

HEALTH AND SAFETY ASSEMBLAGES IN THE MALE STRIP CLUB: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC
STUDY OF MALE STRIPPERS' SEXUAL SERVICE NEGOTIATION PRACTICES

DÉSIRÉ RIOUX, R.N., B.Sc.N., Ph.D. (c)

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School of Nursing
Faculty of Health Sciences
University of Ottawa

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BwO.....	BODY WITHOUT ORGAN(S)
FSW.....	FEMALE SEX WORK(ERS)
GHB.....	GAMMA-HYDROXYBUTYRATE
HIV.....	HUMAN IMMUNODEFICIENCY VIRUS
LGBTQ+.....	LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER, QUEER, PLUS OTHERS
MDM.....	MEN WHO DANCE FOR MEN
MDMA.....	3,4-METHYLENEDIOXYMETHAMPHETAMINE
MDW.....	MEN WHO DANCE FOR WOMEN
MSC.....	MALE STRIP CLUB(S)
MSM.....	MEN WHO HAVE SEX WITH MEN
STI.....	SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED INFECTIONS
MSW.....	MALE SEX WORK(ERS)
WDM.....	WOMEN WHO DANCE FOR MEN
WDW.....	WOMEN WHO DANCE FOR WOMEN

ABSTRACT

Background. Despite the prevalence of sex work and strip clubs across Canadian urban geographies, few studies explore the occupational health and safety outcomes related to indoor male sex work, let alone male stripping whereby men dance for men. Moreover, the sexual service *negotiation process* in the sex work industry remains to be explored. In knowing that sexual practices with high HIV/STI rates occur in strip clubs (e.g., condomless oral, vaginal, and anal sex), as well as widespread psychoactive substance use among strippers, the purpose of this study was to explore the cultural features of male strippers' work that impact their health and safety outcomes. **Methodology.** For this study, we recruited 14 male strippers working with male clients in a Canadian city. Critical ethnography was our espoused methodology. Through field observations, informal conversations, questionnaires, and semi-structured qualitative interviews, we explored the process of sexual transactions between strippers and clients. We used a postmodern angle to interpret our findings through the works of Deleuze, Guattari, and Foucault. **Findings.** The male strip club is a social matrix *produced* by the intersection of motivational forces: the motivation to gain money, pleasure, or intimacy, and the motivation to abide by socio-cultural and legal norms. It is upon a matrix of financial necessity and socio-cultural and legal constraints that sex work transactions unfold in the club. Moreover, the club's health and safety conditions and strippers' transaction outcomes result from intersecting motivations. Finally, sexual service negotiation is a process of configuring motivational forces between social agents. The motivation for financial gain revealed itself to be the strongest and most consistent force; the focus on capital gain generated asymmetrical connections between strippers, clients, and business entrepreneurs, resulting in specific health and safety outcomes. **Conclusion.** The Canadian legal and political context surrounding male sex work negatively impacts male strippers' occupational health and safety conditions by disabling safe connections with clients. Further, the emphasis on money-making activities encourages strippers to value financial gain over their physical and mental integrity. In short, the male strip club work environment is configured in a manner whereby capital gain is prioritized and strippers' health and safety is undermined.

RÉSUMÉ

Contexte. Malgré la prévalence du travail du sexe et des clubs de danseurs nus dans les zones urbaines du Canada, peu d'études ont exploré les répercussions sur la santé et la sécurité au travail des travailleurs du sexe masculin, sans parler de la danse érotique où des hommes dansent pour une clientèle masculine. De plus, le *processus de négociation* des services sexuels dans l'industrie du sexe est encore à explorer. Sachant que les pratiques sexuelles présentent des risques élevés de transmission du VIH et d'ITS et que celles-ci ont lieu dans les clubs de danseurs nus et que la consommation de substances psychoactives est très répandue chez les danseurs nus, l'objectif général de cette étude était d'explorer les caractéristiques culturelles du travail de danseurs nus et de documenter l'impact de celles-ci sur leurs conditions de santé et de sécurité au travail. **Méthodologie.** Dans le cadre de cette étude, nous avons recruté 14 danseurs nus travaillant avec des clients masculins dans une ville canadienne. Nous avons opté pour une méthodologie fondée sur l'ethnographie critique. Par le biais d'observations sur le terrain, de conversations informelles, de questionnaires et d'entretiens qualitatifs semi-structurés avec des danseurs nus, nous avons exploré le processus des transactions sexuelles entre les danseurs nus et leurs clients. Au plan théorique, nos résultats ont été interprétés suivant un cadre poststructuraliste. **Constats.** L'environnement de travail des danseurs nus constitue une matrice sociale *produite* par l'intersection de forces motivationnelles: la motivation à gagner de l'argent, du plaisir, de l'intimité, et la motivation à respecter les normes socioculturelles et légales. C'est dans le cadre de cette matrice de nécessité financière et de contraintes socioculturelles et juridiques que se déroulent les transactions relatives au travail du sexe dans un club de danseurs nus. De plus, nos résultats attestent du fait que les conditions de santé et de sécurité au travail et les résultats des transactions des danseurs sont les produits d'un croisement entre diverses motivations. Aussi, la négociation de services sexuels est un processus mettant en jeu des forces de motivationnelles complexes entre les acteurs sociaux. Enfin, la motivation pour le gain financier s'est révélée être la force la plus importante et la plus constante; l'accent mis sur le gain financier génère des relations asymétriques entre les danseurs nus, leurs clients et les tenanciers de bars de danseurs nus, ce qui soulève des enjeux spécifiques en matière de santé et de sécurité au travail. **Conclusion.** Le contexte juridique et politique canadien entourant le travail du sexe masculin a un impact négatif sur les conditions de santé et de sécurité au travail des danseurs nus dans la mesure où le contexte priverait ces derniers d'interactions sécuritaires avec leurs clients. L'environnement de travail des clubs de danseurs nus est configuré de manière à privilégier le gain en capital et compromet du même coup la santé et la sécurité des danseurs nus.

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I am indebted to a great number of people regarding all my academic accomplishments. Discussions with my university professors, work colleagues, friends, and family members over the past four years have all furthered my understanding of my research role and my subject of inquiry. As I recall the path I have traversed, I feel gratitude for all those who were there along the way to strengthen and support my endeavor. My parents, Lynn Levesque and Donald Rioux, my grandparents, Shirley Levesque and Léo Levesque, and my sister, Eugénie Rioux, have constantly been at my side to support me along the way. Of notable mention, there is my loving partner, Emmy DeBlois, whom I must applaud; it goes without saying that having someone close by at home while tackling the many arduous periods of one's doctoral studies does not come cheap. Thank you for your unrelenting care, empathy, and encouragement, and your everlasting patience.

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OPENING QUOTES

The sun is [not only, as Heraclitus says,] new each day [but forever continuously new].

Heraclitus of Ephesus, Fragment 6

T. M. Robinson, 1987, p. 13

Unchanging good and evil does not exist! From out of themselves they must overcome themselves again and again. [...] And let everything that can break upon our truths – break! There is many a house still to build!

Friedrich Nietzsche, [1883–1885]1961, p. 139

Good and bad are only the products of an active and temporary selection, which must be renewed.

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, 1987, p. 10

The essential political problem for the intellectual is not to criticise the ideological contents supposedly linked to science, or to ensure that his own scientific practice is accompanied by a correct ideology, but that of ascertaining the possibility of constituting a new politics of truth.

Michel Foucault, 1980, p. 133

CHAPTER 1 — RESEARCH PROBLEM AND PHILOSOPHICAL STANCE

In studying social phenomena that resist scripts of normalized sexuality and mainstream occupations, we¹ have striven to challenge our assumptions by fleeing from the comforts of pre-established Truth. To view human civilization from a critical stance, one must step out of the light of the righteous midday sun, surrender, and be carried by obscure currents to yet unbeknownst places. In the dissolution of ignorance, we experience the death of an illusion, thus leading to the transformation of static mental schemes. Once we step back into the light after having experienced the productive powers of true darkness, we are changed anew, and the old light in which we ambled no longer seems so pure, it now seems artificial. Institutionalized sources of knowledge are synthetic. We do not want to live a life and conduct research in the same artificial light without ever questioning its source. Via a dance in the eclipsed realms of knowledge production, we attempt to produce a new source of light to better understand the truths of sex work, to transmute a nebula into a star.

We applaud critical thinking as a way to liberate oneself from an anachronistic and stale mentality about desire, pleasure, sexuality, and labour—a mindset rooted in ecclesiastical rhetoric. We urge our readers to embrace the spirit of critique rather than the spectre of dogma. Like the stripper removing items of clothing, we looked to undress all the manufactured, artificial and institutional structures built around sex work and stripping in our society. We sought to dissect the organs of the hegemonic body of light and see if they may be rearranged otherwise. In so doing, we believe that new ways of performing healthcare will emerge.

Metaphors aside, we ground this dissertation on the notion that male strippers experience health and safety issues because of their exposure to asymmetrical power relations and other contextual factors that may generate hazardous work practices. Within these establishments,

¹ Throughout the text, the first-person plural grammatical form is used to refer to the collaboration between the doctoral candidate and his research supervisor. At times, the author uses the first-person singular form when recounting personal experiences.

alcohol, illicit substances, money, and sexual services dominate the landscape. The result is a blend of pleasure-inducing stimuli meant to satisfy patrons and to produce income for the strippers, the employees, and the management team. In this study, by exploring a male strip club (MSC), we sought to unveil strippers' motivations for engaging in specific relations with clients and also to understand the components of their social field that influence their work practices and, consequently, their health and safety outcomes. By studying this under-researched social field and its population of men who have sex with men (MSM), we worked to ensure ethical healthcare access and service provision to a marginalized group. In Canada, healthcare is a right for all persons. Unfortunately, those who deviate from the normalized light of the midday sun may not benefit from this right. In this dissertation, we ventured into the dark to seek a new way forward in dealing with the health and safety issues faced by male sex workers (MSWs).

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. In this first chapter, we define the research problem and present our philosophical stance. Our literature review is presented in the second chapter. The theoretical framework, presented in chapter three, is crafted to interpret the results of our analysis. In the fourth, we illustrate our methodological approach to conducting this study. The results of the data analysis are to be found in the fifth chapter. Finally, the sixth chapter is dedicated to the discussion, and the seventh concludes.

1. Research Problem

Background

The stripping industry derives from the wider sex industry;² stripping³ is a form of sex work,⁴ and sex work is the principal axis of the sex industry. The sex work industry refers to the economy between sex workers, managers, business owners, marketers, agencies, clubs, and associations involved in sexual commerce, both legal and illegal varieties (Weitzer, 2012). Many sub-industries constitute the broader sex industry; for instance, these may include stripping, pornography, escort services, phone or online sex, massage parlours, and peep shows. The labour aspect of sex work rests in the exchange of sexualized intimate services for a compensation, most commonly in the form of money. Motivated by the financial incentive, male strippers exploit their ability to control their erotic performance and satisfy clients' desires to earn compensation (Boden, 2007). The stripper must construct, use, and perform aesthetics, sexuality, and gender according to their clients' desires. Said otherwise, they must manifest a self that titillates the audience (Boden, 2007).

In strip clubs, technically speaking, strippers only offer the idea of sex rather than the thing

² Sex for sale is a lucrative growth industry. In 16 nations where data were available, the estimated earnings for the sex sector was USD 97 billion. Remarkably, polls in the United States, Australia, and Europe reveal that approximately 15–18 percent of men had, at one point in their lives, paid for sex. Notwithstanding these data, female and transgender individuals can also be clients of sex workers. It is estimated that the U.S. pornography industry generates 10 billion dollars per year (Escoffier, 2007). Unfortunately, the availability of information on those involved in sex work is limited due to various factors such as the legal status of sex work, the stigma surrounding the industry, the freelance and privately owned aspects of the industry, and the difficulty for researchers to access sex worker populations (Escoffier, 2007; Minichiello & Scott, 2014; Weitzer, 2012).

³ Stripping can be defined as the exchange of an erotic performance, sexuality, and intimacy for money or other compensation (Forsyth & Deshotels, 1998; Kaufman, 2009). Strip clubs are profit-oriented; they are businesses first. The annual revenue from these establishments can be significant (Wahab et al., 2011). Noted by Pilcher (2011), in the United Kingdom, approximately 300 stripping venues stand and generate an estimated 300 million pounds each year.

⁴ I use the term sex work to highlight the entrepreneurial character of the industry and the occupational health and safety issues associated with this type of commercial trade. *Sex work* was conceived as a non-stigmatizing term that conveys the sex worker's professionalism, whereas the term *prostitution* expresses a negative and stigmatizing connotation in society, which associates this labour with impurity, deviance, and delinquency (Benoit & Shumka, 2015). Indeed, the use of the term "sex work" rather than prostitution marks the inflection toward the labour aspects of sex work. Other terms are also used synonymously: escorting, commercial sex, and transactional sex. Notably, sex trafficking, despite its conflation with sex work, is not discussed in this dissertation because of its important divergence from sex work (Butcher, 2003). Sex trafficking (not interchangeable with sex work) refers to the criminal activity of exploiting human beings through coercion, abuse, and forced sexual labour to acquire compensation. In contrast, sex work is the voluntary use of one's agency to perform sexual services to procure money or other items of value from clients.

itself (Escoffier, 2007). Clubs are marketed as places where clients can enjoy a sexual outlet—within the limits of the law. The way strip clubs package the consumer product (the idea of sex) and the way strippers market themselves to clients vary depending on the type of club. Consistent throughout all clubs is the implication that the male body is an object and instrument of labour, pleasure, and desire. Through the practice of his body, a male stripper chooses to fulfill his clients' sexual needs and desires, as well as his own, while simultaneously regulating the potentially harmful and beneficial outcomes of these interactions.

Despite the prevalence of sex work and strip clubs across our Western landscapes, few studies explore the occupational health and safety outcomes related to indoor MSW, let alone male stripping (Benoit & Shaver, 2006; Bungay, Oliffe, & Atchison, 2015). Based on our literature review of English and French databases, we found no scientific studies exploring the occupational health and safety aspects of stripping in strip clubs where men dance for men (MDM). Further, the negotiation process and outcomes surrounding sexual services in the stripping industry are poorly considered.

Four factors may be undermining and constraining MSW and stripping research. The first of these factors is the over-representation of heteronormative populations in sex work research (Dennis, 2008; Minichiello, Scott, & Collander, 2013). A second issue in this field of inquiry is the tendency to focus on more visible sex worker populations (i.e., street-based sex workers). In 1999, Allman reported that approximately 20% of all sex work activity takes place on the streets. According to Minichiello and Scott in 2014, it is problematic to overemphasize street-based sex work given that this group accounts for “only 10 percent of the overall male sex work market” (p. XIV). As a result, knowledge about the indoor and online male sex work sub-industries is lagging (see respectively DeMarco, 2007, and Minichiello, Scott, & Collander, 2013). In terms of public health surveillance and interventions, limited knowledge about the indoor sex industry negatively impacts the efficacy of care for the sex worker population (Allman, 1999). The third factor contributing to the gaps in knowledge regarding the MSW industry relates to the stigma associated

with sex work and homosexuality; as a result, MSWs experience social exclusion and discrimination, which creates geographic and social barriers to research (Browne & Minichiello, 1996; Minichiello, Scott, & Collander, 2013; Morrison & Whitehead, 2007). Moreover, by fear of being stigmatized, researchers may avoid taboo topics of inquiry (taboo being defined as anything that is or has been banned on the grounds of morality or taste: non-traditional sexual relationships, substance use, labour that requires the use of eroticism, etc.). Social taboos and stigma by association can thus hamper the development of sex work research, influence methodological choices, and limit the breadth of inquiry (Barton, 2001, 2006; Frank, 2007; Sanders, 2006). The fourth factor relates to issues of methodology, funding, and research ethics. The clandestine and illicit aspects of the industry complicate researchers' access to the sex worker population (Escoffier, 2007; Sanders, 2006). Indeed, challenges arise at the stage of recruiting and data collection. Issues related to ensuring data confidentiality, consent, and anonymity amplify the challenges. Moreover, the matter of receiving funding for studies relating to “deviant” social phenomena is problematic.

Despite the lack of empirical evidence to guide male stripping inquiry in the health disciplines, the dearth of knowledge is enough to warrant further investigation. Luckily, studies in the broader fields of MSM and MSW research substantiate our intentions. According to the Public Health Agency of Canada (2014), the number of people living with HIV/AIDS in Canada rose by 11.4% between 2008 and 2011, from 64,000 to 71,300. By the end of 2016, 14% of individuals living with HIV in Canada were unaware of their infection (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2018). According to Haddad, Li, Totten, and McGuire (2018), “In 2017, a total of 2,402 newly diagnosed cases of HIV were reported to PHAC, which corresponded to a 3% increase since 2016 and a 17.1% increase since 2014 [...]” (p. 329). By accounting for nearly half (46.4%) of all reported cases, MSM are the most frequently reported exposure category (Haddad et al., 2018). In the city of Baltimore, Maryland, survey data from 2008 showed that of the 448 MSM respondents who attended venues such as dance halls and strip clubs, 37.5% had the human immunodeficiency

virus (HIV) and 78.4% did not know their status. Sexually transmitted infections (STIs) such as syphilis, gonorrhea, and chlamydia are also on the rise in this population (Wilton, 2015). In the face of these numbers, it should be noted that the levels of STI and HIV prevalence and incidence are unrepresentative because they are irregularly tracked by health officials (Cohen, 2012). Nonetheless, according to Challacombe (2018), MSM are approximately 131 times more likely to contract HIV than men who do not have sex with men.

Regardless of the dearth of MSW knowledge, we do know from the female sex work (FSW) industry that negative health and safety outcomes are widespread (Elifson, Boles, & Sweat, 1993; Ford et al., 1995; Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1999; Miller, Klutz, & Eckholdt, 1998; Public Health Agency of Canada, 2014). We can assert that sex work or stripping houses no inherent risks; however, many practices with clients (intravenous drug use and condomless sex, for instance) may increase the occupational hazards (Allman, 1999; Browne & Minichiello, 1996). In a Vancouver-based study, Landers et al. (2014) recount that “[m]ale sex workers have significantly higher HIV prevalence (7.3% vs. 1.1%) and incidence (4.7% vs. 0.9%) than do men who have sex with men but who do not engage in transactional sexual intercourse” (p. 100). Research suggests that MSWs have worrisome health practices when it comes to STI and HIV prevention according to health professionals who work with them (Dorais, 2005) and are more susceptible to negative health and safety outcomes (Elifson, Boles, & Sweat, 1993; Landers et al., 2014; Timpson, Ross, Williams, & Atkinson, 2007). Some MSWs insist on protecting themselves adequately, whereas others state that they will do anything with clients to support their substance addiction or financial needs. Allman (1999) claims that “MSWs rationalize their behaviour with the rewards they seek and the illegal context in which their work takes place. This impacts their health outcomes” (p. 55). Substance consumption while negotiating with clients may increase strippers’ HIV and STI infection rates. Other factors such as precarious socio-economic circumstances, substance misuse, mental health issues, inconsistent condom use, serological history of hepatitis B or syphilis, or emotional, physical, or sexual abuse might also increase strippers’ negative health

and safety outcomes. Furthermore, the climate of prejudice, homophobia, repression, and criminalization surrounding MSW generates animosity between the workers and those who are purportedly trying to help. Suspicious of their intent, MSWs refrain from allying with health professionals and the legal authorities in matters concerning their work (Dorais, 2005). In Canada, the overarching judicial framework for sex work is based on Bill C-36.⁵ Instead of improving sex workers' work conditions, Bill C-36 has reproduced and amplified health and safety concerns within the industry (Warnica, 2015). These provisions force sex workers to engage in rushed encounters in secluded and sometimes unsafe locations. The current legal framework does not allocate to sex workers the time or space necessary to negotiate safe sexual transactions. Consequently, it increases violence, coercion, and infection rates (Canadian Public Health Association, 2014; Davies, 2015). We are skeptical of the criminalization approach to sex work since it is forged in discourses of morality rather than in discourses of rigorous scientific inquiry. Thus, the context of sex work may worsen strippers' health and safety conditions.

The scientific literature about health-related issues within strip clubs emerged at the turn of this century (Wahab et al., 2011). Notably, the current state of knowledge regarding health hazards within strip clubs where women dance for men are more focused on women dancing for men; contextual elements that have been identified in relation to these hazards may modulate female strippers' work behaviours and negotiation practices. For instance, socio-economic vulnerability, voluntary or forced vaginal or anal sex, substance misuse, verbal and physical workplace violence, intimidation, exploitation, the political and legal climate of sex work, financial and peer pressure, organizational pressure to sell sex and the lack of access to primary healthcare may obstruct strippers' sex transaction negotiations, thus potentially leading to higher

⁵ In Canada, the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* (Bill C-36) outlaws the buying but not the selling of sex (Supreme Court of Canada, 2013). The aim is to reduce the demand for transactional sex by discouraging entry into the industry and deterring participation. Instead of improving the situation, health and safety issues abound insofar as sex workers are forced to operate underground, away from the gaze of the policing authorities. This law aiming at controlling sex work in society generates an attitude of stigma and discrimination toward sex workers and worsens their health and safety conditions (Allman, 1999). Moreover, clients are now less likely to report instances of abuse against sex workers to police for fear of legal repercussions.

probabilities of HIV and STI transmission (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1999, 2000).

Based on the literature regarding female strippers, we know that strip clubs are important locations for the acquisition of HIV and other STIs (Footer, Lim, Brantley, & Sherman, 2018). Regarding female strippers' sexual practices, we know that their work environment can either enable or prevent hazardous sexual practices with clients (Footer et al., 2018). Asymmetrical power relations between a stripper and a client suggest that the decision to sell condomless sex may be driven by the need for illicit drugs or extra income (Lilleston, Reuben, & Sherman, 2015). Offering condomless sex means that sex workers can increase the rate of their services (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1999, 2000). In this sense, "[u]nsafe sex is not irrational, but a different sort of rationality" (Davies et al., 1993, p. 53, as cited in Gastaldo et al., 2009, p. 401); a rationality to be a competitive entrepreneur in the case of strippers.

Within MSCs, work hazards such as slippery dance floors, broken glass, physical injuries, aggressive clients, sexual harassment, and insidious remarks are frequent (DeMarco, 2002). Moreover, since sexuality is packaged as a consumer product for the customer, and since the privacy of the sex act is made public in the open spaces of the MSC, the male stripper may find himself alienated from his sexuality due to sexual encounters that violate his normative or moral expectations (Boden, 2007). In MSC research, we have yet to locate studies distinctly exploring the health and safety issues concerning sexual service transactions between stripper and client.

In short, MSM, MSWs, and FSWs have attracted the attention of researchers in the health disciplines. Given that certain male strippers have sex with men and engage in sex work, we can infer that they experience similar health and safety concerns. We believe that all strippers have a right to adequate health and safety measures in their place of work. The male stripper population deserves special attention since they have been either ignored, overlooked, or rendered inaccessible to researchers. To effectively subvert the incidence of HIV and STI rates within the MSM and MSW population, nursing scholarship and the public health agenda need to shift their focus to MSCs (Benoit & Shumka, 2015; Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1999, 2000; Minichiello, Scott, &

Collander, 2015; Zou et al., 2013). Hopefully, academic and professional advancements will lead to the development of more inclusive and targeted harm reduction interventions.

Current Health and Safety Approach

The Canadian Public Health Association (2014) published a position paper on sex work in Canada to address the pressing health imperatives of this population. Their recommendations remain broad and only vaguely mention male sex work. Despite the obvious similarities between MSW and FSW, and more specifically male and female stripping, MSM in the MSW industry warrant further investigation. We located community health organizations focusing on the health needs of the male and female sex worker populations. HIV/AIDS organizations such as the two Montreal-based groups COCQ-SIDA and CACTUS, as well as CATIE, a Canadian organization for health information on HIV/AIDS and hepatitis C, provide information and pertinent resources for sex workers and for those working with sex workers. For example, they provide a link and description of RÉZO, a Montreal-based organization serving the LGBTQ+ community. RÉZO offers an outreach program which primarily targets street-level MSWs. This program has an evening drop-in service as well as a street outreach service. Both programs aim to reduce the spread of HIV and STIs by disseminating information on safer sex and drug use to MSWs. The outreach service occurs on the streets, in bars, in hotels that rent by the hour, in peep shows, and in strip clubs.

Analogous to RÉZO is the Vancouver-based HUSTLE outreach and support program. Their approach resembles RÉZO's and is based on harm reduction⁶, a non-judgmental health promotion and support strategy. Other organizations that directly concern sex workers are Stella (Montreal), Maggie's (Toronto), POWER (Ottawa), SPOC (Canada), SWAG (Kingston), and HiM (Vancouver). Various toolkits have also been developed for sex workers and communities

⁶ The harm reduction approach is a practical prevention model that aims to reduce harms caused by a given human activity. In healthcare, the goal is to reduce negative health outcomes from potentially hazardous behaviours (e.g., condomless sex, intravenous needle sharing, drug overdoses, etc.). Harm reduction is a shift from the all-or-nothing medical-based model. It does not seek to reduce negative risks once and for all or to prohibit behaviours deemed problematic. In contrast, harm reduction attempts to develop strategies that minimize the negative fallout related to specific human activities through a non-discriminatory, open-minded, and solution-focused standpoint (Bigler, 2014).

regarding sex work (e.g., the Sex Worker Toolkit by Living Community, a Vancouver-based organization). Fortunately, community organizations and groups have organized strategies to address sex workers' needs; our work builds on theirs by offering a contextually situated MSW study of male stripping with recommendations for healthcare providers, policymakers, researchers, and educators.

Future Directions

We imagine a future where sex work is fully decriminalized and where society's treatment of sex work transpires in an environment of tolerance and understanding. Indeed, it would be simpler to assess and address the health and safety issues prevalent in the sex industry if sex work were decriminalized. A climate with less homophobia, less taboo, less stigma, and less discrimination surrounding the industry would facilitate all forms of sex work research. Research funding agencies and universities might be more generous to those researching sex work topics. In developing and administering effective public healthcare interventions sex work research is essential. We need to create an environment that values the voices of marginalized populations, and one that facilitates the implementation of concrete healthcare policies to ensure equitable access to healthcare services for all citizens. Until then, we take it upon ourselves to assist sex workers in claiming their right to a healthy and safe workspace through a pragmatic harm reduction approach to MSW in MSCs. A harm reduction approach would support strippers in accessing the necessary health and social services they require without criticizing their actions and without penalizing them for seeking help. From adversity, we are pushing through the existing barriers toward a tolerant social science of healthcare. This involves accepting sex work as work and striving to generate the best health and safety outcomes for all those involved in the industry. As academics in the discipline of health and as healthcare professionals, we have an ethical responsibility to address the occupational health and safety issues in MSCs.

Delving into this field, we posed the following general research question: *What are the elements of male strippers' work that influence their negotiation practises with clients?* Our purpose was to describe and interpret the cultural features of male strippers' work (via the study of the prevailing beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviours in a MSC) that impact the occupational health and safety conditions in MSCs. We hope to recommend intervention strategies that account for the varied rationalities of condomless sex and non-normative sexual practices. This end justified a close exploration of the interactions between male strippers and their clients within the normative, social, cultural, political, economic, legal, moral, and socio-spatial context in which they conduct business.

2. Research Objectives

1. Describe a Canadian male strip club setting;
2. Shed light on the social interactions in a male strip club to unveil the factors that influence strippers' occupational health and safety conditions;
3. Delineate the relationship between the factors that influence strippers' health and safety outcomes and the process of negotiating sexual services with clients.

3. Research Questions

- How does the service negotiation process unfold between a male stripper and his client in offstage areas of MSCs?
 - a. What motivates strippers to sell services to clients in private offstage areas?
 - b. What types of services do strippers offer?
- What are the consequences of working in a MSC for a stripper's physical and mental health?
 - a. What types of health and safety issues do strippers perceive when negotiating sexual services with their clients, and more broadly, when working in MSCs?
 - b. What are the positive and negative experiences of strippers when engaging in services with clients?

- In what way do individual, organizational, and structural factors intersect in the context of service negotiations between male strippers and their clients within MSCs to produce specific health and safety concerns?
 - a. What factors enable or disable strippers' use of condoms or other safe sex practices?
 - b. According to the strippers, what factors contribute to a successful or unsuccessful sexual service negotiation with their clients?

4. Philosophical Stance

For this study, a postmodern philosophical position was adopted (Cheek, 1999). Indeed, we endeavoured to critique and interpret social phenomena through a non-hegemonic scope. Our stance seats itself on a historically contingent worldview resulting from the interaction between social, political, spatial, cultural, moral, economic, ethnic, and gendered factors (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In qualitative research, four major inquiry paradigms exist (a paradigm is a set of basic beliefs or worldview): positivism, post-positivism, constructivism, and critical theory (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 106). Each paradigm inculcates its way of conducting inquiry; each has unique ontological, epistemological, and methodological presuppositions.

Positivism,⁷ argued by its proponents to be without presuppositions, non-philosophical, and devoid of values, posits an ontology of *naïve realism* which involves an objective reality independent of human bias and subjective perceptions. Ironically, this seemingly anti-philosophical commitment is a potent value commitment in and of itself (Agger, 1991). The positivist researcher seeks to *discover* knowledge, as if science likens itself to an archaeological excavation, boring its spade in the ground to unearth the truth. Practitioners of this approach aim to generate universal laws about the physical and social world through methods of observation, calculation, measurement, quantification, and prediction (Allmark, 2003). As a consequence of this philosophical ideology, positivist science promotes passivity and fatalism insofar as

⁷ Positivism is a product of modern Western philosophy sprouting from the Enlightenment's effort to demystify religion and mythology, and to root knowledge in reason instead. Later, the 19th-century French philosopher Auguste Comte, regarded as the father of philosophy of science, was the first to delineate the positivist doctrine explicitly. In the early 20th century, the Vienna Circle systematically developed Comte's ideas.

knowledge must be accepted without questioning the fundamental value judgments underpinning its claims (Agger, 1991). Positivists' work conveniently exempts their assertions from rigorous self-reflection and self-criticism. Not only did this school of thought fail in driving out mythology from scientific claims once and for all, it has also produced its own form of intellectual authoritarianism.

Post-positivism upholds similar tenets to positivism and is heavily favoured in nursing research;⁸ critical of the naïve view of knowledge production, post-positivists adopt an ontology of *critical realism*. Proponents of post-positivism claim that reality is only imperfectly discernable since humans cannot be divorced from objective inquiry. Post-positivist researchers attempt to cognize *probable truths* using chiefly the same methods wielded by positivists. In both cases, an essentialist view of knowledge is adopted insofar as knowledge is accumulated in a linear fashion and truths are perceived as universal.

Critical theory is a critique of positivism that audits and scrutinizes life's basic assumptions (especially those about how we write and read science). The approach analyzes these assumptions under a critical looking glass, uproots social inequities, and challenges humanity to emancipate itself from dogmatism, oppression, and discrimination (Bronner, 2011; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In qualitative research, critical theory⁹ hangs itself over other compatible

⁸ Nursing's scientific patronage is entrenched within positivist and biomedical views of healthcare. This is still evident to this day in the rise of the evidence-based practice (EBP) and best-practice guidelines (BPGs) movements within the nursing discipline and profession (Holmes, Roy, & Perron, 2008). Knowledge produced via these movements is decontextualized and portrayed as "true knowledge," apolitical, and value-neutral, thus concealing the political and economic forces that silently govern knowledge production (Murray, Holmes & Rail, 2008). Alise and Teddlie (2010) present compelling evidence that illustrates the dominance of positivism/post-positivism and quantitative research methods within the social and behavioural sciences. Focusing on the five most eminent scientific nursing journals of the time, the authors selected 150 articles by systematic random sampling and analyzed for paradigmatic underpinnings during the 2005 journal year. In nursing, the prevalence of post-positivism was estimated at 65%. The critical theory paradigm in nursing had an approximate five-percent representation. This is indicative of an imbalance in the way knowledge and truths are apprehended and (re)produced. Nurses who conduct research in other paradigms or use qualitative methods to highlight the contextual and subjective elements of inquiry receive little praise because they ignore the register of "true knowledge" (knowledge that is objective, unbiased, calculable, and predictable).

⁹ Matching Nietzsche's and Heidegger's critical spirit, the Frankfurt School made it their purpose to reject the Enlightenment's quest for a pure and linear science (the School was founded in Germany in 1923 by critical theorists such as Adorno, Marcuse, Horkheimer, Pollock, Lowenthal, and Benjamin). Their task was to develop a mode of consciousness that uproots modern conceptions of "real" and "rational," and to decidedly view social facts as pieces of history that can be changed. They show the historical contingency of reality and science and its malleability in order to open avenues to challenge the established order of things (Agger, 1991). The critical theory research paradigm diverges significantly from the Frankfurt School; nonetheless, the basic tenets are intact. A foundational

perspectives like a philosophical canopy (e.g., postmodernism, neo-Marxism, feminism, queer theory, postcolonialism, and poststructuralism). The critical ontology rests on *historical realism*—the idea that reality is virtual and shaped by various ideological values about different human dimensions. Truth can never be apprehended as a set of universal finalities; rather, truths are in constant transformation. From an epistemological perspective, the mould of one's values dictates the production of knowledge. Notably, the researcher, like an instrument of research, participates in and reflects on their impact on the production and reproduction of value-laden knowledge. Methodological considerations for critical theory relate to the dialogue between the investigator and research participants in seeking emancipation from historically constrained circumstances.¹⁰ Our critical stance is articulated through the teachings of postmodernism and poststructuralism.¹¹

Postmodernism and poststructuralism's philosophical and theoretical breadth resists preordained categories and fixed definitions (Cheek, 1999). Rather than stifling plurality of expression and reality, postmodernism embraces the multivocality, multiplicity, and indeterminacy of human perception. These perspectives spotlight anti-reductionism and embrace the historically contingent and contextualized character of knowledge (Ballard, Khadra, Le May, & Gendron, 2016; Ghasarian, 1998). Knowledge materializes from the perpetual and mercurial ebb and flow between our multiple interpretations of reality. Postmodernism, a general school of thought, differs

exemplar showing the historicity of reality and knowledge development is exemplified in the seminal work of Thomas S. Kuhn's in 1962, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. This critical work in the philosophy of science allows us to understand progress in the scientific disciplines not as a uniform, regular, and linear path leading to the Truth as the Cartesian model would intend; rather, progression is marked by a moving away from less adequate worldviews. This is a discontinuous and generally unpredictable process that is context-dependent and manifests in stages of revolutions. Similarly, with a more sociological and cultural bent, Michel Foucault's notion of *episteme* is analogous to Kuhn's paradigm concept. The *episteme*, like a Kuhnian paradigm, is the historical period that controls the validity of knowledge and its discourses. Through hegemonic institutional, ideological, and scientific authorities, discourses are perpetuated into society, thus forming, through power relations, what individuals come to see as reality. These authorities of knowledge within society arbitrate what "counts" as truth and shape the direction of the scientific disciplines. This creates "regimes of truth" that lead to the governing of human activities.

¹⁰ The paradigm of constructivism is not described in the above text since it did not serve the comparative effect between the positivist and critical theory paradigms. Nonetheless, for reference, constructivism frames our reality as *relative* and *constructed* through *transactional/subjective* interactions through a *hermeneutical/dialectical* process. This means that the nature of inquiry and generated knowledge depends not only on the manner in which reality is constructed between members of the inquirer–inquired dyad, but also on the contextual elements. Reality is local and specific to those who construct it.

¹¹ Both schools of thought represent a significant shift in the philosophy of science beginning in the 1960s with the ideas of Lyotard, Derrida and Foucault, Kristeva, Barthes, and Baudrillard. It can be argued that one of the most explicit philosophical critiques of modern Western thought and strongest expressions of postmodernism was Lyotard's (1984) rejection of totalizing perspectives on history and society, what he calls *grand narratives* (Agger, 1991; Ballard, Khadra, Le May, & Gendron, 2016).

from poststructuralism in that the latter focuses on language and its role in constituting reality (Agger, 1991). Proponents of poststructuralism focus on the circulation of hidden and suppressed values and special interests that permeate everything that is thought, said, and acted upon in science. The goal of postmodernist and poststructuralist projects is to subvert hegemonic structures by politicizing and democratizing science and valuing different narratives.

Concerned with countering oppression, exposing power relations, and exploring the needs of the marginalized, research underpinned by these philosophical ideals becomes a call to action; theory explains how things could be and grows into an instrument of change (Agger, 1991; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Weaver & Olson, 2006). This worldview may assist in the development of the health disciplines by embracing scientific practices that account for the diversity in human rationalities (Ballard et al., 2016; Ghasarian, 1998). In sum, our stance opposes the total systematization of the world and a universal social science. We sought transformative knowledge by interrogating taken-for-granted assumptions about the legal, healthcare, and capitalist work discourses surrounding MSW in Canada. We chose a perspective that is but one author-laden rhetorical stance among many. In our commitment to this position, we have sought to see things otherwise, to disentangle complex social fields of oppression, and to uplift marginalized groups. Our study's philosophical perspective can assist clinicians, educators, and academics in probing their taken-for-granted assumptions about sex work and stripping. Novel knowledge may emerge to subvert the lingering and imperious positivist influences in scientific inquiry. In this stance, we generate a democratic space to foster rigorous and equitable healthcare policies. The results will likely translate into health promotion and infection prevention strategies that are client-centred, non-discriminatory, effective, sustainable, and founded on partnership and understanding.

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

In the 1970s and 1980s, researchers interpreted stripping as a deviant occupation and depicted strippers as abnormal individuals. Strippers' psychological attributes and lifestyle habits were deemed causal factors for their involvement in the vilified sex industry. As the embers of deviant studies gained in potency, so did strippers' brand as morally repugnant and socially problematic individuals sharpen in pain and definition. At the time, the smiths of true knowledge marked sex workers with delinquent, pathological, and dangerous qualities. By the 1990s, the negative perceptions cooled and turned toward the discourse of labour, marking stripping as a potentially legitimate occupation (Wahab et al., 2011).

In this chapter, we synthesized the extant French and English stripping literature found in different databases.¹² We combined key terms and applied them in each database systematically (e.g., strip club, gentlemen's club, hustler bar, revue bar, exotic dance club, adult entertainment club, stripper, hustler, erotic stripper, exotic stripper, topless stripper, and nude stripper; *danseurs nus*, *stripteaseurs*, *club de danse érotique*, *club de striptease*, *club d'effeuilleuses*). Thereupon, we selected 281 scholarly journal articles for analysis: twenty-one articles examined the work of male strippers, and only seven specifically studied MSCs where MDM. From those, we sought to describe the MSC state of science with an added interest in occupational health and safety issues. Given the paucity of research about MDM, we periodically extended our review to other fields in the sex industry.

1. Sex Work

In general, sex work is defined as the consensual sale and purchase of sexual services between

¹² Searched databases: ABI Collection, Academic Search Complete, CINAHL, Criminal Justice Abstracts, EMBASE, ERIC, GenderWatch, Humanities and Social Sciences Retrospective, Nursing and Allied Health, PAIS Index, Proquest Political Science, Proquest Thesis and Dissertations, PsycInfo, Sociological Abstracts, and Proquest Sociology. Literature searches by author citation were also conducted using Google Scholar.

adults (Benoit & Shumka, 2015; Harcourt & Donovan, 2005). Services and transactions vary in their degree of intimacy: some are physically detached erotic displays, whereas condomless vaginal or anal sex practices characterize others (Harcourt & Donovan, 2005). These direct and indirect motley performances offered by sex workers occur in many settings (e.g., hotels, apartments, massage parlours, strip clubs, bathhouses, online).

Dorais (2005) accurately conceptualizes sex work as a “*mise en scène*” between four groups with competing interests: the sex worker, the client, the entrepreneurs, and the “moral entrepreneurs.” At the surface level, sex work chiefly denotes the transaction between the sex worker and client. Below the surface, other actors, such as business entrepreneurs and moral entrepreneurs, share a stake in the sex work economy. Business entrepreneurs profit from the industry without participating in any sex act (e.g., pimps, escort agency managers, strip club owners, massage parlour owners, drug dealers, hotel owners). Moral entrepreneurs legislate, control, and police sex work activities by enforcing social values and norms.

The oppression paradigm is one of three overarching worldviews through which scholars have studied the industry (Weitzer, 2009, 2012). Based in anti-prostitution narratives, proponents of the oppression paradigm surmise that sex work is inherently immoral and perceive it as a threat to their moral beliefs—morality buttressed by the inviolable sanctity of marriage and family, as well as the inherent purity of a woman’s body. Sex work is perceived as obscene and male clients are presumed to be lascivious sexual predators. In this paradigm, sex work epitomizes patriarchal gender relations and female oppression (note that the rhetoric conveniently ignores all forms of non-heterosexual sex work literature). Herein, sex workers carry an unequivocal status of exploited victims; consensual transactional sex between men and women has been described as paid rape or torture. For reasons of political expediency, abolitionists cast sex workers as “sex slaves” and as “prostituted women,” and sex work as violence directed to powerless women. Specific to the stripping industry, certain radical feminists diagnose dancing as abuse against women and an affront to their personhood (Bruckert & Parent, 2007).

Antithetical to the oppression paradigm, others view sex workers as labourers in a legitimate occupation. Contrasting the monochromatic abolitionist perspective, proponents of the empowerment paradigm refute the claim that exploitation and danger are essential to sex work. They instead argue that the circumstantial elements of sex work render it hazardous and potentially manipulative. Alternatively, the right circumstances can also empower sex workers in their occupation. Particularly popular in LGBTQ+ studies, this paradigm finds resonance with non-heteronormative occupations and practices. In stripping, the empowerment discourse emphasizes the labour aspects of stripping and repudiates the ineluctably oppressed and passive women narratives (Bruckert & Parent, 2007).

Weitzer (2012) presents a theoretical middle ground that accounts for both the exploitative and the empowering features of sex work: the polymorphous paradigm “identifies a constellation of occupational arrangements, power relations, and participants’ experiences [...] it is sensitive to complexities and to the structural conditions shaping sex work along a continuum of agency and subordination” (p. 16). In effect, in the stripping literature, strippers’ work experiences pivots between oppression and empowerment (Bell, Sloan, & Strickling, 1998; Frank, 2007; Lilleston, Reuben, & Sherman, 2015; Wahab et al., 2011). Instead of choosing among mutually exclusive approaches to this debate, we considered each side of the coin in our research endeavour.

2. Stigmatizing Discourses

The study of social stigma¹³ is one of the most popular fields in stripping academic research. The experience of social stigma varies in degree depending on the occupational field. There is a hierarchy of status, respectability, and acceptability relative to various forms of sex work (e.g.,

¹³ According to Goffman (1975 [1963]), the attributes of a social stigma cannot be located in time and space. Rather, it results from a chasm between society’s expectations of an individual’s social identity (*virtual social identity*) and their *authentic social identity*. Stigma casts the individual’s attributes, behaviours, or reputation as discreditable, undesirable, needing to be rejected. It manifests in the interaction between the normal and the abnormal individual (Hannem & Bruckert, 2012). Goffman pinpoints three types of stigma: (1) Overt or external deformities (e.g., scars, physical disabilities, obesity, anorexia), (2) Tribal stigmas (e.g., race, nationality, caste, religion), and (3) Deviations in personal traits (e.g., moral shortcomings, lying, heresy or dissent, committing a crime, abusing drugs, promiscuity). Sex work stigma relates to the latter form. Stigma is reflected in stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination.

street-level sex work, stripping, massage, pornography, escort services, phone sex, internet sex). Escorts are at the top of the ladder, enjoying the highest salary and privilege. Similarly, pornography is the most visible and a prestigious domain (Escoffier, 2007). Professional escort services and pornography may be the least stigmatized among the forms of sexualized labour because of how they are viewed by the public and by sex workers. Strippers are in the middle, with a varying status depending on their popularity with clients. Stripping is often perceived as more socially acceptable (meaning less morally offensive) compared to its peer professions (Wahab et al., 2011). Strippers and club owners will sometimes dissociate themselves from the sex workers on the lower rung of the status hierarchy to mitigate their experience of stigma and overcome their association to social deviance (Law, 2015). Street-level sex workers are typically frowned upon and are the most stigmatized sex worker group (Dorais, 2005).

2.1. Male Sex Work and Stigma

In MSW, stigma emerges from the popular and official “truths” and “facts” about what is considered a normal and healthy sexuality (i.e., procreative sex between a man and a woman). The public opinion reveals that people generally express moralistic and anti-permissive views about sex work, drug use, homosexuality, and promiscuity (Brown & Minichiello, 1996). Sex work is sometimes perceived as a threat to the nuclear family and to the whole of society (Brown & Minichiello, 1996). The social stigma in MSW finds its roots in the evolution of various official discourses¹⁴ on sex work and homosexuality. These discourses of truths are *constructed* by knowledge-producing bodies within particular socio-historical contexts (Whowell & Gaffney,

¹⁴ The term “discourse” deals with more than words and the verbal interchange of concepts. A discourse organizes knowledge and ideas in a particular social and historical context. It addresses the political, cultural, and social forces that construct and constitute our perceptions of social reality (Foucault, 2010; Marques, 2011). Michel Foucault conceptualizes discourse as a way of *writing, thinking, and speaking* about something which is bound in bodies of knowledge (disciplines) (McHoul & Grace, 1993). In other words, our understanding of a phenomenon is contingent upon the prevailing disciplinary bodies of knowledge that produce a regime of truth that shapes how we perceive, think and speak about, and interact with the social world around us (refer to footnote 7).

2009). Throughout recent history,¹⁵ in the discourses of psychiatry, public health, Western Christianity, and criminology, sex work knowledge has been recorded as deviance, illness, immorality, and crime (Bimbi, 2007; Marques, 2011; Scott, 2003). These discourses shape our assumptions about sex work and are propagated as immutable facts. Most commonly, sex work is perceived as a threat to normality; workers have been monitored, regulated, and disciplined according to the hegemonic discourses of normal and natural sexuality (Marques, 2011; Scott, 2003). The dichotomy between normal and abnormal expressed in the social mores of sexuality, gender, and sex work continues to reinforce stigma and dictate how the industry is regulated and how workers experience their occupation.

Like its female and heteronormative counterpart, MSW was understood as a moral problem associated with gender deviation and the crossing of class boundaries. Sex work was enmeshed in narratives of promiscuity, immorality, and hedonistic pleasure, thus challenging “normal” sexuality (Marques, 2011). FSWs and female strippers have also been stigmatized and stereotyped as vectors of venereal infections, reservoirs of illness, immoral, victims without free will, and substance misusers (Hannem & Bruckert, 2012). Further, FSWs, historically speaking, were subject to regular medical examinations, criminalization, and strict administration by police on account of their purportedly contagious status. They constituted a national public health and security threat to Western countries (Scott, 2003). MSWs, on the other hand, were primarily shunned because of their association to homosexuality (Marques, 2011; Scott, 2003). Nevertheless, both groups came to be represented as equally troubling social evils purportedly jeopardizing societal norms, health, security, and economic and military stability (Scott, 2003).

¹⁵ The first set of disciplinary discourses that specifically targeted MSWs and led to their stigmatization emerged in the 19th century; MSW was not seen as a serious social problem until then (Scott, 2003; Walby, 2012). During this period, knowledge about MSWs was suffused by discourses of immorality, deviance, delinquency, and psychopathology. What alarmed people was that MSW, and the public spaces associated with the industry, appeared to threaten social order and mock established social conventions of gender and sexuality (Scott, 2003). In general, sex work is viewed by the public and its institutions as immoral or harmful and in need of either stricter control or total elimination because it does not conform to social norms of sexual expression (Dorais, 2005; Harcourt & Donovan, 2005).

Similarly, stripping has historically been viewed negatively because it is considered illegal, immoral, or improper (Wahab et al., 2011). In terms of social stigma, it has been defined as “a blemish of character, because American society attaches a moral connotation to the removal of clothing in public” (Scull, 2017, p. 391). The stigma of stripping may arise from the fact that in Western morality women are not expected to expose their naked bodies to anyone but their spouse or their physician, under very structured circumstances in the latter case (Wahab et al., 2011). To do so would mean running the risk of being labelled as a sexual deviant. Conceptually, strippers and other sex workers were portrayed as deviant individuals engaging in deviant occupation¹⁶ or “dirty work”¹⁷ (see, for instance, Forsyth & Deshotels, 1998; Lavin, 2014; or Skipper & McCaughy, 1970). In referring to strippers’ line of work as a “deviant occupation,” our attention is drawn to the socially transgressive and negative elements in the industry. In short, stigma in female stripping emerges from cultural beliefs surrounding a woman’s preordained gender and sexual roles. For men involved in the stripping industry, the stigma materializes from negative labels of sex work attached to MSW compounded with those of homosexuality.

2.2. Problematizing Homosexuality

Historically speaking, in the moralizing discourses of the 19th century, the discussions surrounding MSW and homosexuality were conflated (Marques, 2011; Scott, 2003). MSWs were ostracized from the plane of normality both on the basis of sex work and homosexuality¹⁸ (Koken, Bimbi,

¹⁶ An occupation can be considered deviant if it meets one or more of the following criteria: (1) the activity is illegal; (2) one or more of the primary occupational activities violates non-legalized values or norms; and (3) the culture, lifestyle, or setting associated with the occupation is presumed by the public to involve rule-breaking behaviour.

¹⁷ Dirty work encapsulates occupations whereby the nature of the work is seen by most of society as physically, socially, or morally tainted (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014). The dirtiness of a job relates to the fact that it may be unsavoury, disgusting, dangerous, demeaning, immoral, or contemptible. Those who perform a “dirty occupation” become “dirty workers” by association (Grandy, 2008). Jobs which have a moral taint are described by Ashforth and Kreiner (2014) as those which have tasks of “‘dubious virtue’ or that utilize practices that are ‘deceptive, intrusive, confrontational, or that otherwise defy norms of civility’” (p. 83). Conversely, morally tainted occupations are perceived to be more evil than necessary to society. Stripping falls in the category of morally tainted occupations, which is why it is more heavily stigmatized than other forms of “dirty work.”

¹⁸ Homoerotic relations have not always perceived in a negative light. Throughout history, there have been various forms of institutionalized homosexuality such as puberty rites in certain tribal communities and pedagogic relations between men and youth in Greek antiquity (Dorais, 2005; Weeks, 2017). The existence of stigma surrounding homosexuality and homosexual men is a relatively new phenomenon (Weeks, 2017). Before the 19th century, the category “homosexual” did not exist—the term “homosexuality” being

Parsons, & Haltikis, 2004). Hegemonic discourses of sexuality construct males as powerful, potent, manly, and active partners when it comes to sex. The idea of homosexuality and MSW challenged normal heteromascularity (Scott, 2003). Similarly, behaviours that diverged from traditional gendered sexuality were stigmatized (Dressel & Petersen, 1982b). For MSM, it was not so much the act of gay sex that was stigmatized, but rather the notion of a man being penetrated by another man, the idea of adopting an inferior and corrupt form of masculinity (Browne & Minichiello, 1996). Because homosexuality and commercial sex between men represented a threat to the discourse of hetero-masculinity, MSWs were targeted as a way to control the overt display (and the spread) of homosexuality in society (Browne & Minichiello, 1996; Marques, 2011).

Furthermore, the pathologizing psychological discourses of homosexuality in the 19th and 20th centuries also contributed to society's negative view of homoerotic relations (Foucault, 1990b). To better understand and manage the behaviour of MSM and MSWs, scientific knowledge production revolved around psychopathology and etiological explanations of homosexuality. MSWs and gay men were assumed to be psychopathological (see Freyhan, 1947) and predisposed to deviance, corruption, delinquency, and sexual degeneracy (Marques, 2011; Minichiello & Scott, 2014). Homosexuality was even framed as a mental illness¹⁹ (Marques, 2011; Walby, 2012). The constructed scientific discourses characterized MSWs as poor, weak, uneducated, deprived runaways or drug addicts, lacking judgment and marketable skills (Bimbi, 2007; Scott, 2003). They were portrayed as violent and criminal victims of sexual abuse, children and victims of older, predatory perverts (Scott, 2003). Like FSWs, MSWs were painted with the broad brush of the oppression paradigm. Certain narratives portrayed these men as victims of

invented in 1860 (Weeks, 2017). In that period, a person engaging in homosexual behaviour was being reinvented as a particular species of being, with a distinct psychology and unique feelings. Gay men were ostracized as a group who sought to undermine the reign of heterosexuality (Weeks, 2017).

¹⁹ Homosexuality was officially de-pathologized and removed from the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* in 1974.

elderly perverts preying on the young and innocent by means of homosexual seduction (Bimbi, 2007; Scott, 2003).

2.3. Vectors of Disease

MSW as a social problem was renewed during the HIV/AIDS crisis of the 1980s and early 1990s (Marques, 2011; Scott, 2003). According to Minichiello and Scott (2014), “[t]he image of the male sex worker (MSW) or ‘hustler’ has long been associated with illness, danger, and deviance, in many ways mirroring the stigma of homosexuality” (p. 224). Men who engaged in polygamous sex or unsafe sex with men are stigmatized as “dangerous queers,” whose sexual practices are linked to illness in American society (Walby, 2012). Thus, the discourses of epidemiology and public health constituted MSWs’ identities and representation in the collective consciousness: the effects of epidemiological and public health narratives were as stigmatizing as the discourses of homosexuality and deviance. No longer interested in MSWs as persons, researchers focused on the spread of HIV²⁰ in this population (Bimbi, 2007). Since the AIDS crisis in the 1980s, MSM have had to live in the context of political homophobia (Weeks, 2017) with the stigma of being labelled as “vectors of disease” (Browne & Minichiello, 1996). Founded in a collective sense of fear of contagion, gay sex was vilified, gay men were blamed as unsafe and irresponsible, and they were accused of spreading HIV (Browne & Minichiello, 1996). Accordingly, MSW meant risk, and risk led to stigma and anxiety surrounding the industry which amounted to the persecution of MSWs. From then on, research focused on sexual risk behaviours because MSWs were perceived as a threat to the heterosexual population as channels for the spread of HIV²¹ (Marques, 2011).

²⁰ This is glaringly evident in an article entitled “The male street prostitute: A vector for transmission of HIV infection into the heterosexual world” by Morse, Simon, Osofsky, Balson, and Gaumer (1991).

²¹ Likewise, FSWs were painted as a clandestine group that could infect unsuspecting military men and unborn children; they were stereotyped as a “great social evil” of the Victorian Age (Scott, 2003). The MSW was accorded, like FSWs, a polluting status (Scott, 2003). For FSWs, the danger was said to lie in the amount of sex they had (promiscuity), while for MSWs, the danger lay in the type of sex they engaged in (gay).

2.4. Stripping Stigma

Comparable to the articulation of stigma in the wider sex work industry and homosexuality literatures, strippers have been subjected to similar discourses. The perception of deviance in male stripping is due to its association with and reliance upon homoeroticism, nudity, masturbation, sexual pleasure, and sexual labour (Boden, 2007). In this sense, male strippers may experience analogous forms of stigma linked to MSW and homosexuality. In venues where men dance for women (MDW), studies show that strippers felt as though society viewed their work in a negative light and expressed that the negative stereotypes were damaging to their identity (Dressel & Petersen, 1982a; Scull, 2017). The pessimistic perceptions of stripping have created a context whereby strippers are labelled as sexual deviants (Forsyth & Deshotels, 1998; Scull, 2017; Skipper & McCaughy, 1970), uneducated, unintelligent, or as being from a lower class and unable to do anything else (DeMarco, 2002; Morrow, 2012). Male strippers face reactions of shock and disgust when other people learn of their work. They are subject to stigma because of their occupation's association with moral and social deviance. For MDM, Kaufman (2009) states that certain work practices (e.g., engaging in escort services, hustling, extra services in the bar) are particularly stigmatized. In strip clubs, strippers and members of the management team tend to stigmatize those who engage in "prostitution-like" activities (Law, 2015). Male strippers offering illegal sexual services in the club and escort services outside stay quiet about their practices for reasons including fear of undermining their masculinity by admitting to their homoerotic practices (Dorais, 2005). Ironically, the MSM social stigma is reproduced in a place that is geared toward liberation from the stigmatization of homosexuality. Furthermore, male strippers are subjugated to the "fag discourse" because of their occupation and their appearance (Scull, 2017). When heterosexual-identified male strippers are "accused" of being gay, they take it as an affront upon their manhood (Scull, 2017). These supposed accusations proved to be the

most distressing effect of stigma for heterosexual-identified men because it perturbs their sense of masculinity.²²

2.5. Stigma Aftermath

The moral authorities' evaluation of the consumption of sexual pleasure²³ has created a double standard regarding the use of bodies for labour. Most occupations require the use of one's body as a means to accomplish a task and to be a productive member of society (e.g., construction workers, artists, models, and professional sports players). In general, the deployment of one's body as a work tool is acceptable. However, when the use of one's body is applied to a task perceived as socially unacceptable, society stands in protest. Such is the case for those who dare use the sexual dimension to fulfil their economic duties. Because stripping is entrenched in discourses of deviance and framed as illegitimate labour, strippers and other sex workers face constant discrimination, marginalization, and stigmatization (Bruckert & Parent, 2007). Incidentally, sex workers are shamed, vilified, criminalized, victimized, and demonized, thus forcing them to partake in unsafe underground sex transactions. Stigma and the need to manage its impact can lead to various mental health issues for sex workers (Barton, 2007; Bernard et al., 2003; Bimbi, 2007; Browne & Minichiello, 1996; Bergman & Chalkley, 2007; Compte, 2016; Hannem & Bruckert, 2012; Lavin, 2017; Minichiello & Scott, 2014; Scull, 2017; Walby, 2012; Wesely, 2006).

The experience of stigma, rejection from family and friends, abuse, and denigration faced by female strippers within and outside of the industry is termed the "toll" of stripping (Barton, 2007). MSWs, too, face feelings of isolation, chronic stress, and social marginalization (Walby,

²² This is consistent with the scrutiny men face when they work in a traditionally female-dominated occupation (e.g., nursing, hairdressing, flight attendants, escorts, secretaries, paralegals) (Williams, 1995).

²³ The coupling of morality and sexuality is a theme that has persisted since Greek and Roman antiquity—morality being a faction of values and rules of action that are proposed to individuals and groups by means of various prescriptive devices (e.g., family, schools, the clergy) (Foucault, 1990b; Minichiello & Scott, 2014). For the Christian West, sex and the use of pleasure has always been a terrain laden with conflict and anguish (Weeks, 2017). The focus on carnal pleasure as negative has generated normalized *practices of the self* within a Roman Catholic and evangelical scheme. Deviation from that scheme was denounced as sinful. To resist normalized *practices of the self* (e.g., sex between man and woman for procreation only) was heavily stigmatized.

2012). Stigmatized MSWs also endure negative stereotypes and demonization from others because of their work (Bimbi, 2007). Stigma similarly results in avoidance and discriminatory behaviour directed toward the vilified person (Hannem & Bruckert, 2012). Those identified as being associated with AIDS, such as male sex workers, encounter segregation, discrimination, and social exclusion (Browne & Minichiello, 1996). Further, these individuals have limited access to social support from peers and loved ones who are unaware of their concealed identity (Minichiello & Scott, 2014). Female strippers experience harassment from customers and managers, benefit from little community aid, and face discrimination when seeking housing opportunities and social and medical resources and assistance (Barton, 2007; Bernard et al., 2003; Scull, 2017; Wesely, 2006). Various studies also demonstrate that the stigma associated with stripping can lead to the internalizing of the negative perceptions and opinions others have of female strippers (Scull, 2017). Moreover, MSWs may withhold important information about their occupation to health professionals for fear of being stigmatized and scorned (Walby, 2012). Additionally, the social stigma might create a barrier between club entertainers and healthcare providers in discussions about the job-related risks (Bergman & Chalkley, 2007). According to Boden (2007), male strippers can also experience mental health issues tied to the continuous manipulation of their sexuality and gender while working. Strippers' subjection to sexuality and behaviours that may be alien to their own can generate psychological distress.

2.6. Stigma Management

Resisting stigma can be achieved through the solidarity of the stigmatized group; unfortunately, in male stripping, the physical isolation, the high turnover of strippers, and the interpersonal competition for clients prostrates the will to protest the pervading climate (Footer, Lim, Brantley, & Sherman, 2018; Scull, 2017). Thus, strippers often manage stigma through solitary tactics, rather than through a united front.

To resist the toll of stripping, strippers employ methods of psycho-spatial distancing (Barton, 2007): setting personal rules, othering, and developing a stripper persona. Research shows that sex workers may develop a dependency on alcohol or drugs to cope with the effects of stigma (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 2000). Strippers will divide their social worlds as a means of information control; rationalize and neutralize their behaviours; and employ narrative resistance tactics to manage stigma related to their occupation (Dressel & Petersen, 1982a; Scull, 2017). Being outed to others can lead to further stigmatization (Walby, 2012); therefore, MSWs may withhold important information about their occupation to health professionals (Walby, 2012).

To manage and resist the social stigmas associated with male stripping, strippers will partake in identity work: activities which produce, present, and maintain a sense of self that is congruent with the person's understanding of themselves as a physical, social, spiritual, and moral being (Scull, 2017). Identity work is prevalent in stigmatized populations and in occupations where workers' self-views are threatened. Scull (2017) argues that MDW are engaged in identity work through different strategies used to tackle the negative labels attributed to their work. These strategies are directly associated with the types of stigma experienced by male strippers. Female and male strippers engage in forms of narrative resistance to counteract the negative themes associated to their work activities (Ronai & Cross, 1998).

Strippers recruit a narrative of professionalism to enlighten the positive aspects of their work (Scull, 2017). This means that strippers speak seriously of their work and consider it a legitimate form of employment. MSWs engage in identity cognitive strategies to minimize stigma such as highlighting the agentive and entrepreneurial aspects of their work (Walby, 2012). They may inculcate the "sex as work" perspective to rationalize what they are doing and, again, emphasize the professional elements of their work. In this way, MSWs are managing their identity in order to resist stigmatization. When faced with the "fag discourse," male strippers sometimes "laugh off" the comments, or they tell themselves that others are jealous (Scull, 2017). Further, to avoid feelings of emasculation, strippers avoid feminine characterizations by emphasizing their

masculine traits (e.g., boldness, bravery, courage) and by avoiding feminine individuals. In other words, male strippers will reconstruct the conventionally feminine occupation of stripping by over-asserting and over-performing their masculine gender. This kind of identity work solidifies strippers' sense of self as masculine, heterosexual, and *normal* (Scull, 2013, 2017).

2.7. Labour Discourse

In recent times, the stigma of homosexuality has dissipated moderately. In the 1960s, homophobic repression waned, thus enabling the growth of a small gay marketplace (Minichiello & Scott, 2014). Hustler bars and strip clubs were places where MSWs were able to capitalize on men's homoerotic desires. Research focusing on the labour, socio-political, and legal aspects of sex work contributed to destigmatizing the industry (Bimbi, 2007; Bruckert & Parent, 2007). Emerging in the 1990s, the sex work as work discourse and form of knowledge production exists in large part due to sex workers themselves, feminists, and advocacy from social organizations protecting marginalized groups. The decision to enter the industry is framed as a rational occupational choice rather than a consequence of deviant predispositions (Marques, 2011). The shift of attention to the entrepreneurial aspects of MSW has been driven by the increase of online escorting by MSWs (Walby, 2012). Most MSWs are now working independently through online escorting websites, giving them full control of whom they see, when, and where. The latest research challenges the perception of MSWs as vectors of infection, instead supporting that they ought to be considered experts and educators of safe sex techniques (Marques, 2011). Further, this discourse has the potential to enable women and men to understand their work within a social construct of acceptable behaviour. In addition, the labour discourse may encourage policy-makers to focus on the promotion of healthy sexuality and occupational safety rather than regulating and emphasizing pathology, infection transmission, and sexual stigma.

3. Regulating Sex Work

The historical evolution of regulatory narratives about MSWs involves a complex interconnection between the sexual, psychosocial, medical, and labour discourses (Law, 2015; Marques, 2011). Therefore, the regulation of MSWs stems from its discursive association to the stigmatizing discourses of homosexuality, psychopathology, immorality, and contagion (Marques, 2011; Scott, 2003). “Moral entrepreneurs” regulate and police MSW based on these normative discourses (Dorais, 2005). Deviations from the norms are subject to corrective interventions (Scott, 2003). Founded on stigmatizing discourses, the regulation of sex work reinforces the collective belief that sex workers are immoral, deviant, delinquent, or contagious (Marques, 2011). Said otherwise, social stigma is reproduced and perpetuated by disciplinary authorities aiming to eliminate, subvert, and control sex workers.

Strip clubs are heavily regulated because their activities are assumed to revolve around criminal activity such as “prostitution,” human trafficking, and illicit substances. Public and institutional perceptions of moral disorder, deviance, contamination, and criminality fuel the regulatory practices in strip clubs (Bruckert & Dufresne, 2002; Law, 2015). Similarly, the regulation of stripping stems from the character of intimate touching in public.²⁴ In other words, the broad sex work regulatory discourses also dictate the regulation of stripping and strippers’ work conditions (Bruckert & Dufresne, 2002; Bruckert & Parent, 2007; Law, 2015). Because of these discursive associations, club owners and strippers are often persecuted by law enforcement (Bruckert & Parent, 2007).

²⁴ After a heavy focus on strip clubs’ moral status in Canadian society, there was a shift from a prohibitionist approach to strip clubs toward the matter of strip clubs as a management issue. The management issue was a pretext to safeguard society from the harms of stripping. The logic was based in discourses of moral contamination and negative health risks which framed new labour practices in stripping (Bruckert & Dufresne, 2002). Ottawa and Toronto both prohibited touching between strippers and clients on the basis of negative health risks. The public fear of HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis C also led to a shift in the regulatory landscape. New management strategies targeted lap dancing as a public health concern, despite a lack of evidence that lap dancing is inherently hazardous (Bruckert & Dufresne, 2002). Clubs in Toronto even outlawed the practice due to the supposed health issues. However, Bruckert and Dufresne (2002) argued that the bylaws stemmed from a discourse of morality rather than one of concern for strippers’ health and safety.

3.1. Regulatory Approaches

Depending on the historical and political context, the regulatory approach to sex work may be one of criminalization, decriminalization, legalization, or a mixed strategy (Crofts, 2014). Criminal law, health law, and civil law are concerned with the planning, licensing, advertising, and social impact components of sex work in society (Crofts, 2014). According to Phoenix (2009), there are four main ideological perspectives when regulating sex work stipulated at various levels of government. The prohibitionist, abolitionist, or neo-abolitionist perspective which advocates for the total elimination of sex work is the first ideological perspective (Crofts, 2014). The essential argument states that sex work is immoral and an act of violence against women. Often, proponents of this perspective will refer to sex work as human trafficking in order to emphasize the abuse of women and children while completely disregarding the empowering and entrepreneurial components of sex work. This perspective operates in the oppression paradigm (Weitzer, 2012). The harm reduction perspective, rather than seeing sex work as an issue of moral and social contamination, tackles the public health concerns of sex work without arguing for its abolition. The harm reduction angle aims to mitigate the harms associated with sex work for sex workers and others. This perspective is often adopted by various sex worker groups and community health organizations. The third point of view focuses on human rights. In New Zealand, a country where sex work is decriminalized, sex workers benefit from interventions founded in a harm reduction and human rights standpoint (Corriveau & Greco, 2014). The fourth perspective deals with the pragmatic regulation of sex work as a social fact in society—an approach which has existed long since the Roman Empire's decriminalization, legalization, and taxation of sex work (Friedman, 2014). The regulationist approach (or the legalization approach) operates in Germany, the Netherlands, and the state of Nevada. Proponents of the approach accept sex work as a necessary evil—a euphemism for society's contempt toward the ineradicable presence of sex work in human civilization—but seek to control its negative consequences.

3.2. Canadian Context

Canada has always opted for a repressive and abolitionist approach to human trafficking and sex work.²⁵ In fact, various forms of sexualized labour such as stripping and street-level sex work are often conflated with the human trafficking of women and children and regulated as such (Law, 2015). The aim is to eradicate sex work and its activities because it upsets the boundaries of public morality (Corriveau & Greco, 2014). To reach the goal of eradication, Canada and other industrialized countries have chosen to criminalize all activities that enable sex work, but not the sex act in itself (Corriveau & Greco, 2014). This means that soliciting sex in public (on the street or in public indoor venues), procuring, and brothels are being targeted. Canadian law criminalized *communication* for obtaining or offering sexual services, *keeping or living in a bawdy house* (i.e., a brothel or other place where sex work may take place), *taking or transporting someone to a bawdy house*, and *procuring or living off the avails of sex work*. In this sense, sex work is a talking crime (Grant, 2014). In 2014, this model was officially replaced by a neo-abolitionist approach (dubbed the Swedish model after the first country to have adopted this approach in 1999) after the Progressive Conservative government in Canada was ordered to reform the sex work laws after the *Bedford v. Canada* (2013) case (Supreme Court of Canada, 2013). The *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* (Bill C-36) was the Progressive Conservative government's solution. The approach, predominantly focused on FSWs and ignoring MSWs, frames sex workers as victims in need of saving. The method exudes the paternalism of the oppression paradigm and feminist narratives that identify sex work as violence against women. Consequently, the focus shifted away from moral harms and toward the discourses of individual harms to exploited and trafficked women (Law, 2015).

²⁵ In the first *Criminal Code of Canada* in 1892, sex work per se was not prohibited, however, multiple provisions rendered legal sex work virtually impossible (Corriveau & Greco, 2014). The main purpose was to control the perceived problem of sex work as a public nuisance, and thus, street-level sex workers were the primary targets (Corriveau & Greco, 2014). In 1985, the federal government passed *An Act to Amend the Criminal Code (Prostitution)*, which specifically criminalized the public activities of sex work. Soliciting a person in public for sexual services became a condemnable offence. Policy- and lawmakers argued against sex work on the basis of Christian morality, sociopathology, deviance, delinquency, and contagion (Corriveau & Greco, 2014).

MSW is often absent in regulatory discourses.²⁶ One reason for this omission is because MSW is less visible than FSW (especially at the street level), and less polluting as a result. Further, historically, FSWs were also heavily monitored and regulated because of their status as vectors of venereal infections (Bimbi, 2007; Marques, 2011; Scott, 2003). The focus on the nuisance or exploitative aspects of heterosexual sexual commerce has also sidelined MSWs from regulatory debates (Crofts, 2014). Abolitionists conveniently ignore cases, such as MSW, that undermine feminist analyses of sex work as the pinnacle of patriarchal female oppression, male violence, and exploitation or sex slavery of women and children (Dorais, 2005). Brown and Minichiello (1996) note that MSW offering services to men “contradicts the belief that prostitution is a rehearsal of gender inequity [...]” (p. 33). Therefore, partisan politics is another reason for this omission in regulatory texts.

Nonetheless, MSW has been regulated, but not because of the sexual commerce between men. The regulation relates to the nature of homosexual acts. Gay sex has long been criminalized: the *Laws of England* in the 18th century conflated homosexual acts and bestiality due to the former’s ostensibly “impure” character (Crofts, 2014). This view was exported to English colonies, Canada included. Homosexuality was criminalized because acts such as sodomy, public indecency between men, and influencing others to engage in homosexual relations were strictly prohibited. Capital punishment for homosexual acts existed in the British Empire throughout the 18th to the late 20th century.

As a result, men who engaged in commercial sexual interactions with other men were *de facto* penalized by these prohibitions not because of sex work itself, but because of the nature of the sexual act (Scott, 2003). It was not until homosexuality was decriminalized²⁷ that the labour

²⁶ Before 1972, only women were subject to sex work laws in Canada. Historically, FSWs have been more severely penalized for their involvement in the sex industry (Marques, 2011). MSWs would often be charged with misdemeanour charges such as “importuning by males” or “indecency between males.” After the criminal law amendment of 1972, any person soliciting others in a public place for the purpose of sex work was guilty of an offence (Corriveau & Greco, 2014).

²⁷ Homosexuality was decriminalized in Canada in 1969 with the advent of Bill C-150, *Criminal Law Amendment Act* (Walby, 2012).

aspects of MSW were problematized by moral entrepreneurs. The regulation of MSW and homosexuality peaked in the late 20th century with the stigmatizing narratives of disease and contagion during the HIV/AIDS public health crisis (Scott, 2003). Prohibited from engaging in certain activities, subjected to mandatory treatment or counselling, and prosecuted under criminal law, MSWs and homosexual men were constructed as a negative public health risk.

Stripping in Canada

In North America, nude dance performances in clubs emerged in the 1960s. During this time, the labour was structured around set shifts and set wages; strippers were considered employees of the establishment. Bruckert and Parent (2007) state that throughout the 1970s and 1990s, stripping was de-professionalized, moving from a form of salaried employment in the artistic performance industry to a form of tip-based work in the client service sector. Most strippers became autonomous workers by the end of the 1980s. Revenue depended on their capacity to attract clients and to sell their services (Bruckert & Parent, 2007). When strippers became freelance workers, table dances with intimate contact appeared in the Canadian provinces of Ontario and Quebec (introduced in Montréal in 1980, shortly followed by Ottawa in 1982) (Bruckert & Dufresne, 2002). In the 1990s, a new trend in Montréal and Toronto led to the creation of private lap-dance booths and champagne rooms where clients could have close contact with strippers for an extra charge (Bruckert & Dufresne, 2002). With the increased tips strippers would receive from clients, club owners reduced their salaries and began to require strippers to pay an entry fee. Eventually, strippers' salaries were eliminated. Accordingly, strippers were defined as self-regulating and autonomous subjects responsible for their own health and safety, making it easy for club owners and managers to distance themselves from strippers' health and safety needs (Bruckert & Dufresne, 2002).

The evolving work structures in strip clubs were being problematized as a social issue in need of regulation with the appearance of table dances, private booths, and sexual contact

between strippers and clients in the 1980s and 1990s. Unlike the legal status and regulation of “prostitution” in Canada, the occupation is not criminalized: strip clubs and other adult entertainment venues may obtain licences whereby strippers may perform naked on stage (Bruckert & Parent, 2007). The presence of strip clubs and conditions under which their licences are procured will depend on provincial, state, and municipal governments.²⁸ Canadian law states that stripping in general does not meet the required criteria to be considered “prostitution” (Department of Justice, 2017). Nonetheless, moral entrepreneurs may at times use their discretionary powers to reinterpret the law and criminalize some exchanges between clients and strippers.²⁹

Apart from focusing on what was happening inside strip clubs, regulatory strategies also sought to control where, when, and how strip clubs could operate. In Canada, sexualized venues such as night clubs, bars, bathhouses, and strip clubs are licensed on the condition that they exert their obligation to ensure that customers and employees practise acceptable behaviours on the premises. Municipal zoning restrictions also influence how strip clubs operate and where they can be established. Zoning practices were framed in terms of city planning, but the approach was, according to Bruckert and Dufresne (2002), “premised on assumptions of moral contamination” (p. 78). Provincial and municipal legislators have also attempted to impose dress codes for

²⁸ For instance, the province of Saskatchewan has banned strip clubs outright, whereas many still operate in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Additionally, in Quebec, some strip clubs allow clients to touch strippers’ bodies during private dances. This practice is prohibited in other provinces and states across North America.

