerged of 300 women in Callao protesting against "foreign workers" who they complained were operating without licenses, charging lower rates, and "ruining business" (El Tiempo, 2010). Research in Lima, Tijuana, Nevada, and the Netherlands demonstrates that sex workers operating in licensed brothels may feel more protected and better positioned to report violence and make citizenship claims (Katsulis, 2009; Outshoorn, 2014). Yet they may have less autonomy (Katsulis et al., 2010; Brents and Hausbeck, 2005; Nencel, 2001: 100-106; Outshoorn, 2014) and, in Peru, receive lower per-client fees (Kohler et al., 2016). Nevertheless, the informal sector remains far larger than the legalised brothel sector in Peru (Campos et al., 2013), and it is the only one in which trans and male sex workers can work, in common with other regulated settings (Katsulis et al., 2010; Van Meir, 2017).

Interviewing a diverse range of key informants provided valuable 'institutional' and activist perspectives on the violence and stigma that sex workers face, including their agencies' roles in sustaining and/or challenging them. By approaching agencies that were mentioned frequently by participants (whether in specific or general terms), in addition to those suggested by advisors and co-researchers, we included both agencies that had been operating long-term and newer organisations. However, given limited resources and our aim to limit the number of key informant interviews to avoid their voices overshadowing those of participants', I did not interview informants in both managerial and frontline roles in all agencies. For example, I interviewed more senior officials in the police and municipality but not frontline police or *serenazgo* officers; in some NGOs, I interviewed peer outreach workers but not managers. Nevertheless, in combination, these interviews provided important

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additional insights. We did not interview others working in the sex industry, for example, clients or third parties. Nor did we seek to interview sex workers' partners and family members, residents, or street vendors. This could have offered important insights, and is an area that warrants further research, particularly given the minimal scholarship incorporating these perspectives, in Peru and internationally.

An interview-based, material-discursive approach

As discussed in Chapter 4, a criticism of interviews as a research method is that they provide insights into what people say as opposed to what they do (Hammersley, 2006). Some might also argue that reliance on interview accounts, most of which were co-produced in dialogue with 'peer' interviewers in a community space, privileges exploration of the 'off-stage', hidden transcripts of everyday resistance (Scott, 1985). Had this study involved (non-)participant observation as a central dimension of inquiry, it would likely have rendered a richer account of the material spaces, practices, and acts of resistance that participants' accounts evoked. Yet a material-discursive approach understands discourse itself as practice. Understanding discourse and materiality as dynamic, co-constitutive and contingent (Barad, 1996), I sought to "listen to the material life in discursive practices" (Reis, 2014).

In Chapter 5, I explored the material-discursive practices through which sex workers and other actors perform and contest space. For example, both the *serenazgo* officer's utterances to his colleagues that male sex workers made the plaza look bad, and the peer outreach workers' verbal response, were enacted through reference to and by way of material objects. Performance and resistance was also constituted through a range of embodied actors in and beyond the physical, social, and temporal spaces of the plaza—the men, the officer and

the other occupants, the officer's colleagues elsewhere, and the interviewer, researchers, and potential readers. In Chapter 6, sex workers' articulations of the meanings and functions of their work demonstrate how, *through* discursive practices (themselves enacted and embodied), they sought and achieved particular material and affective benefits (e.g. family support/sympathy, better pay/gifts from clients). The 'talk' of interviews also constituted an important element of how participants presented and protected themselves against the very real effects of stigma (Goffman, 1959).

Our observations and interactions during fieldwork visits were also crucial to contextualising interview data. To return to the question of on and off-stage transcripts, in common with Kulick (1996)'s research, our observations during fieldwork reflected the direct resistance that participants described during interviews in the presence of 'dominant' agents (counter to Scott's (1985) notion that marginalised groups remain compliant in such situations). This was evident in how some sex workers joked and "caused a scene" (Kulick, 1996) and how they interacted with clients, passers-by and *serenazgo* officers (of course, also in the presence of a peer outreach worker and a foreign, white, cis, female academic). As described in Chapter 4 (*Getting to know central Lima & potential participants*), we also witnessed many of the (spatial) practices and performativities that participants articulated.

Power relations of this research

By using a participatory approach, I sought to centre sex workers' voices and ensure that the research was oriented towards their priorities (O'Neill et al., 2004; Shaver, 2005). As a white, western academic whose research career began in the U.K., I also sought to avoid the "cultural imperialism refracted through international discourses on prostitution" (Kempadoo, 1998: 10)

and some global health research (Cáceres and Mendoza, 2009a). I was inspired by academics who use participatory action research within feminist, emancipatory and social justice philosophies (O'Neill et al., 2004; Busza, 2004), by discussions with my advisors at UPCH while developing the proposal, and out of growing frustration over sex workers' exclusion from policy and academic spaces. Yet at the outset I had little experience of the approach, or consciousness of how it would challenge and transform my research praxis. The decision to adopt this methodology was one I made prior to forming the co-research team, and the research was financed by a U.K.-based funder through a fellowship I held, in contribution to an academic programme of study I alone was pursuing. In order to apply for the fellowship, and upgrade to PhD candidate status at LSHTM, I was required to develop provisional research questions and methods before departing for fieldwork. Each of these issues affected the power relations between co-researchers and me, and the community and the academy more broadly.

As discussed in Chapter 4, participatory research approaches risk reproducing hierarchies within the sex worker community, as those who are in the more-privileged position of having connections with researchers have greater influence over the generation, interpretation and use of data (Busza, 2004; Nencel, 2017). This has implications not only for the research project but for broader power relations (Campbell and Mzaidume, 2001; Leite et al., 2015). My introductions to the co-research team depended upon their existing relationships with Peruvian academics (and indeed transnational-academic relationships between my advisors and me)—although I met two of the four co-researchers through the research assistant, and the team had diverse prior experience in research and activism.

While we reflected on our positions relative to each other and to participants throughout fieldwork, this did not erase the distance between us (England, 1994). As described in Chapter 4, conscious of our shared concern with sex workers' rights, we made concerted efforts to explore accounts which diverged from this approach as much as those that aligned with it. My growing involvement in research, policy debates and collaborations with activists in the areas of criminalisation, stigma, and collective action (Grenfell et al., 2016; English Collective of Prostitutes, 2016; Macioti et al., 2017; Platt et al., Forthcoming; Grenfell et al., 2018) have also informed my analytical lens. However, I have sought to remain critical and cautious over any comparisons I make, while keeping in touch with Peruvian activists' work via social media and direct correspondence.

My and the co-research teams' known links with public health research, outreach, and activism are likely to have shaped how participants framed their work practices and citizenship claims. Yet the fact that some participants *did* depart from narratives of 'good biological citizenship' (e.g. not using condoms, not going for regular tests) indicates that this framing was not entirely limiting. Co-researchers were more accustomed to counselling and advocating for sex worker, LGBT, and trans rights than carrying out qualitative interviews, and as outlined in Chapter 4 (*Analytical processes & reflections*), these roles came out in early interviews. Yet by ensuring that we had space for critical self-reflection immediately after interviews and during frequent team meetings, co-researchers quickly adopted and honed techniques to ask open questions, generate rich data, and bring any frustrations to debriefings. Their reflections over these competing roles were also productive in driving analysis of connections between participants' everyday experiences and more formalised actions (see Chapter 6). Of note, few participants directly employed the language of rights and at least

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some participants complicated both public and counter-public discourses of sex work. This approach also allowed participants to discuss aspects of their work and lives that they may have been less willing to do with me. It provided reciprocal learning experiences, helping me to gain deeper understanding of the politics and language of sex work(er activism) in Lima, and co-researchers to gain experience in qualitative research and reflexivity. In common with other participatory research (O'Neill, 2010), it also worked, in some small way, to challenge dominant power relations of academic knowledge-generation relating to sex work in this context—albeit within the confines of an individually-led PhD.

However, producing a thesis in English, for a U.K.-based institution and qualification with the support of a U.K. funder, introduces a number of uneven power relations—in relation to translation, the accessibility of the research outputs, who drives the research agenda, and who benefits from the research process (Cáceres and Mendoza, 2009b). Translation and selection of equivalent terms is not merely a technical process but one which is socially- and culturally-embedded (Lopez et al., 2008). Conducting analyses in Spanish helped to retain meaning, and discussing uncertainties with colleagues and friends throughout data collection and analysis reassured me over my interpretation. I was conscious of the complexities of undertaking the translation myself as someone whose first language is not Spanish, let alone Peruvian Spanish. However, a bilingual Peruvian colleague checking over translated excerpts gave me confidence in the accuracy and cultural specificity of the translation.

Language is also a matter of fraught political debate in relation to sex work, sexual and gender identity, in Latin America and internationally—in part related to the imposition of western identity categories (Atluri, 2012; Sabsay, 2012) and in part to broader questions of agency and gendered power relations in debates relating to sex work (see Chapters 2 & 3).

This is further complicated by the tendency for silence in some intersectional and public health research relating to "who has the power to define how, when and where a particular label is used" (Zalwango et al., 2010: 73). In Lima and in Spanish, I was guided by the terms advisors and the co-research team used. We all employed shared terms in relation to selling sex—*trabajo sexual* (sex work) and *trabajador(a) sexual* (sex worker (m./f.)—although not all participants described themselves in these terms, which I have sought to reflect by sometimes using the phrases 'selling sex' and 'people who sell sex'. In relation to gender identity, we typically used the term *mujer trans* (trans woman) during team discussions, yet participants' accounts reflected varied self-identities—*travesti*, trans girl and trans woman—which I have sought to reflect in this thesis. As described in Chapter 2, I use the term trans as an umbrella term to include participants' varied self-identities, in common with Peruvian and Latin American networks of trans people (RedLacTrans; Salazar and Villayzan, 2010; Runa, 2007). In common with other authors (Van Meir, 2017; Sabsay, 2011), I use the term trans woman when employed by participants, other authors or in reference to literature about the Global North. This is to avoid imposing the terms I use in and about the U.K. (i.e. trans and cis women) that do not necessarily reflect how participants identify. Important to note, however, is that when I write 'trans sex worker' in English to mean transfeminine people who sell sex, it does not convey the feminised nature of the term in Spanish (*trabajadora sexual trans*).

During fieldwork and on my return visit to present early emerging findings, co-researchers were centrally involved in the research process, from refining research questions and methods, to conducting and shaping data collection and analytical discussions. However, since my return to the U.K., the analysis and write-up have been primarily my work—under the guidance of my supervisor and advisors, and drawing on recordings of our co-research

team meetings and debriefings. This has been a much lengthier process than policy-oriented research—in part due to concurrent work demands but also out of my own anxieties as a fledgling social scientist, and a foreigner, over presenting a naïve and/or ill-informed account.

In Chapter 5, I argue that participants' and key informants' accounts revealed a range of new sites of citizenship, in and through which participants articulated their desires and rights to space, protection, and income. Given that these claims were articulated in the context of research interviews, this raises the crucial question of how academic practices can amplify, and limit, the scale of such citizenship claims. It brings into sharp relief the responsibility of this research and similar projects to ensure that these claims are heard by those to whom they are addressed, in the context of an academic system in which pressures remain weighted towards academic outputs as opposed to 'impact'-related ones (Nyden, 2003). Upon submission of this thesis, I plan to work with my advisors and the co-research team to develop a policy brief and two dissemination events in Lima. While this is much later than I had intended, it is my hope that these resources will help to inform activists', practitioners', and academics' ongoing efforts to challenge the harmful practices, discourses, and underlying power relations that restrict sex workers' access to protection, justice, privacy, income, and the city.

Future research

Violence, policing, activism & public health in Peru

This research identifies several priority areas for sex work research in Peru. First, there is scope for further research into how policing and urban governance practices affect the safety, health and rights of people who sell sex in Lima and elsewhere—including how raids, violence,

corruption and institutional cultures of blame and indifference are being challenged, through activism, collaboration, and institutional training. There would also be value in exploring how activists' public health roles have shaped their relationships with other branches of municipal and national governments—examples of which have provided valuable insights elsewhere in Peru and internationally (Lalani, 2014; Biradavolu et al., 2009; Murray, 2015; Lakkimsetti, 2014).