²⁹ The definition of illegal sex work in current Canadian law relates to all exchanges of sexual services for payment. As such, the extent to which certain services are considered “sexual” will greatly influence the legality of an economy (Department of Justice, 2018). In Canada, lap dancing for a certain sum of compensation (sitting in a client’s lap and simulating sex) has been found to constitute a sexual service or an act of “prostitution.” Even sexual performances by strippers for clients in private cabins and champagne rooms where no sexual contact has taken place have been found to constitute “prostitution.” The uncertainty regarding what is allowed in a lap dance is exemplified in the Supreme Court ruling of *R v. Mara* in 1997 stating that touching between strippers and clients was indecent because it dehumanizes women, desensitizes sexuality, it is incompatible with the dignity and equality of each human being, and promotes antisocial behaviours (Supreme Court of Canada, 2020).

entertainers, enforce licensing of entertainers and clubs,³⁰ and restrict the locations as well as the operating hours of the clubs (Bruckert & Dufresne, 2002).

To control strippers' behaviours, in venues where sexualized labour takes place, police will sometimes engage in raids to disrupt the flow of business and apprehend those engaging in criminal activity (Dorais, 2005). These police operations are modelled on the street-level sex work approach (Bruckert & Dufresne, 2002). The club management teams also keep an eye on strippers' behaviour to curtail any prohibited activities in order to protect their licence. Within a given strip club, one can find a disciplinary structure consisting of policies, contracts, and rules of behaviour for strippers and clients. These rules are obeyed unsystematically (Montemurro, 2001). Owners' and managers' regulatory power over strippers lies in their ability to use disciplinary tactics such as suspensions, fines, and expulsions without notice if they feel that the employee poses a threat. They also have unilateral power to set working conditions (Dorais, 2005). However, their capacity to control strippers has diminished since they no longer pay them a salary (Bruckert & Parent, 2007).

Consequences of the Current Approach

The laws and regulation surrounding sex work and stripping in any given place can have a significant impact on the occupational health and safety outcomes of sex workers and strippers (Canadian Public Health Association, 2014; Corriveau & Greco, 2014; Dorais, 2005; Law, 2015; O'Doherty, 2011; Warnica, 2015). Sex workers in Canada are susceptible to the negative effects of the Bill C-36 regulatory matrix. The approach has not made sex work any safer. Conversely, it perpetuates multiple health and safety concerns within the industry (O'Doherty, 2011; Warnica, 2015). Bill C-36 ignores the Supreme Court's findings that criminalization produces and

³⁰ In Ottawa, Ontario, club floor plans must be approved by municipal and police officials (Law, 2015). In Toronto, Ontario, bylaws required the private dances to be performed in an area within view of the stage. Toronto even had a law where strippers needed to be licensed, and any stripper associated to a sex work charge would be denied a licence. Laws and bylaws were engineered to prevent illegal sex work activities.

exacerbates negative outcomes in sex work (Law, 2015). The continued moralization of stripping through stigmatizing discourses has hindered the development of sensible regulatory solutions for the sex industry (Law, 2015). The criminalization discourse in Canada casts sex workers as criminals or victims of criminal clients, which further marginalizes and ostracizes sex workers from social and health supports (Dorais, 2005). Canada's repressive approach is being achieved at the expense of sex workers' health, safety, and human rights (Corriveau & Greco, 2014). The neo-abolitionist approach threatens sex workers' and their clients' positive health and safety outcomes insofar as sex workers need to isolate themselves and operate underground in the margins of society, away from the gaze of authority who purport to protect their well-being (Corriveau & Greco, 2014; Crofts, 2014; Dorais, 2005). Thereby, sex workers are forced to engage in rushed encounters with little time to negotiate safe transactions with clients. Moreover, Kay (1999) states that anti-prostitution police enforcement has encouraged an increase of sex work within strip clubs in San Francisco, California. From this, MSWs, clients, business owners, managers, and others will employ forms of personal and peer regulation to protect themselves from any confrontations with the law. In other words, there is a collective effort in the industry to maintain the veil of conformity and submission to the rule of law.

MSWs have been criminalized and subjected to prosecution and sentences because of their association to the transmission of STIs and HIV and suspected hazardous sexual conduct. The arbitrary disciplinary powers that medical officers can exert over MSWs has made public forms of sex work dangerous. By criminalizing sex workers' activities, sex workers face fines and jail time. Subsequently, they resort to sex work to pay those fines. Further, seeking employment outside the sex industry is difficult for those with a criminal record (Corriveau & Greco, 2014; Crofts, 2014). Laws that criminalize the communication of sex work with the goal of obtaining or offering sexual services makes workers vulnerable to abuse by clients and to the discretionary powers of police (Crofts, 2014). These laws limit sex workers' access to health and social services (Corriveau & Greco, 2014), and their access to police services and legal aid is deplorable (Lewis,

Maticka-Tyndale, Shaver & Schramm, 2005). Social isolation and a reluctance to disclose mental health issues or violent acts against them for fear of incriminating themselves or making themselves the target of more abuse and violence complicate healthcare and social services access and interventions for this population (Anklesaria & Gentile, 2012).

O'Doherty (2011) illustrates that Canada's sex work laws alienate sex workers from the protective services of police. Sex workers are misinformed about their legal rights, they face personal, legal, and social consequences for their association with a criminalized activity, and their abilities to mitigate work hazards are limited by the criminalization of sex work activities (O'Doherty, 2011). Consequently, their mental health is negatively impacted due to the isolation and stress of working in a marginalized and criminalized occupation. Isolation has been found to increase the risk of violence against sex workers. What is common to all female strippers is that fear of discrimination, harassment, and assault underpins their work, and, as we learn in future studies, prohibitive licensing and policing practices prevent sex workers, managers and owners from adopting safer workplace measures and exacerbates negative health and safety risks for sex workers (Anderson et al., 2015). In effect, the Canadian Criminal Code contributes to stigma, discrimination, harm, and violence toward sex workers (van der Meulen, 2012). The participants in van der Meulen's study (2012) state that decriminalization is a necessary step toward establishing occupational health and safety standards for sex workers.

In 2012, the World Health Organization called for the decriminalization of sex work to improve the physical and emotional well-being of sex workers (Bimbi & Koken, 2014). Many FSW groups and community organizations advocate for the complete decriminalization of sex work to better protect sex workers from abuses related to the illegality of their work (Corriveau & Greco, 2014). According to Dorais (2005), full decriminalization of sex work would help protect sex workers from abuse by clients, rings, pimps, agencies, and the "moral entrepreneurs" who pursue them. This is a position held by most organizations that advocate on behalf of sex workers.

Some argue against decriminalization because they believe that this will increase the rate of people entering the sex industry workforce; however, according to Fitzgerald and Brunton (2007), this fear is unsubstantiated in the FSW research literature. The decriminalization approach challenges the stigmatizing discourses implicated in the regulation of sex work and focuses rather on the public health and human rights perspectives of sex work. The Prostitution Reform Act 2003 (New Zealand Legislation, 2018) in New Zealand fully decriminalized the industry in order to protect sex workers' health, rights, and safety, and to prohibit sex work for minors under 18 years of age (Corriveau & Greco, 2014). As a result, sex workers have experienced positive consequences from the laws and regulations on sex work: for example, the ability to press criminal charges on clients who refuse to wear condoms, increased perceptions of safety and support while working, and an increased level of comfort in confiding incidents of abuse to law enforcement. Therefore, decriminalization can potentially improve sex workers' human rights and safety conditions (Abel, 2014).

4. Space and Place

In certain cities, there are MSCs where men dance for a predominantly gay audience (Dorais, 2005; Jackson, 2007). According to DeMarco (2002), it was in the 1970s that male stripping for a gay male audience began to develop in the wake of the Sexual Revolution and the Gay Liberation movement. At this point, the male body was becoming an object of erotic entertainment. However, the list of cities with strip clubs where MDM is short. When it comes to connecting with other men for sexual encounters, gay bars are a mainstay in the gay urban subculture (Friedman, 2003; Raible, 2011). The urban gay subculture can also serve as an outlet for people who wish to assert various sexual orientations and gender identities (Raible, 2011).

Each strip club can be configured in different ways in terms of the spatial layout and the type of stripping performances offered.³¹ Clients can access unique experiences depending on this configuration. The setup rests on what the club seeks to offer to their audience, whether it be stage performances or private dances, and the laws regulating stripping in a given region. Typically, regulatory constraints concern the sale of alcohol, as well as the level of nudity and sexual contact; often, full nudity is prohibited (Raible, 2011; Scull, 2017). To cater to clients' fantasies, clubs showcase different types of strippers, some young and slender and some muscular and macho (Boden, 2007; Raible, 2011).

To get an illustrative portrait of the strip club milieu, we pieced together researchers' descriptions of their research field to understand what one might find in these establishments (Boden, 2007; DeMarco, 2002, 2007; Kaufman, 2009; Raible, 2011; Scull, 2013, 2015, 2017). In general, the strip club space resembles that of a typical nightclub: a dimly lit place with loud music and clients who are drinking alcoholic beverages. There can also be different special effect lights to add colour and texture to the club. There is normally a bar space to purchase drinks and a main floor area where clients sit, drink, socialize, and enjoy the performances. The strip club walls may be veneered with mirrors, while some clubs even have television sets that play sporting events or pornographic films. If there is a stage, a dance pole is sometimes available for strippers to show off their acrobatics during their routine. In the main floor area, one can also find a disc jockey booth, toilets, reserved areas for staff and strippers (i.e., manager's office and dressing rooms) and, most importantly, private dance booths (though the booths were not described in any of the publications examined in this literature review).

³¹ The club activities may differ depending on the type of establishment. Strip clubs, burlesque houses, revue bars, hustler bars, and so on all offer unique striptease performances. In revue bars, male strippers will travel together in a dance troupe and perform in different bars on any given night (Ronai & Cross, 1998; Tewksbury, 1994). Burlesque houses offer nude or semi-nude striptease shows where the use of costumes and choreographed performances are typical (Jackson, 2007). The club where men danced for women studied by Dressel & Petersen (1982a, 1982b) included choreographed production numbers, individual acts, and a "show finale called 'table topping'" (p. 389). Table topping is when strippers dance on the tables where audience members are sitting. Strippers would strip down to a G-string, but there was no full nudity. Kaufman (2009) and DeMarco (2002, 2007) conducted studies where men danced for men and the majority of clients are gay-identified men; male strippers were featured every night. There were also drag shows, porn-star appearances, amateur dance contests, and other themed events at these establishments.

According to Boden (2007), the way the club space is configured (pornographic videos, erotic artwork, nude bodies, etc.) can catalyse certain reactions and feelings within the sexualized territory of a strip club. The space is also structured by the management (lights, music, duration of performance, behavioural expectations, promotion of alcohol consumption, etc.), which can modify how people react and feel (Boden, 2007). Kaufman (2009) argues that the hyper-sexualized environment of MSCs where MDM may increase sexual behaviours with elevated HIV/STI rates. Thus, a stripper's constructed and manipulated personality, emotions, and sexuality are produced within the parameters of the social setting where the performance occurs. In other words, the strip club's physical space can influence the range of strippers' behaviours in the club.

Given that strip clubs are a sexualized space (Pilcher, 2011), as Hubbard (2001) points out, strip clubs can become "spaces for sexual experimentation ... sites of sexual liberation" (p. 60). MSCs are a hyper-sexualized environment due to the male nudity and the presence of alcohol (Kaufman, 2009). Strip clubs can thus quickly become sexual meeting hubs for strippers, staff, and clients where sexual services may be negotiated for money or for pleasure only. Kaufman (2009) states that HIV risk behaviour between men in her study was high. Some clubs, more than others, may be prone to illicit and activities such as other forms of sex work (i.e., illicit sexual services in the club or escorting), drug trafficking, and drug use (Bernard et al., 2003). Moreover, strip clubs can sometimes operate as hustler bars behind the scenes: in this case, MSWs solicit clients for escort services, thus creating a strong competition for clients between strippers and hustlers (Raible, 2011). This is especially true in the dead of winter in Canada when street-level sex work is less inviting (Dorais, 2005).

Maticka-Tyndale et al. (2000) state that stripping has much of the same health and safety hazards that street-level sex work has; however, strippers perceive their work environment as safe and better suited to their sexual transactions with clients. The strip club offers a shielded, lucrative, and less criminalized environment for sex workers compared to street-level sex work.

Strippers perceive their work as a safer form of sex work when compared to the street-level industry (Sherman, Liljeston, & Reuben, 2011). Strip clubs may give strippers the impression that their work is safer indoors, thus influencing the way in which they prioritize and interpret potentially harmful scenarios. Here, strippers can get to know their clients better, build a trust relationship, and have ready access to new clients (Frenken & Sifaneck, 1998). O'Doherty (2011) conducted a Canadian study comparing the victimization between street-level and off-street sex workers. Her results illustrate how off-street sex workers experience less victimization from clients (i.e., verbal threats, threats with weapons, physical assault, sexual assault, kidnapping or confinement, refusing condoms). Some off-street sex workers state that they did not experience any form of victimization. Consequently, "numerous strippers who were unwilling to sell sex outside the club," state Liljeston, Reuben, and Sherman (2012), "reported selling vaginal, oral and anal sex inside the club" (p. 564). Consequently, an increased perception of safety inside the club can engender condomless sexual practices between strippers and clients. Strippers can perceive lesser harms from condomless sex inside the club than they would outside the club (Reuben et al., 2011). These research findings illustrate the existence of a "hierarchy of harms" among FSWs in which protection from physical violence (e.g., club bouncers) is prioritized over dangers related to sexual health such as HIV prevention practises (e.g., condom use).

In short, strip clubs are structured and seemingly safe environments in which sexual labour takes place (DeMarco, 2007; Maticka-Tyndale et al., 2000). Those working in a strip club are choosing to work in an environment of darkness, music, intensity, naked flesh, and sexual arousal (DeMarco, 2002). The sexualized nature of the space is amplified by dancing, sexual artwork, music, excited clients, and the venue where sexual transactions are structured (Kaufman, 2009). Thus, it is not only the activities that take place within strip clubs that may enable sexual transactions between strippers and patrons, but also the cultural, technological, material, and architectural layout and context.

5. The Stripper

Male strippers are a heterogeneous population composed of people with varying backgrounds, perceptions, identities, and motivations. Beyond the stereotypical image of the obedient female stripper catering to her male clients' needs (Wahab et al., 2011), we draw a portrait of male strippers based on the extant literature, meagre as it may be (Boden, 2007; DeMarco, 2002, 2007; Dressel & Petersen, 1982a, 1982b; Escoffier, 2007; Jackson, 2007; Kaufman, 2009; Montemurro, 2001, 2003; Petersen & Dressel, 1982; Pilcher, 2011; Raible, 2011; Ronai & Cross, 1998; Scull, 2013, 2015, 2017; Tewksbury, 1993, 1994).

In referencing what we do know of male strippers, they are a heterogeneous group in terms of age, motivations, ethnicity, sexual preferences, sexual identity, and level of education (DeMarco, 2002; Kaufman, 2009; Raible, 2011). Typically, male strippers' age ranges from late adolescence to early adulthood. In Dorais' (2005) study of MSWs (his sample included street-level workers, strippers, and escorts), respondents averaged twenty years old at the time of their entry into sex work. Education levels can range from uncompleted secondary education to completed university graduate degrees. In terms of sexual and gender identity, male strippers may identify as gay, heterosexual, bisexual, questioning, and/or transgender (Kaufman, 2009; Raible, 2011). Regarding their background, strippers may have had a troublesome past of abuse, substance use, homelessness, and unemployment (Dorais, 2005).

In some cases, strippers may retain secondary employment, whereas stripping is the only source of revenue for others. Compared to female strippers, men are less likely to rely on the income from stripping only (Bernard et al., 2003). The secondary employment may at times be in another sector of the sex industry. In stripping, there is a retrogressive dynamic where a performer's erotic appeal diminishes over time (Escoffier, 2007). To counteract this, strippers will sometimes engage in pornography and escort services. Stripping is at times just one gig in the male sex workers' arsenal (Dorais, 2015). Regarding pre-job socialization in sexualized labour

industries, certain strippers have had previous experience (e.g., working in the pornography industry). Those who work in other sex economies such as pornography often perceive stripping as a way for them to supplement their income (Escoffier, 2007). Conversely, and as is the case for most new strippers, the participants in Dressel and Petersen's (1982) study reported few "pre-job socialization" experiences before becoming strippers. Dorais (2005) also highlights the fact that MSWs (including strippers) have no formal job training. The apprenticeship of an MSW unfurls through trial and error and with guidance from more seasoned workers. In comparison, it seems that female strippers are more likely to have pre-existing experiences and skills relevant to stripping, and female strippers also appear to benefit from formal on-the-job training (Dressel and Petersen, 1982a).

Sexuality and gender express itself differently across time and place, according to social geographers (Pilcher, 2011). Studies support the notion that sexual orientation and gender are fluid in strip clubs, and that they are social constructs, and experientially situational (Kaufman, 2009; Pilcher, 2011; Raible, 2011). In the male stripping industry, in male escorting, and even in the gay pornography industry, many performers identify as heterosexual (Scull, 2013, 2015, 2017; Tewksbury, 1994). Moreover, many gay pornography stars self-identify as straight (Escoffier, 2007). In his study of gay strip clubs, DeMarco (2002, 2007) states that strippers who epitomize the ideal of masculinity through muscles, strength, and domination are popular with clients, and most of these strippers identified as heterosexual. Despite this, the majority of DeMarco's participants were gay-identified, while some identified as bisexual or heterosexual. Of Dorais' 40 participants, 17 identified as gay, 13 as straight, and 10 as bisexual (2005).

Male strippers will perform a desirable hetero-masculine sexuality, all the while performing homosexual acts for clients (Kaufman, 2009). Performing sexuality upon demand requires the manipulation of one's behaviours and internal experiences to align them with an external agenda (Boden, 2007). Straight-identified strippers engage in gay-for-pay services with male clients (Raible, 2011). Thus, heterosexual-identified male strippers exemplify situational sexuality when

engaging in gay-for-pay practices (Scull, 2017). In this sense, the stripper's sexuality can manifest itself differently depending on the place in which he finds himself working.³²

In order to entice clients into spending their money and capitalizing on their desires, strippers also learn to manipulate their gender performance while working. Strip clubs are a space where gender is performed in an exaggerated and stereotypical way by strippers (Scull, 2013). In MSCs where MDM, heterosexuality is fetishized as a desirable consumer product (Boden, 2007). Tewksbury (1994) also found that male strippers often perform stereotypical masculine roles when performing on stage. Strippers would perform a masculine stereotype while dancing (a cowboy, a jock, a sailor, a construction worker) to appeal to different fantasies. Some also played the role of twink (effeminate, slender, blond hair, no body hair) (Boden, 2007; Kaufman, 2009). Studies have looked at the gender dynamic between WDM and MDW,³³ but as far as we know, none has gazed at the MDM side of things.

Since heterosexual and masculine performances are sought by male clients (Boden, 2007), strippers have a monetary interest in performing what the client desires despite the potential conflicts with their "true" sexual identification. True knowledge of the stripper's sexuality might permit the audience to challenge the stripper's performance of sexuality as non-genuine. Therefore, a stripper "keeps his actual sexuality purposefully ambiguous" (Boden, 2007, p. 139). The concealment of sexuality by strippers has also been documented in the female stripper literature (Boles & Garbin, 1974) and for MSWs also (Boyer, 1989).

³² See Browne, Lim, & Brown (2007) for a look at the geographical aspects of sexuality in certain sexual places.

³³ Gender roles are reversed somewhat when women consume male bodies through the male strip show (Pilcher, 2011; Scull, 2013), since women are the ones consuming men's bodies. The male strip show allows female clients to explore different gender scripts. Male strippers become the object of the gaze, female clients actively approach the male strippers and purchase sexual services, and female clients can perform a more masculine role in the audience through aggressive behaviours (Dressel & Petersen, 1982b; Scull, 2013). Nonetheless, Scull (2013) argues that despite women's subjugation of the stripper through their gaze, male strippers remained dominant over them, which reinforced conventional gender norms. The club continues to structure female clients' sexual experiences around a traditional and heteronormative framework. Just because it is men who are performing for women rather than the other way around does not mean that women are automatically liberated or that the gender hierarchy is inverted (Pilcher, 2011; Scull, 2013). Pilcher (2011) shows how the male gaze of the male stripper on the female patron subverts the female patrons' effort to exert a controlling sexualized gaze over the stripper. This illustrates how the gaze in the male strip show is still gendered and tilts toward a heteronormative script. Scull (2013) also argues that male strippers often over-amplify their masculine performance in the strip club through the use of body technologies to enhance their manliness (steroids, dieting, exercise, costumes, erection management, etc.).

It seems that dancing for gay men as a straight stripper can influence strippers' sexual desires over time. Kaufman (2009) shows how some straight-identified strippers expressed homosexual desires after some time working in the club (Kaufman, 2009). Moreover, the same study claims that the repetitive transition from gay to straight performances in and out of the strip club may have negative psychological repercussions for strippers (Kaufman, 2009). Boden (2007) suggests that a male stripper can experience issues when he is subjected to participate in sexuality and behaviours that are "alien to his own desires" (p. 149). All of Boden's (2007) participants, to a certain extent, experienced this alienation of their sexuality and recognized it as an occupational hazard. The stripper may react by accepting the violation of his normal sexuality, feeling ashamed, or consuming substances to numb the experience, or he might remove himself from the industry entirely (Boden, 2007). Research also shows that female strippers can feel disempowered and alienated from their sexuality in the sense that they become uncertain of their sexual needs and desires (Deshotels & Forsyth, 2006). In contrast, strippers can feel an empowering satisfaction from constructing a sexuality that can be desired and consumed effectively by the clients (Boden, 2007).

Strippers' self-conceptions may also be influenced by their continuous need to manipulate their emotions and sexual performances in the context of their work (Boden, 2007). Research shows that male stripping can threaten a stripper's self-views (Boden, 2007; DeMarco, 2007; Scull, 2015). This happens when strippers receive negative comments from clients, when they have a negative experience of objectification by the audience, when they feel inferior to other strippers, and when they believe that they have sacrificed a part of themselves when becoming a stripper. Tewksbury (1993, 1994) and Dressel and Petersen (1982b) observed that certain MDM had a negative self-narrative when they felt objectified by the audience. This is aggravated by the negative experience of social stigma which can potentially damage the way they identify with themselves (Dressel & Petersen, 1982b; Scull, 2017).

6. Working in the Club

6.1. Role

The stripper performs a sexualized routine whereby his aim is to earn money³⁴ by satisfying his clients' needs within acceptable boundaries, that is, his work role (Bruckert & Parent, 2007; DeMarco, 2007). The perimeters of a stripper's role can also be extended through escorting opportunities granted through client requests (DeMarco, 2002; Escoffier, 2007). According to Raible (2011), male escorting is an extension of male stripping for strippers. This involves the transactions of offstage and private sexual services to capitalize on male clients' desire to consume their bodies. The strippers in Dorais' (2005) study stated that they would regularly do this type of "overtime" work.

Through offering a limited access to their bodies, strippers work at making their clients feel special and desired³⁵ (DeMarco, 2007). According to DeMarco (2007), "performances in strip clubs consist of verbal and non-verbal exchanges between strippers and customers. There is a language of sex, money, and power that has developed in this setting. [...] Both groups use sex and money to barter for the 'resources' they want/need" (p. 118). The business dynamic is anchored in strippers seeking a monetary compensation for their services, while clients are seeking the consumption of the stripper packaged as a sexualized product; the stripper *is* the product (Boden, 2007). Money and attention—that is where the value lies in strip clubs; the economy of stripping and the driving motivations for its existence are propelled by desiring bodies behaving in ways that satisfy their needs.

³⁴ Strippers' salaries can vary depending on how many nights per week they work, the number of clubs they work at, and the type of clubs they work at. In general, for the studies looking at male stripping in North America, strippers earned between USD 100 and USD 250 per night (Dressel & Petersen, 1982a; Kaufman, 2009; Scull, 2015, 2017). Larger tips appear to come from the male audience, whereas female patrons are seen as demanding and intrusive (Boden, 2007).

³⁵ This can be compared to the work of pornographic actors. Male pornography actors embody the ideal of a fantasy and serve as a commodified figure in society (Escoffier, 2007). They have a "star" character whereby they can polarize and fix the audience's obsessions. In pornographic film, the audience is given the fantasy of who we want to be and who we want. This is similar to a stripper's performance on stage. Stripping allows the actor to recreate his persona in flesh and bone, to elaborate on it for a live audience that can interact with the performer.

6.2. Revenue Stream

Strippers' earnings begin with their stage performances. It is a way for them to scope out the audience and to entice clients to purchase private dances (Dorais, 2005). The stage performance is usually their first exposure to the spectators. The stripper might begin his first presentation with rhythmic music, revealing little; this is followed by a second performance where he offers a slower, more erotic show; here, he may remove more clothing (Dorais, 2005). Strippers report that it becomes easier to strip on stage with time; however, they never grow entirely comfortable with the idea of exposing themselves to large audiences (Kaufman, 2009). There are also rules that they must respect while dancing on stage. In certain cases, MDM are not allowed to masturbate on stage and must cover their genitals after leaving the stage (Kaufman, 2009). The rules of the stage show depend on the rules of the bar, the city, and the stripper's comfort level (Dorais, 2005). One issue for strippers on stage is maintaining an erection (Kaufman, 2009). To remediate the matter, they may use rubber bands, a penis ring, erection-inducing drugs, or a focus on sexual fantasies.

Between stage performances, the strippers will spend time with clients in the club, roaming the floor area to earn money (Boden, 2007; Raible, 2011). During this time, they must try to make clients feel wanted, desired, and sexy via flirtatious courtship (DeMarco, 2002). Roaming the floor area gives the stripper a better visibility among the clients; it allows him to reconnect with those who enjoyed the stage performance, and also to move toward those who indicate interest through different gestures (waves, winks, flagging with money, etc.). They will use intimate touching games with clients to promote spending, touching clients' arms or backs, giving them a kiss on the cheeks, and soliciting private dances (Kaufman, 2009). While interacting with clients in the main floor area, strippers' permissiveness regarding what clients can and cannot do varies. Some will let clients rub, squeeze, and stroke their genitals, while others limit this to their buttocks or

legs. Strippers often find clients' hands in their pants before they have the time to react (Tewksbury, 1994).

Private dances can be had at the bar area, on the main floor area, or in semi-private to private booths (Kaufman, 2009; Ronai & Cross, 1998). During bar dances, clients can call strippers for some "close-up" time (DeMarco, 2007). To attract their attention, clients can waive a dollar bill signalling that they are interested in seeing the stripper. The stripper will then move toward the customer and perform a dance for him by moving his body in a sexy manner, putting his genitals and buttocks close to the client's face, and maybe even allowing minimal physical contact, depending on the regulatory context. The client can then place a tip on the stripper's person, giving the client access to the stripper's body. The client can hold on to this intimate moment by continuing to tip the stripper. Likewise, in strip clubs where strippers are not dancing on the bar, clients can hold on to strippers' attention by engaging them in conversations, or by physically holding on to their arm or leg to keep them interested (DeMarco, 2007). In Canada, certain strip clubs allow contact dances between strippers and clients in private booths. These are darkened areas removed from the main floor space. These private booths can range from a moderate level of security surveillance to none whatsoever.

Sexual services that go beyond the standard private dance with or without contact are prohibited by law. That means that masturbation as well as oral, vaginal, and anal sex is prohibited in the club between strippers and clients. In other words, all actions related to activities surrounding "prostitution" (e.g., masturbating for a client for money in a private dance cabin) are criminalized within the purview of Bill C-36. Despite this, these laws are habitually transgressed by strippers in the intimate settings of the club (Dorais, 2005; Kaufman, 2009). Male strippers who deviated from the club's sex work policies were more likely to engage in sexual behaviours associated with higher HIV/STI rates. For instance, male clients can pay to give oral sex to strippers (Scull, 2017). A participant in Boden's (2007) study states that he found a stripper and a male client in the bathroom engaging in anal sex.

Another way that strippers can ensure economic viability is through the use of other sex industry sectors such as pornography and escorting (Escoffier, 2007). Strippers who offer extras or escort services typically charge much more than street-level sex workers, around CAD 150 to CAD 200 and upwards,³⁶ depending on the type of service requested and the time required (Dorais, 2005). Thus, strippers' income will vary depending on the types of services they are willing to offer clients. When it comes to attracting clients' business and making the most money possible, strippers employ a wide array of approaches and tactics linking body and money in a transactional relationship (Wesely, 2003).

6.3. Substance Use

Drugs and alcohol play an integral role in the male and female stripping industry³⁷ (Kaufman, 2009; Wahab et al., 2011). Strip clubs are "drug spaces," according to Lavin (2014), meaning that drug use is much more tolerated, accessible, and normal in this space compared to other public spaces. The prevalence of substances in these establishments appears to influence strippers' consumption habits while working (Footer et al., 2018). Strippers use substances for many reasons: to dissociate themselves from and cope with manipulative circumstances, stigma, and work-related stress; to facilitate client interactions and reduce performance anxiety; to increase their self-esteem; or to reduce boredom (Choo et al., 2012; Dressel & Petersen, 1982; Frenken & Sifaneck, 1998; Kaufman, 2009; Maticka-Tyndale et al., 2000; Lavin, 2014; Sherman, Lilleston, & Reuben, 2011; Sherman, Reuben, Chapman, & Lilleston 2011).

The continuous presence of drugs and alcohol in clubs where WDM can enable strippers' dependence on substances and can lead to substance misuse (Compte, 2016). Past studies have shown that strippers who regularly used alcohol and other substances while working were more

³⁶ Our findings demonstrate that strippers' fees have not changed drastically since 2005. However, strippers in our study report charging much more at times.

³⁷ Overall, the topic of substance use in stripping is studied in clubs where WDM.

prone to engage sexual practices with elevated HIV/STI rates (Reuben et al., 2011; Sherman, Reuben, Chapman, & Lileston 2011). Concerning female strippers, substance use appears to be a significant factor in contributing to the transgression of personal boundaries at work (Sherman, Brantley, Zelaya, Duong, Taylor, & Ellen, 2017). For example, drug addiction might motivate strippers to offer condomless sexual services to clients for better compensation which can then be used to purchase drugs. Maticka-Tyndale et al. (1999, 2000) also state that strippers working under the influence of drugs or alcohol may be more pliable with clients and willing to compromise their sexual borders more easily.

6.4. Transaction Trouble

In this section, we highlight the primary issues faced by strippers while transacting with their clients in the MSC. More specifically, the literature illustrates various moments when strippers' health and safety is directly threatened by uncooperative clients. Harassment and aggression from clients present a prevalent occupational hazard for strippers (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 2000). Assault against strippers was more rampant in clubs with unsupervised private booths (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 2000). Female strippers report being threatened with weapons, physical assault, and sexual violence such as attempted vaginal rape with fingers, objects, or genitals (Anklesaria & Gentile, 2012). Pressure from clients can make it difficult for female strippers to insist that clients wear condoms for fear of abuse and violence (Timm, 1989). According to Krüsi et al. (2012), physical and sexual violence against FSWs increases the odds of STIs and HIV because of coercive condomless sex and barriers to negotiating safe sex practises.

MDM also report aggression from clients as an issue (DeMarco, 2002, 2007). Some clients, seeking to demonstrate power over strippers, will abuse and demean strippers (e.g., throwing crumpled money at them and making them pick it up off the floor) and manipulate strippers to grant them access to their genital regions (e.g., withholding tips until the stripper lets them put the tip in their underwear (DeMarco, 2007). Clients can also exhibit inappropriate

behaviour toward strippers at times by trying to touch, fondle, or lick strippers' genitals or anus without consent, by ignoring strippers' limits, or by trying to remove clothing (Boden, 2007; DeMarco, 2002; Dorais, 2005). Female clients can also behave in aggressive and inappropriate ways toward male strippers through taunts and denigration of their physical attributes (Dressel & Petersen, 1982b; Montemurro, Bloom, & Madell, 2003; Scull, 2013, 2017; Tewksbury, 1994). Scull (2017) also witnessed female clients "grope, grab, and slap male strippers" (p. 393). The sexual boundary violations strippers must endure, especially when clients try to get something they did not pay for, can cause psychological distress (Boden, 2007). Strippers often find their mental limits and spatial boundaries challenged by clients, and this results in psychological tension and cognitive dissonance (Barton, 2007).

Safety is ensured in certain clubs with the use of bouncers, but this is not always so (Ronai & Cross, 1998). To control interactions with problematic clients, strippers will use strategies such as verbal quips, physical aggression, and avoidance (Spivey, 2005). Strippers will also disengage from interactions with clients who are not tipping, not buying private dances, or not buying drinks (Erickson & Tewksbury, 2000). Establishing clear personal rules is imperative in an environment where clients are continually propositioning strippers and pressuring them for sexual acts (Barton, 2007). In Barton's (2007) sample, strippers who had well-developed rules expressed fewer negative feelings toward their work compared to those who regularly violated their boundaries. While on stage, to resist clients' harassment and inappropriate behaviours, strippers can use tactics such as spatial distancing, verbal confrontation, physical aggression, calling out customers, and united action with other strippers (Spivey, 2005). FSWs would manage their safety by relying on others (peers, drivers for escorts, bouncers for strippers) for protection (Lewis et al., 2005). MSWs felt confident in dealing with verbal or physical aggression with clients due to their physical stature (Lewis et al., 2005).

7. Intersecting Interests

7.1. Strippers' Motivations

That which motivates strippers' career path and their behaviours, as well as clients' motives for attending strip clubs, makes up a large portion of the available strip club literature; our study focuses on strippers' motivations once already in the industry (Dressel & Petersen, 1982a; Forsyth & Deshotels, 1998; Lewis, 1998; Lilleston, Reuben, & Sherman, 2015; Philaretou, 2006; Skipper & McCaughy, 1970; Sweet & Tewksbury, 2000). Murphy (2003) explains that much past research presents strippers' motivation to enter the industry as a result of their circumstances, whereby strippers are powerless, passive, and objectified victims of a system of exploitation—a viewpoint aligned with the oppression paradigm and founded in stigmatizing discourses. A propensity toward exhibitionism, an early sexual maturity, a strong desire for affection or money, low self-esteem, laziness, self-perceived physical anomalies, and feelings of personal powerlessness are psychological traits that might lead to a person's entry into the sex industry (Boden, 2007; Skipper & McCaughy, 1970). Moreover, social forces such as female underemployment, child dependency, poor education, substance use, being a victim of abuse, and lacking marketable skills are also given as social causes of a drift into female stripping that provide a further push into entering the stripping industry for WDM (Lilleston et al., 2015).

More recent research depicts strippers as active agents who work in the industry for their own personal gain (Murphy, 2003): the empowerment paradigm is more prevalent today. Entry into stripping for MDW is done through informal channels (referred to stripping by family, friends, and acquaintances). For instance, strippers already in the industry may encourage others to dance as well, exerting a form of peer influence (Bernard et al., 2003). Strippers will sometimes drift toward stripping after a period of non-employment and after having assessed the benefits of working as a stripper (Dressel & Petersen, 1982a). Male strippers' motivations for entering the industry include increased quality of life, the potential for a high salary, the positive regard from

clients, and the increase in self-esteem and self-confidence. Stripping may be not only motivated by the need for money, but also chosen to maintain a performer's desirability among his clients (DeMarco, 2002; Escoffier, 2007). Some strippers might be pushed to enter stripping to finance their drug addiction (Lilleston, Reuben, & Sherman, 2015).

Overall, money appears to be the primary motivator for strippers' entry into the industry for MDM, MDW, and WDM (Lilleston, Reuben, & Sherman, 2015; Scull, 2015; Skipper & McCaughy, 1970). In the Scull study (2015), 16 of 22 participants stated that the financial gain was the main reason why they decided to pursue stripping as an occupation. This is also true for the participants in the Dressel and Petersen (1982a, 1982b) study of MDW. Men often turn to the gay strip club industry because the pay is superior—it appears that female clients do not spend enough on strippers (Dorais, 2005). Money also appears to be a major motivator in the broader MSW literature (Dorais, 2005). Furthermore, money is often cited as a major reason why MDM continue to work in the stripping industry (Barton, 2006; Boden, 2007; Bradley-Engen & Ulmer, 2009; DeMarco, 2007; Kaufman, 2009; Philaretou, 2006; Tewksbury, 1994). The potential to remediate financial qualms (e.g., unpaid rent) motivates strippers in their work. Money motivates them to gamble their health and safety, or to cross personal boundaries with clients (DeMarco, 2002). However, in Dressel and Petersen's (1982) study, they state that MDW are less likely than WDM to be working out of financial necessity due to hardship.

Furthermore, the lifestyle advantages that stripping offers, namely the income, short work hours, gifts and adoration from clients, and increased leisure time, are reasons why strippers remain in the industry (Dressel & Petersen, 1982a). Strippers may also seek a certain status within the gay community (DeMarco, 2002); MDM may feel good about the work that they do since stripping in the gay community is an esteemed occupation (Boden, 2007). Thus, material goods and a lofty lifestyle motivate their adherence to the stripping industry (DeMarco, 2002). Some strippers may actively seek out the type of client who can furnish all of these goods for them, a "sugar daddy" (Dorais, 2005). Lilleston, Reuben, and Sherman (2015) note that certain

female strippers were motivated to continue stripping in order to maintain their access to drugs. Moreover, male strippers state that they are motivated to remain in the industry since it affords them an ideal outlet to meet potential sexual partners (DeMarco, 2002; Dressel & Petersen, 1982a). According to Bernard et al. (2003), male strippers date their clients in greater proportion compared to their female counterparts. Finally, strippers are motivated to work in the industry to seek appreciation, admiration, emotional support, and even lasting friendships (Boden, 2007; DeMarco, 2002; Philaretou, 2006; Raible, 2011). Stripping can be attractive for strippers for its effects in increasing their sense of self-worth, self-esteem, self-image, and self-confidence, especially when they exert influence over clients spending money (DeMarco, 2002, 2007; Dressel & Petersen, 1982a; Scull, 2015, 2017). Strippers may be empowered by their sex symbol status and through the objectifying client gaze (Scull, 2015, 2017). Similarly, the MSW population experiences identity-enhancing outcomes from sex work (Aggleton, 1999; Uy, Parsons, Bimbi, Koken, & Haltikis, 2004). Conversely, Kaufman's (2009) findings did not show that male stripping necessarily enhanced strippers' self-esteem. Furthermore, a stripper's overemphasis on their self-image can lead other strippers to see their bodies in a shallower way, to overvalue the aesthetics of the body, or to become obsessed with their self-image. This may lead to experimentation with anabolic steroids to improve their physique (DeMarco, 2002).

7.2. Clients' Motivations

Clients of strip clubs also have various motivations for participating in the economy and for entering specific strip clubs (DeMarco, 2007; Sweet & Tewksbury, 2000; Frank, 2005; Montemurro et al., 2003). Concerning the type of clientele attracted to MSCs in North America, one finds the "antithesis" of strippers' physique and youthfulness, according to Boden (2007). Some of these older men enter the club to enjoy the youthful bodies of young strippers (Raible, 2011). The older men are often stereotyped as "desperate, dirty old men with no life of their own..." (DeMarco, 2002, p. 14). Yet DeMarco (2002) describes a wide variety of clubs which cater

to a variety of clients. Male clients of gay strip clubs where MDM also vary in terms of their sexuality and sexual desires. According to the respondents in Dorais' (2005) study, clients would seek out same-sex relations whilst identifying as heterosexual.

Homosexual male clients may enter the club with the goal of possessing the object of their fantasies, the idealized, elusive, virile, heterosexual man (Dorais, 2005). Male clients of MSCs attend the venues to explore closeted homosexual desires and to play out sexual fantasies (Dorais, 2005; Kaufman, 2009). Clients can even be motivated to engage in sexual relations with other clients inside and outside the club (Kaufman, 2009). In the club, some clients come to quietly admire the strippers and remain passive observers; some will interact with strippers while they are on stage by giving them money; for others they will fully engage in the club activities by purchasing whatever money can buy. The latter will seek to admire and touch the stripper as much as possible. To do this, clients offer strippers what they want: money, gifts, vacations, and so on (DeMarco, 2007).

In the context where MDM, male clients will seek long-term friendly relationships with strippers. Relations can be that of sugar daddies (older men supporting strippers), friends with benefits (men of similar age), or "chosen family" (people with whom the stripper has a strong emotional and loyalty bond). These relations are at play in the broader gay subculture as well (Browning, 1994; Raible, 2011). Either as friends with benefits or in an uncle–nephew platonic relation, clients may support strippers financially (Raible, 2011). Further, the MSCs where MDM can also inspire "paternal financial giving" whereby the male client represents a father figure for strippers (DeMarco, 2007), thus highlighting the masculine financial power of male clients.

Male clients usually go to the club with the goal of a sexual encounter in or out of the club (Kaufman, 2009). Men seem to go to the club where WDM for sexual experiences, rather than male bonding (Erickson & Tewksbury, 2000). Erickson and Tewksbury (2000) noted that eighty percent of men sought a voyeuristic and pornographic experience with strippers (a sort of sexual outlet) and that twenty percent of clients pursued companionship in one way or another with

strippers. The companionship requested by clients allows them to discuss personal issues in a safe place while receiving emotional support (Egan, 2005). It is also a form of leisure that offers a certain degree of safety and excitement for men (Frank, 2005). Above all, men are driven to visit strip clubs for the simple reasons that these venues allow for their intimate fantasies and desires to manifest. They can experience their bodies in pleasurable ways: as youthful, virile, attractive, independent, powerful, and sometimes vulnerable (Frank, 2005).

Clients also seek highly sexual experiences (Tewksbury, 1994). Clients who proposition strippers for extra services or escorting services may put a significant amount of pressure on strippers. Male clients try to fondle strippers as much as possible (Dorais, 2005). Men who visit gay bars have also been shown to have more HIV-/STI-related sexual behaviours than men who do not visit these clubs (Ekstrand et al., 1993; Kaufman, 2009). Further, high rates of condomless sex are noted among patrons of MSCs in Manhattan (Haltikis et al., 2008; Kaufman, 2009).

Regarding female clients, they seek friendship, connection, attention, belonging, and a status of importance among strippers and the management (Dressel & Petersen 1982b; Montemurro et al., 2003). Female clients attend the male strip show for a sexually liberating experience, a sexual novelty (Dressel & Petersen, 1982b; Montemurro, 2003; Montemurro, Bloom, & Madell, 2003; Scull, 2013). They may go to the strip club for the sexual outlet that it provides and to reaffirm social ties with friends and create memories and shared experiences (Montemurro et al., 2003). Strippers may also be “kept” by female clients who purchase them gifts and offer financial support (Dressel & Petersen, 1982b). In short, both male and female clients appear to be motivated to visit strip clubs because of the sexually liberated and intimate atmosphere found within. Other than DeMarco’s (2002, 2007) and Kaufman’s (2009) studies, there appears to be no other sources that explores men’s motivations to visit a gay strip club where MDM.

7.3. Competing for Resources

Mount (2018) argues that the strip club business structure, whereby strippers' earnings are fully dependent upon tips,³⁸ encourages and sustains the intense competitiveness among strippers. Consequently, strippers actively compete for their share of clientele to attain their financial objectives, whereas clients compete for their share of attention from strippers (DeMarco, 2002, 2007). There is an internal competition within the poles of the business transaction, in other words. A stripper's competitiveness with other strippers depends on his popularity among clients, a popularity that arises from his physical appearance (i.e., muscularity and penis size) (DeMarco, 2007). Moreover, strippers who readily acquiesce to pleasing his client's desires in the private cabins or outside the club are also more popular and therefore have a competitive edge over their peers (Escoffier, 2007; Tewksbury, 1994). Consequently, the competitive business dynamic exerts pressure on strippers to engage in practices with higher health and safety concerns (Boden, 2007).

Competitiveness and efficiency for strippers relate to their interpersonal skills with their clients. According to DeMarco (2007), the stripper's true power³⁹ is found in the attention he allocates to his clients by making them feel attractive and desirable. Strippers develop "counterfeit intimacy"⁴⁰—a prevalent concept in the stripping literature denoting the process of convincing clients that their fantasies are attainable—to monetize their interactions with clients (Boles &

³⁸ Strippers are expected to perform on stage and court clients, but they only earn money through client compensation (Raible, 2011). In Ontario, Canada, once lap dancing became a staple in strip clubs, strippers' pay grade was changed from waged performers to independent contractors (Bruckert & Dufresne, 2002; Law, 2015). This led to financial instability and legally precarious situations since strippers depended fully on soliciting clients for lap dances. This is exacerbated by the fact that most clubs require strippers to pay an entry fee to use the strip club (Scull, 2017). To make the most money, strippers will attempt to sell private dances (DeMarco, 2007; Dorais, 2005; Raible, 2011; Scull, 2015, 2017).

³⁹ DeMarco (2007) illustrates the complex tensions in the power relations between strippers and clients. He observed that the social forces are most visible when the stripper and client are in close proximity. He conceptualizes power as "[...] the capacity to exercise control or possessing the ability to get others to accede to one's will for the purpose of gaining control of scarce resources" (p. 114). Here, the resources to be had by the strippers are primarily financial.

⁴⁰ This concept does have its share of critiques. It is said that it upholds heteronormative assumptions about gender roles and rules linked to intimacy between a man and a woman. The concept also supposes that there is something called "legitimate intimacy" and that strippers categorically fake intimacy (Wahab et al., 2011).

Garbin, 1974; Kaufman, 2009; Wahab et al., 2011). In other words, a stripper increases his competitiveness by manipulating his emotions, sexuality, gender, and personal boundaries in the service of clients' desires and fantasies (Boden, 2007). As noted by DeMarco (2007), unless the stream of money from one client is substantial, staying with one client for an extended period of time makes an unpopular stripper. The stripper observes the audience, tries to see who seems interested, and focuses his attention on them (Dorais, 2005). Strippers perform a script whereby they give the client a fantasy that arouses him and makes him feel as though the stripper wants to be with the client. To build this fantasy, an effective stripper will court the client by "asking the customer's name, winking at him, stroking his cheek, placing a kiss on his mouth or forehead, or by whispering a few words in his ear" (p. 120). The stripper harnesses the power of desire to elicit money (DeMarco, 2002).

As is the case in the way pornography actors need to perform with authenticity, strippers must also convince their clients that their desire for them is real (Escoffier, 2007). To increase their desirability, strippers can wear makeup, tan, trim body hair, shave, establish eye contact, and so on (Dressel & Petersen, 1982a). It is financially rewarding to be a stripper with a more desirable body (standards of male beauty vary from culture to culture, and even between clubs). This is simply to say that the stripper who can command the most client attention compared to his peers will make the most money (DeMarco, 2007).

7.4. Effects on Transactions

On one hand, a stripper's physique has the power to draw customers' attention and encourage spending. The more attracting and commanding strippers are able to make more money with clients by engaging in prohibited services in the club and escorting services outside (Dorais, 2005). Studies on MDM report that strippers make the most money when they use more nudity, when they spend more time getting close to clients, and when they see multiple clients over the course of a shift (DeMarco, 2007; Kaufman, 2009; Raible, 2011). On stage, strippers who expose

themselves more compared to their colleagues usually make more tips. It can be beneficial for strippers to strip down to full or semi-full nudity as quickly as they can on stage because that is when clients tend to tip more (Dressel & Petersen, 1982a). By making clients feel attractive and desirable, strippers are influencing the outcomes of the interaction.

On the other hand, clients can influence strippers' behaviours and the interaction outcomes. Clients exercise power when drawing strippers' attention to the resources in competition (e.g., money, attention, and substances). By offering large sums of money to strippers, they can persuade strippers to make certain decisions. Money can mitigate the situational power a stripper may wield on clients' behaviour by creating an asymmetrical power relation (Dorais, 2005; Tewksbury, 1994). Clients can influence strippers' behaviours by making them feel attractive and desirable through seduction (DeMarco, 2007). Clients who successfully seduce a stripper will be able to spend more time with him and access more of his body. In this manner, gay clients can exercise power over the "real" heterosexual male with money. In this instance, money can influence strippers' sexual practices (Kaufman, 2009).

To remain competitive in the industry, strippers must offer private booth dances (Bruckert & Parent, 2007). The private booth represents a good opportunity to create positive relationships with clients and make large sums of money; however, private booth interactions can be hazardous in terms of violence and aggression (Bruckert & Parent, 2007). Strippers who invariably accept clients' requests fare much better financially than their counterparts who refuse to bend the rules regarding sex work in the club. To guarantee a stream of income, female strippers have reported peer pressure to offer prohibited services in the club, such as those leading to negative health and safety outcomes (Lilleston et al., 2015). The results of Sherman, Lilleston, and Reuben (2011) show that extras in the club were routinized and socially accepted to the point that if a club were not to allow this, it would be considered an anomaly. Moreover, strippers who make themselves available for escorting services can also earn more money (Kay, 1999). Some will say that this is when the job really gets profitable (Dorais, 2005).

Arguably, strippers' and clients' motivations intersect within the strip club space. Strippers seek financial gain and clients seek sexual pleasure. The blended motivations result in specific social behaviours and economic exchanges. The competing interests during the stripper and client transaction are moulded by strippers' motivations and their life circumstances as well as the legal context of the stripping industry (Deshotels & Forsyth, 2006; Lilleston, Reuben, & Sherman, 2012; Sherman, Lilleston, & Reuben, 2011). As a result, strippers' ability to reach favourable terms with their clients is variable. The highly competitive environment, financial necessity, and substance use have been shown to influence strippers' negotiation outcomes with their clients (DeMarco, 2007; Dorais, 2005; Frenken & Sifaneck, 1998; Sherman, Lilleston, & Reuben, 2011; Wesely, 2003). It also appears that those who consume drugs or alcohol while negotiating with clients may also be more susceptible to acquiring HIV and STIs (Dorais, 2005).

The factors that lead to a strippers' entry into the industry may also shape their health and safety behaviours within their workplace (Lilleston et al., 2015). For example, strippers motivated by money will transgress their personal and work limits when the sum of compensation is interesting enough. "A stripper quickly learned that her earnings were directly proportional to the level of sexual activity in which she engaged [...]," state Lilleston et al. (2015), who go on to say that "[a] woman's level of economic vulnerability could also influence how often and for how much money she was willing to exchange oral, vaginal, or anal sex with clients [...] a few participants expressed regret, recalling the rare situation in which additional financial incentive from a client convinced them to exchange sex without a condom [...]" (pp. 603–604). In other words, a stripper's economic vulnerability and a client's leverage over the interaction through money can lead a stripper to cross their sexual boundaries and engage in condomless sexual transactions with clients for financial gain. A "hierarchy of needs" is produced whereby financial need is prioritized over the need for healthy sexual practices (Sherman, Reuben, Chapman, & Lilleston, 2011). Thus, female strippers' motivations shaped their sex work negotiations and their HIV and STI perceptions in the club (Lilleston et al., 2015; Reuben, Serio-Chapman, Welsh, Matens, &

Sherman, 2011). Additionally, strippers' willingness to offer extras in the club and escort services to increase their earnings also increased their negative occupational health and safety outcomes (Dorais, 2005; Kaufman, 2009; Lilleston et al., 2015). The phenomena of intersecting motivations remain to be explored in detail in the MSC industry.

8. Literature Review Summary

Violence and harassment from clients, unsanitary work environments, negative sexual health outcomes, psychological distress, substance addiction, PTSD and other mood disorders, and musculoskeletal work injuries are cited as typical work-related concerns associated with stripping (Anklesaria & Gentile, 2012; DeMarco, 2002, 2007; Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1999, 2000; Ross, Farley, & Schwartz, 2003). A small body of literature indicates that stripping can have a negative impact on strippers' self-perceptions and self-esteem. For male strippers, the repetitive transition from gay to straight performances in and out of the workplace is shown to have negative psychological repercussions, especially when they are asked to participate in sexual behaviours alien to their own desires (Boden, 2007). They might experience shame and rejection due to their work activities, which can lead to substance misuse and self-isolation. Strippers' work and personal identity are negatively impacted as a result. With clients, strippers face violent threats, physical assault, sexual violence, intimidation, demeaning behaviours, and so on. Physical, verbal, and sexual violence may increase the odds of STIs and HIV because of coercive condomless sex and strippers' incapacity to negotiate safe sex practises. The spatial and sexual boundary violations they must endure, especially when clients try to force strippers' hands, can cause physical and psychological trauma. Substances are often used to deal with the psychological toll of stripping. Strippers consume to dissociate themselves from and cope with manipulative circumstances, stigma, and work-related stress. Conversely, substances are used to facilitate client interactions and reduce performance anxiety, to increase their self-esteem, or to reduce boredom. Substance use at work is shown to potentially lead to substance misuse and

addiction. Further, working while under the influence of substances can increase the likelihood of engaging in sexual practices with a high rate of negative health and safety outcomes.

Beyond this, the stripping and sex work literature underscores deep-seated structural elements that produce the aforementioned occupational health and safety hazards. These outcomes are symptoms of an underlying network of problematic societal structures. The sale of sex alone is not inherently risky and does not automatically amount to HIV and STI issues; however, it is the barriers to safe sex and the environmental structures that can expose strippers to these negative outcomes (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1999; Footer et al., 2018; Reuben et al., 2011; Rhodes, 2009; Sherman, Reuben, Serio-Chapman, & Liljeston, 2011; Sherman, Brantley, Zelaya, Duong, Taylor, & Ellen, 2017). Said another way, health and safety hazards are manufactured products of a social, cultural, political, legal, moral, and economic climate inside and outside the club that can either enable or disable safe practices.

The literature demonstrates that the occupational health and safety outcomes in stripping presumably depend on sex workers, the clients, and the business and moral entrepreneurs interacting within a web of discourses. The predominant discourses on sex work, homosexuality, and stripping in society engender stigma and harmful regulatory interventions, as well as undermining the positive aspects of the “sex work as work” labour discourse. MSWs are framed as deviant, contagious, immoral, risky, and felonious. In consequence, they experience the effects of stigma: discrimination, social and spatial exclusion, negative stereotypes, public ridicule and humiliation, physical and psychological violence, mental health issues such as chronic stress and psychological trauma, and reduced access to legal, social, and health services.

Currently, Canada’s Criminal Code deems criminal all activities related to the sex work industry. By criminalizing sex work, stigma is increased further. Moreover, the literature demonstrates that this approach generates and exacerbates the health and safety hazards associated with stripping and sex work. Sex workers are forced to do business in rushed encounters in underground settings to avoid incrimination. They are denied their rights to healthy

and safe work environments due to the nature of their work. They are denied access to social and legal services in times of need. Sex workers are alienated from the protective services of police; they are misinformed about their legal rights; they face personal, legal, and social consequences for association with a criminalized activity; their abilities to mitigate work hazards and abuse are limited by the criminalization of the activities related to sex work; and their mental health is affected due to the isolation and stress of working in a marginalized and criminalized occupation. Finally, prohibitive licensing and policing practices prevent sex workers, managers, and owners from adopting safer workplace measures and exacerbate health and safety concerns for sex workers.

The negative health and safety outcomes experience by strippers are also produced by the spatial setting. Social geography produces the environment of health and safety within strip clubs (Lilleston, Reuben, & Sherman, 2012). The strip club is a hyper-sexualized space that promotes sexual contact between patrons and strippers; it is a place conducive to sexual experimentation; people's sexual behaviours are consequently modulated. Depending on a club's permissiveness toward prohibited sexual practices and substance use, some strippers might be more inclined to engage in practices with elevated HIV/STI rates. Moreover, the sense of security gained by sex workers working as strippers in a strip club can render them more favourable to offering condomless services to clients, for instance. This sense of security arises from the fact that the transactions take place indoors, away from direct exposure to police surveillance, where clients can less easily abuse the workers. Offering sexual services indoors is a way to practise safer sex and reduce HIV rates. Also, private booths in a club enable strippers to engage in practices with high HIV/STI rates with their clients. Thus, the technological, material, and architectural layout and context can enable potentially hazardous sexual transactions between strippers and clients.

The tip-based labour dynamic in strip clubs is founded on an intense competition between strippers for clients' business and generates a large part of the health and safety issues experienced by strippers. Strippers' role is one of building a desirable sexual trope to entice client

spending by manufacturing a desired sexual performance: this includes a range of services from a standard private dance to escorting services outside the club. The interplay between similar yet competing interests leads to strippers going beyond what they would normally do so as to ensure their economic viability. As shown in the literature, the main motivator for entering and continuing to work in the industry is money, the prospect of financial wealth (though ancillary motivators were also highlighted, such as the motivation to obtain substances, positive regard from clients, and positive psychological effects of stripping). Strippers allow themselves to be consumed by clients as a sexual product in order to generate income. To ensure monetary gain, strippers often transgress their personal boundaries and the club's policies on sex work. Over time, strippers' desire for money—if not money, something else—encourages practices with higher HIV/STI rates but higher rewards; transgressions of work and personal boundaries become normalized as part of the social and cultural fabric in the stripping industry. Strippers' socio-economic vulnerabilities (manifest as financial instability, a precarious housing situation, a lack of formal education, and psychosocial stressors) may increase the odds of negative health and safety outcomes in their career; sexual health is sacrificed in the name of financial needs. In one study, researchers found a “dose-response relationship between levels of socioeconomic vulnerability and likelihood of engaging in HIV/STI risk behavior” (Reilly, German, Serio-Chapman, & Sherman, 2015, p. 781). In short, the potency of money and strippers' motivations shape their work practices with clients, thus shaping their health and safety outcomes.

These various structures—institutional discourses, laws and regulations, space and place, socio-economic and cultural forces—coalesce to produce varying degrees of HIV and STI outcomes in the stripper population (Brantley, Footer, Lim, Kerrigan, & Sherman, 2017). Female strippers with high structural vulnerabilities were more likely to report engaging in sex work beyond their typical work role, having multiple sex partners, and using illicit substances (Brantley, Kerrigan, German, Lim, & Sherman, 2017). Conversely, the vulnerabilities were mitigated for those who employed stigma management tactics, for those who could enforce strict boundaries

with their clients and avoid psychotropic substance use, and for those who were privileged with the ability to compile their earnings and set financial goals (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 2000)—that is easier said than done, however.

Concerning healthcare interventions, the focus should be less on behaviour change and more on the structural and social environments in which dancing and health and safety behaviours occur (Krüsi et al., 2012; Rhodes, 2009; Sherman et al., 2011). Focusing on macro-level interventions targeting structural vulnerabilities could reduce the more evident harms of sex work and stripping such as substance misuse and sexual health concerns (e.g., safe and affordable housing policies, affordable education and job training programs, financial management, access to social and legal services, access to healthcare and health insurance, access to safe substances, clean supplies, and access to substance use treatment and rehabilitation programs) (Brantley, Kerrigan, German, Lim, & Sherman, 2017; Frenken & Sifaneck, 1998; Reilly, German, Serio-Chapman, & Sherman, 2015). Footer et al. (2018) also advocate for strategies that intervene on the modifiable structural aspects within strip clubs. Supportive management policies and security can help indoor sex workers improve their negotiations with their clients and increase their control in negotiating sexual outcomes such as condom use, amount billed, types of services provided, capacity to refuse, and overall health and safety. Condom availability and sexual education are paramount (Lilleston et al., 2015; Sherman, Brantley, Zelaya, Duong, Taylor, & Ellen, 2017). Clubs where management listened to and respected strippers, where there were no private booths or rooms, and where wall mirrors facilitated surveillance increased the health and safety outcomes of strippers (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1999, 2000). Studies show that supportive and trusting police relations and the formation of sex worker solidarity and informal peer support initiatives were nurtured when the harmful structures of the industry were rehabilitated (Krüsi et al., 2012). Likewise, decriminalization of sex work in Canada would result in positive health and safety conditions for sex workers; strippers could have access to labour protection and

compensation for victims of crime; they would have access to more educational opportunities regarding their rights and ways to stay safe at work (Lewis et al., 2005).

Based on this literature review, important gaps of knowledge were noted concerning MSCs where MDM. In a piecemeal manner, we have broached the health and safety conditions within MSCs. However, much of what has been presented is based in the female stripping literature or that pertaining to the wider MSW industry. The thinly explored field of male stripping served as an impetus for this study. Most strikingly, we found no study that devoted itself to examining the health and safety aspects of MSCs where MDM. Moreover, none analyzed the process and practices of sexual service negotiation between a stripper and a client in MSCs and private booths, or in the wider stripping literature for that matter. The dearth of literature regarding the sexual transactions within private booths in strip clubs warrants further investigation, since this is the place where positive and negative health and safety outcomes pivot. Finally, there is little information about the factors that influence the sexual negotiations between strippers and clients.

CHAPTER 3 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, we present the theoretical framework used to interpret our results. The framework is a constellation of interrelated postmodern concepts congruent with our philosophical stance. The concepts are designed to examine the fluidity and interconnectivity of social phenomena in a given social field. In the case of this study, we sought to explore the flow of interconnected occupational health and safety phenomena in a MSC. Herein, we articulate a framework that sheds light on the complex human ecology of the MSC and the factors that influence the sexual service negotiations between strippers and clients. Initially, we knew we would most likely recruit Michel Foucault's concepts regarding power relations to make sense of the negotiation process. After that, as the analysis stage progressed, our analytical structure accentuated the symbiotic co-functioning between each category, each person involved in the club economy, and each contextual element. To account for the interconnectivity between people, objects, and behaviours, we invoked the work of French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari as it pertains to their theorization of rhizomes, desires, flows, machines, assemblages, and becomings (see Holmes, Murray, and Foth, 2018, for pertinent examples in the health disciplines). Thanks to these concepts, we could examine the meaning and function of social phenomena in our research field as a fluid and transient process of assembly and disassembly between animate and inanimate bodies. The social interactions we observed were theorized as evolving experiments in a laboratory of flowing currents of desire.

A Deleuzo–Guattarian framework of this kind conceptualizes the universe as a *process* in perpetual flux, rather than a static object waiting to be dissected. In light of the espoused critical theory paradigm, there is no static *being* in the world, no fixed identities, properties, or terminal states; there is only *becoming*. Deleuze and Guattari's ontology is one of movement and interconnectivity. Social phenomena are viewed in terms of changing flows moving in different directions at different speeds and intensities. Flows are energized by the productive social force

of desire. Flows can be modified, interrupted, enhanced, or destroyed. People connect to and become part of the flow; they interact with flows and change their direction, speed, and intensity through the force that stabilizes or destabilizes the field of connections. We acquire a sense of identity and function in a flow and in the connections between flows. It is by understanding how social agents are continually connecting and disconnecting to various flows in a fluid world that we sought to understand strippers' occupational health and safety practices. Indeed, the theoretical framework presented below harmonizes itself with critical ethnographic principles. Via this framework, we built a pathway to scrutinize the basic assumptions surrounding MSW and offer a critique of the current reality that constrains strippers' work culture.

1. Rhizomes

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) conceptualize the universe, life, and social interactions as a rhizome. However, they are not saying that the universe is literally a rhizome in the botanical sense⁴¹. They use the term as an encompassing metaphor for their ontology and a template for social life. Like a rhizome's a-centred, complex, and non-hierarchical shape, social phenomena have no beginning nor end. Like a rhizome's pattern of growth, social phenomena have no predetermined movement, direction, or finality. In other words, life in the universe and all social interactions are unpredictable and chaotic. Social phenomena flow in all directions with no distinct features to identify their rhyme or reason, like a rhizome.

Theoretically speaking, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) envision their version of the rhizome as a sort of jumbled map with different lines criss-crossing in all possible directions at all scales of life: up, down, cellular, across, political, inward, outward, molecular, lines everywhere. They state that these lines are not static: the lines are in continuous movement and are produced by a driving force (desire production, discussed below). The assemblage of lines constitutes the

⁴¹ Rhizome is term that stems from botany and refers to the root systems of certain plant species that grow horizontally underground and puts out lateral shoots in various directions

rhizome, and rhizomes are always connected to other rhizomes. The flow of these disorganized lines that make up rhizomes are continually being rearranged into different configurations, into different assemblages of lines. A rhizome is “always detachable, connectable, reversible, modifiable, and has multiple entryways and exits and its own lines of flight” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 21). As such, social phenomena are flows of intersecting lines connecting and disconnecting. Each intersecting set of lines is always connected to other lines of the rhizome. It is at the point of intersection that social phenomena are manifest. The shape of the rhizome, the universe, and all social phenomena is always changing: social phenomena are rhizomatic.

The rhizome is made only of lines: lines of segmentarity and stratification as its dimensions and the line of flight or deterritorialization as the maximum dimension after which the multiplicity undergoes metamorphosis, changes in nature. [...] The rhizome operates by variation, expansion, conquest, capture, offshoots. (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 21)

In the rhizome, offshoots can spread in any direction and insert themselves at any other point; lines move fluidly; they are interchangeable and multifunctional. The intersecting lines manifest as social phenomena can work toward the sedimentation of the rhizome in the material world (lines of segmentarity or stratification, discussed below), or they can work toward rupturing the assemblage and encouraging different intersections and expressions (lines of flight or deterritorialization, also discussed below). In fact, both the force of solidification and that of destabilization operate simultaneously in the flow of the rhizome. In other words, the theoretical concept of the rhizome helps us see the social world as a jumbled map of lines continuously seeking to strengthen or free up intersections of flowing lines.

In contrast, rhizomes are diametrically opposed to the authors’ definition of an arborescent, or tree-like, root structure: “[t]here are no points or positions in a rhizome, such as those found in a structure, tree, or root. There are only lines” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 8). Arborescent roots represent the hierarchical and linear hegemonic structure that has occupied most modern-day state institutions and philosophies since the time of Plato in ancient Greece. Deleuze and Guattari rebuke this way of thinking and doing because it stifles human creativity

and becoming. The dichotomy between the rhizomatic and arborescent root systems is present throughout Deleuze and Guattari's work: "[w]e're tired of trees. We should stop believing in trees, roots and radicles. They've made us suffer too much. All of arborescent culture is founded on them, from biology to linguistics" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 15). They explain that tree-like roots are manifest in various points on the rhizome. These roots create knots and slow down the rhizomatic growth process, almost to the point of immobility at times. In seeing the universe and social phenomena as a tree, we are left with the impression of a fixed, identifiable, static, and linear world. Deleuze and Guattari want us to move away from this way of thinking: they want us to see that the trees are only blocked points on rhizomes. Arborescent root structures can grow out of knotted points in rhizomes; from the roots of the tree can grow a free-flowing rhizome. The authors' work is a call for an increase in rhizomatic thinking and creation: an ethics of experimentation with new connections. They want to keep the lines of the rhizome flowing in any and all directions, so long as the rhizome keeps growing, flowing, and becoming.

2. Desire Production

Desire is responsible for the production and flow of lines on the rhizome. The flowing current of desire catalyses the surfacing of material expressions in the form of interpretations, ideas, speech, social interactions, identities, meanings, goals, functions, and so on. Desire and its produced expressions flow in perpetual motion in an ever-changing world, always in becoming. Like a marine mammal surfacing for air and losing its direct connection to the world beyond the ocean once it dives back down, the expressions of desire in the material world are only meaningful and identifiable so long as they stay connected to it. Regardless of the length of time an expression materializes, even if expressions have roots like trees, they eventually decompose and seep back below the surface of the perceivable world. All things in the universe, either rhizomatic or arborescent, are transient; there are no inherent meanings or structures, no predetermined goals or functions. For Deleuze and Guattari, everything in the world is fluid and

has an open-ended identity (as postmodernists, Deleuze and Guattari refute grand narratives and universal truths). There are only seemingly fixed expressions emanating from a perpetual and productive multivariate flow of desires coursing at all levels of life in the form of intersecting lines.

As articulated in *Anti-Oedipus* (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009), all social phenomena are material expressions of the generative force of desire production. Like Nietzsche's *will to power*, desire production are the default fundamental properties of what it means to be human. Deleuze and Guattari subsume the driving force of desire articulated by Freud and the driving force of production articulated by Marx. All human creation and creativity stems from the perpetual flow of desire production inherent to life in the universe. Unlike Freud's concept of desire as a by-product of a precursory lack and as something externally imposed that dictates our connections (Oedipus), Deleuze and Guattari position desire as a productive force that precedes the external world and as something immanent to life (Anti-Oedipus). Therefore, desire is a natural and positive force that flows in each element of life and creates our reality, a movement from the virtual free-flowing lines of rhizomes to the actual manifestations and intersections of these lines in the material world.

We adopt this conception of desire as a productive social force responsible for the flow of interactions, the manifestation of interacting bodies, and the social world in which these interactions occur. "[T]he social field is immediately invested by desire, that it is the historically determined product of desire," state Deleuze and Guattari, who go on to say, "[t]here is only desire and the social, and nothing else" (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009, p. 29, original emphasis). Desire, in a Deleuzian–Guattarian sense, is the basis for the production of all that is virtual and real—the changing and multifarious manifestations of subjectivities, material objects, behaviours, perceptions, and ideas. Desire production is the social force responsible for the movement and growth of the rhizome, of connecting bodies, of assemblages.

3. Body-Without-Organs

Desire produces a flow of lines; it produces the growth of the rhizome and even the growth of trees. Desire produces an array of becomings in the form of intersecting lines. It fuels the production of material expressions. In other words, desire production is a social force that configures flows and inscribes meaning on political surfaces. All bodies are political; bodies are people, groups of people, animals, insects, neurons, ideas, emotions, drugs, behaviours, actual or virtual; they are the manifest expressions of the social force of desire. However, beneath their inscription, bodies are inherently meaningless. They are essentially without predetermined significations, goals, or functions. Not until a body moves in relation to others in a given socio-historical context, not until it intersects with other bodies, does it cease to be devoid of essential properties (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

At the most basic level, the body stripped of all its connections and identifying elements is a freestanding body, a naked body, a body-without-organs (BwO) (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Just because a BwO has no predetermined meaning or function, or just because it is undifferentiated, does not mean that it exists as a transcendental abstraction. The BwO is a virtual body made up of free-flowing lines that co-exists with actualized expressions of desire in the material world. The BwO is a chaotic body with no identity, with no organs, a continually shifting mass of creative energy flowing in a rhizomatic fashion. It is organ-ized by becoming part of flowing lines on a rhizome. Organ-izing is an inscription process upon the surface of the BwO. Moreover, since desire production is ineluctable to life and in a state of perpetual and unpredictable flux, BwOs are therefore always in the process of becoming organ-ized by becoming part of the life force of desire; there is no pure form of the BwO, it is always in the process of being organ-ized and dis-organ-ized. The organs, as manifestations of desire's creative outflow, give shape, meaning, and function to people and things, thus producing the bodies that make up the world we see around us. The bodily manifestations are inevitably

transient and non-linear: a BwO is endless unknowable virtual potential, a mass of jumbled lines flowing and intersecting (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, 2009).

Consequently, Deleuze and Guattari conceptualize the Self (human subjectivity) as a continually shifting rhizomatic mass of lines flowing in various directions. Subjectivity, like social phenomena, evolves in random offshoots that pass from moments where it approaches the state of the BwO to moments where it surfaces in the material world as an organized and meaningful body (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, 2009). In other words, subjective identities are fluid and transient bodies that resist all forms of totalizing discourse and reductive categorization: the postmodern subject. The creative force of desire can give rise to an endless number of virtual and actual subjective identities in the form of rhizomatic offshoots or tree-like branches. Therefore, human beings are not fixed in their identity, motivations, perceptions, ideas, and behaviours. We are always in a process of becoming in that we are always connecting with new lines; we are always becoming part of new flows. This postmodernist framework rejects the modernist notion of fixed and essential qualities and replaces it with a fluid subjectivity in movement shaped by the emanating flows of desire.

4. Flow

As readers might have already noticed, the term “flow” has come up frequently thus far. Flow is an important concept in our theoretical framework because it represents the social world in motion, the movement of lines that make up the rhizome. That which constitutes rhizomes are less objects and qualities than flows of lines and speeds according to Deleuze and Guattari (Wise, 2005). Life is always changing; flows are what make up this change. The flow has no beginning nor end, like the rhizome. Flows are rhizomatic. Flows are all around us: the flow of water in a river, the flow of sounds leaving a mouth or an instrument, the flow of money during a business transaction, the flow of motorists on a busy city road. The flow of food, the flow of populations, the urban flow. Everywhere, there are currents and tides. The flowing action is fueled by desire

production. “[...] a flow is always of belief and of desire,” state Deleuze and Guattari (1987) in *A Thousand Plateaus*, and they go on to say that “[b]elief and desire are the basis of every society [...]” (p. 219). Thus, flow and desire, movement and will are the foundations of all social phenomena. The organization of the BwO is caused by intersecting flows that result in the manifestations of moving bodies that we see all around us. Flows make up the movement of connections between bodies; coupled with desire, they are the current of energy responsible for the offshoots of rhizomes (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

Similar to the ways the congestion of vehicles can be intensified, reduced, interrupted, or blocked, the speed, quality, and intensity of a flow can be modified (see section seven on territorialization and section ten on deterritorialization). Flows are always changing, always fluid, always expressed differently. No point on a rhizome, or no assemblage, is like any other point. Social phenomena and our material reality are thus an amalgamation of flows continually intersecting and changing. All social phenomena are in a process of becoming part of flows moving according to various lines. The concept of flow allowed us to study our field of research as a perpetually flowing mass of interwoven lines fuelled by desire.

5. Desiring Machines

According to Deleuze and Guattari, the configured body in the material world is a machine. Not one with a unique meaning, goal, or function, but a machine with multiple potential meanings, goals, and functions. To know the machine, we need to see it in action, plugged into other machines. Like the rhizome, like the BwO, like flowing lines, a machine’s identity is produced by desire. This produced identity is transient and can only be known by understanding how the machine relates to others. Organic machines (people), chemical machines (drugs), sexual machines (genital organs), social machines (telephones), and mechanical machines (cars), according to Deleuze and Guattari (2009), are created from the perpetual movement of desire production and rhizomatic flows. These are desiring machines: “desiring machines are the

fundamental category of the economy of desire” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009, p. 32). The desiring machine is synthesized by the catalytic effects of desire engineering the intersection of lines, flows, objects, and bodies. In other words, machines are outward expressions of desire synthesizing the creative energy of the world. Machines are synthesized by cutting into a flow; machines are segmented segments of flows.

A machine may be defined as a *system of interruptions* or breaks (*coupures*). These breaks should in no way be considered as a separation from reality; rather, they operate along lines that vary according to whatever aspect of them we are considering. Every machine, in the first place, is related to a continual material flow (*hylè*) that it cuts into. It functions like a ham-slicing machine, removing portions from the associative flow: the anus and the flow of shit it cuts off, for instance; the mouth that cuts off not only the flow of milk but also the flow of air and sound; the penis that interrupts not only the flow of urine but also the flow of sperm. Each associative flow must be seen as an ideal thing, an endless flux, flowing from something not unlike the immense thigh of a pig. (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009, p. 36)

Entire human bodies, and even their separate parts, are machines, and machines of machines that are always already connected to other machines: “[t]he breast is a machine that produces milk, and the mouth is a machine coupled to it... Hence, we are all handymen: each with his little machines” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009, p. 1). The mouth-machine connected to the breast-machine, the anus-machine connected to the rectum-machine. In fact, the connection between machines in the real world are contiguous, meaning that bodies are always connected to other bodies; even when they disconnect from one, they are already connected to another. This is because there are always machines that produce flows (the breast producing the flow of milk, the stomach producing the flow of chyme, capitalism producing the flow of money and resources, gravity producing the flow of objects toward the centre of the earth, etc.). Machines cut into material flows and these flows are produced by other machines or groups of machines. Flows can be anything: the flow of lumber, the flow of ideas, the flow of semen, the flow of air, the flow of water, the flow of milk, the flow of electrons. Flows are represented by lines moving in various directions. Machines gain their significance and function in becoming part of a flow, by intersecting with flowing lines. Everything is interconnected and interdependent without having any inherent

purpose other than the social force of desire production energizing the flows of life. For the authors,

[E]very machine is a machine of a machine. The machine produces an interruption of the flow only insofar as it is connected to another machine that supposedly produces this flow. And doubtless this second machine in turn is really an interruption or break, too. [...] In a word, every machine function as a break in the flow in relation to the machine to which it is connected, but at the same time is also a flow itself, or the production of a flow, in relation to the machine connected to it. (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009, p. 36).

Fundamentally, machines are undifferentiated and fluid in their identity; they are loosely inscribed on the surface of BwO, and they only gain identity and meaning when in motion and in differentiated relations to other machines and groups of machines. The meaning and function of a machine is contingent upon the quality, speed, and intensity of the flowing lines, the flowing machines, and desire production. The concept of the desiring machine is important in this framework because it illustrates the moving parts and interrelations between all social phenomena. We can observe their patterns of movement (rhizomatic or arborescent), their interests, and their relations to the flows of life.

6. Machinic Assemblages

The social force of desire produces not only machines, flows of machines, and flow-producing machines, but also amalgamations of machines, amalgamations of flows, and amalgamations of flow-producing machines. These amalgamations are machinic assemblages connected by the drive of desire production. For instance, in the industrial economy, desire engenders the production of profitable machines, such as low-cost and high-yield factories. A factory is a machine that produces a flow of consumer goods (e.g., shoes). The factory machine depends on a flow of workers to operate its semi-autonomous machinery to ensure its output and capital gain. On a larger scale, the flow of machines (e.g., the factory, the workers, and the consumer goods) are connected to ancillary sets of machines that ensure their viability. In other words, the flow of machines in the factory depend on the articulation of machines outside the factory walls. If the

consumer goods were to lose its potency in society, the factory's productive flow would inevitably suffer. Machines are not only coming together to form assemblages, but they are also coming apart amid ruptures of flows; desire also seeks freedom from prior connections. It forces ruptures and breaks in these connections only to produce new connections, new bodies, new machines: "everything functions at the same time, but amid hiatuses and ruptures, breakdowns and failures, stalling and short circuits [...] the breaks in the process are productive, and are reassemblies in and of themselves" (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009, p. 42). Like a rhizome and the machine, the machinic assemblage is always in a state of flux whereby lines and connections are bridged and torn apart. In short, desiring machines continually connect with and disconnect from other desiring machines to form assemblages that eventually break apart to form new ones. This process of machinic assemblages is rhizomatic in that it is inherently undetermined, fluid, and transient; however, the process becomes arborescent when the connections lose their fluidity.

As such, the human body is a desiring machine as well as a collection of machines that is produced and reproduced by the economy of flows and desire. The process of assemblage is transient, non-linear, and always in becoming. The movement of flows driven by the force of desire production and the connection between machines is an experimental process: nothing is predetermined in the shape of the machinic assemblage. It is in these connections that a machine's potential becomes actualized. The flows of desire compete for primacy of outward expression. There is synergy and conflict between the flow of desiring machines which enables specific configurations of expressions and generates a continuous movement of connection and disconnection. Machines continually seek to plug into other machines, to segment or become part of flows, or to form machinic assemblages by following different lines on the rhizome.

We think the material or machinic aspect of an assemblage relates not to the production of goods but rather to a precise state of intermingling of bodies in a society, including all the attractions and repulsions, sympathies and antipathies, alterations, amalgamations, penetrations, and expansions that affect bodies of all kinds in their relations to one another. (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 90)

The machinic assemblage process thus refers to the coming together or coming apart of various bodies, machines, and lines that make up society. Deleuze and Guattari state that the assemblage is truly like a rhizome in that it expands and penetrates, it brings together various elements, it can be modified, *must* be modified. The machines of the assemblage are all the heterogeneous intersecting bodies that make up the rhizome. The specific arrangement of flows forms new material expressions. The assemblage is a symbiotic co-function between all these elements which forms an amalgamated alloy susceptible to reconfigurations. There is no predetermined order or organization of interconnecting machines. It is in their co-functioning that machinic assemblages may be understood.

Moreover, machinic assemblages are machines of other machinic assemblages, and those are machines of machinic assemblages also; there are rhizomes connected to rhizomes within rhizomes of various scales. In this sense, the human body as a machine is also a machinic assemblage; multiple other machines organize the body into a seemingly unified machine which then functions in relation to other machines. For instance, a political activist group is a machinic assemblage constituted by machinic assemblages (its constituents), and the people that make up the group are connected to other machinic assemblages such as the political climate and governmental institutions, the space in which they meet, the cause they are defending, and so on. Everything is interconnected due to desire production, everything flows together along various lines. The machinic assemblages are cut-outs of multiple flows, flows of ideas, flows of people, flows of space. Machines drive other machines and are themselves driven by machines due to the energy of desire production causing the current to flow, which in turn causes desire to flow and cut and interrupt the flow. Deleuze and Guattari (2009) state that machines seek connections with other machines to bring about an actuality; machines can leverage other machines to this effect, like the group of political activists leveraging interrelated machines to embolden the flow of their ideas.

Human subjectivity as an assemblage in flux stands in diametrical opposition to the static being of the modern subject. For Deleuze and Guattari, the fixed identity of the modern subject is nothing more than the particular way in which bodies have been mapped or stratified (*cartographié*) into tree-like structures. In a Deleuzo–Guattarian perspective of human subjectivity, human bodies continually form new connections to allow intensities to flow in different directions, thus producing new potential becomings and fluid and transient subjectivities, like a rhizome. In other words, the connections that we as assemblages make with our environment—and we are always making new connections whether we realize it or not—actualize a sense of identity, purpose, and function in a particular socio-historical context. Assemblages are induced by a context, by acceptable social and sexual scripts, by the politics of governing bodies, by capitalism, and by the expectation of conformity. Thus, human subjectivity is shaped and fixed by the process of social interaction through the connections it fosters within a particular human ecology. In this sense, our seemingly fixed identities (seemingly fixed because we are so used to relating to arborescent structures) are inherently a work in progress. Human beings as assemblages are part of larger- or smaller-scale machinic assemblages which are part of even larger or smaller assemblages giving rise to a wide array of always different social events.

Assemblages are always already there and can be viewed from multiple vantage points. At a cellular and organic level, human bodies are composed of different complex and dynamic systems of organization. Consider the brain's central nervous system. It is composed of multiple interdependent neuronal and glial cell bodies such as neurons, astrocytes, microglia, and oligodendrocytes. Capillaries from the cardiovascular system, and neuronal dendrites, axons, and synapses, form connections between the cell bodies. Every new stimulus to these cell bodies, whether from motor activity or cognitive processes such as recalling or forming new memories, destabilizes the current connections and generates new ones instead. The human brain's neuroplasticity and concerted efforts between its parts exemplify the fluidity, exchangeability, and multi-functionality of the components of an assemblage. Thus, within a body, the relationships

between parts are not fixed or stable. The connection between neuronal cells is continuously being made and unmade into new assemblages (e.g., formation of new memories and destruction of old ones). Likewise, the neuronal connections responsible for short-term memory are an example of a machinic assemblage going through deconstruction, like that of a rhizome: “Short-term memory is of the rhizome... Short-term memory is in no way subject to a law of contiguity or immediacy to its object; it can act at a distance, come or return a long time after, but always under conditions of discontinuity, rupture, and multiplicity” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 16). Short-term memory continually flows between the processes of building and deconstructing its connections. Memories are flowing ideas, flowing thoughts about concepts; the flow of ideas is related to various productive machines in the organism (cells, neurotransmitters, the brain, etc.). By cutting into this flow, assemblages of ideas arise. For instance, when one thinks about the idea of writing an opinion piece for a media outlet, and when one then acts upon that thought, the flow of that idea is harnessed and channelled to specific ends.

7. Territorialization

The rhizomatic movement of lines, flows, machines, and assemblages is characterized by a process of *territorialisation*, *deterritorialization*, and *reterritorialization*. Some lines work toward the stability of the assemblage: these are lines of segmentation that territorialize. All the while, other lines are working to destabilize connections: these are the lines of flight that deterritorialize. Territorialization stratifies assemblages by slowing down lines, by solidifying their flow of creative energy. In doing so, assemblages express an *identity* and claim a *territory* (Wise, 2005). As a consequence, territorialisation refers to the spatial boundaries of a whole, as well as the degree to which an assemblage homogenises its parts, or the degree to which the parts stem from a homogenous repertoire. In other words, assemblages establish territories through the juxtaposing and intermingling of multiple heterogeneous elements. This resembles the intersection of lines on a rhizome and forms a distinguishable junction, a territorialized assemblage. Desiring

machines seek to reinforce and reproduce a territory to secure a flow, to secure a point on the rhizome. In *Anti-Oedipus*, the authors state: “The prime function incumbent upon the socius has always been to codify the flows of desire, to inscribe them, to record them, to see to it that no flow exists that is not properly dammed up, channeled, regulated” (p. 33). Even though the current of flow is diminished, “dammed up,” these territories are never fixed. Flows and desire in the assemblage process create territories and break them down; territories are continually being made and unmade, ordered and disordered, reterritorialized and deterritorialized. Here we speak of a social space that is suffused by two forces: forces that organize social spaces into distinguishable strata, and forces that resist and break away from these strata by moving toward the BwO (Albrecht-Crane, 2005).

Territories are spaces that stake, claim, and express. Territories have a unifying character, an identity, something to which we cling when speaking of dominant social categories: a machine. Territorialization is about ordering, organizing, and hierarchizing flows (flows of vehicles ordered by the city grid, flows of immigration organized by government regulations, flows of food passing through the machines of the digestive system, flows of ideas in the mind, and so on). Territorialization emerges from the interconnection between machines and intersecting flows of desire. Lines and flows (constituted by various machines) change in speed and intensity as the assemblages become more or less territorialized. According to the authors, assemblages come into being as organized territories (a mapping of connections) when they face the *strata*; the stratified dimension of an assemblage is that which furnishes its meaning in the real world (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Through the formation of assemblages and territories, bodies *become* stratified.

In the territorialization stage, the parts of an assemblage develop a dependency on one another; machines seek more connections to reinforce the territory they claim. Thereupon, in the moments of stabilizing its identity, the function of the assemblage becomes apparent. Importantly, the process of territorialisation operates through processes that organize, systematize, and *code*

social space. These processes impose order and categories on the world (e.g., race, class, gender, nationality, religion, physical ability, etc.). “[E]very machine,” state Deleuze and Guattari (2009), “has a sort of code built into it, stored up inside it” (p. 38). Coding refers to the expressive components of an assemblage that function to fix its identity as a whole (codes can be both non-linguistic and linguistic) (DeLanda, 2016). Stratification maps bodies into territories through inscription (coding). People are inscribed with discipline, practices, processes. The map gives meaning and function to the machines emerging from the BwO. Meaning and function emerge from connected points on the map of the rhizome. To paraphrase Deleuze and Guattari, we can only know the nature of a particular assemblage by understanding what it can do, i.e., how it functions on this map, a stratified territory.

Said otherwise, machinic assemblages become stratified when the connections between the parts become characterized by dependency, and there is less flux and experimentation between the parts. Stratified territories are multi-dimensional: consider the mapped and organized realm of human anatomy, or the dimension of government machines connecting with citizens. Territorialized machinic assemblages interact together on all scales of life. Territorialization thus alludes to the co-dependency between the flow of connecting machines. Power relations maintain the boundaries of territories; according to Foucault (1980), “*Territory* is no doubt a geographical notion, but it’s first of all a juridical-political one: the area controlled by a certain kind of power” (p. 68, original emphasis). Territories stake biased claims to control social connections. The lines of the rhizome converge toward a singular entropic point, the free-flowing chaos is homogenized, creativity is subdued. In many cases, the creative flow of the rhizome may even be halted completely. Assemblages-in-flux risk becoming assemblages-in-fix when there is a passage from experimentation to total dependency. This happens when the positive feedback loop of machinic assemblages becomes stuck in a repetitive cycle. Reproduction of machines that conform to the hegemonic assemblage, reinforcement of desirable connections, normalization and stratification

of assemblages at the expense of others, imprisonment within one part of the rhizome, a knot—these are the effects of violently territorialized flows.

8. Micro-fascism and Disciplinary Power

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) allude to the emergence of a personal desire to organize, rank, control, repress, direct, and impose limits on oneself, on machines and machinic assemblages. These are instances of *micro-fascism* (O'Byrne & Holmes, 2007). Micro-fascism also leads to the reinforcement and reproduction of territories through the power of organization, ranking, controlling, repressing, and directing connections. Micro-fascism brings about the internalization of external social imperatives through *disciplinary power*. Social restrictions become internal restrictions, self-oppression that interferes with the expression of certain desires. Self-governance through self-imposed surveillance and restrictions is an example of micro-fascism. People police their own behaviours in abeyance to norms and therefore limit their creativity and potential becomings. Micro-fascism is an effect of disciplinary power that prevent machines from engaging in lines of flight that unfasten fixed assemblages.

We turn to Foucauldian notions of power and its effects on bodies to better understand how flows, machines, and assemblages are expressed. Foucault (1995) argues that power is positive, productive, and shapes bodies and practices. Human interactions are shaped by productive power relations. In Foucault's words, "power means relations, a more-or-less organised, hierarchical, co-ordinated cluster of relations" (Foucault, 1980, p. 198). Below, we demonstrate that disciplinary power is a force that orders, secures, and stratifies assemblages. Foucault speaks of a power that incites, reinforces, controls, monitors, optimizes, and orders social forces and bodies.

Power relations produce certain types of individuals; they mold human consciousness and thought; they can also strike down the undesirable aspects of our behaviour, and they govern our perception of the past, present, and future through established regimes of truth by dictating what

we can and cannot know, what we can and cannot speak. These power relations condition our knowledge and ignorance of morality, health, illness, sex, and the sex industry. Through social struggles, confrontations, contradictions, inequalities, transformations, and integrations of these force relations, power constitutes reality (McHoul & Grace, 1997). Power is productive, “power produces knowledge [...]; that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations” (Foucault, 1995, p. 27). Furthermore, there are no power relations or exercise of power without an economy of discourses of truth. In brief, when speaking of power, social interrelations between social agents and disciplinary bodies of knowledge are implied; on the one hand, power continually creates knowledge; on the other hand, knowledge always induces the effects of power (Foucault, 1980). In practice, power relations are made intelligible in terms of the *techniques* that are used for its exercise (McHoul & Grace, 1997). Foucault (1980) emphasizes that strategies, tactics, and techniques are essential for the stabilisation, accentuation, and broadening of power relations; assemblages are stratified through these strategies and techniques.

The control and administration of life in society and individual bodies is done through *biopower* (power over life): “the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations [...]” (Foucault, 1990a, p. 140). The concept of biopower is presented in Foucault’s first volume of *The History of Sexuality*. Biopower aims to foster and take charge of life and govern life processes (Taylor, 2011). It exerts influence on populations and bodies through surveillance, norms, and corrective measures. The final product is a *normalizing society* that self-regulates (Hoffman, 2011).

Biopower evolved in two axes of development that are linked together in the same matrix of social relations. The first Foucault calls *anatomo-politics* (a micro-physics), and the second, *bio-politics* (a macro-physics). The anatomo-politics axis targets individual bodies and positions them as machines in need of discipline. Its aim is to subject deviant bodies to disciplinary practices

that optimize the body's capabilities, extort its forces, and increase its docility and usefulness in an efficient system of control (Foucault, 1990a). Examples of institutions that exercise this level of biopower are schools, the household, the military, prisons, hospitals, and the workplace. This axis employs tactics of social control through the efforts of criminologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, physicians and other medical professionals, educators, colonels, parents, and foremen. In this sense, an anatomo-politics of the human body is structured by power relations exhibited by disciplinary institutions.

Working in parallel to anatomo-politics, the axis of bio-politics targets an entire population, a species, or a race. More precisely, its concern is with the mechanics of life and biological processes (i.e., propagation, births, mortality, morbidity, life expectancy, and longevity). It produces knowledge about a specific group in order to govern their behaviour. The institution that administers this level of biopower is the State (i.e., federal, provincial, or municipal government administrations). This is done through various tactics of surveillance and regulatory control. For instance, the scientific studies and practices of demographers, sociologists, and economists (e.g., census, the media, national surveys) and interventions in birth rate, longevity, housing, and migration by State health officials (e.g., public health agencies) are all bio-political (Foucault, 1990a). Moreover, sex is at the heart of social, political, and economic problems because it is conceptualized by disciplinary discourses as something that can be manipulated and utilized to maintain society's economic health and prosperity. In brief, biopower works to incite, reinforce, control, monitor, optimize, and reorganize the life processes of a given society in favour of the "greater good" by investing in life through and through, rather than by repressing it. The "bipolar" technology focuses its attention on the process of life so as to render it useful and efficient (Foucault, 1990a).

Fundamentally, biopower is disciplinary. *Disciplinary power*, which is best explained in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1995), moulds individuals into normal and useful beings: "discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies" (Foucault, 1995, p. 138).

When talking of disciplinary power, Foucault uses the notion of “machine” as a metaphor for its exercise (Foucault, 1995). He goes on to say that “one of the primary objects of discipline is to fix [...] That is why discipline fixes; it arrests or regulates movement; it clears up confusion; it dissipates compact groupings of individuals wandering about the country in unpredictable ways; it establishes calculated distributions” (Foucault, 1995, pp. 218–219). Biopower is fundamentally disciplinary power operating as a machine to fix, order, organize, and control life.

To discipline bodies through the micro-physics of power, one needs a network of dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques and functionings constantly in tension (Foucault, 1995). In Foucault’s (1995) words, “[w]hat was then being formed was a policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behaviours. The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it” (p. 138). Through various technologies that subjugated individuals, bodies became disciplined, practiced, useful, and docile.

The first of four major tactics used discipline bodies at the anatomo-political level was the *art of distribution* or *cellular power*. To properly discipline bodies, they must be distributed in space, sometimes needing enclosure (such as in hospitals or prisons). Individuals are assigned a specific place and rank in relation to others where they exert a specific function and where they may be the most useful: “discipline is an art of rank [...] It individualizes bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations” (Foucault, 1995, p. 146). Second, Foucault emphasized that the *control of activity*, or *organic power*, by regulating the use of time through timetables constitutes the second mechanism of micro-physics; here Foucault speaks of disciplinary time that codes human behaviours. This was effectuated by establishing rhythms, imposing occupations, and regulating cycles of repetition: “a sort of anatomo-chronological schema of behaviour is defined” (p. 152). In light of this, disciplinary power relations arrange an economy of time whereby the body’s gestures are calculated, prescribed, and made efficient. The third technology of the micro-physics of power

relates to the *organization of genesis*: discipline as a machinery that adds up and capitalizes on time. This element highlights the fact that cellular and organic power function to produce something, to reach a goal. Finally, Foucault speaks of the *composition of forces*: the demand for a mechanics of discipline that maximizes its usefulness by concerting the articulation of the elementary parts of which it is composed: “[d]iscipline is no longer simply an art of distributing bodies, of extracting time from them and accumulating it, but of composing forces in order to obtain an efficient machine” (p. 164). The composition of forces arranges tactics to train bodies: “Tactics, the art of constructing, with located bodies, coded activities and trained aptitudes [...] are no doubt the highest form of disciplinary power” (Foucault, 1995, p. 167). According to Foucault, these disciplinary technologies “make” individuals.

In other words, the body becomes part of a machine that can be articulated with other bodies. Foucault (1995) speaks of a “multi-segmentary machine” (p. 164). Space, time, and individuals become part of a machine that seeks to maximize its utility and force. For instance, the factory line is a multi-segmentary machine in our consumer society. On the factory line, space, time, and people are organized in the most efficient way possible to arrive at the desired product. The ordering power relations at work must trigger the required behaviours to ensure the functioning of the machine. In light of this, there is an evident relation between Foucault’s multi-segmentary machine of discipline and Deleuze and Guattari’s machinic assemblage.

At the level of bio-politics, disciplinary power extends beyond the strict discipline of institutions toward the generalized surveillance of entire populations. Foucault (1995) proposed that this extension meant that societies were becoming disciplinary. The exercise of power in disciplinary societies was in great part due to the operationalization of the panoptic gaze and the norm: this made disciplinary power more functional, lighter, faster, more effective. The transition of disciplinary power to the entire population through generalized panopticism engenders the expression of disciplinary mechanisms in the most minute and distant parts of society. In this sense, power relations are “infinitesimally distributed” (Foucault, 1995). Both at the levels of

anatomo-politics and bio-politics, disciplinary power owes its strength and subtle coercion to the following technologies: (1) hierarchical observation; (2) normalizing judgment; and (3) the examination.

Hierarchical observation ensures the perpetual visibility of all individuals to ultimately structure their behaviour (e.g., one's sexual preferences being monitored by family members, friends, authorities, internet browser history). Foucault (1995) states that the "exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of power, and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible" (pp. 170–171). Through this instrument, the disciplinary machine makes it possible for everything to be seen constantly; this is the disciplinary gaze. As such, surveillance becomes an integral part of disciplinary power at the levels of the individual body and entire populations, and it is best applied through panopticism: "By the term 'Panopticism', I have in mind an ensemble of mechanisms brought into play in all the clusters of procedures used by power. [...] The police apparatus served as one of the principal vectors of this process of extension [...]" (Foucault, 1980, pp. 70–71).

Foucault also explains that disciplinary power is effective through mechanisms of surveillance administered not only through State apparatuses, but also through small-scale and regionally dispersed panopticism. Surveillance implies a discerning and inspecting gaze; with time, the observed begins to internalize this gaze to the degree that he becomes "his own overseer." Foucault (1980) goes on to say that "each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself" (p. 155). In fact, no one can escape the gaze: "it's a machine in which everyone is caught, those who exercise power just as much as those who it is exercised" (p. 156). Disciplinary power is not possessed by anyone or anything: it is dispersed everywhere in the social body. Panoptic surveillance is used to locate bodies in space, to put people in relation to one another, to form knowledge about them, to organize and use their behaviours, and to channel

power in specific arrangements. The intriguing thing about this is that there does not always need to be a permanent outside presence monitoring those being observed in the panoptic machine; those being observed internalize their state of surveillance and act as though they are continually being observed even though they are not. These applications can be transposed to various social environments such as schools, hospitals, prisons, workshops, and any workspace for that matter. As Foucault states: “[w]henver one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or a particular form of behaviour must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used” (Foucault, 1995, p. 205). In short, disciplinary power subjects individuals and populations to panoptic surveillance to monitor and influence their perceptions, thoughts, and behaviours.

Normalizing judgment is an instrument through which the gaze may discriminate. Through a gaze, this technique of power enables individuals to be judged according to a norm. These norms are established and perpetuated by the disciplines. Foucault (1980) states: “The disciplines may well be the carriers of a discourse that speaks of a rule, but this is not the juridical rule deriving from sovereignty, but a natural rule, a norm. The code they come to define is not that of law but that of normalisation” (p. 106). Through the standard of a norm, behaviours are measured and classified as “normal” or “abnormal” (e.g., family members, friends, and authorities using “normality” as a principle of coercion and social control with respect to the “abnormal” behaviour). Behaviour that deviates from the established norm is subject to corrective punishment. The norm qualifies, quantifies, and classifies subjects, and it even punishes deviant subjects. The effect of these mechanisms (surveillance and normalization) has led to the formation of a normalizing society: everyone and everything is subject to a gaze that scrutinizes behaviours in accordance to norms perpetuated by disciplinary institutions (Foucault, 1995).

Finally, the examination is a combination of the previous techniques; it forms a “normalizing gaze” that binds the exercise of disciplinary power to the formation of disciplinary knowledge (e.g., through the accumulation of administrative documentation on normal and deviant behaviour physicians and public health officials consider as constituting normal

individuality and sexuality). The examination enables the normalizing gaze to officially differentiate and judge subjects. In theory and in practice, these technologies enable the examination of biopower in our society. According to Lupton (2013), the “technologies of mass surveillance, monitoring, observation and measurement are central to this disciplinary power, helping to construct understandings of bodies in space and time and to use these understandings to regulate them” (p. 116). Foucault states that the examination is a technique that objectifies its subjects. It is in this field of domination that disciplinary power manifests its strength, by arranging objects and situating them in a field of surveillance and in a mass of documentation to capture and fix them (Foucault, 1995). In effect, the practice of writing came to be a powerful exercise in the disciplinary machine. It is the examination that constitutes individuals as effects and objects of knowledge. In Foucault’s words:

It is the examination which, by combining hierarchical surveillance and normalizing judgment, assures the great disciplinary functions of distribution and classification, maximum extraction of forces and time, continuous genetic accumulation, optimum combination of aptitudes and, thereby, the fabrication of cellular, organic, genetic, and combinatory individuality. (Foucault, 1995, p. 192).

By way of these disciplinary technologies, social reality is constructed: “Disciplinary technologies are polymorphous in fabricating subjectivities” (O’Byrne & Holmes, 2007, p. 98). Hence, truth and knowledge are contingent; perceptions, interpretations, and explanations of phenomena, points of inquiry, and methodology all depend on a particular location within time and space. Through hegemonic institutional, ideological, and scientific authorities, discourses are perpetuated into society, thus forming what individuals come to see as reality. These authorities of knowledge within society arbitrate what “counts” as truth and shape the direction of the scientific disciplines. According to Foucault (1980), truth is “produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint” (p. 131); the constraints are imposed by hegemonic social structures to control the economy of truth. This creates “regimes of truth” that govern human activity. “[I]n any given historical period we can write, speak or think about a given social object or practice (criminality, sexuality, or illness, for example) only in certain specific ways and not others,” write McHoul and Grace (1997, p. 31). In

other words, knowledge production is always inextricably tied to an overarching apparatus, discourse, and associated technologies of power.

According to Browne (2001), the dominant discourse in healthcare stems from liberal and neo-liberal political ideology. Ideology is “a set of closely related beliefs, attitudes or ideas characteristic of a societal group or community” (p. 119). Moreover, ideologies advance value-laden claims insofar as the values are so deeply seated in our socio-cultural conventions that it is difficult to escape them. One liberal ideological assumption of importance in nursing is individualism: a doctrine whereby individuals’ autonomy, initiatives, actions, and responsibilities are ethically paramount. The responsibility of health and that of healthcare fall directly on the individual. In effect, through the discourses of health promotion, empowerment, and self-care discourses, nurses have contributed to the liberal ideology through individualism in healthcare (Browne, 2001; Holmes & Gastaldo, 2002; Lupton, 2013). Individualism has gone on to affect various other discourses in the social and medical sciences. Disciplinary power has energized a constellation of synergistic discourses that order, control, and use bodies: the connection of disciplinary discourses takes the shape of a hegemonic disciplinary assemblage.

Through the continuous exercise of these power relations in particular contexts, assemblages become violently striated. A normalizing society produces heavily striated territories, grid-like spaces where assemblages become fixed. Deleuze (1992) posits that “the state relies on structural and lawful violence whose institutional manifestations are located in several apparatuses: penal, psychiatric and public health, to name a few” (p. 18). By virtue of these power centres, disciplinary institutions crystallize their systems of meaning, functioning, and social relations. In sum, disciplinary power engenders striation; it claims a territory; it reinforces and reproduces meaning and function; it inscribes bodies with identity and practice.

9. Apparatus of Capture

In machinic assemblages, through the striating forces of disciplinary power, connections are structured and rooted. Connections may become unyielding and static, at which point the flow of machines in the assemblage loses its fluid and flexible composition. When this happens, the assemblage is captured. This represents a shift toward an arborescent structure, the antithesis of the rhizome.

Once a rhizome has been obstructed, *arborified*, it's all over, no desire stirs; for it is always by rhizome that desire moves and produces. Whenever desire climbs a tree, internal repercussions trip it up and it falls to its death, the rhizome, on the other hand, acts on desire by external, productive outgrowths. (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 14).

There are forces that attempt to block the creative process of assemblages, ensuring that they comply to a territory, a system of grids. These assemblages become heavily stratified or fixed, and they do not enter new becomings. An apparatus of capture is suffused by discursive grids traced out by hegemonic institutions that over-code and violently stratify connections between machines until they resemble tree-like structures. Becoming is transmuted into the being of a blocked knot in a rhizome. Grids threaten a subject's potential to "become other"; the subject is caught between the fix and the flux, the stratified and the smooth, the norm and the margin. The heavily striated and coded space becomes a static monolithic grid dictating the ways machines connect. These knots in the rhizomes, like seeds with a pre-programmed code sequence, give rise to trees that stake a territory. When captured, the assemblage is no longer in flux. Connections remain static. We move from machinic assemblage in flux to machinic assemblage in fix when we pass from the experimentation of the rhizome to the dependency of the tree. The apparatus of capture is a blocked rhizome, a space of stifled creativity where function and meaning are fixed and normalized. The disciplinary technologies discussed above maintain the viability of the tree-like apparatus.

Analogous to apparatuses of capture, Foucault's notion of apparatus (*dispositif*) depicts systems of thought that hold dominion over all knowledge formation within specific

institutionalized disciplines. These systems of thoughts are regimes of truth, or trees. Foucault defines an apparatus as:

[A] thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions—in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements. (Foucault, 1980, p. 194–195)

When speaking of a “heterogeneous ensemble” and a “system of relations” between various elements, there is clear similarity between apparatuses and assemblages. In referencing Foucault’s university lectures, Legg (2011) states that Foucault even used the term “assemblage” when speaking of the system of relations within apparatuses. However, Foucault’s definition of an apparatus—a hegemonic worldview that dominates through heterogeneous sets of discursive and non-discursive power tactics implemented by various bodies, institutions, regulations, laws, or moral propositions—resembles a heavily territorialized assemblage that resists deterritorialization (Legg, 2011). That which is an apparatus to Foucault is an apparatus of capture to Deleuze and Guattari. Thus, apparatuses are captured assemblages. The subject of Foucault’s work pertains often to the stratification of apparatuses through the mechanics of power (i.e., the apparatuses of criminality, psychiatry, and sexuality) (Legg, 2011).

Apparatuses function through power relations, or forces that produces specific effects through particular tactics; within these power relations, it is the strategies and technologies of power that ensure the dominance of a specific apparatus and its body of knowledge. In Foucault’s (1980) words:

[T]he apparatus is essentially of a *strategic* nature, which means assuming that it is a matter of a certain manipulation of relations of forces, either developing them in a particular direction, blocking them, stabilising them, utilising them, etc. The apparatus is thus always inscribed in a play of power but is also always linked to certain coordinates of knowledge which issue from it but, to an equal degree, condition it. This is what the apparatus consists in: strategies of relations of forces supporting, and supported by, types of knowledge. (p. 197)

Within these dominant assemblages, there is a reproduction and reinforcement of discursive and non-discursive practices surrounding the truth of perceptions, thoughts, and actions. Power is strong because it influences subjects' desires and behaviours (Foucault, 1980). The truth and norms are fixed and controlled within apparatuses. The norms are maintained through power relations. Space is continually policed, and transgressing its borders is arduous.

The public health apparatus, for instance, is an apparatus of capture in the sense that it dictates the rules of safe sexual practices. It produces the framework of what *can* be officially known about sex, sexuality, and sex work. It does so in conjunction with many other hegemonic discourses in associated disciplines. "In Foucault's conception," state McHoul and Grace (1997), "'sexuality' refers to a historically constructed apparatus: a dispersed system of morals, techniques of power, discourses and procedures designed to mould sexual practices towards certain strategic and political ends" (p. 77). Truths about normal and deviant sexuality are propagated by moral, legal, psychological, and medical institutions. Broadly speaking, sex in a private place between a man and woman with the intention of procreation is considered normal sexual behaviour. Conversely, an individual is considered deviant and in need of disciplinary intervention when their sexuality is used otherwise (e.g., sex for pleasure or sex work). In Western healthcare, official public health discourses maintain a certain way of being in relation to sexuality through bio-political disciplinary technologies.

In Western societies, failure to comply to norms of sexuality, such as engaging in the sex industry, is framed as a personal and moral failure. When individual liberties and personal responsibility are the acme of our late modern societies, lack of self-control is shameful. The public's shaming and stigmatizing practices of those involved in sex work exist as exclusionary and coercive practices to correct individuals to the established norms. The public health apparatus dominates the ways we understand our bodies and our sexual practices (Lupton, 2013). The technologies of panoptic surveillance, normalizing judgement, and the examination are used to this end. In short, neoliberal political and economic ideologies and disciplinary assemblages of

public health are complicit in the social control of populations. The public health apparatus constrains the connections between sexual machines and fixes the movement of assemblages to one set of coordinates.

Discourses of risk are deployed to refer to connections that do not conform to the hegemonic apparatuses. Risk has become a disciplinary force whereby populations and individuals are monitored and managed through the goals of neo-liberalism. In this sense, risk is an integral part of the installation of disciplinary power within public health interventions.

Bio-power helps us to explain the mechanisms that have promoted the internalization of risk and have thus allowed nurses to label everything a risk. [...] Using this context as a lens [the use of disciplinary technologies of observation, normalizing judgement and the examination], the concept of risk can be seen to have been amalgamated with that of disciplinary power; and nowhere is this combination more evident in health care, with nurses as its agents. (O'Byrne & Holmes, 2007, pp. 97–99)

Subjects or objects that do not conform to the normalizing gaze are deemed to be a risk. Consequently, rather than being inherently risky, environments and practices become *imbued* with risk. For instance, Holmes, O'Byrne, and Murray (2010) argue that glory-hole sex is part of the glory-hole-using assemblage and that it is risky from a public health perspective because it is a potential vector of STIs. Here, we have an example of health and moral discourses being mobilized by an apparatus through power relations to form specific striated assemblages. These assemblages become fixed and are reduced to one becoming, one potential. The risky individual that is part of the risky assemblage becomes stratified into the public health discourse assemblage; data stemming from surveillance technologies and managed by various agencies in various locations reproduce these machinic assemblages. In short, the prevalent theorization and common knowledge of risk is an assemblage that presents as a technique of social control functioning through disciplinary power relations. The risk assemblage is also a part of the public health assemblage; the two operate symbiotically. Through specific public health discourses, knowledge construction, and strategies of power relations, specific behaviours *become* health

risks; the produced truths of risks related to specific populations become the basis for interventions (Lupton, 2013).

10. Deterritorialization and Lines of Flight

When speaking of environments with different degrees of flux between the territorialization/deterritorialization/reterritorialization process, some milieus favour the creation of new connections and allow multiplicities to flourish, whereas others disable the formation of new connections. In the latter case, in an arborescent space, assemblages become exceedingly machinic and their connections are caught in an apparatus of capture. That is, each new connection, each new assemblage carries with it forces that seek to govern its parts within the discourse that led to the inception of that specific assemblage. In the former case, connections become destabilized and decoded, which leads to the formation of new becomings. Desire produces movements that seek connections as well as freedom from those connections. As we have previously stated, lines of territorialization and deterritorialization co-exist. Therefore, even in a captured assemblage, a blocked rhizome, there is always the virtual potential that connections will rupture; here the assembled machines will return to a state of flux and experimentation. Creative production is reenergized as a result.

The territorial assemblage is inseparable from lines or coefficients of deterritorialization, passages, and relays toward other assemblages. [...] Whenever a territorial assemblage is taken up by a movement that deterritorializes it (whether under so-called natural or artificial conditions), we say that a machine is released. (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 333)

When an environment allows multiplicities to flourish, the hierarchical order of things dissolves, and the social structure becomes free-flowing. The breaking away from apparatuses of capture is natural because the assemblage process seeks freedom from old connections: assemblage processes force ruptures and breaks to form new connections, to engage with different machines. This happens via a decoding process whereby machines and their connections change territories and embark into new flows. In effect, machines shift closer to the unfixed and continually shifting

mass of movement, speed, and flows of the BwO. During deterritorialization of machinic assemblages, machines and flows circulate rhizomatically in different lines, lines of flight. Engaging in lines of flight can “enable one to blow apart strata, cut roots, and make new connections. Thus, there are very diverse map-tracing, rhizome-root assemblages, with variable coefficients of deterritorialization” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 15).

Let’s take the example of music composition. Within a given school of classical music, it is possible for a composer to write an original piece of music. However, for this piece to be credible within the official institutions of classical music, the score must meet specific standards and criteria. Initially the musician might form original connections between scales, notes, rests, rhythm, and tempo which will lead to a new assemblage. However, this new classical composition quickly falls victim to stratification through coding that fixes the piece of music within the classical music paradigm. In contrast, Deleuze and Guattari reference the Canadian composer Glenn Gould, who resisted the violent territorialization of classical piano music (Gould was heavily criticized for his transgressive interpretations of J. S. Bach). In this way, Glenn Gould deterritorialized fixed musical assemblages. “Music has always sent out lines of flight, like so many ‘transformational multiplicities,’ even overturning the very codes that structure or arborify it; that is why musical form, right down to its ruptures and proliferations, is comparable to a weed, a rhizome” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 11–12). The process of deterritorialization of an assemblage is best illustrated by the cutting away of existing connections. The creative process is first of all one of anarchy: “[t]he rhizome operates by variation, expansion, conquest, capture, offshoots...” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 19). Deterritorialization happens when connections, intensities, and desires cease to exist through the configuration of the previous territory in which they found themselves; they become de-stratified.

Another element of deterritorialization worth mentioning is its transgressive character. Our “[b]odies, in short, from their leaky fluids to their overflowing desires and voracious appetites, are first and foremost transgressive” (Williams, 1998, p. 438). What is needed to dismantle a captured

territory, to create destabilizing connections, to decode an assemblage's programming, are actions that are steeped in an all-out embrace of change, of experimentation, of new flowing intensities. Deterritorialized assemblages are not transgressive for the sake of being transgressive or non-conformist. Rather, the potential for creating a new becoming (e.g., new subjectivities, new experiences, new ideas) is what is sought through the transgressive process. Transgression is defined by the action of breaking away from norms, mandates, conventions, and boundaries. Territories and apparatuses of capture become deeply interwoven within these boundaries over time and disable creative processes. As such, transgression in the form of deterritorialization is not only a chaotic process, but also a creative one. We see transgression—and thus creation—when practitioners and academics challenge their disciplinary conventions; we see it when stigmatized and disenfranchised groups protest for their human rights; rather than seeing transgression as defiance or insubordination toward a hierarchy, we must see it as a political fight for new connections and potentially new becomings. Deleuze and Guattari call for the retention of that which augments the number of connections. What they meant by this, as a form of ethics, is to privilege the “and” of connections and flows instead of the “is” of identity. As such, a Deleuzian–Guattarian ethics is an induction toward movement, an induction to dissolve blocked rhizomes, to embrace a world of flux (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

Again, music is a great example to illustrate transgression in the form of rhizomatic movement. Music is an assemblage, and like assemblages, to paraphrase John Cage, “music is always there, one needs only listen.” John Cage was an American avant-garde 20th century musical composer known for his creation of unorthodox pieces of *formless* music which profoundly influenced future generations—his work is linked to the creation of experimental music such as *musique concrète* and sound collage. Cage endorsed experimental art performances which emphasize the artistic process over the finished product, such as those engaged in by the international community Fluxus in the 1960s and 1970s (Fluxus is a group populated by artists, composers, poets, designers, architects, chefs, mathematicians, economists, strippers, etc.).

John Cage and his successors sought to work in rhizomatic environments whereby their creations had no *a priori* relation to previous works. For instance, Cage would regularly transgress the parameters of artistic creation and the disciplinary boundaries of musical composition and reinvent what was possible to play and record by changing the sounds of a piano by using objects placed between the strings, or by retuning the strings (refer to John Cage, *Sonatas & Interludes for Prepared Piano*). During one concert (*Variations IV*), Cage had placed microphones in various areas of the concert hall to record the unique and haphazard connections between sounds (microphones were placed in the audience, at the bar, even outside on the street). Other pre-recorded sounds were also mixed into these new sounds by Cage, his associates, and the sound technicians. The result was an original assemblage of sounds fuelled by experimentation. In his worldview, there is no such thing as silence: for Cage, *everything is music*. 4'33" is the title of Cage's most iconic piece whereby the musician is instructed to not play his or her instrument for a sonata of three musical movements lasting for a total duration of four minutes and thirty-three seconds. Ambient sounds become part of his pieces of music. Therefore, his music is in a way rhizomatic, whereas traditional music is arborescent since it follows preordained disciplinary rules and standards. Cage did not want to *control* how the piece of music sounded; conversely, he wanted music to flow unobstructed from within. Through his compositions, Cage was able to tap into a creative flow which led to the formation of new ideas (engaging in new lines of flight). He states in an interview with Richard Kostelanetz: "I can't understand why people are frightened of new ideas. I'm frightened of the old ones" (Richard Kostelanetz, 2003). In other words, Cage created unorthodox assemblages of music by composing by chance, by removing what he called his ego from the creative process. Cage argued that one should embark on the process of artwork without a conception of its end. The creative process is privileged over the product. Likewise, assemblages are defined by Deleuze and Guattari as a process of fixing and flux that has neither beginning nor end. Therefore, the analogy between experimental music and lines of flight is

appropriate. Music is a medium through which one can experiment with new flows to form new connections through a process of deterritorializing previously stratified assemblages.

It is through lines of flight that people can escape stratification and the violence of normalization and move toward a nomadic state, thereby resisting the violence of capture (Patton, 2000). For Deleuze and Guattari, it is the nomadic subject that embodies resistance to social order and institutionalized norms: “he affirms his own nature, his own ethics” (Patton, 2000, p. 17). In the end, the subject can enter a process of metamorphosis and become other. And to become other, a subject must challenge what is normally expected of him or her. “Becoming is like the machine: present in a different way in every assemblage, passing from one to the other, opening one onto the other, outside any fixed order or determined sequence” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 347). The capacity for assemblages to continually become other, to cut away from one’s former connections and form new ones, is an expression of rhizomatic processes.

Becoming other and engaging in rhizomatic thinking and doing is actualized in a smooth space. This *smooth space* is an area that is without differentiation. In contrast, *place* is an area which has been *striated*, meaning circumscribed and regulated. Deleuze and Guattari use the metaphor of the desert and the city to illustrate the difference between the two. The smooth represents a space that has been deterritorialized, whereby lines of flight take off in various directions (like the various offshoots of a rhizome or like the boundless topography of a desert), and where multiple different becomings may materialize. The striated represents places that have been subjected to territorializations and reterritorializations. The striated place is governed toward a particular state of being, and connections are pinned down (such as the fixity of streets and avenues in a city’s cartography). Striated places claim a territory and an identity; they are differentiated from other places. Conversely, a smooth place is where territories and identity have not yet materialized but may do so under certain conditions. Further, According to Deleuze and Guattari:

[T]he two spaces in fact exist only in mixture: smooth space is constantly being translated, transversed into a striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space. In the first case, one organizes even the desert; in the second, the desert gains and grows; and the two happen simultaneously. (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 474–475).

This illustrates that smooth and striated spaces, stratified and de-stratified connections, rhizomatic and arborescent creations, are not mutually exclusive; rather, space and place both have smooth and striated expressions. The smooth space is rhizomatic, a free-flowing space which allows assemblages and machines to experiment in their interconnections. In this space, the creative potential of desire attains its culmination.

By virtue of continually becoming other, the machines and assemblages never cease to cut away (to transgress) from their former connections and boundaries. This is of interest in this study seeing that male strippers working in MSCs find themselves saturated by marginal experiences, transgressive practices, and work between the boundaries of right and wrong, good and bad. It is the factors that enable or disable strippers from becoming other by forming new connections that interests us in this study for these factors will grant us entry into understanding the flows of strippers' interaction processes with their clients, enabling a study of the flow of connections.

11. Reterritorialization

Once an assemblage becomes deterritorialized, cut away from prior connections, the mass of heterogeneous elements will take on new lines of flight and plug themselves into new receptors. This process of “cut-and-plug...cut-and-plug...cut-and-plug” of flowing and intersecting lines in the rhizome is perpetual. New machines and new territories emerge. Flows are expressed differently as the machines reorganize. As a result of this process, the connections of assemblages become reterritorialized and potentially embody new codes, new functions, and new subjectivities, experiences, and thoughts (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

Live jazz music is often a harmony of improvised sounds. In it there is a constant tension between musicians as they continually rearrange the piece of music based on varying flight paths. By this we mean that each musician, in turn, will co-opt the flow of music by plugging in her own improvised solo riffs which will generate new musical connections each time. The composition of live jazz music is always changing, never fixed, continually forming new territories and breaking away from old ones. Compared to an orchestra, jazz bands serve as a better illustration for the ephemeral connections of assemblages insofar as they are always in the process of *becoming something else*. In jazz, the same parts may reconnect with one another, but the result is never the same. Between different sections of a jazz band, assemblages are being constructed and deconstructed.

Another example is that of group sex between men. Holmes, O'Byrne, and Murray (2010) state that the single monogamist male that becomes an "orgiastic" male through group sex is continuously transforming himself through the various assemblages formed during the sexual interactions of group sex events. They state that group sex assemblages are perpetually transforming themselves "into other assemblages, breaking apart and having its sub-assemblages growing into, joining, or producing, in their turn, other assemblages" (p. 254). New territories are formed, old ones abolished. For the orgiastic man and the jazz musician alike, the activity in which they are engaged, the flux of flows and machines, has the effect of generating new functions, subjectivities, and experiences each time. Connections are re-stratified into a new and transgressive body. When machinic assemblages transgress delimited territories and colonize new ones—through deterritorialization and reterritorialization—it is because they have followed lines of flight and lines of segmentarity.

Despite these ostensibly liberating connections and experimental encounters, the reterritorialization of deterritorialized assemblages is subject to over-coding and co-dependency in forming connections which can lead to capture. There is always a temptation to fix an identity on assemblages, to crystallize their form, even for the ones who promise continuous revolutions

between territories. Therefore, resistance against and liberation from one apparatus of capture may quickly lead to identification with another. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) teach us that resistance must be mindful of the ways liberation itself is colonized. The process of becoming can be both liberating and enslaving.

12. Summary of Theoretical Framework

To summarize, our theoretical framework provides us with a set of interconnected concepts (an assemblage) to make sense of the social world as something in perpetual motion. Life is a flowing rhizome always in the process of becoming. The universe and life are sets of rhizomes within rhizomes. These rhizomes are a-centred and non-hierarchical, they are made up of lines of segmentation and lines of flight that flow in various directions. The growth of the rhizome is fuelled by desire production. Desire is responsible for all material expressions of the rhizome. Our framework draws extensively on Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 2009) and emphasizes the notion that social phenomena are always in a state of flux and perpetual becoming. There are no fixed and static meanings, identities, or functions to things. Meaning, identity, and function can only be known in the way bodies (machines) connect in a given situation. Machines are produced expressions emerging from the flow of desire. In turn, machines reinforce this flow: desire machines. Desire machines connect to form machinic assemblages. Their connection and co-functioning also generate a flow: a flow of cars, a flow of people, a flow of words, a flow of bile, a flow of pleasure.

Machines and machinic assemblages are subject to forces of territorialization, a movement toward stratification. Territorialization is operationalized through power relations and the effects of disciplinary power. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) state that machines internalize these disciplinary forces, an effect of micro-fascism. When machines and assemblages are too heavily territorialized, they are captured in a positive feedback vortex. They cause blockages on the rhizome; they grow trees. Nonetheless, given that lines of flight are always present to some

extent, apparatuses of capture and territorialized machinic assemblages can be deterritorialized when machines engage in flows that cut away from previous connections. Deterritorialization is a movement toward the BwO where machines and connections are dis-organ-ized, and machines are liberated through lines of flight and can engage with different machines and cut into new flows. In this state, becoming enters its most creative state. Reterritorialization ensues and the process is repeated indefinitely.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) endorse the smoothing out of spaces, the experimentation with rhizomatic thought, the act of *becoming minor*. *Becoming* denotes an action of perpetual flux, something that is infinitely unfinished; it is the fundamental state of the universe. Assemblages are becomings that alternate between smooth and striated spaces. Becoming forces a creative process by propelling subjectivities into new ways of thinking and being. Assemblages are fixed when they become dependent upon a given flow, they become dependent upon segmented lines. Bodies may *become minor* when they reject the cultural and social structures that erect hegemonic power and norms. Thus, to be minor is to be part of a counterculture that does away with trees. There are knots of arborescence in all rhizomes, and there are rhizomatic offshoots in all knots of arborescence. To engage in rhizomatic thought and behaviour, one must seek the lines of flight without the knots. Rather than recoiling in fear away from change and perceiving only negative risk and deviance in novel connections, Deleuze and Guattari advocate for an ethics whereby engaging in the process of becoming is the most authentic outlet for creativity and growth: an ethics of flow. They endorse a life where we seek new connections and embrace fluidity and impermanence. In short, becoming minor is a process of deterritorialization and an engagement with marginal spaces to energize a creative and experimental experience: all lines of flight and desires become available, all assemblages are possible, violent stratification and normalization are overthrown.

In relation to our study, the described framework enabled a thorough exploration of the social connections that constitute strippers' work experiences in a MSC. As the reader will learn

in chapters five and six, the chosen concepts elucidate the assemblage process that unfold in a MSC. In this sense, we learn about male stripping culture through the territorializing and deterritorializing movement of flows between machines inside and outside the club.

CHAPTER 4 – METHODOLOGY

1. Research Design

The critical ethnography methodology enabled us to shed light on strippers' values, customs, and worldviews. Through its methods, we elucidated factors that influence their health and safety outcomes regarding their negotiation practises with clients. It was the best suited qualitative research methodology to achieve our research aims.

Historically, ethnography stems from a disciplinary focus on human culture by schools within anthropology and sociology (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). It emerged as a colonial methodology used for studying non-European ethnic groups (O'Byrne & Holmes, 2008). Early works indicated motivations of cultural, political, and economic conquest and were fuelled by Eurocentric assumptions. Consequently, many ethnographies have made sweeping and false generalizations about non-European ethnic groups. Ethnographers would purport to have captured a culture's essence, thereby forming a basis for intervention within the studied communities. Ethnography's heritage is problematic, to say the least. Stigma, marginalization, discrimination, abuse: these are the effects of an unethical and narrow work of ethnography. Today—since the critique of positivism by philosophers of science, professionals, and academics, as well as the crisis of representation in qualitative research—researchers can no longer allege to have “captured” a culture's essence. Personal accountability for our conduct in research and reflexive practice about our findings' effects are now critical elements of an ethical practice. Additionally, insofar as ethnographers once believed in impartiality, we now presuppose that every step of research is inextricably biased; ethnographers must work to reveal their personal, professional, and political biases in research so that history does not repeat itself in the form of neo-colonial research.

Thanks to epistemological developments in the philosophy of science, ethnographers can now construct *culture* as a “learning device” for uncovering the norms, values, beliefs, ontologies,

ideologies, and social constructs that shape how certain groups and populations think and behave (Monaghan & Just, 2000). What defines ethnography, regardless of the academic tradition, is the study of people's lives through observations and social interactions to produce a communal portrait. Culture is fluid in the sense that it does not start and stop in precise mental or physical locations; cultural components intersect across many communities simultaneously. For example, the same cultural elements present in a long-term psychiatric patient community may also be present in a community of prison inmates. Besides the obvious contextual differences, both communities may adopt analogous beliefs, behaviours, norms, and habits regarding confinement and institutionalization. By studying two seemingly exclusive cultural groups, we may find that they are not so different.

Critical ethnography espouses a different ontology and epistemology in comparison to conventional ethnography. Rather than reporting on a culture's natural state, the critical ethnographer seeks to challenge taken-for-granted assumptions to reveal social injustices and systems of constraints within an indeterminate, socially constructed, multiple, and fluid reality. This methodology, according to Thomas (1993), "offers a more direct style of thinking about the relationships among knowledge, society, and political action" (p. vii). Researchers are impelled to produce emancipatory change for the studied populations. Critical ethnography enables a preliminary understanding of why things are the way they are, and follows through by challenging the *status quo*, advocating for individuals living in marginal and vulnerable situations, and revealing insidious systems of oppression. During this study, we unearthed hidden agendas, asymmetrical power relations, and cultural assumptions that influenced strippers' ability to negotiate safe sexual transactions with their clients. By framing this study as a critical investigation, we delineated and interpreted the various factors that engender health and safety issues encountered by strippers. Sources of data that shed light upon the oppressive, stigmatizing, and constraining elements in MSCs were emphasized.

The politically driven spirit of this methodology, we would add, is a defining feature of critical ethnography. The critical ethnographer stakes a political claim in protest to the social oppression lived by the research population to effect change. Although, some might argue that our approach is one of postmodern ethnography, especially given the weight of postmodern concepts—poststructuralist concepts in our case—throughout the theoretical framework. Even so, we maintain that the use of postmodern theorization does not preclude the use of critical ethnography nor does it qualify it as a veritable postmodern ethnography. A postmodern ethnography would adhere to a radical skepticism toward the utility and stability of all theoretical constructs. Therefore, and in contrast to postmodern ethnographies, the poststructuralist theoretical construct in this thesis enables an active political stance; our presence in the data analysis process, in the activity of writing, and in the furthering of a particular narrative of change in the world of stripping and MSW is guided by theoretical concepts. In this way, the thesis subscribes to the tenets of critical ethnography.

This study was guided by the methodological principles outlined in Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*; Madison (2005), *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance*; Thomas (1993), *Doing Critical Ethnography*; and Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011), *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. In the sex work industry, an ethnographic approach is arguably the most fruitful methodology insofar as it produces high-quality and in-depth accounts of clandestine social activities (Sanders, 2006). Moreover, based on previous MSW and male stripping research in Canada and in the U.S., we found that qualitative and ethnographic methods such as purposive and snowball sampling, field observations, questionnaires, and interviews were most frequently employed (Boden, 2007; DeMarco, 2002, 2007; Kaufman, 2009; Pilcher, 2011; Raible, 2011; Scull, 2013).

In this study, the gatekeepers and participants entrusted us with a privileged viewpoint into MSW interactions by allowing us to collect data concerning the interplay of sexual service negotiations. To narrow the knowledge gap in this domain, our findings provide high-quality

descriptions and interpretations of strippers' health and safety concerns. They also favour emancipatory knowledge in the sense that new directions in the MSW and male stripping industry are delineated. Bearing this in mind, our findings set the stage for a transformative critique of the *status quo* in health policy and health practices in all matters relating to MSW and male stripping (Thomas, 1993).

2. Research Setting and Entering the Field

We initially foreshadowed the study by completing a literature review on the topic of MSW and stripping (see chapter two). This contextualized the research problem, demonstrated the necessity of such a study, legitimized participants' experiences, and assisted us in negotiating our access to the field. This preliminary reading also helped us familiarize ourselves with the MSW industry and increased our level of comfort when navigating the research terrain.

For researchers and health professionals, entering sex work settings is a challenging task given the covert and criminalized nature of the industry (Bungay, Oliffe, & Atchison, 2015). Similarly, owners, managers, and sex workers may be suspicious of unknown inquirers (Sanders, 2006). Asymmetries in power relations can also hinder the ethnographic research process. Therefore, negotiating access and establishing a relationship of trust with "gatekeepers" is crucial. (Gatekeepers are individuals, such as owners, managers, or security guards, who police entry into social settings.) Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) state that negotiation refers to the "wide-ranging and subtle process of manoeuvring oneself into a position from which the necessary data can be collected" (p. 62). In this study, a working relationship with the MSC owners and managers was successfully established and maintained. While negotiating our access, the owners clearly stated that their main concern was related to the anonymity and confidentiality aspects of the study (these aspects are discussed in this chapter's ethics section). Once the study purpose and aims were discussed and agreed upon, access to the club's public spaces was granted for participant recruitment and field observations. Permission to access the club for research

purposes was procured before acquiring the University of Ottawa's Research Ethics Board certificate of approval.

3. Sampling and Recruiting

To achieve the research aims, 14 strippers employed in a Canadian MSC were recruited for the study. The average value for participants' months of employment was 22.3 months; one stripper had as much as 72 months of experience, while another had been a stripper for one month only. The youngest participant was 18 and the oldest was 45 years old, the average age being 26 years with a standard deviation of six years. Regarding gender, 11 identified as male, two as non-binary, and one as feminine. The sample consisted of Caucasian men in the majority; however, one participant was Asian, one was African-Canadian, and another was Latino. French was preferred by 57.14% of participants as their language of choice; English was preferred by 28.57%; 14.29% were ambivalent. The sample's level of education ranged from primary school to university studies. One participant had completed a bachelor's degree, three had obtained college diplomas, nine had completed their secondary education, and one had dropped out of formal education before his secondary studies. Regarding their work history, eight of the fourteen participants had secondary employment in a field other than stripping at the times of our meetings. Concerning their sexual preferences at work, five participants reported engaging in sexual services with women only, and four with men. Three participants reported engaging in sexual services with both men and women, and two included transsexual people in their sexual preferences also. In sum, our sample was heterogeneous on various levels and illustrated the diversity of male strippers working in the stripping industry (refer to appendix I for further sociodemographic information).

In the studied MSC, full nudity and a certain level of contact between strippers and clients was permitted. To be eligible for this study, participants needed to be strippers working in a Canadian MSC (or formerly working as strippers in the past five years). Moreover, the participants needed to confirm that they offered private booth services to male clients while working. Finally,

participants were required to be at least 18 years of age. They were screened for eligibility once they contacted us by telephone before meeting in person.

The primary recruiting strategy used both French and English posters (see appendix A and B). These posters outlined the proposed study without referring to MSM or MSW. The listed purpose was to recruit “male strippers” to a “research project concerning workplace health and safety issues within male strip clubs.” Further, the posters stated that participants were accepted on a first-come-first-served basis (until data saturation was reached) and that the potential participants would receive \$60 as compensation for their contribution.⁴² The posters asked that those interested in the study contact us by text message or telephone (the mobile number was listed on the posters) to learn more about the implications of their participation. The pay-as-you-go telephone used for communicating with strippers was solely reserved for research purposes. The posters also specified that all communications with the research team would remain confidential and that strippers’ identity would stay anonymous. At our request, the owners displayed the posters in the areas of the club reserved for strippers and staff members (primarily in the strippers’ locker room). By keeping the posters private, we ensured the MSC clients had no knowledge of our study.

The posters in the targeted MSC were not the only ones used for recruiting. The same posters were placed in sexual health clinics and community health organizations stationed in the MSC’s vicinity. By placing posters in different settings, we increased our odds of recruiting participants. This meant that recruited participants might be employed in a MSC other than the one used for field observations. Therefore, rather than studying the stripper culture in a single setting, we looked at the cultural elements of Canadian male strippers generally. In this sense, our sample extends beyond strict spatial boundaries. Stripper culture cannot be confined to a specific place (especially since the literature and this study demonstrate that strippers often

⁴² After discussing the matter of a monetary compensation with my thesis supervisor and the club owners, we agreed that the sum of money offered needed to be interesting enough to attract potential participants. I quickly learned that strippers are interested in being paid for their time, and therefore, a twenty-dollar compensation would not have sufficed for a one-hour meeting.

maintain work contracts in many clubs simultaneously). In brief, in any ethnography, the primary site of fieldwork should not and cannot embody a culture's alpha and omega. Lest we forget that culture is fluid and diffuse, this study reminds us that the stripper culture is projected beyond the walls of MSCs into other social fields. Nevertheless, field observations were carried out in one club to describe the Canadian MSC's physical, sensorial, and social context in a particular place and time. This allowed us to characterize the functions and features of the male stripping industry in Canada.

Besides the recruitment posters, brief interactions with strippers during field observations also allowed us to recruit participants. Strippers would sometimes approach us in the field; we would immediately inform the stripper of our role and research intentions. Further, the implications of the study for participation, the harms, and logistics were discussed. Some strippers were seemingly puzzled and frustrated by the invitation to participate. This may be because strippers typically do the proposing, rather than the client, or in this case, the researcher. However, one stripper was recruited through this approach. He was a stripper at the MSC but was not working that evening and had just come by to socialize. Initially, he admitted that he wanted to flirt; he was somewhat taken aback when he learned of our intentions. Nevertheless, his interest was piqued after a brief discussion; he eventually partook in the study and referred other participants.

We ensured that enough participants meeting the eligibility criteria were recruited through non-probabilistic sampling methods. When researching hard-to-reach populations (e.g., homeless people, injectable drug users, sex workers), various non-probabilistic methods exist: time-space sampling, purposeful sampling, snowball sampling, and respondent-driven sampling (Abdul-Quader, Heckathorn, Sabin, & Saidel, 2006; Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Bungay, Oliffe, & Atchison, 2015; Heckathorn, 1997). In Wahab et al.'s (2011) literature review of stripping, the authors note that most researchers use convenience, snowball, and purposive methods. Adequately representing sex workers is a strenuous feat due to their heterogeneity and socio-spatial marginalization, and the legal context in which they operate complicates the task. Further,

because of indoor sex workers' underrepresentation in scientific research, a dearth of knowledge impoverishes recruiting and sampling methods (Bungay, Oliffe, & Atchison, 2015, Faugier & Sargeant, 1997).

Nonetheless, participants were sampled according to the first three methods listed above. First, time-space sampling required our presence in the field to recruit participants in the same time-space region. Second, we used purposeful sampling to recruit the participants who aligned with our inclusion criteria. Third, snowball sampling (a chain-referral-type sampling method) encouraged participants to refer other potential participants to the research team. The latter approach befits the task of sampling hidden research populations (Atkinson & Flint, 2001).

Recruiting was challenging given our studies inclusion criteria, the stigmatized character of sex work and stripping in Western society, the legal status of sex work, and the project's ethical components. In effect, we required an opportunistic and eclectic sampling strategy. The study aimed to recruit at least 12 participants, and recruitment continued until data saturation was attained. Arguably, 12 participants are an adequate number to reach data saturation in qualitative studies (Guest, Bunce, Johnson, 2006). Thus, saturation piloted the research process by signalling the end of the recruitment and data collection phase (Mason, 2010).

During the first month of fieldwork, between June and July 2018, most participants had been recruited. We were delighted with the early enthusiasm for the study; however, once these participants completed their contribution, we found ourselves waiting longer to recruit new participants. It was only in September 2018, when we concluded the last interview, that data saturation was achieved. To measure saturation, we tracked the number of new codes emerging after each transcription analysis (see appendix C). By the time we analyzed the transcription for participant number 14, no new codes surfaced. This meant that the code and category structures sufficed to encapsulate that which was discussed in the final interviews. We also created a saturation table to track each code and category's saturation level (see appendix D). These tools helped us assess the level of saturation and decide when to end the recruitment stage.

4. Data Collection

The data collection methods focused on an etic vantage point (given the researchers' outsider perspectives). Thereby, field observations and our interpretations of the data produced an etic perspective of the MSC field activities. Through informal conversations in the MSC, questionnaire data, and semi-structured qualitative interviews, we were able to gaze into the world of male stripping without necessarily becoming part of its social matrix. In Wahab et al.'s (2011) literature review, field observations combined with in-person semi-structured interviews were noted as the most common methods of data collection. Ethnographers of all traditions use similar collection methods: direct field observation, formal or informal interviewing, questionnaires, gathering of artifacts, and literature reviews. The manner in which data is collected and analyzed and the manner in which the final report is written are the elements that differentiate critical ethnographers from conventional ones.

4.1. Field Observation

Field observations unfolded in one MSC where men dance for men (this particular club had a ladies' night once a week). Typically, we made our observations between the times of ten o'clock in the evening and two o'clock in the morning—these are the times when the club was busiest, although observations were also made in the early evening. We primarily went during the club's regular business nights; however, we likewise attended ladies' nights. We spent approximately 20 cumulative hours at the club between June and December 2018. We occupied time in the field as passive onlookers of social interactions and behaviours. The owners and managers were notified of our expected visits beforehand. Despite our best efforts to remain inconspicuous, we found it difficult to do so since this type of establishment vies on actively seeking out new clients. Moreover, we were aware of the Hawthorne effect when conducting field observations. This effect is manifest when the research participants modify their behaviour when they know they are being monitored by the researcher. Therefore, those who knew of our presence in the MSC possibly

altered their behaviours; whether this happened or not, the effect had no bearing on our study since we did not aim to capture the club's "natural" state.

Once at the club, we would normally start by ordering a non-alcoholic drink from the bartender (e.g., soda with lime)—with a drink in hand, our credibility as clients increased. Next, we would sit in different locations during each separate occasion of observation, usually on the outskirts to blend in with the other patrons and not arouse suspicion. We were quickly approached by strippers on different occasions. In contrast, there were evenings when we were not once approached. We did not engage in service negotiations of any kind with strippers or clients (e.g., courting a stripper, going to a private booth, purchasing substances from a stripper or a client). When interacting with us, strippers were immediately notified of our identity and purpose if they had not already been informed by others. While in the club, some strippers had previous knowledge of who we were and why we were there. However, we discovered that many did not know who we were once they approached us because the managers might have forgotten to alert them of our presence on a given evening.

Regarding our relation to clients, it was impossible for them to know that we were in the club because we acted as casual clients who kept to themselves (we did not wear name tags or any other identifying items or clothing). There were times when clients approached us to socialize. In these cases, we did not reveal our true identity to them. Rather, they were led to believe we were passing through the city and were only interested in grabbing a drink to relax for a few hours. We felt as though the clients who spoke to us did not suspect otherwise. The reason for remaining covert within the crowd of clients was to protect strippers' and the club's anonymity, and to maintain the confidentiality of all information associated with the study (see the section on research ethics below). Further, by concealing the study from clients, strippers were spared the unease of needing to answer questions from curious clients. In short, those who needed to know about the study knew with full transparency.

During our observation, we mentally noted elements relating to the environment and social behaviours that occurred within the club's public areas. These observations were immediately recorded in an electronic fieldnote journal once exiting the research field (at times, we could inconspicuously jot down simple notes in a notepad application on a smartphone). Organized by date and time, the fieldnote journal entries were written in a Microsoft Word document. Fieldnotes were recorded through the principles outlined in *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes* (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Incomplete, disjointed, or inaccurate data is a limitation of retrospective journal writing. Due to humans' inability to recall and memorize past events without flaws, fieldnotes should not be understood as a "real" representation of the field. Forgetting, as much as remembering, is a process that impacts the writing of an ethnographic journal (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007)—this factor adds weight to the argument that researchers influence the writing process and the results of their study. The following paragraphs synthesize our observations in the MSC.

The Space

From the outside, the MSC gave off an impression of entertainment, sex, and intimacy. We saw large decals wrapped around the club's front façade of semi-nude strippers posing seductively in their vibrant underwear. Music played from the outside and multicolour lights flashed near the main entrance. Here, it was common for us to see shirtless strippers smoking cigarettes.

The space was dim⁴³ and made use of various lighting patterns with colourful spotlights and strobe lights. The club's sound environment was akin to that of any other nightclub. We heard various musical genres ranging from pop to rock, R&B, hip-hop, house music, and so on. The music would normally be energetic, rhythmic, and at times slow and sensual. We would hear

⁴³ Our observations were limited to the public areas of the club. The backstage areas were off-limits. Despite this, we learned during the study that the backstage areas normally comprised a locker room (sometimes with exercise equipment), a restroom, a common area for breaks, and the management office. It is in these areas that the recruitment posters were located. Further, other types of public health posters were sometimes advertised there as well.

money exchanging hands at the bar and bartenders making various cocktails or opening beer bottles. Conversations were muffled and incoherent, generally. Resounding laughter, cheering, and even yelling was overheard at times between various people.

The layout resembled that of a regular nightclub. There was a main rectangular bar with stools tucked under it and small tables and chairs placed around the main floor area. Seats were lined up along the stage's front edge where clients could sit close to the action. The centre of attention was the stage and stripping pole. The stage (measuring approximately six square metres) was higher than the rest of the floor area (this increased strippers' visibility). Fastened to the floor of the stage and the ceiling above was a shining metal stripping pole. A set of velvet curtains covered the backstage area—strippers emerged through them during their performances.

In the club space, we again saw large posters of semi-nude strippers displayed on the walls. Television screens played gay pornographic films on regular nights and heterosexual pornographic films on ladies' nights (the films were without audio output). These films sent a continuous sexual stimulus to clients. Tucked away in the back of the club space were slot machines for gambling. During observations, we always noted at least one gambling client. Two cash dispensers (ATMs) settled small corners in the club (one of which was beside the private booth space). The spending of money seemed to us an important element of this MSC, as it is with any other nightclub.

The private dance booths were at another end of the MSC. Multiple booths were lined up against one another. The dim to no lighting in or around the space made it difficult for us to assess the place. These rectangular booths measured approximately two metres long and one metre wide, just enough to fit a cushioned booth for the client, a stool for the stripper, and two or three adults. We would occasionally sit near this space; despite the proximity, we could not look into the booths since it was too dark. In contrast, the private booth experience between strippers and female clients was more conspicuous: the booths used on ladies' nights were closer to the dance

floor area, they had no curtains, and it was easy for anyone to look inside them. When we knew that a private dance was taking place (the stripper and client would retire together to the booth), we seldom saw the staff or managers patrol the area. In fact, we did not see much overt surveillance in the club other than from the doorman. At the time of the observation, we surmised that the absence of bouncers in the club was because strippers act as their own security. Regarding sexual services in the booths, a stripper informed us that if a client wanted anal sex, they would need to pay to bring them home.

We guessed that health organizations already intervened to some extent in this club. Near the client restrooms, we noted a condom and lubricant dispenser which appeared to be supplied by a community health organization since they had their name on the dispenser. The condoms and lubricants were available to all, free of charge. On one occasion, we noted that the dispenser was empty, but it was refilled later. Further, a billboard displayed posters near the entrance of the club: some related to public health and STI screening locations. The HIV medication Triumeq® (a combination of dolutegravir, abacavir, and lamivudine) was advertised on another.

Clients

The men who attended the club were of various age groups. Whether on a busier Friday or Saturday night, or even during the weekday evenings, we observed younger and older men ranging between the ages of 18 and 70 years approximately. The younger clients would arrive in groups; the older clients would often be at the club as couples or alone. The dress code also varied: during the week and earlier on in the evening, clients' dress was casual. During the busier nights, or for special events, one could see clients in club chic or business casual attire. On busy regular nights, we quickly counted over 60 clients; on the busier ladies' nights, over 150 clients were counted in the space (on ladies' nights, the ratio between men and women was the same). In contrast, during the least busy times, as few as zero to ten clients occupied the club. Most of the time, apart from the weekly ladies' nights, the milieu was strictly composed of men (there were

a few occasions when a woman was seen in the club on regular nights). During ladies' nights, we observed groups of women who appeared to be celebrating bachelorettes; in one case we observed the bride-to-be entering a private booth with a stripper. We noted different groups of women who acted rather familiar with other strippers and whom we suspected of being female strippers encouraging their male peers.

In the club, the clients seated near the stage were more immersed in the performances: they would socialize less amongst one another, and they would spend more time applauding and encouraging the strippers. The clients sitting further back socialized more amongst themselves or with strippers. They were sometimes interested in activities other than the ones taking place on stage (e.g., using their smartphones, playing billiards, or gambling on the slot machines). In general, male clients behaved more discreetly than female clients in that they would be less rowdy during strippers' performances.

We can testify that male clients will sometimes attempt to flirt with other male clients. In one instance, a client offered to buy us a drink, which we respectfully declined. In another instance, a client (somewhat intoxicated) asked us to join his group of friends; our refusal was invariable in these situations. Nonetheless, this illustrates that clients attempt to go home not only with strippers, but also with other clients.

Strippers

Strippers were Caucasian in the majority; however, we observed and met with strippers of different ethnic backgrounds (African and Middle Eastern). One stripper informed us that he believed over ninety percent of his peers to be heterosexual. According to the owners, strippers are typically between 18 and 24 years old and can make three to four thousand Canadian dollars per week. The owners told us that strippers vary in their education levels: some have no formal education, and some can be in their graduate studies. They are independent contractors, meaning that the club does not pay them a salary. The owners also state that they must respect a semi-

fixed schedule (if they want to work on the weekends, they must also be available to work during the weekdays). Despite this, the owner states that strippers are not reliable when it comes to scheduling.

We noted that strippers' physique and body type were not uniform. On certain nights, they would be of a slender and lean appearance (some even appearing skinny and worn down); this contrasts with the large and muscular strippers who would perform on other nights—usually the busier Friday and Saturday evenings and on ladies' nights. Moreover, we interviewed participants with very different looks. Many had a virile, muscular, and jock-like presentation (some with tattoos). Meanwhile, other strippers had a young, slender, and boyish appearance. As we learned through the interviews, different MSCs cater to audiences that desire specific types of strippers.