Research with other workers in the sex industry, clients, residents, street vendors, and sex workers' partners and family members, in addition to sex workers themselves, would help to better characterise the social and economic dimensions of these relationships and their implications for sex workers' safety, health and access to space. Any such research would of course require careful attention to sex workers' confidentiality and disclosure concerns (Shaver, 2005), and the power relations of who gets to represent different communities and interests (Cornwall, 2003). There is also a need to explore how (international) migration, race, and ethnicity shape sex workers' experiences of policing, organising, and accessing healthcare—with careful attention to culturally specific meanings—including by examining critically who urban governance strategies seek to attract and who they exclude in so doing (Di Pietro, 2016; Van Meir, 2017).

Broader qualitative and epidemiological attention to the structural context of violence, HIV, and mental health is also warranted, including but not limited to the effects of sex work and other laws, policing, urban governance practices and processes, migration, housing, intersecting stigmas and inequalities (e.g. sex work, gender, class, race, sexual and gender identity), and collective action (Shannon et al., 2014; Deering et al., 2014). This would build on a growing body of research relating to the structural context of HIV in Peru (Salazar et al.,

2005; Fernández-Dávila et al., 2008; Bayer et al., 2014b; Bayer et al., 2014c; Silva-Santisteban et al., 2012; Silva-Santisteban et al., 2013). Such work would also help to demonstrate the need for, and assess the effectiveness of, strategies to address violence in and beyond the context of HIV prevention.

Broadening the lens of sex work-public health research

There is a need for a broader public health research agenda in relation to the safety, health, and rights of people who sell sex—particularly at the intersections of laws, spatial governance, policing, stigma, and collective action. Drawing on relational understandings of power (Foucault, 1978), structuration (Giddens, 1984), space (Massey, 2005; Lefebvre, 1991) and everyday resistance (de Certeau, 2011) would help to examine how sex workers are constrained and enabled by their environments, but also how they may rework and reshape them—without over-privileging individual responsibility or downplaying agency (Wojcicki and Malala, 2001; Shannon et al., 2008a; Krüsi et al., 2017). Such analyses would benefit from paying greater attention to how structural interventions and (public) health programmes work to foster and limit the production of open, democratic spaces of safety, respect, dignity, and citizenship for sex workers, including through their relations to activist organisations and state institutions (Sabsay, 2011; Isin, 2009; Hubbard, 1999b). This would be an important corrective to public health work that has paid insufficient attention to the relational, dynamic and power-infused character of space (Cummins et al., 2007); to sex workers' and other marginalised groups' agency and collective action (Scorgie et al., 2013a; Crago, 2009; Shannon et al., 2015; Decker et al., 2015; Kerrigan et al., 2015); and the role of (public) health practices in reproducing and disrupting singular representations of sex work(ers) (Simic and Rhodes, 2009) Krusi, 2016 #2548}(Grenfell et al., 2018).

Some HIV-prevention projects—particularly those where sex workers and practitioners work in collaboration—have broadened to address sex workers' wider safety, health, and citizenship concerns (Murray, 2015; Carrasco et al., 2017; Cornish, 2006a; Biradavolu et al., 2009; Blankenship et al., 2010), with profound effects in relation to redistribution, recognition, and representation (Fraser, 2009). However, much public health scholarship continues to consider sex workers' health solely in relation to HIV and/or sexually transmitted infections, at times out of primary interest in the effects on the wider population (see e.g. Prüss-Ustün et al., 2013). This focus may be beneficial in terms of attracting mainstream attention and resources, and there is certainly a need for ongoing research and programming in relation to HIV. However, there is also a need to broaden the lens of public health work in relation to sex work, to consider sex workers' safety, physical, and emotional health needs in the context of their lives, with close attention to the power relations, dominant and counter discourses, and material realities that shape their experiences and decision-making (Wojcicki and Malala, 2001). Such an agenda must view and centre sex workers as people with diverse identities, needs and aspirations, and as co-producers of knowledge about their lives (Grenfell et al., 2018).

Engaging with power & participation in public health research

A growing focus on the structural determinants of health inequalities has helped to reorient public health research towards a social justice agenda (Marmot, 2005). Although some public health academics and institutions engage in the politics of such efforts, there remains a tendency to employ depoliticised terminology that obscures the historically-, geographically- and socially-embedded power relations of language, identity (Young and Meyer, 2005), health and wealth (Schuftan, 2009)—power relations that also pervade questions over what

constitutes "good evidence" (Parkhurst, 2017). In the case of sex work research, this is reflected in analyses which do not examine or comment on the influences of sex work and anti-trafficking laws, policing, and related discourses; those that reproduce binary and/or singular representations of sex workers without attention to contingent gendered, economic, and racial power relations; and those that do not consider the power implicated in language (not) used and questions (not) asked. When public health research does address or is used to inform sex work policy debates, it is often framed as less "political" than social science research (Cáceres et al., 2008a; Parkhurst, 2017). While this can be beneficial in the context of a highly polarised debate (Tucker and Tuminez, 2011), it fails to recognise the (bio)power relations in which public health research is embedded, and the need for concerted efforts to resist and reimagine these relations in collaboration with sex workers to emancipatory ends (Grenfell et al., 2018).

Participatory research offers one potential way to challenge these power relations. Sex workers are increasingly involved in implementing, steering, commissioning, and reviewing community-based public health research (see e.g. Blanchard et al., 2017; Crago, 2009; Scorgie et al., 2013b; NSWP, 1998-2016). Together with ethnographic studies of community-mobilisation programmes (Murray, 2015; Carrasco et al., 2017; Cornish, 2006a; Biradavolu et al., 2009; Blankenship et al., 2010), this has provided important insights into the concerns that matter most to sex workers. It has raised the profile of police and other violence, exclusion from health services, and sex workers' resistance against such injustices (Scorgie et al., 2013a; Crago, 2009; Shannon et al., 2015; Decker et al., 2015; Kerrigan et al., 2015). Sex workers have offered important ethical critiques of policy, practice, and research (Jeffreys, 2009; NSWP, 2004). Participatory action research has also done important work in challenging dominant

representations of sex workers, and power relations of knowledge production, both in terms of research outputs produced and in positioning sex workers as active producers of knowledge (Jeffreys, 2009; Nencel, 2017).

Yet such approaches also raise important questions surrounding the extent to which they challenge power relations between 'researchers' and 'researched' (England, 1994: 243). There are a number of detailed, critical accounts of participatory research undertaken by and with sex workers in public health (see e.g. Weeks et al., 2010; Busza, 2004), building on the critiques of feminist social scientists (see e.g. O'Neill, 1996; Nencel, 2017). reflecting on how such approaches can reinforce hierarchies with sex worker communities and/or result in tokenistic consultation. However, reports and papers often make only brief mention of participatory approaches and/or sex worker involvement, without discussing how these approaches and contingent power relations may have shaped the knowledge (co-)produced (e.g. our prior research Platt et al., 2011).

Participatory approaches require us as (public health) academics to acknowledge and challenge our own practices, priorities, related privileges, and agendas, including the ways in which these may reproduce dominant power relations (Skilbrei, 2017). They require us to share control while challenging symbolic, bureaucratic, and material institutional barriers to doing so (Grenfell et al., 2018). They also require academics and community researchers to reflect critically and collectively upon how willing we are to criticise elements of our shared and distinct worlds and positions, and upon the power relations between us, and between community researchers and other members of their 'community'—in the context of fiercely-polarised discourses and debates (Nencel, 2017) and in efforts to decolonise Global North-Global South public health research (Cáceres and Mendoza, 2009a). Such approaches require

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sufficient resources and institutional commitment to allow research to be conceptualised and undertaken in full partnership, driven by community's priorities, and to generate outputs that are most likely to be of use to them—which may privilege 'impact'-oriented publications over journal articles (Nyden, 2003). It is also imperative that as academics and practitioners working to support such efforts—particularly those of us based in the Global North—we make concerted efforts not to impose our identity categories and analytical frames without listening carefully to those with whom we seek to collaborate.

In the context of polarised and emotive debates relating to sex work policy, public health academics and practitioners are at times reluctant to get involved. Yet it is essential for us to do so if we are to contribute to challenging the power relations that restrict sex workers' safety, health, income, and justice, and their opportunities to participate equally in social, economic, and civic life (Fraser, 2009; Grenfell et al., 2018). To do so would be to recognise the intricate links between the structural injustices that sex workers face and the threats of violence, physical, and mental ill-health (Overs and Loff, 2013); it would also bring to the fore a social justice approach to public health.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Participatory training & planning (translation)

19th—23rd November 2012, UPCH, Miraflores campus

Facilitator: Pippa Grenfell, visiting researcher/PhD student

Programme

Day 1: The study	9am—1.30pm
Day 2: Data collection approach	9am—1.30pm
Day 3: Qualitative interviewing techniques	9am—1.30pm
Day 4: The topic guide	9am—1.30pm
Day 5: Interview practice	9am—1.30pm

Plan (see overleaf)

Planning notes

Day 1: The study

Session 1

Introductions (20 mins)
- Me: experience in qualitative research and training, especially re. sex work
- Interviewers: experience of (1) working with sex worker and LGBT communities (2) carrying out research (3) doing qualitative interviews/focus groups

Presentation and discussion of the study—*Questions, comments, and discussion throughout*

- Introduction (what we already know from other studies, here and elsewhere)
- The aims and conceptual framework of the study (incl. 'outputs')
  - Why we are focusing on violence, discrimination, and inequalities
- Methods (overview)
  - Why we are using qualitative methods
  - Sampling, inclusion criteria, data collection (where, how) , analysis
    - Why we want to interview female, trans and male participants
    - Why we are focusing on central Lima
  - Ethics approval progress
- Funder, research/advisory team, and timetable, including dissemination
- Role of interviewers (overview)[1]—interviews, fieldnotes, meetings; expectations, pay
- Expectations & challenges of study, incl. timing, dissemination etc, how we can address

Coffee break

Session 2

Presentation: working research questions and related concepts/themes (starting point)

Unpacking, contextualising and refining questions and concepts: activity in pairs

- Exploring definitions and meanings, using spider diagrams:
  - What do you think of/mean when you hear/say: 'violence', 'stigma', 'discrimination', 'inequality', ´structural factors'
  - What are the experiences of sex workers in (central) Lima in relation to these issues?
  - What do we already know?
  - What else do we need to know/understand/document? Other concepts/themes?
- Report back to the group

Summary

Summarise concepts, themes, discussions; relate to study aims and tomorrow's plan

Day 2: Data collection

<u>**Session 1**</u>

Questions, comments and discussion—throughout

Recruitment

- Principles, and specifics for this study
    - Purposive sampling; recruiting 'deviant cases', theoretical saturation –e.g.s
    - Diversity in relation to: gender (identity), age, ethnicity, financial position, migration status, workplace(s) in central Lima
    - Ensuring that participants reflect broader sex worker community in central Lima—other aspects of diversity we need to consider?
    - Formative work and role of the research assistant
- Practical challenges:
    - Brainstorming in pairs—challenges and how to address them?
    - Reporting back, group discussion

Ethical considerations and security

- Informed consent, confidentiality & anonymity, duty of care obligations —procedures, referral to health/support services, interviewer safety & wellbeing

Coffee break

<u>**Session 2**</u>**: interview process, debriefings, and team meetings**

Presentation/discussion

Preparation: organising interview time, date, location, preparing

Before starting interview:
- Ensuring participant eligibility, privacy of setting
- Explaining study, seeking informed consent; answering participant's questions
- Establishing good rapport—respect, not judging, putting participant at ease

The interview (overview—training on interview techniques & managing interview → day 3)
- The topic guide and interview process; audio-recording

After the interview:
- Voucher and information on services, contacting Pippa at end to debrief
- Preparing field notes:
    - Summary; how felt about dynamic, communication, topics, any difficulties
    - Themes, differences (this/last interviews), Qu's for next interviews
- Submitting documents and recorder to Pippa

Team meetings: discussion and analysis (everyone)

Practical activity

- Explaining the study and seeking informed consent
- Establishing rapport
- Dealing with difficulties during interview

Summary of the day

Day 3: Qualitative interviewing techniques

<u>**Session 1**</u>

Presentation & discussion—*questions, comments, and discussion throughout*

- o Qualitative methods—phenomena, meanings, practices
- o Semi/unstructured interviews (vs. structured interviews/questionnaires)
- o Formulating questions