The owners stated that substance use is a significant issue leading to poor work performances. During informal conversations, a stripper stated that GHB, MDMA, and cocaine were the most popular drugs in MSCs. We learnt that the owners felt that they were at times managing a “sexual day care.” On some occasions, they needed to terminate strippers' work contracts when the strippers engaged in drug trafficking, drug use, or in illegal sexual conduct with clients in the private booths. The business entrepreneurs stated that they could lose their business licence if they were caught enabling illegal forms of sex work and drug use. Further, the owners stated that clients are normally the ones asking for extra services and that certain strip clubs are more lenient with this kind of behaviour—this raises clients' expectation as to what they can and cannot purchase in the club.

Social Interactions

While working and speaking to clients in the club's main floor area, strippers were often shirtless—this signalled to others that they were in fact a stripper and they were indeed open for business. Also, during their time walking around the floor area, strippers would spend time speaking to the

DJ or hanging out near his booth. When arriving at the club, strippers would normally see the DJ first and pay his fee.

Before strippers stepped on stage, the DJ would introduce them to the audience. The DJ also encouraged clients to show their appreciation and go for private dances with them if they enjoyed the performance. At one point, the DJ announced a special offer from the club: one free shooter of alcohol for clients who bought a private dance. In short, the observations revealed that a business relationship between the DJ and the stripper exists. Stage performances were announced at five- to ten-minute intervals. Strippers would begin by performing their “fast” dance (a faster and more athletic performance whereby strippers would continue wearing their pants or briefs) followed by a “slow” performance (during a “slow” dance, the stripper stages a sensual dance and undresses himself entirely).

During their stage performances,⁴⁴ strippers would undress from the waist down. Depending on the stripper and the time of the night, they would also appear on stage already fully naked and with erections (erections seemed difficult to sustain through the duration of their performance, since few were successful). Nonetheless, they would all tease the crowd by seductively fondling their genitals and approaching their penis to clients’ faces. On certain occasions, strippers would perform on stage with another stripper (the audience would become louder on these occasions). During ladies’ nights, strippers added more athletic movements and used the pole more frequently. The alternation between “fast” and “slow” productions remained the same on both regular and ladies’ nights. In brief, the performances were strong, virile, acrobatic, and erotic. Seldom did clients tip the strippers on stage. Occasionally, clients did so, and the stripper would do something special in return, such as letting him touch his body.

⁴⁴ We would show sober interest in the stage performances to note what took place and to solidify the credibility of our MSC client persona. On any given night, we would see up to ten strippers appear on stage. We sometimes felt uneasy observing strippers, potential participants, and past participants during their performances—it felt voyeuristic to a certain extent. However, the observations were not meant to scrupulously examine every aspect of strippers’ performances and their bodies. The aim was to understand the stage sequence and performance components.

After a stage performance, the stripper would proceed to walk around the main floor area in search of interested clients—they would often approach the older men seated near the stage. In general, the method seemed to be about seducing the client into buying a dance. Initiating a conversation through physical contact, sometimes precipitated by a graze of the thigh or a kiss on the cheek, was common. They would ask if they could sit with them awhile, whereby they could continue seducing the client (strippers will attempt to get very close physically). During informal conversations, the strippers who spoke to us stated that in their approach with clients, they would normally introduce themselves and ask how they were doing and what brought them to the club. At one point, we noted a client caressing a stripper from the back while standing, and he also reached his hands down the stripper's pants. It seemed that some are more discreet than others. Some would then retire to the private booths with a stripper. One client had gone to the booths with different strippers on different occasions throughout the night of observation. Sometimes strippers retired to the booths with two clients at once.

During their shifts, strippers spent most of their time socializing with clients, with different strippers, and with the club's staff members. To make money, strippers interact with many clients within a short span of time. For example, we noted a stripper talking to a man seated beside him at the bar. Five minutes later, he went to talk to another man; after a few minutes, they walked to the booths together. Another ten minutes after that, the stripper exited the booth space smiling and immediately went to see another client still. The social interactions occurred primarily in the public areas, outside (when strippers would get fresh air and sometimes smoke cigarettes), and in the backstage areas. When interacting with clients, strippers would now and again be drinking alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages, normally paid for by the clients as a gift. On one occasion, three strippers immediately approached a client that had just arrived and sat at a table. The client ordered each stripper a drink. More strippers came to his table to greet him and to socialize. Evidently, this client was a regular and had a certain dominion over strippers' interest.

When not working, strippers also spent time at the club to socialize, consume alcoholic drinks, encourage their peers, or flirt with clients. We once noticed a group of young men (off-the-clock strippers) sitting at a table close to the stage. They seemed well known with the other strippers; with drinks in their hands, they would cheer on and sometimes tease their peers while they were performing on stage.

In the beginning, given that MSCs were foreign to us, we were met with mild unease, self-doubt, and apprehension. We were more vigilant and sensitive to what we experienced at first. Further, we felt self-conscious when entering the establishment; we were initially concerned about being seen and judged by onlookers. However, the sense of purpose overshadowed our concerns and motivated us to continue.⁴⁵ With each new period of observation, we felt more at ease when entering the club space. Over time, as with anything, we became desensitized to our research environment. The pornography films that were playing, the homoerotic performances on stage, the intimate contact between strippers and clients all became less shocking to see. We felt that the overall mood in the club was pleasant, social, friendly, and unapologetically sexual. Another element worth mentioning regarding the field observations is that the focal point changed over time. When making our initial observations, we saw what was most apparent and striking: the homoerotic performances and interactions in the club. However, over time and through desensitization, we began to see further into a specific cultural scene: nuances and texture appeared.

⁴⁵ Excerpts from the doctoral candidate's reflexive journal: During my observations in the field, I felt various emotions. For instance, one cannot help but feel an inkling (or a rush) of sexual arousal when spending time in a strip club. Depending on one's sexual inclinations, one might be more or less aroused in a straight or in a gay strip club. Nonetheless, the sexually charged environment has paradoxical psychological effects: admiration and aversion, love and hate, pleasure and discomfort, titillation and agitation, and so on. In fact, these emotions, among many others, are not felt sequentially; they are part of a mixed and disorganized human experience. When I saw two men fondling one each other's genitals, I frankly did not know how to react or how I should feel. I did not feel any sexual attraction towards them, however, given the audience and the environment, I could sympathize somewhat with the sexual energy given off by the strippers. Further, when male clients would want to buy me drinks or when they would come to socialize with me or attempt to flirt, one cannot help but feel desired and feel a confidence boost regardless of one's sexual orientation. Again, during my first experiences in the field, I felt somewhat disquieted. Although, through my socialization in the field, things that would have ordinarily baffled me became rather normal and routine. Moreover, after I accepted the fact that nude men with erect penises were dancing on stage, I saw past the striking homoeroticism and appreciate the artistic qualities that the stage performances offered.

4.2. Questionnaires

Socio-demographic data about strippers were collected through a 32-question questionnaire; ten minutes sufficed to complete the questionnaire (see appendix E and F). The goal was to collect basic personal (socio-demographic) information about participants. No pre-testing was needed. This occurred when meeting participants privately, before the formal interview. The collected data proved beneficial in contextualizing the participant cohort in terms of their socio-demographic background and life circumstances. Each of the 14 participants agreed to complete the instrument before starting their interview. Questions about age, gender, ethnic origin, sexual preferences, relationship status, yearly income, level of education, spoken languages, years of experience as a stripper, types of sexual services offered to clients, number of sexual partners, drug use, HIV and STI status, and screening practices were asked in the questionnaire. The questionnaire's face validity was ensured by crafting questions that corresponded to our research aims. Regarding content validity, we did our best to include the most pertinent questions; however, the series of questions is not fully representative of each participant's socio-demographic makeup. While answering the questions, participants were permitted to ask the researcher to clarify certain elements when needed.

4.3. Informal Interviews

During our field observations, data were at times collected spontaneously through informal conversations with strippers. Informal interview methods are a trademark source of field data in ethnography. However, we did not engage in many meaningful impromptu dialogues with strippers (for the most part, strippers appeared uninterested in discussing their work with us while working). For the few conversations that were had with strippers, we entered them in our fieldnote journal.

4.4. Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews lasting between 30 and 90 minutes were conducted with 13 of the 14 participants⁴⁶ at a time and place that was convenient for them. A pre-test was not conducted. The questions are off shoots of the study's research objectives and questions. We built an interview guide with our research purpose in mind; consequently, the interview guide's face validity is preserved. Similar to the questionnaire, the interview guide's content validity was secured by asking questions that touched upon each facet of our research objectives. Participants were met in various locations for the interviews—as long as it was quiet and secluded enough to avoid eavesdropping. We met participants in their homes, in parks, in university buildings, and in a private office in the MSC. When meeting clients in the private office, the sessions needed to be paused at times due to interruptions from the management team. In this study, the interview guide contained three parts, each composed of four to five questions (see appendix G and H). The questions were open-ended and non-directive so that participants could express themselves freely.⁴⁷ The interview proceedings were audio recorded. The audio files were uploaded from the recording device to our computer. Once successfully uploaded, the audio files were deleted from the recording device. To the highest degree possible, we transcribed *verbatim* each interview into separate electronic documents with each line of the text enumerated. Following every meeting, we documented the context of the encounter in a reflexive journal.

As much as we considered ourselves strangers in the field, we also felt like strangers when meeting the participants. Over time, we became more familiar with the interview guide and more comfortable in the interviewer role. This allowed us to redirect participants when their answers became tangential, ask pertinent probing questions, and investigate new lines of inquiry

⁴⁶ One participant withdrew from the formal interview once he had completed the questionnaire. He consented to our using his questionnaire in the study but did not want to continue with the interview since he felt uncomfortable with the topic of discussion. He appeared perturbed after completing the questionnaire and told us that he no longer wanted to discuss these topics. He was very closed off and seemed self-conscious in his role as a stripper. Considering he had only been dancing for a month, his reticence might have been due to his lack of identification to his work.

⁴⁷ Despite our efforts, they may have withheld information while answering questions (although this is a common contingency when conducting human research through qualitative methods).

to acquire rich and deep data. The participants were friendly, cooperative, and polite; they all seemed pleased to share their knowledge and speak out about troublesome work experiences. Some stated that the interview process was therapeutic since they rarely could speak of these sensitive topics in a confidential context (this contrasts with the participant that refused to proceed with the interview since he felt uncomfortable).

5. Data Analysis

The data analysis methods are built from the qualitative research tradition. Principles of ethnographic data analysis were employed as outlined in Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011), and *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* by J. Saldana (2009). Data from fieldnotes, reflexive journal entries, questionnaire responses, and semi-structured interview transcripts were analyzed. The different forms of data were analyzed separately and conjointly. When analyzing qualitative data such as fieldnotes and interview transcripts, there is a continuum of “researcher contamination” that one must consider (Green & Thorogood, 2009). At one end, the analysis omits subjective experience and empirical data. The other end of the analysis continuum is where researchers simply edit life histories and directly publish accounts from diaries, interviews, or fieldnotes without interpretation. Here, we are working in the middle ground between the two poles. We present unmodified accounts of fieldnotes and interview transcripts, and we also engage in critical interpretations of participants’ accounts.

In ethnography, the researcher begins the analytical stage of the project in the pre-fieldwork stages and carries it through the concluding moments (i.e., the writing phase). Hence, analysis transpired as the research progressed (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This form of analysis is akin to the “grounded theorizing” approach—a way of working with data rather than a methodology in of itself—developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Strauss and Corbin (1990), and Charmaz (2006). Analogous to the grounded theory methodology, ethnographic analysis

resembles an iterative and dialectical process, meaning that data collection guides data analysis and vice versa. Analyses of data at various moments of the research process helped us in imagining new ways of collecting, organizing, and interpreting data.

5.1. Familiarization

Initially, the ethnographic principles recommend familiarizing oneself with the entire data set. For us, this involved an immersion in the data through line-by-line reading of transcriptions, fieldnotes, journal entries, and questionnaires. The journal entries and the questionnaire responses contextualized the interview analysis results.

Early on, we looked for patterns in the entire data set, noticing whatever stood out as surprising, inconsistent, or contradictory. According to Hammersley & Atkinson (2007), “[r]eading through the corpus of data and generating concepts which make sense of it are the initial stages of ethnographic analysis” (p. 164). Reading through one’s data, thinking with the data to find emerging patterns and themes, and labelling segments of text is known as *open coding*. The following describes the stages of analysis for the interview transcriptions. The fieldnotes, reflexive journal entries, and questionnaire answers were part of an auxiliary analysis to contextualize the research field, the participant sample, and our findings.

5.2. The Mechanics of Analysis

The interview transcripts were analyzed through the building of a codebook and by forming categories and themes. N-Vivo 9 Qualitative Management Software was used for data coding, category and theme building, data management, and data storage. The questionnaire data served to describe and contextualize the sample of participants. Questionnaire answers were subjected to descriptive statistical analysis (i.e., frequency tables, calculation of mean, mode, and standard deviation) (see appendix I). Fieldnotes regarding the field observations and informal conversations with strippers were also analyzed according to codes and categories in separate files. Once the fieldnotes were written in an electronic document, they were uploaded to N-Vivo 9

for analysis, storage, and management. Next, the audio recorded interview files were uploaded to a USB flash drive. The transcription process enabled us to immerse ourselves in the participants' experiences. This was repeated for the 13 audio recordings. The documents were then uploaded to N-Vivo 9 for coding and categorizing.

5.3. Coding the Raw Data

Coding in qualitative research is an inductive researcher-generated process which creates analytic categories that reflect the significance of events and experiences for those in the setting (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Social events, cultural practices, episodes, encounters, roles, relationships, behaviours, and perceptions—in other words, “slices of life”—are coded in the analysis. Codes are the building blocks of categories and themes; they are the units of analysis in our qualitative study that allowed us to make links between data collection and their meaning (Saldana, 2009). Coding breaks raw data apart and reassembles it in a purposeful manner to arrive at meaningful research findings. The limitation of this approach is that codes can sometimes distill the data and thus lose its potency.

Different coding approaches produce different answers to the questions asked. In our case, we developed a coding strategy best suited to reveal the cultural elements within MSCs and strippers' sexual conduct with their clients. The open coding process began when we posed specific questions regarding segments of data: What are people doing? How are they doing this? What assumptions are made? What is the topic of this case? The gist of coding lies in answering these questions with a word or short phrase (usually a noun) that represents the data content. More specifically, codes should not be *abbreviations* of what is said in a particular data segment; they need to be conceptual *representations* of the topic, action, emotion, or perception referred to in the data. Depending on the chosen method, some researchers will engage in line-by-line coding of their data (e.g., a code is attributed to each line of a transcription). This can amount to an excessive number of codes. Conversely, we opted for a holistic coding approach whereby we

attributed different types of codes to specific portions of text that expressed whole ideas (e.g., codes were attributed to one or multiple sentences spread out over one or multiple lines).

In the early stages of coding and categorizing, we primarily used *descriptive codes*. Descriptive codes allowed us to identify the topics within the data, the substance of participants' experiences (Saldana, 2009). Descriptive codes form the general vocabulary of the analysis and serve as an index for the data's content—although, to add texture and depth to our analysis, we needed to apply more complex codes to the data set. Subsequently, we used *structural codes* to encompass larger topics in the text (these codes served to index concepts found in the data and would at times become categories). When we wanted to harness participants' own words as a code to grasp their cultural and folk terms, we used *in vivo* codes (this allows researchers to maintain a close link between the data and the analysis results). Further, to capture human action in the data, we applied *process codes* (usually an action verb or gerund). Process codes allowed us to illustrate what people are doing in the field in specific times and places. These codes helped us arrive at research results that accounted for male strippers as fluid bodies evolving in space (Saldana, 2009). Next, we used *value codes* to reflect participants' attitudes and beliefs regarding ideas, people, or objects. This allowed us to arrive at a better understanding of people's perspectives, assumptions, and worldviews. This type of code befits ethnography since it highlights the elements that make up a particular culture. Coupled to value codes, we also used *emotion codes* to capture the mood or tone related to specific instances in the data. This allowed us to gain a nuanced understanding of participants' feelings regarding certain events. Finally, we also employed *versus codes* to highlight the polarity or asymmetries between elements revealed in the data. In other words, these types of codes reveal the conflicts, contradictions, or injustices between ideas, phenomena, people, or groups. Moieties exist in many facets of social life; we sought to uncover asymmetrical power imbalances with these codes. This final type of code proved appropriate for the critical penchant in this study because it allowed us to examine instances when power was reinforced or resisted. Working through the entire data set, we sought

to generate as many codes as possible until no new codes emerged after multiple readings of the transcriptions. We applied our codebook to subsequent transcriptions to uncover similarities, divergences, patterns, and inconsistencies. When codes are reused systematically, the process is called *codifying*. Similar to the process of territorialization explained by Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 2009), our analysis approach segmented the data and mapped out specific territories and machinic assemblages in the MSC.

5.4. Categories and Themes

With help from N-Vivo 9, we could discern patterns between codes. Those that were closely related led to the creation of tentative categories and sub-categories. In turn, new codes emerging from the subsequent transcription analysis were tested against the pre-existing code and category structure. The codes that did not fit into the tentative structure were used to refine it either by creating new categories and sub-categories or by reorganizing the entire structure. The method of categorization allowed us to move from the *diversity* of the data to its *shape*.

To ensure appropriate links between each code, sub-category, and category, we conducted a rigorous labelling process. We defined every element to avoid duplication of codes or categories, and we ensured that they were distinct from the others. Once the categorization process was complete, we abstracted groups of categories into themes.

Themes result from coding, categorizing, and analytic reflections (Saldana, 2009); they bring meaning and identity to a recurrent and patterned experience and its features. In other words, the themes that emerged identify what a particular portion of analyzed data represents. In the end, the themes form an integrative picture of the entire data set that transcends all individual cases. Notably, themes never simply emerge; they arise from interpretation instead. The themes produced in this study result from our research purpose, questions, and aims. Some say that themes tell us more about the researcher than about the interview (Saldana, 2009). They are also influenced by the espoused research design, literature review, and theoretical framework. In fact,

themes describe more subtle and tacit processes, whereas categories refer to more concrete phenomena. Once the categories and themes maintained a solid structure through a process of increasing saturation, a visual representation of the entire structure was created (see appendix J).

In sum, codes are the bones of our analysis; their synthesis into categories and sub-categories formed the skeleton. The tissue of our analytic body is manifest in the themes and interpretations grafted onto the skeleton. As an aside, we find it important to mention that the codifying and categorizing process was not explicitly driven by our pre-established theoretical framework. Although we knew that our initial tentative framework would eventually help us understand the data, we refrained from forcing a fit between the data and the framework. Instead, once the analysis was complete, the theoretical framework needed to be adjusted to account for the emerging themes and interpretations. Therefore, our final interpretations were driven by the collected data in a bottom-up approach.

5.5. Memoing

Memoing is a writing-intensive analytic strategy taking the form of supportive documents. The method is born from the grounded theory methodology and applies to all qualitative methodologies (Saldana, 2016; Birks, Chapman & Francis, 2008). Memoing helps researchers map their activities, extract meaning from data, maintain momentum in their analysis, and encourage dialogue between members of the same research team. Moreover, it helps monitor the decision-making process, from conceptualization to completion. This practice bolsters researchers' awareness of the various meanings contained within their data and incites the exploration of new hypotheses. This activity ensures that new ideas are not lost and can be explored in the future.

During this practice, we reflected on the collected data. We questioned what we were doing with it and why. We questioned our assumptions while analyzing the data and accounted

for the investments of our ideas, actions, and decisions in our findings. We viewed each code and category as the seat of new analytic memos and potential themes. Memos were particularly useful for making conceptual leaps between raw data to abstract categories and themes. As the memos accumulated, they began to constitute the foundation of our results. Said otherwise, they are the vehicles for researchers to travel from the concrete to the conceptual (Saldana, 2016; Birks, Chapman, & Francis, 2008). Memos are the glue that holds the categories and themes together, and the coding structure is the edifice upon which memo-writing takes place (Gordon-Finlayson, 2010). In short, the practice of memoing harmonizes with our reflexive and critical ethnographic endeavour especially because it helped us uncover the underpinning assumptions, ideologies, interests, values, and beliefs within the data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In effect, our data exploration and analysis were enhanced.

5.6. Theoretical Interpretation

The data analysis was progressively focused during the collection period as our interests shifted, resembling a funnel structure. In the initial stages, we were concerned with providing a general description of the various types of collected data. As the analysis progressed, our intentions moved toward explaining and interpreting specific segments of data in a patterned manner in light of the espoused theoretical framework.

When interpreting and analyzing the data, we entered a *defamiliarization* process. Thomas (1993) defines this as “a way of distancing ourselves from the taken-for-granted aspect of what we see and allowing us to view what we have seen more critically” (p. 43). We used the gathered data to challenge conventional meanings, ideologies, asymmetrical power relations, techniques of social control, and oppressive conditions to break away from the literal meaning of texts toward the non-literal. The adopted theoretical framework was used to this effect. Now, our ethical commitments require that we use the findings to present alternative interpretations of culture and

new ways of thinking to effect positive change in healthcare. Our findings serve to reorient and reshape our means of thinking and talking about sex work-related issues in Canada and abroad.

6. Ethics

The research ethics certificate for this study was attributed by the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board (see appendix K). Various elements of research ethics were explored to protect the participants. Special care is needed when conducting an ethnographic study with marginalized populations (O'Byrne & Holmes, 2008). Issues of power relations between the researchers and participants were acknowledged. Further, we considered matters of political and legal fallout relating to participants' vulnerability since their practices are deemed immoral, risky, illegal, or dangerous by societal standards (see chapter two for more on this topic). In brief, we addressed issues regarding ethical conduct in research involving humans by following the guidelines and core principles outlined in the Canadian Tri-Council Policy Statement of 2018 (TCPS-2 CORE online modules completed: refer to appendix L). The principles are as follows: (1) Respect for persons; (2) Concern for welfare; and (3) Justice. These principles are complementary and interdependent; their weight and uses depends on the type and context of a study (Government of Canada: Panel on Research Ethics, 2020).

Given the illicit character of sex work, the social stigma that surrounds it, and the importance of maintaining a low profile for many sex workers, the study considered issues of consent, anonymity, and confidentiality. It was paramount for us to focus on ways of respecting participants, ensuring their protection, and treating them fairly. To respect participants' needs, we met with them at a time and place of their choice. They were asked to complete a consent form prior to data collection (see appendix M and N). The consent form described the purpose and aims of the research, the researchers' and participants' role, the benefits and negative risks involved in participation, the potential outcomes and duration of the study. On account of their voluntary participation, the participants were informed of their right to refuse to answer certain

questions and terminate the interview if desired. The consent forms listed the potential negative impacts that the research might incur (e.g., troubled emotional and mental state, fear of reprimand if data are leaked). However, the positive impacts that might emerge were also stated (e.g., the possibility of improved health conditions and health services for male sex workers, the prospect of better political and social representation of this population, and the potential reduction of stigma and discrimination surrounding sex work). Participants were informed about the measures taken to keep data confidential and devoid of personal identifying information. The anonymity of the questionnaires and interviews are ensured by using an alphanumeric code as a means of identification. For example, the first participant's questionnaire and interview transcript were coded as "P1" (participant number one). The participants were not asked to enter any personal identification information in the questionnaires. Transcriptions were de-identified (names of establishments and people were removed). The data will be kept for five years after the conclusion of the study in a secure location, after which they will be destroyed (paper documents will be shredded, computer files will be deleted, the computer waste bin will be emptied, and the computer hard drive will be defragmented to permanently erase the data per University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board requirements). Only the research team has access to the data. Last, the participants and the researchers signed and dated the consent forms, thus declaring that the stated information has been read and accepted. They were informed that they may use a pseudonym when signing the consent form. To guarantee anonymity, we used a pay-as-you-go cellular phone which was formatted and disconnected from service at the end of the study. This phone was used to communicate with anyone implicated in the study. Finally, we refrained from employing names or terms that could trace the study to the research field or specific individuals when writing this dissertation.

Besides the ethical issues surrounding participants' involvement, we also considered the ethical implications regarding our participation in the study. We reflected on the possible mishaps that may occur within bars and strip clubs (e.g., drug use and drug commerce, violence, verbal

and physical disputes, crude sexual behaviour, nudity, profane language, and police interventions). Luckily, no problems arose during fieldwork. Moreover, given that sex workers are a stigmatized group, we acknowledged that we may also experience “stigma by association” by engaging with a population cast as socially, sexually, and morally deviant (Hammond & Kingston, 2014). We also considered the possibility that strippers and patrons may flirt with the researchers. These elements could have impacted our mental health and comfort level within these types of research settings. To ensure a professional and constructive approach in this milieu, and to avoid any deleterious events, we regularly engaged in reflexive exercises.

In concluding this section, we urge readers to understand research ethics as an important element of research rigour. Through careful and thorough application of ethical principles based on trust, respect, openness, and awareness, the trustworthiness of our findings is enhanced.

7. Rigour

Rigour in qualitative health research is not about producing generalizable and universally transferable knowledge to arrive at invariable conclusions that transcend time and space. Alternatively, the goal is to produce reliable knowledge in terms of consistency and attentiveness to research practises (Davies & Dodd, 2002). Moreover, findings are rigorous and useful to the extent that they pertain and apply to specific populations wider than that of the research sample itself (Green & Thorogood, 2009). Instead of aiming for the generalizability of the findings, qualitative researchers can aim for the generalization of their analytic concepts to other research contexts (Green & Thorogood, 2009).

To increase the rigour (trustworthiness) of this study, we used the principles outlined by Guba and Lincoln’s evaluation criteria for qualitative knowledge, as long as they aligned with the study’s philosophical stance (Guba, 1981; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Guba and Lincoln transposed the quantitative research criterion of rigour to qualitative research;

however, these qualitative criteria generally befit post-positivistic studies. Given the adopted critical theory paradigm, modifications were necessary (evaluation criteria discussed below).

Other authors who have joined the discussion and critique of strategies to increase the worth of qualitative inquiry warn that these principles should be used scrupulously (Krefting, 1991; Morse, 2015; Sandelowski, 1986). Depending on the philosophical tenets underpinning a study, some strategies might be inappropriate (Krefting, 1991). Given that this study adopted an ontological, epistemological, and methodological stance resting on the philosophical presuppositions of the critical theory paradigm, the production of impartial, value-neutral, and generalizable knowledge did not suit our aims. Rather, the results of this study echoed one author-laden representation of MSC culture built from participants' first-hand experiences. This amounted to meaningful knowledge for those closest to the field.

For instance, the principle of *credibility*, based on the principle of *truth value* in quantitative research, normally evaluates the degree to which the research findings are accurate and congruent with the participants' experience of a phenomenon. "Accuracy" or exactitude is not the aim of this study. For this reason, a modified version of credibility was adopted: one which does not assess the "truth" nor the "accuracy" of the data but evaluates the internal coherence between the study's paradigmatic assumptions, theoretical framework, analysis, and findings (O'Byrne, 2008b; Holmes, 2001). We used strategies such as a prolonged engagement with participants and the research field to increase credibility. We also triangulated multiple data sources through reliable collection methods to ensure credibility. Next, the products of data collection were adequately referenced in the final report to maintain a strong tie between the field and the findings. When writing the analysis results, we used data excerpts to support claims and illustrate participants' perceptions (Sandelowski, 1994). Our practice of reflexive journal writing during each stage also supported the coherence between the various components of this study. In this sense, credibility in qualitative research ensures rigorous global representation of the studied phenomenon without asserting accuracy or truth (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011).

According to Poland (1995) and Lapadat (2000), the tacit assumptions of transcription in qualitative inquiry must be problematized, and transcripts' quality must be reviewed before undertaking analysis. Thus, the quality of transcriptions became an aspect of rigour addressed in this study. Undoubtedly, an interview transcript cannot embody a "real" picture of the interview proceedings. Nonetheless, the transcription method was our best attempt at recalling the meetings with participants. Albeit, the emotional and non-verbal aspects of conversation were not well represented in audio recordings despite the possibility of documenting the intonations of voice, pauses, sighs, and laughter. This inevitability impoverished the interviews as a record of lived experiences. To contextualize the verbatim transcriptions, we documented various aspects of each interview in a reflexive journal (e.g., the general feel of the interview, a description of the participant, their non-verbal and para-verbal communication, the time and place where the meeting unfolded, our perspectives on participants' reactions to questions and how they were answered).

To increase the transcription quality and trustworthiness, we employed strategies to ensure high-quality audio recordings (e.g., functional equipment, a quiet environment free of interruptions, placing the device in a position where both the researcher and interviewee's voice was recorded coherently, and checking the device during the interview to confirm that it was still recording) (Poland, 1995). Nonetheless, despite our best attempts at obtaining high-quality recordings and transcriptions, our goal was not to transcribe and capture the interview proceedings with flawless precision. The transcriptions are but representations of events, not the real things in themselves; chasing perfection is therefore futile.

The principle of *transferability*, based on the principle of applicability in quantitative research, was reached by providing thoroughly detailed descriptive data. This allows for comparisons between similar studies in different settings. By rendering a dense description of the field and population, we increased transferability. This was amplified by the purposive sampling methods used to form a high-quality participant cohort that corresponded to the research aims.

Further, the diligent use of a fieldnote journal to document the various aspects of MSC life, despite the limitations of the retrospective writing approach, allowed us to position the participants in a context-rich environment. Transferability enables readers to ascertain the applicability or non-applicability of the results to their research interests.

The principle of *dependability* is rooted in the notion of research consistency, meaning the extent to which the results would be consistent with those of a study with similar subjects and context. If another research team replicated this study, would the results be analogous? Unlike quantitative methodologies, qualitative research endorses the variability and uniqueness of social phenomena and the human experience. Therefore, replicating qualitative research is not usually a goal for researchers. In this study, replication is not aligned with the philosophical tenets. However, a form of dependability is attained when researchers track the steps and variability in their decision-making process. The purpose is to increase research transparency (Green & Thorogood, 2009). In effect, we outlined a thorough description of the adopted research methods; this enables future researchers to know exactly how this study was conducted at various moments. Moreover, dependability was achieved through triangulation of multiple data sources (i.e., fieldnotes, questionnaire data, and interview transcripts) and by asking our peers to examine the analysis process.

Last, the *confirmability* principle rests on the notion of neutrality—the freedom from bias in the research procedures and results. Yet regardless of those who claim total objectivity, it is impossible to remove all biases from the research enterprise; this holds true as much for quantitative research as for qualitative. Instead of seeking neutrality, we shifted the emphasis from the objectivity of the researcher to the neutrality of the data. We also considered our investment in our study. Neutrality of data was reached by ensuring the quality of the results and by accounting for our influence over the production process. This was primarily facilitated by increasing credibility and transferability. Reflexivity demystified our assumptions, biases, and positions within the study; this in turn helped us understand our role in the shaping of our findings.

The concept and practice of reflexivity is key for critical ethnography and, more broadly, in the qualitative research tradition (Green & Thorogood, 2009; Guba, 1981; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Madison, 2005; Morse, 2015). In effect, it is a benchmark strategy for increasing the epistemological security and trustworthiness of qualitative inquiry (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Finlay, 2002). It also corresponds with the epistemological assumptions of this study (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Madison, 2005). Critical ethnographers must account for and reflect upon their biography, the author- and theory-ladenness of their claims, their taken-for-granted assumptions about the world, and their location in time and space to discern the ways in which the processes of inquiry are influenced (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), reflexivity is a form and requirement of sociological scientific investigation. It requires a turning back of the research agent not only toward the researcher, but also toward every step of the scientific practice (e.g., research conceptualization, sampling, data collection and analysis, writing, transfer of knowledge). Therefore, each component of the research process was revisited as the project evolved.

We engaged in a critical and inward examination of ourselves and the research components.⁴⁸ We reflected on the relation between the study and our intentions, the participants, and the public. Hence, not only did we document descriptive information about the MSC culture during the field observations, but we also documented our field perceptions, interpretations, and reactions (physical and emotional). Moreover, we wrote in a reflexive journal throughout the data

⁴⁸ Excerpt from the doctoral candidate's reflexive journal: "At first, I was uncertain whether I would be able to identify with my thesis given my discomfort about the research topic. I was apprehensive as to what others would think and say about me behind closed doors given that I was entering a stigmatized field of research. Regardless of others' reactions, I made significant strides in accepting my work and my relation to it throughout the first two years of my doctoral program. I realized that my initial lack of knowledge regarding the field contributed to my unease and apprehension. Luckily, I was quickly able to settle into the field and develop a healthy relationship to it. Over time, I found it easier to speak about the specifics of my study to family members, friends, and peers. Albeit, the fact that [I] felt angst was a good indicator that I was studying something of value. I came to see myself as a researcher that embraced social phenomena, especially phenomena that forced us out of our comfort zones—I loved that I was entering territories where I could learn and grow. By challenging normative research pathways, I have opened new doors of knowledge; by defying normality in my thinking and behaviour, I have enabled new ways of being."

collection, data analysis, and writing stages to account for our positions within the research process.⁴⁹

Through our reflexive journal writing practice, we examined our position when meeting participants, and this helped guide future interactions. We acknowledge that the contexts in which the interviews transpired have impacted the researcher–participant relationship and shaped the data collection process (Gagnon, Jacob, & McCabe, 2015). Moreover, through reflexivity, we examined the power asymmetries present in the interviewer–interviewee dyad (Anyan, 2013; Kvale, 2006). We made no assumptions about engaging in a perfectly egalitarian relationship with participants; however, we did feel that it was our professional responsibility to account for the limitations of this data collection method and its impact on our results. For instance, interviewers have a hierarchical edge over the interviewees in the sense that they build the rules of the game (e.g., when to begin the interview, what questions to ask, and when to end the interview). Interviewers seek to extract the required information from interviewees and might manipulate their way into doing this through hidden agendas concealed within their questions; interviewees are reduced to instruments and objects of research. Interviewees are encouraged to answer the questions, and they may feel the urge to provide the “right” answer to the interviewer. The exchange is one-sided. Moreover, by attaching a monetary reward to research participation, interviewers create leverage over interviewees and persuade them to fully participate. Finally,

⁴⁹ Excerpt from the doctoral candidate's reflexive journal: “My reflections have permitted me to understand how my thoughts and behaviours towards marginalized social behaviour was in fact stereotyped and a product of our current sociohistorical conditioning in the Western world. Through this study, I have revisited and challenged my assumptions about sexuality, deviance, labour, and risk. I have been able to position myself within the matrix of MSW and stripping in the West, as well as experience a shift throughout my doctoral studies. As the adopted methodology suggests, it is important for researchers to consider their values, attitudes, and beliefs when engaging with stigmatized populations and taboo topics to contextualize their findings. In this study, I observed from the outside; I have not engaged in any insider activities. For this reason, I remained somewhat removed from the culture that I have tentatively studied. Amongst the various elements that contribute to my disconnect, certain factors tied me closer to the field. These factors are as follows: my age is similar to that of most strippers; I am Caucasian, like most strippers; I am a man; and I am of an athletic build and well-groomed like the strippers that I have interviewed. Said otherwise, the impression that I mirrored the study participants made me feel more connected to them, and them to me. In contrast, the fact that I only met the research participants once contributed to the disconnect. Even though I managed to sow the seed of trust with those I engaged, one meeting is not enough to develop a meaningful relationship. Also, the relationships were one-sided: I would do the asking and my interlocutors would do the answering. Moreover, during my observations, I did not sense that those in the field knew who I was. When they approached me and I informed them of my intentions, their perplexed look led me to believe that I was indeed an outsider. Therefore, the level of connection and disconnection I felt with the study influenced the writing of this dissertation. Yet, I am not making any claims of finality in what is written. Given my reflections on the research process, my relation to the study, the product is but one author-laden representation of the male stripping values, norms, and customs here in Canada.”

interviewers often have the last say in what interviewees mean in their answers, thus controlling how interviewees are understood. Then again, interviewees can refuse to answer questions, or they may terminate the interview; interviewers are powerless in this sense. The interviewee can also demonstrate disruptive behaviours or shift the focus of the interview by changing subjects. In this way, they too influence the course of the interview proceedings (Kvale, 2006).

In sum, research methods can have various positive or negative consequences, but this depends on the researcher rather than on the methods. The effects of different methodologies are researchers' sole responsibility. When conducting qualitative research, issues of power and democracy regarding data collection and representation ought to be addressed. Reflections on power asymmetries in the research process have allowed us to examine the conceptual, methodological, and ethical issues of this study (Kvale, 2006). In presenting our topics of reflection to readers, we are demonstrating our awareness that our findings are inevitably skewed, and we assert that they result from the circumstances of our relationships to participants and the field (Karnieli-Miller, Strier, & Pessach, 2009). In this sense, reflexive practices state that an exhaustive review of a study's ethical implications is indispensable. Also, reflexivity is paramount when addressing the power asymmetries that emerge in research (Vandenberg & Hall, 2011). These epistemological elements relating to the position between the researchers and the participants were reflected upon during our journal entries.

Frank (2007) notes a scarce implementation of positionality in stripping research. Some argue that structural and disciplinary conventions are to blame (Egan & Frank, 2005). For instance, disciplinary trends in publishing, publication page limits, fear of judgment, and psychological or professional discomfort or embarrassment might hinder one's willingness to position oneself within one's scholarship. This may be due to the way sexual commerce is perceived in our society and how it subsequently influences academics' behaviours. We engaged in critical reflections about the study's potential impacts on MSWs and strippers' lives. At best, the research results may contribute to a positive change in their lives and in their places of work

(e.g., increased access to timely and quality healthcare, positive health and safety outcomes at work). At worst, the findings could further entrench their occupation into stigmatizing, pathologizing, and moralizing discourses by clumsily misrepresenting the MSW and stripping industry. Likewise, our reflections raised our awareness about critical ethnographers' attempts to subvert power asymmetries by seeking emancipatory realities. These aims are predicated on the adoption of different power relation systems (Vandenberg & Hall, 2011). Nothing can exist outside power systems; however, one can know how they are assembled and to which ones we ought to endorse.

In any case, asserting positionality clarified our investment in and relation to this study. The reflexive practice provided additional context, rigour, and meaning to our findings. It also decreased the negative research outcomes for all those involved in the study by encouraging ethical practices (Karnieli-Miller, Strier, Pessach, 2009). By working on these various principles, our study can be deemed "trustworthy" (Guba, 1981; Guba & Lincoln, 1989) and "rigorous" (Morse, 2015). Our critical and postmodern study makes no claims of finality. Our findings and our understandings of the studied social scene remain partial; we also encourage others to engage in different lines of inquiry to generate a more comprehensive array of MSW knowledge.

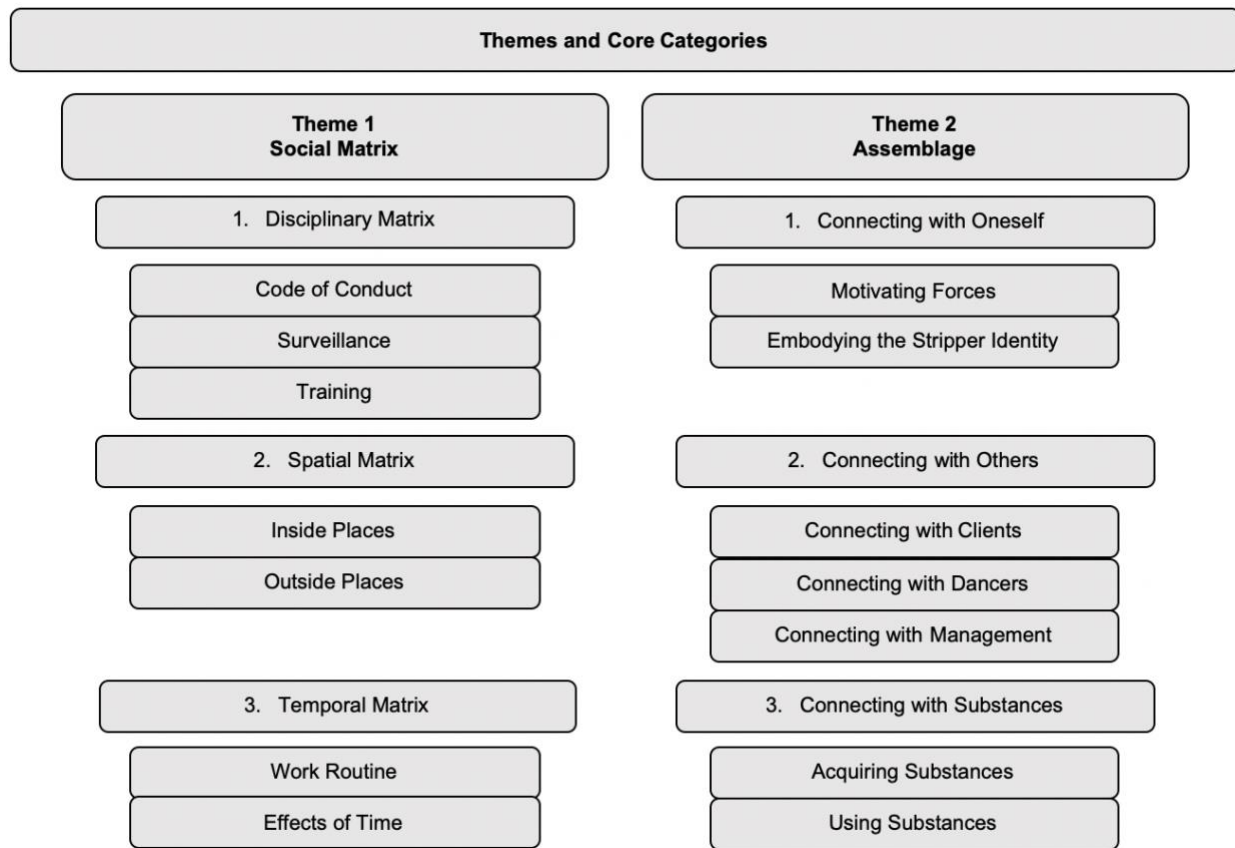
CHAPTER 5 – RESULTS

The interview, questionnaire, and fieldnote analysis results are presented in this chapter (see chapter four for a description of the analysis methodology). Based on participants' and researchers' experiences, the analytic body was created by deconstructing interview transcripts through coding and then rebuilding the segments into categories and themes. Two distinct and interconnected themes emerged from the analysis; these themes overarch a series of categories and sub-categories (Figure 1 is a visual schema of the themes and major categories and serves as a roadmap for the reader). The first theme helps us better understand the second, and vice versa. The themes, categories, and sub-categories are described in detail in this chapter. Participant verbatim transcripts, fieldnote entries, and questionnaire answers were used to support the established analytic structure.

Theme 1 – Social Matrix

Based on participants' perspective of their work, this theme represents interlinked ideas, observations, and impressions about the context of strippers' work. In other words, the various environmental elements that make up the circumstances of male stripping in the place and time of the study are described in this section. The notion of the social matrix refers to the interlaced conditions from which social phenomena arise in the MSC. It is inside this social matrix that all connections between strippers and other social bodies unfurl. One of our aims was to better understand the male stripping culture in Canada (i.e., the beliefs, norms, and customs that underpin stripping) by studying a specific cultural scene. Hence, the participant interviews probed the elements of stripping enclosed within the social matrix of the MSC that impacted participants' perceptions, work behaviours, and health and safety outcomes. Through our analysis, we found relations between participants' work matrices and their health and safety practices and outcomes.

Figure 1. Themes and Core Categories



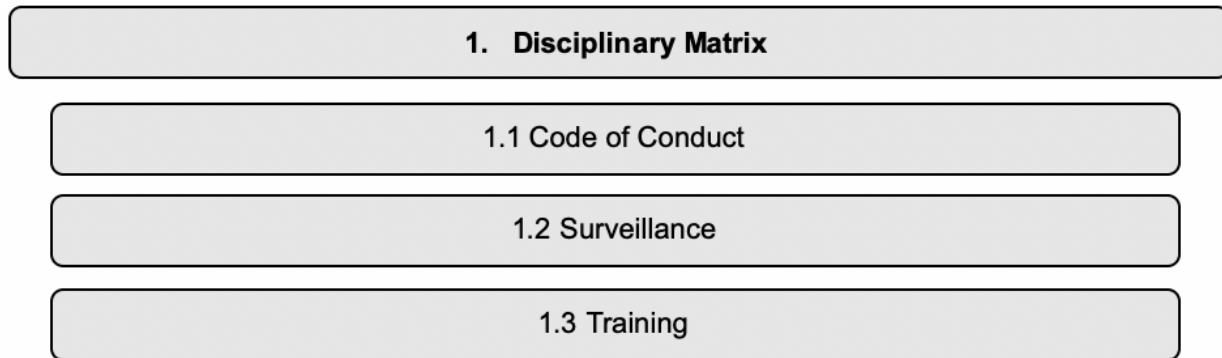
We generated three folds to the MSC social matrix theme which constitute its core categories. The first is in relation to the organizational structure of male stripping (i.e., stripping laws and regulations, work policies, disciplinary measures). We have named this category the “Disciplinary Matrix.” The second explores the social and physical spatial aspects that constitute male strippers’ work setting; it is named the “Spatial Matrix.” The third category, the “Temporal Matrix,” refers to the temporal elements of male stripping. As such, the core categories listed above are to be understood as operational systems for discipline, place, and time in the male stripping work environment.

Category 1 – Disciplinary Matrix

The first category relates to the systems of social control and corrective measures that regulate strippers’ work practices. In short, we discuss the code of conduct that regulates strippers’ work,

the surveillance technologies that discipline strippers' work practices, and the training approaches that initiate strippers to the stripping industry.

Figure 2. Disciplinary Matrix



1.1. Code of Conduct

Various policies, regulations, and unwritten rules appear to shape the MSC social matrix. The code of conduct represents the participants' official work reference guide, establishment requirements, and policies. However, the rulebook by which strippers must play is often bypassed. Built from participants' responses, this portion of the results allows us to better understand male strippers' regulatory framework.

To begin, the participants stated that they were employed as autonomous contractual workers, rather than permanent employees. This often gives them increased freedom when it comes to set shifts and work hours.

I myself, a lot of people and the managers know that I am a freelance stripper, I come in most of the time when I want. Me and schedules don't agree, so yeah. And I think that also comes with being around for as long as I have, they know that like "okay there's no point in scheduling him because he could be wiped out from like partying for the last two days with like" you know what I mean. [P10]

Moreover, unlike most jobs, strippers must pay a work fee to enter and work in the establishment each night. This is a way for strippers to pay the club and disk jockey for the facilities and services. The amount normally ranged between 10 and 30 Canadian dollars. In addition to paying for their access to the club, the participants also report that their salary is entirely dependent on clients'

compensation: “*Oui, on est pas payé. On doit payer pour travailler. On doit donner vingt dollars à chaque soir qu’on travail. Et oui, l’argent se fait juste avec les clients derrière [in the cabins]*” [P12]. This employment structure (the non-salaried and freelance format) evokes frustrations and critique from participants.

They were just being so like kind of like weird and annoying because they want the perks of us not being employees but then they want to treat us like employees like we paid to be here so you can’t really treat me like you pay me by the hour you know. [...] it’s quite frequent that you will leave with less money that you came in with, because it cost twenty, twenty-five dollars to work, it cost me twenty-five dollars to work, yeah. [P05]

In short, even though strippers do not have employee status while working, participants reported that the management team will sometimes attempt to treat them as if they were employees. As part of the work duties, strippers are also expected to perform on stage during their shifts.

Et Puis des fois même le DJ n’a pas le temps de, pas le temps de m’envoyer sur scène, ce qui fait un peu mon affaire, parce qu’aller sur scène, tu sais, on n’est pas payé pour ça, puis ici on le fait, on est obligé de le faire. Finalement, la seule partie obligatoire du travail c’est d’aller sur scène. [P07]

Moreover, strip clubs also have a code of conduct regarding substance use and sexual services in the club. Regarding substance use, participants report that the strip clubs where they work prohibit the use of any substances while working: “*Ils ont une tolérance zéro qu’ils appellent. Si tu te fais prendre, ou si tu as l’aire trop défoncée, tu te fais renvoyer*” [P01]. Strip clubs also inform strippers that sexual services that go beyond the standard “contact” private dance (the client can sensually touch the stripper’s body) are strictly prohibited while working. Also, activities related to the exchange of sexual services are also prohibited inside and outside the club.

Mais, le fait que la job dans le fond, dans le fond l’employeur n’encourage pas les pratiques sexuelles. Il n’encourage pas non plus, tu sais il y a des mesures que si tu te fais prendre à te faire sucer, des affaires du genre. Il y a aussi des mesures, si jamais tu consommes. Puis dans le contrat que tu signes au début, il y a une règle contre le fait de prendre le numéro des clients pour faire des extras, des affaires du genre. Ils organisent tout en mesure [...] pour pas que tu le fasses... [P01]

The MSC regulations and policies described by the participants appear to mirror, in a way, the societal treatment of illicit drug use and sex work; the regulatory structure is transposed into the

MSC social matrix. Strippers are asked to sign a contract in certain clubs stating that they will adhere to the rules regarding substance use and sexual practices. However, in reality, our results demonstrate that strippers are often motivated to bend or break these rules.

Alors le client à l'arrière peut caresser le corps, alors il y a le concrètement ce qui se fait et techniquement ce qu'il peut faire. Alors techniquement le danseur ne peut pas s'asseoir sur le client, il ne peut pas se faire caresser les parties génitales, il ne peut pas embrasser le client. Ça c'est le techniquement ce qui ne se fait pas. Concrètement, si on regarde dans le milieu, c'est qui a beaucoup plus le sexe oral que les danseurs reçoivent, y'a les caresses sur les parties génitales, c'est très courant, c'est souvent un minimum que les clients exigent, j'peux compter ça sur les doigts de ma main le nombre de fois qu'un client est allé en arrière sans même toucher à l'appareil génital, c'est sûr qu'il vont vouloir faire du sexe oral, ils vont vouloir t'embrasser, il vont vouloir te caresser, idéalement vouloir que tu t'assois dessus, alors ça c'est les pratiques concrètement qui se font dans les échanges. Les extras, tout ce qui se fait de sexuel n'est pas censé se faire au club. Mais concrètement on constate que dans la communauté, dans cette industrie-là, les extras se font dans le club. C'est vraiment des choses qui sont contre la loi et contre les règlements du club en soi. [P08]

1.2. Surveillance

The various interventions meant to assess and redress male strippers' behaviours at work are illustrated in this second sub-category. To ensure that male strippers are complying to the establishment rules and standards, the club owners, managers, strippers, the police, and community organizations will deploy various surveillance tactics. Primarily, when they are dancing for clients in private booths, male strippers are subjected to random private booth check-ins by managers or owners. And even though private booth surveillance exists, some participants report that it is simply a façade to manufacture the appearance of safety and order in the bar.

Une fois de temps en temps, le superviseur vient jeter un coup d'œil [...]. Mais c'est aucunement pour la sécurité du danseur, en réalité, c'est pour voir s'il t'attrape sur le fait en train de faire un service sexuel, c'est-à-dire, admettons, du sexe. Ça c'est vraiment plus pour les ladies' night, on s'entend, ou dans n'importe quelle soirée, te faire sucer, te faire manger le cul, s'il t'attrape à faire ça, ils vont te suspendre. Il y a cette dynamique-là par les patrons parce qu'ils veulent garder leur permis. Ils veulent montrer à la police, t'sais c'est pour garder un « leverage » face à la police pour dire « écouter nous on surveille de temps en temps » [...]. C'est comme leurs « back » pour dire, pour garder leur permis, mais j'peux t'assurer qu'en réalité, les patrons ici s'en foutent complètement [...] ils se contre-foutent de notre sécurité, du bien-être mental, de « whatever », puis de si on a le SIDA ou peu importe [...]. [P07]

It appears that there is a general understanding among the owners, managers, and strippers that prohibited sexual services between strippers and clients do take place in the private cabins. However, the participants report that the managers and owners often turn a blind eye to this so long as the club's licence of operation is not threatened. Thus, the booth surveillance may be motivated by the need to protect the club rather than the strippers. Participants also reported moments when private booth surveillance was completely absent or infrequent, something which influenced how strippers experienced their time with clients in the booths: *"In terms of safety I wish they checked more, I wish there was a much more stringent culture. Our old manager, the one that I liked he used to check all night you never knew when he would pitch his little head in the cabin, and I like that, it made me feel safe"* [P05]. Further, according to participants, it appears that the person who is doing the cabin surveillance can have a significant impact on the activities that take place in the space.

Moi, ça ne m'est jamais arrivé, mais c'est déjà arrivé qu'il y a des danseurs qui ont littéralement baisé avec une fille en arrière, puis j'ai souvent entendu des histoires de ça. Alors après ça, le rideau ouvert, oui, mais qui surveille? Qui surveille? Est-ce que ce gars-là il s'entendait avec ce gars-là, est-ce que ce gars-là pour quarante piasses, pour vingt piasses il va se fermer les yeux pour le restant de la soirée? Ça dépend toujours de qui surveille. [P03]

This last participant suggests that those responsible for monitoring the private booths can be influenced with money. In a similar vein, local police forces are also involved in the surveillance efforts. They are involved by making sure that strippers and strip club owners are complying with the law. The police are particularly concerned with preventing illegal sexual and drug-related activities within strip clubs.

Le pire c'est quand la police arrive. Je hais vraiment la police. Il y a eu une débarque récemment à cause du [name of sporting event]. J'étais en train de donner de l'alcool à mon ami stripper, puis la police est arrivée. J'ai fait le saut, mon ami s'est pété les dents sur le verre, puis le policier était super agressif avec moi. Il me touchait sans comme, il me dit « j'veais te fouiller », puis il commence à me toucher sans mon consentement. Là, tu leur dis comme de se calmer, que tu vas collaborer s'ils te respectent, puis là ils se fâchent, sont super agressifs, puis là le bar se fait donner une amende à cause de toi, alors là tu as peur de perdre ta job, ça serait vraiment pas nice. [P06]

According to participants, the police can even request that the club owners make architectural modifications to the strip club space if it is deemed to contribute to illegal sexual activities and ineffective surveillance.

But I mean, so last year [name of bar] nightclub where I work at the moment, the cops came in and they went to the private dance cubby area, they said, we have to take the wall down, I wasn't working, this was all told to me, there used to be a big big wall, and you have to turn a corner, it would be a long corridor of booths, and it was very private, and very dark, and a lot of shit was able to go down, and the cops I guess came to the club last year and made them take the wall down thinking that this newfound open-space where people can see each cubby would change everything, and it hasn't too much, I still see things going down, very explicit things, so I don't even think, nothing can fix that. [P04]

Based on participants' experiences, it appears that the police serve as an overarching force that disciplines not only strippers, but also the club administration when it comes to respecting the laws relating to the drug and sex industry. In case of infractions, the law enforcement can request owners to make changes to the club space and even suspend or revoke a club's licence of operation. As such, the club's disciplinary matrix is influenced by internal forces (business entrepreneurs such as managers and owners) and external forces (law enforcement authorities).

Despite the security a club may provide strippers to engage in safe negotiations, our results indicate that strippers perceive important legal concerns in their transactions with clients. The concerns are mainly generated when strippers and clients engage in prohibited sexual transactions.

En fait, c'est contre la loi en soi. Tu ne peux pas faire ça dans un lieu public, alors c'est pour ça qu'il y a des descentes policières. Alors on n'a pas le droit d'effectuer ça, alors il faut faire attention. Il faut être discret quand on fait ça. L'administration du bar va faire une surveillance, mais ce n'est pas une surveillance abusive, alors ils vont regarder de temps en temps pour voir que ce n'est pas trop d'indécence, mais entre employés on est au courant de ce qui se fait et c'est ainsi que le bar fonctionne aussi. Sans ça, les clients n'iraient juste pas là. [P08]

Police interventions such as raids in strip clubs are perceived as a legal hazard of the work. In these interventions, the law authorities are actively seeking to apprehend offenders of sex work laws. The police can fine those who break the law: “La police est venue. Et puis j'étais en train de sucer. On n'est pas supposé. [...] J'ai reçu une amende” [P14]. In short, strippers perceive legal

hazards in their work related to the prohibited services they offer clients. The consequences of their actions can include disciplinary actions taken by the management team, by judicial authorities, and by law enforcement.

To ensure that they are not caught by the police, the management team or other strippers, our results show that strippers mitigate the legal hazards of providing extra services by remaining vigilant in the booths: “*J’essaye de toujours regarder si le propriétaire est en train de regarder*” [P12]. Moreover, strippers place themselves in positions that allow them to monitor the private booth space to ensure the privacy of their transactions.

J’ai pas l’impression que je vais me faire surprendre, parce que justement je prends mes précautions quand je le fais. Alors je garde toujours l’œil à la salle. Alors je jette des coups d’œil fréquemment pour être sûr de pas me faire surprendre, ni par mes autres collègues, ni par l’éventualité qu’une police entre ou quoi que ce soit, mais c’est sûr qu’il y a toujours un risque, mais le risque, je le surveille tout le temps. [P08]

According to participants, it is important to remain vigilant of their surroundings when providing extra services to clients.

Coupled to the official tactics of surveillance by the club administration and the police force, participants report that they engaged in their own form peer surveillance to ensure that the club policies and the law are not flagrantly infringed in the club. Also, participants stated that they remained secretive in their activities because they feared that others may report them to the club management.

Dans le bar, dans l’espace public, toujours subtilement. Souvent, il y en a qui vont demander un numéro. Il y a ça. Sinon, les cabines, mais les cabines, vu que les danseurs peuvent rapporter ce qu’ils entendent, moi je préfère le faire en m’en allant vers les cabines en marchant tranquillement. Je me tiens vers les marches qui sont proches de l’espace de danses contact. [P11]

Mobile numbers were exchanged to discuss sex work services or escorting services. Discussing these services needs to be done in private, so text messaging appears to be a popular strategy: “*Des fois je le fais dans l’espace public, mais j’essaye, je dis au client de ne pas parler trop fort, de rester discret. Des fois j’en parle dans les cabines aussi. Et aussi, je leur donne mon numéro*

pour qu'on puisse se texter pour en parler plus en privé" [P12]. In brief, to avoid negative repercussions, strippers value privacy and secrecy when navigating the club's disciplinary matrix.

On the subject of getting caught, strippers who engage in prohibited activities in the club may face various forms of disciplinary actions to rectify their behaviour. Participants described moments when their colleagues or themselves have been punished for drug-related activities.

Like there was one stripper who was selling coke, and, I don't fucking know man, this guy was coming on time to work, he was actually, he was older, he was responsible, he wasn't even using the coke that he was selling and they set him up, they literally had a, had somebody ask him for coke, they got it on camera, and then they called and the cops, they arrested him, I don't know why they scapegoated this guy. [P05]

Disciplinary measures are also used to manage strippers who do not respect the rules of sexual services in the cabins: *"Yeah, like I have gotten a blow job on ladies night before and I actually got suspended for it from work because I got caught but I felt like it was my birthday so I felt like I deserved it"* [P05]. Based on what the participants have reported, male strippers are subjected to various disciplinary actions such as suspensions and termination if they do not comply with the established rules and standards.

Our results demonstrate that strippers engage in self-surveillance practices by disciplining themselves. We are referring to the practices that improve strippers' work efficiency and mitigate harms: their likeability, their health, and their safety. Our results illustrate that strippers recognize the financial importance of being popular amongst their clientele. Caring for their appearance is a key element.

Bien, je m'assure que j'ai l'air bien pour les clients. J'essaye toujours de paraître bien et de faire attention à ce que je mange pour toujours paraître bien... Quand que je ne fais pas attention à ce que je mange et je vois que je prends du poids, je deviens plus stressé à cause que je sais que je ne parais pas bien, mais oui c'est dans ma tête. [P12]

Monitoring and caring for their physical appearance may require a special diet. This demands that strippers engage in self-surveillance practices in terms of hygiene and physique.

Regarding their sexual health, strippers at times consult health professionals for HIV and STI screening tests: *"I get checked, well, for me, and my personal, I try to check myself every five*

months" [P05]. In contrast, another participant reported being tested every month: "*Je me fais dépister une fois par mois, juste pour quand même être, avoir la conscience tranquille, puis par respect pour ma copine*" [P07]. In the questionnaires, 12 of 14 participants reported getting regular STI screening tests. Other practices that participants reported to protect themselves included using "*Purrel*" [P05], "*condom[s]*" [P06] during anal sex, and HPV "*vaccination[s]*" [P08].

To care for their mental health, strippers use information control techniques. This would sometimes involve strippers' restraint in notifying others of their work: "*Il y a une différence, dans ma vie personnelle, le monde me voit comme étant hétéro. Dans ma vie personnelle, ils ne savent pas que je suis danseur, ou que j'ai déjà fait des actes avec des hommes*" [P12]. Strippers can keep their work lives separate from their personal lives by concealing the nature of their work from others.⁵⁰ Withholding information about one's identity is a stigma management strategy that can be a protective measure for one's mental health (discussed in chapter two). Therefore, the motivation for popularity, health, safety, and anonymity encourages self-disciplinary practices that shape the club's disciplinary matrix.

Stripper self-surveillance is bolstered by the presence of public health interventions in the club. During our fieldwork, we did not see anyone directly intervening with strippers. However, the public health posters and condoms that were placed inside the club by various community organizations represent a strategy to induce self-surveillance behaviours (i.e., encourage HIV/STI screening, encourage sex with condoms, encourage safe substance consumption). The involvement of public health organizations within the MSC indicates a close relationship between the stripping industry and society's concern for public health. The results show that there was always a free supply of condoms for strippers.

Always yeah there are condoms in the back, and the bathrooms, on the main floor by the bathrooms. I always carry condoms with me anyways. I personally don't ever need them at work because I am very strict about that at work. Now I know that other strippers aren't, but I am. [P10]

⁵⁰ Despite the interesting line of inquiry evoked here, understanding how strippers explain their work to their social network in their private lives was beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, the matter was not discussed in detail with the participants.

Lubricant is even distributed in certain strip clubs: *“Ah oui, il y a deux distributeurs. Il y a genre deux condoms dedans et deux lubrifiants”* [P01]. Given that community health organizations are the ones providing MSCs with these condoms, it is safe to say that male strippers have been targeted as an at-risk population for transmitting or contracting STIs or HIV. The presence of health promotion and infection prevention posters meant to educate strippers regarding the dangers of condomless sex and how to reduce their chances of contracting infections was another visible sign of healthcare intervention. *“À part ça, non. Je ne sais pas, mais il y a des affiches derrière, je ne sais pas si ça a rapport avec ça pour faire les tests. Il y a des condoms”* [P12]. Moreover, community health organizations distribute and administer the Human Papilloma Virus vaccine to the strippers who are interested. Many clinics also offer free and quick STI and HIV screening services for all sex workers. Hence, the club's disciplinary matrix is also shaped by the external forces such as community health organizations implicated in MSC activities.

1.3. Training

The study participants spoke in detail about the training, or lack thereof, that goes into becoming a stripper in a MSC. In theory, for strippers to be properly disciplined in their workplace, comprehensive and ongoing training would be necessary. The results show that formal job interviews and job training are practically nonexistent. One participant stated:

La façon que tu deviens danseurs, c'est l'affaire la plus facile au monde. Tu vas sur scène, tu montres tes fesses, t'es cute, tu fais un sourire, puis si t'es pas obèse là ils vont te prendre. Fait que, le fait que l'accessibilité au niveau de la danse est tellement facile, ça fait en sorte que n'importe qui peut danser. Tu sais, il y a du monde qui vont être accro à la meth, puis ils vont venir danser, puis ça va peut-être avoir une mauvaise influence pour autre personne. Fait que j'pense que le best c'est vraiment d'avoir des entrevues poussées, que tu t'assoies avec le gars puis que tu lui parles pendant une heure. Tu sais, parce que ce gars-là il va représenter ton bar aussi d'une certaine manière... [P03]

According to the participants, becoming a stripper is a simple matter of auditioning for the club owners and meeting their physical appearance standards. Thus, a large variety of men may be hired as strippers without undergoing a rigorous interview process. This informal and relaxed

attitude to stripper recruitment is maintained throughout the job orientation and socialization process. The participants report that they received no pole dancing or dance routine training: “Zéro, zéro, t’arrives sur le tas” [P13]. Physical injuries from lack of training emerged as a concern for certain participants: “*Since half of us doesn’t have experience in that, and we never learned from anyone, it can get, you can get injured*” [P02]. Further, the lack of job training forms strippers who do not know how to work safely in the private cabins with clients.

Parce que quand tu es lancé là-dedans, tu sais pas à quoi t’attendre, alors moi c’est sûr que les premiers quarts de travail je savais pas qu’est-ce que je fais en arrière. [...] tu sais pas nécessairement quoi faire, comment le faire, comment aborder un client. Tantôt on parlait de la formation pour un danseur, qu’est-ce qui pourrait être pertinent c’est, pour les mettre en confiance, de savoir comment danser sur une scène, et comment danser dans une cabine. C’est sûr que s’il y avait une formation pour ça, ça serait intéressant à avoir, mais en dehors de ça, c’est pas important pour le bar que les danseurs savent danser, l’important c’est qu’ils paraissent bien. C’est comme vendre un produit, même s’il marche pas bien le produit, si t’es capable de le vendre, le monde vont l’acheter. [P08]

Stage performance and private booth training for strippers was something that the participants felt would be conducive to more confidence for strippers and better health and safety outcomes. Yet the above participant remarked that the club owners are more concerned with their strippers’ appearance than with the quality and safety of their performance.

Similarly, our results point to a lack of sexual health training for strippers. The participants stated that they rarely knew where to seek sexual health and social services. We asked participants if they felt they had access to sexual health education information; what follows is one participant’s answer.

Pas du tout là, si tu viens ici puis que tu connais pas ça, c’est pas ici que tu vas apprendre quelque chose. [...] Comme je te dis, c’est aucunement une priorité du patron. Parce que justement, si on lui demande, il dit « non, moi j’veux pas de ça ici », mais il sait très bien que ça se passe. Tu sais, il le sait très bien, comme je te dis, moi de mon point de vue, il sait très bien, il veut juste que du monde vienne dans son club. Il n’y a aucune éducation ici. Si t’es ignorant en rentrant, tu vas être ignorant en sortant. [...] Puis la culture générale, je suis convaincu que la plupart des gars savent pas les différents types de maladies puis comment c’est transmis, puis qu’est-ce qui peut le contracter, puis quoi, comment. [P07]

The results show that a stripper's sexual health concerns are not a discussion topic prioritized by the MSC management team in this study. A lack of training in this department, and a consequent lack of informed strippers, may very well be contributing to hazardous practices in the club. Additionally, participants report that they receive little information from the club owners and managers regarding the health and social services that could address their concerns. One participant reported hearing of accelerated clinical assessments for sex workers.

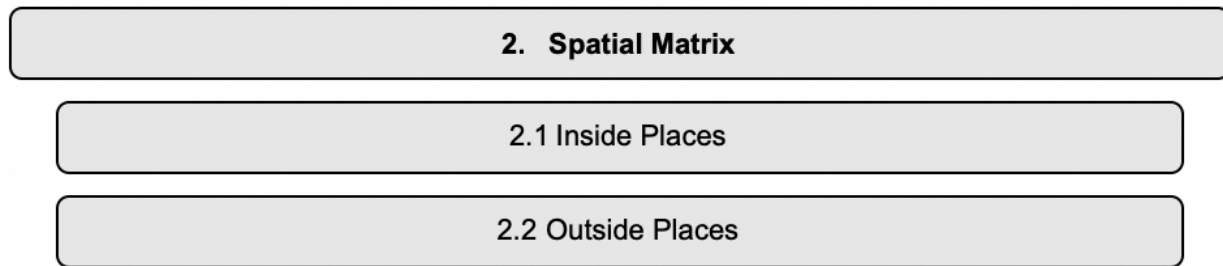
Bien ça, j'en ai entendu parler un peu. Si tu dis que tu es danseurs tu passes plus vite, c'est juste ça j'ai entendu dire. Ça ressemble pas mal juste à ça ce que j'ai entendu parler. Juste le fait qu'on peut passer plus vite parce qu'on est danseur. Dans le fond, c'est n'importe quels travailleurs du sexe. [P01]

In short, participants suggested that more on-the-job training and health education ought to be offered in the context of their work: *“La formation qui serait utile c'est une sensibilisation sur les risques du métier. Savoir dans quoi on s'embarque, c'est quoi que le milieu représente. Parce que quand tu es lancé là-dedans, tu sais pas à quoi t'attendre” [P08].*

Category 2 – Spatial Matrix

The spatial matrix focuses on the organization of elements that make up strippers' work space. Discussing the elements of space and place enables a more comprehensive understanding of the structure of the club's social matrix. A place is the result of a specific configuration of a space achieved through the forces that drive its social activities. MSCs are places where the sex economy is permitted to unfold. Within strip clubs, as in with any physical indoor location, the space is usually compartmentalized into distinct places reserved for specific social activities: like a home's place for cooking in the kitchen, socializing in the living room, and sleeping in the bedroom, the club has its places for resting, drinking, socializing, and engaging in sexual transactions. On this topic, participants spoke of the ways they navigated and used the different places in the club.

Figure 3. Spatial Matrix



2.1. Inside Places

For many, the MSC represents a place to negotiate services with clients: *“Oui, le bar c’est vraiment plus pour négocier je te dirais. Les actes se passent vraiment plus à l’extérieure. Oui, rencontrer les clients pour faire les extras. C’est vraiment ça”* [P01]. Further, participants state that the fact that they can organically interact with clients in a structured environment facilitates their negotiations. The following participant states that the club space creates an environment where the client knows that he must pay the worker:

Oui, oui, il y a un avantage, clairement un avantage parce que c’est structuré. Le client, tu sais, il est dans le club, il doit payer et il sent déjà qu’il doit payer, pas le choix de payer pour tes danses. Il est déjà dans un vibe de payer... Mais clairement qu’offrir ça dans un lieu déjà que tu travailles c’est beaucoup mieux que dans l’appart de quelqu’un que tu connais pas. [P07]

The club also helps strippers negotiate and sell services in the sense that the client can see and assess the stripper before investing more money in his services: *“Tandis que dans le bar, tu as une connexion avec la personne. Donc, tu as dansé pour la personne, c’est sûr que là elle a accroché au produit. Technique de marketing, tu veux que quelqu’un achète ton produite, met lui dans les mains”* [P08]. The same participant also stated that the bar is a place for clients to choose the stripper who most pleases them.

Exactement, alors c’est sûr que le bar peut être aussi comme un menu. Alors, c’est comme le restaurant, tu as le menu et tu peux décider de commander le danseur que tu veux. C’est sûr que si tu veux les extras que le restaurant ne peut pas fournir, mais tu peux aller ailleurs où tu peux essayer d’arranger pour l’avoir chez toi par après. Alors, souvent ça peut se faire à l’hôtel, au sauna, le lieu du choix que les deux s’entendent. Mais les extras peuvent se faire, c’est pas rare de voir des danseurs pratiquer des extras en dehors de leurs milieux de travail. [P08]

Clients will often “shop around” for strippers and even choose specific strip clubs to see if their offers will be accepted. The next excerpt illustrates how certain clubs have a reputation for being more lenient with strippers who offer prohibited sexual services to clients.

Let's say these clients would come around two o'clock, like before the last call, because I think they do that it's because since they're drunk they want to be pleased, they come to this bar. And also the other bars, I know what's their story, but you know bars have their reputations here, so sometimes they come in here, they want to test it out, if it works here. [P02]

Each strip club is unique and attracts a specific clientele and strippers with different physiques: “There's different images that different bars have” [P10]. Per our field observations, for instance, some male strip clubs will showcase more muscular and jock-type strippers, whereas other clubs will showcase a skinnier and younger type of strippers. In short, our results illustrate that the MSC is a place imbued with social forces articulated around the marketing and negotiation of sexual services between strippers and clients.

The participants also report specific significations for the different places inside the club. Regarding the staff-only areas, participants report using the locker room and lounge area for showering, relaxing, and working out before or during their shift. In certain strip clubs, participants report the presence of gym equipment for them to train before their performance. This participant stated that he exercised at work to “get in the zone”: “*Ce que je fais pour me mettre dans la zone c'est que je vais en bas puis je fais quelques petites séries d'entraînement ou de trapèze, peu importe, puis ça va juste me donner une petit blood flow, puis ça va me mettre dans ma zone un peu*” [P03]. Given that strippers did not interact with clients in the staff-only areas of strip clubs, we afforded little attention to this space. Specifically exploring the staff-only areas of the club was beyond the scope and aims of this study.

Our results point to the club's public space as significant for strippers (i.e., the bar area, the seating area, the DJ booth, and the stripping stage). Participants report using the dance floor space to scout for potential clients: “*Je fais comme un petit tour, je vais dans le coin du DJ, juste*

comme, dire allo, et puis en même temps regarder s'il y a des clients. S'il y a des clients, bien, je vais les voir, comme dépendamment si je trouve qui a des clients potentiels ou pas" [P06]. The participants would often use the dance floor area to discuss and negotiate services with clients: *"Des fois je le fais dans l'espace public, mais j'essaye, je dis au client de ne pas parler trop fort, de rester discret"* [P12]. Those who would discuss business with clients in the public places of the club underscored the importance of being discreet and secretive given their transgression of the code of conduct. One participant stated that he preferred discussing services with clients in the dance floor area because he felt he could be overheard in the private booths.

Dans le bar, dans l'espace public, toujours subtilement. Souvent, il y en a qui vont demander un numéro. Il y a ça. Sinon, les cabines, mais les cabines, vu que les danseurs peuvent rapporter ce qu'ils entendent, moi je préfère le faire en m'en allant vers les cabines en marchant tranquillement. Je me tiens vers les marches qui sont proches de l'espace de danses contact. [P11]

Others can report what they overhear to the management team. Conversely, certain participants stated that they preferred discussing their business with clients in the private booths.

Je vais lui dire de venir en parler avec moi en arrière. Sauf que c'est ça, dans ce contexte-là, s'il n'est pas déjà venu avec moi en arrière, si on n'est pas déjà en train d'aller en arrière, puis qu'il est en train de me poser des questions pour justement savoir s'il va en avoir assez, là j'essaye de le convaincre pour dire « écoute tu ne seras pas déçu, vient-t'en ». Je préfère rien dire de concret sur le plancher, je fais juste dire, tu sais, justement pour pas avoir à m'engager à dire « okay on va faire ça » sans que déjà on ait été au moins moi puis lui seul en arrière, fait que je fais juste dire « ah inquiète-toi pas, tu vas avoir du plaisir » sans dire c'est quoi ma limite exacte, je fais juste dire « inquiète-toi pas ». [P07]

The participants of this study report that they use the dance floor area to scout for potential clients and to negotiate services with them in a secretive manner. However, many participants report that the private dance cabins offer a more secure area to negotiate their business with clients. Overall, strippers use the places in the club where they feel most comfortable to discuss business with clients and fulfill their objectives.

Our results emphasized the pertinence of private booths in the MSC spatial matrix. Here, strippers and clients can benefit from a certain degree of isolation from the rest of the club activities; the desire to find private places to interact with clients demonstrates the importance of

the forces of privacy and anonymity in strippers' navigation of the club's social matrix. The booths are small places, usually side-by-side in a specific place in a strip club. In them, clients will sit on a type of booth or chair while the stripper performs: "*Des cabines avec un sofa, et un petit tabouret*" [P14]. Another participant presents a similar description: "*Oui, c'est ça, t'as juste un rideau dans le fond, une petite banquette à peu près large comme la table, un petit coussin en cuir, puis moi j'ai un tabouret fait que je suis un peu plus haut, ça me permet d'être en contrôle un peu plus*" [P13]. Depending on the configuration, strippers may find themselves with clients in a completely closed-off room, in a booth with a curtain, or in a booth with no curtain. Thus, the range of privacy levels available will vary depending on the club.

Moi j'ai entendu parler qu'à [name of city] il y avait des portes qui se barrait puis des affaires de même, puis ça c'est vraiment « awkward ». Ici, un petit rideau, le client est toujours entre toi puis le mur, tu as toujours la possibilité de sortir du rideau, c'est quand même assez sécuritaire, puis t'es à côté de tout le monde, et même si t'es à côté de tout le monde, il y a une certaine intimité. Fait que non, la place où qu'on fait les danses c'est vraiment bon, c'est très pratique. Puis aux ladies night, quand qu'on fait les femmes, on a pas le droit de fermer les rideaux, ce que je trouve assez compréhensible parce que même avec les rideaux ouverts des fois on peut faire des choses qu'on devrait peut-être pas faire, fait que si on avait les rideaux fermés ça serait encore pire. [P03]

According to this participant, the layout and the presence of a door or curtain can have an impact on strippers' and clients' behaviours in these places. The higher the level of privacy, the more strippers have the latitude to offer the services they want to their clients: "*Tu sais, au [name of bar], j pense que c'est assez fermé fait que tu fais un peu ce que tu veux*" [P06]. Moreover, certain participants report that some booths are more secluded than others, and therefore, they render it easier to negotiate and provide prohibited services to clients in the club.

Il y a deux corridors de cabines, dont un corridor qui est tout le temps accessible. Quand je dis accessible, ça veut dire que tous les jours que le club est ouvert, comme là tu vois ce soir on est jeudi, il y a un gros rideau noir, fait qu'on a juste une section du club, puis ce corridor-là est le corridor où est-ce que les cabines sont à aires ouvertes si je peux dire. Puis le vendredi et samedi, là t'as la deuxième section qui est accessible, donc avec le deuxième corridor où est-ce qu'il y a un peu plus de cabines, puis le corridor est un peu plus sombre effectivement, un peu plus restreint, effectivement, moi le vendredi, samedi, je préfère aller dans ce corridor-là parce que c'est plus facile de voir le gérant arriver, c'est plus subtil effectivement. [P07]

In short, our results show that the strip clubs with highly secluded booths provide strippers with better opportunities to satisfy their need for privacy and anonymity, therefore increasing their level of comfort in offering extras and negotiating escort services with clients. One participant also recalls that some booths may have condoms and lube inside them:

I just had friends who worked Pride in [name of city] and that club has, that club has cabins with doors that lock, and when you walk in there is condoms and tissues and lube. And the customers like, the customers literally tell him “we don’t really see this as a strip club, we see it as a brothel” you know, so like imagine trying to be just a stripper in that type of environment, you know, it’s impossible. And so like, I feel like the ones who are doing it, are being really disrespectful to the environment, like if you really want to escort, escort outside of the club. Like this is, we are strippers here, can we just keep it a fucking strip club and not fucking ruin it. [P05]

He feels that this benefits those who want to offer extras but is disadvantageous to strippers who want to strip only. Bringing clients in the booths before agreeing to offer them sexual services is a way for strippers to screen the clients.

Alors déjà là il y a une sélection qui se fait naturellement. Au niveau des clients, c’est sûr que tu peux voir, si tu l’amènes d’abord en arrière pour voir comment que la chimie est, voir comment le fonctionnement va avec la personne, tu peux savoir à quoi t’attendre. [...] La danse nous permet de faire une sélection de voir comment le client agit, comment il interagit, et aussi voir à quel point il peut faire des choses que tu n’aimes pas. [P08]

The booths allow strippers to get to know who their clients are and to see if they are comfortable enough to offer them the requested sexual services. The booths are also where strippers *must* go to make a reasonable salary. Interacting with clients in booths can entail negative risks; however, it is a necessary part of the job.

Bien, c’est sûr qui a peut-être plus de risque je te dirais, mais j’suis quand même à l’aise en arrière. Mais, tu sais, qu’on le veuille ou non, c’est là que tu fais ton argent. T’as pas vraiment le choix de, t’as pas le choix de le faire. Bien, si tu veux faire de l’argent, t’as pas vraiment le choix, n’importe qui qui travaille veut faire de l’argent. C’est toi qui fais ton salaire dans le fond. Tu peux faire zéro, comme tu peux faire mille. [P01]

Work in the private booths is where strippers earn their salary. The tips they receive on stage are minimal and they do not earn an income from the club. Our results also illustrate that the participants prefer the most secluded booths to increase their financial gain.

How it works here it's that Tuesday we don't have doormen, so nobody is going to check in the back, okay, Thursday we have manager, he'll check sometimes but you know he doesn't have time, and then Friday and Saturday, no Wednesday Friday and Saturday, two sections of the cabins are open, so there is another cabin, there is no light, it's very very dark, and very very, like it's a sketchy place, everybody can do their money there. [P02]

In short, it seems that male strippers will not only use booths to make their earnings, but also take advantage of the surveillance habits and the booth configuration to maximize their income. The private booth is a place where strippers' motivation to earn money is heightened in the club's spatial matrix. The participants report the presence of "special booths" where clients and strippers have the ability to engage in prohibited services for a higher fee. One participant explains that certain clients may hold an important monetary status and may receive special treatment from the establishment. He states:

Il y a certains clients qui ont un statut VIP. Ils disposent souvent d'une cabine particulière, qui n'est pas à la vue. Fait que, il y a certains clients qui sont très importants au niveau du bar vu qu'ils génèrent beaucoup d'argent. Ils ont accès à une cabine souvent dans une place qui est fermée du bar, ils ont accès à cette place-là, mais c'est sous entente avec la direction que vu que ça fait des années qu'ils viennent, et qu'ils sont extrêmement payants. [P08]

Other participants also report the use of booths that were best suited to provide extra services to clients. Typically, these booths are more secluded and were preferred by male clients: "*Il y a deux cabines qui sont plus dans un coin et ce sont les cabines que tous les clients aiment parce que c'est plus discret. Alors les clients demandent toujours si ces cabines-là sont libres pour aller à ces cabines-là, ils aiment ça*" [P12]. The participants' experiences demonstrate that the booths' physical configuration can impact strippers' practices with clients. Also, different strip clubs may have a different operating format for the private booths. Therefore, different clubs with different spatial matrices may generate unique relations between strippers, their club's social matrix, and their occupational health and safety practices.

2.2. Outside Places

We found that strippers' workspace extends beyond the walls of the club, especially if they offer escort services to their clients. The two main reasons that might bring a stripper to exit the club during a shift are substance use and sexual transactions. First, participants report that strippers will exit the club to acquire illicit substances: *"They are going out to [name of bar], there are going to all the other fucking clubs to like, or like just going out on the street to find coke, and then they are bringing it back, splitting it with their friends"* [P05]. Also, strippers navigate workspaces outside to engage in escort services with clients. Clients will sometimes ask strippers to go back to a hotel or another venue with them for services that were negotiated in the club.

J'ai un régulier qui aime ça se coller. On va à l'hôtel et puis on fait juste se coller. Il y en a que c'est comme ça. Il y en a que c'est des massages. Tu sais, ils aiment ça masser. Ils veulent que j'aille à l'hôtel pour me masser. Il me donne trois cents en général, et puis je vais juste à l'hôtel une heure de temps et puis il me masse, tout nu dans le lit. [P01]

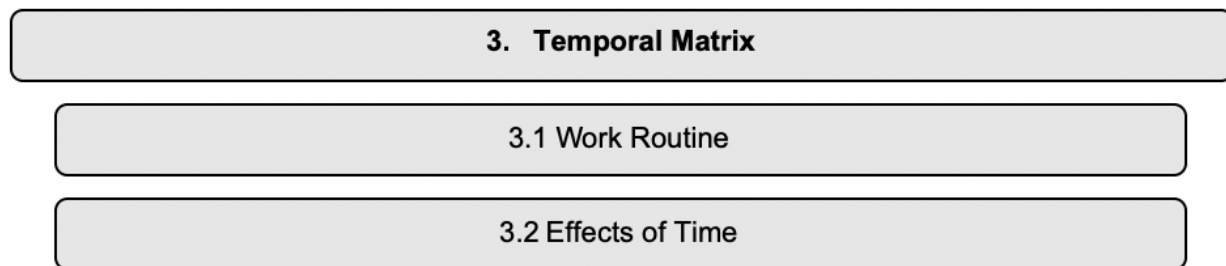
Apartments also seem to be a popular choice. One participant states that one of his regular clients requested private services at his apartment: *"I have this one particular client that we started off like really well, like he wanted to do privates after work, and he lives right around the corner, so I would go see him, and after work, or I would leave work a little early and was going make my money there"* [P05]. Sexual services between strippers and clients can even occur in odd places such as parked vehicles: *"Il y a des filles qui sucent les gars dans les cabines, mais en général, les gars qui veulent qui se passe de quoi avec la fille, s'en vont dans l'auto, s'en vont dans leur auto à l'extérieur du club, puis ils couchent avec la fille"* [P08]. We argue that certain social forces, such as the need to use or acquire substances, or the need to engage in sexual transactions with clients, fuel the expansion of the spatial matrix beyond the physical walls of the MSC.

Category 3 – Temporal Matrix

Our results show that the temporal matrix of stripping is fluid and changes forms as it moves through chronological time. In turn, strippers' relation to the temporal folds of the broader social

matrix changes; strippers' perceptions and work practices are modulated by these changes. Strippers' sexual service transactions and health and safety outcomes are thus affected by the changes in the spatial matrix. We first introduce the results that depict how strippers organize chronological time at work. Subsequently, we demonstrate the ways strippers' social relation to chronological time forms the structure of the temporal matrix and shapes their work practices.

Figure 4. Temporal Matrix



3.1. Work Routine

According to the participants, work time begins at home when they prepare themselves for their shift. This includes caring for their hygiene and physical appearance, as well as getting mentally prepared: *“Bien moi, d’habitude, je me prépare chez nous. Je prends ma douche, tu sais, je me fais beau. Je fais mes cheveux. Je me rase. C’est pas mal ça je te dirais”* [P01]. Some report using the time before work to consume substances.

I don’t normally go to work not under, I don’t consume while I am at work but I don’t normally go to work not under the influence of something, that’s me personally. I myself, my drug of choice is ketamine, but I enjoy, I like using some sort of stimulant to help balance me out. So, I normally like to get high like an hour before I go to work, so I’m not going to work like totally zing zing zing zing. [P10]

Another participant also states that he would smoke cannabis before work: *“I like to smoke it, like an hour before, so I get the down part, and like, I’m really like relaxed”* [P02]. Once they arrive on site, some begin by notifying the DJ of their presence: *“Parfait, donc le quart débute à vingt et une heure, alors là on doit se présenter, on doit s’identifier auprès du DJ et du barman pour signifier notre présence”* [P08]. Or, they go and pay their service fee to the DJ or the manager:

“Okay. Bien, quand je commence à travailler, je commence par payer mon service-bar. Ça c’est vingt dollars que tu donnes au bar” [P01]. Another participant says that he will socialize with his colleagues before starting to work.

So normally going into work it’s everyone saying hi to everyone and “hey what’s up, how was your day” it depends on the timing when you go into work, when you are going in early, earlier in their night, it’s slow, and you actually have the chance to sit down and talk with each other. [P10]

Rather than getting ready at home, some participants reported doing their personal care at work. They also used the gym equipment and showers available to them in the staff-only areas before going on the floor.

I usually go downstairs, bench press for a bit, get a little workout in unless I had time to go to the gym during the daytime. Then I’ll come out and have another cigarette, usually smoke a joint, come downstairs, take a shower, then I will start working, usually around nine thirty because really there is not much money before that and I rather save my energy rather than just the burnout right at the beginning of the night. [P05]

The preparation that goes into the beginning of a shift for male strippers is meant to help them get in the mood, to increase their motivation, and focus when they are interacting with clients. One participant stated that exercising helps him “get in the zone” [P03] while working. He fully enters his stripper character after his first stage performance.

Non, c’est vraiment plus que la transition entre [name of stripper] et puis [stage name] le danseur va se faire vraiment au premier « stage » quand je suis sur scène, là la transition va se faire, vraiment mieux se faire, puis je vais vraiment plus embarquer dans la « game » de danseur, sinon je suis plus réticent à approcher les gens, c’est plutôt ça. [P03]

The transition into the stripper persona is also captured by the following participant who needed to be in the mood to work; the substances often helped him get into the right mindset to work:

But then I realized, there is a switch that comes on when we go into the club, and whether that’s a few tokes of weed and a shot to get yourself in the mood, that’s the number one thing mood, that to me is work, part of the job. [...] but I’ll see them come in for their shift and they will do their regular GHB caplet a little line of coke a little spit of weed and a glass of alcohol, and that’s their get into the zone. [P04]

Another participant stated that alcohol helps him get into the mood he needs to work: *“Tu es dans un bar, faut que tu sois dans l’ambiance. Je ne sais pas, je pense que la plupart des danseurs*

savent que, tu sais, tu es plus dans l'ambiance avec de l'alcool" [P06]. Thus, our results indicate that substance use plays an important role in strippers' preparation for work insofar as it helps them embody and fulfill their work role.

After having undergone preparatory routines, strippers enter times when they are on stage and interacting with clients. The stage performance is an artistic showcase of strippers' physique and mood for the audience. In its structure, the performance alternates between "fast" to "slow" performances.

Bien, sur le stage, les stages c'est environ un total de trois ou quatre minutes du stage. Ça fait que c'est ça, tu fais ton stage et puis après ça il y a un gars qui fait son slow, c'est comme ça qu'on appelle ça. C'est la danse en sous-vêtements. Après ça, il y a un autre gars qui fait son vite, la danse habillée. Et puis après ça, c'est à ton tour de faire ton slow qui dure trois à quatre minutes. [P01]

Typically, strippers will begin with their "fast" performance which entails an energetic performance whereby they are semi-nude. Following this, the same stripper will come back on stage to perform a more sensual and rhythmic routine whereby he must remove his pants and show his genitals. Full nudity is expected by the audience.

Le DJ va, au cours de la soirée, nous appeler sur le stage pour justement aller faire deux chansons, alors ça va être un vite et une lente. Au niveau de la vite, il s'agit de retirer que le chandail et quand ça va être le tour de la deuxième chanson, il faut entrer sur la scène, soit en sous-vêtement ou soit nu, et si on entre en sous-vêtement il faut montrer notre sexe. Idéalement en érection. [P08]

During the time between their two performances, strippers may get ready for their slow performance by masturbating behind the stage.

The first one is a fast, upbeat, clothes on, tease, and then we come off, and then we do another song after another guy goes on. And that one, we come out with underwear or naked, and to prepare for that, we usually sit behind the stage and jerk off a little bit or get ourselves hard to go onstage with an erection. [P04]

According to these participants, having an erection while dancing on stage appears to be invaluable for the performance. Erections generate more excitement from the audience by demonstrating the stripper's sexual arousal. Depending on the club facilities, strippers may have access to props and stage accessories such as showers to create a different type of performance

for the audience. In short, strippers will spend a few minutes on stage performing both energetic and sensual performances to arouse clients' sexual desires.

Once they are finished on stage, strippers continue their quest to attract new clientele by approaching and courting clients. Some strippers may approach clients before their stage performance; however, the participants stated that they began seeing clients only after their first stage show.

Jamais que je commence à approcher des clients avant d'avoir fait mon premier stage, si je passe à onze heures trente, bien je vais passer à onze heures trente, puis je vais passer ce temps-là à approcher personne, parce que je ne suis pas dans le mood de justement aller approcher les gens. Je ne rentre pas dans le personnage avant que je sois vraiment aller faire mon premier stage. Quand je fais mon premier stage, je commence à aller voir les gens, je leur parle, je leur propose, je leur demande s'ils ont aimé le show que j'ai donné, et puis s'ils l'ont aimé, à quel point qu'ils l'ont aimé et puis s'ils sont prêts à venir avec moi en arrière. [P03]

Hence, stage performances can serve as discussion point for strippers when broaching a conversation with a client. In the excerpt above, the stage performance is a catalyst that facilitates the participant's transition into his work identity; this helps him feel more comfortable when approaching and courting clients. For strippers motivated by financial gain (refer to the "Motivating Forces" sub-category), the goal of the interaction is to convince clients to buy private dances.

Stage performances were perceived as a hazardous activity. This was highlighted by the participants who reported having no pole dancing experience: "*Since half of us doesn't have experience in that, and we never learned from anyone, it can get, you can get injured. Like me, for the past two weeks I had a tendonitis*" [P02]. Our results show that strippers face potential injury from performing on stage. Therefore, physical health dangers are perceived on this end.

Puis la fameuse pole là, je m'étais fait un bleu ça de gros parce que j'étais tombé de très haut, tu sais, tu peux te blesser sur le stage si tu fais des faux mouvements, ou si tu as des mauvaises chaussures. Il faut un minimum de préparation physique, le mental joue pour beaucoup, d'arriver préparé, dans la bulle, tu fais ton show, tu reviens, c'est fait. [P13]

Other than physical injuries, participants also perceived hazards on stage due to the possible contact with bodily fluid found on the stripping pole or elsewhere on stage. Strippers perceive a risk of contamination and infection.

Si tu dances, que tu touches le poteau, tu touches le client, après ça, avant chaque slow, y faut que tu te branles pour arriver sur scène bandé, fait qu'au final tu as quand même un contact. Tu sais, je ne connais pas vraiment les bactéries, je ne sais pas si ça peut rester dans la main de même, mais c'est pas, tu sais, tu es vraiment toujours en contact avec ton sexe toute la soirée fait que, avec des clients qui vont y toucher des fois, tu peux pas savoir ce qui peut arriver. [P03]

In addition to strippers' use of time for stage performances and seeing clients in the main floor area, time is also structured around the private booth activities. Strippers make most of their money here and naturally want to spend most of their time in the booths. Inside the booths, time is structured according to songs and services. Private dances usually cost clients 20 Canadian dollars per song (songs last approximately three to four minutes): *“Oui, c'est vingt dollars la chanson. Au fond, c'est vingt dollars aux quatre minutes. [...] Oui, tu sais, c'est autant qu'ils veulent, tant qu'ils veulent rester et qu'ils ont de l'argent, ils vont rester”* [P01]. And, in theory, a client can stay with a stripper in the booths until the club closes for the night—provided they have the financial means to do so and access to a stripper who accepts their request.

Finally, our results also show that strippers' work routine includes their use of time after their shift. Participants also state that they would sometimes use their time after work to meet clients: *“I have this one particular client that we started off like really well, like he wanted to do privates after work, and he lives right around the corner, so I would go see him, and after work, or I would leave work or little early and was going make my money there”* [P05]. Based on this, strippers' use of work time, similar to their use of space, is not restricted to the strip club's inner dwellings. The spatial and temporal matrices operate both inside and outside the club; however, our study prioritized the events that took place within the club walls specifically.

3.2. Effects of Time

Illustrated in our results, strippers' relation to chronological time during their shift directly influenced the structuring of the club's temporal matrix. As time progressed, participants' perceptions and practices changed. The results show that there are different types of shifts in MSCs, each offering something unique to the stripping experience. Shifts differ according to the time of day and according to the day of the week.

Like it all depends, there is three different shifts. There's three to nine, so you're coming in at three in the afternoon, and that's a whole different mindset, a whole different vibe of the club. And then there's the six to twelve, and that's a whole different mindset and vibe. And then there's the nine to close and that's like obviously you're coming in at nine o'clock that's full on, full Monty nighttime stripper atmosphere, so there all three different vibes, atmospheres, and mindsets. [P04]

The different times also influenced how busy a club will be and what type of clients will be present. Consequently, the resulting socio-temporal configuration of the club impacts strippers' "mindset" and "vibe" in the club, and it also impacts the way they navigated places in the club and their practices with clients.

Our results indicate that the strippers are most active in the later hours of the club times. They immerse themselves in the "full Monty nighttime stripper atmosphere" [P04]. This is because the club sees most of its clients in the later hours: "*J'arrive vraiment vers dix heures, dix heures et demie, puis c'est là qui a plein de monde, puis je pars à deux heures, fait que, tu sais, je suis vraiment dans les heures de pointe*" [P03]. Participants also state building their routine around time to attain the best earning potential.

Personnellement, je monte toujours en haut vers dix heures et demie, juste pour attendre qu'il y ait un peu de monde, puis que le monde ait consommé un peu d'alcool. Fait que je monte vers dix heures et demie, puis de dix heures et demie jusqu'à pas mal jusqu'à trois heures je suis à la chasse comme on dit, j'essaye de trouver des clients potentiels ou qui me, que j'ai l'air de les exciter et je vais les voir. [P07]

In short, there are times where strippers feel that it is best for them to begin approaching clients to solicit them for private dances. For some, it is when they finish their stage performances; for

others, it is when the club is busier and when clients have consumed alcohol. Given their financial interest, strippers perceive the later hours as the best time to make money with clients.

Strippers' relation to time has effects in the private booth activities as well. The level of intimacy and sexuality increases as the songs progress and the client is more willing to pay. The higher the number of songs played, the more intimate and sexual the experience becomes. Our results show that participants structured their booth performance according to song numbers.

Pour les hommes, première chanson, c'est d'apprendre un peu à connaître la personne: qu'est-ce qu'il aime, il aime se faire flatter le cou, il aime se faire flatter les cheveux, il aime se faire jouer après les tits, [...] à la fin de la première chanson j'enlève ma ceinture, par la suite... Parce que le but est qu'à chaque fin de chansons tu fasses un move que le client va faire « oh fuck, okay, j'en veux une autre » [...] fin de la deuxième chanson, je détache mon pantalon tranquillement. Troisième chanson, ça c'est ce que je considère la chanson d'enculé parce que j'enlève mon pantalon et ça me prend fucking de temps, j'enlève mes souliers, puis là je les détache tellement lentement là, je suis vraiment un enfoiré là, je prends mon temps là pour justement aller chercher le plus de temps possible parce que le temps c'est du cash. Ensuite, quatrième chanson, là je montre un peu mes fesses, je montre un peu le début de mon sexe tranquillement, puis là, à la cinquième chanson, je suis nu. [P03]

This participant illustrated how the stripper makes use of time and songs so that clients will want to stay longer. Learning to persuade clients to spend more time in the booths is financially rewarding for strippers. The above excerpt illustrates that the participant had stripped fully naked by the fifth song; five songs is one hundred dollars. Therefore, clients adamant on seeing strippers naked will pay this amount each time: *“Tu crées un désir, tu crées un, vraiment un désir, une tension, tu sais, si tu donnes tout tout de suite il va se tanner de trois chansons [...]”* [P03].

The moment when strippers fully undress in the booth is variable. Some will be completely nude during the third song: *“À partir de la troisième chanson, t'es complètement nu je te dirais. Pis c'est là, tu sais, qu'il se passe plus de choses-là”* [P01]. For others, they undress and get intimate with clients according to how they are feeling and according to the amount of money they hope to make.

The longer you are in the back, the more money you make right? So if you have a good client, and he is paying, after three songs, you know just by three songs in your underwear is like on or about to come off, and you like really want to get it to hundred, you really want to get it up higher, you are obviously going to just think with your, think

with your mind, think with the money, the money mind, just like how long can I keep this guy in the back for. Okay I'm going to take my dick out now, and next thing you know your dick is getting sucked [...] "oh shit he is at seven songs now, okay you know what now I am going to let him suck my dick and let's make it like two hundred dollars" and that's the mentality of the longer we keep these guys, the more money we make. [P04]

To make the most money, strippers will structure their time in a way to maximize a client's spending. They do this by sexually teasing clients and by removing items of clothing according to the number of songs purchased. Participants explained to us how they leveraged time and sexuality to earn the most money with clients.

Là on parle premièrement du nerf de la guerre, ce que j'essaye de comprendre depuis un an. Ça c'est une science ici, il n'y a pas, tu sais, la seule chose qui est structurée c'est les vingt piasses aux trois minutes. Mais là pour tout ce qui est au niveau sexuel, en fait moi je te dirais, il n'y a pas tant, en tout cas de mon expérience à moi, à part à quelques reprises précises que je dis admettons « je veux te sucer, je vais te donner « x » plus pour te sucer », la réalité c'est plus du « leverage » pour qu'il reste plus longtemps avec toi. Admettons que je vois que là il est tanné et qu'il en veut plus, puis que je sais qu'il me doit un soixante piasses et qu'il va sortir, bien là je vais utiliser le « leverage » de la sexualité à offrir pour que finalement ça lui coûte un deux cents quelques piasses parce que là il va triper et il va rester avec moi plus longtemps. [P07]

To paraphrase, time is money for male strippers working in the booths: they think with the “money-mind.” To a certain degree, desire for money dictates how strippers structure their time in the booths. When money dominates the mind, the temporal matrix is configured in a way so as to enable behaviours that satisfy strippers' financial motivations.

Time also impacts strippers differently according to the day of the week. Certain MSCs host “ladies' nights” on particular days of the week: “*Oui, au début c'était les lundis et les mardis, et puis là maintenant je pense que c'est les lundis*” [P13]. Participants sometimes prefer ladies' nights because of the artistic aspects of their stage performances and the attention they receive from women.

Ce qui me plaît le plus, c'est vraiment l'aspect artistique que je retrouve pendant que je danse pour les femmes. Le fait de me déguiser, de monter des chorégraphies, d'attiré l'attention, puis d'attiré aussi des cris, ce qui n'a pas aux gay night. Fait que c'est vraiment ça que j'aime le plus, le côté artistique, que je peux me prouver ce que je sais faire puis monter des chorégraphies puis être synchronisé avec la musique, faire un show. [P03]

In this case, ladies' nights can influence how strippers feel while working. Not only can ladies' night influence how strippers feel, but it can also change how they work.

Fait que non, la place où on fait les danses c'est vraiment bon, c'est très pratique, puis aux ladies night, t'sais quand qu'on fait les femmes on n'a pas le droit de fermer les rideaux, ce que je trouve assez compréhensible parce que même avec les rideaux ouvert des fois on peut faire des choses qu'on devrait peut-être pas faire fait que si on avait les rideaux fermés ça serait encore pire. [P03]

The above excerpt illustrates how the private booth space and strippers' work is modified during ladies' nights.

Additionally, seasons can also impact club business and strippers' work behaviours. The weekends and the summer months are the best times for business and profitability. Weekdays are not so great: "*Si admettons dimanche, admettons à soir [Tuesday], tu sais ce n'est pas occupé du tout. Il n'y a presque pas de client, alors je me ramasse souvent à faire des siestes là*" [P01]. Similarly, the winter months are the most scarce in terms of income: "*Mais au début je dansais les mardis, et puis les mardis il n'y avait quasiment personne l'hiver là, c'était l'enfer, il y avait trois ou quatre clients dans la soirée*" [P03]. Our results indicate that wintertime generates financial stress for strippers.

Certainement durant l'année tu es plus en soif d'argent l'hiver, c'est dur là, les gars ne font pas beaucoup d'argent, pas beaucoup l'hiver. Je suis aux études à temps plein durant l'année, et non seulement pour ça, j'ai même pas envie de rentrer travailler durant l'hiver tellement qu'il n'y a pas beaucoup de monde. Tu sais, j'étais vraiment pas là souvent durant l'hiver, mais il y a quelques soirées admettons, janvier, début janvier c'était pas pire parce que bon là c'était le jour de l'an et tout, mais admettons février tu viens et tu peux facilement faire zéro, tu sais. [P07]

The last excerpt illustrates how strippers become "thirsty" for money in the winter. One participant felt he was gambling with his money during this season.

The actual things we do in the club don't really stress me out, it's more that like every night is a gamble, you know, and like not so much in the summer, but in the wintertime it really feels like you are gambling, and like you come in, you might, it's quite frequent that you will leave with less money that you came in with, because it cost twenty, twenty-five dollars to work. [P05]

Financial stress is added because strippers must still pay their entry fee to the club in the winter months. Hence the gamble: their twenty-dollar bet might turn into a profitable night, but there is a strong chance that it will not, especially if it is a weekday.

Our results show that time also appears to influence clients' and the management team's behaviours. On less busy nights or during the winter months, participants reported decreased booth surveillance; it becomes easier to break the code of conduct during these times: *"How it works here it's that Tuesday we don't have doormen, so nobody is going to check in the back, okay, Thursday we have manager, he'll check sometimes but you know he doesn't have time"* [P02]. Moreover, in the winter, *"when guys are making less money,"* stated a participant, *"they don't check the cabins"* [P05]. Said otherwise, this alludes to an unspoken rule or symbiotic relationship between strippers and the management team when the club is not generating enough money. The code of conduct appears to be ignored or changed more frequently by the management team to allow the strippers to turn a profit for themselves and the club.

In the previous category, our results described the existence of special private dance booths that were more secluded than the others. Our results also indicate that these booths are used during specific times. During certain days of the week, strippers can access this place with privileged clients with the aim of offering prohibited services.

En fait, c'est une section, il y a une section de la salle qui est fermée temporairement certaines journées de la semaine, tout précisément de jour. Alors ça fait en sorte qu'il y a une partie des cabines qui sont entre guillemets « condamnées », qui ne sont pas accessibles pour les clients réguliers. Alors, ce client-là que j'ai en tête, a accès à cette cabine-là et il n'a pas la pression, la chance de se faire prendre ou la chance de se faire surprendre, alors là il peut aller agréement faire qu'est-ce qu'il y a envie de faire comme pratique. [P08]

In short, the management's behaviour toward booth surveillance changes with time. Therefore, infrequent booth surveillance is at times deliberate to increase the flow of income for strippers and for the club.

Based on our results, strippers' substance use habits tend to increase as they spend more time in the MSC environment. The next participant reported an increase in alcohol consumption.

But coming to work at four in the afternoon, and then realizing you had to go onstage and be naked and talk to people, then that brought the drinking and the drug use up several hours, or like smoking and drinking at four p.m., and you don't realize it, you're in a dark club and it feels like nighttime but it's really not. But when I do work the nighttime shifts, I come in and it's like "okay drop your shit" those are the times that your most tempted to have a drink because on a Friday or Saturday night everyone is there partying. Knowing you're not out with everyone else, so. [P04]

Since strippers are spending time in an environment where "everyone is partying" might also influence strippers' substance use habits. Moreover, participants reported that strippers' substance use habits can change—for better or worse—as time passes.

La quantité de cocaïne et de GHB qui se consomme par les danseurs c'est faramineux là. Comme je te dis, moi je fais un peu contraste parce que je ne consomme pas, mais tous les danseurs, beaucoup de cocaïne, beaucoup de GHB. Il y a eu beaucoup de gars qui justement, qui viennent ici plus, puis s'ils étaient pas déjà dépendants ils vont être encore plus dépendants. [P07]

Continuous exposure to an environment where drugs are prevalent may lead to substance use issues, according to our participants. Thus, the club's temporal matrix and the passage of chronological time appear to enable substance use and addiction.

Like drug and alcohol use practices, strippers' sexual behaviour and work practices with clients change over time. The next participant described the contrast between his sexual practices at work compared to his personal life.

Ma vie personnelle, c'est, au fond je peux rendre ça aussi simple que ça, c'est que ma vie sexuelle est tout à fait traditionnelle, classique, qui est complètement l'opposé de ce que pourrait représenter un quart de travail. Mais c'est sûr que le sexe oral, les choses de base c'est très similaire. C'est quand on arrive dans les cas marginaux que ça je ferais pas ça personnellement par plaisir, me faire licher les pieds par une fille, ça personnellement, « hammer » ça si tu veux, mais j'ai aucune excitation par ça. Fait qu'il y a des choses comme ça que je ne ferais pas avec une femme qu'avec un homme, si il paye, tant mieux, c'est juste une question d'argent. [P08]

According to this participant, his sexual behaviours change as a function of his work as a stripper. Moreover, depending on the day of the week, participants reported being more lenient with clients and more likely to bend the rules during the times when there is less booth surveillance: "Like I have one regular, like he likes, he likes me to play with his nipples and he would take off his pants and like jerk off. Like, he will come here every Tuesday because it's quiet because no one's in

the back” [P02]. Strippers may also be more lenient with clients during ladies’ nights. This next participant stated being sexually attracted to women and more permissive with female clients.

Quand tu commences une danse avec une femme, bien, c’est dur parce que c’est un combat que j’ai avec moi-même parce que celui qui a envie d’y aller puis l’autre qui se retient parce qu’il faut qu’il fasse des danses aussi, bien c’est vraiment un problème que j’ai, je me laisse trop aller avec les femmes, puis que ça arrive que deuxième chanson j’ai déjà les culottes à terre, puis c’est ça. [P03]

Further, participants report that during the times when they make less money, clients will have an easier time negotiating with them: “C’est sûr que si on a une mauvaise soirée on va être plus tenté de faire des rabais” [P08]. Concerning work during the winter season, our results show that strippers’ tendency to offer prohibited services will increase: “Les moment de l’année aussi, comme l’hiver, je fais moins d’argent fait que je vais plus accepter d’extras, mais pas pour moins d’argent, comme juste le fait d’accepter. Sinon, non, pas vraiment, c’est sûr que non” [P06].

Our results also demonstrate that strippers’ work practices also change over time due to the stripping socialization process and their desensitization to their work environment. This process appeared to increase their level of tolerance with clients for things that would have generated discomfort previously. This next participant stated that he is less bothered by doing extras with clients and is more comfortable doing it: “Et puis le fait que je suis à l’aise. Avant, je sais pas, je voulais juste pas, maintenant ça me dérange moins” [P06]. A work tolerance takes time to develop. Our results show that tolerance is gained through experience.

La tolérance est propre aux danseurs. Propre à ses expériences. Propre aussi au nombre d’années que la personne fait ça. C’est sûr que quand ça fait plusieurs années que tu fais ça, tu en as vu de toutes les couleurs. Tu as peut-être expérimenté, tu as peut-être testé tes limites, mais avec le temps, tu finis par connaître tes limites. C’est souvent les nouveaux danseurs qui sont plus à risque, qui vont vraiment pousser trop leurs limites, ou qui vont essayer et puis ils vont regretter par après. Des danseurs qui sont sortis avec des traumatismes parce que justement, ils ont dépassé ce qu’ils pensaient l’acceptable et le tolérable. [P08]

As illustrated above, strippers are encouraged to acquire more tolerance to make the most money possible. This could negatively impact novice strippers who have not yet established their

personal limits. New strippers quickly find themselves in an environment where they must transform their sexuality into a commodity to generate an income. This process is arduous.

Au début c'était difficile à cause j'ai toujours été quelqu'un de gêné, mais je me suis habitué et puis j'ai remarqué que je fais plus d'argent plus que je socialise alors je me suis dégêné avec le temps. Plus que je parlais au client, plus que j'étais moins gêné avec le temps. Et puis aussi quand j'ai remarqué que je faisais plus d'argent, là je me suis plus vite dégêné. [P12]

In other words, strippers learn to relate to the club's temporal matrix in a way that enables profitable transactions with clients, meaning that they must configure their tolerance threshold so that it matches their motivation for financial gain and clients' motivation for sexual services. This is done through a process of desensitization and socialization through the passing of time. Our results show that strippers learn that when they modify their behaviours in certain ways, they can make more money. As time passes, their money-mind grows. In short, clients' motivations for sexual transactions with strippers and strippers' work motivations shape the club's temporal matrix and the social interactions that occur within it.

Theme 2 – Assemblage

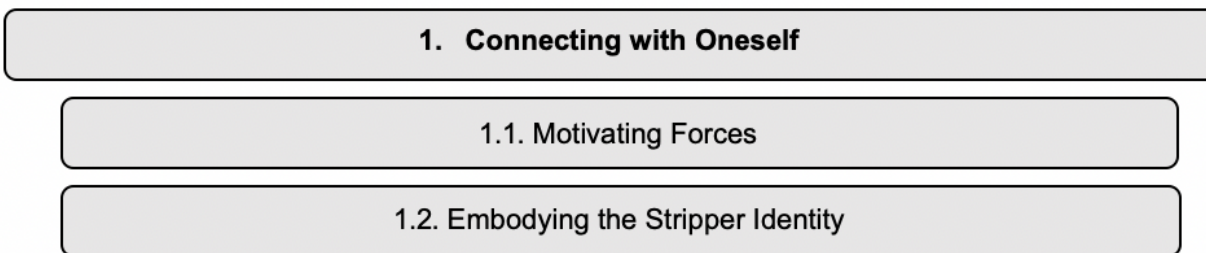
Our results demonstrate that strippers' work practices and the MSC human ecology are a product of the inter-connection of forces between motivated bodies. We were compelled to conceptualize strippers' work as a continuous interplay of motivated connections between social agents, substances, and the social matrix in which the connections unfold. The interplay of bodies in the MSC led to distinct behavioural configurations seen in the ways our participants reported interacting with other strippers, clients, and business entrepreneurs. The term "assemblage" refers to the configurations produced between strippers and other social bodies in the club. Our results illustrate that the assemblages formed in the club, as well as the social matrix, are fueled by people's motivations. Participants connected with themselves on an intra-personal level (seen in the way various motivational forces compete for expression in their perceptions and work practices). The strongest of strippers' motivations seemed to drive the configuration of

connections they form with others in the club's social matrix. Consequently, we found that strippers' sexual service negotiations with clients and their health and safety outcomes are a matter of competing motivational forces fighting to configure a satisfactory assemblage. Three core categories emerged in this theme: Connecting with Oneself, and Connecting with Others, and Connecting with Substances.

Category 1 – Connecting with Oneself

In this category, our results illustrate the motivational forces that fuel strippers' work perceptions and practices. Further, we learned that strippers connect to themselves by embodying a flexible work role identity fashioned from deep-seated motivational forces. In essence, strippers are impelled to embody an identity that requires them to continuously encourage client spending, leverage sexual behaviours for financial gain, and confront the limits of the tolerance threshold to increase their efficiency. The motivation for financial gain was the main promoter of strippers' role identity and their embodiment of that role.

Figure 5. Connecting with Oneself



1.1. Motivating Forces

Our results indicate that strippers' desires and motivations for stripping, using substances, engaging in sexual transactions, and transgressing their tolerance threshold are fuelled by a set of synergistic and conflicting forces. First and foremost, the motivation for financial gain is the main driver behind strippers' work practices. Additionally, there are ancillary motivators for a strippers' involvement in stripping and their work practices. Our results show that some strippers

might be motivated to strip because of the cathartic experience they feel when they are on the job.

I kind of have this connection with dancing because I can strip myself of those escort personas, so to me, it has become more of an art as opposed to a matter of just making money and it's kind of, it helps me relieve all of my stress. To me it has become more of a, a sentimental aspect as opposed to just "oh I am just going to go in and flaunt my stuff to make money" so you know. [P10]

This participant previously spoke of using ketamine while at work. It is worth mentioning that his description of stripping as a cathartic activity is not because of ketamine; rather, the performative dance aspects of stripping is the element that is cathartic.

Others reported that stripping can increase their self-views and self-confidence. Thus, the psychological benefits of stripping can also motivate strippers: *"Yeah, to be honest, like, working here there some good benefits also, like, it gives you confidence, show you confidence, and show you, like, whatever you have, you just have to appreciate it, and its being who you are people like, like you for that. You don't have to filter yourself"* [P02]. This confidence boost stems from clients' positive regard for strippers. Strippers *"like the attention"* [P02] they get from clients. Stripping can also be perceived as positive for strippers' mental health.

Et maintenant, je crois que danser ça m'a permis de voir une certaine valeur envers moi-même. Je crois que maintenant j'apprécie ce que je suis, et ce que je suis devenu, je ne regrette pas d'avoir dansé. Au contraire, ça m'a appris à m'aimer. Parce que, faut dire aussi avant j'ai comme perdu la carte, je me suis un peu perdu là-dedans. Ce que je veux dire c'est que, j'avais jamais eu autant d'attention. Je pensais pas que je pouvais plaire autant que ça à autant de personnes. [P11]

Therefore, as is reported in the literature review, stripping can improve a stripper's self-confidence and self-acceptance. In consequence, strippers' work motivation can stem from the positive effects of stripping.

Moreover, our results also demonstrate that strippers are motivated by the stripping lifestyle. The participants reported enjoying the entrepreneurial style of the work and the freedom they have in mapping out their work structure.

Bien, c'est plus le travail du sexe en général qui est comme, j'aime la liberté que j'ai, j'aime le fait que c'est bien payé en général, mais c'est ça, c'est vraiment la liberté.

Tu es ton propre patron, tu travailles quand tu veux, tu sais, j'ai beaucoup voyagé depuis que je fais ça, fait que c'est ça, c'est une job, si j'avais le choix je le ferais probablement pas, mais ça m'a apporté beaucoup depuis que je fais ça. Je sais pas, t'apprends beaucoup, tu sais, la gestion, la confiance en toi. [P06]

However, money is the main motivator in stripping: “*L'argent est Dieu*” [P07]. It is the incentive *par excellence*, strippers' desire for money shapes their motivations and work behaviours.

Parce qu'en réalité tout le monde ici est à l'argent, tout le monde comprend, tout le monde ont envie, même ceux qui font des privés, il n'y a pas, tu sais, tout le monde comprend que c'est pour l'argent, puis que tout le monde veut l'argent, et puis ici, l'argent est maître [...] je suis ici pour l'argent clairement. [P07]

In other words, strippers have a mutual understanding amongst themselves that what they do is impelled by their money-minds: “*La motivation est purement monétaire*” [P08]. Therefore, money appears to be the master controller of the club's activities.

Money urges strippers into situations that conflict with their tolerance threshold. Stripping is not necessarily an enjoyable occupation for strippers; however, the financial rewards say otherwise. Our results show that strippers perceive themselves as being able to work in this industry and benefit from the financial gains.

Ce n'est pas une chose que j'aime faire, mais c'est quelque chose que je suis capable de faire. Alors j'ai des murs intérieurs qui sont très solides. Alors je suis capable d'encaisser tout ça, sans ressortir avec des sévices ou des traumatismes, mais c'est sûr que le fait de se faire toucher, même un hétérosexuel, se faire toucher par une vieille de soixante-dix ans, il n'aimerais pas ça. C'est comme n'importe quel autre métier. Il y a des choses dans notre métier qu'on aime faire, d'autres choses qu'on n'aime pas faire, puis il y en a qui prennent des métiers parce qu'ils sont pratiques comme métier. [...] Quand tu regardes les possibilités de faire du deux, trois, quatre, cinq cents dollars par soir, sans formation, et que c'est minime l'implication autre que donner ton corps à quelqu'un d'autre, good for it. [P08]

Strippers strip for the financial gain rather than the enjoyment of stripping: “*J'étais danseur pour l'argent, sinon j'aimais pas ça*” [P14].

Our results also indicate that strippers can be motivated by money as a means to satisfying their substance use needs: “*Au départ, tu sais, tout l'argent que je faisais, je le dépensais quand même assez vite, je te dirais. Dans mes débuts, j'ai fait vraiment beaucoup de cocaïne je te dirais.*

Je rentrais juste pour en faire. Ça me donnait une excuse pour en faire plus" [P01]. In this sense, substances motivate strippers' behaviours and work practices.

Strippers are also attracted to the industry to resolve a precarious financial situation. The quick money offered by the stripping lifestyle becomes a means for strippers to fulfill their desires of being financially stable.

He was in the environment because he needed the money and you know of course he was having issues at home with his girlfriend and you know personal stuff but having to come to the club every weekend because it becomes ingrained as a routine, as a quick way to make money, and all of his friends were in it, and all of your friends are in it, and you just kind of say "what else can I do" like "why would I give up the opportunity to make three to four hundred dollars a night." [P04]

As illustrated above, the desire to make money through stripping becomes instilled into strippers' livelihood. Their attachment to stripping and their motivations to work in the industry become routinized as an outcome of their personal economic goals.

Money can also be a motivator to the extent that it may fulfill strippers' alternate motivations of living a lofty life.

Personnellement, je n'ai pas vraiment de préparation en soi, c'est vraiment, je sais ce que j'ai à faire, je sais pourquoi je fais ça, je continue mes études en même temps. Alors c'est vraiment une motivation purement, je veux aller plus loin dans la vie. C'est vraiment une facilité, parce qu'en faisant un métier comme ça, c'est sûr que ton revenu il est vraiment augmenté par rapport à si tu faisais un travail sur le marché du travail, ce qui te permet d'avoir plus de temps libre, donc, si tu es aux études, tu as plus de temps pour étudier, et de justement avoir une meilleure qualité de vie. Alors c'est vraiment un support financier dans mon cas [...] ça me permet d'augmenter ma qualité de vie. [P08]

Thus, the motivation to work in the industry can be driven by a desire to increase one's quality of life. Often, as discussed in the previous section, money is cause for these personal boundary transgressions.

Comme je l'ai déjà dit, c'est que les danseurs sont à l'argent, c'est vraiment une question monétaire. C'est un métier, oui. Mais, ils sont souvent purement motivés par ça, par l'argent facile, par les goûts de luxe. Accéder à une qualité de vie qui leur serait inaccessible. Ils vivent beaucoup dans le moment présent, alors s'ils peuvent avoir facilement beaucoup d'argent pour aller dans leurs dépenses farfelues, c'est sûr que faire des choses qui sont contre leurs valeurs c'est plus facile à vrai dire. [P08]

Money thus motivates strippers to transgress their work values and go beyond their tolerance threshold. Therefore, our results indicate that a higher tolerance threshold and a stronger desire for money makes for a highly competitive stripper.

Strippers who perceive themselves as timid find it more difficult to approach clients: *“Fait que c’est ça qui arrive, les clients ils m’aiment bien, mais ma gêne fait que je ne vais pas approcher, ou je ne fais pas, tu sais, faut que je travaille mon approche, mon service-vente si je peux dire”* [P13]. Strippers also seem to learn that they must transgress their timidity to better compete for clients: *“Au début c’était difficile à cause j’ai toujours été quelqu’un de gêné, mais je me suis habitué et puis j’ai remarqué que je fais plus d’argent plus que je socialise alors je me suis dégêné avec le temps”* [P12]. Our results demonstrate that the desire for money can impel strippers to offer prohibited services in the private booths as well as escorting services outside the club. When asked why he offered outside services to clients, one participant replied, *“I needed the money”* [P04]. Strippers are motivated to offer sexual services outside the club because the financial gain is greater than what they receive inside the club: *“C’est pas mal plus payant ce que tu fais en dehors du bar je te dirais”* [P01]. In short, money drives strippers’ transgressive work behaviours : *“Si on ne transgressait pas ces règlements-là, il n’y aurait pas la possibilité d’avoir un tel revenu seulement en gardant le client un certain nombre de chansons en arrière”* [P08]. Therefore, the omnipotence of money and strippers’ deep-seated motivations to seek money from clients configures potentially hazardous sexual assemblages between strippers and clients. Unfortunately, those who are most *“desperate for money”* will do *“anything”* with clients [P02]. In this sense, the desperate need for money can increase strippers’ practices with high rates of negative health and safety outcomes.

Money can also imply a work hazard. Strippers’ perceptions of financial hazard in stripping emanates from their income scheme: since they are not paid by strip clubs and rely solely on clients as a source of income, our results show that strippers never know how much money they could expect in night’s work or in a week. In effect, the financial hazard of stripping solidifies

money as the main focus for strippers. To reiterate a previous participant's experience, stripping is a matter of *gambling* one's time in the hope of earning enough money to subsist and meet one's needs. In the worst-case scenario, strippers can end a shift with less money than they had at the start: "*Ça m'est arrivé deux fois que j'ai pas fait d'argent*" [P12]. This general feeling of gambling and not knowing how much money will be earned can lead to work-related financial stress. Financial stress can amplify the strength of the motivation for money and increase strippers' tolerance threshold with clients.

Mais dans d'autres cas, pour ceux qui n'ont pas ça, qui arrive proche de minuit puis qu'ils n'ont pas fait d'argent, ils commencent à stresser, parce que ça leur coûte de l'argent travailler là. Ça leur coûte quinze dollars travailler, mais en fait c'est rendu vingt, c'est rendu vingt dollars pour travailler au club. Donc s'ils se disent « je vais repartir chez moi en ayant perdu de l'argent à travailler », c'est sûr qu'ils vont être plus ouverts à négocier. [P08]

In effect, there is financial insecurity for strippers in the stripping industry. Financial insecurity can lead to other occupational hazards such as engaging in high-risk sexual practices with clients. To remedy this, some participants retained secondary employment to supplement their income.

Parce que, justement, étant donné que j'ai un deuxième emploi, j'ai pas la pression d'avoir comme simple revenu le club et de me dire « ah, il me manque quatre cents piasses pour payer mon loyer » puis j'ai justement, là il me reste une journée puis là ce gars-là me propose de quoi que je peux pas vraiment refuser, bien justement, c'est pour ça que j'ai un deuxième emploi, pour éviter ça et éviter de briser mes valeurs. [P03]

In the last excerpt, the participant stated that he had no financial pressure to transgress his values. He alluded to his secondary employment which acts as a protective mechanism against the financial dangers of stripping. Our questionnaire results revealed that 57.14% of respondents had some form of secondary employment at the time of the study (e.g., Uber driver, bartender, massage therapist).

1.2. Embodying the Stripper Identity

Our analysis revealed that strippers perceived and defined their work identity in a similar fashion. In general, participants report viewing the work that they do as "*entertainment*."

Les danseurs, de mon point de vue, sont des agents qui font du divertissement, alors ils offrent un service autant que ça peut être pour exciter les gens, pour permettre aussi d'évacuer leurs tensions ou leurs pulsions sexuelles. Alors c'est vraiment un spectacle de divertissement autant sur la scène que dans les cabines. [P08]

As one type of “adult service provider” [P10], strippers are “paid to party” [P04] with clients. Some strippers can view their role as one of courting clients in order to make money: “*Parce que notre job c'est vraiment plus courtiser le monde, puis d'aller séduire le monde...*” [P03]. Strippers sell dreams and fantasies to clients.

On vend du rêve, ou on vend de l'affection, on vend de l'intimité, des câlins, tu sais ce que je veux dire, il y a des gens ici qui viennent en arrière, ils payent quand même cher, on charge vingt piasses aux trois minutes. Puis juste pour se coller contre un beau gars, des câlins. On s'entend que c'est pas tout le monde qui veut ça, mais oui c'est ça, fait que au final, la première idée que j'ai eu, que je t'aurais donné comme réponse c'est un peu comme vendre du rêve, vendre de l'affection, de l'intimité. [P07]

The sexual service component of their work also influences their role perception. To embody the stripper identity is to perceive sexual transactions as ingrained in the job. One participant described the club as a menu and strippers' services as the menu items.

Alors, c'est comme le restaurant, tu as le menu et tu peux décider de commander le danseur que tu veux. C'est sûr que si tu veux les extras que le restaurant ne peut pas fournir, mais tu peux aller ailleurs où tu peux essayer d'arranger pour l'avoir chez toi par après. Alors, souvent ça peut se faire à l'hôtel, au sauna, le lieu du choix que les deux s'entendent. Mais les extras peuvent se faire, c'est pas rare de voir des danseurs pratiquer des extras en dehors de leurs milieux de travail. [P08]

Thus, our results show that strippers perceive their role as one where they are a means for clients' fulfilment of their sexual desires. This requires that strippers be flexible in the way they present themselves to clients: their aim is to showcase a personality that will seem appealing to clients.

Regarding their role in having sexual transactions with clients, strippers typically lay out their work values when they enter the stripping industry: “*Bien justement, avant de commencer à danser, j'ai fait le point sur mon aim de ce que je suis prêt à faire, puis qu'est-ce que justement je suis pas prêt à faire. Puis ça n'a jamais changé non plus*” [P03]. Strippers' work values are an important element in setting up their ground rules for their transactions with clients.

Il n'y a pas, on n'ira pas dans le niveau sexuel, on va juste rester au niveau sensuel comme flatter le cou, flatter le dos, puis, vraiment de la sensualité. Si je rentre dans la sexualité je serai pas à l'aise, puis je ne respecterai pas mes valeurs parce que quand j'ai commencé à danser ici, je me suis dit que je ferais pas certaines choses, et puis j'ai toujours respecté ça jusqu'à maintenant, fait que, pour moi, j'ai pas besoin de faire plus. [P03]

Our results also show that strippers establish their work values based on their personal values and their self-perceptions.

C'est justement les « owners », ils m'ont averti pareil. La « game », c'est du monde qui sont conscient. Lui il a fait son argent, il a commencé, il fallait qu'il fasse des « blow jobs », fait que tu sais, c'est pour ça aussi là. Il y a bien des, j'en prends beaucoup, mais il a un côté de moi qui est conscient du fait que c'est ça, je serais pas un escort, je suis pas, je viens d'une bonne famille, j'ai trop de valeur, je peux pas me dégrader à ce point-là. [P13]

Moreover, a stripper's work values will dictate the limits of what they are willing to offer in terms of sexual services inside MSCs.

Le sexe oral, moi je l'ai jamais pratiqué en arrière parce que ça je considère que ça dépasse l'encadrement du club. Alors ça, c'est quelques choses qui se fait en privé, qui se fait à l'extérieur. Dans le cadre du club, je me le suis déjà fait demander, mais même s'il me demande une petite liché, ou quoi que ce soit, même ça je ne le tolère pas, c'est vraiment, je leur dis « si tu veux faire ça, c'est à l'extérieure qu'on peut commettre cet acte-là ». [P08]

In short, strippers' work rules with clients act as a set of parameters for their sexual service transactions. These values and rules appear to emerge from internal and external forces that erect limitations for strippers' practices with clients, such as forces that push strippers to respect the club's disciplinary matrix or their own sexual preferences.

Our results also show that strippers' work values change over time: “*And now, coming back, it's been my third or fourth week, and by my new set of values and standards I don't do any of that anymore*” [P04]. Similarly, strippers' substance use practices are also influenced by a set of rules or values.

Non, au fond, quand j'ai commencé à prendre du GHB, bien tu sais, j'en ai déjà pris aussi dans les clubs, puis quand j'ai fait le choix, je pense ça fait justement huit mois que j'ai commencé à prendre du GHB, je me suis toujours dit « si jamais une fiole ne fait pas effet, bien, 'too bad' » ça va pas faire effet, mais je vais jamais prendre plus qu'une fiole. [P03]

In this last excerpt, the participant illustrates how his substance use is governed by a set of rules. Strippers wish to remain in control of their behaviours at work, so they establish substance use rules.

Yeah, it used to be alcohol and then, then it was weed and alcohol, and then it was just weed, and now I've just completely mastered all of that, so it's sober. I treat it like a real job. [...] But no, all that to say, I told myself if I do go back as a stripper that I was going to play by my own rules and if the client doesn't want to, me, because I'm not going to drink or partake in drugs, then that's money I'm losing and I'm cool with that because that's my... That's my rule, like that's my yeah, my values, yet exactly, and I'm not going to take away my values for clients anymore because we all have, I mean, I used to. [P04]

Therefore, the forces responsible for generating strippers' work values and rules concerning their sexual and substance use practices shape their role identity.

Our results also show that strippers perceive their role as one that requires sexual tolerance and flexibility with their values and rules. In their work, strippers must surpass their personal limitations to do their job effectively.

Parce que c'est sûr que tu ne prends pas goût nécessairement à faire ce que tu fais avec quelqu'un qui ne t'attire pas. Même ceux qui disent « tu dois avoir un côté homosexuel pour être capable de faire ça » je dirais que non. Si on demande à un hétéro s'il serait attiré par le sexe opposé, mais qui a quarante ans de plus que lui? Alors un homme hétéro qui est attiré par une femme de quatre-vingts ou soixante-dix ans, c'est le même principe. Parce que les hommes qui payent pour des services sexuels sont souvent très âgés. Alors c'est cinquante ans et plus en général, donc, si tu es attiré par ce sexe-là, mais que la personne a cinquante ans et plus, c'est plus rendu de l'orientation sexuelle c'est rendu de la tolérance sexuelle. [P08]

In light of this, it seems that strippers' work role requires them to engage in sexual practices beyond their personal preferences. Our results exemplify the idea that the stripper's role is one of tolerance by illustrating how strippers who prefer sex with women only engage in homosexual relationships with male clients in the context of MSW: the questionnaire analysis revealed that 35.71% of respondents engaged in sexual services with women only, 28.57% with men only, 21.43% with men and women, and 14.29% with women, men, and transgender people. Strippers' ability to work comfortably with male clients is financially advantageous in MSW. A stripper's role may therefore be one of gay-for-pay.

Non, oui, il y a une différence, dans ma vie personnelle, le monde me voit comme étant hétéro. Dans ma vie personnelle, ils ne savent pas que je suis danseur, ou que j'ai déjà fait des actes avec des hommes. Je suis hétéro, mes amis pensent que je suis hétéro, mais je suis bisexuel, mais c'est plus pour l'argent aussi. [P12]

Our results demonstrate that strippers' role requires them to manipulate their sexuality and sexual practices in order to gain clients' business. Strippers with low tolerance thresholds, the ones who have a hard time tolerating homoerotic relationships, are the ones who do not engage in potentially hazardous practices.

Bien, jusqu'à leurs niveaux de tolérance là. Je sais qui a des gars qui sont, qui dansent ici, mais qui sont pratiquement homophobes, ils vont juste accepter de se frotter, puis de se faire toucher un peu le pénis, mais pas embrasser, pas la bouche du client, tu sais, rien, c'est très très distant. Fait que, vu qu'eux ils ne font pas ça dans leurs valeurs, ils ont jamais de risques, mais, sinon quand même, oui, oui, tout le monde peut être à risque, certainement. [P07]

Another participant also notes that certain strippers fear being labelled as homosexuals and therefore might restrain themselves with clients: *"Puis aussi, entre danseurs, il y a la peur du jugement. Alors les danseurs n'ont pas envie de se faire étiqueter homosexuelle, ils n'ont pas envie de se faire étiqueter comme un « facile qui fait ça en arrière »"* [P08]. Strippers who are more comfortable engaging in homosexual acts with clients have a competitive edge over those who are not able to cross these boundaries.

Puisque souvent, je considérais presque quatre-vingt-dix pour cent des danseurs qui travaillent avec moi en ce moment sont hétérosexuels. Ils ont une ouverture aussi, ils sont capables de faire certaines choses pour l'argent, mais sont avant tout vers les femmes. Et dans mon cas, je n'ai pas besoin de préparation. Si je vois que le client me regarde, et qui semble avoir un intérêt pour moi, je vais aller l'aborder, je vais lui parler pour éventuellement arriver à une danse. [P08]

Moreover, transgressing the standard stripping role appears to be an integral part of embodying the stripping identity.

Ça fait un peu partie du travail du danseur. C'est comme deux jobs qui vont facilement ensemble parce que, je sais pas, c'est comme plus le fun d'avoir des clients-escortes, je trouve, qui vienne au bar que sur « Backpage », admettons, « Lowlist » ou « whatever », parce que tu les vois avant. Tu sais quel genre de client que c'est. Puis, je sais pas, tu ne perds pas ton temps à répondre à des textes. C'est fatigant les clients qui vienne juste pour trouver un escorte, c'est pas la place, mais si tu as danser pour un client, et puis qu'après il veut, ça c'est le fun. [P06]

Even though some feel that escorting should not be a part of their work identity, it remains a prevalent feature, nonetheless. Different strippers have different rules and different levels of sexual tolerance: *“I find, when I just started, I was always wondering why these guys were getting so many dances. Like, how is this, I’m sorry but I am not ugly, I’ve got a big mmmm, but then I come to realize well different strippers, different rules”* [P10]. Our results reveal frustration amongst strippers regarding the mixing of the stripping and escorting roles in the industry and the disparity in competitiveness due to different tolerance thresholds.

I feel like I also participate in the culture that’s, I feel like that’s very wrong, that it’s really annoying when guys are doing things that are not dancing inside of the club because it creates an environment that pressures the rest of us into escorting because whatever he going to, like how are we going to get a guy to pay it. [...] I feel like the ones who are doing it, are being really disrespectful to the environment, like if you really want to escort, escort outside of the club. Like this is, we are strippers here, can we just keep it a fucking strip club and not fucking ruin it. [P05]

Our results show that certain strippers believe that incorporating the escorting role in the stripping industry creates pressure for other strippers to engage in sexual transactions. Our results also demonstrate that strippers perceive mental health concerns due to stripping’s toll on their self-perceptions, self-worth, and self-confidence.

Yeah, I can definitely say that, for sure, depression, stress, I’ve gone through bouts of depression from dancing because of the whole self-worth thing [...] It starts to take a very high demand on your psychology and your self-worth. And I see strippers that go into work and they don’t make money for a few days they feel like they are worth nothing, which is kind of sad because I have been in that situation myself, I have felt that for, and it’s like really? Am I losing it? Am I not as attractive as it used to be? Am I partying too much? Have I lost too much weight? It’s like am I not working out enough? Did I not put on enough cover girl to cover this boy? You are always constantly trying to self-analyze yourself to be able to sell yourself which is another thing that is hard on the psych because you are constantly having to put a value on everything that you are. [P10]

In that last excerpt, the participant clearly highlights the taxing nature of stripping on a stripper’s mental health. Stripping requires strippers to measure their self-worth based on their appearance and compare themselves to their peers. Our results also show that strippers face a certain degree of pressure to become someone other than who they were before stripping: *“I realized through a lot of self-reflection than being a stripper in that environment, like really truly become somebody*

else and do things that aren't even benefiting you" [P04]. In the next excerpt, the participant shares his views on his behavioural change through his sojourn as a stripper.

When I first started doing it I kind of totally became who I was at work all the time and I didn't like that person at all just because he was this really cocky like "oh my God I am better than you because I got the looks, I got the money, I got the drugs, I got the boys..." And I got the girls, you know me personally I am gay, but it's like, it's just in the beginning it's this ego boost and when you're fresh into it you're like "oh my God look at me" right and all eyes on me and eventually, as with age, we all start to fade, that I find, as you grow into dancing, kind of pull back from that whole image anyway and you start to become more chill and start to become yourself. [P10]

Strippers are aware of the evolution of their self-perceptions as their stripping career progresses. It appears that stripping pushes strippers to modify their sense of self so that they may work efficiently: *"We all have this appearance that we portray at work, we all have our stage names and that's the stage name I tried to hold"* [P10]. Thus, stripping can change the way strippers perceive and define themselves. This reality leads to an embodiment of a work identity where mental health is a concern.

Moreover, mental health issues are also revealed in the moments when strippers transgress their work and personal values: *"Des danseurs qui sont sortis avec des traumatismes parce que justement, ils ont dépassé ce qu'ils pensaient l'acceptable et le tolérable"* [P08]. In other words, participants reported mental health concerns when engaging in services or situations they found uncomfortable. Strippers can *"feel desperate to do it"* [P02]. This discomfort is also present in those that are not comfortable in their work environment: *"But what happens is, these clubs somehow attract the straight men and they have a hard time grasping the fact that there in this type of environment during this type of work and the depression comes with the fact that they truly truly aren't comfortable during this type of work"* [P04]. In the worst cases, strippers might develop serious mental health issues which may even lead to suicide.

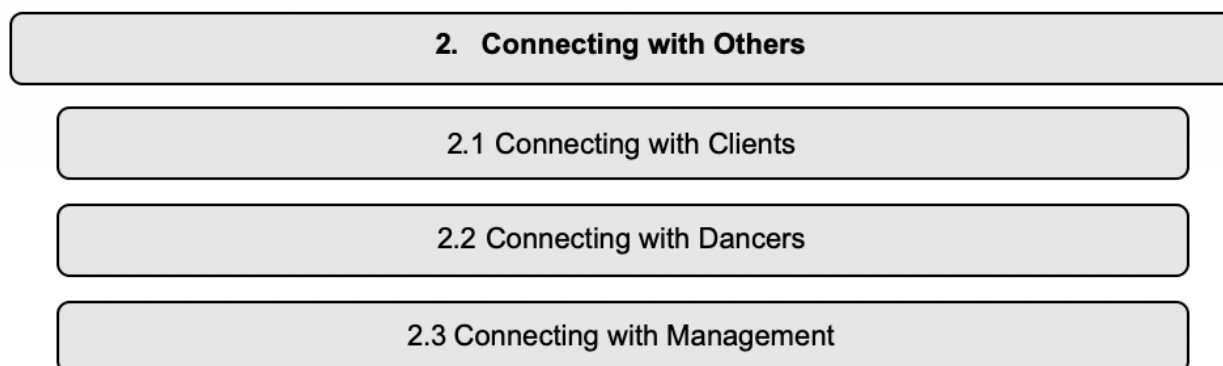
There was a stripper who worked at the first club, [name of bar], who committed suicide and we all knew, I mean all of us were pretty much at that same time in a really heavy depression that was masked by drugs and I feel like I was one of the only people to see it and to step out of it and fix myself. [P04]

In short, mental health concerns in stripping are a perceived work hazard for strippers who regularly transgress their personal boundaries and tolerance threshold regarding work practices. Demonstrated in our results, the stripper role identity is one of transgressing one's personal boundaries and tolerance threshold to satisfy stronger forces such as the motivation for financial gain and the motivation to satisfy clients' needs to this effect.

Category 2 – Connecting with Others

This category is characterized by the largest basin of analytic codes and references—probably because many interview questions probed the moments when strippers were interacting with clients. In our interviews with participants, we sought to understand how participants configured their social connections within their workspace. An understanding of this process enabled an understanding of the production of occupational health and safety issues in the club. Within this category, we begin by presenting the results that illustrates our participants' connections to their clients.

Figure 6. Connecting with Others

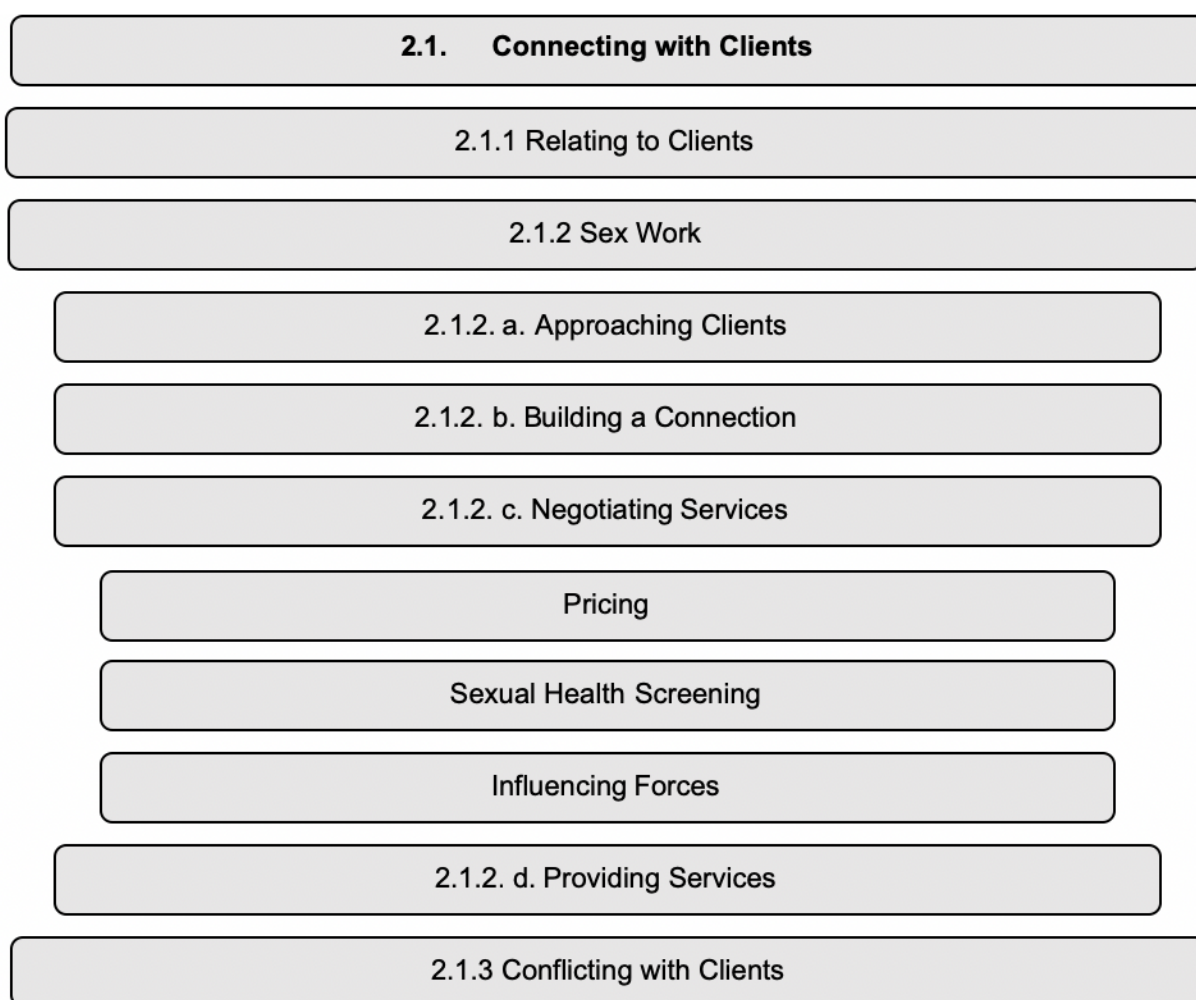


2.1. Connecting with Clients

This section of the data analysis was the most densely saturated (see the data saturation table in appendix D). Our results illustrate how strippers perceive their clients and how they interact together. Through participants' experiences, we now have a better understanding of the business interactions and negotiations that occur between strippers and clients. Moreover, our analysis

results also illustrate the conflicting forces between strippers and clients. Each of these components generates knowledge about the elements that influence the occupational health and safety issues in MSCs.

Figure 7. Connecting with Clients



Relating to Clients

Herein, the results illustrate how the participants viewed their relationship to clients, also revealing the motivational forces that drive clients' behaviours in the club. To start, the participants reported that clients want to feel important and connected to strippers: *"I've never really had somebody who felt like, who didn't look up to me, because I feel everyone comes to the strip club, all of the*

customers, to feel special and important right" [P05]. The felt connection between strippers and clients is valuable in a MSC: *"I've been talking with a lot of customers here, they're more into connections than just the physical"* [P02]. Participants also believe that clients have a desire to know the strippers: *"Souvent le client quand il s'intéresse à nous, il veut nous connaître, fait qu'il me pose des questions sur moi sur ce que je fais, ce que j'aime, j'essaye de construire une relation avec le client, parce que souvent, le client aime ça"* [P12]. As such, strippers perceive clients as people interested in forming new connections with strippers to socialize, as well as to feel important, special, and valued.

For many, a client is seen as "just a client." Strippers interact with many clients every night in order to earn their money, and most of these clients they will only see once. In contrast, emotional attachment can sometime intervene between clients and strippers.

Et puis là tu la vois avec un autre danseur puis là, tu as comme le sentiment malsain de penser « ah, je pensais que j'étais spécial ou whatever », mais ce sentiment-là est vraiment rapidement partie. Ça pas pris un mois ou deux, tu as même pu ce sentiment-là, ce qui est bien, qui est positif parce que c'est un sentiment qui est vraiment négatif et qui va juste te faire justement du mal d'une certaine manière, de t'attacher à du monde qu'au final c'est juste un client. [P03]

The above excerpt illustrates that it is important for some participants to maintain an emotional distance from clients. Nonetheless, strippers have reported seeing the same client more than once. Many participants report having regular interactions with certain clients. Regular clients often get extra attention from strippers.

Si je vois, si je sais que j'ai un client que je connais qui est là je vais aller le voir en premier là. Mais tout dépendant de si je sais que, parce que tu sais on se parle aussi entre les gars-là, tu sais si un gars te dit « ah okay, ce client-là je viens de faire trois cents piasses » bien, on s'entend que je vais aller voir ce client-là avant. Mais, mon client régulier j'avais le saluer, tu sais, j'veux démontrer que je suis là pour qu'au moins il sache. Donner un signe de vie. [P01]

Our results show that some participants see regular relationships as positive, feeling that regular relationships with clients could lead to friendship and support.

I've become buddies with some of these guys, like close friends, close mentors I've had a guy who was in my life for two years who I met at the strip club, and he actually

stayed in my life for about two years and played a friend, mentor role while helping me financially, with no sexual contact. [P04]

Clients can sometimes become strippers' sugar daddies: a relationship where a rich older man buys gifts and other luxury items such as vacations and apartments for a man or woman in return for their company and sometimes sexual favours.

I kid you not, that are from either from the States or, the one in particular was married to a woman and they were visiting the club and they really didn't want anything sexual with me but they wanted to keep contact with me outside the club and they became the kind of a sugar daddy type. They would send me on trips, they would buy me phones, they would take me shopping, send me money whenever I needed it, but those, they didn't want anything in return which I felt really weird about. [P04]

In these types of relationships, strippers are not necessarily sexually attracted to their clients; however, they do enjoy lavish gifts and friendship in return. There is another type of relationship where strippers consider themselves friends with clients but can benefit from reciprocal sexual activity with no strings attached.

Bien, vois-tu, justement en ce moment, voilà environ un mois de ça, j'ai rencontré une fille ici. J'ai fait une cabine, puis elle était vraiment « nice », j'aimais son attitude, j'aimais la façon qu'elle me répondait, elle avait une petite arrogance un peu, mais en même temps ça lui donnait son charme. Je suis allé progressif avec elle, je l'ai vu un peu à l'extérieur du club, puis on se parlait un peu de temps en temps puis là, je te dirais qu'on se voit trois à quatre fois semaine, puis elle vient dormir chez moi, puis sans plus, une relation d'amitié. [P03]

On the whole, it seems that strippers are not always focusing one hundred percent of their time on serious sex work interactions with clients; they will care for their sexual and emotional needs as well. Moreover, participants report that it is possible to be infatuated with clients and to perceive them as potential long-term partners.