Practical activity

- o Practising formulating questions in pairs

Coffee break

<u>**Session 2**</u>

Presentation & discussion—*questions, comments, and discussion throughout*
- o Active listening; asking follow-up questions/probing for further details
- o Balance between listening and guiding interview (e.g. managing tangents)
- o Managing specific situations: emotions, reluctance to respond, silence
- o Opening and closing interview

Practical activity
- o Opening, managing, and closing interview
- o Active listening and probing for further details

Summary

Day 4: The topic guide

<u>**Session 1**</u>

- o Recap of day 3 theory
- o The topic guide—*aim is to guide, not direct in rigid way; following participant's stories/accounts*
- o Discussing and adapting first section of topic guide
- o Practical activity: using the guide in pairs; feed back to group—*what (doesn't) work well; what is missing; which questions are most important; which are difficult, sensitive*

Coffee break

<u>**Session 2**</u>

- o Discussing and adapting second section of topic guide
- o Practical activity: using the guide in pairs; feed back to group—as above

Summary

Day 5: Interview practice

Session 1

- o Re-cap of interview process
- o How to use the digital recorder
- o Roleplaying interviews in pairs: full process incl. informed consent etc

Coffee break

Session 2

- o Debriefing discussion in pairs
- o Debriefing discussion as a group
- o Further practice, if needed
- o Questions, comments, and discussion

Summary of training, next steps

Appendix 2: Sample topic guide, interviews with sex workers

This sample topic guide, developed for my PhD upgrading report and ethics applications, outlines the key provisional domains to be explored during interviews with sex workers—to be further developed with community co-researchers. Key areas of exploration are listed, with an accompanying rationale. Given the exploratory nature of these interviews, which aim to follow participants' narratives, this document will act to guide, but not overly direct, discussion. Questions and prompts outlined offer examples of how we might access these accounts during interviews. In line with inductive qualitative research, the topic guide will be adapted throughout data collection, as key themes emerge for exploration in later interviews. Interviews will explore experiences of stigma, discrimination, violence, and other risks through three main questioning strategies: (1) *'everyday' experiences/accounts*, (2) *specific events* and how 'routine' or exceptional these are, and (3) how phenomena differ according to *physical* and *social space*. For clarity, these are not differentiated in the topic guide but will be employed throughout interviews, asking participants to give specific examples and to reflect on how their experiences differ by setting.

Domain	Key areas of exploration	Rationale	Example questions	Prompts/probes
Opening discussion	Introduction	Establishing rapport; making participant feel at ease; leading into subsequent discussion of daily work and home life.	How are you? How's your day going/been today?	
Daily life	•Balancing work/home life •Responsibilities •Priorities/demands	Gaining a sense of participant's everyday life; responsibilities; competing priorities, demands and concerns	Is today a typical day? What's a typical day like?	Work life; home life; competing demands
Work life	Working environment Likes/dislikes in relation to work Relationships and interactions with colleagues, managers, clients, others: • Hierarchy/power	Finding out about work set-up; how (s)he views his/her work; relationships with managers, colleagues, and clients; and how these elements differ according to work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality.	One of the things I'd like to ask you about is what your work's like, day-to-day. What's a typical working day like for you? • What do you like about your work? Dislike? • What are your manager(s) & colleagues like? How do you get on with them? • If you need help or advice at work, who do you usually ask?	Work set-up; autonomy; environment/ conditions; alcohol/drugs Practicalities; lifestyle; (dis)satisfaction Support, respect, stigma/discrimination, competition, hierarchy—negotiation/ control Practical/emotional

			What're your clients like?	Negotiation; control; judgement
	• Support/competition • Treatment (respect, stigma, discrimination) • Comparison with other sex workers		• How do you get on/interact with them? • How would you describe a 'good' client? A 'bad' client? How about other sex workers, do they work in the same/different way?	Work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, migration & legal status
Home life	Relationships outside of work • Support • Control • Treatment (respect, stigma/discrimination)	Finding out about home life and relationships, how participants feel supported and treated, and to what extent they feel in control in these relationships	We've talked about your work, but I'd also like to ask you a bit about your daily life outside of work. How do you usually spend your time when you're not working? • Who do you spend time with? • What's your relationship like? How does (s)he act towards you? • What are the main problems you face in your day-to-day life? • If you need help or advice, who do you usually go to?	Domestic life/family responsibilities; free-time; competing demands Family/relatives; partner(s); children; friends; others Support; respect; stigma/discrimination; power/control Financial; housing; family/children; partner; work; health Practical/emotional
Disclosure	• Disclosure of sex work • Felt and enacted stigma • Comparison with other sex workers' experiences	Exploring experiences of disclosure of sex work (own and others); *felt* (how expected to be treated) and *enacted* (how actually treated e.g. discrimination) stigma in relation to (not) disclosing sex work and how this is dealt with	Have you told anyone about your work? • How did they react? • How did you think they would react? • What do they think about it now? Why don't people want to tell others about their work? • How would people react? • Why do you think that? • Have you ever seen this happen to other people? Heard about it?	Family/relatives; partner(s); children; friends; others }Support, respect, concern, stigma/ discrimination, rejection Support, respect, concern, stigma/ discrimination, rejection Work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, migration & legal status
Meaning of sex work	• Meaning of sex work to self	Finding out what sex work means to participants and how they think others view	What do people think about sex work(ers)?	Family, partner(s), friends, other people in your community, Lima, Peru; doctors/

		it, as a means of exploring felt and enacted stigma & strategies for dealing with this	Is it the same for all sex workers? What do you think of yourself? Other sex workers?	nurses, police, politicians, religious figures; peers, managers, clients }Work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, migration & legal status
Work-related risks	• Meaning of risk & vulnerability • Experiences of risk • Risk management strategies • Factors affecting risk & risk management • Comparison with others	Exploring: experiences and meaning of risk and vulnerability; risk management strategies, how these are learned and factors which shape their success/failure; and how these differ according to, for example, work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality.	What kind of problems/risks do you face at work? • How do you deal with them? • How did you learn to deal with them this way? • What makes it easier/harder to do this? • What happens when this doesn't work? What about other sex workers, what kind of problems do they face?	Violence, theft, health problems—physical, sexual, emotional, alcohol/drugs, stigma/ discrimination, financial exploitation }Role of peers, managers, clients, others, working environment, police, services, policies, law Work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, migration & legal status
Safety & violence at work	• Meaning of violence • Experiences of violence • Risk management strategies • Factors affecting risk & risk management • Effects on well-being, relationships, and risk management capacity (physical, sexual, emotional) • Comparative experiences and vulnerabilities	Exploring: experiences and meaning of violence (physical, sexual, and emotional) at work; how these are dealt with or protected against; their effects on physical and emotional well-being, and relationships with others; and how these differ for sex workers according to, for example, their work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality.	I'd like to ask you (more) about safety at work. How do you manage your (physical) safety while you're working? • How did you learn to deal with them this way? • What makes it easier/harder to do this? • What happens when this doesn't work? • How would you describe a safe working environment? A risky/dangerous one? Has anyone ever been aggressive or violent towards you at work? Can you tell me what happened? • How did you deal with it? • Did you tell anyone/report it (to police, manager etc)? How did they react? • How did you feel afterwards? Now? • How did it affect your work? Your day-to-day your life?	}Role of peers, managers, clients, others, working environment, police, services, policies, law }Meaning & experience of violence (physical, sexual, emotional); by clients, managers, colleagues, police, others Seeking support Support, protection, respect, stigma/ discrimination Physically; emotionally Interactions with clients, managers, colleagues, others; risk management

			Have you seen this happening to other people? Heard about it?	(sexual, physical, emotional; drugs/alcohol) Work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, migration & legal status
Safety & violence outside of work	• Meaning of violence • Experiences of violence • Risk management strategies • Factors affecting risk management • Effects on well-being, relationships, and risk management capacity (physical, sexual, emotional) • Comparative experiences and vulnerabilities	Exploring: experiences and meaning of violence (physical, sexual, and emotional) outside of work; how these are dealt with or protected against; their effects on physical and emotional well-being, and relationships with others; and how these might compare for other sex workers	I'd also like to ask you about safety outside of work. Since you started working, have you experienced any aggression or violence *outside* of work? • Can you tell me a bit about it? • How do/did you deal with it? • Did you tell anyone/report it (e.g. to police)? How did they react? • What makes/made it easier/harder to deal with? • How do/did you feel afterwards? Now? • How does/did it affect your day-to-day life? Your working life? Have you seen this happening to any of your colleagues? Heard about it?	Meaning of non-work violence (physical, sexual, emotional); by partner(s), family/relatives, friends, children, others Seeking support; reporting Support; protection; respect; stigma/discrimination Family, partner, friends, peers, police, health & other services/organisations Physically; emotionally Capacity; interactions with partner(s), family, friends, children, others; risk management (sexual, physical, emotional; drugs/alcohol) Work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, migration & legal status
Police & authorities	Experiences with police, security patrols & authorities • Reporting (theft/violence), support, protection • Harassment, arrest, imprisonment • Treatment—respect, felt and enacted stigma	Exploring experiences of police protection and harassment, respect, felt vs. enacted stigma, and strategies for dealing with this	[Draw on earlier mention of police e.g. reporting, aggression etc]. I'd like to ask you a little about your experiences with police & other authorities. Have you had much contact with police/security patrols since you've been working? • Can you tell me a bit about what happened/usually happens? • How did/do they act towards you? • How did you deal with this? • How did you expect them to act towards you? Why's that?	Police/security patrols; harassment; arrest; imprisonment; reporting theft/abuse Support/protection; aggression/violence; control, respect, stigma/discrimination

			Have you seen or heard about other sex workers' interactions with police/security patrols? What were their experiences like?	Work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, migration & legal status
Health & other services	Experiences with health, social and legal services, as well as community and religious organisations • Accessibility • Quality of care • Treatment—respect, felt and enacted stigma	Finding out about experiences of accessing and receiving care/support from healthcare and other services; exploring felt vs. enacted stigma, and strategies for dealing with this	I'd also like to ask you about your contact with health services since you've been working. Where do you tend to go if you want advice on a health issue? If you have a health concern? • What's your experience been like, using these kind of services? • How did staff act towards you? • How did you expect them to act? Why's that? Have you had contact with other services or groups since you've started working, like social services, legal support, community, or religious organisations? Sex worker organisations? • What was your experience like with them? • How did staff act towards you? • How did you expect them to act? Why's that?	Private/public; specialist services—sexual health, sex workers Access (opening hours, location, eligibility criteria), quality of care Clinical/admin staff; support, stigma/discrimination, aggression, violence E.g. for assistance finding housing, financial support, fighting fines/prosecution Access (opening hours, location, eligibility criteria), quality of care Support, protection, stigma/discrimination, aggression, violence
Needs & entitlements	• Unmet health and service needs • Rights and entitlements • What needs to change	Finding out about unmet health and social care needs, and perceptions of how service accessibility/quality could improve; exploring perceptions of sex workers' entitlements, as a means of indirectly exploring stigma	Is there any help or support that you need but feel you can't access at present? How about other sex workers? What would make it easier to access this kind of help? What do you think sex workers *should* be entitled to?	Healthcare (physical, emotional); safety/protection against theft & violence; social support; legal support; information on sex workers' rights; other Work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, migration & legal status Location, opening hours, eligibility criteria, staff attitudes Healthcare (physical, emotional); safety/protection against theft & violence; social support; legal support/protection;

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				information on sex workers' rights; employment rights; other
			Who should these apply to, in your opinion?	Work sector, economic position, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, migration & legal status
Future plans	• Expectations • Hopes and concerns	Exploring future expectations, hopes and concerns	How do you see the next few months going? After that? How do you imagine your future? What would you like it to be like?	Work life; home life; relationships
Closing discussion	• Experience of participating in study • Other issues not asked about • Desire to know about findings	Asking participants to reflect on their participation in the study and talking about their experiences, to raise any issues not asked about, and to find out if they would like to be kept informed about our findings	We're coming to the end of the interview now. Thank you very much for your time and for sharing your thoughts and experiences with me. How have you found it, participating in this interview? Talking to me about your experiences? Was it what you expected? Is there anything else you feel you'd like to say, or that you think is important, that I haven't asked you about? Would you like to hear about what we find?	

Appendix 3: Adapted topic guide, interviews with sex workers

This is a translation of a version of the topic guide (v.3, 06.12.12) adapted during and after co-researcher training and preparation, used for initial interviews. We adapted and refined the guide throughout data collection (see Chapter 4, *Formulating the interview guide*).

Initial discussion
- How are you? How's your day going/ been?
- Is today a typical day for you? What's a typical day like for you?

Work
- **What is a typical work day/night like, for you?**
  Probe about: where works e.g. street, house, hotel, 'hueco' (place e.g. disused house); working environment/context and conditions; their autonomy over deciding how works e.g. timetable, place, clients; approx. how many clients per day/night; how long has worked in sex work

- **What do you like about the work? What don't you like?**

- **What is a good work day/night like for you? And a bad work day/night?**

- **At work, who do you usually hang out/interact with?**
  Ask about each actor in (their) sex work e.g. clients, 'proxenetas' (~pimps), other sex workers (different genders), police, serenazgo, neighbours in work zone, street vendors, anyone else mentioned.

  - **How do you get on with her/him? How do they treat you?**
    Probe about support, respect, discrimination, competition, negotiation, power/control

- **How do you get on/interact with your clients?**

  Probe about: negotiation, control

- How would you describe a 'good' client? And a 'bad' client?
  Probe about criteria they have for deciding if going to accept client or not

- **If you need help or advice at work, who do you usually ask?**
  Probe about practical and emotional help and support; ask for specific examples

- **Do other sex workers work in the same way as you, or in a different way?**
  Probe about: where work and relationships with clients, 'proxenetas', police etc; differences and similarities according to gender (cis-women, men, trans), age (younger, older), economic position (people with more/less money), where from and ethnicity (people from Lima, other cities/countries)

Personal/home life
We've talked a bit about your work. I also wanted to ask you about your day-to-day life outside of work.

- **How do you usually spend time when you're not working?**
  Probe about: home life, who lives with, responsibilities, free time, drug, and alcohol use

- **What do you like doing to relax?** *Probe about frequency*

- **What do you do if you feel stressed? Anxious?**

- **Who do you spend time with?**
  Probe about: family, partner(s), children, friends, others

  o **What's your relationship like with that person? How do they treat you?**
    Probe about: support, respect, discrimination, power/control

  o **What problems do you face in your daily life?**
  Probe about: financial/housing problems, problems with family, children, partner(s), problems with work & health

  o **If you need help or advice in your daily life, who do you usually ask?**
  Probe about: practical and emotional help and advice; ask for specific examples of looking for/receiving help or advice

Work-related risks

- **What problems/risks do you face in your work?**
  Probe about: robbery, violence, discrimination, economic exploitation, physical, sexual & emotional health, drugs, and alcohol; how problems differ by: zone, work time, place
- **How do you manage them? How did you learn to manage them this way?**
  o **What helps you manage them? What hinders you?**
    Probe about: other workers, 'proxenetas', clients, police, serenazgo, neighbours in work zone, street vendors, health services, laws/regulations, ask for specific e.g.s
  o **What happens when this doesn't work?**
    What kind of problems do other sex workers face?
    Probe about: differences and similarities according to where work, gender, age, economic position, where from, ethnicity

Safety and violence at work

- **How do you take care of yourself in terms of your safety when you're working?**
  Probe about: how differs according to context—place, time, zone etc; ask for specific e.g.s.

  o **How did you learn to take care of yourself like that?**

  o **What helps? What hinders?** *Probe about: other sex workers, 'proxenetas', clients, police, serenazgo, neighbours in work zone, health services, law*

  o **What happens when this doesn't work?**

- **How would you describe a safe work environment? And a dangerous work environment?**

- **Has anyone ever been aggressive or violent towards you when you were working? Could you tell me what happened?**
  Probe about: physical, sexual, and emotional violence by e.g. clients, 'proxenetas', other sex workers, police, serenazgo, people who charge 'cupos', anyone else mentioned

  - **How do/did you deal with it?**

  - **Did you tell or report it to anyone? Did you seek any help? Why's that/why not?**
    Probe about: sex worker/LGBT rights organisations, Ombudsman, police, health services, 'proxeneta', colleagues, neighbours, partner, family, friends etc.

    ▪ **How did they react?** *Probe about: help, protection, respect, discrimination*

- **How did you feel afterwards? And now?** *Probe about how felt physically & emotionally*

- **How did it affect your work? And your day-to-day life?** *Probe about: physical and emotional effects; how affected the way you interact with other people and manage risks—confidence, fear, control etc.*

  o **Have you seen or heard about this happening to other people? What happened? How did you feel when you saw/heard that?**

Safety and violence outside of work

I also wanted to ask you about safety outside of work.

- **Since you started working, has anyone been aggressive or violent towards you outside of work? Could you tell me what happened?** *Probe about: physical, sexual, and emotional violence by e.g. partner, family, children, friends, neighbours/community, police, serenazgo, anyone else mentioned*

- **How do/did you deal with it?**

- **Did you tell or report it to anyone? Did you seek any help? Why's that/why not?** *Probe about: sex worker/LGBT rights organisations, Ombudsman, police, health services, 'proxeneta', colleagues, neighbours, partner, family, friends etc.*

  ▪ **How did they react?** *Probe about: help, protection, respect, discrimination*

- **How did you feel afterwards? And now?** *Probe about how felt physically & emotionally*

- **How did it affect your day-to-day life? And your work?** *Probe about: physical and emotional effects; how affected the way you interact with other people and manage risks—confidence, fear, control etc.*

  o **Have you seen or heard about this happening to other people? What happened? How did you feel when you saw/heard that?**

Disclosure of sex work

- **Have you told anyone about your work?** *Probe about everyone in life: family, partner(s), children, friends, other people*

  o **How did you approach the subject?**

  o **How did they react?** *Probe about: worry, discrimination, rejection, support, respect*

  o **How did you think they were *going* to react? Why's that?**

  o **What do they think about your work now?**

- (If not): Do you think your family, partner etc know about your work? That they suspect?

- **Why do you think sex workers don't want to tell people about their work?**

  o **How would these people react?** *Probe about: worry, discrimination, rejection, support, respect*

  o **Why do you think that?**

  o **Have you seen/heard about that happening to other people (re. disclosure)? What happened? How did you feel when you saw/heard that?**

Meaning of sex work

- **What do you think people think about sex work? And about sex workers?**

Probe about: everyone in your life and society: family, partner(s), friends; other people in community, in Lima, in Peru; doctors, nurses, police, politicians, religious leaders, clients, 'proxenetas', colleagues

- **Do people think the same way about all sex workers?**
  Probe about: gender, age, where work, economic position, where from, ethnicity

- **What do you think about yourself** (as a sex worker)**? And about other sex workers?**

Police and authorities

[Refer back to what participant has told you about their experiences with police e.g. reporting, aggression]. I wanted to ask you a bit about your experiences with police and other authorities.

- **Have you had contact with the police, serenazgo, DINICRI[158] since you started working? Can you tell me a bit about what happened/happens usually?** *Probe about: harassment, arrest, detention/prison, reporting theft/violence*

  o **How did/do they treat you?** *Probe about help, protection, aggression, violence, control, discrimination*

  o **How did/do you deal with it?**

    ▪ *In cases of mistreatment/discrimination:*

Did you tell/report it to anyone? Did you seek any help? Why's that/not?

> *Probe about sex worker/LGBT rights organisations, Ombudsman, police, health services, 'proxeneta', colleagues, neighbours, partner, family, friends etc.*

    ▪ **How did they react?** *Probe about: help, protection, respect, discrimination*

  - **How do/did you feel about this? And now?** *Probe about how felt physically & emotionally*

    o **How did you think they were going to treat you? Why's that?**

- **Have you seen/heard about other sex workers' interactions with the police/serenazgo? What happened? How did you feel seeing/hearing that?**

Health and other services

I also wanted to ask you about your contact with health and other services since you started working.

What do you do if you have a health problem? And if you need advice about your health? Who do you go to? *Probe about sexual, physical, and emotional health, including hormone treatment, silicone, drugs and alcohol, self-treatment, public, private, governmental & NGO services*

- **How were your experiences when you accessed/used these services?** *Probe about: opening hours, location, requirements for accessing services, quality*

- **How did the staff treat you?** *Probe about: clinical and administrative staff e.g. receptionists, nurses, doctors; help, respect, discrimination, aggression*

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[158]*National Police Force criminal investigationdirective*

- o **How did/do you deal with it?**
  - ▪ *In cases of mistreatment/discrimination:*

Did you tell/report it to anyone? Did you seek any help? Why's that/not?

> *Probe about: SW/LGBT rights organisations, Ombudsman, police, health services, 'proxeneta', colleagues, neighbours, partner, family, friends etc*

- o **How do/did you feel about this? And now?** *Probe about how felt physically & emotionally*

- o **How did you think they were going to treat you? Why's that?**

- **Have you had any contact with other services or organisations since you started working?**
  Probe about: legal assistance services, community organisations/NGOs, SW/LGBT rights organisations, religious organisations

  - o **How was your experience with them?** *Probe about: opening hours, location, requirements to access services, quality of care*

  - o **How did the staff treat you?** *Probe about: clinical and administrative staff e.g. receptionists, nurses, doctors; help, respect, discrimination, aggression*
  - o **How did/do you deal with it?**
  - o **How do/did you feel about this? And now?** *Probe about how felt physically & emotionally*
  - o **How did you think they were going to treat you? Why's that?**

Needs and rights
- **Is there any assistance or help that you need but that you can't access at the moment? And other sex workers?**
  Probe about: physical and emotional/psychological health services, protection against violence and discrimination, social and legal assistance, information about sex workers'/LGBT rights (
- **What would help you (and other sex workers) access these services?**
  Probe about: location, opening hours, requirements for accessing attention, how treated by staff
- **What rights should sex workers have, in your opinion? Which are most important, for you?** *Probe about which rights e.g. re. sexual, physical, emotional health; work; protection against violence and discrimination; social and legal assistance; who should(n't) have these rights*
- **What helps sex workers access these rights at the moment? What hinders them?**

Future plans
How do you see the next few months going? And after that?
How do you imagine your future? How would you like it to be?
Concluding discussion
Thank you very much for your time and for sharing your opinions and experiences with me.

- **How have you found it, participating in this interview? And talking to me about your experiences? Was it what you expected?**
- **Is there anything else you want to say, or that you think is important that I haven't asked you about?**
- **Would you like to know about the study's results?**

Appendix 4: Summary topic guide, interviews with sex workers *(translation)*

WORK	LIFE & SOCIAL SUPPORT	DISCLOSURE	MEANING OF SEX WORK	RISKS	SAFETY	VIOLENCE, INSULTS ETC.	POLICE, SERENAZGO	HEALTH & OTHER SERIVCES	NEEDS & RIGHTS
Modality & environment	Relationships → *people/orgs*	*Sex work, sexuality, gender identity*	What people think - sex work, sex workers → *people/orgs*	Worries & problems - e.g. physical & emotional, theft etc, how you manage them → *stories,* → *people/orgs* → *contexts*	*In & outside of work*	*In & outside of work*	Experiences → *stories,* → *people/orgs*	Advice on health	Assistance/ support that is missing
Conditions	Housing	Who → *people/orgs*			Way(s) or protecting self → *contexts*	Experiences, how manage(d) → *stories,* → *people/orgs* → *contexts*	Reactions How you thought they were going to react	HIV/STI prevention, testing, treatment	Other SWs → *other SWs*
Relationships → *people/orgs*	Worries	Reactions, anticipations	The same about everyone? → *other SWs*		How learned?			*Trans women:* Hormones, silicone	What could help you/them access?
What you (don't) like	Advice - practical, emotional → *people/orgs*	Your feelings		People/things that make it - easier - harder → *people/orgs*	People/things that make it - easier - harder → *people/orgs*	Help, reporting, reactions → *people*	Help, reporting, who/where, reactions	If you don't feel well - physically, emotionally	Rights - most important
Good/bad day/night	Stress, tension, anxiety, relaxation, leisure	How you thought they were going to react	What you think of yourself				**Effects & feelings: work, personal life**		*Future plans, final discussion*
Good/bad client				Advice → *people/orgs*	Safe/ dangerous work environment → *contexts*	**Effects & feelings: work, personal life**		Contact with services / organisations → *stories,* → *people/orgs*	
At first & now		Why (don't) you/we want to tell people	What you think of others → *other SWs*				Other SWs → *other SWs*		
Other SWs → *other SWs*				Who is more/less protected → *other SWs*		Other SWs → *other SWs*			

People/orgs—<u>how you get on, they treat you, you feel</u>
- Friends/colleagues at work, people in SW spaces (e.g. 'pirañas'), clients, pimps, residents, vendors, passersby
- Family, partners, children, friends, colleagues, neighbours, landlords
- Police, SW/LGBT orgs, NGOs, health services, outreach workers, Ombudsman, journalists

Stories
- Can you give me e.g.? What happened?
- How did you deal with the situation?
- How did you feel? Now?