Tu peux même développer des amitiés avec ces gens-là. Et si tu es homosexuel, pour les clients hommes, tu peux finir même par être en couple avec. J'ai déjà vu des filles qui ont commencé à sortir avec les danseurs, puis elles étaient clientes dans le bar, ils se sont connus grâce au bar. Et ils sont éventuellement devenu un couple. Donc c'est du déjà-vu. Donc c'est juste de l'attitude par rapport au client. Ne pas le traiter comme client, le traiter comme un futur ou un potentiel ami. [P08]

Sex Work

The sexual service negotiation process between strippers and their clients is best described by our results in this sub-category. We start by describing how strippers approach clients for their sex work transactions. Examples of the ways they build up the relationship with their clients to secure their transactions with them are presented. Next, the discussion on negotiation illustrates how strippers determine the conditions of their transactions with their clients and describes the forces that influence the outcomes. The results also put forth the types of services provided by strippers. Strippers sometimes chose or were obliged to refuse sexual transactions with their clients. The refusal of services is discussed in the final section of the sex work sub-category. Our results yield important insights regarding the occupational hazards of sex work and point to the elements that influence strippers' health and safety outcomes.

Approaching Clients

Before strippers can engage in sex work transactions, they must first approach a client. The participants stated that they would target specific clients and avoid others. In general, they would try to approach the clients who were older or appeared to be the biggest spenders.

Je vais plus vers le monde plus âgé, puis aussi ceux qui sont seuls. [...] c'est plus eux autres qui vont prendre des danses. Souvent le monde en groupe, ils sont pas poussés vraiment à aller prendre des danses, parce que, tu sais, ils vont se dire, bien, qu'est-ce que mes amis vont dire de moi si je passe une demi-heure en arrière. [P01]

According to this participant, older clients who come to the club alone are the ones who tend to purchase more dances with strippers. From a business perspective, it is important to target the right clients. In the next excerpt, our results show that participants target not only older men who come to the club alone, but also those who appear to care for themselves.

Quand on regarde les clients plus âgés, qui ont un air plus professionnel, qui ont souvent une apparence plus soignée sans nécessairement être le veston comme dans les films, les clichés. Ils vont souvent avoir une belle chemise, ou souvent les chaussures. L'état, la qualité des chaussures et voir à quel point ils sont en bon état. L'état des chaussures, l'état des vêtements et l'hygiène personnelle, voir comment la personne est habillée. [P08]

Participants also state that the clients who are “*bien entouré*” [P01] by other strippers are the usually the ones who pay well. Popular clients are surrounded by strippers because they usually pay strippers more money. It is important for strippers to work with these types of clients to make a profit.

I kind of like know just by the law averages, you are better off being there every night, because then you don't miss the good clients because they are just, the likelihood of you getting them, like if you work five days, like you are guaranteed to make a profit, you know, but if you work one or two days, those could have been the bad days that he would've had throughout that week, you know. [P05]

To ensure their financial health in the stripping industry, strippers must try and secure the business of “good clients.” When getting ready to approach a client, participants also reported inspecting clients' behaviours in the club: “*C'est juste comme si un client tout seul que tu as jamais vu, c'est un potentiel. Si tu as vu qu'il a pas rejeté d'autres danseurs, qui avait pas l'air bête, qui fait genre des signes, c'est un client potentiel*” [P06]. In this instance, the participant stated that he would look to approach new clients in the club who are alone and who have not been rude or dismissive with other strippers. This is done in order to maximize the odds of clients accepting a private dance. Our results also show that strippers avoid certain clients in order to maximize their income.

Je regarde surtout leur apparence, fait que c'est sûr quand il y a un gros groupe de jeune, je prends même la peine de les aborder en général parce que c'est des gens qui sont beaucoup plus sur le party, sont beaucoup plus là pour festoyer, pour prendre un verre et s'amuser. [P08]

Large groups of young men who are there to party are generally avoided by strippers who want to turn a profit. Another participant states that he will generally avoid young female students since they do not have the means to pay for private dances: “*Les femmes qui sont ici sont des étudiantes la plupart du temps, elles n'ont pas beaucoup d'argent. Fait qu'elles ont de la misère à prendre une danse à dix piasses*” [P03]. Furthermore, clients who are too intoxicated, aggressive, or who not well groomed are avoided by strippers.

Sloppy drunk, but seemingly sexually aggressive, yeah that really, it kind of makes me cringe more so than it makes me feel unsafe I just don't respect this individual at any level, so I just, the idea of letting them touch me just like doesn't, you know, I'll let somebody touch me who is just trying to have a good time and is really, like finds this nice, but like there is this one guy he's like "oh I am like dominant, I'm dominant" and he's always taking like these young guys, I am like dominant over what you can't even stand up straight, you know, so that's the kind of client where I am just like get away from me you fucking weirdo but when they smell bad, bad hygiene, bad hygiene, really like I'm gone, bad breath you know, sometimes clients breath smells like ass, like literally like they were eating ass, like you feel like they were just in the sauna like eating somebody's ass you know. [P05]

Building a Connection

Building a connection between social bodies requires that one person interacts with another to develop a meaningful bond. The connecting bodies must find common ground, a synergy of forces motivating their relationship, a social consensus through which they can engage in a productive interaction. In this study, the majority of connection building between strippers and clients took place through face-to-face interactions in the main floor area and in the private booths. However, our results suggest that strippers form connections with clients as soon as they perform on stage. Stage performances are described as a way to interest clients in the product that is being sold, namely male strippers' bodies and intimacy: *"Tu as la partie aussi sur le stage que faut que tu fasses une bonne performance, une bonne prestation, pour par la suite obtenir les clients"* [P08]. To "obtain clients," strippers must present a "good stage performance" for the audience. Additionally, one participant reports, *"[...] your stage performance is probably about half of your selling aspect, because then it becomes your personality right..."* [P10]. Thus, the stage performance is a critical moment where clients learn about the different strippers (i.e., the strip club commodities). In brief, stage performances catalyse forces leading to a physical connection between strippers and clients.

Moreover, our results show that strippers use their stage performance as a way to assess which clients appear to be the most interested in their act.

C'est difficile pour moi des fois d'approcher les clients. Parce que je me suis habitué à ce que le monde vienne vers moi, mais j'aime ça sortir de ma zone de confort. Parce que j'aime plus un peu perdre du temps, rester debout, faire la pose, marcher, défiler, je vais m'habiller de façon, disons, sexy, qui met en valeur mon physique dans tous les sens, avec des morceaux de vêtement qui sont « nice », bien agencés, et lorsque je vois dans le regard d'une personne, bien, un signe, souvent ils vont faire un coup de tête que je m'approche vers eux, mais des fois, je vais prendre un « guess », parce qu'il m'a regardé ou il m'a applaudi après le « stage », souvent c'est comme signe... [P11]

Clients' applause is typically a good indicator for strippers assessing the clients who enjoyed the show. This initial interest serves as an entry point for further interactions on the floor.

After completing their stage performances, strippers will begin to survey their audience for potential private booth clients. They will attempt to build connections with those who are motivated to connect further with them. To facilitate the process, our results illustrate that strippers manufacture a relationship of importance and value with their clients to make them feel special.

On essaye d'aller recruter le monde, puis c'est un peu, d'une certaine manière juste d'aller voir le monde, puis d'aller leur poser des questions, à faire semblant de s'intéresser à eux pour ensuite, justement, espérer qu'il me fasse danser. Cette quête à la danse là, quête à l'argent. C'est toujours, c'est toujours dans le « fake », toujours de le faire à semblant de s'intéresser à quelqu'un pour juste y soutirer quelques danses, puis vers la suite, ne plus le voir. [P03]

Strippers sometimes need to fake interest in clients in order to obtain their business. According to another participant, this requires “manipulation” and “pretending” [P11] during the interaction.

The relation-building process has been referred to as a form of theater: “Oui, ça me dérange pas, c'est comme du théâtre, c'est un rôle, c'est un caractère au fond. Il faut que j'y crois, c'est ça aussi là, c'est pour ça que c'est important d'être dans ma bulle, j'ai l'air de vouloir ça” [P13].

Unfortunately for strippers, they do not have formal job training to learn how to do this efficiently.

Mais non, c'est sûr, tu sais pas nécessairement quoi faire, comment le faire, comment aborder un client. Le courage que ça prend pour, c'est souvent pour ça que les gens vont consommer, parce que le courage qui est nécessité pour oser approcher quelqu'un qui ne t'attire pas, pour qui tu n'as pas d'intérêt et que tu sais que le but c'est qu'il te fasse danser, qu'il vienne te tripoter, c'est pas nécessairement facile au début. Mais c'est sûr qu'avec le temps tu développes des techniques, tu développes des façons de les intéresser. [P08]

Building a connection with clients is not an easy part of strippers' work, especially since they are not genuinely interested in being intimate with the people they are trying to seduce (though there are exceptions). Participants described the need for tactics to pretend and manipulate the interaction in order to entice clients to purchase private dances. Another way for strippers to build a connection and secure a private dance with a client is to reassure them that their needs will be satisfied.

J'essaye de le convaincre pour dire « écoute, tu ne seras pas déçu, vient-t'en ». Je préfère rien dire de concret sur le plancher, je fais juste dire, tu sais, justement pour pas avoir à m'engager à dire « okay on va faire ça » sans que déjà on ait été au moins moi puis lui seul en arrière, fait que je fais juste dire « ah inquiète-toi pas, tu vas avoir du plaisir » sans dire c'est quoi moi limite exacte, je fais juste dire « inquiète-toi pas. »
[P07]

This participant illustrates how he cajoles the client and provides reassurance regarding his services. He does this so that the client will trust him, and trust is key in forming strong bonds between people. Efficient trust building in the early stages can increase a stripper's odds of obtaining clients for private dances.

During the connection-building phase, our results show that strippers will also exchange mobile numbers with clients to solidify the relationship: *"J'ai passé la plupart de ma soirée avec un même client qui m'a par la suite donné son numéro de téléphone pour que je lui envoie un message à chaque fois que je travaille, puis c'est ça qui s'est passé"* [P03]. Strippers and clients will exchange mobile numbers as a way to keep in contact and maintain the connection they built together. This is a way for strippers to build a regular client relationship and increase their income. Once the strippers have built up a working connection with their clients, or an alignment between strippers' and clients' motivations (usually evidenced by the stripper and client retiring to the private booths together), they enter the phase where services are negotiated thoroughly.

Negotiating Services

The main objective in courting clients is to sell private dances. Whether in the private booth or the main floor area, negotiating services requires that both parties discuss their terms of agreement. As in any business transaction where there is a seller and a buyer, both the stripper and the client must be satisfied by what is offered: *“Mais en même temps, c’est comme en affaire, on doit, les deux doivent être satisfaits d’une manière. Le client doit sentir, okay c’est bon c’est pas trop cher”* [P11]. Each member of the negotiation must feel they are getting what they want at a fair cost.

Pricing

The cost for services is an important element of the discussion during strippers’ and clients’ negotiations. Previously, we have shown that strippers normally charge 20 dollars per song for a private dance. However, these prices may vary between strip clubs.

Oui toujours ouvert, pas le droit de les fermer. Pour les hommes, dix dollars une danse avec les rideaux ouverts, vingt dollars avec rideaux fermés, mais j’ai jamais pris un client qui a pris une danse avec rideaux ouverts, parce qu’au final tu lui dis qu’il ne pourra même pas te toucher même une seconde, fait que il change vite d’avis. [P03]

Here we see that ten-dollar private dances do exist but that clients are more restricted in their experience of strippers’ bodies. Our results illustrate that strippers can make twice the money in private cabins by dancing for two clients simultaneously: *“Yeah because sometimes were allowed to bring two people in the back. And actually it’s twenty dollars per client, so it’s like forty per song”* [P02]. Therefore, a stripper is guaranteed at least twenty dollars per song, as long as the client is trustworthy and has enough money to pay. In effect, keeping a client in the booth for a longer time increases a stripper’s income. The price for a private dance is negotiated in terms of number of songs. Nonetheless, services other than the standard erotic private dance can be priced *à la carte*.

Bien, tu sais, tu joues toujours la « game ». Tu gars sensible un peu « ah bien, je sais pas trop là » si il te pose la question, si il dit « je peux-tu licher tes pieds? » tu dis « bien oui, mais ça va être un petit extra ». Si il pose pas la question et qu’il essaye, tu sais, tu fais comme si tu n’aimais pas trop, bien, c’est ça là, au fond, si il pause la

question « je peux-tu licher tes pieds? » tu lui dis « oui, mais ça va être un extra » fait que tu lui dis pour ta chanson, toutes tes chansons vont te coûter quarante piasses à place de vingt piasses. Tu peux négocier comme ça, ça dépend du client, ça dépend de qu'est-ce qui a l'air, si il a l'air à avoir du cash ou non. [P03]

Strippers can charge clients additional fees for extra services in the booths. While still in the private booths, strippers and clients will sometimes negotiate pricing for sexual services that will be provided outside the club space. The cost of these services is variable. Whereas some reported charging a specific amount per service, others reported charging an hourly fee for their services.

C'est sûr que puisqu'on charge un certain montant, Il y a beaucoup de clients qui n'ont pas les moyens de se payer ça. Je te dirais que les services, en général, débutent à cent cinquante dollars de l'heure. Fait que c'est sûr que celui qui travaille au salaire minimum ne peut pas se payer un service aussi dispendieux. Mes prix varient selon ce que le client demande de faire. C'est sûr que si j'ai un client qui me demande seulement du sexe oral, que j'ai embrassé puis faire du sexe oral, mes prix commencent aux environs des deux cents. Si je dois sucer le client, on tombe à deux cent cinquante. Si je dois pénétrer le client, ce qui se fait avec condoms évidemment, c'est à trois cents. Et si je me fais pénétrer, avec condom aussi, trois cent cinquante. [P08]

Our results show that those who were less familiar and less comfortable regarding escorting services and sex with men would charge exceedingly high prices. This indicates that the motivation for financial gain is but one force that factors into strippers' negotiation process. Based on our results, certain strippers are reluctant to offer escorting services because of perceptions of negative health and safety outcomes and disobedience to socio-cultural and legal norms.

Pour que lui me suce, malgré le fait que ça rentre pas dans mes valeurs, je pense qu'on a toute un prix puisque pour deux milles piasses, si je mets un condom, j'aurais de la misère à refuser. Puis sinon, au niveau d'une relation anale, comme j'ai écrit dans le formulaire, ça me prendrait minimum vingt milles piasses, et que justement qu'il aille fait un test, puis que je sois sûr et même encore, il faudrait, je sais pas ce que je pourrais prendre pour avoir une érection, mais, écoute ça serait vraiment des sommes faramineuses là parce que tout le monde a un prix, puis c'est ça. [P03]

In general, participants reported charging anywhere between 100 dollars to 500 dollars per hour for outside-the-club services.

Oh well, yeah, we all wish it was five thousand dollars, it's weird because now I've been offered to go back last weekend to a house. I said two hundred and fifty. He wanted to suck my dick. But I looked at him, I was like no, I am not down but this guy suck my dick. So I turned down the money. But pricing is usually between three to four hundred. [P04]

I sell time I don't sell services, so was like people are trying to negotiate "oh how much for a blow job..." I'm like "I'm sorry I don't sell services, I sell time" so it's like the time, this is the price for the amount of time, what goes on within that amount of time can be discussed, you know what I mean. Anywhere from one hundred to two hundred and fifty depending on the day, the demand, even though you are not selling service, you always ask what is expected, or like because some of them have their fetishes and some of them have their fantasies. [P10]

Different participants spoke of different price ranges; however, they all normally fluctuated between 100 and 500 dollars per hour. The amount of money charged per hour for sexual services will change depending on the "day" and the "demand," and workers will still ask clients what is expected from the interaction. Of course, this type of pricing strategy is reserved for those who are most comfortable in offering extra services in the booths and escort services outside the club.

Sexual Health Screening

Our results suggest that part of the negotiation phase between strippers and clients is also defined by a screening process, or the absence of one, for sexual health hazards. In our interviews, we asked participant whether or not they screened clients' sexual health history; the majority did not broach the subject (7 of 14 participants reported never screening for STIs and 8 of 14 reported never screening for HIV). However, some did find it important to know their clients' sexual practices.

Yeah and also I look at them by their appearance, and I'll go by my personal, and sometimes I will go for the personal questions like "how many guys have you slept with" just to try to talk to them like you know, are they like you know, do they like to fuck with condoms or anything like that, that's it. [P02]

During negotiations, participants sometimes ask their clients about their HIV and STI status, but this is done on an irregular basis. The results indicate that strippers find it irrelevant to broach the topic.

Je me sentais un peu niais de le faire parce qu'en réalité, la plupart du monde c'est « ah, non, non, non, non, inquiète-toi pas, pas de problème, pas de problème » tout en essayant de s'approcher de ton pénis. Tu sais, non, j'ai jamais trouvé que c'était pertinent de poser cette question-là. [P07]

One participant found that it was impertinent to ask since he “*only ever received oral*” [P04]. Similarly, participants reported that felt that asking those questions was an invasion of privacy: “*There is no point, there's no point. There is no point I feel like, it's just an invasion of privacy. I have no reason to screen them for STIs because I feel like the risk is like, it's already like really small just in like normal day life and then on top of that like yeah*” [P05]. In sum, strippers are seldom motivated to learn about their clients' sexual health history.

Influencing Forces

Our analysis results yielded a large amount of forces that influence the sexual service negotiation process between strippers and clients. Some forces enable connections, while others restrain or disable sexual transactions between strippers and clients. During the interviews, we sought to understand what elements impacted the negotiation process and how these elements influenced the negotiation results.

First, strippers' tolerance threshold regarding sexual services with clients heavily impacts the outcomes of their negotiations. Their tolerance thresholds are shaped by motivational forces such as their motivation for health, safety, privacy, anonymity, and conformity to work and socio-cultural norms. Their level of comfort and their work limits become a set of parameters for their interactions with clients: “[...] *for someone to give me a blow job. If somebody asked to do them of blow job I won't. [...] Things I'm not really comfortable with, it's off-limits no matter what*” [P02]. In this last excerpt, the participant stated that giving oral sex was “off-limits” for him. Another participant states that certain services are beyond what he can tolerate with clients: “*Like normally, I tell them 'look, I have very few limitations, basically no blood no scat, water sports depending on the situation' normally I have very few restrictions but again it all depends on the*

client and again the whole safety aspect of it" [P10]. The perception of sexual health issues can impact strippers' tolerance threshold. In other words, a stripper's tolerance threshold, his limits, will dictate the terms of negotiation.

Certainement, certainement. Bien, jusqu'à leur niveau de tolérance là. Je sais qui a des gars qui sont, qui dansent ici, mais qui sont pratiquement homophobes, ils vont juste accepter de se frotter, puis de se faire toucher un peu le pénis, mais pas embrasser, pas la bouche du client, tu sais, rien, c'est très très distant. Fait que, vu qu'eux ils ne font pas ça dans leurs valeurs. [P07]

Our results illustrate that strippers' tolerance thresholds impact the terms of negotiation. In short, the outcomes of sex work negotiations depend on strippers' work limits. However, multiple factors can bend or break these limits.

The money-mind is at work once more, always at work; money is that which strippers desire most in their client interactions and it has a strong influence over their behaviours. As one participant explained: "*Mon but [...] c'est de sortir le plus que je peux [...] c'est de sortir de l'argent au client. Fait que s'il n'accepte pas deux cents, et c'est sûr qu'il n'accepte pas, je vais baisser le prix*" [P12]. The stripper wants business, he wants cash. However, if a client strikes too low on his offer, a stripper may refuse: "*S'il baisse trop le prix, ou il essaye de négocier, je dis « ah, j'ai pas le temps pour ça, laisse tomber, ça me tente plus »*" [P11]. Therefore, money is a powerful piece in the negotiation game between a stripper and a client. It is an overpowering force that can increase a strippers' willingness to accept sexual engagements with clients. Our results also show that clients gain leverage over strippers by placing more money onto the bargaining table: a power play. Certain participants stated that they would be willing to accept services that they would normally refuse if a client offered a generous amount of money.

Tu sais, c'est arrivé juste une fois que j'ai fait du bareback,⁵¹ que j'ai été top bareback, ça arrivé à une reprise dans un contexte d'escorte puis moi je l'aurais jamais faite, moi c'était dans mes valeurs. Tu sais, je suis arrivé là, il devait me donner quatre cents piasses pour, je devais rester là pour une trentaine de minutes, le baiser, puis là j'avais pas mes condoms avec moi, j'étais un peu en christ contre moi-même, lui il avait pas de condoms, il voulait bareback, puis j'ai fini par accepter parce que là il m'a donné cent piasses de plus. [P07]

⁵¹ The term "bareback" refers to condomless sex.

A generous financial compensation thus seems to correspond with strippers' desire to make money and also favours the client's objective in acquiring his desired services. Moreover, not only does the sum of money influence the negotiations, but also, strippers' financial health appears to weigh in the equation. In times of desperate need for money, strippers become more flexible in their negotiations and will accept terms that they would refuse in times of financial stability. For instance, strippers can sometimes lower their prices during the nights when they have not made enough money: *"The times I charge less is when well for instance if I just need the money and I am kind of desperate for the cash, or if I'm just like okay I know you, we have fun together, it's just one hundred and fifty whatever"* [P10]. In times of financial duress, strippers not only lower their prices, but they may also transgress their personal limits as to what services they offer within the confines of the club.

R: *Et puis, dis-moi, est-ce que les fois que tu voulais vendre des extras aux clients dans les cabines comme sucer, est-ce que c'était un moment où tu avais besoin plus d'argent ? C'était quoi la motivation ?*

P: *Pour payer le loyer. Pour m'aider à payer mon loyer à cause je consommais beaucoup après.* [P14]

Once the financial situation stabilizes—our results show that at this point strippers may stop engaging in condomless practices (or other practices with high rates of negative health and safety outcomes)—the motivational force of money diminishes.

C'est ça, mais là, plus tout ce que j'ai dit précédemment sans le sexe anal depuis le dernier mois je te dirais. Parce que comme je t'ai dit, j'ai moins un manque d'argent, je fais déjà un très bon salaire, puis j'ai payé mon prêt étudiant fait que là je suis plus en train de slacker. [P07]

In short, the amount of money in play and strippers' financial situation are two factors that can influence the outcomes of sexual service negotiation.

Another factor that can influence the outcomes of negotiation relates to strippers' need to retain a regular clientele. This factor is synergistic with the motivation for financial gain. Regular clients supply strippers with a regular income. To secure these types of client relationships,

strippers will be more amenable to negotiating, especially if they can see themselves “*seeing them more than once*” [P10]. Strippers can also lower their prices to encourage a client’s business: “*But since the guy spent like two hundred dollars on me, I just let him give him a loose, just so you know to remind him about me, and I told myself, maybe he would come back*” [P02]. In the following excerpt, we learn that a participant lowered his prices due to the increased competition between strippers and the need for a regular clientele.

But again with, what that word I am looking for, when there is so much competition, especially here in [name of city], not that I’m saying that [name of city] doesn’t have as much, but, I make more money in [name of city] oddly enough, but I find in [name of city] I have had to lower my price in order to get clientele. I don’t know if that’s because of the whole difference in that sort of category here but yeah. Like in [name of city] my price was two hundred no matter what. Here I have had to lower it to one hundred and fifty to build any sort of clientele. [P10]

Participants also reported that regular clients can also benefit from discounted rates since they are a regular source of income for strippers.

The degree to which a stripper knows about his clients, such as a regular client, is another factor that can influence the negotiation outcomes. Our results illustrate that the participants were more willing to negotiate their prices or offer the services requested by clients to those they knew best: “*Bien, c’est sûr que je suis plus ouvert à le faire avec un client que je connais plus [speaking of escort services]. Mais un client que c’est la première fois ça se peut aussi que je le fasse*” [P01]. Another participant also illustrated this dynamic in the following excerpt.

Ça dépend avec qui. C’est sûr qu’une personne que ça fait longtemps que je vois. Par exemple, il y en a un qui s’appelle [name of client]. Mais au début c’était trois cents de l’heure pour qu’il me fasse une fellation et là maintenant c’est un peu moins, genre la moitié. Des fois ça arrive à cent, et puis je dis, bien oui c’est correct là, t’inquiètes pas. Mais je vais lui revenir en disant comme d’habitude. [P11]

To know more about their clients, participants stated using their time with clients in the club to assess the quality of the connection between them. Private booths are ideal for this purpose.

Souvent s’il me demande pour un privé, je vais leur dire que je pourrais être intéressé, mais que je veux commencer avec une danse, pour qu’il me fasse danser avant. Parce que c’est aussi dans les trucs qui font voir si c’est un bon client ou pas, s’il va commencer par te respecter puis prendre une danse parce que c’est ça ta job

principale en ce moment. C'est là que tu es capable de savoir quel genre de client que c'est, tu sais, il essaye trop de me toucher vite. [P06]

By acquiring knowledge about their clients, strippers are in a better position to decide whether or not they will engage in sexual transactions. Regarding offering condomless anal sex to a client, one participant stated that he would only consider it if he had a record of the client's health history: "*À la seule et unique possibilité que le client puisse démontrer qu'il est négatif au test [HIV]*" [P08]. In short, the better a stripper knows his clients, the more he can make an informed decision when negotiating sexual services.

The results show that clients' appearance and personal hygiene also influenced their negotiation outcomes.

Mais comme que je dis, il faut qu'il soit à peu près ma grosseur ou un petit peu moins gros que moi. Aussi, tu sais, faut pas qu'il ait l'air d'un tout croche là, si je vois que le gars a un feu sauvage, des affaires du genre, si un client à un feu sauvage je ne fais même pas de danse en arrière, ça c'est impossible. [P01]

It seems that clients must meet a stripper's physical appearance criteria. Often, strippers choose to interact with clients with who they believe they can overpower if a physical altercation occurs. Clients' appearance is revealing to strippers: "*L'état des chaussures, l'état des vêtements et l'hygiène personnelle, voir comment la personne est habillée*" [P08]. Our results demonstrate that strippers value clients who care for their hygiene. Poor personal hygiene can be a deal-breaker for some: "*[...] when they smell bad, bad hygiene, bad breath you know, sometimes clients breath smells like ass, like literally like they were eating ass, like you feel like they were just eating somebody's ass you know*" [P05]. In contrast to the clients who repulsed strippers, our participant reported being more flexible with clients they found physically attractive: "*S'il était de mon style, bien je chargeais moins cher, et s'il était plus laid, je chargeais plus cher*" [P14]. Moreover, our results show that strippers can go beyond their sexual service tolerance threshold with the clients who pleased them most.

Yeah, I've allowed one client only because he was a porn star and he was with his manager, and he was really hot. They asked me how much more about the porn star

rim me, and I was like “oh whatever, I don’t even care, you are hot” so, they do give me fifty dollars more but I didn’t ask for it. [P10]

Thus, a stripper’s level of attraction to their clients can influence their negotiation practices and sexual behaviour while working. In this sense, a client’s appearance and a stripper’s level of attraction to them can have an impact on their occupational health and safety outcomes. Similarly, strippers’ sexual desires can also increase their willingness to engage in sexual transactions with clients or be more flexible during the negotiation process: “*Mais non, c’est ça, avec une femme, si est « cute », écoute, même si elle paye ou elle paye pas, ça va dépendre de mes envies puis de ma soirée*” [P03]. In certain cases, our results show that strippers’ sexual desires are a factor that might influence their sexual practices with their clients.

Bien, en moyenne je porte toujours un condom, mais le problème c’est que je me suis commencé à me tenir avec d’autres danseurs et puis, ça me donne des mauvaises influences à ce niveau-là. Des fois, je pense moins au niveau sécurité, puis je pense plus au niveau plaisir puis c’est un problème. [P03]

In this last excerpt, the participant states that a mix between peer influence and his pleasure-seeking behaviours can reduce his condom usage.

During sexual service negotiations, condom use is sometimes discussed between strippers and clients. Many reported that condoms are not part of the negotiations for services such as oral sex: “*Le sexe oral dans les cabines se fait sans condom. Je ne vois personne arriver avec un condom, puis je ne vois pas de clients non plus qui accepteraient de sucer un condom. Alors le sexe protégé dans les cabines n’est même pas envisageable*” [P08]. In contrast, condoms become part of the negotiation process when the stripper and client are discussing sexual services such as anal sex: “*When it comes to clients, that is a, I am very much for condoms no matter what, I was almost just raped because I was no condom no sex, so no I am very much no condom no sex when it comes to clients, always. No matter what.*” [P10]. The following participant states that condoms are used whether he is the top or the bottom during anal sex: “*Si je dois pénétrer le client, ce qui se fait avec condoms évidemment, c’est à trois cents. Et si je me fais pénétrer, avec condom aussi, trois cent cinquante*” [P08]. However, clients can sometimes

persuade strippers with money to have condomless sex: *“Je me suis déjà fait offert des gros montants, mille piasses pour bareback puis ça m’intéressait pas. Je préfère pas faire mon mille piasses d’extras puis avoir la conscience tranquille”* [P07]. Condoms are typically disregarded during the sexual services that are perceived as least hazardous by strippers, such as oral sex. In contrast, the participants reported that they would always consider using condoms for anal sex. Some strippers might feel pressure from clients to engage in condomless sex, especially if the monetary reward is high or if the client states that he is using PrEP.

The use of PrEP during sexual services can also modulate a stripper’s decision-making process. For condomless sex, one participant reported considering this service if PrEP were part of the equation: *“Admettons que je prends la PrEP, ça serait, admettons je me dirais genre mille piasses plus la PrEP. Je dirais, ça dépend comment il voudrait mais, plus que mille piasses. Et puis c’est juste si je sais après que ça fait assez longtemps que je la prends”* [P06]. Again, clients can persuade strippers by telling them that they are on PrEP.

Il m’a montré « écoute, moi je prends la PrEP » il m’a montré qu’il prenait la PrEP, il avait vraiment l’air de vouloir que je sois correct. Bien, j’ai fini par accepter parce que de mon jugement je trouvais que c’était correct, mais c’était vraiment un coup de chance pour lui, parce qu’à ce moment-là j’avais pas de condoms avec moi, mais sinon, écoute je me suis déjà fait offert des gros montants, mille piasses pour bareback puis ça m’intéressait pas. [P07]

This participant ended up engaging in condomless sex with this particular client. PrEP may increase strippers’ perception of safety with their clients and therefore impact their health and safety outcomes. Two questionnaire respondents reported using PrEP in the context of their work; 5 of 14 reported not knowing what PrEP was. Condoms and PrEP are important elements in the sexual service negotiation process. Their use, misuse, or non-use can influence strippers’ decision-making and sexual health outcomes.

Based on what we learned from our results in the social matrix theme, the spatial and temporal matrix in which the negotiations occur influences the transaction outcomes. It seems that regular clients know when to go to the club to have more privacy with strippers in the private

booths: *“Like I have one regular, like he likes, he likes me to play with his nipples and he would take off his pants and like jerk off. Like, he will come here every Tuesday because it’s quiet because no one’s in the back”* [P02]. More privacy in the booths may mean a higher chance that the stripper will accept the client’s service request. A stripper’s mood at work changes over time. The willingness to accept or refuse sexual services depends on mood.

Ça dépend des clients, des fois c’est vraiment clair à l’avance, puis des fois, c’est juste « on va voir ». C’est ça le truc, c’est que ça dépend aussi du moment, fait que j’aime pas ça avoir dit oui ou non à quelque chose puis que là je me sens différent, fait que j’aime mieux voir sur le moment. [P06]

Participants reported not knowing ahead of time if they would be willing to engage in sexual services with their clients. It is something they can know and feel in the present moment only. The following excerpt illustrates this further.

I’m not going to lie, there is not much I haven’t done over the years. Normally before I can say what I am willing to do I need to be in the situation, I need to get there, and I need to analyse my surroundings and talk to the person. Like normally, I tell them “look, I have very few limitations, basically no blood no scat, water sports depending on the situation” normally I have very few restrictions. [P10]

In short, strippers appear to make decisions regarding their negotiations when they are in that moment. Moreover, time can also increase a stripper’s tolerance threshold. This means that they might become more comfortable in offering certain services as their work experience increases.

La tolérance est propre aux danseurs. Propres à ses expériences. Propres aussi au nombre d’années que la personne fait ça. C’est sûr que quand ça fait plusieurs années que tu fais ça, tu en as vu de tous les couleurs. Tu as peut-être expérimenté, tu as peut-être testé tes limites, mais avec le temps, tu finis par connaître tes limites, c’est souvent les nouveaux danseurs qui sont plus à risque, qui vont vraiment pousser trop leurs limites, ou qui vont essayer et puis ils vont regretter par après. Des danseurs qui sont sortis avec des traumatismes parce que justement, ils ont dépassé ce qu’ils pensaient l’acceptable et le tolérable. [P08]

Furthermore, depending on the time of year, strippers negotiate differently to increase their income-generating capacities: *“Non, bien, oui, ça dépend, comme les moments de l’année aussi, comme l’hiver, je fais moins d’argent fait que je vais plus accepter de faire des d’extras, mais pas pour moins d’argent, juste le fait d’accepter. Sinon, non, pas vraiment, c’est sûr que non”* [P06].

The context of place can also influence negotiation practices. In this sense, certain private booth

services are easier to negotiate than others. One participant stated that the MSC is only suited for certain services and that other services require more privacy outside the club.

C'est sûr si tu commences à donner du sexe oral en plein bar, c'est sûr que ça dépasse les cadres du divertissement. Tu es rendu vraiment dans l'escorte. Puis l'escorte se fait vraiment, beaucoup plus dans les saunas. Les saunas, on en voit beaucoup, j'en ai vu par moi-même plusieurs fois. [...] C'est sûr que si tu veux les extras que le restaurant ne peut pas fournir, mais tu peux aller ailleurs où tu peux essayer d'arranger pour l'avoir chez toi par après. Alors, souvent ça peut se faire à l'hôtel, au sauna, le lieu du choix que les deux s'entendent. Mais les extras peuvent se faire, c'est pas rare de voir des danseurs pratiquer des extras en dehors de leurs milieu de travail. [P08]

Therefore, the outcomes of negotiation can depend on the type of service requested and the spatial context. In short, our results show that the circumstances of time and place impact the forces at play and consequently strippers' transaction outcomes.

Another factor of interest is the level of private booth surveillance. Depending on the level of surveillance, strippers' decision-making approach changes. For instance, offering prohibited services in the booths was avoided when the participants reported a high level of surveillance and strict disciplinary practices.

At work I try to keep that very minimal, and at my place, well where I am currently working, they are very strict, like if they come in and they see, like, they can touch you, but if there is blow jobs or anything you are done, like that, like management is very strict, so yeah, I try, I normally just go downstairs, get my card, I'll give them my phone number and we will negotiate outside of work. [P10]

Conversely, when the level of surveillance is low or when the management team is lenient, strippers have more freedom to engage in prohibited practices with clients.

Moi, ça ne m'est jamais arrivé, mais c'est déjà arrivé qu'il y a des danseurs qui ont littéralement baisé avec une fille en arrière, puis j'ai souvent entendu des histoires de ça. Alors après ça, le rideau ouvert, oui, mais qui surveille? Qui surveille? Est-ce que ce gars-là il s'entendait avec ce gars-là, est-ce que ce gars-là pour quarante piasses, pour vingt piasses il va se fermer les yeux pour le restant de la soirée? Ça dépend toujours de qui surveille. [P03]

In this sense, strippers' perception of privacy and freedom to provide extra services will vary between strippers and between different MSCs. Thus, the outcomes of negotiation vary according to the club's disciplinary matrix.

The use of substances such as alcohol and psychotropic drugs at work is another factor that impacts strippers' negotiation practices with clients. Of the 14 study participants, 42.86% reported occasionally negotiating services with clients while under the influence of drugs, and 14.29% were occasionally under the influence of alcohol during negotiations. Our results show that 14.29% were using drugs half of the time while negotiating services. For 21.43%, they were under the influence of either drugs or alcohol most of the time during their negotiations. At least one participant reported always being under the influence of drugs or alcohol while negotiating with clients. Our results illustrate the effect that this can have: *"Tu sais, admettons que je suis vraiment saoul, ça se peut que je sois plus négociable. Si tu as fait trop de GHB puis tu te sens vraiment de même, c'est sûr que c'est plus facile négocier"* [P01]. Not only can substances make strippers more willing to negotiate with clients, but they can also inhibit their decision-making in terms of safe sexual practices. In the following excerpt, the participant states that alcohol intoxication can deter the use of condoms with their clients: *"I'd say about seventy percent of the time I analyse and I try to be, I myself to be forthcoming with my [HIV] status, because we have to be, but again that doesn't always happen, sometimes the situation, sometimes I am too messed up and I forget"* [P10]. Undoubtedly, seeing that psychotropic substances change people's mental faculties such as perception and cognition, strippers risk engaging in practices with negative health and safety outcomes when they are intoxicated.

Last, our results demonstrate that the way strippers feel with their clients, the level of trust between them, described as the "vibe," can also influence the negotiation outcomes. In the next excerpt, the participant stated that clients need to make him feel confident and gain his trust.

Bien, c'est sûr que je vais, je ne vais pas faire ça avec n'importe qui, bien, si c'est un client qui m'inspire pas confiance, que le gars est à peu près deux fois ma grosseur, puis tu sais que, tu le vois des fois dans le monde aussi un peu, si c'est un fucké, s'il a l'air correct. Bien, si la personne m'inspire moindrement pas confiance, je dis non, je ne veux pas ça. [P01]

A trusting relationship was required for the sexual transaction to occur in this case. By gaining a stripper's trust, clients increase their chances of succeeding in their negotiations.

Yeah I use condoms, I mean if the guy tells me, I don't like condoms, who does, but I always, my old mindset was "oh, I am the top, well I can get anything" but if the client said "I want to use a condom" then of course I would use a condom. But after getting to know these guys, I have a knack for you know building a solid trust with the guy, and then they're open and honest with me. If they had something, they will tell me. I trust. [P04]

One participant also spoke of "connection" and "energy" [P10] between him and his client. Others called this a "vibe" [P04]. These sensations can influence strippers' decision-making process.

And I have turned down offers to go outside the club, and I just, I'm just there to do my private dances, I don't mind getting naked, and you can touch. If, if, if I do find you attractive, it's not even about attractive, it's about vibe, I am big on energy, so if, the client I'm engaging contact with verbally and physically, I find that he has a good vibe, a good aura, he respects me, then you know what, then I don't mind that we do a little bit, that we take the underwear off, and there is some touching going on, I don't mind about, and that's strictly because of who he is as a person. Price is obviously like a big thing, but to me at the end of the day, it all comes down, and I sound crazy for this, but it all comes down to the person and their vibe and their energy. [P04]

When it comes to assessing their vibe with clients, strippers will often do this in the private booths. The assessment result will determine whether or not a stripper will engage in sexual services with a client: *"Alors déjà là il y a une sélection qui se fait naturellement. Au niveau des clients, c'est sûr que tu peux voir, si tu l'amènes d'abord en arrière pour voir comment que la chimie, voir comment le fonctionnement va avec la personne, tu peux savoir à quoi t'attendre"* [P08]. When clients give off an aggressive vibe, strippers can refuse to negotiate with clients: *"Il y a des clients qui aiment ça être agressifs. Alors, c'est leur fantasme, ce n'est pas qu'ils sont méchants, c'est qu'ils aiment ça. Fait que là je peux refuser. J'ai dit au client qu'il était trop agressif et que je n'aimais pas ça et que ça, c'est ça qu'il aime, alors ça ne sert à rien qu'on se rencontre"* [P12]. In short, the level of trust and how strippers feel with their clients are forces that influence the outcomes of negotiation.

Providing Services

In this sub-category, our results illustrate the types of services are offered to clients and how the transactions normally unfold. This section explores the service transactions both inside and outside the club, as well as the payment collection process.

Our questionnaire analysis revealed that strippers can meet multiple clients in the private booths per night. For 30.77% of respondents, they reported seeing four clients per night for private dances. Moreover, 30.76% of respondents reported meeting between eight and ten clients per night for private booth services. One respondent even reported meeting 25 clients in a single night.

In the booths, strippers receive requests for various experiences. Clients can request the standard dance experience whereby they may touch the stripper in sensual ways within the limits of the law and organizational policies.

Bien, le client s'assoit, il y a un tabouret devant lui, s'il y en a pas, je vais le chercher, je l'amène, puis c'est comme une danse contact. Fait que c'est comme tu dances, tu tournes, tu t'assois sur lui, tu fais des caresses, lui peut te toucher, mais il n'est pas censé enlever de vêtements que ce soit, ou se toucher, ça l'arrive qu'ils le font. Mais genre, tu leur dis de pas le faire. [P06]

This last participant states that clients are not supposed to undress themselves, but that they sometimes do anyways. Clients expect strippers to hold an erection during the interaction: “Souvent ils veulent que tu sois bandé” [P06]. They also expect full nudity from strippers, something which normally occurs after a few songs in the booth.

The standard private dance rules are often transgressed when clients request extra services (extra services are those that go beyond strippers’ work role and the establishment policies). Our results show that clients can make requests for extra services as soon as they enter the booth.

Dès que j'arrive en arrière, il y en a directement qui te demande un prix, et puis pour pouvoir toucher les parties génitales, là c'est à la discrétion du danseur, mais, ça fait une grosse différence je trouve au métier de danseur, dans ce job, c'est plus vraiment de la danse, des fois ça peut être rendu très sexuel. [P11]

In our participants' reports, booth interactions can become very sexual at a moment's notice. Conversely, clients will sometimes make requests for extra services that are less intimate and do not pose any direct health and safety concerns for strippers.

And another client, he likes to cuddle with me, like he will put me in the shoulder unlike play with my hair, as if I was his son. And I have one, he likes hugs, for like fifteen minutes. Another one, he likes to massage my muscles, and there is one also likes to make out in the back. That's it. [P02]

Our results also show that clients can make requests to wrestle or "dominate" strippers with force in the booths.

Dans les cabines, j'ai déjà entendu des histoires de gens qui luttait. Qui faisait de la lutte contre un client dans la cabine. Au niveau de la soumission, moi-même j'ai déjà soumis des clients dans les cabines, qui aimaient ça, de le prendre par la gorge, ou le soumettre contre le mur, coller les mains pour qu'ils ne puissent pas bouger, ça c'est du déjà fait, mais tout ce qui dépasse un peu trop le divertissement, qui tombe trop dans la catégorie sexuelle, faut faire attention, parce que justement, on est dans un milieu public. [P08]

Our participants did not feel their safety was threatened during these types of interactions. However, physical play may escalate to a level where it become a safety hazard for strippers.

Our results indicate that clients will sometimes request that strippers consume drugs with them in the booths. These substances are provided by the clients. Strippers are thus receiving a free "high" and are paid for as long as the client stays in the booth with them.

Because what happens too is that they a lot of clients, the rich guys, the rich lonely men, the come in and they are looking for a buddy to do drugs with, and so what happens is they'll meet Bob or Adam [fictional names] at the club who is there to make money and the will be like "hey do you want to go do a dance" and this has happened to me actually, I'll go in the back, we will do one or two dances and they will buy you a drink and everything and then they will ask "okay do you want to do some coke with me?" And if you, depending on what your take is with that drug or any sort of drug you're either going to be like "yeah sure let's do some" and the money, the money will add up, because the longer you are in the back room, the more money you are making at the end of it. I've seen guys go in there for two hours just doing lines of coke and making money that whole time and they leave with an addiction after because that same client will come to the club every week to see his boy, which equals two hours or however many hours of drug taking. [P04]

This easy access to drugs and money can have deleterious effects on strippers' health and safety. In the booths, the most common extra service is oral sex given by the clients to the strippers: "*Le monde veut vraiment sucer*" [P01].

Concrètement, si on regarde dans le milieu, c'est qui a beaucoup plus le sexe oral que les danseurs reçoivent, il y a les caresses sur les parties génitales, c'est très courant, c'est souvent un minimum que les clients exigent [...] ils vont vouloir t'embrasser, ils vont vouloir te caresser, idéalement vouloir que tu t'assoies dessus, alors ça c'est les pratiques concrètement qui se font dans les échanges. Les clients qui veulent te sucer le pénis ou t'embrasser, ça je le vois très régulièrement, même que c'est rendu banal, c'est rendu la « norme » entre guillemets, que le danseur après un certain nombre de chansons se laisse faire pour ça. [P08]

Participants stated that touching the strippers' genitals and even giving oral sex are often expected in the private booth interaction. Our results indicate that oral sex between strippers and clients is most commonly done without the use of condoms: "*Le sexe oral dans les cabines se fait sans condom. Je ne vois personne arriver avec un condom, puis je ne vois pas de clients non plus qui accepteraient de sucer un condom. Alors le sexe protégé dans les cabines n'est même pas envisageable*" [P08]. Further, we see that oral sex is often used as a way for strippers to keep clients in the cabins longer. In a previous section, our results illustrated how sexuality is used to leverage more money in the transaction.

I mean, everyone is different, right? Like, the longer, each song is twenty dollars, so if you're playing it in your head "okay this is the fourth song, oh now I am going to take my dick out and like put it in his face, and I'm going to tease him until we get to five songs," "oh shit he is at seven songs now, okay you know what now I am going to let him suck my dick and let's make it like two hundred dollars" and that's the mentality of the longer we keep these guys, the more money we make. [P04]

Given that strippers know clients often seek more than a standard private dance, they can use this service to make more money. Clients also ask for other services such as to "kiss" [P08], "masturbate," or "lick" [P12] the stripper. Some clients want to pay to masturbate themselves in the booths.

Il y a eu un moment donné c'était pour cent piasses « ah je veux juste jouer avec ma graine genre sur le bord de ton cul », j'ai dit non, je fais juste pas ça, tu sais, ça sort juste pas. Dans mes services, tu te la sors pas, tu peux te mettre en boxer si tu veux, pas question que tu te sortes la graine. Ça ne se passe pas ça là. [P01]

Anilingus, where the stripper is the receiver, is also a service that is requested by clients.

They asked me how much more about the porn star rim me, and I was like “oh whatever, I don’t even care, you are hot” so, they do give me fifty dollars more but I didn’t ask for it. I think that’s the most I’ve gone. There’s been a couple “give me a blow job” but I am very “look dude, if I get caught with your mouth on my dick, I am fired” and a lot of them try and pressure, a lot of clients apply a lot of pressure when it comes to services like a lot of pressure. [P10]

Our results also show that clients sometimes ask for anal sex in the private booths: *“Il y en a qui voulait me pénétrer, mais pénétrer ça va être bien trop long, tout d’un coup ça cogne sur la porte. Non, non, oublie ça, seulement des attouchements ou des baisers” [P14].* One participant reported overhearing vaginal sex between a stripper and a female client in the booths: *“Moi, ça ne m’est jamais arrivé, mais c’est déjà arrivé qu’il y a des danseurs qui ont littéralement baisé avec une fille en arrière, puis j’ai souvent entendu des histoires de ça. Fait qu’après ça, tu sais, rideau ouvert oui, mais qui surveille?” [P03].*

The extra services strippers agree to provide in the booths depends on their tolerance threshold and the multiple factors that influence the negotiation outcomes discussed in the previous section. The participants reported a standard list of services they would provide in the booths: *“Les services que je peux offrir dans les cabines, que j’offre en fait, que je ne suis pas censé offrir, mais que j’offre : je reçois le sexe oral, j’embrasse, je caresse, je me laisse toucher les parties génitales, et je masturbe le client. Le tout se fait sans condom” [P08].* Each stripper has his own list of services that they can offer clients (see section on sexual practices in appendix I). In general, clients’ requests for strippers are extensive and depend on their sexual fantasies.

In the private booths, strippers can arrange to meet clients for sexual transactions in a suitable location outside the club. The questionnaire analysis revealed that 13 of the 14 respondents reported engaging in outside sexual services with their MSC clients (see appendix I). Since the strip club is not a brothel and prohibits illegal sexual services, there’s only so much strippers can do in the booths without getting caught. Our results indicate that strippers would

offer their services elsewhere when the requested service was perceived to go beyond that which can be tolerated inside the club.

En fait, c'est pas que c'est mal vu, c'est que c'est trop pousser par rapport à ce que le bar peut tolérer. Fait que, c'est sûr si tu commences à donner du sexe oral en plein bar, c'est sûr que ça dépasse les cadres du divertissement. T'es rendu vraiment dans l'escorte. Puis l'escorte se fait vraiment, beaucoup plus dans les saunas. Les saunas, on en voit beaucoup, j'en ai vu par moi-même plusieurs fois. [P08]

Strippers' negotiations and services offered inside the club depend on their perception of the limits of services permissible within the booths. In the next excerpt, the participant shares that he is only comfortable in offering oral sex outside the club.

Le sexe oral, moi je l'ai jamais pratiqué en arrière parce que ça je considère que ça dépasse l'encadrement du club. Alors ça, c'est quelques choses qui se fait en privé, qui se fait à l'extérieur. Dans le cadre du club, je me le suis déjà fait demander, mais même s'il me demande une petite lichée, ou quoi que ce soit, même ça je ne le tolère pas, c'est vraiment, je leur dis « si tu veux faire ça, c'est à l'extérieure qu'on peut commettre cet acte-là ». [P08]

Once more, our results indicate that the club space, as shown in the spatial matrix category, serves as a sex work negotiation hub for strippers. One participant states: “*Il y a beaucoup de clients qui font ça, qui vont juste dans les cabines dans le fond pour savoir si tu fais du privé, c'est quoi tes prix, c'est quoi tu fais. C'est souvent ça. En général, sinon ils font ça au bar*” [P01]. This outside “private” work that strippers engage in with clients is a form of escorting. These escorting transactions may occur immediately after a stripper finishes his shift at the club: “*Tu sais, ils viennent me voir ici, puis en général à fin du bar là je vais avec eux autres*” [P01].

Similar to the way clients request different services in the booths, they also request a variety of things outside the club. Certain clients request simple services such as cuddling and massages.

J'ai un régulier qui aime ça se coller. On va à l'hôtel et puis on fait juste se coller. Il y en a que c'est comme ça. Il y en a que c'est des massages. Tu sais, ils aiment ça masser. Ils veulent que j'aille à l'hôtel pour me masser. Il me donne trois cents en général, et puis je vais juste à l'hôtel une heure de temps et puis il me masse, tout nu dans le lit. [P01]

Clients will even seek out friendly and social experiences from strippers outside the club. For instance, participants stated that they have been asked out for “dinner” [P01] and for a “coffee date” [P04].

Apart from this, clients can make odd requisitions that strippers may find bizarre: “*Je me suis fait proposer des choses que le gars c’était le chien puis qu’allais le trainer en laisse, j’allais y pisser dessus puis, des choses que je trouvais assez drôles, mais que j’ai pas fait parce que je trouvais ça « fucked up »*” [P03]. Another participant reported that a client wanted to play with his semen.

He would just be basically like always asking me “you want to like, just like” he would like, we would go in his bed and I would jerk off and he would jerk off next to me and I would cum, and he would kind of like take my come and I would be like “you do whatever the fuck you want with the cum, I don’t care” and he would like rub it on his cock and like jerk off, but yeah, I wasn’t jerking him off or anything like that. [P05]

Our results illustrate that bodily fluids such as urine and semen are sometimes part of the sexual transaction between stripper and client. The presence of blood from whip wounds might also be present since clients can request BDSM (Bondage, Discipline, Domination, Submission, Sadism, and Masochism) services.

J’ai un cas en particulier que c’est un politicien très connu, adepte de la cocaïne. Déjà là ça donne beaucoup d’indices. Il s’en cachait pas. C’est un adepte du sadisme. Lui il fouette avec une ceinture et il frappe avec des fils électriques. Il va vraiment aller très intense. Je l’ai fait plusieurs fois. Je sais de quoi je parle. [P08]

The participants reported that their escorting transactions resulted in the client doing most of the work: “*C’est plus sucer, mais sinon c’est ça, c’est plus le client qui fait le plus de trucs pour être honnête. Tu te fais sucer, tu te fais manger le cul, sinon c’est aussi beaucoup de contact, juste du contact physique, comme embrasser*” [P06]. Like booth services, oral sex outside the club is usually condomless: “*Non, parce qu’il y a, bien on compte pas la pénétration là, il y a juste pas de client qui veut que tu le sucas avec un condom ou qui veut te sucer avec un condom. Comme tu n’auras pas beaucoup de clients*” [P06]. Oral and vaginal sex between strippers and female clients is done without condoms at times.

Il y a des filles qui sucent les gars dans les cabines, mais en général, les gars qui veulent qui se passent de quoi avec la fille, s'en vont dans l'auto, s'en vont dans leur auto à l'extérieur du club, puis ils couchent avec la fille, protégée ou non, les deux sont possibles, mais c'est pas rare que les danseurs fassent des pratiques à risques. Qu'ils couchent avec la fille sans condom même dans l'auto qu'ils viennent de rencontrer. C'est souvent sans condom, et puis ils vont pendant leurs quarts de travail aller coucher avec la fille qu'ils viennent de rencontrer, puis qu'elle est sous l'effet de l'alcool. [P08]

Some male clients seek out strippers for exchanges with higher HIV/STI transmission rates (i.e., condomless oral or anal sex): *“Bien, il m’a demandé ça au bar. Directement là. Tu sais, il m’est juste arrivé avec ça, puis il a dit « ah je cherchais un bottom pour asseoir à trois mille piasses. »”* [P01]. Our results show that condomless anal sex does occur between strippers and clients outside the club: *“Tu sais, c’est arrivé juste une fois que j’ai fait du bareback, que j’ai été top bareback”* [P07]. Our questionnaire results also show that one respondent reported engaging in condomless sex with their clients.

In the same way that strippers have their boundaries for extra services inside private booths, they also have restrictions for services outside the club.

Dépendamment du client, je vais lui offrir les services en fonction de qu’est-ce que je serais prêt à faire avec cette personne-là en particulier, mais je pourrais faire avec ce que je t’ai dit plus tôt Ça va être la même chose finalement, il n’y aura pas de, il y aura plus en fait de sexe, avant, plus au début quand je faisais de l’escorte, j’étais prêt à aller même à avoir du sexe anal, moi je suis un top, avec protection. [P07]

These last excerpts illustrate that strippers can offer clients the same services outside the club that they would offer them inside the booths. Strippers have their limitations for what they will and will not do outside the club. Conversely, some strippers are more flexible in their approach and prefer seeing how the interaction unfolds instead of accepting or refusing certain types of services from the start.

Ça me dérange pas, des fois je dis « oui, je peux te sucer, il n’y a pas de condom, puis là tu peux me sucer ». Ça dépend des clients, des fois c’est vraiment clair à l’avance, puis des fois, c’est juste « on va voir ». C’est ça le truc, c’est que ça dépend aussi du moment, fait que j’aime pas ça avoir dit oui ou non à quelque chose puis que là je me sens différent, fait que j’aime mieux voir sur le moment. [P06]

In short, some strippers prefer to decide on the terms of the sexual transaction while they are with their clients: it becomes a question of how they feel. Therefore, the types of outside services provided depend on the negotiation factors discussed above.

Contact with bodily fluids is also a perceived danger that can modulate strippers' service transactions with clients. In the private booths, participants were aware of these issues during the times they would engage in prohibited services with their clients.

Mais tu as également aussi, au niveau des maladies sexuelles. Le sexe oral dans les cabines se fait sans condom. Je ne vois personne arriver avec un condom, puis je ne vois pas de clients non plus qui accepteraient de sucer un condom. Alors le sexe protégé dans les cabines n'est même pas envisageable. Alors c'est sûr qu'au niveau de la gonorrhée, si c'est une fellation, c'est possible, il y a l'herpès, on peut passer la liste au complet. Alors au niveau de leurs santés physiques, c'est sûr qu'il y a un risque au niveau des ITS. [P08]

Despite this, some strippers might not feel too much worry associated with STIs contracted from their client transactions.

Donc, c'est ça, je pense qu'avec la salive sur l'urètre t'as un risque de contracter la gonorrhée, chlamydia si je me trompe pas, mais tu sais ça au moins, je me dis que j'ai déjà eu ces deux-là, je prends l'antibiotique tout de suite. C'est sûr que c'est un risque. [P07]

Thus, some outcomes such as gonorrhea and chlamydia can be trivialized by strippers because they believe that these infections can be easily dealt with through medication. Our questionnaire results show that 27.78% of respondents reported a history of chlamydia and 22.22% reported a history of gonorrhea. One respondent reported a history of syphilis and one disclosed anal herpes.

Finally, our results show that strippers can perceive physical health issues due to BDSM practices with clients. Physical trauma such as wounds may result.

De plus, il est toujours possible quand tu prends un client en dehors du bar, de tomber dans une catégorie que c'est un client qui demande des choses extrêmes. Alors s'il rentre dans le sadomasochiste, c'est sûr que tu peux revenir avec des séquelles psychologiques, mais tu peux également aussi revenir avec des lésions physiques s'il est vraiment intense. C'est sûr qu'il y a tout le temps une entente, mais tu ne sais jamais jusqu'à quel point ça peut être intense avec un client. [P08]

In these rare cases, strippers perceive not only physical health issues, but also mental health concerns due to the psychologically straining nature of BDSM. Following up on the last excerpt,

our study establish that strippers perceive mental health issues pertaining to certain client transactions such as BDSM.

Beaucoup de danseurs sont revenus de chez lui traumatisés. Parce que justement les sévices qu'ils doivent recevoir pendant plusieurs heures dépassent l'entendement. C'est sûr que la somme d'argent est considérable. Alors on peut ressortir de là avec mille dollars en trois, quatre heures, mais au prix de s'être fait fouetter à coup de ceinture, d'avoir été soumis, d'être sa petite bitch. Vraiment avoir été dégradé pendant tout ce temps-là. Alors c'est sûr que, quelqu'un qui n'est pas fort mentalement, va ressortir avec des blessures. [P08]

Psychological trauma is a potential negative outcome of engaging in sexual transactions with clients, especially those who request BDSM services. Moreover, clients' behaviours toward strippers can also generate mental health issues for strippers.

I think the whole view of it is another thing that takes a lot on the psych oh well you're nothing but a stripper, nothing but a little, and it's like well actually whore, you are just a hooker and a prostitute, and it's like "well actually I'm an adult service provider, thank you very much" and I try to add, like when I see people talking down to her strippers because of that, I tried to, I always tried to talk it up. [P10]

Insults and belittlement from clients can have negative impacts on strippers' mental health.

In the same vein, strippers may care for their mental well-being by compartmentalizing their stripping lives from their lives outside the club. Separating the two ensures strippers' mental well-being: *"What happened at work I try to leave at work and what happens outside I try to leave outside, and even though in a way the kind of, because of the escort lifestyle they kind of blend in with each other but I tried to keep the two separate as much as possible if that makes any sense"* [P10]. Moreover, by remaining aloof with clients during work transactions, strippers are caring for their mental health. This is done by maintaining a mental distance from clients despite the physical intimacy in the private cabins.

Quand je suis dans une cabine avec un homme, puis qu'on se flatte, puis qu'on se caresse un peu, c'est pas toujours agréable d'une certaine manière, mais je suis quand même capable de faire, d'avoir une certaine distance, malgré le rapprochement que j'ai avec cette personne-là. Donc, je ne considère pas ça comme désagréable non plus, justement j'ai une distance mentale malgré le rapprochement physique. [P03]

Another participant described this form of self-care as disconnection during the sexual transactions with clients.

When I am working, it's like I don't even have to look at you in a way, while I myself am a bottom I could just put my doggy style, I don't even have to look at you just do your thing, whatever, and I am more disconnected. Because I am not saying that a lot of the clients are cute, but a lot of them are not attractive, they are not sexually appealing, and which is why they normally come for that service, mind you that I have had some really attractive ones, it's like what are you doing paying me I should be paying you. I think it's a disconnection. I know a lot of escorts that aren't able to separate those things they are not able to have a sex life while having an escort life. [P10]

A certain “*mental distance*” or “*disconnection*” is thus a coping mechanism used by strippers to ensure their mental well-being and work efficiency. Strippers also cope with difficult situations at work by reassuring themselves, by rationalizing clients’ behaviours, and by engaging in positive self-talk. After having dealt with an overly aggressive client, the following participant stated that he would tell himself that clients are aggressive with him because they find him attractive: “*But at the same time you know, I tried, I tried to think positive way, to tell myself is that, it's perfectly fine because they find me attractive [...] if I'm really in a good mood that day, I'll just laugh about it*” [P02]. Difficult situations with clients are relieved when strippers ignore or repress their severity.

Conflicting with Clients

Once the sex work interaction reaches its final moments, after the sexual transaction, the stripper collects his payment. Payment is usually collected in the form of money. Alternatively, 14.28% of participants reported receiving payment in the form of substances, housing, or gifts. For private dances, the payment is collected at the end: “*Et lorsque la séance est terminée, le client paye le tout*” [P08]. Although this is a common practice, it can create problems for strippers. In the following excerpt, the participant explains that clients can sometimes refuse to pay.

Sinon, un client peut ne pas te payer, ou genre qui est comme agressif, mais je me sens tout le temps en contrôle. J'ai déjà retenu de force un client. L'autre fois, il y avait un client qui n'avait pas d'argent pour payer la dernière danse, j'ai dit « donne-moi ton coton ouaté », je m'en foutais, mais tu sais, j'ai déjà retenu des clients de force

genre vraiment proche de me battre, et genre leur crier après aussi, mais je me sens pas vraiment en danger. [P06]

In the same vein, another participant stated that these situations can escalate into a physical altercation.

I once in [name of city], yeah, it was quite interesting, someone owed me money and they tried to take off and there was a physical altercation between him and I, he was pushing me while I was trying to get to the bouncer to be like "this guy is about to rip me off two hundred and fifty bucks, what the fuck" and it ended up being taken care of, but, even outside of work there was almost a physical altercation between this person and I. [P10]

For booth services, one participant stated that clients need more education regarding the way songs are counted and how their obligation is to pay strippers per song.

Juste comme changer la mentalité des clients aussi, les clients auraient vraiment besoin d'être plus éduqués, je sais pas, c'est pas juste une question de sécurité. Tu vas pas au bar de danseurs sans payer les danseurs. [...] ils ont besoin d'éducation, sinon ça l'amène des situations que là tu peux te sentir pas en sécurité. Sinon c'est ça, ça dépend beaucoup du boss. [P06]

Therefore, conflict is generated when the client refuses to fulfill his side of the business transaction. To deal with this, some participants reported the possibility of making clients pay before the sexual transaction.

J'ai fait des fois des dix chansons en arrière. Dix chansons, ça devient long longtemps, t'es à deux cents dollars, tu laisses faire qu'il va te payer le deux cents dollars, mais tu as pas de contrôle là-dessus. Fait que si tu as pas confiance qu'il vas payer, fait lui payer une première partie. [P08]

This last participant stated that strippers can safeguard their payment by requiring clients to pay as each song passes. To avoid issues with clients outside the club, strippers also report making them pay beforehand: "C'est un sexe consenti, fait que t'es un peu, la technique c'est que tu lui fais payer avant, pour être sûr de pas te faire arnaquer" [P08]. Moreover, participants report that they feel frustrated when dealing with disrespectful clients. The participants also reported conflict when clients are bargaining the strippers' fees.

Over time they start expecting more and more for less and less money. Yeah, and I don't know if that's my fault or if it's just the way it is, but it seems to be everybody's experience. I prefer new clients, there are always like more appreciative but also just more respectful, obviously every once in a while you get an idiot but I prefer that over

regular clients because regular clients I find are always looking to kind of build up a relationship that they can later turn into a bargain, and try to bargain the fact that they are regular clients. [P05]

Our results illustrate that clients request services at discounted prices: *“They expect more and more for less and less money” [P05]*. This is frustrating for the strippers who are trying to make as much money as possible.

During their interactions with clients, our results show that clients attempt to pressure strippers for certain services: *“There’s been a couple “give me a blow job” but I am very ‘look dude, if I get caught with your mouth on my dick, I am fired’ and a lot of them try and pressure, a lot of clients apply a lot of pressure when it comes to services like a lot of pressure” [P10]*. The pressure strippers receive from clients can lead to conflict, or it can lead to strippers transgressing their tolerance threshold and succumbing to the client’s wishes. Conflict is also generated when clients disobey the establishment’s rules. For instance, in the private booths, clients try to remove their own clothes: *“Lui il peut te toucher, mais il n’est pas censé enlever de vêtement que ce soit, ou se toucher, ça l’arrive qu’ils le font. Mais genre, tu leur dis de pas le faire” [P06]*. Further, clients may try to disrobe strippers in the booths and force certain services: *“En le prenant depuis le début parce que c’est sûr que le client va tenter de déshabiller le danseur [...] souvent on a essayé de me faire une fellation ou de toucher mon entrejambe et tout ça” [P11]*. Another participant stated that clients will sometimes make attempts at non-consensual condomless sex.

S’il me demande sur le coup de le faire sans condom, ça, non. Souvent ils sont intoxiqués par l’alcool ou quoique ce soit, ils risquent de ne pas remarquer qu’il y a un condom, fait que déjà là on a un avantage. Mais c’est pas rare que la personne s’essaye. Ça veut dire, c’est pour ça que tu surveilles avant que la personne entre ou que toi tu entres, mais quand toi tu entres, tu le sais que tu l’as le condom, mais tu vérifies au cours de la relation que le condom est toujours en place. Tu restes en contrôle de la situation. C’est ça la clé. [P08]

Another conflictual scenario is when clients become aggressive in the booths or elsewhere. Many participants reported instances of verbal and physical aggression while engaging in sexual transactions. Within booths, participants report that clients will sometimes try to force certain

sexual acts without the stripper's consent. Our results indicate that clients can be sexually aggressive.

My bad experiences, I've had guys grab me by the cock and shove it in their mouth. I am much more careful with that. You just don't expect it, but when that happens I and the dance immediately if the customer keeps trying to suck my dick, I end the dance immediately. They are trying to shove their fingers up my ass, I end the dance immediately. [P05]

Physical aggression was reported as a common threat for strippers.

Et Puis là le gars il savait que c'était ma première, j'avais jamais fait de danse, fait qu'il a profité peut-être de ça pour essayer d'aller chercher plus, puis, tu sais, il essayait de me déshabiller, tu sais, je retenais mon pantalon, je disais non, pas tout de suite, je suis pas à l'aise avec ça, il essayait, puis il était vraiment plus agressif au niveau de ses mouvements. [P03]

Not only do strippers face aggression from clients within strip clubs, but they also face the same dangers during their outside interactions.

Two weeks ago I went with the client to his home and I ended up having to go to the police station because he tried to rape me because I was like no condom no sex, and he was like, you literally pinned me down by my throat and was like "well I am going to fucking rape you" and then I like wrapped my legs around his head and started punching him in the face and got out of that situation. [P10]

In short, these results demonstrate that strippers face various safety hazards in terms of physical and sexual aggression from clients.

According to our results, clients' aggressive behaviours are perceived as negative work-related outcomes. As discussed in a previous section, strippers reported negative outcomes in the form of sexual violence in the private booths.

Like, there some but try to stick a finger, or they will really insist that, how do you say it, that I, they want me to suck them. Or sometimes, there was one attack that happened to me, to couples try to one to blow me, the other one tried to, wanted to fuck me in the back. [P02]

Thus, our results illustrate that strippers do perceive safety issues in their work and that the risks are related to their client interactions primarily: "*Tu as les risques de viols et sévices sexuels, des agressions, tu as des risques au niveau de ta santé justement là*" [P13]. These results are contrasted by the results indicating that many strippers do not perceive safety issues with clients

despite their knowledge of violence between their peers and clients. Our questionnaire results revealed that 78.57% of respondents perceived their work to be safe, 14.29% answered that they sometimes felt safe, and 7.14% answered that they did not feel safe.

Je penserais pas parce que personnellement j'ai jamais vu de client agressif ou violent. Il y a des histoires de danseurs qui ont des tempéraments violents, ceux qui sont souvent sous l'effet de drogues. Alors c'est sûr que ça peut faire en sorte qu'ils ne sont pas en contrôle de leurs moyens ou que par exemple, sur la cocaïne, ils peuvent avoir de l'agressivité. Mais des cas où que les clients ont été violents, je n'en ai pas qui me viennent en tête. [P08]

Strippers engage in various safety management strategies. Strippers protect themselves by informing others of their location when they are with a client.

I make sure that someone always knows where I am at all times, even as a stripper [...] when I have clients someone always knows where I am. [...] you always have to make sure that, even when you're upstairs, you are telling the DJ that you are going upstairs, so that someone knows you are upstairs in case something does happen because you never know what can happen. [P10]

Our results also illustrate that strippers try to remain in control of their transactions with clients: “*Tu restes en contrôle de la situation. C'est ça la clé*” [P08]. When clients pressure strippers or show signs of agitation, strippers can also respond through strength: “*Even though, like, they're going to like challenging, I want to challenge them back. Eventually they, I'm the man, I like to show them that I'm the one that's in charge here*” [P02]. Establishing the ground rules with clients before and during the transaction appears to be an effective measure for strippers to ensure their safety.

I don't show them, like, to be aggressive or anything, I just try to tell them calmly I don't do it. Even if they're under the influence of whatever they're taking, I'll tell them you know like, no is a no... firm, yeah firm. I will show them, like, you know if you do this I'm a beat you up in the back or anything. I'm using to show them, with respect, I don't do it, and at the same time, I know they're going to give me back respect eventually, then will understand that he doesn't want to do it. [P02]

Similarly, strippers can maintain control over a cabin interaction through de-escalation techniques.

En le prenant depuis le début parce que c'est sûr que le client va tenter de déshabiller le danseur, mais c'est au danseur de prendre les mains du client, exemple, et de lui dire, exemple, relaxe, mais toute en douceur avec la musique, comment je pourrais dire, avec un sourire. Moi je faisais ça, tu sais, je charmais et puis j'étais comme « attend, juste un instant » et puis s'il insistait, bien, de lui dire « enjoy the moment,

no rush » tu sais, d'utiliser, c'est beaucoup de manipulation parce que t'as pas le choix de manipuler et de charmer cette personne. [P11]

Strippers can also use their physical space to maintain control over clients. By positioning themselves above the client in the private booth, strippers are more in control of the interaction: *“Et puis moi j'ai un tabouret fait que je suis un peu plus haut, ça me permet d'être en contrôle un peu plus” [P13]*. Strippers can also terminate an unsafe interaction in the booth by exiting the private space: *“Mais c'est sûr qu'en tout temps, tu as le choix de mettre fin à la danse, c'est pas parce que le client veut continuer dans la cabine que tu es obligé de continuer. C'est un ou l'autre qui peut décider de mettre fin” [P08]*. The layout may also influence how strippers perceive their level of safety within the booths: *“Tu sais, je fais juste reculer de deux pas puis je suis à l'extérieur de la cabine, c'est vraiment sécuritaire, t'es à côté de tout le monde, t'es pas isolé d'une certaine manière” [P03]*. Thus, a space that allows strippers to quickly leave and be amongst others may increase their sense of safety. Not only can strippers choose to end their private booth transactions, but they can also refuse any type of transaction with clients: *“Sauf si le client je vois qu'il est trop agressif. Il y a des clients qui aiment ça être agressifs. Alors, c'est leur fantasme, c'est pas qu'ils sont méchants, c'est qu'ils aiment ça. Fait que là je peux refuser” [P12]*. As a result, a stripper who terminates an interaction will typically not receive payment from the client.

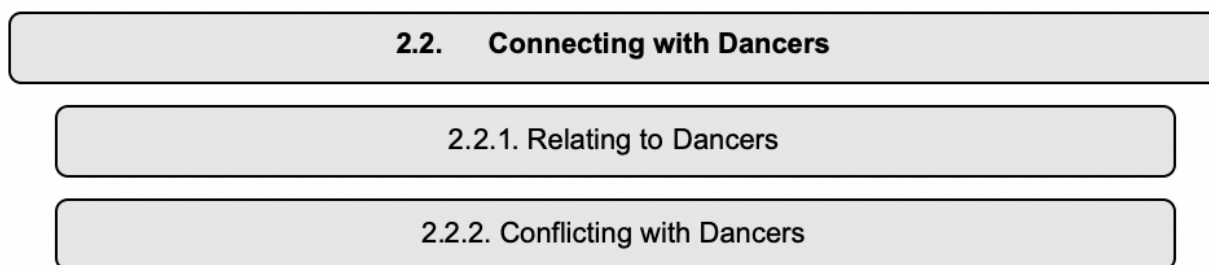
In other words, strippers act as their own personal bodyguards, their own bouncers, as a way to care for themselves in terms of their safety at work: *“On est nos propres bodyguards finalement” [P07]*; *“c'est moi qui suis responsable de mon, de ma sécurité peut importe où je suis et de mon bien-être” [P13]*. Often, strippers reported that they could handle themselves during any altercations: *“I feel safe man, I feel like I can overpower or kick any one of my client's ass you know” [P05]*. For others, their work analysis skills help them avoid issues with problematic clients: *“J'ai une bonne capacité à analyser les gens, donc j'arrive à savoir si oui ou non il y a une menace par rapport au paiement. Mais je regarde vraiment l'habillement, la façon que la personne est.*

Souvent, j'ai jamais eu de problème" [P08]. Thus, the perception of safety issues is decreased when strippers feel as though they can overpower their clients.

2.2. Connecting with Strippers

Herein, our results illustrate strippers' connections with other strippers in the club. We have identified the types of relationships as well as the moments of conflict between strippers. As in any work structure, the relation between workers forms a specific work dynamic; we dissect this dynamic in this section.

Figure 8. Connecting with Strippers



Relating to Strippers

First, the analysis results helped us gain insight into the ways strippers perceive their peers and helped us understand the types of relationships they forge together. Most notably, our results demonstrate a high degree of competition between strippers. Strippers' earnings are wholly dependent on their client business in the club. They compete for a share of this business with the other strippers. If they do not actively compete, they lower their odds at money-making opportunities. Thus, participants described their relationship as *"une espèce de compétition"* [P11]. The competition amongst strippers is manifest in their discussions about their earnings: *"On se parle un petit peu de combien, voir comment qu'on a fait dans une soirée"* [P01]. The mutual competitiveness is also perceptible in strippers' eagerness to acquire new clients. Our results show that strippers will focus their attention on the clients who pay the most: *"Tu sais on se parle aussi entre les gars, tu sais si un gars te dit « ah okay, ce client-là je viens de faire trois*

cents piasses » bien, on s'entend que je vais aller voir ce client-là avant" [P01]. Strippers are also motivated to offer more to clients in order to gain popularity over their peers to generate income.