Contexts
- Does it happen often/rarely?
- Does it happen same way in: Eg. plaza, street, hotel, bars; day, night, week(end)

Other SWs (sex workers)
- Female, trans, male
- Younger/older
- Lima/other regions (incl race/ethnicity)
- More/less money

Appendix 5: Anonymous recruitment monitoring log (translation)

Project *Day-to-Day Life*
Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia and London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine
Principal Investigator: Pippa Grenfell Advisors (UPCH): Dr. Carlos Cáceres y Ximena Salazar

SAMPLE MONITORING FORM (IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS)

Interview code	Interview date (day/month/year)	Gender (identity)	Age (years)	How long been selling sex (years/months)	Work mode/location (e.g. street, sauna, internet)	Origin (where from)—tick		
						Lima/ Callao	Other part of Peru	Other country

Appendix 6: Topic guide, interviews with key informants

This is a translation of a general version of the guide used for interviews with key informants, which we tailored to each informant's organisation, as appropriate, in line with their remit and to explore relevant themes emerging from interviews with sex workers.

<u>Organisation</u>

- **Could you tell me a bit about the work or your organisation/institution?**

- **What groups or populations does your work focus on? / which groups or populations do you provide services to?**

  E.g. Gender, young people, adults, sex workers, LGBT people, people living with HIV, people who use drugs

- **What are the main areas of your work? / What services do you provide?**

  Fixed site and community health services (HIV, sexual health, psychology, counselling), workshops, social and legal assistance, advocacy, policy development, research

  What is your role? What are your main responsibilities? How long have you been in this role?

<u>Work with sex workers</u>

- **How does your organisation/work relate to sex workers or the issue of sex work? And the LGBT community?**

  Probe about characteristics e.g. Gender, age, work zones/places

  What are the main areas of your work with respect to sex workers/LGBT people? What services do you provide?

  Sexual, physical, psychological health; HIV/STIs—information, prevention, testing, treatment, social support, counselling, workshops, social/legal assistance, advocacy, policy development, research

- **What are the requirements (that people must meet) to access these services?**

  E.g. National ID card, age, nationality, payment/fees, participating in research, Atención Médica Periódica (monthly HIV/STI testing), desire/intention to leave sex work

- **Does your organisation have a specific policy or strategy in relation to working with sex workers and LGBT people? Can you tell me a little about it?**

  Definition of sex work/prostitution (incl. gender, age, autonomy, trafficking); (anti-)discriminatory policies; requirements

- **Can you tell me a little about your experiences of providing services to sex workers? And the LGBT community?**

- **What helps you to provide services to sex workers/LGBT people? What hinders you? What are the main challenges in providing services to them?**

  Explore e.g. requirements for accessing services, community's willingness/fear, stigma, funding, human resources, authorities, policies, laws, media

Sex work: sectors, environment

- **How do sex workers your organisation has contact with work? Where do they work** (zone)**? When and how often?** (During day/night). **What are their working conditions like, re. hygiene, safety etc? How and at what age do they usually start sex work?**

- **What are the relationships like between sex workers** (female, trans, male), **with pimps, clients, the police, serenazgo?**

- **What similarities and differences are there in the way that sex workers work?**
  E.g. Female, trans, male, younger, older, economic position, region of origin/ethnicity (Lima, other regions, other countries)
  Probe about zones, sectors/modalities, relationships with clients, third parties, police etc

Sex workers' home lives

- **How are the home lives of the sex workers you work with? And the conditions where they live** (cost, amenities, security)**?**

- **What are the main problems/worries they face in their daily lives?**
  E.g. Money, accommodation, relationships, work, health, lack of support/help, lack of opportunities (e.g. Education)

- **¿How are their relationships with family, partners, children, friends, community? How do they treat them?**
  Probe about support, respect, discrimination, power/control, rejection

Disclosure of sex work, sexual orientation, and gender identity

- **Do the sex workers you work with usually tell other people about their work, sexual orientation, gender identity?** *E.g. family, partner(s), children, Friends, neighbours, others*

- **How do they usually react? Why's that? How do these reactions affect sex workers/LGBT people?**

- **Why do you think sex workers don't want to tell people about their work? About their sexual orientation, gender identity?**

- **How would people react? Why's that?**

Meaning of sex work, sexual orientation, and gender identity

- **In your experience, what do people think about sex work? And about sex workers? LGBT people?**

- **What do institutions/organisations think about this?** *Including 'sex work' versus 'prostitution'*

  - Do they think the same about all forms of sex work, all sex workers/LGBT people? Or are there differences?

- **What do people think about the work you do in relation to sex work, LGBT people?**

- **What do <u>you</u> think about sex work? And sex workers? And LGBT people?**

Risks and problems

- **What problems and risks do sex workers face in their work?** *Probe about: harassment, theft, violence, discrimination, economic exploitation, 'cobradores de cupo', health problems (physical, sexual, emotional), drugs/alcohol; <u>how these issues differ by context—place, time, work zone etc</u>*

- **Who are more/less vulnerable?**
  Probe about: gender (identity), sexual orientation, age, economic position, origin/ethnicity, drugs/alcohol, HIV

- **How do sex workers tend to manage these risks? What helps? What hinders?**

- **What is the role of other people in the sex work scene?** E.g. other sex workers, pimps, other third parties, partners, clients, residents in work zones, gangs, 'pirañas'

- **What is the role of public services (in increasing/reducing these risks), in practice** (health, peer outreach workers, social)**? Other organisations?** *E.g. NGOs, sex worker/LGBT rights organisations, faith-based organisations.* **Security services** (e.g. police, serenazgo)**? Authorities** (municipality, Ministries of Health, Women, Interior, Justice)**? The Ombudsman? The church? The media/journalists? <u>Your organisation</u>?**

- **What should their role be? What are the main challenges in fulfilling this role?**

Safety and Violence

- **How do sex workers manage their personal safety when working? And outside of work?**

- **What kinds of aggression/violence do they face?** *E.g. theft, insults, threats, physical/sexual violence*

- **Who by?** *E.g. Clients, pimps, other third parties, other sex workers, 'cobradores de cupo', gangs/'pirañas', police, serenazgo, partners, family, community, passers-by*

- **Who are more/less vulnerable? Why's that?**
  Gender (identity0, sexuality, age, economic position, origin/ethnicity, alcohol/drug use, HIV

- **How do they manage these risks? What helps/hinders them in managing them?**

- **What is the role of other people on the sex work scene?**
  E.g. other sex workers, pimps, clients, neighbours/residents in work zone, 'pirañas', gangs

- **What is the role of public services (in increasing/decreasing these risks) in practice** (e.g. health, outreach, social)**? Other organisations** (e.g. NGOs, sex worker/LGBT rights organisations, faith-based organisations)**? Security forces** (e.g. police, serenazgo)**? Authorities** (municipality, ministries of health, women, interior, justice)**? The Ombudsman? The (Catholic) church? Media/journalists? <u>Your organisation</u>?**

- **What should their/your role be? What are the main challenges in fulfilling this role?**

- **Who can sex workers report experiences of harassment, violence, theft, robbery?**

- **Do they report these experiences in reality? Why/not? What helps/hinders them in reporting them?**

- **How would you describe a safe work environment for sex workers? And a dangerous one?**

- **How do these experiences of harassment, violence, mistreatment etc affect sex workers, in your opinion? At work and in their personal lives?** *E.g. physical/emotional effects, relationships with others, how manage risks, trust, fear, control etc*

Police and authorities: role and interactions

- **What is the role of the police with respect to sex work in Lima?**
  E.g. protection of sex workers against violence, discrimination, exploitation; maintaining citizen safety; regulation of sex work; detention in cases of crimes etc

- **How do police interact with sex workers in practice? How do they treat them? How should they treat them?**
  Support, respect, protection, harassment, discrimination, violence, raids, arrest, detention, 'cupos'

- **Do they treat everyone (sex workers) the same or are there differences?**
  E.g. gender (identity), sexual identity, age, economic position, origin/ethnicity, drug/alcohol use, HIV

Public services and other organisations

- **Where can sex workers go if they need advice about their health, or medical attention?**
  Probe about public and private services, governmental and NGOs, outreach workers, physical and emotional health

- **Where do they go in reality? Why's that?**

- **What helps/hinders them in accessing these services, in practice?**
  Access & quality of care, hours, location, cost, eligibility requirements e.g. re ID card, insurance; staff

- **Who has more difficulty accessing these services? Why's that?**
  E.g. gender (identity), sexual identity, age, economic position, origin/ethnicity, drug/alcohol use, HIV

- **How do staff treat them?**
  E.g. receptionists, nurses, doctors; support, respect, discrimination, aggression

- **Where/how can they access social or legal assistance?** *E.g. to get accommodation, receive economic support, fight against: fines, detention, experiences of discrimination/violence*

- **How/where can they access social support?**
  E.g. workshops, advice, NGOs, sex worker/LGBT rights organisations

- **Where do they receive this assistance/support in reality? Why's that?**

- **What helps/hinders them in accessing this assistance/support, in practice?**
  Access and quality of care, hours, location, cost, eligibility e.g. re ID card, insurance; staff

- **Who has more difficulty accessing these services? Why's that?**
  E.g. gender (identity), sexual identity, age, economic position, origin/ethnicity, drug/alcohol use, HIV

- **How do staff treat them?**
  E.g. receptionists, nurses, doctors; support, respect, discrimination, aggression

<u>**Needs and rights**</u>

- **Is there any assistance or support that sex workers need but can't access at the moment? And LGBT people (more broadly)? Why's that?**
  Probe about health services (physical and emotional), protection against violence/discrimination, social and legal assistance, information about sex worker/LGBT rights

- **What stops them from accessing this support at the moment? What stops services/org.s from being able to provide this support to sex workers/LGBT people?**

- **Do you think that your organisation has, or should have, a role in this? In what way? What are the main challenges in this respect?**

- **What rights should sex workers/LGBT people have, in your opinion?** *E.g. rights to health, labour rights, protection against violence/discrimination/exploitation, access to education (scholarships), work; probe about priorities—gender, sexuality, age, economic position, origin/ethnicity, HIV, drugs*

- **What could facilitate access to, or defence of, these rights? What hinders this at present?**

- **What could/should the role of public services be in this respect** (e.g. health, social)**? Other organisations** (e.g. NGOs, sex worker/LGBT rights organisations, faith-based organisations)**? Security forces** (e.g. police, serenazgo)**? Authorities** (municipality, ministries of health, women, interior, justice)**? The Ombudsman? The (Catholic) church? Media/journalists? <u>Your organisation</u>?**

- **What are the main challenges with respect to sex work, or for sex workers and LGBT people? How can these challenges be overcome?**

<u>**Concluding discussion**</u>

- **Is there anything else you'd like to say, or that seems important to you but that I haven't asked you about?**

- **Are there other representatives/organisations/activists that you would recommend I interview? Reports/resources that you would recommend?**

- Many thanks for your participation and for sharing your experiences and opinions with me. Would you be interested in attending/participating in an event at which we present the results of the study?

Informed consent for interviews with participants
Our Experience: day-to-day life

_____

Institutions: London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (London, UK)

                  Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia (Lima, Peru)

Research team: Pippa Grenfell, Ximena Salazar, Dr. Carlos Cáceres

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We would like to invite you to take part in a study about the experiences and daily lives of people working in the sex industry in Lima. Before deciding whether you want to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it involves.

Please consider the information in this leaflet carefully and ask me any questions you may have.

Why are we carrying out the study?

We are carrying out this study to learn more about how people working in the sex industry manage their safety and well-being, access health and support services, and feel treated by others, in everyday life. We would like to talk to people aged 18 or above who currently work (or have recently worked) in the sex industry in Lima. This information will help us to make recommendations to improve health and support services, and the protection of rights, for people working in the sex industry.

Who is carrying out the study?

Pippa Grenfell is responsible for this study in coordination with the *Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia* in Peru and the *London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine* in the U.K. The study is funded by the *Medical Research Council* in the U.K.

If I decide to participate, what do I need to do?

We will invite you to take part in an interview with a member of the research team at a time and in a place that is convenient for you.

During the interview, the researcher will ask you about your experiences working in the sex industry, and about how you manage your safety and well-being, access services, and feel treated by others in everyday life. During the interview, feel free to share experiences or ideas that you feel are important, even if you haven't been asked directly about them. If you feel uncomfortable at any point in the interview, tell the researcher and (s)he will change the topic. The interview will last approximately an hour.

With your permission, the researcher will record the interview. We do this so that we can concentrate on what you tell us and don't need to write it down. The recording will be password-protected and stored in a safe location accessible only to the research team. The recording will be destroyed at the end of the study.

Is the study confidential?

Yes. Any information that you give us will be kept **confidential** and only the research team will have access to it. You do not need to give us your first name or surname; it is enough to give us a pseudonym, a nickname or another name that you choose. The information you give us will not be linked to your name or to your personal details.

The only exception to this will be if you tell us something that makes us concerned that you or a child are in immediate danger. If this happens, we may need to tell someone who can help. Before passing on any information, we will always discuss this with you.

What are the possible risks and benefits of taking part in the study?

During the interview, the researcher will ask you about your experiences. You do not have to talk about anything that you would prefer not to discuss. If you decide to take part and later change your mind, you are free to stop the interview at any time without giving a reason.

There is no direct benefit to your participation in the study. However, the information that you provide will help us to make recommendations to improve health and support services, and the protection of rights, for people working in the sex industry, especially regarding safety and well-being. The findings of this study will be shared with a wide range of groups, including those who provide health and support services for people working in the sex industry.

Will I be compensated for my time?

To thank you for your participation, we will give you a gift (cosmetic products or mobile phone credit) worth 30 soles.

Do I have to take part?

No. Your participation in this study is **entirely voluntary**. Your decision whether to take part will not affect any of the services that you receive now or in the future.

Before you decide, we ask you to think about whether taking part in this study could cause you any personal or professional problems, for example with a manager, colleague, partner, family member or anybody else.

- Is this a good time and place to discuss your experiences and views?
- If not, what time or place would suit you better?
- Do you have any concerns about taking part in this interview?
- If you do, please talk your concerns through with the researcher before you decide whether to take part.

Other information that you need to know:

This study is part of Pippa Grenfell's PhD project at the *London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine* (UK).

We will give you a copy of this information leaflet to keep.

This study has been approved by the Ethics Committee at the *Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia* (Peru) and the *London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine* (UK).

Who can I contact if I have any questions about this study?

If you have any questions or views on this study, or about your rights as a participant before or after the interview, please contact: Pippa Grenfell. Tel: (01) 203-3300. Email: pippa.grenfell@lshtm.ac.uk

Participating in this study does not affect your rights in any way. If you have any other questions about your rights as a participant in the study, you can contact the Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia Institutional Ethical Review Committee which is responsible for protecting individuals participating in research projects conducted by the Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia, chaired by Dr. Fredy Canchihuamán. You can contact the committee by phone: (01) 319-0000 extension 2271 or by writing to the following address: Biblioteca Central, 3er. Piso, Av. Honorio Delgado 430, San Martín de Porres, Lima 31, Lima. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

Thank you very much for taking the time to consider this information.

PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY

- I have read (or someone has read to me) the information provided above.
- I have had the opportunity to ask questions and all of my questions have been answered satisfactorily.
- I have been given a copy of this information leaflet and consent form.
- I agree to participate voluntarily in an interview, lasting approximately an hour.
- I understand that I do not have to talk about things that I do not want to talk about. I am free to stop the interview at any time and without giving a reason.
- I understand that everything I say is confidential. When the researchers write about anything I have told them, they will not use my name.
- I understand that if I tell the researchers anything that makes them concerned that I am, or a child is, in immediate danger, they may have to tell someone who can help. If this is the case, they will discuss this with me before passing on any information.
- I agree for quotes from my interview to be used in reports, papers and publications resulting from this study. I understand that all information used will be anonymous and that no real names will be used.
- I understand that the interview will be recorded, and a transcript of the recording will be stored securely.

_____   _____

Participant's Name/Nickname/Pseudonym   **Time**

_____   _____

Participant's Signature   **Date**

_____   _____

Witness' signature (if consent given verbally)   **Date/Time**

RESEARCHER'S SIGNATURE

- I have explained the study to the participant and answered all of his/her questions.
- I believe that the participant has understood all of the information provided in this document and that (s)he has consented freely to participate in this study.

_____   _____

Researcher's Name   **Time**

_____   _____

Researcher's Signature   **Date**

Appendix 8: Key informant information sheet & consent form (translation)
Informed consent for interviews with stakeholders
Our Experience: day-to-day life

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Institutions: London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (London, UK)

                    Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia (Lima, Peru)

Research team: Pippa Grenfell, Ximena Salazar, Dr. Carlos Cáceres

_____

We would like to invite you to take part in a study about the experiences and daily lives of people working in the sex industry in Lima. As well as talking to people who work in the sex industry, we would like to talk to people who work with this group, or who make decisions which affect their daily lives.

Before deciding whether you want to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it involves.

Please consider the information in this leaflet carefully and ask me any questions you may have.

Why are we carrying out the study?

We are carrying out this study to learn more about how people working in the sex industry manage their safety and well-being, access health and support services, and feel treated by others in everyday life. As well as talking to people who work in the sex industry, we would like to talk to people who work with this group or who are involved in make decisions which affect their daily lives, including health and support service providers, police and policy-makers.

This information will help us to make recommendations to improve health and support services, and the protection of rights, for people working in the sex industry.

Who is carrying out the study?

Pippa Grenfell is responsible for this study in coordination with the *Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia* in Peru and the *London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine* in the U.K. The study is funded by the *Medical Research Council* in the U.K.

If I decide to participate, what do I need to do?

We will invite you to take part in an interview with a member of the research team at a time and in a place that is convenient for you.

During the interview, the researcher will ask you about your professional experiences of working with sex workers, as well as your views on how organisations and policies affect sex workers' safety, access to services, and the way in which they are treated by others in everyday life. During the interview, feel free to share experiences or ideas that you feel are important, even if you haven't been asked directly about them. If you feel uncomfortable at any point in the interview, tell the researcher and (s)he will change the topic. The interview will last approximately an hour.

With your permission, the researcher will record the interview. We do this so that we can concentrate on what you tell us and don't need to write it down. The recording will be password-protected and stored in a safe location accessible only to the research team. The recording will be destroyed at the end of the study.

Is the study confidential?

Yes. Any information that you give us will be kept **confidential** and only the research team will have access to it. The information you give us will not be linked to your name or to your personal details.

The only exception to this will be if you tell us something that makes us concerned that you or a child are in immediate danger. If this happens, we may need to tell someone who can help. Before passing on any information, we will always discuss this with you.

What are the possible risks and benefits of taking part in the study?

During the interview, the researcher will ask you about your professional experiences. You do not have to talk about anything that you would prefer not to discuss. If you decide to take part and later change your mind, you are free to stop the interview at any time without giving a reason.

There is no direct benefit to your participation in the study. However, the information that you provide will help us to make recommendations to improve health and support services, and the protection of rights, for people working in the sex industry, especially regarding safety and well-being. The findings of this study will be shared with a wide range of groups, including those who provide health and support services for people working in the sex industry.

Do I have to take part?

No. Your participation is **entirely voluntary**.

Other information that you need to know:

This study is part of Pippa Grenfell's PhD project at the *London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine* (UK).

We will give you a copy of this information leaflet to keep.

This study has been approved by the Ethics Committee at the *Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia* (Peru) and the *London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine* (UK).

Who can I contact if I have any questions about this study?

If you have any questions or views on this study, or about your rights as a participant before or after the interview, please contact: Pippa Grenfell. Tel: [*insert mobile phone number*] Email: pippa.grenfell@lshtm.ac.uk

Participating in this study does not affect your rights in any way. If you have any other questions about your rights as a participant in the study, you can contact the Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia Institutional Ethical Review Committee which is responsible for protecting individuals participating in research projects conducted by the Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia, chaired by Dr. Fredy Canchihuamán. You can contact the committee by phone: (01) 319-0000 extension 2271 or by writing to the following address: Biblioteca Central, 3er. Piso, Av. Honorio Delgado 430, San Martín de Porres, Lima 31, Lima. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

Thank you very much for taking the time to consider this information.

PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY

- I have read the information provided above.
- I have had the opportunity to ask questions and all of my questions have been answered satisfactorily.
- I have been given a copy of this information leaflet and consent form.
- I agree to participate in an interview, lasting approximately an hour.
- I understand that I do not have to talk about things that I do not want to talk about. I am free to stop the interview at any time and without giving a reason.
- I understand that everything I say is confidential. When the researchers write about anything I have told them, they will not use my name.
- I understand that if I tell the researchers anything that makes them concerned that I am, or a child is, in immediate danger, they may have to tell someone who can help. If this is the case, they will discuss this with me before passing on any information.
- I agree for quotes from my interview to be used in reports, papers and publications resulting from this study. I understand that all information used will be anonymous and that no real names will be used.
- I understand that the interview will be recorded, and a transcript of the recording will be stored securely.

_____   _____

Participant's Name   **Time**

_____   _____

Participant's Signature   **Date**

_____   _____

Witness' signature (if consent given verbally)   **Date/Time**

RESEARCHER'S SIGNATURE

- I have explained the study to the participant and answered all of his/her questions.
- I believe that the participant has understood all of the information provided in this document and that (s)he has consented freely to participate in this study.

_____   _____

Researcher's Name   **Time**

_____   _____

Researcher's Signature   **Date**

Appendix 9: Quotes from each chapter *(original language)*

Quote	Number
Chapter 5	
Quote 1	Más antes los serenazgo venían ni siquiera, no nos botaban ¿no? Venían, nos agarraban, nos llevaban para la playa a botarnos calatas [...] los policías nos agarraban nos pegaban, hasta incluso a veces nos llevaban a cortar el cabello, y muchas cosas más de maltrato [...] Los policías ahora, ¿qué te hacen? Te echan este [...] gas pimiento [...] te pegan, te arrastran y aparte de eso también nos-, no-, nos insultan por lo que somos, tantas cosas, de homofobismo.
Quote 2	Estábamos [un grupo de 4 chicos] sentados en el alrededor de la estatua de la plaza y como todos se sientan pues [...] en los alrededores, nosotros veíamos que todos estaban sentados. Pero [...] siempre hay [...] 3 de serenazgo que son [...] los más jodidos de la plaza. Uno de ellos se nos acerca y nos dice, "Señor[es], ¿Pueden hacer el favor de retirarse?" [...] E I.[nombre] le dice, "¿Pero por qué nos vamos a retirar si todos están sentados alrededor de la plaza, del rededor de la estatua? Si- si nos retiramos nosotros, hágale retirar a todos ellos". [...] Ni siquiera nos dijo nada, agarró y llamó [...] por su celular y "por favor [...] del escuadrón [...] necesito una ayuda porque acá tenemos unos cabros que están [...] dando mal aspecto a la plaza."
Quote 3	"¿No ven cámaras? Putas de mierda!"
Quote 4	De ahí en una misma esquina, hay una casa que siempre cuando uno se para ahí la señora nos hecha agua, agua sucia, nos echan echan pichi, pero felizmente a mí no me lo ha hecho, pobre también, yo le rompo su luna, yo tengo una ira, yo soy una persona que no aguanta tonterías, si es sí sí, si no es no, si me falta el respeto no, yo soy bien directa.
Quote 5	Treinta y cinco niños en una cuadra, que no podían salir a la calle, porque sus papás no los querían dejar salir a la calle, porque se hacía el trabajo sexual en la calle, entonces- por miedo y porque- que vean eso,- pero además el trabajo sexual trae venta de drogas, este- clientes que pueden ser delincuentes, entonces habían todo un problema, entonces los niños ahora, esta calle que está cerrada la ocupan para actividades deportivas y artísticas y los vecinos se han adueñado de la calle,- […] pero algunas trabajadoras sexuales trans, siguen viviendo ahí, pero ya no ejercen esa actividad ahí, han tenido que mudarse a un sitio donde hayan menos vecinos.
Quote 6	La verdad que [pausa] para mí al menos hum, se ve feo […] pero algunas no piensan lo mismo […] bueno, debería de trabajar, pero en una zona- zona rosa que digamos, donde una travesti pueda trabajar establemente, para no estar corriendo de la- de la batida y tanta cosa, bueno sería más discreción ¿no?, ¿me entiende?, pero estando en