Je suis beaucoup à l'argent, je suis ici pour l'argent clairement [...] fait que, sous le fait qu'ici à l'intérieur des murs à huis clos, je suis capable de faire plus c'est vraiment parce que moi j'ai un seuil de tolérance personnel, puis quand il y a certains de mes amis que je me confis plus ils disent « ah tu devrais pas faire ça, ce service-là, parce que, tu sais tu devrais pas faire ça parce que justement on est supposé être danseur, juste danse contact » puis ça met la pression effectivement, puis le « vibe » va se sexualiser, puis les gens vont vouloir plus. Puis oui, je comprenais ce qu'ils disaient, puis effectivement je suis tout à fait d'accord avec ça, mais au final moi, moi j'ai des objectifs, j'ai un but, j'ai des prêts étudiants, j'ai des dettes, je veux une maison rapidement, puis au final je comprends ça, mais moi ces gars-là, je m'en fous, c'est pas mes amis, puis je préfère avoir mille cinq cents piasses dans mon portefeuille quand je pars d'ici, que d'en avoir cinq cents. [P07]

Thus, competitiveness between strippers appears to be fuelled by the collective motivation for financial gain, the money-mind operating in the whole of the social matrix. Apart from a strong competitive relationship between strippers, secrecy is also prevalent. Strippers withhold information from their peers and work in a secretive manner.

I've heard stories, I have seen some, but I have never likes sprayed it out, I keep it for myself, and I pretend like, "Oh, I've seen you done this and that" that's not my thing to do. Like whatever he was doing, that's his problem and what I do here that's my problem. [P02]

There appears to be an "each man for himself" dynamic steeped in secretive interactions amongst strippers. Strippers' secrecy about their career exists perhaps because of their goal of avoiding shame from other strippers: "*J'ai peur de ce que les autres danseurs vont dire. C'est plus pour ça [...] c'est plus pour le jugement des autres danseurs*" [P12]. Thus, strippers are also motivated by the need for secrecy and anonymity.

Alongside the presence of competitive relationships and secrecy between strippers, there is also friendship. Participants stated that they have developed work friendships with their colleagues: "*Well, we usually come here together. He picks me up. He takes me home. Like, we basically became, like, you can say friends*" [P02]. Strippers have the opportunity to socialize with their peers and make new friends: "*Fait que, mais à date j'ai rencontré du bon monde, quand même il y a de la crasse c'est sûr, mais j'ai rencontré des bonnes personnes, du bon monde, je*

me suis fait bien des amis. Si ça serait terrible, je ne serais pas là” [P13]. Next to friendship, there can also be intimacy between strippers. One participant stated, *“Il y a des danseurs qui demandent des faveurs sexuelles à d’autres danseurs pour leur deuxième partie du spectacle. Exemple, le gars va dire « aye, tu veux me faire une fellation, j’ai un slow »”* [P11]. Moreover, strippers are sexually intimate when they perform together on stage.

Moi personnellement je ne fais pas de duo, j’ai fait quelques duos, mais les boss je pense qu’ils aimeraient pas trop ça parce que je touchais pas assez l’autre danseur puis j’étais plus dans ma bulle, fait que c’est pour ça que j’ai arrêté de faire des duos parce que j’étais pas capable de faire ce que les autres faisaient finalement, fait que j’ai jamais fait de douche, je ferais pas ça non plus, non je serais pas capable de faire ça. [P03]

In MSCs, strippers also appear to provide support amongst themselves. In this next example, the participant explains how he receives support from his peers.

I think once the client disrespected me, and I was raising my voice, and all of a sudden, all of these guys that I am friends with, these big macho bodybuilders, came over and they asked “like is everything alright” and like that’s what happens in those cases you know, my protection are the guys, we all, they have my back. [P04]

Regarding disorderly clients, strippers can sometimes ensure their safety by helping each other in difficult situations. This supportive role, as one participant puts it, can even go as far as watching over a peer’s consumption habits to ensure their safety.

Upon arriving to work, one thing that I do enjoy about dancing is no matter where you work or even like there’s a few different bars in [name of city] and all the strippers kind of recognize each other and we all support each other even behind-the-scene. [...] We, as strippers, what kind of like this close knit family and we are always checking on each other and like normally we can tell when someone has had a bad day or has had a bad client or needs that extra foot in the ass to be like, or even the motivation to get on stage so yeah. [P10]

Therefore, according to our results, the relation between strippers can take the form of peer support.

Conflicting with Strippers

As strippers may conflict with clients, they can also be in conflicts with their peers. Participants reported disagreements at work: *“Sinon, avec les danseurs en général ça va bien, tu sais j’ai*

peut-être déjà eu des accrochages, mais ça fait trois ans que je suis stripper puis dans n'importe quel job, ça peut arriver avec des employeurs, mais ça va [P01]. Strippers can be in conflict concerning clients' business. However, simple disagreements can sometimes take a turn for the worse.

I personally haven't had any problems with the other strippers, mind you, there definitely is sometimes things that go on between the strippers, like jealousy, or like sometimes like conflicts over stupid things, like "oh you took my, took my client, that was my client" like "I didn't even know you were talking to him he came to me" but yeah there has been a few physical altercations over the times, but none with me, but I have seen them happen. [P10]

Physical altercations between strippers seldom occur. Otherwise, our results show that there have been conflicts between strippers due to suspected theft: *"Ils volaient. La plupart des danseurs volaient"* [P14]. In our interviews, participants called on the management to employ more security measures in the club: *"Je dirais, plus de sécurité en terme d'entre danseurs pour les vols"* [P11]. In short, disagreements, verbal or physical altercations, and theft are present in the MSC work space—although these conflicts are not unique to stripping.

Specific to the stripping work culture, given that earnings are tip-based only, strippers compete for clients. Conflicts between strippers sometimes occur due to the pressure they feel when working against one another.

You know, but generally I feel like I also participate in the culture that's, I feel like that's very wrong, that it's really annoying when guys are doing things that are not dancing inside of the club because it creates an environment that pressures the rest of us into escorting because whatever he going to, like how are we going to get a guy to pay it. [P05]

The pressure that strippers experience regarding extra and outside services can lead to disagreements. Further, it can lead to division between strippers who offer extras and escorting services and those who do not.

Oui, il y a une dynamique, certain, si par exemple, je parle vraiment pour moi, si j'étais un peu encore « high school mentality », je serais plus dans cette game-là, je sais qu'admettons moi il y a du monde qui ont parlé dans mon dos, tu sais moi j'ai fait du porno gay, je suis pas gay, mais j'ai vu, tu sais j'ai été très au début quand j'ai commencé à danser, très séduit par l'argent, je suis un gars intense dans la vie, j'ai dit okay, j'ai compris la game, bang bang, donc moi j'ai fait du porno gay, j'ai fait de

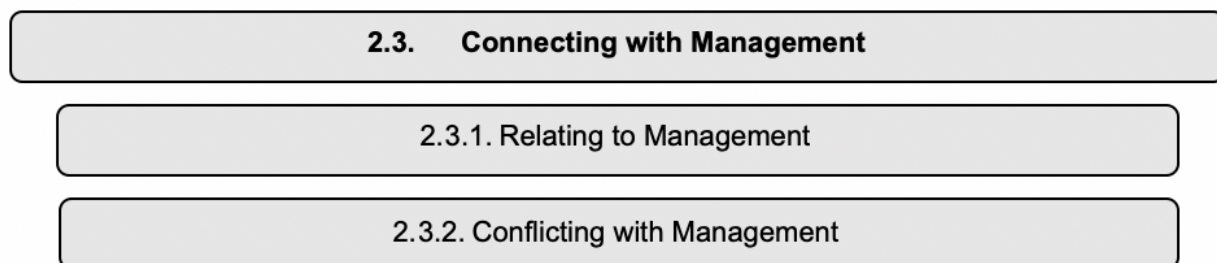
l'escorte, ça s'est su, je sais qu'il y a du monde qui parlait dans mon dos, personne me l'a jamais dit en face, mais je le sais, puis moi j'en ai toujours parlé ouvertement puis personne m'écœurait, mais clairement que il y a les gars que je pourrais dire ici admettons un peu, je trouve que ça fait « high school » pas mal là, mais tu sais il y a des gars admettons qui font des privés, puis des gars qui ne font pas de privé. [P07]

In short, male strippers face work conflicts amongst themselves like workers at any other job. They can experience disagreements, physical altercations, and issues with theft. Conflicts can be fuelled by the stripping work structure and the pressure to generate a flow of capital.

2.3. Connecting with Management

So far, we have presented the analysis results that pertain to participants' interactions with clients and with their peers. Our results also point to significant interactions with the management team, even though the interview guide did not focus on this. In this section, we present the results that describe the relationships and conflicts between strippers and the management team.

Figure 9. Connecting with Management



Relating to Management

The relationship between strippers and the management team appears to be problematic in general. However, certain participants reported a supportive relationship between themselves and the management team.

Definitely, definitely, for sure. I think that's one reason why I enjoy the management where I am now, not that I'm saying that the management and other places hasn't done that, but I don't know I find the management where I am now very much concerned, they always show concern for their strippers. [P10]

Strippers are grateful when their employers show concern for their needs. One participant reported that the club administration created a zero-tolerance environment for aggression and violence.

Je dirais que la seule sécurité que je vois c'est les comportements divergeants. Donc, tous les risques d'agressivité, les clients violents, si tu tombes sur un mauvais client, dans le bar, il y a un gérant, il y a un encadrement qui fait en sorte que le client sait qu'il n'est pas le roi là. [P08]

“Divergent” client behaviours are not tolerated, and clients come to realize that they are not “kings” in the club. In this manner, the management of inappropriate and unacceptable client behaviour is a form of care for strippers.

In helping strippers resolve their concerns, a distant, uninterested, and unsupportive management team is reported by our participants. Strippers would much prefer a relationship where they could share their qualms and resolve their work issues with the management team in a professional manner.

Oui, un danseur, danseur ça ne devrait pas être un escorte, mais c'est tellement propice finalement à l'escorte [...] ça devrait clairement être pris en considération plus, mais il devrait clairement avoir plus de support au niveau, admettons celui qui est à l'aise d'en faire plus d'avoir l'attention correspondante. [...] Bien oui, j'aimerais ça avoir, que les « owners » du club, je puisse leur parler comme je parle avec toi. [P07]

In short, strippers would like to see more support offered to them in the context of their work even if they transgress the code of conduct. This is also reflected in strippers' need for more comprehensive work training. Our results show that the participants found the establishment's effort to properly train strippers to be lackadaisical. Strippers want to work safely; they need adequate training to do so.

Pas du tout là, si tu viens ici puis que tu connais pas ça, c'est pas ici que tu vas apprendre quelque chose. Comme je te dis, aucunement une priorité du patron. Parce que justement, si on lui demande, il dit « non, moi j'veux pas de ça ici », mais il sait très bien que ça se passe. Tu sais, il le sait très bien, comme je te dis, moi, de mon point de vue, il sait très bien, il veut juste que du monde vienne dans son club. [P07]

Our results also show that strippers would prefer if the management team would monitor the private booths more frequently. They felt that the private booth surveillance was simply a front for

the management team to protect their operating licence rather than a strategy to protect strippers: this is an example of the effects of business entrepreneurs' motivations for financial gain.

I really really wish that they were checking the cabins much more [...] Yeah because at first I was bringing this up to them, I was like "why aren't you guys checking the cabins anymore like guys are getting their dicks sucked left, right, and centre [...] they don't care as long as the cop doesn't walk into the office..." [P05]

Il y a cette dynamique-là par les patrons parce qu'ils veulent garder leur permis de, ils veulent montrer à la police, tu sais c'est pour garder un « leverage » face à la police pour dire « écouter nous on surveille de temps en temps ». C'est comme leurs « back » pour dire, pour garder leur permis. [P07]

Our results show that the majority of our participants do not perceive their relationship as one of support for strippers' health and safety. Strippers perceive the licence of operation and monetary profit as the management team's priorities: *"Because I think, I think for them were just like a presentation object here for them to make money off alcohol and people will come back to see us, so they don't care about our personal lives"* [P02]. The participants reported feeling like a means for the club to make money: *"C'est pas important pour le bar que les danseurs savent danser, l'important c'est qu'ils paraissent bien. C'est comme vendre un produit, même s'il marche pas bien le produit, si t'es capable de le vendre, le monde vont l'acheter"* [P08].

Thus, our results illustrate that the club management might give special privileges to the clients who generate the highest revenue for the club. In these cases, strippers are permitted to break the rules. The need for stronger supportive and caring relations between strippers and the management team in MSCs is evident in our results. Unfortunately, the legal status of sex work is the greatest barrier to managers and owners fully investing themselves in strippers' work. In this sense, the motivation to conform to regulatory norms impedes healthy work relationships between business entrepreneurs and strippers.

Mais, c'est certain que si les patrons accepteraient plus le fait qu'ici il y a des services sexuels, bon bien, c'est sûr que face à la police là il y aurait, là ça ne marcherait pas, mais si les patrons mettraient de l'avant dans leurs actions, que c'est une réalité ici, puis qu'il y aurait des mesures prises, au lieu de faire « bon qu'est-ce que j'ai déjà dit » que je pense c'est leurs points de vue là-dessus, ça serait plus sécuritaire pour les danseurs qui sont à l'aise de faire des services sexuels pour avoir plus d'argent. Oui, ça serait plus sécuritaire si les patrons faisaient des actions pour, ils sont

conscients que ça arrive, mais ils font comme si ça n'arrive pas, puis ils font comme s'ils ne savaient pas. [P07]

The results illustrate that male strippers' work with their clients would be safer if sex work were fully decriminalized and strip clubs received legal exemption for providing support and services to curtail sexual service issues. The current legal framework creates an environment whereby male strippers and the strip club administration cannot engage in proper caring relations.

Conflicting with Management

Earlier, our results also illustrated the participants' frustration regarding payment issues with clients and the lack of support from the management team. There is a general sentiment among strippers that the establishment protects clients more than it protects strippers. There is also a feeling of disconnection between strippers and the owners.

Like I remember when a customer wouldn't pay us, he would get into the customer's face, make them pay, the way it should be, but now they are kind of like they just want to avoid the problem, so there like "oh what's your side of the story" to the customer, "oh what's my side" it doesn't matter whose you know, I fucking work for you, like it's my side of the story that matters. If I keep getting caught ripping clients off, then you have a problem in your hands, but if this happens to me like once a year, don't ask me what my fucking side of the story, don't ask him what his side of the story is, just tell him to fucking pay me, like that pisses me off. We are completely separate from them. [P05]

Thus, payment issues are a source of conflict between strippers and the management team. Our results demonstrate that strippers' perception of conflict with the management team is rooted in their belief that money is the club's number one priority. Participants reported being used by the establishment to generate revenue; strippers are the club's "money-makers" [P04].

Aller sur scène, tu sais moi, tu sais on est pas payé pour ça, puis ici on le fait, on est obligé de le faire. Finalement, la seule partie obligatoire du travail c'est d'aller sur scène [...] eux ils se font de l'argent avec ça puis nous on n'est pas payé pour ça. [P07]

Strippers are not paid for their stage performances, but this is a mandatory part of their job. When strippers are not paid for their work, our results show that they feel exploited by the management team.

I just got really super fed up with the fact that, I just didn't think that people, strippers were brave enough to call out the system for what it really was, and I felt like "nah, this is super fucked up" because there were nights where we would leave with no money after being hours in that bar, that industry, that venue, that building, whatever you want to call it, for about six to seven hours a night and if the club was dead or we didn't make any money, the club would still make money off of us. [P04]

Conflict between strippers and the management team emerges when strippers feel exploited when they are not paid for their work. Moreover, participants reported that conflicts arise because of the management team's tendency to give more privilege to the strippers who generate more money.

The ones who like come in, they make good money, they can really do what they want, and on top of that there is a level of favouritism where the bosses will like hang out with them, not outside of the club, but they will like talking with them I'm like "really, this guy is like your worst employee and you are treating him like you're best buddies." So I really don't understand what goes on through her mind, they don't reward competence, and I think that's what's really, that's going to be either Achilles' heel, and then they are like "I don't know why guys don't respect us" like you guys give the most privilege to the ones who respect you the least and it's just absurd you know. [P05]

Other than conflict arising out of the management team's focus on money, one participant mentioned discrimination and stigmatization from the management team because he identified as gay.

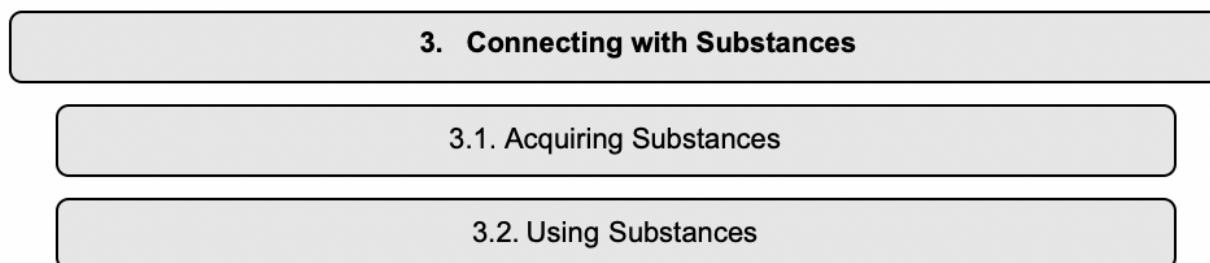
At actually, one of the other big things is from when I started off, I wasn't allowed to work at night because they were quote unquote like in fear that me being the quote unquote the gay guy would bring clients in the back and engage in like sexual acts with the clients, and I said that's the stigma, that's a stereotype right there, and they wouldn't let me work at night because I was gay, and I had to really educate them and like fight, hand in the air fight and tell them that I'm here to fucking make money, and this is a gay club in [name of neighbourhood], and if a gay guy wants to come work you have to let him, like, there is no reason, I have a great body, I know how to dance, there is no reason for me not to work. [P04]

This participant illustrates that he was scapegoated as a problematic stripper. Because of his openly gay identity, he lived through discrimination at work. As a result, he was no longer permitted to work late-night shifts.

Category 3 – Connecting with Substances

Our results demonstrate that not only do strippers connect with other human bodies, but they also connect with psychotropic bodies. This category depicts strippers' interactions with psychotropic substances in the context of their work. By and large, the analysis results indicate that strippers' connection to substances at work has significant impacts on their health and safety outcomes.

Figure 10. Connecting with Substances



3.1. Acquiring Substances

Other than alcohol and tobacco, many other substances are used by strippers. Participants reported acquiring and using the following substances while working: cannabis (9 of 14), cocaine (6 of 14), GHB (Gama-Hydroxybutyric Acid, commonly known as the date-rape drug, used by 6 of 14 respondents), ketamine (1 of 14), MDMA (3,4-Metylenedioxymethamphetamine, also known as ecstasy or molly, used by 1 of 14 respondents), methamphetamine (3 of 14), poppers (a drug class of alkyl nitrates popular in the gay community, used by 3 of 14 respondents), erectile dysfunction medication such as Tadalafil (8 of 14), and anabolic steroids (9 of 14). Moreover, 42.86% of the participants reported using drugs intravenously; all denied sharing their needles and syringes. Cannabis was the most preferred substance with 50% of participants marking it as their drug of choice.

Où, ça aussi c'est sûr. J'ai vu des poppers qu'ils appellent, tu sniffes ça, je connaissais pas ça, je pensais que je connaissais, tu sais je veux dire, j'ai fait de l'ecstasy, j'ai tripé quand même, mais il y a bien des affaires que je connaissais pas au fond. Parce que tu as comme une panoplie, admettons, je te dirais, chimique qui vont avec le sexe, le cristal meth, le GHB, après ça tu as tout le Cialis, tous les sous-produits. Moi étant nature anxieuse, moi je suis un fumeux de pot. [P13]

Of all these substances, GHB, cocaine, and cannabis were reported to be the most popular in the male stripping industry: “[GHB] *c’est la drogue la plus répandue, je te dirais là. La deuxième, ça serait d’la coke, puis après ça le pot*” [P01]. Illicit substances are easily accessible to strippers in their places of work: “*Bien, c’est rare que je le paye, je me le fais souvent donner par des amis...*” [P03]. Access to substances from their peers exists alongside access to substances from clients.

Or if you’re talking with a client at a table and you really want to further engage a connection and they offer you a drink because they are having a drink, the rule of thumb is to accept it and to have it with them. That’s what they tell you to do, so you do it blindly, and then you realize “oh fuck, every client I’ve had I’ve had two to three drinks per client” you know “shit, I don’t even want to drink that much.” [P04]

Our results show that it is easy for strippers to receive alcohol from clients free of charge. Clients can ask strippers to sit with them and drink at their table for the night. Hence, strippers can get paid to get intoxicated with clients.

C’est arrivé une seule fois que j’ai été saoul ici, c’est parce que c’est un client en particulier qui est un peu connu dans le club, c’est un millionnaire. Il vient de temps en temps, puis lui il a des gars préférés, quand il vient il se prend trois, quatre gars, puis au courant de la soirée en moyenne à chaque gars, il fait pas danser personne, il amène jamais de danseurs en arrière, lui quand il vient ici sont trip, il se prend trois, quatre gars à sa table. Durant la soirée, il leur donne quatre à six cents piasses chaque, puis il les paye pour boire du champagne avec lui puis rire à ses « jokes ». [P07]

Not only will clients offer to buy strippers drinks in the club’s main floor area, but they can also ask strippers to consume other substances, such as cocaine, in the private booths.

And if you, depending on what your take is with that drug or any sort of drug you’re either going to be like “yeah sure let’s do some” and the money, the money will add up, because the longer you are in the back room, the more money you are making at the end of it, and so the men that come there with the money want just a cute boy to go in the back with and do drugs with literally for the whole night, I’ve seen guys go in there for two hours just doing lines of coke and making money that whole time and they leave with an addiction after because that same client will come to the club every week to see his boy, which equals two hours or however many hours of drug taking. [P04]

The last excerpt demonstrates strippers’ easy access to illicit substances from clients. It is so easy for strippers that clients will even pay them to use drugs. At times, substances can also be accessed through a dealer.

We have drug dealers in the club and for somebody who obviously can't control themselves when it comes to drugs like it's there. So the money is there and then the drugs are there, so there is the guy making sixty dollars, one hundred dollars, and he goes right up to the stairs "oh I am going to buy my drug fix now" and then it's a cycle. So there should be no fucking drugs in the club but there are. [P04]

Our results show that strippers perceive the easy access to substances as a potential cause of substance misuse.

When it comes to acquiring Tadalafil (a drug used by strippers to maintain their erections while performing for clients), they can sometimes purchase this from the club management: *"Well we buy our Cialis from the management, but they don't sell any drugs at all, yeah no they don't sell any drugs"* [P05]. If strippers cannot find what they are looking for in the club, they can temporarily exit the establishment to acquire what they need.

They always want strippers to stay in the bar, so now all of these strippers on coke, they are going out to [name of bar], there are going to all the other fucking clubs to like, or like just going out on the street to find coke, and then they are bringing it back, splitting it with their friends, it's just a waste of time, you would have a lot more, the environment would be a lot more productive, if you just let the fucking strippers buy the coke from the trustworthy guy, you know. [P05]

Undoubtedly, strippers work in an industry where they have no issues accessing psychotropic substances: *"C'est très facile. Ici, c'est ça là, la tina, la cristal meth, il y en a beaucoup, beaucoup, beaucoup là"* [P13]. Our results also indicate that easy access to substances and a good revenue stream from stripping might enable strippers' substance use.

I think also one of the reasons why it gets popular amongst strippers is because they can afford it, they make good money, and like they can buy it meanwhile somebody working a regular job slumped, so I would say the cash in hand, and the availability of it so readily those two, plus the peer pressure, those two, is probably the perfect storm. [P05]

Therefore, MSCs represent a space where substances are easily accessible to strippers through various channels.

3.2. Using Substances

While at work, 14.29% of the questionnaire respondents reported not using any substances. In contrast, 35.71% reported using two different substances while working. The remaining 50% of

respondents reported having used at least three and up to seven different types of substances while working. When strippers do use substances, different forces are responsible. One of these is the desire to gain social acceptance from peers.

I think a lot of guys just fall into it because it's cool, because they think it's cool, and then they get caught up in it. The peer pressure of wanting to fit in with the cool strippers, yeah, because usually the ones that do coke are the loudest, and the most like in-your-face, and rowdy ones, so the new guys, they almost kind of intimidate, like "hey you want to do a little bummed" they will be all like "cool I'm fitting in with the cool guys" you know, usually the ones doing coke have been there for a little while to you know, you know you're not going to do coke on your first shift unless you really want to fuck it. [P05]

Given the prevalence of substances in this environment, participants reported peer pressure to consume substances. As stated earlier, this pressure can surface when clients request that strippers consume substances with them in the club. This type of pressure is generally underpinned by strippers' desire to make money with their clients: *"Because the longer you are in the back room, the more money you are making at the end of it [...] I've seen guys go in there for two hours just doing lines of coke and making money that whole time and they leave with an addiction"* [P04]. Therefore, one major reason to use substances is to make money with clients. Thus, there is a synergistic relationship between the forces of financial gain and substance use. Over time, regular substance use can evolve into dependency. Strippers' motivation to work can become fuelled by the desire to consume substances: *"À la fin oui, parce que tu sais, j'avais plus vraiment de motivation. Je rentrais juste pour en faire [referring to his cocaine use]. Ça me donnait une excuse pour en faire plus"* [P01]. In short, strippers can develop substance use disorders in the context of their work: *"Oui, oui, définitivement, la quantité de cocaïne et puis de GHB qui se consomme par les danseurs c'est faramineux là [...] il y a eu beaucoup de gars justement qui viennent ici plus, puis si ils étaient pas déjà dépendants ils vont être encore plus dépendants"* [P07]. Thus, substances hold a certain dominion over the MSC environment.

Notably, substances were used by strippers in the context of their work to cope with the demands of stripping and to facilitate their client transactions. Connecting with substances like

GHB can assist strippers in their client connections: “Ça aide à aller voir le monde. Il y a beaucoup de monde ce qu’ils font aussi, ils font du GHB, ils appellent ça du jus” [P01]. GHB procures a sensation of alcohol intoxication and lowered inhibition: “[...] le GHB m’aidait vraiment à retirer cette gêne-là et puis à être, pouvoir mieux travailler et puis pas être dans ma bulle” [P01]. In effect, strippers’ behaviours and work practices are altered, and even improved according to some, when they use substances like GHB.

On ladies’ night, I’ll take like, a pinch of, a drop of GHB just to get the feeling of getting drunk, like tipsy. To be honest, well, ladies, I find it, it’s very intimidating, well for me it’s intimidating like to perform. And you know like we got to get naked with them. So like, I get a hard time getting hard, since like you know, maybe they won’t like how I look, even though some people they say, like, I look really good, like I’m a very sexy, but for me it’s hard to see, like, I am what they see. [P02]

For the strippers who are concerned about how they appear to others, substances like GHB are used to reduce their performance anxiety and timidity. Its use is so widespread in this industry that some strippers cannot work without using GHB: “Beaucoup de gars qui ne sont pas capables de travailler sans consommer, beaucoup de GHB pour être à l’aise, ils vont pas sur stage s’ils sont pas sur du GHB” [P07]. GHB also seems to be very popular among strippers because of its compatibility with anabolic steroids and a bodybuilding lifestyle: “GHB I understand why strippers do it, because a lot of strippers are taking steroids, and they can’t drink alcohol because of that, it’s also because there is no hangover” [P05].

Similar to GHB, alcohol is used to facilitate strippers’ interactions with clients. Approaching clients to whom a stripper is not naturally attracted is an important part of the work. Therefore, a tonic is often required.

Tu es dans un bar, il faut que tu sois dans l’ambiance. Je ne sais pas, je pense que la plupart des danseurs savent que, tu sais, tu es plus dans l’ambiance avec l’alcool. [...] Ça me motive juste d’être là. Bien comme, pas, non, pas juste d’être là, mais d’y aller ça me tente, mais, juste d’être dans le « mood » plus sociable, comme quand je suis dans un bar en général. [P06]

Our results show that substances can provide strippers with the stimulation necessary to approach clients, a crucial element in their business venture.

Le courage que ça prend pour, c'est souvent pour ça que les gens vont consommer, parce que le courage qui est nécessité pour oser approcher quelqu'un que tu n'es pas attiré, que tu n'as pas d'intérêt et que tu sais que le but c'est qu'il te fasse danser, qu'il vienne te tripoter, c'est pas nécessairement facile au début. [P08]

Moreover, our results demonstrate that strippers may connect regularly with substances to cope with the demands of their work. The following excerpts illustrates how one stripper used cannabis to reduce work-related anxiety: *"To be honest, I like to smoke it, like an hour before, so I get the down part, and like, I'm really like relaxed. I have an anxiety, and like, I'm like a stressful person. Like I think too much. So, this, helps me, like, to calm me"* [P02]. Other, harder substances, ketamine in the following excerpt, are also used by strippers to cope with their work life.

It helps me, it helps me kind of, as much as I like to be fully there when I'm at work, in a way that helps me be, to pull back and kind of like, I don't know, like with that whole lifestyle, because I have been doing it for so long, it has a big kind of effect on your psyche in a way, because it's like, who I am at work and who I am outside are two totally different people. [P10]

In short, substance use is often rationalized as a way to enhance strippers' work performance and to cope with toll of stripping. Our results also indicate that substance use is perceived as a work-related concern and an influencing factor in strippers' mental health perceptions and outcomes.

You know, and then they fall into hard drugs and all kinds of shit, and like I see it every time, every time, like I have gotten to the point now where I see the ones who are really going to, like I see one who is about to start a ladies night, he has already got problems with cocaine and then the pressure of ladies night mixed in with some level of validation from the women just fucks people, fucks them up, the ones who are vulnerable just can't deal with it. [P05]

Another participant feels that this can quickly become problematic when a stripper consumes too much just to be able to work: *"Sometimes we tend to use too much just to be able to work, sometimes with, I think a lot of it stems from, it starts as an addiction and it slowly becomes concurrent disorder, you know what I mean"* [P10]. The participants highlighted the utility of connecting with substances at work to increase their success rate with clients. However, we also learned that these chemical connections can be stretched to the point of toxicity: *"But these clubs, a lot of the guys seem to drug themselves to sell themselves. So, that is food for thought"* [P04].

In the last excerpt, the participant points to the inherent danger of relying on addictive substances to perform their work role. The regular use of substances in the club can evolve into substance misuse and addiction issues.

Furthermore, the widespread accessibility and use of drugs and alcohol were also perceived as hazardous to strippers' work.

I think the number one radar goes off it is that we have drug dealers in the club and for somebody who obviously can't control themselves when it comes to drugs like it's there. So the money is there and then the drugs are there, so there is the guy making sixty, one hundred dollars, and he goes right up to the stairs "oh I am going to buy my drug fix now" and then it's a cycle. So, there should be no fucking drugs in the club but there are. [P04]

Our results show that strippers may find themselves in a "cycle" whereby they are repeatedly buying drugs with their earnings. In this sense, strippers perceive a possibility of developing harmful substance use disorders at work: "*Aussi j'ai remarqué que plusieurs danseurs boivent trop d'alcool, et puis surtout ils dansent plusieurs fois par semaine, alors ils boivent beaucoup, alors ça peut causer des problèmes de santé s'ils boivent beaucoup d'alcool*" [P12]. Moreover, GHB use is also perceived as a harmful activity in stripping. "Wiping" is a term used by strippers to describe an overdose of GHB: "*Wipé, c'est quand tu consommes trop de GHB*" [P01]. Strippers report frequent events where they have "wiped" or have seen another person "wipe" at work: "*Oui, le gars avait wipé. Il avait fait trop, trop de jus au fond. Puis il était en train de faire une danse avec un client, il est parti à courir dans les toilettes, puis il était couché sur le sol, tout nu. Puis, il convulsait là*" [P01]. Stories of undesirable effects from GHB can influence a stripper's perceptions of harmful practices and consumption behaviours at work.

I never really like that interested in it, especially because I had heard the stories of wiping and I had heard early on I had heard the stories how it is just, your immunity just skyrockets, it's just one of those drugs, the first time you will really have a good time on it, but the second time you'll have to take a little bit more, but really if the use is chronic, it's going to come really soon that point where like it's too much. [P05]

Strippers perceived work hazards in their client transactions due to substances: "*Souvent les gens sont sous l'effet de la drogue, alors ils se laissent emporter, c'est souvent ça les pratiques à*

risque” [P08]. The perception of work hazards is therefore linked to the belief that substances can make strippers lose control over their behaviours.

I think when it comes to health and safety risks, just always, don't, to me it comes to the drug factor. Like we need to make sure that we are fully there, that we are fully present, as much as we used to be able to step back from the situation, sometimes we consume to a point where we don't, we are not there, we are not able to have control over the situation, when it comes to the point where we don't have control over the situation, that is what allows for all of the health and safety factors to come into play. [P10]

In other words, according to participants, substance use at work can have a negative impact on their work performance. The following participants illustrate how this is so. They state:

But in terms of like how it affects your performance, I think it affects your performance massively negative, like I make the most money when I am just calm, and centred, not when I'm all fucking wired. On top of that, you don't get an erection under stage or in the back, like you have fucking erectile dysfunction for the rest of the night, so like that must affect your income for sure... [P05]

According to these two participants, substance use while working can have a negative impact on strippers' work performance. On the one hand, substances can impact strippers' ability to socialize appropriately with clients in order to engage in worthwhile interactions. On the other hand, they can have a negative impact on strippers' physical performance (i.e., erectile dysfunction). This reality can have negative effects on strippers' overall income. To manage the perceived negative substance use outcomes, strippers can avoid substances completely.

C'est pas un risque que je peux vraiment prendre en considération de mon côté, puis je suis jamais, étant donné que je ne bois pas d'alcool, puis que je prends pas de drogue, j'ai jamais le risque de faire des choses que je veux pas faire ou tomber dans un état que la personne peut faire des choses que j'ai pas envie de faire. [P03]

Thus, by refusing to use drugs or alcohol, strippers avoid the associated health and safety issues.

Synthesis of Results

We achieved our research objectives by first describing a Canadian MSC milieu as a social matrix produced by intersecting and competing forces. Observable social phenomena and cultural features in the MSC are produced by these motivational forces. Second, we shed light on the factors that influenced strippers' occupational health and safety conditions: motivational forces that produce and configure a social matrix and social connections between people and things resulting in specific health and safety practices and outcomes. Finally, we delineated the relationship between the factors that influence strippers' health and safety outcomes and the sexual service negotiation process with clients. The sexual service negotiation process is one of negotiating the configuration of connections within a social matrix. The connections are created via motivational forces. The motivation for financial gain revealed itself to be the strongest and most consistent motivational force; the focus on capital gain generates asymmetrical connections between strippers, clients, and business entrepreneurs, resulting in specific health and safety outcomes.

Finding One: The MSC forcefield produces a fluid and interconnected social matrix upon which strippers' sexual transactions transpire.

The force of human motivation characterized the structure of our analysis and shaped our understanding of the MSC human ecology. In our results, motivation refers to the connective forces that incite motion in thoughts, emotions, and actions: the motivation for financial gain, pleasure, validation, affection, intimacy, privacy, safety, health, and conformity were the most potent. In the MSC, these forces intersect and form a forcefield; the interplay and organization of motivations within the forcefield represent an economy of force.

The driving forces behind strippers' participation in the MSC social matrix (e.g., engaging in sexual transactions with clients) were their motivations for financial gain, positive regard from

clients, privacy, and pleasure (financial gain was corroborated as the most potent force). Ancillary to our study objectives, we found that the motivation for financial gain lay at the base of business entrepreneurs' connections with strippers; moreover, the motivation for pleasure and intimacy fueled clients' connections with other bodies in the MSC. The movement of forces seemed responsible for energizing and configuring the social connections between all sentient, material, technological, neurochemical, and socio-cultural bodies in the MSC geography. Said otherwise, every object, place, structural constraint, person, behaviour, thought, and perception in this dynamic economy is an expression of intersecting forces within a social field.

Our results demonstrate that strippers perceive various negative health and safety outcomes while working: safety concerns while performing on stage or when with clients in the private booths, sexual health concerns during sexual transactions, mental health concerns arising from the toll of stripping and substance use, financial concerns due to stripping's salary structure and scarcity of clients in the winter season, and legal concerns when transgressing the disciplinary matrix. Based on the analysis results, we propose that these perceived situations or practices be understood as products of the MSC forcefield, rather than being inherent to the club's environment or to sex work. The motivational forces express themselves by structuring the club's social matrix and by configuring strippers' behaviours within it. For instance, strippers' offering of prohibited services in the private booths is an expression produced by their motivation for financial gain and clients' motivation for pleasure and intimacy. There is nothing inherently dangerous in strippers' interactions with clients. Risks emerge from the motivational forces that produce a private booth where strippers do not have the necessary work tools to engage in safe transactions. Risks emerge due to the intense climate of competition for clients. Risks ensue when strippers are not properly cared for in terms of health, social, and legal services because of the criminalized sex work climate. Our results illustrate that the club's social matrix has negative risks inhering within it. Risk is even built in the club's disciplinary matrix in that disciplinary measures are deployed to maintain the viability of the club rather than to protect strippers from negative

occupational health and safety outcomes. The disciplinary matrix does little to protect strippers regarding prohibited sexual practices and substance use. These practices do not need to be inherently harmful, but the environment in which they unfurl generates negative outcomes. In effect, strippers' health and safety practices and outcomes are generated expressions stemming from the productive flow of motivational forces emerging from various social bodies that make up the club's social matrix (bodies such as strippers, clients, business entrepreneurs, and moral entrepreneurs interacting within a spatial, temporal, and disciplinary field).

Not only did we find that strippers' work practices and risk perceptions were produced as effects of intersecting motivational forces within the club's social matrix, but we also found that the interacting bodies and the club's social matrix are also produced expressions and constellations of configured connections. We found that strippers' motivations combined with those of clients produced their sense of self as strippers: as sexual entertainers who manufacture intimacy with clients to generate pleasure, spending, and financial gain. Our results demonstrate that the spatial matrix is produced from clients' motivations for pleasure and intimacy and from both business entrepreneurs' and strippers' motivations for financial gain, among other forces (this is epitomized in the presence of special private booths that provide a high level of privacy so that strippers and clients can engage in high-earning transactions, thus satisfying strippers', clients', and business entrepreneurs' motivations simultaneously). The temporal matrix, in terms of the time periods of which it is composed, is also produced expressions and configured connections between bodies. Our results indicate that strippers' motivation for financial gain produces times when they may best leverage sexuality and clients to increase their earnings (i.e., late at night, on weekends, during the private booth interactions, the extension of time in the private booths to increase spending, the extension of work time for private work services outside the club). Their motivational forces also generate a set of connections to substances. We see this in the way strippers seek to satisfy their motivation for financial gain: strippers "*drug themselves to sell themselves*" [P04]. In this example, the motivation for substance use facilitates interactions

with clients, increases strippers' earning potential, and helps them cope with the toll of stripping; therefore, substance use is a catalyst for the satisfaction of financial goals.

In short, there is synergy between clients', strippers', and business entrepreneurs' motivations. When clients are moved by their impulse for sexual intimacy, and business entrepreneurs and strippers by their motivations for financial gain, the result is a production of identifiable subjects, social places, time periods, behaviours, and practices that make up the club's social matrix. This synergy generates a positive forcefield that directs the expressions of, and connections between, motivated bodies toward transactional outcomes.

In contrast to the synergy between strippers', clients', and managers' motivations within the MSC forcefield, our results reveal the presence of conflicting forces that hinder the unimpeded expressions and connections between bodies in the MSC social matrix. That is to say, the MSC forcefield is not a linear production machine where every single motivation is perfectly expressed without any resistance. The constraining structures of the disciplinary matrix limit the expression of certain connections in the club. Further, strippers' tolerance threshold and the routinized patterns of acceptable social connections restrain certain work behaviours.

The forces of conformity to regulatory and socio-cultural norms regarding sex work and stripping restrains bodies: the strip club's social matrix, its economic activities, and the people of MSCs are not estranged from the external forces that govern and normalize sexual activities in the club and in society. We see this in the stripping regulatory structure that has been erected; we see it in the law enforcement monitoring activities surrounding the MSC (e.g., raids, control, fines), we see it in the club's internal regulatory structure (i.e., code of conduct, surveillance, punishment), and we see it in the club's spatial setting. The MSC social matrix and the social connections that constitute it, in every expression and connection, stem from the smelting process between actively competing forces (synergistic or conflicting) resulting in a unique amalgamated expression that can be different every time.

For instance, strippers who engage in prohibited sexual practices with clients in the private booths (e.g., receptive condomless oral sex) but refuse other services (e.g., providing oral sex to clients) are part of an assemblage process within the club's social matrix that is driven by oppositional forces. On one hand, the stripper is motivated by financial gain, which enables him to transgress the club's disciplinary structure. On the other hand, the stripper's transaction with the client is limited by motivations to conform to the club's regulatory structure, to conform to his perceived norms of acceptable sexual practices with men, or to satisfy his need for privacy and anonymity which might be impossible in the club's social matrix.

The results relating to the production of the club's spatial and temporal matrix demonstrate that the forcefield reproduces and reinforces itself. Space and time are reproduced and reinforced by the effects that place and time have on people's motivations, perceptions, and behaviours. To reiterate, the social matrix is produced by the interacting forces within its forcefield. Subsequently, our results indicate that the MSC physical and social environment can generate sexual arousal, encourage spending on substances and sexual services, and intensify strippers' need to make money. For example, strippers become more negotiable with clients and business entrepreneurs become more tolerant of prohibited sexual services during the winter months. Resultingly, clients' sexual motivations and strippers' financial motivations can increase during specific times in the club: periods of slow business and financial necessity intensify strippers' financial motivations). We also experienced this during our field observations; as passive spectators, we noted that the sexualized milieu and performances elicit a degree of sexual arousal, focus attention on intimacy, and produce a desire to interact and partake in the social tapestry. Therefore, the produced social matrix reenergizes the motivational forces that lead to its production.

Furthermore, the reproductive character of the MSC forcefield is also seen in the competitive business environment generated by the combination of strippers motivated by the same ends. Strippers driven by their financial motivations compete with other strippers with similar motivations. Conscious of this, strippers are acutely aware of their need to close business

transactions with clients (we must remember that strippers' earnings are tip-based and that they pay a work fee for each shift). As a consequence, the intense competition for clients' business and the acute awareness of this competition reproduce, reinforce, and intensify strippers' financial motivations and their produced outcomes. Thus, the flow of coalescing motivations within the club's social matrix reproduces a set of observable expressions and connections between bodies which are responsible for strippers' health and safety work conditions. These expressions and connections are fluid in that they change as the motivational forces shift in the club space.

Finding Two: Sexual service negotiation outcomes between strippers and clients result from intersecting motivational forces.

Our results indicate that the negotiation process and its outcomes go far beyond the actual bartering of resources (i.e., money and intimacy). Instead, the sexual negotiation process and its outcomes are the result of simultaneously occurring processes of negotiation between competing motivational forces coalescing in the MSC forcefield. Forces battle for primacy of expression; what we observe as a social phenomenon is thus the manifestation of certain motivations subduing others. The direction of negotiated forces during the bartering of resources between strippers and clients is the product of the configuration between each force (strippers and clients each assert their motivations to arrive at transactional terms). The battle of forces, as well as its effects on the social matrix and sexual transaction assemblage process, is exemplified in the conflictual relationships between the transacting bodies in the club (stripper vs. himself, stripper vs. another stripper, stripper vs. client, stripper vs. management team). We found that the negotiation outcomes would vary even though the motivational forces at play were the same. As such, there was no linear process for arriving at a decision when negotiating sexual service transactions.

In much the same way as business entrepreneurs' expression within this forcefield is the amalgamated result of battling forces, strippers' sexual service transactions were energized by intersecting motivations. Strippers are motivated by financial gain, by the motivation for pleasure,

by the motivation for health and safety, by the motivation for privacy and anonymity, and by the motivation to conform to norms, among others. The value they bestow upon the expression of one motivational force will dampen the expression of others, and vice versa. The contextually contingent asymmetry between these motivations seemed to determine the outcomes of negotiation (exemplified in the portion of the results discussing the various factors that impact the negotiation outcomes). For instance, our results demonstrate that strippers with a high valuation of financial gain and a low valuation of conformity to norms results in work practices that may lead to negative health and safety outcomes (e.g., substance use, condomless sexual services, escort services). Conversely, the result would be completely different if strippers were to express a low valuation of financial gain and a high valuation of conformity to norms and their tolerance threshold (practices would remain conventional with low risk of negative outcomes). Moreover, strippers' motivations to conform to norms and avoid punishment, and their motivations for safety, anonymity, and privacy, engender expressions that restrict the expression of other desires during the negotiation process. This is seen in the way strippers self-discipline themselves: refusing to offer certain services for fear of homosexual labels, withholding information from others to maintain secrecy in their work and avoid stigma, refusing to define their role as sex work or escort services, or refusing to engage in certain practices with clients for fear of losing their job.

Our results also indicate that the club's social matrix impacts the strength of strippers' motivational forces, thereby influencing the outcomes of their sexual service negotiations with clients. For example, in a disciplinary matrix where business entrepreneurs do not deploy a strict disciplinary structure (when their motivation for financial gain trumps their motivations to conform to regulatory norms), and when the spatial and temporal matrixes are favourable to transgressive money-making activities, a stripper's motivation for financial gain will be amplified and the motivation for conformity to the club's disciplinary structure will be diminished. Conversely, if the forcefield produces a spatial, temporal, or disciplinary climate unfavourable to sexual transactions, strippers' valuation of forces within the sexual service negotiation process will change accordingly

(this was exemplified in the conflict between strippers' motivation for financial gain and business entrepreneurs' motivation to conform to legal norms). Thus, the direction or outcome of a sexual service negotiation depends on the asymmetry of competing forces—not only intersecting between the stripper and the client in their exchange, but also between all the forces responsible for the production of the entire MSC forcefield configuration.

Granted, the synergistic motivations for intimacy, pleasure, financial gain, and so on enable the connections between strippers and clients during their sexual service negotiation. However, these connections are co-produced by forces flowing in different directions: the motivation for health and safety, the motivation to conform to norms, the motivation to maintain privacy and anonymity. Finally, it is the strength of asymmetry between all forces within the MSC forcefield that mobilizes interactions this way or that (strength refers to the value or position granted to each motivation); synergy between forces amplifies some motivations, and opposition between forces diminishes others.

Therefore, the transient strength asymmetry between forces in a forcefield is responsible for the outcomes of sexual service negotiations. Negotiation is an amalgamation of asymmetrical forces energized and constrained within the club's social matrix. The sexual service negotiation process and product therefore mirrors the continuous asymmetry of forces that constitute the MSC forcefield as a self-perpetuating and self-constraining money-making and pleasure-inducing machine creating expressions of space, time, discipline, sexual and substance use practices, and social relations.

Finding Three: The motivation for financial gain generates an ethics of money which catalyses transgressive connections between strippers and clients.

Our results indicate that the most consistently expressed force in the MSC forcefield is a synergistic expression composed of both strippers' and business entrepreneurs' motivations for financial gain. The consistent expression of this force supplants the expression of other conflicting

forces (e.g., motivation for privacy, anonymity, health, safety, conformity to norms). Financial gain is positioned as the greatest good compared to all other motivations. In effect, the motivation for financial gain leads to the formation of a dominant set of bodily expressions and social connections, what we call an ethics of money. In this ethics (ethics as a way of thinking, being, and acting in the world), the club's social matrix and strippers' connections with clients are configured in ways that best satisfy the strength of the motivation for financial gain. Thereafter, these configurations are reinforced and reproduced. As a result, we found that strippers' negative health and safety outcomes emerged during the times when the ethics of money dominated the MSC forcefield.

The individual and collective strength of the motivation for financial gain is so potent at times that strippers wilfully engage in new and potentially hazardous sexual and substance use practices. Stripping provides strippers with a high monetary payout with little to no job training; stripping is about "fast" money. Here, we recall one participant's compelling claim that "Money is God" [P07]. Depending on the spatial, temporal, disciplinary, collective, and individual forces at play, strippers may find themselves negotiating with clients when the desire for money easily outweighs all other desires (we saw this when strippers reported experiencing financial uncertainty, needing money to procure substances, engaging in high-earning sexual activities because of a conducive social matrix, competing with other strippers for business, and so on). At the point where the motivation for financial gain expresses its dominance through the connection between social bodies, strippers are more prone to transgress their tolerance threshold. Alternatively, they configure connections with the prospect for greater financial return, where these connections transgress the limits of acceptable transactions. However great the financial return, negative outcomes to strippers' health and safety also increase by their stepping out of the club's boundaries. In brief, the omnipotent force of the ethics of money in the MSC promotes experimentation with new connections; other forces acquiesce while the motivation for financial gain expresses itself in new ways to find higher pathways of satisfaction (this was exemplified

when participants reported agreeing to services they would normally refuse so long as the payout was higher).

Following the negotiation and production of these new, radical, and potentially hazardous sexual transactions is a normalization process (reinforcement and reproduction): our participants stated that, over time, what once seemed to be forbidden, radical, and desirable for the prospects of financial gain becomes ingrained in their work routine. In other words, our results indicated that insofar as the motivation for financial gain encourages the production of newly configured forcefields, so too does the production of these new forcefields end up reproducing and reinforcing them. Suffice it to say that standard sexual service transactions between stripper and client (i.e., legal contact dances in the private booths) are transgressed to form new expressions (e.g., condomless oral sex in the private booths) that better suit the parties' motivational goals; subsequently, these new expressions are reproduced and reinforced when the asymmetry of motivational forces stabilizes (e.g., strippers repeating the same connections with regular clients to continue satisfying the same goals).

To summarize, MSCs are manifestations of fluid matrixes of interconnecting animate and inanimate bodies produced, united, reproduced, and reunited by intersecting motivational forces. The forces that make up the MSC forcefield are expressed by various bodies seeking to satisfy the object of their motivations, whether it be through money, validation, intimacy, affection, privacy, anonymity, conformity to norms, safety, health, or other vehicles. Notably, it is the asymmetry in strength between forces in the MSC forcefield that engenders the specific social phenomena recorded in our data and illustrated in our results. As such, we posit that sexual service negotiations and their outcomes are expressed as a deep-seated negotiation of internal and external forces that make up the entire MSC forcefield. Moreover, our results indicate that the MSC forcefield and strippers' expressions within it change as a function of changing motivations. Overall, the ascendancy of the motivation for financial gain forms an ethics of money whereby strippers are driven to engage in money-making behaviours.

CHAPTER 6 – DISCUSSION

Our main findings indicate the presence of multiple motivational forces intersecting between social agents in the club, thus forming the MSC forcefield. The constellation of forces connecting and disconnecting generates a matrix of social expressions. In other words, strippers' work environments and the connections they form with people and objects are galvanized by a flow of social forces. Concerning sexual service negotiation practices, our findings indicate that the outcomes of strippers' transactions with clients are produced by the intersection of motivational forces in the MSC. The composition of social forces between stripper and client resulted in specific social configurations and negotiation outcomes. Finally, the ethics of money in the club is the predominant cultural feature in male stripping. By and large, the flow of capital governs the quality, orientation, and strength of connections between the social agents transacting in the MSC social matrix. The money mentality catalysed the majority of connections and also produced a space for experimental relationships between strippers and their clients.

In this final chapter, we link our research findings to the theoretical framework and literature review. We have aimed to interpret strippers' complex social behaviours and health and safety outcomes. Our framework and philosophical stance challenges unidirectional and reductive cause-and-effect explanations of social phenomena. We discuss the elements in our findings that highlight the obscure interrelation between competing motivational forces in the club's social matrix and their resulting social expressions. The theoretical framework not only allowed us to describe the observed phenomena as flows of desire in the MSC but also enabled an understanding of sex work negotiations as complex, transient, and fluid processes. In conducting this research, we hoped to increase our insights into the world of MSCs and MSW to advance healthcare interventions with vulnerable populations.

In this study, we have stripped down the economy of homoerotic pleasure between male strippers and male clients. The knowledge produced concerns human practices arising from a

fundamental current of desire. Like the subterranean energy of a geyser discharged to the surface, our study demonstrates how social phenomena in the MSC is a release of the creative energy emerging from desire production. Social interactions are part of a connection process between machines that inevitably lead to their release back into states of flux where they can form new connections; the movement of connections is due to an economy of desire. Desire is the social force responsible for the constitution of our findings (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, 2009). Our MSC assemblage analysis enabled a study of social connections, thus revealing the predominant cultural features of the MSC human ecology. Consequently, we shed light on strippers' patterns of movements as they are transacted with various animate and inanimate bodies in the club within motley constellations of assemblages. Through this lens, we conceptualized the MSC (and the social world) as a moving and growing rhizome spreading its connections both in smooth spaces of flux and in grid-like places of inflexibility. We imagined the MSC forcefield as a set of intersecting and competing flows, social phenomena as material expressions of machines, and assemblages as collections of machines connecting to actualize an ephemeral identity, purpose, and function. This world in motion, the world of the MSC, is driven by desire: the creative energy underlying the production of flows, connections, and social phenomena.

1. The Flows of Desire and the MSC Rhizome

By way of the theoretical concepts outlined in chapter three and our findings outlined in chapter five, the MSC can be framed as an assemblage process constantly shifting between fluidity and rigidity. The MSC, like society, is a rhizome; the MSC is a nest of flowing lines: disbanding lines, congregating lines, bordering lines, transgressive lines. These lines exist at different scales and exemplify the connective matrix between strippers and everything directly or indirectly associated to their work. Strippers engage with different scales of lines when they form social connections through the assemblage process. In this sense, the club's human ecology is an assemblage of lines and larger-scale assemblages. Moreover, assemblages with bordered lines are machines of

even larger-scale assemblages (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). The club is a machine that connects to other machines; in the club, there are endless combinations of connections leading to always new assemblages. We conceptualize the club as a semi-fluid, semi-fixed place where bodies, practices, and norms make and unmake each other.

The MSC rhizome is made up of lines that territorialize and others that deterritorialize. These lines are abstractions of the various flows of connections formed between machines and machinic assemblages, between the stripper–client–MSC–society assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Lines of segmentarity and lines of flight are represented in our findings by the intersecting motivational forces that make up the MSC forcefield. Motivational forces are signposts to the flows of social life. In the MSC rhizome, we observed the building and undoing of territories, intersecting flows leading to deterritorialization and open lines of flight: the MSC is a place of experimentation where new assemblages are possible, a place where strippers are always in the process of becoming. In this study, the MSC rhizome enables the formation of unique assemblages between strippers, clients, substances, and private booths. Moreover, each assemblage is unique in its arrangement of elements and has its own patterns of movement (lines that lead to deterritorialization) and rest (lines that lead to territorialization).

Inherent to the MSC rhizome is the social force of desire and the transmission of flows; in our findings, desire is the force responsible for the production and movement of motivational forces. To restate, the prevalent motivational forces operating in the club are as follows: motivation for financial gain, sexual gratification, intimacy, validation, privacy, anonymity, safety, health, and conformity to norms. The collection of these forces formed the productive MSC forcefield. In other words, strippers (and other social agents) were impelled to form connections with people and objects to satisfy the object of their motivations. Desire production, according to Deleuze and Guattari (2009), is the fundamental creative energy for all social phenomena. As such, desire production is at the crux of occupational health and safety outcomes for strippers.

Desire is the singular social force that generates the different motivational forces circulating in the club. Desire energizes flows. Desire produces behaviours and channels flows in specific routes (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, 2009). All movement in the club (movement of perceptions, ideas, words, practices, interactions, consumptions) is driven by desire. The MSC is a world in motion, a world of interconnection between machines: it is through the connection process that we gained an understanding of the MSC's and strippers' identity, function, and goals.

The fact that our findings revealed different motivational forces indicates the existence of different flows intersecting in the club. In our framework, a flow refers to the fluid movement of a social field (e.g., people, objects, ideas, emotions). Flows are constituted and produced by machines. Driven by desire, machines produced flows. For instance, the flow of money changing hands between two machines, a stripper and a client, represents a part of the flow of capital in the MSC. There is also the flow of pleasure when the erotic performance arouses, when sexual organs connect, when psychotropic substances engender euphoric sensations, when men ejaculate. The flow of substances in and out of the organism, in and out of the MSC, was also an important conduit for the MSC assemblage process. The MSC is a field in motion because of these flows. People, as machines, seek to connect to flows, to become part of flows, and even to break away from them.

The MSC forcefield is indicative of a field of flows. First and foremost, the motivational force for financial gain points to strippers' and business entrepreneurs' sensitivity to the flow of capital. Our findings and the extant literature both emphasise that the motivation for financial gain is the principal driving force in strip clubs (Dorais, 2005; Lilleston et al., 2015; Scull, 2015; Skipper & McCaughy, 1970). The ethics whereby money is a godly entity in the club (the subject of our third major finding) points to the dominant flow of capital in the MSC. This flow is the main current to which machines connect. Evidenced by the prevailing motivation for financial gain, this flow dominates the field of flows; it creates an asymmetry between motivational forces. The flow of capital is produced by machines connecting: the exchange of money, client and stripper spending

habits, the focus on earnings. In this case, machines seek connections to other machines for financial gain, which energizes the flow of capital in the MSC. Moreover, the motivation for financial gain is also linked to becoming part of different flows. For instance, strippers cut into the flow of substances to improve their odds of connecting to concentrated flows of capital. This “becoming part of flows” gives rise to the material expressions in the club: the sexual interactions, the consumption of substances, the highly competitive work environment between strippers, condomless sexual practices, and a disregard for the club's code of conduct.

Additionally, the motivation for sexual gratification, intimacy, and validation marked the flows of human affection, pleasure, and care. These flows were primarily sought out by clients; however, participants also reported seeking social connections with the goal of sexual gratification, intimacy, and validation (DeMarco, 2002, 2007; Dorais, 2005; Frank, 2005; Kaufman, 2009; Raible, 2011). Strippers' motivation for privacy, anonymity, and motivation to conform to norms correlated to the flow of MSW social stigma and the flow of surveillance and disciplinary technologies in and out of the club. These flows are energized by strippers, business entrepreneurs, moral authorities, judicial authorities, and law enforcement agents. Their motivation for health and safety was linked to the flow of specific work practices and people. For instance, strippers would avoid aggressive clients or clients requesting services when the negative risks outweighed the benefits of the transaction (i.e., condomless anal sex in the private booths). In brief, desire produces the circulation of different flows in the club from which social agents (machines) seek association with or liberation from; the circulation of flow is responsible for the occupational health and safety environment.

2. The Machinic Assemblage Process in the Club

Desire is the catalyst to all flows and connections in the club. As described in our theoretical framework, desire produces machines and every machinic connection (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009). The male stripper is a machine: a body produced by desire that seeks couplings to other

machines and flows of machines. In connecting with flows and machines, strippers become part of machinic assemblages. Based on this conceptualization, strippers are already always connected to flows of machines and assemblages. There is no purely unconnected stripper. For instance, the stripper is in himself a machinic assemblage composed of little machines ensuring the function of his vital organs. A stripper is an assemblage in that his role identity is fluid and indeterminate.

Our findings indicate that a stripper's role identity is not fixed. An identity is a contingent illusion built upon the configuration of connections being made and unmade in the MSC forcefield, the field of flows. Per the definition of a machine as a body without inherent meaning or function that seeks connections to other bodies (a BwO), a stripper's identity is inherently meaningless and functionless (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, 2009). Illustrated in our findings and in the literature, strippers' role identity, sexuality, and gender are fluid and adaptable to their work situation (Boden, 2007; Kaufman, 2009; Pilcher, 2011; Raible, 2011). They described their fluid role identity in terms of their transactions with clients. Some defined themselves as adult entertainers and sexual performers, whereas others embodied the escort identity in their work role. A stripper's identity is assembled from various elements and flows in the club. Strippers can manipulate their sexuality and gender to manufacture a performance that suits their clients' preferences (participants often reported "pretending" or "faking" intimacy). Most strippers consider themselves heterosexual men engaging in gay-for-pay acts, meaning that they engaged in homosexual practices for money (Raible, 2011; Scull, 2017). The literature also indicates that strippers manipulate their sexuality at the expense of their own preferences and desires (Boden, 2007). In effect, strippers assemble a role identity and function based on the connections they build with clients. Strippers are fluid machines that connect to the assemblages that grant them entry into the flow of capital. Their role identity and function in the MSC arises when they cut into the flows of desire and connect with the client-machine. Desire drives their movement toward these connections; therefore, desire configures the meaning and function strippers embody in specific connections with clients.

If strippers are machines and machinic assemblages, so too are clients, business entrepreneurs, moral entrepreneurs, researchers, and health practitioners. A twenty-dollar bill is a machine, the MSC is a machine, the private booth a machine, the stage a machine, one's genitals a machine: everywhere there are machines always interconnected with other constellations of machines.

It is in the configuration of machinic assemblages that machines become part of and generate flows (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987); clients grant strippers access to the flow of capital, and in exchange strippers grant clients access to the flow of pleasure, intimacy, and validation: the flow is produced and energized in the connection of machines. In these connections, machines acquire a transitory character of meaning and function. Social phenomena emerge in these connections. In the MSC, the assemblages between stripper and client concern the skin, the mouth, the genitals, the anus, various substances, and bodily fluids. The eyes connecting to the pornographic performance, the mouth connecting to the penis, the tongue tasting substances, the central nervous system reacting to psychotropics—all are machinic assemblages. These connections energize flows and enable the becoming into being of a material reality: the exchange of sexual services for money, for instance. Anything that appears to have an existing meaning, goal, or function is in fact a territorialized assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Consequently, the whole of our observations and the collected data, each segment of coded text, and each category and theme are territorialized assemblages produced by the social force of desire.

Our findings demonstrate that flows of desire in the club produce striated places and machines that energize the field of flows (capital, pleasure, care, affection, and so on). Stripper-machines, client-machines, business-entrepreneur-machines, moral-entrepreneur-machines: all cut into the flow of capital and pleasure in society to generate the historically contingent place of the MSC. In effect, the MSC, the stripping industry, and the economy of the club are a material manifestation of flows becoming territorialized. Technological, social, and architectural machines such as pornographic entertainment, the sale of alcohol and private dances, and the dark private

booths are manifestations of desire: they enhance the flow of sexuality and pleasure. The flow of desire produced our field of study and the social phenomena within it. Our observations and experiences pertain to the territory claimed by the assemblage of machines in society cutting into synergistic flows of capital and pleasure.

Our findings illustrate the social matrix as something which is produced by intersecting motivations. In terms of our framework, the club's social matrix is produced and leveraged by machines seeking connections to other machines. Space and time in the club are configured in ways so as to channel the driving motivational forces in the club. Business entrepreneurs and strippers are motivated to become part of the flow of capital, to territorialize it into a useful set of connections, optimizing the assemblage process. Space and time are actively configured to energize this flow. Business entrepreneurs provide strippers with a stage and private booths so that they might generate income. Strippers create time periods in the club to maximize client spending. Strippers' connection to the material environment in the club at specific times in specific places is a process of becoming part of the flow of capital and forming a money-producing assemblage.

The stage and private booths are important places that influence the assemblage process between strippers and clients. The machinic assemblage primarily studied in the MSC rhizome was the stripper–substance–client–stage–booth assemblage. It is important to note that the MSC, the stage, and the booth are both machines and assemblages because they are always connected to other machines, they function in relation to machines, and they enable flows to circulate. The private booths are machines, booth-machines, that are part of the flow of money, pleasure, affection, and so on. We were able to make sense of the function of booths by understanding how other machines connect to it to form machinic assemblages, by understanding the symbiotic co-functioning. Our findings show that the booth-machine is the result of intersecting motivational forces in the club, converging lines of segmentarity which led to the creation of these striated places designed to encourage the connection between stripper and client.

Furthermore, strippers connect with substances (substance-machines) to form stripper–substance machinic assemblages prior or during their connection to clients. Strippers become part of the flow of substances in the club; subsequently, this grants them easier access to the flows of pleasure and capital. Our findings show that they are motivated to connect to substances because of their motivations for financial gain, pleasure, and stress relief. By connecting with substances, strippers can more easily connect with clients (Kaufman, 2009; Maticka-Tyndale et al., 2000; Sherman, Lilleston, & Reuben, 2011; Wahab et al., 2011). In short, substances act as a catalyst for assemblages with clients in the booths.

In gaining moments of meaning and function in their connection to clients, strippers are following lines of segmentarity leading to a territorialized assemblage. The stripper-machine becomes stratified; the creative energy of desire slows down. In the MSC rhizome, lines that stratify and territorialize assemblages are also seen in the routinization of strippers' work. The main striated purpose and function of the stripper-machine is to encourage client spending (increase and maintain the flow of capital) and to satisfy clients' sexual fantasies (increase and maintain the flow of sexual pleasure and intimacy). In effect, when the territorialized stripper-machine connects with other machines and forms machinic assemblages, these machinic assemblages claim a territory.

The stripper–substance–client–booth assemblage becomes territorialized by becoming dependent upon certain connections and flows (i.e., dependency upon clients to gain access to the flow of capital and substances). For instance, strippers in our study report regular business transactions with specific clients: high-paying regular clients, sugar daddies, boyfriends, or girlfriends. The territory of the machinic assemblage stems from the symbiotic co-functioning between machines (stripper profits from clients' possession of capital resources and clients' profit from strippers' possession of sexual pleasure resources). The territory becomes stratified (solidified) when there is dependency between the connections, meaning that the particular client and stripper depend on one another to access desirable flows. As a consequence, role identity,

purpose, and function materialize; the territory gains a degree of stability, thus slowing down the movement of the assemblage process.

The co-functioning and co-dependency between machines mark a confluence of flows in the MSC insofar as both strippers' and clients' collective motivations sustain the flux of desirable resources such as money and pleasure. The synergy of motivational forces in the club (such as the synergy of the stripper cutting into the flow of capital and the client cutting into the flow of pleasure) represents the convergence of territorializing lines that organize the expressions of social phenomena represented in our findings. The flow is directed and manipulated by multiple co-functioning machines. Therefore, strippers' and clients' desires work toward connections that reinforce the flows to which they seek association. In our findings, we stated that this synergy between motivations created a positive forcefield that works toward the creation of a satisfactory reality, a movement toward the accrual of pleasure and income. Machines leverage machines to form machinic assemblages in a process of heterogeneous parts spliced into flows becoming territorialized (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

Regarding sexual service negotiations, our findings illustrate that negotiation is a matter of negotiating intersecting motivational forces that compete for actualization. The outcome of the negotiation as a result of competing motivational forces is also indicative of a machinic assemblage process. The process is one of territorializing assemblages, the territorialization of flows of desire. This process can be conceptualized as two machines leveraging one another to actualize expressions of desire production, to become part of flows, to channel flows, and to seek new and useful connections. Sex work transactions and negotiations are part of a fluid system of interconnected multi-level flows and assemblages.

Our findings show that the motivational forces at play during the negotiation process result in the territorialization of flows. By seeking connection with clients, strippers satisfy their motivation for financial gain or for pleasure. In contrast, clients seek to connect with strippers to engage in flows that satisfy their motivations for pleasure and intimacy. There is a magnetic pull between

stripper and client in that these two machines can connect in a symbiotic co-functioning to become part of a synergistic flow. In the negotiation process, heterogeneous machines are stratified into a territory that serves a common purpose: to satisfy both the stripper and the client in the transaction. Said otherwise, negotiation is a matter of claiming a territory, of orchestrating connections between machines and flows, of organizing and controlling material expressions. In claiming a territory, the stripper and client are following bordering lines based on their interconnection with other territorialized assemblages (e.g., the valuation of different motivational forces, the value for financial gain versus the value for conformity to norms, amounting to a specific sexual service transaction). The outcome of the transaction is the outward expression of that assemblage caused by machines becoming part of territorialized flows.

Furthermore, assemblages, like business negotiations, do not progress linearly; rather, they are the manifestations of multiple lines intersecting randomly within a given socio-historical matrix (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Thus, the stripper–substance–client–booth assemblage expressions are manifestations of the flows and interconnected territories inside and outside of the club. Our findings illustrate that negotiation outcomes depend on the interconnection between assemblages of similar and different scales. For instance, the club’s social matrix configuration impacts the MSC forcefield and thereby influences strippers’ expression of their motivational forces. In the literature, researchers have illustrated the various structural factors that influence female strippers’ work practices and health outcomes (Footer et al., 2018; Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1999, 2000; Reuben et al., 2011; Rhodes, 2009; Sherman, Brantley, Zelaya, Duong, Taylor, & Ellen, 2017; Sherman, Reuben, Serio-Chapman, & Lilleston, 2011). Similarly, male strippers’ work practices and outcomes depend on their connection to various assemblages within and outside of the club: their connection to the disciplinary, spatial, and temporal matrixes. In certain configurations, a stripper may engage in prohibited services with clients; conversely, the same stripper may refuse a transaction in lieu of another that is better aligned with his territorialized

motivations. As such, the context influences the configuration of assemblages and the outcomes of negotiations.

3. Dominant Territories and Governing Apparatuses

The club's spatial and temporal matrixes, as machinic assemblages, are configured by external forces such as the authorities that impose and enforce laws and regulations on stripping and sex work. For instance, participants spoke of police demanding that owners make architectural modifications to the private booth space to reduce illegal activities. External forces constrain business owners' business setup and strippers' work practices. The literature also indicates that strip clubs are constrained by various laws and regulations (Raible, 2011; Scull, 2017). Social connections occur within a set of constraints. In part, these connections result in the formation of a social matrix. For instance, the disciplinary matrix in the club (i.e., work policies, surveillance, and disciplinary measures) are reflections of the external forces regulating sex work and substance use in society. In order to guarantee a continuous flow of capital, business entrepreneurs and strippers are required to conform to this territory (and failure to do so might lead to the loss of a business licence, fines, or arrest). Thus, territorialized assemblages in society constrain territories within the club. All territories are inexorably interlinked. Within the MSC territory, the flows of desire are mapped out and connections are channelled through the shores built around a territorialized flow. The club's spatial, temporal, and disciplinary matrix enables certain types of connections between machines, but not others. We see this in the way motivational forces reproduce and reinforce specific social phenomena such as the motivation to make money, the sexual arousal generated in the club and in the booths, the desire to consume substances, and the drive to conform to norms. Flows are reproduced and reinforced in the form prescribed by the territorialized assemblage.

The club's structure and the territory claimed by machinic assemblages result from the club's connection to assemblages external to it. On a larger scale, the MSC is always connected

to multiple territorialized assemblages that impact the way its connections are expressed. There are laws and regulations, social expectations, and limitations that constrain how a MSC can operate in a given time and place (Bruckert & Dufresne, 2002, 2007). What we mean to show in this section is the way larger-scale assemblages, in the form of institutional discourses, shape the MSC rhizome and the assemblage processes within the territory it claims.

As stated in chapter three, apparatuses are assemblages locked in a state of fixity that set the standards of normality and adjudicate valid truth claims (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Foucault, 1980). These various apparatuses are knots in the assemblage process, blockages in the rhizome. The apparatuses are institutionalized and captured so that they may remain stable and govern effectively; to govern is to control the direction and quality of flows and to control how machines connect together. Territorialized assemblages and apparatuses of capture govern through disciplinary power technologies, through power relations and strategies of governance (Foucault, 1995). When Foucault (1980) speaks of strategy, he underscores the manner in which power relations broaden their scope, the way they maintain and strengthen their ties, and the manoeuvres used to accomplish a stabilization of their politics.

The production of knowledge through disciplinary technologies, at the level of populations (macro-physics of power) or individuals (micro-physics of power), generates the set of normalized connections to which people adhere and which they reproduce and enforce (Foucault, 1980, 1990a, 1995). As a result, individuals' perceptions and thoughts about themselves and others, as well as their behaviours, are fashioned by whatever truth has been disseminated to them, explicitly or tacitly, by institutionalized discourses. At the individual level, people internalize external social imperatives through the force of disciplinary power (anatomo-politics), a force that constrains and moulds individuals, termed "micro-fascism" by Deleuze and Guattari (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; O'Byrne & Holmes, 2007).

These larger-scale territorialized assemblages were referenced in the literature review as a group of stigmatizing discourses (see section two of chapter two). The way we perceive,

understand, and govern MSW in society is dictated by the regimes of truth that stem from the discourses surrounding sexualized labour, homosexuality, morality, criminality, and illness. Discourses are territorialized assemblages of truth claims about specific phenomena. The discourses surrounding MSW govern how the flows of desire are expressed in society and how machines are grafted into flows. In short, the operation of MSCs and strippers' work practices are contingent upon the articulation of these co-functioning discourses; the MSC rhizome, the territory it claims, and strippers' assemblage process with other machines are all subject to the forces of large-scale apparatuses of capture governing through disciplinary power.

The stigmatizing discourses outlined in the literature review are part of the apparatus of capture that dictate the rules and norms of the use of pleasure, sexuality, labour, and sex work in society (Foucault, 1980). The apparatus of capture resembles a tree in that it is hierarchical: truth and knowledge are ranked. These blocked rhizomes territorialize the flows of desire in the MSC, limiting the possibility of connections between strippers and other machines. Connections, personal experiences, and subjective truths formed during assemblage processes are scrutinized according to the norms of the territories to which they are already connected, the territories sketched by institutionalized discourses.

In the case of public health, sex workers are subjected to a normalizing gaze and various disciplinary discourses and interventions that seek to harmonize sexual and substance use behaviours to the hegemonic script of health, safety, and normality (Lupton, 2013; Scott, 2003). According to Gastaldo, Holmes, and O'Byrne (2009), "public health norms and recommendations can be seen as a current form of population governance" (p. 412). The public health apparatus will intervene from a patronizing angle—meaning that they espouse the belief that their knowledge of sexuality and sex work is the *most* valid truth, a value judgment. In effect, sex workers' voices are stifled and ignored, and the connections they form with other machines are subjected to disciplinary interventions if they do not conform to the hegemonic apparatus of capture. Once in place, the apparatus will continue to reinforce its dominance by recreating self-confirming truths

to solidify the current stratified assemblages. To paraphrase Foucault (1980), the apparatus of sexuality is a positive economy of the body and pleasure that dictates the norms of sex and the rules for the use of sexual pleasure in society. In consequence, the apparatus of capture, which strategically stratifies assemblages, *produces* what we perceive and understand to be true about ourselves, social life, and sexuality such as what we deem to be normal sexual practices and normal occupations.