	la calle, uno corre mucho riesgo y como te ven en la calle, la misma gente te mira y hablan mal también.
Quote 7	La policía no se mete, bueno en ese tipo de cosas [broncas con cuchillos] [...] pero [...] para que vengan con su vara y te boten de ahí, sí son Buenos […] Tu vas a serenazgo, le dices, "Oye, sabes, me ha golpeado tal persona", y en vez de que serenazgo te ayude, todavía te insulta. "¿Y qué tienes que estar parada ahí, maricón de mierda?" [...] Y tu agarras y dices, "pero señor estoy viniendo porque me ha golpeado, me está agrediendo" [...] no es normal pero no te hacen caso.
Quote 8	Los derechos humanos ya no los respetan, las autoridades que están ahorita gobernando, ya hacen lo que quieren […] no les interesa nadies […] le golpean a la gente y usted se queja, a veces ni caso nos hacen ya o será por lo que uno mismo trabaja en esta vida.
Quote 9	Cuando tú vas a la comisaría a hacer una denuncia, cualquier cosa, ellos te tratan mal, no te hacen los papeles, te dicen: "ah ya, pero tú eres trabajadora", así, "puedes ser ratera, puedes mentir, tú eres prostituta y ustedes son así", te dicen, así, por eso es que ya no […] hemos ido tampoco.
Quote 10	El problema es que haya consumo de licor en la vía pública […] venta de drogas en la vía pública […] es que hayan agresiones o que hayan asaltos, ese el problema, el problema es que ahí haya un tratante que está explotando este-, a las personas que se dedican a esto o que esté involucrando a menores, ese el problema, pero [si] yo voy y digo, "bueno … ha venido a atender el problema, ya, mejor las boto, las saco de acá", no estás atacando el problema, lo estás buscando eh-, afrontarlo por el lado más débil, que es el ejercicio de la prostitución
Quote 11	Había un hotel de 6 soles que lo cerraron y al chico lo mandaron preso, injustamente porque él no era el dueño, era simplemente un simple trabajador que cumplía un trabajo y lo acusaron de proxeneta.
Quote 12	Nos llevaron a una comisaría [...] veía que los pasivos, los pasivos salían así normal. [...] Cuando yo estoy fleteando yo soy bien hombrecito, porque yo trabajo de activo mayormente […] y a mí [...] y a varios patas [...] que también estaban ahí sin DNI, varios fumones también [...] no nos botaban, no nos dejaban salir, en cambio a las pasivas sí. Y yo tenía unos 2 amigos ahí pues [...] a ellos los obligaron a tener relaciones ahí dentro. Osea tuvieron relaciones sexuales ahí con, con los tombos [...] y me dice "pero ya fuiste, te vas a quedar, porque ya todos le sacamos su leche, y ya no hay ya, ya no hay más cupo para salida".
Quote 13	*"Estás loco?"*, le dije.
Quote 14	Tengo un amigo que es fiscal […] que tiene un amigo que es abogado, si me tienen más de 24 horas, o si me tienen 10 horas, así, le hago que mi amigo le llame al abogado y va y me saca de X [police station], porque ahí te pegan horrible, te golpean

	hasta que le des plata. A mí me han hecho limpiar baños, todo. Pero yo no soy tonto, yo le digo al abogado me han hecho que el esto que el otro, y les saca un artículo 20 que no se qué. Yo no puedo estar más de 24 horas, no me pueden sacar mi plata, y me devuelven todavía, me devuelven. Más bien anota su nombre, ya tienen denuncia dos policías ya adentro ya [...] ellos no me pueden golpear, no me pueden golpear, no me pueden tocar porque yo no les he hecho nada. Es la ley que todo eso, y mis amigos son así pues.
Quote 15	Puedes ver cómo soy, pero normal, tengo amigos que son fiscales, abogados.
Quote 16	Toda la comisaría saben quienes son las gateadoras, quienes son las mamis, quienes son las dueñas de casa, todos [...] piden propina a las gateadoras, a las dueñas de casa, a las mamis [...] Se supone que ellos saben que robamos, bueno, o sea que nosotras les dejamos robar, y los otros roban [...] ellos saben y entonces tenemos que darles para que callen [...] cuando llegan hasta la comisaría, ahí sí tienen que dar más plata pues, si han sido algo fuerte, tienen que dar la mitad de lo que han sacado, tienen que darle a la policía. [...] A veces le dice, "No, me das todo, si no ya fuiste". Y le tiene que dar todo.
Quote 17	Si la gente se siente muy insegura a pesar de que nunca fue víctima […] de algún delito este-, creo que una forma de-, una de las formas de poder-, de contribuir a disminuir esa percepción, es que tú puedas publicitar las cosas que haces relacionadas con seguridad ciudadana, entonces cuando normalmente va a haber una acción significativa, las municipalidades acuden a los medios de prensa, "oye hoy día me voy a … ir a la discoteca donde hay menores de edad y donde se ejerce la prostitución", "hoy día voy a hacer una intervención donde existe un local que aparentemente es un hotel, adentro habían menores de edad explotados sexualmente", entonces yo aviso a los medios de prensa, los medios de prensa, dicen: "ah ya, gracias, ¿cuándo va a ser?", "hoy día sábado, tú estate atento desde las ocho de la noche", entonces ellos te acompañan.
Quote 18	Encima de todos los reportajes que han salido en la plaza-, de todo eso que ha salido en la tele ya da un poco de vergüenza [...] la gente pasa y de frente te señalan, "Mira, este es flete" y empiezan a fastidiarte, "¡Oye! ¿Cuánto cobras?" Te miran y se ríen y voltean y uno se siente, se siente mal [...] no me gusta que la gente me esté señalando, me esté criticando ni burlándose de mí.
Quote 19	Su mama se enteró, por lo que a veces, tú sabes pasa ahí grabando ¿no?, y a veces-, yo también he salido varias veces por television, pero [...] gracias a Dios, en unos cuantos segundos nada más [...] y gracias a Dios no se me ve, porque mi- mi familia, a esa hora duermen ya.
Quote 20	Salió en la televisión que estaban interviniendo ese prostíbulo, no era así, sino que las chicas se resistieron a pagar el cupo y se ha visto que el policía le agarra la cara a la chica para que mire de frente a la cámara, entonces como que no estamos de

	acuerdo de ese acto-. Ese fue un mensaje, como decir, ustedes están apoyando, si ellas dicen que están en una organización que no van a pagar, quien se atreva a no pagar, así va a ser lo que te va a tocar a ti, entonces las demás como que se reprimen, así es, son mensajes los que se les manda.
Quote 21	Dicen de que nosotras no podemos salir temprano porque hay niños que salen del colegio […] dice que a partir de las 12 que ya todos se van a dormir, así podemos salir [ríe] pero a esa hora ¿qué vamos a jalar?
Quote 22	Por ellos yo estoy acá, por ellos yo trabajo, por ellos yo vivo.
Quote 23	Al menos no me cobra a mí porque soy su amiga y a veces cuando el me encuentra en una discoteca, siempre me dice que lo acompañe a tomar
Quote 24	Un día, dos días atrás […] vino un policía y "¿Sabes qué señorita?" me dijo así, "Estás un poco descubierta, cúbrete" […] "a partir de las diez de la noche y pa' arriba, haz lo tu que quieras […] pero yo cumplo mi trabajo, así como tú tienes tu trabajo yo tengo mi trabajo", y cuando vienen con esa intención de hablarte, bueno, uno es gente, uno tiene que entender […] ellos también cumplen un trabajo, ellos cumplen una orden. "Ya, normal, no te preocupes, me cubro", o sino, lo único que hago es sacar una de mi manga y la otra parte tapada […] mirando hacia el público y solamente la parte destapada hacia la pared, para que-, porque tú sabes que pasan niños, más que todo por eso.
Quote 25	Las transexuales [...] son más descaradas para [risueño] tener sexo en la calle, creo. Ellos tienen sexo en la calle, nosotros no. Ellos son- se visten como no deben de vestirse, nosotros no. ¿Qué más te puedo decir? Son más chongueros [...], nosotros no. Nosotros la pasamos caletamente, porque las personas que no saben y pasan por la Plaza [nombre], ¿qué pensarán pues? Que uno está paseando o dándose su vuelta. Pero una persona que no sabe y pasa por la Avenida [nombre], o sea se va a sorprender ¿no? Por lo escandaloso que se puede vestir una mujer, supuesta mujer.
Quote 26	Hay un cabrito que […] él no atiende, o sea, nos malogra la plaza, no es que lo discriminemos sino que nos malogra el trabajo […] llama así a los hombres, y ahí mismo así paradita como que los manosea, les empieza a rebuscar, les roba y corre, y los hombres ya piensan que todas hacemos eso, ¿no? Por eso lo paramos botando, pero yo también he trabajado con travestis […] Por Avenida [nombre] […] por ahí, yo trabajo con travestis hasta me han confundido con ellas [ríe], como soy alta, me confunden.
Quote 27	Trato de hacerme amigo de personas que realmente-, si me ven en problemas me van a ayudar, si me ven que me están pegando me van a defender […] Ahora que tengo mi pareja, este, nada, trabajo con toda la seguridad del mundo, porque sé que nadie me va a robar, nadie me va a pegar, porque a él lo conocen ahí, sé que de repente si voy a irme con un punto, los fumones esos que me ven yendo no nos van

	a cuadrar ni al punto ni a mí porque saben que estoy con tal persona y no se meterían conmigo.
Quote 28	A veces cuando vienen gente de otro sitio, pasan por su carro, nos dicen, "¡cochinas, vayan a lavar sus calzones!" […] [Pero los vecinos] no, ellos no dicen nada. Nos miran, a veces […] la mayoría vive en casa alquilada […] la señora que a mí me da comida, ella tiene su casa ahí […] me dice, este, "mamita, ¿no quieres, este, menú?" […] le pago y me da mi comida, a veces cuando no trabajo ella me da y después ya le pago.
Quote 29	Los que juegan partido nos pasan la voz, "ahí viene la batida", y ya nosotros ya, sabemos. Los que juegan partido ahí, los muchachos de ahí del barrio.
Quote 30	Si puedo llevar clientes a mi cuarto los llevo a mi cuarto, porque allá sé que si pasa algo al menos la señora va a saltar, o mis vecinos, los demás chicos que viven ahí van a saltar por mí.
Quote 31	Les diría [a los policias/cobradores de cupo] "¿por qué, si la calle es de todos? No estamos trabajando ni con su cuerpo ni con su casa, ni su calle, la calle es de todos ¿no? De la vereda pa' adentro es su casa, pero de ahí pa' fuera, la calle, no tenemos por qué pagar cupo".
Quote 32	En la zona donde nosotros trabajamos no estamos acostumbradas a pagar a nadies, ni a pirañas ni a policías ni a serenazgos ni a nadies [...] el chico [un 'piraña'] se iba a cobrarle [a mi amiga] dos soles [...] y la chica le daba dos soles, tres soles y se lo daba ¿no? [...] Pero solamente le cobraba a ella, hasta que llegó un tiempo el señor, el chico, ya quería cobrar a todas [...] La chica le dijo, "No. ¿Por qué te voy a pagar? Acá no pagamos a nadie ¿Estás loco tú?" Y entonces le dio un botellazo el chico a mi amiguita, y entonces eso me indignó a mí [...]nos agarramos a golpes [...] lo di su merecido ¿no? Lo pegué, quizás, yo no soy de pelear pero sí me trato de defenderme.
Quote 33	[Le dijo al sereno], "¿Usted quien se ha creído? ¿No sabe [...] que nosotros podemos ir a denunciarlo y botarlo?" [...] Le insultó a I., le dijo que [...] cabros no se qué [...] hubo un pleito bien fuerte. Vinieron los de la policía, y también I. le empezó a decir, "[…] él me está insultando, o sea mire a todos los que están sentados ahí. ¿Por qué no los saca a ellos también? ¿Nosotros, por qué? ¿Por [...] tener otro tipo de opción sexual diferente [...] Esto es una discriminación [...] ¿Por qué no saca a los señores que están allá atrás? Y encima venir a 'esos cabros que están dando mal aspecto', ¡Por favor! … Yo soy una trabajadora, un trabajador [...] que reúne chicos para hacerle [...] sus chequeos".
Quote 34	Hemos llamado periodista cuando le agredieron a mi amiga para que vieran lo que hicieron los policías, pero ninguno, ningún- ningún periodista llegaron en ese momento. […] llamamos a canal América, pero no quieren llegar porque […] dijeron

	que nosotros travestis somos-, o sea somos exageradas, somos o sea ¿no?, así, mal vistas.
Quote 35	Tendrían que matarnos para que salga el nombre de nuestra compañera
Chapter 6	
Quote 1	Yo trabajo por la legal, no me gusta que me gateen, no me gusta robar, yo no meto la mano con nadie.
Quote 2	¿Cómo te cuidas con el tema de seguridad en tu trabajo? Ah buen hotel, con cámaras, porque siempre se corren los puntos [ríe], se salen de los hoteles y todo, no soy huevón, les llevo a un hotel X con cámara y todo. Salen juntos pues. Ya pues ahí les llevo, me cuido con condón, me pongo dos condón si yo sé que la persona dice "no", pero chicos sin condón, no, no, "¿Estás loco?" le digo, porque puedes contraer varias cosas, aparte […] el pene es bien débil, y te puedes contraer herpes, no sé varias cosas, enfermedades sexuales.
Quote 3	Estás teniendo relaciones con él y después te dice, "Oye, ¿sabes qué? No me has atendido bien, devuélveme mi plata", te empieza a querer coger fuerte, a querer quitarte tus cosas, o sino […] se quiere quitar el condón, o te dice, "ya, voltéate", y ¡pum! te voltea como pollo a la brasa, te quiere meter por atrás […] por eso uno tiene que ser fuerte y ponerse […] como una forajida [ríe] como me dicen, para que el pata tenga miedo y ya pues no te haga nada. Eso son los malos clientes.
Quote 4	[La gateadora me dijo], "Tú eres mi carnada". "Yo no soy carnada de nadie […] Nadie es dueña de mí", le digo. "Yo no soy carnada de nadie, yo no pertenezco a nadie" […] y me dice, este, "Ah que ahora vas a ver, que te voy a cortar la cara". "Haz lo que quieras […]", le digo. Agarró y se fue, y nunca más volvió a venir.
Quote 5	Cuando yo tuve mi pareja yo le dije, osea, "tu ganas tu plata y yo gano mi plata, cada quien administra su dinero y lo que tu hagas con tu dinero a mí no me importa. Lo que yo haga con mi dinero no tiene por qué importarte y, si tú mayormente me quieres como me dices quererme, me cuidarás, y me darás, pero de mi parte no pienses que te voy a dar un sol."
Quote 6	¿Cómo me dijo [un pariente] una vez …? … "Lo que tú haces es libertinaje … es algo muy liberado, es algo sucio, algo cochino, algo que Dios no permite", dice. "¿Cómo Dios no permite?", le digo. "Dios perdona", le digo, "si nosotras lo hacemos por algo bueno".
Quote 7	Por ellos yo estoy acá, por ellos yo trabajo, por ellos yo vivo.
Quote 8	No les importa casi, ni, su familia de mi mujer también no les-, porque […] parte de la familia de mi mujer sabe. Pero yo les digo, "ustedes no pueden decir nada porque

	la plata que yo hago es para mis hijas, no es para ustedes, mientras que ustedes vean a su hermana que está con otro huevón".
Quote 9	Ah ellos piensan que esto es una porquería […] que son pirañas, que son pandillajeros, que son unas personas que no tienen sentido de la vida, que no quieren salir de este mundo. A veces te rechazan, pero […] ellos no se dan cuenta que-, cómo es estar sin nada, cómo es vivir sin nada. Cómo no tener nada para darle en la boca, tener frio en las calles, dormir en cartones, a veces los pirañas te pulsean, ellos no saben no tener plata en el bolsillo, así es.
Quote 10	Lo más importante que le puedo pedir es de que, que nos deje trabajar la municipalidad, que nos deje de estar golpeando y humillando […] cuando verdaderamente […] uno lleva el pan pa' sus hijos, uno no lo hace porque es un vicio sino porque es un trabajo necesario a llevar al hogar, y más somos madres solteras que madres con esposos.
Quote 11	Mi suegra sabe, mi cuñado sabe, todos saben y me respetan porque ellos son-, son una familia- .. que respetan pues lo que uno hace, respeta si tú eres ingeniero lo respeta, si eres ratero lo respeta, dicen, "Con tal de que estés sano, estés bien y veas a tus hijos, el resto interesa" , entonces ellos son así, ellos sí me respetan, no me insultan, me tratan bien, la única que-, el problema es mi mama [rie].
Quote 12	Fui llevando pañal para mis dos hijitas, para su hijito de mi hermana, fui llevando pollo, pollo a la brasa, llegué a mi casa, al día siguiente pagué sus cuentas de mi mamá de las tiendas que debía, le pagué su luz, su agua, le compré su gas, y mi mamá ahí estuvo feliz, mi hermana normal ella. Se me acabó la plata, mi mamá de nuevo empezó a insultarme, a discriminarme todo.
Quote 13	Me dio la espalda y me dice, "si tú te mueres, yo no te conozco". "Mi dinero lo vas a conocer, pero a mí no me vas a conocer" Así, le digo yo.
Quote 14	Al comienzo le conté a mi mama y aceptó, o sea le dolió un poco pero aceptó, y más adelante empezó a insultarme, a discriminarme, así que me quitaba a mi hija, no me dejaba verla, y ahora […] no quiere que yo esté con mi hija porque dice que yo la voy a volver igual.
Quote 15	Desde ese reportaje yo veo que todo el mundo está empezando a bajar ya, ya conocen la plaza [...] son así chicos que tienen hogar, tienen todo que su[s] papa[s] le compra su ropita, se visten bien […] tienen todo pero más quieren, su alcancía está llena como dicen pero más plata quieren y nos malogra la plaza.
Quote 16	Muchos [...] aparte de esta mala vida, se dedicara-, se dedicaban a otras malas vidas también que es drogas, marihuana. Y por ello, se meten con cualquier persona, así sea por 5 soles, y no usan preservativo y ahí es donde se infectan [...] creo que ellos son las personas que más necesitan ayuda.

Quote 17	Mi amiga, lo único que piensa es en hacer dinero y mantener a su marido.
Quote 18	Algunos si te insultan, te insultan y te suben al carro, y te dicen "¿Para qué trabajas?" y te insultan, pues, "perra", te dicen, "eres una perra que está ahí, pues, parada" […] "yo soy mujer" […] yo le digo, "Tú también has nacido de una-, de una mujer, tampoco no es dable que te vas a insultarnos", así ¿no? "Respeto como hemos guardado respeto a tí. Si también me vas a insultar también vamos a llegar mis palabras".
Quote 19	[Los clientes] quieren que los beses en la discoteca, y todavía te pagan por eso, y todavía tengo que aguantar todo eso […] varias chicas, han estado conmigo, también han hecho servicios sexuales, me han visto, y a veces también piensan mal de uno y no saben que es un teatro, que tú lo haces, lo haces por la plata, no, igual que ellas pero no comprenden pues.
Quote 20	Ellos [los travestis] hablan nomás; ay!, abusivos, con su dejo que hablan ellos pues ¿no?, son charapos y dan risa cuando hablan, hablan su- su-, ¿cómo se dice?, su- su idioma de la selva, pero unos insultos, que uno no entiende [ríe entrevistadora] y les insultan ahí a los guardias más que todo.
Quote 21	Trabajé en una discoteca […] El dueño quería que-, se, eh, que tenga sexo pero gratis con él pero darme trabajo a cambio. Yo no fui tonto en esa, 5,000 soles le robe […] a mi edad que tenía, teniendo 16 años terminé mi secundaria […] como no tenía que-, donde dormir, dormía en cartones, comía asado ¿esos huesitos de las calles? […] de esos 5000 soles me compré mi terreno, hice muchas cosas […] puse sombrillas, carpas, me alcanzó […] ahorré mi plata […] Tuve suerte, mira, porque ¿cómo se llama? No me podía denunciar porque era menor de edad, yo le podía denunciar y yo tenía todas de ganar. Como él tenía discotecas se creía que yo le iba a hacer caso pues, pero ganaba.
Quote 22	La única consulta es […] que traten de ayudarnos más, a las lesbianas también que a los gays, a nosotras travestis. De estar más unidas y poder salir adelante, sobre todo lo que más queremos nosotros que la gente nos llegue a comprender, porque no vivir cohibida en el mismo entorno que nosotros sino salir a la calle, salir a un trabajo como común y corriente, como cualquier persona a trabajar. No solamente estar metida en la noche, en los bares, sino también ser, tener una buena vista ante toda la sociedad.
Quote 23	Quiero progresar cada vez más nada más […] poner mi negocio, hacer algo bueno, o alguien que me anime ¿no? Más adelante [ríe]. […] Tener una de esas carreras, de gasfitería, chambear, sacar mi certificado […] quiero estudiar, quiero ser alguien en la vida ¿no? Ya, comprar otro terreno porque ese terreno ya no es mío […] Pero sí es algo bueno a mis hijas […] porque es también una casa, qué malo sería abandonarlas, y tenerlas de frío, no he sido tan malo.

Quote 24	Pienso que a veces está mal. Que-, que me siento sucio, que debo acabar también con esa cosa, nada más. Pero eso se olvida, todo se olvida, si lo que hago ahorita de punto sexual, me siento bien a veces y a veces me he sentido mal. Digo mal por lo que- [...] a veces se va a buenos lugares, o a malos sitios, o a veces miras qué tiene otras personas más tú no lo tienes. [...] Me siento bien a veces [...] porque tengo cosas ahora que compro […] las personas que me enseñan sus cosas ya las compré.
Quote 25	Hay veces que hay que invertir en uno mismo, pues ¿no? Ir al sauna [...] bueno, en estos días me voy a hacer manicure, para desestresarme también.
Quote 26	¿Cuando no trabajo? […] [Me relaciono] con otro tipo de gente, me voy a la discoteca de transsexuales, mi mismo mundo, mi guarida, pero ese mundo es mi vacío más bien, porque veo personas que están más organizadas, organizadas en la vestimenta, comportamiento, y la misma sociedad a ese mundo nota su comportamiento. Más bien cuando me ven me tratan así […] pero yo con mi plata me miran y ya se acercan […] y les cierro la boca, ya no me miran con miradas como bajándome la moral, yo más bien lo bajo la moral. Porque ellos viven de mami y de papi [...] Yo nunca viví de mi familia [...] nunca una mujer me ha mantenido, ni un gay.
Quote 27	Cuando yo he vivido acá en el centro de Lima [...] toda la gente, todos los vecinos [...] sabían que yo trabajaba y nunca me rechazaron, nunca me ignoraron, cuando yo subía me saludaban, "[...] señora [nombre] buenos días" [...] y nunca jamás me faltaron, nunca me insultaron, nunca me silbaron, siempre yo me iba así tranquila [...] derepente por lo que es un barrio así ¿no?, donde toda la gente es así, toda así 'achorada' como dice, será por eso, pero si yo estoy viviendo ahorita en [suburbio de Lima], me ve un vecino, abre su boca, y yo sé que la gente me va a mirar mal, porque es distinto esa gente a la gente de acá [...] me rechazaría.
Quote 28	Y agarra y me dice [riendo], "No pero […] Dios no permite". "Ah", le digo, "¿Sabe qué? Mi vida es mi vida, usted ya hizo su vida, ahora déjeme hacer la mía" le digo. Ya no me dice nada.
Quote 29	Hay veces, te miran mal pues, te ven mal … o te tratan mal también pues ¿no?, Te insultan, te dicen, "Aj, es una puta, es una perra" ¿no?, así hablan [...] Antes me dolía mucho, pero ahora no [...] me va y me viene porque es un trabajo sea como sea.

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