For example, the public health system's conceptualization of a healthy sexuality is a trope to modify undesirable behaviours in "high-risk" populations (Foucault, 1990a; Lupton, 2013). In other words, the public health apparatus, potentiated by the articulation of power relations, is essentially an apparatus within a disciplinary machine that fashions strategies (the use of risk discourses and panopticism, for instance) to monitor, judge, examine, produce, and influence a population's behaviour in accordance with a norm. Populations are thus governed through the operation of the norm (Foucault, 1990a; 1995; Lupton, 2013); in terms of sex and sexuality, that which does not conform to the norm is classified as risky by official discourses. Historically, sex workers' deviance from normalized apparatuses warranted policing interventions due to the perceived threat to public health and hegemonic morality (Scott, 2003). The supposed negative risks and interventions are seen in the way MSCs are regulated and monitored by specific discourses and law enforcement authorities today.

Those who do not conform to the norms are subject to negative consequences such as stigma and socio-spatial exclusion (Brown & Minichiello, 1996; Marques, 2011; Minichiello & Scott, 2014). The literature review demonstrates that stripping, MSW, and homosexuality are generally classified as deviant assemblages because they do not conform to norms of sexuality and labour (Brown & Minichiello, 1996; Forsyth & Deshotels, 1998; Law, 2015; Scull, 2017; Skipper & McCaughy, 1970). Hence, the act of a male stripper selling sexual services to a male client is stigmatized. It is precisely those who deviate from the norm, those who do not conform to the *status quo* (i.e., law, health, normal occupations, truth, and morality), who are stigmatized

and subjected to exclusionary practices. Our findings demonstrate that strippers are aware of these social norms and imperatives; subsequently, they report ensuring a high degree of secrecy and caution when engaging in connections that defy the normalized grid of connections. This exemplifies self-regulatory behaviours, micro-fascist interventions upon oneself. Nonetheless, strippers' work often requires them to deviate from normalized assemblages in order to satisfy their motivation to connect to flows of capital or pleasure. In effect, negative health and safety outcomes arise when strippers transgress normalized assemblages (i.e., the territorialized regulatory assemblage of sex work) not because these new territories are inherently risky, but because they are not suitably ascertained by policymakers and health professionals.

For instance, the literature demonstrates that the regulation of sex work in Canada has a negative impact on sex workers such as those working in strip clubs (Canadian Public Health Association, 2014; Corriveau & Greco, 2014; Dorais, 2005; Law, 2015; O'Doherty, 2011; Warnica, 2015). Criminalization reduces solidarity and peer support among sex workers, increases negative health and safety outcomes by generating precarious interactions between worker and client, and reduces transparency within the industry. The current effects of the regulatory assemblage lead to the stigmatization and socio-spatial exclusion of sex workers.

Namely, the social stigma experienced by sex workers and strippers results in unsafe working conditions, violence, a lack of health and safety education and infection prevention interventions, a lack of work tools, and a lack of mental health and addiction services. Workers' experience of stigma in sex work depends on the degree of deviance from norms of morality, as well as the degree of deviance from the apparatuses of capture (Dorais, 2005, Law, 2015; Wahab et al., 2011). The literature shows that strippers have inferior access to healthcare and fear discrimination when accessing certain services when compared to the general population (e.g., applying for a loan, applying to an education programme, consulting legal services). Our participants reported that they managed stigma by keeping the nature of their work concealed from others rather than risking the penalties of openly engaging in transgressive practices.

Evidenced in our findings, socio-spatial exclusion is seen in strippers' hesitation in reaching out to their superiors or their avoidance of law enforcement authorities regarding issues related to sex work interactions. They refrain from seeking help from their peers, business entrepreneurs, or external agents (Barton, 2007).

Strippers work in an occupation that requires them to transgress established norms in order to become part of the flow of capital, an assemblage process that is encouraged by business entrepreneurs and clients: let us remember that the sex industry attracts numerous patrons per year and is a billion-dollar economy. Marginalized because of transgressive connections, strippers avoid further stigma and marginalization by excluding themselves from the captivating gaze of agents who uphold hegemonic assemblages in society; socio-spatial exclusion results from the dominant societal territories and is performed by strippers: they avoid seeking help from the police or healthcare providers, and they avoid talking of their work to their peers, their friends, and their family (Barton, 2007; Scull, 2017; Walby, 2012). Exclusion amounts to various degrees of vulnerability which cast sex workers into circumstances whereby harms are built into their work environment. For instance, harm is built into negotiation transactions because of the overarching apparatuses of capture that generate a territory where strippers' occupational health and safety needs cannot be addressed. The apparatuses of capture relate to the disciplinary power structures that judged, normalized, and examined strippers' behaviours against a set of territorialized standards exemplified in the disciplinary matrix.

In brief, occupational health and safety concerns for strippers are produced by the territorializing effects of dominant apparatuses of capture, the blocked rhizomes that constrain and govern the rules of sex work. Insofar as we are concerned with the sale of sexual services for money or other objects of value, health and safety concerns are extrinsic to sex work. Institutionalized apparatuses of capture insidiously govern social behaviour by dictating the norms of normal configuration of machines, deeming dangerous and deviant those who transgress its rule. The MSC rhizome, the territory it claims, and the continuous machinic assemblage process

unfurling within its walls are inevitably linked to the hegemonic external forces of the apparatuses of capture that govern its operation. Transgression is stigmatized because the connections do not conform to the grid. Creativity is a risk, and risks are framed as inherently negative (O'Byrne, 2008a); conformity is needed and enforced through disciplinary strategies.

4. Stratification and Capture of the MSC

In a sense, we have studied the geopolitics of the club; we have studied how territories are invested with political interests. The domain of the political, according to Foucault (1980), is the set of relations of force in a given society or social setting. A politics is the organization and steering of those relations in a specific direction. Territorialized power relations lead to the formation of stratified assemblages in the MSC, a co-ordinated politics of sex. In the strip club, connections are territorialized and reinforced through the effects of the already established assemblages and machines. Based on external forces, the MSC develops its own apparatus of capture that dictates the rules of *normal* assemblage processes. In the same way as apparatuses of capture operate outside strip clubs, they operate inside the club to create a normalized social setting. MSCs and strippers inevitably connect to the institutional apparatuses that govern their own connections. These hegemonic assemblages are diffused inconspicuously in the field of flows. In consequence, the MSC rhizome (as well as strippers' connections) can become blocked in its connections that are forced to conform to the norms of the apparatus of capture. This means that strippers' connection to clients is created in a climate where the territorialized assemblages at play in the club and the external apparatuses of capture influence the stripper–substance–client–booth assemblage, for instance.

Social agents in the MSC set their own regulations and demarcate, through the operation of disciplinary power, the established territory. The club's disciplinary matrix is a territorialized assemblage stemming from the same roots responsible for the hegemonic apparatuses that govern the flows of desire in society. It is thus pre-configured, in a sense, that strippers, clients,

and business entrepreneurs would become part of the flows of desire. The MSC rhizome, the stripper–client–substance–booth assemblage, and all the other assemblage processes in the club are influenced by the larger-scale assemblage which they are inevitably plugged into. Our findings demonstrate that disciplinary technologies such as established policies, surveillance practices, and corrective interventions are deployed to maintain the formation of normalized assemblages and deter transgressions. Consequently, through disciplinary technologies (e.g., external surveillance by police, owners, and peers, as well as self-surveillance), strippers self-impose their own tolerance threshold based upon this territory and based upon their motivations to conform to work norms and policies, as well as socio-cultural norms on sexuality and gender. They internalize external imperatives which dictate the manner in which they ought to connect to other machines (i.e., engage in legal activities, engage in normal sexual practices with condoms, avoid risks, and refrain from using substances).

Strippers are encouraged to form connections that comply to the club's disciplinary matrix, and transgressive connections are ostracised. Disciplined strippers conform to the established grid; they do not deviate from the *normal* tracing of flows. They respect the flows to guarantee financial gain and to ensure the viability of the territorialized assemblage (flagrant transgressions by strippers and business owners could lead to penalties and result in the loss of capital earnings). Machinic assemblages that comply to the established grid become rigid and only seek out more connections that confirm its actuality; experimentation is reduced during this process (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). This is reflected in the conflicting motivational forces in the MSC forcefield that steer connections in specific directions. Strippers refrain from engaging in connections that deviate from norms such as the club's code of conduct and the broader legal framework. In effect, strippers can refuse services with clients if the connections transgress their tolerance threshold, and in doing so, they are expressing the social imperatives they have internalized. To reiterate, strippers' embodiment of the disciplinary matrix and the normalized configuration of assemblages illustrate micro-fascism: the desire to order, rank, impose limits, control, and direct (Deleuze &

Guattari, 1987; O'Byrne & Holmes, 2007). In brief, the manifested expression of assemblage processes results from the interconnection between flows and territories, and our findings demonstrate that this resembled a smelting process between competing synergistic or competing forces energized within a pre-established set of connections.

In the club, there is also the imperative to generate income while respecting the territories established as normal. According to our participants, money is God. Money also seems to have godlike qualities for business owners. They exalt this God by becoming part of its flow and by maintaining the territory that safeguards its strength. The MSC social matrix and the assemblage processes within it work toward the viability of this territory; the territory created by the ethics of money influences machines to generate connections that confirm its existence. In this sense, the money–god assemblage that prevails in the club is an apparatus of capture. It forms an attractive blockage in the MSC rhizome into which connections are syphoned.

The tip-based salary structure that demarcates the territory of money distribution to strippers in the stripping industry (an assemblage) nurtures the ethics of money. This structure is explained as problematic in the literature for WDM (Bruckert and Parent, 2002, 2007). This assemblage directs the movement of flows and influences how strippers connect with other machines. This is also substantiated in our findings: strippers state that they *must* engage in private booth services if they hope to make any money at all. It seems that the only way strippers can become part of the flow of capital is by engaging in transgressive sexual transactions with clients. The dominant territorialized flow of capital in the MSC, the ethics of money, generates asymmetrical connections between machines, resulting in health and safety issues. For example, a wealthy client can manipulate the negotiation of the stripper–client assemblage by enticing strippers with a strong connection to the flow of capital if they accept the client's request. Since strippers make no regular income, they are forced to always seek potentially hazardous connections to become part of money-generating flows, and they become dependent on a set of connections. The tip-based-salary assemblage structure intensifies and reproduces competition

for financial gain between strippers and generates negative health and safety outcomes in strippers' work practices. We are critical of the labour approach to stripping in our field of study because it engenders health and safety issues.

Moreover, we are skeptical of the apparatuses of capture that configure the club's social matrix because they create territorialized assemblages that increase negative occupational health and safety outcomes (namely, the legal apparatus generating health and safety hazards for sex workers). Based on our findings, the apparatuses' effects on sex workers' health and safety reported in the literature are also reproduced in the MSC (i.e., lack of social support, lack of education and training, lack of legal aid from business entrepreneurs and authorities, rushed encounters, climate of discrimination and secrecy, and stigma and mental health issues). In many ways, the MSC is a blocked rhizome that echoes the larger ubiquitous blocked rhizome of society.

5. Negotiation as Experimentation in the MSC Laboratory

The arborescent institutional structures mirrored in the MSC (i.e., legal, health, sexuality, and labour discourses) constrain strippers' becoming part of flows. They are mirrored in the club's material expression of time and place, and in its disciplinary approach. The tree-like structures form rigid knots in the movement of the larger social rhizome as well as knots in the MSC rhizome. Consequently, the flows of desire are stratified into rigid spaces (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Nonetheless, these knotted roots can be untangled and movement restored. In the rhizome root system, there are potential trees; in the tree root system, there are potential rhizomes (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). In other words, the territorialized assemblages that constrain strippers' connections to other bodies can be deterritorialized despite the seemingly unbending grid that confines these connections. To paraphrase Deleuze and Guattari (1987), the rhizome is a liberation of sexuality, a liberation from the tree-like structures that dictate sexual norms and desire based on the hierarchical reproductive model and a genital focus. For strippers, sexuality

is a matter of becoming part of flows. The MSC is a place where people experiment with flows of sexual desire.

As we have explained in chapter three, machines are inherently meaningless and functionless (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, 2009). They can only be understood in their network of interconnection to other machines. Often, machinic assemblages are so heavily territorialized in their association to specific flows that they appear to have a fixed identity and function. However, there is always the possibility for machines to be cut away from their dependency to other machines and machinic assemblages; the rhizome can never *be* captured and blocked as a final state, it only fluctuates from *becoming* blocked to *becoming* unblocked (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). At any time, desire—a motivational force, a flow, a machine—is split from its territorialized connection, like the infant-machine split from the foetus-machine once the umbilical-cord-machine is cut; the infant loses its meaning and function in relation to the mother's reproductive organs, an event of deterritorialization.

The stripper-machine is liberated from the client-machine when he ends the transaction and moves on to form connections with other clients who offer access to different flows. By always becoming part of different flows of desire, the stripper-machine is continually undergoing stratification and destratification in the MSC rhizome, meaning that he gains new meaning, new goals, and new function with each new connection; in each new connection, strippers are reterritorializing flows anew. There is nothing static, unique, and essential to the stripper's identity other than the quality of perpetual becoming fuelled by desire shared by all life forms.

For instance, the stripper-machines undergo deterritorialization when they engage in lines of flight that enable them to become part of different flows of desire. These connections diverge from the territorialized machinic assemblages functioning to maintain the necessary flow of capital, the money-god apparatus. When strippers seek connections with clients simply for pleasure and sexual release, they are becoming part of the flow of pleasure and momentarily releasing themselves from the dictating flow of capital. Some participants stated that their sexual

needs could at time supersede their motivation for financial gain. In seeking different connections, strippers energize their creative faculties and territorialize new machinic assemblages. This is also the case when strippers engage in prohibited services with clients: they are deterritorializing their connections to the disciplinary machinic assemblage of the MSC rhizome (even though this deterritorialization is partially energized by the money–god apparatus, it still leads to new connections). Or, when strippers modify their sexual and gender performance for a certain client, they are deterritorializing normalized and imposed gender scripts. Our findings even demonstrate that business entrepreneurs deterritorialize the rigid grid of the disciplinary matrix when they become part of a more intense flow of capital by reducing booth surveillance to stimulate money-generating activities. In the winter, the flow of capital is reduced, which provokes the reterritorialization of new territories that encourage client spending. Therefore, assemblages are deterritorialized and reterritorialized to form new ways of harnessing beneficial connections to the flow (i.e., less booth surveillance, lower prices, increased tolerance threshold, disregard for norms).

When strippers experiment with new sexual practices and new substances (transgressing their tolerance threshold), they are deterritorializing the previous connections that made up their material existence. Moreover, the synergy between flows can also enable lines of flight; for instance, when strippers consume substances in order to transgress their tolerance threshold and provide prohibited services to clients. By becoming part of the flow of substances, strippers potentialize their connection to the flow of capital by deterritorializing the prior territories and self-restraints.

Strippers' work is rhizomatic. As machines, they leverage other machines to become part of the different flows in the club, to feel pleasure and validation, to gain money, to use substances. Within the rigidly expressed territory of the social matrix and its hegemonic system of connections, strippers can still generate new transient territories. Despite the positive liberating effects that this may have, strippers are left to their own devices with little support from their peers, the managers,

the owners, or legal authorities in this experimentation process. By deviating from normalized assemblages, strippers are taking a “risk.” Negative health and safety risks emerge during deterritorialization and reterritorialization, not just because strippers engage in sexual practices with higher rates of negative health and safety outcomes, but also because they lack the tools (machines) to generate healthy and safe assemblages with their clients. By stepping out of the shelter provided by the dominant assemblages and apparatuses of capture, strippers lose a certain degree of protection.

To further exemplify the deterritorialization process, we suggest that the emergence of the labour discourse in sex work and the advent of the empowerment paradigm embody a deterritorialization of thought systems (Minichiello & Scott, 2014). Worldviews and collective consciousness change through a process of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Our literature review illustrates that the labour discourse is a challenge to preceding and still-prevalent stigmatizing discourses about sex work in various disciplines (Bimbi, 2007; Bruckert & Parent, 2007). Our review challenges and breaks down territorialized walls held by systems of thought and their associated regimes of truth regarding the flow of pleasure, intimacy, and capital in society. In reimagining and embodying a new way of perceiving and interacting with sex work in society, the labour discourse follows lines of flight and becomes deterritorialized. In doing so, new connections are formed with new machines (replacement of old ideologies, truth claims, values, norms, people, groups, etc.). The labour discourse enters a reterritorialization process when it claims a new territory. This new territory can either be beneficial or harmful to those machines connected to it. In the case of the labour discourse and the empowerment paradigm, the literature demonstrates that it has generated solidarity between sex workers, effectively challenged the oppressive paradigms that framed sex work as “paid rape” between abused women and predatory men, and legitimized sex work (Marques, 2011). In this reterritorialization, sex workers’ representation to policy-makers, healthcare practitioners, academics, and the greater public is enhanced.

As a final example, we focus on the researcher-machines connecting with the research field and participants to cut into the flow of MSC phenomena. We connected to the MSC and participants to generate a flow of knowledge: a territorialized set of connections that gave meaning, purpose, and function to our study. There were moments during our field observations when we experienced lines of flight. We deterritorialized the territory of the researcher–field–participant–phenomena assemblage by becoming part of the flow of pleasure.

In my field experience, when gaining access to the field, recruiting, and collecting data, I often felt as though I was conducting a self-experiment; I perceived new social phenomena, I observed my interpretations of these perceptions, I felt emotional reactions to never-seen-before events (nude men performing erotic displays on stage). In short, I willingly entered an environment that generated new connections. In making these new connections, I was unknowingly deterritorializing previous mental schemas. Truly new experiences amount to the liberation of machines from territorialized assemblages. Initially, when I conducted the first set of observations, I felt internal psychological conflict in the sense that I was unsure how to feel and act in and around the club. I felt resistance and apprehension because I wanted to avoid judgment from onlookers who saw me engaging in a place known for its deviation from socio-cultural norms. There was a force attracting me to the comfort of the normalized assemblages I had adhered to for my entire life. By resisting this force, it was as though I had crossed a boundary. It was a conflicting experience, as was my experience inside the club, since impulses were telling me to look, admire, and take pleasure in the performances; conversely, another impulse was telling me to look away and be ashamed of having wanted to enjoy homoerotic performances. We believe that this is an example of our conditioning to adhere to normalized modes of thought and behaviour, normal assemblages, or apparatuses of capture. By entering and experiencing the MSC, I was, at times, freed from capture. In forming new connections in the MSC, I was better equipped to understand what can be gained from dancing: pleasure, excitement, confidence, self-esteem, positive self-

image, and desirability, for instance. It was by becoming part of the flows in the MSC that I escaped previous territorialized assemblages and formed new ones, however fleeting they were.

During the interview process, we formed machinic assemblages with participants, the topics of discussion, and the spatial and temporal environment. We are also forming a machinic assemblage as we write this dissertation since there is a co-functioning between the researcher-machine, the data-result-machines, the political-agenda-machine, and the word-processing-machine. We are channelling the data and the findings in a specific direction. During the analytical process, we deterritorialized the data by deconstructing it into codes. We reterritorialized the whole by piecing everything back together to return it to a unified whole in the shape of categories and themes. Herein, we present the reader with an amalgamation of machines interconnected to various flows of desire. Our textual expression is thus a productive assemblage process always in becoming. The place we have occupied in the production of this work is but one vantage point among others, a single pliable territory. We claim no ownership over this product. This is not *our* work. It is everyone's work, and it is ongoing.

In sum, MSCs are places where the mainstream legal, moral, and health grids are challenged through the assemblages formed therein. In the same way that gay group sex offers a potentially transformative and critical space for becoming that cleaves the discourses of risk, danger, and "healthy" desire that permeate the public health apparatus of capture (Holmes et al., 2018), stripping offers a transformative space where strippers and clients can subvert norms surrounding sexuality, law, and pleasure. The assemblages that materialize and dematerialize in MSCs are sets of multiple, subversive, and transitory connections. Therein, there is a continuous play between the bodily surfaces of strippers, clients, and other bodies and objects in MSCs. Smooth and striated space occurs simultaneously in the MSC; lines of flight and stratification coexist; they are not mutually exclusive. The MSC is thus a striated space that claims a territory within a territory (a place within a spatial, historical, political, economic, regulatory rhizome), an assemblage within a larger assemblage. Strippers work within the confines of the societal and

MSC grids, yet they can engage in lines of flight. MSCs enable de-stratification and experimentation. Strippers and clients enjoy significant opportunities to become part of flows they see as beneficial but deemed transgressive of normalized society. Boundaries are often transgressed, and deterritorialization is ubiquitous. The MSC, despite the dominance of certain machinic configurations constraining human activity, has a high degree of flux.

6. Limitations of the Study

We believe that our study successfully explored the intricacies of a clandestine human activity: male sex work in MSCs. Moreover, our philosophical position, theoretical framework, and methodological choices enabled a sound description of MSW in Canadian society. Nonetheless, our findings have limitations in their scope and practical applications. The findings we put forward in this dissertation are contingent upon limits that directed our research activities: the historical time period, the research field, and our basic assumptions and motivations related to our inquiry; the role and effects of people directly or indirectly implicated in the study; and the political, moral, economic, and socio-cultural context that permeate the field of sex work studies in academia. Said differently, the limitations of this study both restrained and forged the content illustrated in the preceding chapters. To gauge the effects of these limitations, we engaged in reflexive exercises throughout the research process (i.e., reflexive journaling and research team discussions).

Regarding the data collection process, our study is limited in terms of our restrained observations and the impossible task of representing an absolute reality through questionnaires and interviews—regardless, this was never a goal of ours. For the field observations, we were limited in time, we did not reach out to every stripper, and we did not have access to certain restricted areas (i.e., for obvious reasons, we could not engage in field observations inside the private booths or in the backstage areas while strippers were working). We understand that an ethnography requires an assiduous and prolonged engagement within the field. Although,

protecting the relationship between the researchers, the gatekeepers, and the participants is paramount. Given the context of this study, the club owners did not want us to draw out our presence *ad infinitum*.

Upon entering the field as outside observers, we arrived with a set of expectations and assumptions as to what we would experience. The “observer expectancy effect” describes how we look for that which we expect to observe during social observations. In other words, we do not deny that we were quick in noting down our observations of obvious and expected elements; equally, we agree that we likely overlooked many social events hidden to our biased perceptions. Meanwhile, even though we gleaned pertinent insights from an outside perspective, the fact that we were outsiders to the MSC culture caused an inevitable socio-cultural barrier between us and the participants. However, we were able to temper this obstacle by developing a trust relationship with the club owners, managers, and strippers. Our success depended on a high degree of trust so that participants might confide in us during the data collection process. To say that we gained everyone’s trust fully would be false. Yet we are confident that we created a safe and respectful environment where the participants could share their authentic lived experiences.

The interview process was limited in that the participants controlled the information they shared. If they did not feel confident in our cause, they could easily withhold information and skew the data set. Moreover, the participants were in a position to share only that which they believed was sought by the research team (this refers to the “social desirability effect”). Concerning the data analysis process, our findings are also impacted by the “observer expectancy effect”: in analysing the data, we developed patterns, codes, and categories based on our pre-established vision of the findings. Our theoretical framework, a set of pre-selected concepts, also biased the analysis process in that there is a risk of forcing resemblance between the theoretical and empirical world.

In short, we are left with an author-laden and contextually contingent research report that serves as one viewpoint among many others. We were careful to avoid making sweeping

generalizations and attempted to represent strippers' diverse interpretations to emphasize the layers of complexity in any social phenomena. Thereupon, this dissertation is part of our work of claiming a territory in the field of MSW. We find it important to mention that by their claiming of this territory, our findings are now instruments of disciplinary power. As such, our findings (products of a surveillance and an examination process) work toward the normalization of MSC culture and MSW health and safety practices by staking a place in the "official" register of sex work knowledge. We make no assertions of universal truths; however, our findings do assert one version of the studied phenomena. This assertion can lead to the labelling, normalizing, and exclusion of some sex workers and sex work activities. For instance, despite our best efforts at building a sample representative of the MSC's diversity, it is likely that many sex workers will experience feelings of exclusion by not sensing their representation in our study.

We know that this territory is biased and inconvenienced with limitations. We also know that it will change over time; it is fluid and transient. Despite the study's limitations and the critique that it warrants, we sought to generate pertinent and useful knowledge to improve strippers' health and safety outcomes and work toward social justice in healthcare. Of course, we remain open to reviewing and modifying this territory in the future as the field of stripping and MSW evolves (e.g., movement toward online sex work and virtual reality).

7. Implications and Recommendations

The results and findings of this study contribute to a register of qualitative studies that focus on occupational health and safety issues in the stripping industry. More specifically, we have enhanced our understanding of sexual service negotiation practices between sex worker and client. Still today, despite the extant health and safety literature about WDM, there is a dearth of research on MDM, with even less known about male strippers' health and safety outcomes (see chapter two). By way of our methodological and theoretical approach, we contributed to the development of knowledge in different healthcare domains: clinical practice, healthcare policy,

research, and education. We believe that our critical postmodern approach amounts to an original contribution in a marginalized field. Our recommendations for clinical practice relate to making new connections with strippers so that their needs might be met with respect, compassion, and effectiveness. Interventions ought to focus on the different forces, bodies, and sets of connections continually being made and unmade in the club.

Clinical Practice

Our recommendations are aimed at all healthcare workers, but especially at front-line healthcare personnel such as nurses working with sex workers (see chapter one for current health and safety approach). We have provided a window into strippers' work reality; through it, we see that the negative health and safety outcomes are not inherent to strippers' work practices. Rather, it is the complex web of interconnected motivations and intersecting bodies that produces the work context and the transaction outcomes. On one hand, the findings provide a contextualized description of the male stripping culture in Canada and also reveal strippers' most prevalent social and sexual practices with clients and other social agents. On the other hand, the findings resulted in a new way of making sense of sexual service transactions between strippers and clients. Strippers' sexual and substance use practices do not follow a linear logic; their condomless practices are not the result of deviant tendencies, deficient mental faculties, or a lack of education. Rather, their practices and the health and safety expressions in the club are fuelled by specific—mainly capitalist—motivations and change with each new connection made with clients and the work environment. By all means, this implies that healthcare interventions must be just as adaptable and wide-ranging.

We recommend that *all* healthcare workers shift their attitudes and behaviours toward sex workers to an inclusive, compassionate, and professional position. Since nurses are often the first point of care for strippers, it is particularly important that they have a nuanced understanding of stripping's occupational health and safety reality. Readers of this study will be positioned to

question and review their own assumptions regarding sex work and stripping. In viewing sex work as work, stripping is seen as a legitimate occupation whereby its labourers have the right to research-informed interventions. Substance use and (prohibited) sexual services are the reality for strippers in our present day and age. It is not by ignoring these facts or by shunning those who partake in this reality that health outcomes will improve. Nurses and other healthcare professionals who have read our findings will hopefully be better positioned to consider strippers without stereotypes or prejudice.

We argue that the current clinical approach to sex work must extend its territory of intervention to account for all the sexual and substance use practices occurring in the club. Rather than perceiving strippers' behaviours as non-compliance to sexual health norms, a harm reduction approach would facilitate safe interactions regardless of strippers' inclinations. Harm reduction interventions would involve understanding the range of human becomings and territories in the MSC and make reasonable recommendations without focusing on abstinence from "risky" assemblages. Instead, interventions should focus on incorporating work tools that make sense for strippers in a given time and place; the goal is to reduce the harms without patronizing sex workers (i.e., encouraging strippers to regularly screen themselves for STI and HIV and propose condom use to clients, regularly screening clients for STI or HIV, avoiding certain drug interactions, condom and lube accessibility in and around private booths). Harm reduction also means providing strippers with quick and easy access to essential services. We would recommend that the MSC have access to on-site or mobile health and social services. Given the current extent of strippers' work practices, strippers could benefit from regular and easy access to HIV and STI testing, needle exchange programs (for steroid injections), drug purity testing to ensure the safety of substances, overdose treatment capabilities, and counselling for health (mental and physical) and social concerns (housing, healthcare access, legal aid, etc.).

Health Policy

Our findings also have political implications. Advocating for social justice and adequate political representation for vulnerable populations in healthcare is an important part of nursing's social mandate. Currently, MSWs are widely overlooked in policy decisions. Healthcare and regulatory policies ought to be more representative of MSWs' role in the sex work as work discourse. Currently, the sex work and illicit substance regulatory framework in Canada criminalizes many of the practices we have studied. The literature and our findings demonstrate that the current approach to sex work worsens sex workers' health and safety outcomes. Our findings emphasize that sex work and substance use are not inherently hazardous, but rather, the produced social matrix increases the negative health and safety outcomes. We recommend that policymakers and healthcare workers found their attitudes, assessments, and decisions regarding sex work and substance use in stripping on the local meanings expressed by strippers in this study. In the club, strippers face stigma and exclusion; they face abuse and violence from clients; they face various physical and mental health issues. These problems cannot be adequately addressed because of inhibitive structural barriers such as the regulatory approach to sex work: strippers self-isolate to avoid negative consequences, and business entrepreneurs avoid helping strippers in order to avoid incrimination for facilitating safe sex work transactions.

Based on our findings, we advocate for the decriminalization of sex work and the implementation of harm-reduction-based healthcare policies that will better serve strippers' occupational health and safety needs. Strippers deserve better working conditions, and they deserve to be protected from abusive situations without fearing legal or financial repercussions. As such, we also recommend improving the stripping labour conditions, specifically the salary structure. At the time of this study, strippers earned what they made in tips only. As reported by the participants, selling sexual services in the private booths is one of the surest ways of guaranteeing an adequate flow of capital. In times of financial need, the participants reported

transgressing their tolerance threshold and engaging in hazardous practices. Strippers' socio-economic vulnerability in the club would be reduced if they earned a basic income while working—like any other job in the client service sector (e.g., waiters and waitresses). If the industry were to be fully decriminalized and a guaranteed income was provided, strippers would immediately benefit from healthier and safer work conditions. We ask that policymakers seek to better represent MSWs in their publications and maintain an open attitude to sex work's ineluctable place in society to reduce stigma and exclusion. A focus on dissolving rigid apparatuses of capture would improve strippers' health and safety outcomes. Promoting healthy assemblages in the club would mean reforming sex work policies so that strippers may have access to the tools necessary to work safely.

Research

First, our methodological approach enabled a thorough descriptive study of one MSC milieu in Canada. We managed to immerse ourselves in strippers' work setting and gain insights into their work practices. To a degree, our findings are transferable to other settings where sex workers engage in sexual service negotiations with clients (i.e., the street level, other indoor sex venues such as massage parlours and bathhouses, hotels and apartments, and even online). We would endorse future ethnographic research in other Canadian settings to generate a deeper understanding of MSCs and MSW in Canada. Second, our theoretical approach led to an original viewpoint into the male stripping industry. We developed a postmodern perspective to analyse negotiation practices between strippers and clients. We posit that the assemblage analysis approach can be transferred to other studies focusing on sex work negotiations. This type of research results in a fluid network of perspectives whereby social phenomena are viewed from a non-static and non-linear perspective. Finally, we believe that transmitting the findings back to the MSC business owners will be useful in maintaining our relationship of trust with those in the field, potentially paving the way for future collaborations.

Education

Finally, we believe that our findings are important for the education of sex workers, business entrepreneurs in the sex industry, clients of the sex industry, and all those who intervene within this economy (e.g., health professionals, police officers, politicians). We believe that our study can educate these parties on the utility of a harm reduction approach to sex work in the stripping industry with the goal of improving health and safety outcomes. Moreover, our findings may prove useful for curriculum development in the health disciplines. We have developed knowledge regarding a vulnerable population and marginalized practices that transgress socio-cultural and health norms. It is important for current and future health professionals to be informed about strippers' methods of engaging in these practices and how they negotiate health and safety outcomes with their clients. There are multiple versions of the truth and multiple rationalities to problem solving. Education ought to focus on the nuances in decision-making and elucidate the ways health and safety outcomes are constructed by dominant discourses and institutional structures and practices. Students and health professionals developing their knowledge base must learn to look at health phenomena as an interconnected element always linked to other machines and assemblages. Education that includes postmodern findings, such as those curricula that critique hegemonic regimes of truth, may contribute to the reduction of stigma and increase research-based understanding of sex work (rather than an understanding based on dogma or religious morality). We are advocating for a critical, holistic approach to education rather than an insular viewpoint that limits the various pathways for understanding complex social phenomena.

CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUSION

Based on the literature review, we know that HIV and STI rates are elevated in the MSM population. MSWs may be more susceptible to negative health outcomes when compared to the general MSM population (not because of the act of stripping, but because of the sexual exchanges that occur within MSCs) (Elifson, Boles, & Sweat, 1993; Landers et al., 2014; Timpson, Ross, Williams, & Atkinson, 2007). Research suggests that MSWs have worrisome health practices when it comes to STI and HIV prevention according to health professionals who work with them (Dorais, 2005). Stripping studies of WDM have also demonstrated the numerous occupational health and safety hazards for strippers. Structural vulnerabilities such as socio-economic hardship have been shown to negatively impact female strippers (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1999, 2000). The various discourses surrounding sex work (i.e., discourses of morality, health, and law) have had stigmatizing effects on sex workers: for instance, Bill C-36 has led to negative health and safety outcomes in Canada (Canadian Public Health Association, 2014; Davies, 2015). Despite the prevalence of sex work and strip clubs across our Western landscapes, few studies have explored the occupational health and safety concerns of indoor MSW and male stripping (Benoit & Shaver, 2006; Bungay, Oliffe, & Atchison, 2015). Moreover, we found no studies specifically exploring the process of sexual service negotiations between strippers and clients. Undoubtedly, multiple factors hinder MSW research (i.e., over-representation of heteronormative populations, focus on street-level sex work, the effects of stigma on sex workers' and academics' will to engage in sex work research, and issues of research methodology, funding, and ethics).

Probing into this field, we started by asking, "*What are the elements of male strippers' work that influence their negotiation practises with clients?*" Our purpose was to describe and interpret the cultural features of male strippers' work (via the study of the prevailing beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviours in a MSC) that impact the occupational health and safety

context. The assemblage analysis approach was appropriate in understanding the fluid and transient dynamic of social connections in the MSC culture, as well as making sense of those connections that have crystallized in strippers' relation to their social and physical environment. The MSC is a dynamic social place where bodies continually seek new connections. The movement of motivational forces seemed responsible for energizing and configuring the social connections between all sentient, material, technological, neurochemical, and socio-cultural bodies in the MSC geography. Said otherwise, every object, place, structural constraint, person, behaviour, thought, and perception in this dynamic economy is an expression of intersecting forces within a social field.

Our analysis findings portrayed the interconnectivity and fluidity of strippers' work in the club. Strippers, and other social agents, navigate their environment thanks to the energy that fuels their motivations; desire production is the concept we used to refer to that energy. Motivational forces incite movement and connections. They intersect and compete within the club's social field to produce connections and disconnections between machines and flows. In effect, motivational forces are signposts to flows and the undercurrent of desire. The central forces in the club are as follows: the motivation for financial gain, pleasure, validation, affection, and intimacy; and the motivation for privacy, safety, health, and conformity to disciplinary norms. For instance, the motivation for financial gain—the strongest one of all—is an effect of desire production pressing machines to seek connections to the flow of capital. Strippers often engage in prohibited services with clients in the private booths to generate a strong revenue stream. In short, the MSC forcefield is a productive engine that engenders connections between strippers, clients, and the MSC environment.

In light of this, three overarching research findings helped us attain our research goals. First, our interpretations helped us conceptualize the MSC as a social environment *produced* by intersecting motivational forces. We posited that all things observable in the MSC are a manifestation of these forces. The spatial, temporal, and disciplinary matrix is produced in a

manner that enables connections to the flow of capital, pleasure, intimacy, privacy, conformity to norms, and so forth. The presence of special private booths, time periods for high-paying transactions, and escort services are indicative of strippers' and business entrepreneurs' valuation of income production. The club's architectural layout and social setting points to the importance of sexual pleasure and intimacy. Surveillance and punitive tactics highlight the importance of conformity to norms. Even strippers' sense of self emerges from motivational forces: the drive to cut into the various flows within a MSC defines strippers' work identity. They see themselves as sexual entertainers manufacturing intimacy, pleasure, and business transactions with clients.

The homoerotic sexual services provided to clients in private booths and outside of the club (e.g., kissing, masturbation, oral and anal sex, BDSM practices) by strippers who claim to be gay-for-pay reveals once more the productive effects of motivational forces. The synergy between clients' motivation for pleasure and intimacy and strippers' motivation for financial gain produces MSW transactions in the club. Furthermore, our findings show that the club's social matrix reinforces and reproduces these motivational forces. For example, the climate of business competition between strippers, pressure from the business entrepreneurs to please clients, the sexualized environment, and the accessibility of drugs are all factors that enhance strippers' motivation for financial gain and encourage specific work practices (i.e., drug use and oral sex in the booths).

In contrast, motivational forces appear to compete against one another: in other words, strippers are often choosing to connect to one flow at the expense of another. For example, the MSC disciplinary matrix, a governing structure meant to ensure the viability of the MSC business, promotes connections that respect its boundaries. The motivation to conform to the established norms in the club (i.e., abstaining from illegal sexual practices, escort services, and substance use) or to conform to socio-cultural norms (i.e., performing heteronormativity) tempers strippers' cutting into flows of capital and pleasure. Strippers self-impose restraints on their work practices

with clients so as to not transgress the disciplinary matrix and socio-cultural norms. We observed this in strippers' tolerance threshold, their vigilance when providing services to clients or when consuming drugs, and their ways of managing stigma from sex work and homosexuality. Strippers' tolerance threshold points to a set of regulated, routinized, and acceptable social connections between machines produced by intersecting motivational forces. Practices beyond their tolerance threshold could mean termination, legal repercussions, financial losses, stigma, shame, discrimination, and social exclusion. In short, the produced social connections in the club are regulated by a set of coexisting motivational forces.

Second, the factors influencing the outcomes of sexual service negotiations between strippers and clients are in fact manifestations of an arrangement of motivational forces; the negotiation outcome is a produced effect of motivated connections. We found that the strongest motivational forces (i.e., the motivation for financial gain or pleasure) generate asymmetrical relations between people's motivations and direct the outcomes of their transactions. Moreover, the negotiation process is influenced by external governing forces that dictate the rules of transaction (i.e., strict or lenient disciplinary measures, place and time, health and safety considerations, tolerance threshold). In other words, the negotiation processes and outcomes are an amalgamation of conflicting forces energized and constrained within the club's social matrix. As such, the negotiation process is one of machines cutting into flows and building machinic assemblages. The resulting configuration gives meaning and purpose to the sex work transaction.

Third, our findings indicate the motivation for financial gain is the strongest driving force in the MSC. The impulse to become part of the flow of capital generates an asymmetry to other flows and couples bodies into specific territorialized assemblages. We have named this the ethics of money, whereby money is the most esteemed resources for strippers (and business entrepreneurs). Strippers are constantly reminded that their priority is to generate income for themselves and the club. They are hard pressed to connect to the flow of capital, sometimes doing so through intermediate flows of substances and pleasure (our findings illustrate that

strippers use substances to increase their earning potential; intoxication facilitates sex work transactions). By connecting to one flow, they enable their connection to the most desirable flow, the flow of capital. Therefore, the social connections in the club tend to reinforce and reproduce the flow of capital. Strippers' work practices reflect this dominant cultural feature: "money is God." Capital gain through practices of sexual pleasure is the engine through which the male stripping economy unfurls.

Based on our interpretation, the club's social matrix and sexual connections are assemblages produced by desire production. Strippers and every other element in the MSC are machines fuelled by desire that connect to other machines to form machinic assemblages. The synergy of motivational forces between machines produces meaningful subjects, places, times, behaviours, and practices in the club. A constellation of machines connected together through the productive effects of desire constitute the club's economy. The function of the club and strippers' role can only be understood through the assemblage process. We see strippers as machines cutting into flows and forming territorialized machinic assemblages with clients. The club is a machine that produces and reinforces income-producing connections such as sexual practices with high rates of negative health and safety outcomes between strippers and clients. The club is a territorialized assemblage channelling human connections in specific orders and directions.

Assemblages are channelled in specific directions as an effect of power relations in a disciplinary environment. They engage in an assemblage process that respects the demarcation of an acceptable territory of norms and practices. Dissenters and transgressors of the normalized assemblages are subject to punishment in the form of suspension, termination, loss of income, fines, and even incarceration. Tactics of surveillance and normalization deployed in the club ensure that strippers obey stripping norms. Disciplinary measures are deployed to produce tractable strippers who do not threaten the club's viability. The ethics of money encourages the formation of territorialized machinic assemblages. Strippers are captured in the money-making

apparatus. They internalize the external imperative to generate income for the club and become its instruments of success.

The normalization of strippers' work practices can be equated to an assemblage veering toward an apparatus of capture. This happens when there is dependency upon connections, when strippers depend on certain clients, when business entrepreneurs depend on high-paying clients, when clients depend on negotiable strippers. Strippers' ideas, motives, movements: everything that they think and do is tailored to match the hegemonic territory that seeks to reinforce and reproduce its dominance over minor (transgressive) connections. Strippers are already always working in a domain of self-imposed behavioural restraints. In short, the MSC is a territorialized temporal and spatial location where motivational forces encourage the formation of normal connections. The flow of coalescing motivations within the club's social matrix reproduces a set of governed connections between machines.

However, as motivational forces change, normalized and rigid connections can be broken apart and modified. Our findings illustrate a range of practices that transgress the club's hegemonic territory. The ethics of money also catalyses transgressive connections: practices that diverge from the range of normality and acceptability. Patterns of connection change; strippers engage in novel transactions to seek out new ways to connect to the flow of capital even if it means disobeying the rules or their tolerance threshold. Even in the rigid structure of the MSC apparatus, there are always pathways back into rhizomatic connections. Strippers engage in lines of flight when they connect with clients or substances purely for pleasure, and they also engage in lines of flight when they use their stripping assemblages to generate new ways to connect to flows through escort services. The club is just as much a place of experimentation for strippers as it is for clients.

Finally, we underscore the fact that the productive effects of desire also generate a wide range of occupational issues for strippers. For one, the produced disciplinary matrix is adept in maintaining a strong current of capital in stripping; however, it does little to address strippers'

health and safety concerns. It often does the opposite by ignoring their needs in the matters of work training, education, and support. Risks are manifest at the intersections of motivational forces. This means that strippers experience negative health and safety outcomes depending on the way they configure their connections to other bodies in the club. For instance, we saw that strippers are often pressured by clients to offer prohibited services for a higher payout and are also pressured by business entrepreneurs to satisfy clients' needs, all in the hope of maintaining the flow of capital. What happens in this case is that strippers often consent to condomless practices with clients due to the influence of motivational forces, but at the same time, they are not given the necessary work tools to engage in these practices safely with clients (i.e., they need to work in rushed and precarious contexts, they cannot rely on business entrepreneurs or the police for support, or they do not always know how to manage unsafe situations with clients). As in the female stripping context, physical, sexual, and mental health hazards are all produced in the male stripping context. The substance use issues reported by strippers (i.e., abuse, loss of control, health complications, side effects) are an example of a produced hazard in that strippers' work environment is conducive to the consumption of psychotropic substances (i.e., ease of access and utility in facilitating interactions). Our participants also reported financial concerns in their line of work due to the precarity of their income and the stripping labour context in Canada. They further reported legal issues due to the fact that they are often criminalized by police (i.e., strippers are subject to police raids, searches, fines, incarceration, and continuous surveillance). The current legal framework regulating sex work in Canada produces occupational harms to all sex workers.

To conclude, it seems that the ethics of money in the club combined with the criminalization of sex work practices is a major driver in the production of these aforementioned negative outcomes. The motivation for financial gain produces territories where negative occupational outcomes flourish (i.e., pressure to engage in condomless sexual practices or drug use, climate of competition, tip-based salary, criminalization, desire to increase earnings, avoiding

legal repercussions). At first glance, it may seem that these issues are inherent to stripping. Yet upon closer inspection, our findings show them to be emergent manifestations of the MSC forcefield. The booth–stripper–client assemblage and the territory that stripping in Canada today occupies is impregnated with negative outcomes produced not only by the specific MSC social matrix examined in our study, but also by the hegemonic socio-cultural, medical, and legal apparatuses operating in our late modern society.

Based on our findings, we now have a contextualized understanding of health and safety issues in male strip clubs. The Canadian legal and political context surrounding male sex work negatively impacts male strippers' occupational health and safety conditions by disabling safe connections with clients. Further, the emphasis on money-making activities encourages strippers to value financial gain over their physical and mental integrity. In short, the male strip club work environment is configured in a manner where capital gain is prioritized and strippers' health and safety is undermined. Our study supports the call to completely decriminalize sex work in Canada and reform strip club labour conditions so that strippers may have a secure salary. We recommend the implementation of personalized harm reduction interventions by open-minded and informed healthcare professionals (e.g., access to STI and HIV screening, drug purity testing, condom and lube access, availability of counsellors and medical staff). Our research is meant to uproot biased assumptions regarding sex work and stripping to improve the quality of healthcare policies and interventions that affect all sex workers. Advocating for social justice and adequate political representation for vulnerable populations is an important social mandate for nurses and other health professionals alike. We have learned that nursing has its place in all spheres of social life (strip clubs included); a nurse is likely the most versatile health professional in contemporary society, one who can be inserted into most social milieus. This is especially true when treating marginalized populations. In effect, we encourage further investigations into this field so as to bolster strippers' work conditions through nursing interventions.

In writing this dissertation, we produced a set of territorialized findings allied with the empowerment paradigm and the labour discourse in sex work. Granted, we have conducted an ethnographic study by way of traditional field methods; however, we have not produced a classical ethnographic report. We make no claim to have generated a complete picture of the MSC culture. We do not believe that this is even possible. Rather, we have produced a single fluid representation from a postmodernist nursing standpoint. In this representation, based on our assemblage analysis, we assert that strippers' work culture does not have a singular definition or meaning. Culture is a label constituted by various normative features that are presumably fixed (standards of practice, norms, values, attitudes, etc.). However, as we have demonstrated throughout the analysis, everything is in flux. All social phenomena that make up what we see as culture are transient connections that have crystallized over time in the form of a captured assemblage, an apparatus. The cultural elements delineated in this study point to heavily territorialized assemblages of beliefs, norms, and practices: recurring connections reproduced within a knot on the MSC rhizome. Cultural features, like MSW and homoerotic sexual practices, can only be understood once captured as mental concepts. MSW, the MSC, stripping, and sexual service negotiation are a collection of becomings understood as seemingly cogent concepts when they are territorialized.

Our findings challenge current moral, political, and judicial territories that energize the negative health and safety effects caused to strippers. In contrast to the scientific hierarchization of knowledge and its stigmatizing effects relative to deviant phenomena, in the spirit of Foucault and Deleuze, we nurtured the production of local and minor knowledges: knowledge produced in contrast to the hegemonic regimes of truth. We have done this to equalize the register of knowledge regarding MSW. In exploring the geopolitics of a MSC, we delineated the political interests invested in the MSC territories (i.e., interests from public health and law enforcement authorities). The deployment of disciplinary power technologies within these territories generates stratified assemblages and forms a co-ordinated politics of sex. The politics of sex in MSCs is

expressed in the rules and norms internalized by male strippers when they transact with clients. Strippers are marked, inscribed, and transformed by social and sexual forces. Power relations construct particular kinds of bodies through various regimes of truth. We sensed the forces urging social agents to conform to the dominant assemblages and the stigma associated to those who deviated from norms. It was by framing all of strippers' work practices as rational manifestations of the flows of desire in a particular context that we moved away from the normal–deviant dichotomy. Thus, we enhanced our understanding of MSW in MSCs and healthcare providers' role in the improvement of strippers' occupational health and safety outcomes. The critical position we have adopted in this study has allowed us to expand the healthcare discussion to include the voices of marginalized populations. With it, we can reform the messages conveyed by the hegemonic discourses to broaden the scope of intervention and improve the effectiveness of care.

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APPENDIX A – ENGLISH RECRUITMENT POSTER



uOttawa
L'Université canadienne
Canada's university

RESEARCH

Male dancers working in a strip club for men are eligible to participate

Please contact Désiré Rioux by email at healthsc@uottawa.ca to learn how to participate

Researcher: Désiré Rioux, RN, PhD(c)
Research Supervisor: Professor Dave Holmes, RN, PhD

In full confidentiality and anonymity, those eligible will be asked to complete a questionnaire and participate in an interview

Participants will be financially compensated (\$60)

18y.o.+

First come/First served

APPENDIX B – FRENCH RECRUITMENT POSTER



RECHERCHE

Les danseurs nus travaillant dans un club de danseurs nus pour hommes sont admissibles à l'étude

Pour en savoir d'avantage sur la façon de participer, veuillez rejoindre Désiré Rioux à l'adresse courriel **scsante@uottawa**

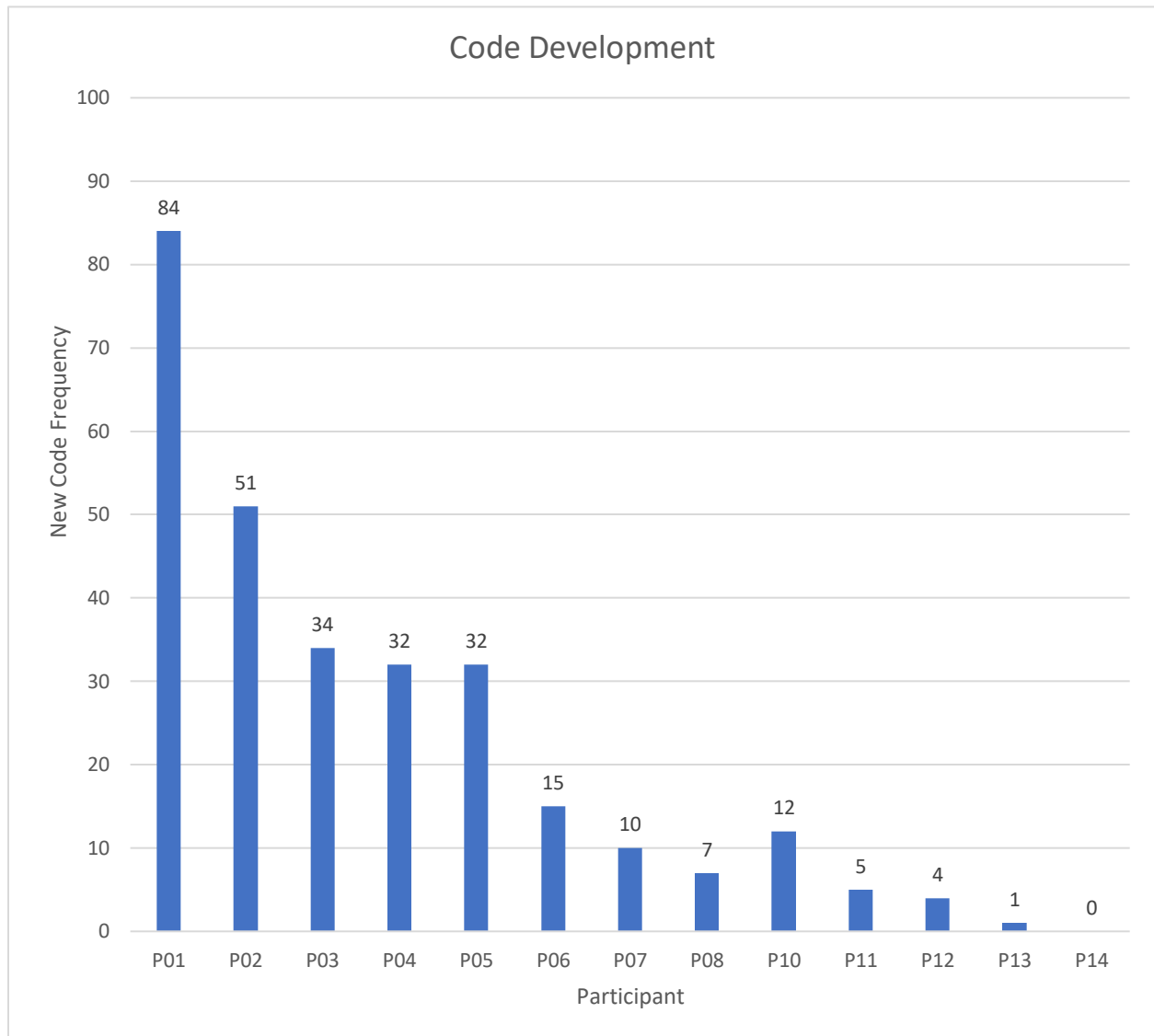
Chercheur : Désiré Rioux, IA, PhD(c)
Superviseur de recherche : Professeur Dave Holmes, IA, PhD

En toute confidentialité et anonymat, les personnes admissibles seront invitées à répondre à un questionnaire et participer à un entretien

Les participants recevront une compensation financière (\$60)

18ans+

Premier arrivé, premier servi

APPENDIX C – CODE DEVELOPMENT FREQUENCY DIAGRAM

APPENDIX E – ENGLISH QUESTIONNAIRE

SELF-ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE

Risk Negotiation Practises Between Male Strippers and their Male Clients

Part 1: Sociodemographic data

- 1) How old are you? _____
- 2) What is your primary written and spoken language?
 - ☐ French
 - ☐ English
 - ☐ Other: _____
- 3) What is your gender? _____
- 4) Who do you have sex with:
 - ☐ Men
 - ☐ Women
 - ☐ Men and Women
 - ☐ Other: _____
- 5) What is your level of completed formal education?
 - ☐ Elementary School
 - ☐ High School Diploma
 - ☐ College Diploma
 - ☐ Bachelor Degree
 - ☐ Master Degree
 - ☐ Doctoral Degree
 - ☐ Other: _____
- 6) Ethnic Origin:
 - ☐ African Canadian
 - ☐ Caucasian
 - ☐ Latin
 - ☐ Asian
 - ☐ Middle-Eastern
 - ☐ Aboriginal
 - ☐ Other: _____
- 7) Are you currently employed elsewhere?
 - ☐ Yes If yes, what type of work do you do? _____
 - ☐ No
- 8) For how many years have you been a male stripper? _____

Part 2: Alcohol and Drug use

- 9) Have you used anabolic steroids or other muscle enhancing supplements in the context of your work? If you answer yes, please specify which steroid or supplement was used.
 - ☐ No
 - ☐ Yes. Please specify: _____

- 10) Have you ever injected drugs or supplements?
- ☐ Yes
 - ☐ No If no, please skip to question 12.
- 11) Do you share needles and syringes with other people?
- ☐ Yes
 - ☐ No
- 12) What type of drugs do you use when on the job?
- ☐ I do not use drugs (please skip to question 15)
 - ☐ Ecstasy, MDMA
 - ☐ Amphetamines, stimulants, speed, meth
 - ☐ GHB (Gamma-Hydroxybutyric acid)
 - ☐ Viagra, Cialis
 - ☐ Marijuana, hash, cannabis oil, weed butter, edibles
 - ☐ Poppers
 - ☐ Special K (Ketamine)
 - ☐ Cocaine
 - ☐ Crack-cocaine
 - ☐ Heroin
 - ☐ Other: _____
- 13) If you use drugs at work, what is your drug of choice and why? _____
-
- 14) In the last six (6) months, how often were you under the influence of drugs while negotiating services with clients in private areas of your workplace?
- ☐ Always
 - ☐ Most of the time
 - ☐ Half of the time
 - ☐ Occasionally
 - ☐ Never
- 15) In the last six (6) months, how often were you under the influence of alcohol while negotiating services with clients in private areas of your workplace?
- ☐ I do not drink alcohol
 - ☐ Always
 - ☐ Most of the time
 - ☐ Half of the time
 - ☐ Occasionally
 - ☐ Never

Part 3: Sexual Practices with Clients

- 16) On average, how many clients do you see in private cabins per shift?
Approximate number: _____
- 17) What type of services are you willing to provide to your clients in private dance cabins (select all that apply)?
- ☐ Erotic dance with contact
 - ☐ Hugging
 - ☐ Kissing
 - ☐ Touching your genitals
 - ☐ Touching clients' genitals
 - ☐ Handjob with condom
 - ☐ Handjob without condom
 - ☐ Blowjob with condom
 - ☐ Blowjob without condom
 - ☐ Client fingering your anus
 - ☐ Fingering client's anus
 - ☐ Rimming clients
 - ☐ Getting rimmed by clients
 - ☐ Receptive anal sex with condom (you are bottom)
 - ☐ Receptive anal sex without condom (you are bottom)
 - ☐ Insertive anal sex with condom (you are top)
 - ☐ Insertive anal sex without condom (you are top)
 - ☐ Other, please specify: _____
- 18) Have you ever negotiated and sold these services to clients inside the club and then provided the service somewhere outside the club (apartment, hotel, bathhouse, etc.)?
- ☐ Yes
 - ☐ No
- 19) In the last six (6) months, how often did you ask your clients about their STI (sexually transmitted infection) status before providing sexual services to them?
- ☐ Always
 - ☐ Most of the time
 - ☐ Half of the time
 - ☐ Occasionally
 - ☐ I never ask about STI status
- 20) In the last six (6) months, how often did you ask your clients about their HIV status before providing sexual services to them?
- ☐ Always
 - ☐ Most of the time
 - ☐ Half of the time
 - ☐ Occasionally
 - ☐ I never ask about HIV status

21) How do clients pay for your services (select all that apply)?

- ☐ Money
- ☐ Drugs
- ☐ Alcohol
- ☐ Sexual favors
- ☐ Housing
- ☐ Transportation
- ☐ Other: _____

22) What would a client need to offer for condomless anal sex with you?

- ☐ I would never offer this service to a client regardless of their offer
- ☐ Price: _____, and your position: _____ (top, bottom, versatile)

23) Do you feel safe in your workplace?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No. Why? _____

Part 4: Healthcare Access and Utilization

24) Have you previously had an HIV screening test?

- ☐ Yes
The result was:
 - ☐ Negative (You do not have HIV)
 - ☐ Positive (You have HIV)
- ☐ No

25) Do you regularly get tested for STIs?

- ☐ Yes. How often? _____
- ☐ No
- ☐ N/A (I have never been tested for STIs)

26) Have you previously had STIs?

- ☐ Yes. Which ones? _____
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know

27) Are condoms readily available at your workplace?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

28) Is lube readily available at your workplace?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

29) In general, is the management staff supportive of regular HIV and STI testing for strippers?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

30) Do you use PrEP (HIV pre-exposure prophylaxis) to reduce your chances of acquiring HIV?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ N/A (I am HIV positive)
- ☐ I have never heard of PrEP

31) Have you ever used PEP (HIV post-exposure prophylaxis) after a sexual contact that you felt put you at risk of acquiring HIV?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ N/A (I am HIV positive)
- ☐ I have never heard of PEP

32) Are you aware of health services offered to male strippers, male sex workers, or men who have sex with men specifically?

- ☐ Yes. Which ones? _____
- ☐ No

APPENDIX F – FRENCH QUESTIONNAIRE**QUESTIONNAIRE AUTO-ADMINISTRÉ**

Pratiques de négociation du risque entre danseurs nus pour hommes et leurs clients

Partie 1: Données sociodémographiques

- 1) Quel est votre âge? _____
- 2) Quel est votre langue de préférence écrite et orale?
 - ☐ Français
 - ☐ Anglais
 - ☐ Autre: _____
- 3) Quel est votre genre? _____
- 4) Avez-vous des rapports sexuels avec :
 - ☐ Hommes
 - ☐ Femmes
 - ☐ Hommes et femmes
 - ☐ Autre: _____
- 5) Quel est votre niveau d'éducation formel complété?
 - ☐ École primaire
 - ☐ Diplôme d'étude secondaire
 - ☐ Diplôme d'étude collégiale
 - ☐ Baccalauréat
 - ☐ Maîtrise
 - ☐ Doctorat
 - ☐ Autre: _____
- 6) Origine ethnique:
 - ☐ Africaine Canadienne
 - ☐ Caucasienne
 - ☐ Latine
 - ☐ Asiatique
 - ☐ Moyen-Orient
 - ☐ Autochtone
 - ☐ Autre: _____
- 7) Êtes-vous employé ailleurs en ce moment?
 - ☐ Oui Si oui, quel type de travail faite-vous? _____
 - ☐ Non
- 8) Vous êtes danseur depuis combien d'années? _____

Partie 2: Alcool et utilisation de drogues

- 9) Avez-vous déjà utilisé des stéroïdes anabolisant ou autres suppléments de croissance musculaire dans le contexte de votre travail? Si oui, s'il vous plaît spécifier lesquelles.
 - ☐ Non
 - ☐ Oui. S'il vous plaît spécifier: _____

- 10) Vous êtes-vous déjà injecté des drogues ou des suppléments?
- ☐ Oui
 - ☐ Non Si vous avez répondu « non », passé à la question 12.
- 11) Partagez-vous des aiguilles ou seringues avec d'autres personnes?
- ☐ Oui
 - ☐ Non
- 12) Quels types de drogues avez-vous déjà consommé pendant un quart de travail?
- ☐ Je ne consomme pas de drogues (s'il vous plaît passer à la question 15)
 - ☐ Ecstasy, MDMA
 - ☐ Amphétamines, stimulants, speed, meth
 - ☐ GHB (Acide Gamma-Hydroxybutyric)
 - ☐ Viagra, Cialis
 - ☐ Marijuana, hashish, huile de cannabis, etc.
 - ☐ Poppers
 - ☐ Special K (Ketamine)
 - ☐ Cocaïne
 - ☐ Crack-cocaïne
 - ☐ Héroïne
 - ☐ Autre: _____
- 13) Si vous consommé des drogues au travail, quel est votre drogue de choix? _____
-
- 14) Pendant les six (6) dernier mois, à quelle fréquence étiez-vous sous l'influence de drogues lorsque vous négociez des services avec vos clients dans les espaces privés de l'établissement?
- ☐ Toujours
 - ☐ La plupart du temps
 - ☐ La moitié du temps
 - ☐ Occasionnellement
 - ☐ Jamais
- 15) Pendant les six (6) dernier mois, à quelle fréquence étiez-vous sous l'influence d'alcool lorsque vous négociez des services avec vos clients dans les espaces privés de l'établissement?
- ☐ Je ne bois pas d'alcool
 - ☐ Toujours
 - ☐ La plupart du temps
 - ☐ La moitié du temps
 - ☐ Occasionnellement
 - ☐ Jamais

Partie 3: Pratiques sexuelles avec les clients

- 16) En moyenne, combien de clients voyez-vous dans les cabines lors de danse privée par quart de travail? Nombre approximatif: _____
- 17) Quels types de services acceptez-vous d'offrir à vos clients dans les cabines privées (choisissez ce qui s'applique)?
- ☐ Danse contact érotique
 - ☐ Caresses
 - ☐ Baiser
 - ☐ Client touche votre région génitale
 - ☐ Vous touchez la région génitale de votre client
 - ☐ Masturbation ("handjob") avec condom
 - ☐ Masturbation ("handjob") sans condom
 - ☐ Sexe oral ("blowjob") avec condom
 - ☐ Sexe oral ("blowjob") sans condom
 - ☐ Client joue avec votre anus
 - ☐ Vous jouez avec l'anus de votre client
 - ☐ Anulingus (« rimjob ») à votre client
 - ☐ Client vous fait de l'anulingus (« rimjob »)
 - ☐ Sexe anal réceptif avec condom (vous-êtes *bottom*)
 - ☐ Sexe anal réceptif sans condom (vous-êtes *bottom*)
 - ☐ Sexe anal pénétrant avec condom (vous-êtes *top*)
 - ☐ Sexe anal pénétrant sans condom (vous-êtes *top*)
 - ☐ Autre, s'il vous plaît spécifiez: _____
- 18) Avez-vous déjà négocié et vendu ces services à vos clients à l'intérieure de l'établissement pour ensuite les offrir à l'extérieur de votre milieu de travail (appartement, hôtel, sauna, etc.)?
- ☐ Oui
 - ☐ Non
- 19) Pendant les six (6) dernier mois, à quelle fréquence demandez-vous à vos clients leur statut ITS (infections transmises sexuellement) avant d'offrir des services sexuels?
- ☐ Toujours
 - ☐ La plupart du temps
 - ☐ La moitié du temps
 - ☐ Occasionnellement
 - ☐ Je ne demande jamais de connaître leur statut ITS
- 20) Pendant les six (6) dernier mois, à quelle fréquence demandez-vous à vos clients de connaître leur statut VIH avant d'offrir des services sexuels?
- ☐ Toujours
 - ☐ La plupart du temps
 - ☐ La moitié du temps
 - ☐ Occasionnellement
 - ☐ Je ne demande jamais de connaître leur statut VIH
- 21) Par quels moyens vos clients payent-ils pour vos services (choisissez ce qui s'appliquent)?
- ☐ Argent

- ☐ Drogues
- ☐ Alcool
- ☐ Faveurs sexuelles
- ☐ Hébergement
- ☐ Transport
- ☐ Autre: _____

- 22) Qu'est-ce qu'un client doit offrir pour avoir du sexe anal sans protection?
- ☐ Peut-importe l'offre, je ne performe pas ce service
 - ☐ Prix : _____, et votre position : _____ (*top, bottom, versatile*)
- 23) Est-ce que vous vous sentez en sécurité dans votre milieu de travail?
- ☐ Oui
 - ☐ Non. Pourquoi? _____

Partie 4: Accès et utilisation des services de santé

- 24) Avez-vous déjà eu un test de dépistage au VIH?
- ☐ Oui
Le résultat était:
 - ☐ Négatif (vous n'avez pas le VIH)
 - ☐ Positif (vous avez le VIH)
 - ☐ Non
- 25) Est-ce que vous vous faites dépisté pour les ITS de façon régulière?
- ☐ Oui. À quelle fréquence? _____
 - ☐ Non
 - ☐ N/A (je n'ai jamais eu de test de dépistage pour les ITS)
- 26) Avez-vous déjà eu des ITS?
- ☐ Oui. Lesquelles? _____
 - ☐ Non
 - ☐ Je ne sais pas
- 27) Est-ce que les condoms sont facilement accessibles dans votre milieu de travail?
- ☐ Oui
 - ☐ Non
- 28) Est-ce que le lubrifiant est facilement accessible dans votre milieu de travail?
- ☐ Oui
 - ☐ Non
- 29) En général, est-ce que l'équipe administrative et le personnel du bar appui les danseurs concernant les tests de dépistage pour le VIH et les ITS?
- ☐ Oui
 - ☐ Non
- 30) Utilisez-vous le PrEP (prophylaxie de pré-exposition au VIH) pour réduire les chances d'acquérir le VIH?
- ☐ Oui

- ☐ Non
- ☐ N/A (je suis positif pour le VIH)
- ☐ Je n'ai jamais entendu parler du PrEP

31) Avez-vous déjà utilisé le PEP (prophylaxie de post-exposition au VIH) après un contact sexuel qui vous a mis à risque d'acquérir le VIH?

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non
- ☐ N/A (je suis positif pour le VIH)
- ☐ Je n'ai jamais entendu parler du PEP

32) Connaissez-vous des services de santé offerts spécifiquement aux danseurs, travailleurs du sexe, ou hommes qui ont des relations sexuelles avec des hommes?

- ☐ Oui. Lesquels? _____
- ☐ Non

APPENDIX G – ENGLISH INTERVIEW GUIDE

Risk Negotiation Practises Between Male Strippers and their Male Clients

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

1. Welcome and introduction

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview, my name is...

2. Brief review of context for interview

The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of your work as a male stripper in a male strip club. Further, the study aims to describe and understand the interactions between strippers and clients as well as the implicated health risks.

In order to attain this goal, I will conduct several individual interviews with male strippers working in a strip club for men.

3. Review and signing of informed consent form by participant (a signed copy of consent will be given to participant)

4. Caution prior to interview beginning

- I will be taking notes during the interview.
- I will sometimes look at the digital recorder during the interview to ensure that it is recording (if participant allows the interview to be recorded).

5. Questions prior to interview beginning

Do you have any questions before we begin the interview, either pertaining to the interview or to the research project?

Preamble

The male stripping industry is very new to me. I know very little about the work that you and your colleagues do. I'm sincerely interested in knowing what it is that you do. In the end, I hope to gain some insights into strippers' needs regarding health services provided by nurses. First, I need to know the details of your work. Since you are the expert in the matter, I am hoping that you can inform me on what it is that you do in the strip club.

General Information about Male Strippers' Work in a Male Strip Club

1. **To start, could you please describe your typical shift at your work? I'd like for you to take me through your regular routine from the moment you arrive at the club to the moment you leave.**
 - a. Can you describe what you did at the club during your most recent shift?
 - b. Your routine as you have described it to me, is it the same for the other strippers?
 - c. Talking about different stripper' routines makes me wonder if there are different types of strippers in the male stripping industry. Could you tell me if there are different types of strippers?
2. **I'm interested to know if you could talk to me about your experience as male stripper in a male strip club?**
 - a. What do you think about your work environment (loud music, lights, nudity, work colleagues, alcohol and drugs)?
 - b. What do you like about your work?
 - c. What are the things you like the least about your work?
3. **As a stripper, could you describe where you typically spend your time during a shift?**
 - a. Please describe where you feel the most comfortable and relaxed in your workplace?
 - b. Please describe where you feel the most vulnerable and on guard in your workplace?
4. **When I think of any other job, I think of the potential health and safety hazards, or dangers, related to that job. A construction worker needs to work with dangerous equipment, a cook works with sharp knives. As a nurse, I am also exposed to certain types of hazards in the hospital. I am specifically interested in knowing the times when you felt that your work might be dangerous to your health and your safety. Do you have any personal examples that you could share?**
 - a. You made reference to _____. Can you think of all the kinds of hazardous risks or dangers present in the male strip club?
 - b. In your opinion, what's the most important thing for a stripper to ensure that he stays safe at work?

Private Interactions with Clients

5. **I'm interested in learning more about stripper' interactions with clients and the services that are available to them in the club. Can you describe to me a typical interaction with a client of the club?**
 - a. What types of private services are offered to clients in the club?
 - b. Are there different types of clients? If so, what are the different types?
 - c. Do you have any memories of interactions with clients gone wrong that you could share with me?
 - d. What are the most important questions that a stripper should ask himself or things that he should keep in mind while working and interacting with clients?
 - e. Can you describe the problems you face in your interactions with clients?

6. **Now, I'd like to focus more on the private dance aspect of your work. Could you describe the space where the private dances take place and what goes on in this space?**
 - a. Can you describe the different types of private dances and the different services that clients can purchase during a private dance? Services outside of the club? How much?
 - b. Are some private dances or interactions riskier than others? Contact with bodily fluids, violence, etc.?
 - c. Do you feel safe in this part of the club?
7. **What are the differences between your sexual practices outside of work and your work sexual practices?**
 - a. What services have you provided to clients as a stripper?
 - b. In your opinion, what creates this difference?
 - c. Do you have sexual relations with men outside of your work context?
8. **Could you describe the steps you take to sell a private dance or other private services to a client?**
 - a. Do clients approach you, or do you approach clients?
 - b. Would you approach any client and ask him if he wants a private dance? *(If the participant says that he would not give a private dance to a specific type of client, ask him the reason for this. Then, create a hypothetical situation whereby the rejected client is offering a large sum of money. Or, ask the participant if there's anything that the client could offer to change his mind.)*
 - c. Does your approach differ when it's a less busy time at the club, let's say a Tuesday evening?
 - d. What usually happens when you arrive to a private area with the client?

Service Negotiations

9. **Where do you negotiate the terms of the private dance or other private services with clients?**
 - a. Does this vary depending on the client?
 - b. Can you describe any other elements inside or outside your workplace, or in the private cabins, that compromise your ability to interact and do business with clients safely?
10. **Could you describe your approach when negotiating sexual services with clients?**
 - a. Do you have rules? What does it take for you to break these rules (e.g., money or drugs)?
 - b. Inside the private cabins, how much money would a client need to offer for you to accept to provide condomless anal sex?
 - c. Do you screen your clients? HIV or STI status? Intoxication?
11. **When doing business with a client, can you describe the things that have an impact on your final decision to provide a sexual service or to refuse a service to a client?**
 - a. Can you describe the dangers that come to mind when negotiating services with clients?
 - b. Do you see any upsides in taking higher risks with clients?
 - c. How do you deal with this? How do you say no to a client?
12. **Do you feel like you have the support of other strippers, staff members and management when negotiating services with clients?**
 - a. Can you talk openly with others about your interactions with clients?
 - b. What do you normally talk about with other strippers?
13. **Could you describe the measures that are in place at the club to make sure you and other strippers are safe when spending time with clients in private settings such as a private dance cabin?**

- a. Are there any other measures, tools, or policies put in place to keep strippers safe and healthy in their workplace?
- b. Do you feel you have the necessary material and communication skills to negotiate services with clients safely?
- c. As a stripper, what tools do you need to feel safe and stay healthy when interacting with clients in private settings of the club?

Closing Remarks

- Is there other subject matter or are there further questions you would like to discuss?

Thanking of participant

Informing of the next steps of the research process:

- Transcription and analysis of all interviews;
- Dissemination of research findings at conferences and in scientific journals;
- Developing and implementing research results into community health programs for the target population.

APPENDIX H – FRENCH INTERVIEW GUIDE

Pratiques de négociation du risque entre danseurs nus pour hommes et leurs clients

Guide d'entretien semi-structuré

1. Mot de bienvenue et introduction

Nous vous remercions à l'avance de votre participation à ce projet, mon nom est...

2. Description du contexte de l'entretien

Le but de cette étude vise à améliorer nos connaissances vis-à-vis la culture de travail des danseurs nus dans les établissements de danseurs nus pour hommes. De plus, cette étude cherche à décrire et comprendre les pratiques de négociation entre danseurs et clients et des risques pour leur santé.

Afin de répondre aux objectifs du projet, je vais compléter plusieurs entretiens semi-structurés avec des danseurs travaillant dans un établissement de danseurs nus pour hommes.

3. Révision et signature du formulaire de consentement par le participant (une copie signée sera remise au participant)

4. Mise en garde avant de débiter l'entretien

- Je vais prendre des notes pendant l'entretien
- De manière intermittente, je vais regarder à l'enregistreur numérique pour m'assurer qu'il est fonctionnel (si le participant a consenti à l'enregistrement de l'entretien).

5. Questions avant de débiter l'entretien

Avez-vous des questions avant de commencer l'entretien, soit concernant l'entretien ou le projet de recherche ?

Préambule

Ce milieu de travail est nouveau pour moi. J'en connais très peu par rapport à votre travail et celui de vos collègues. Je suis sincèrement intéressé à apprendre à ce sujet. Au final, j'espère acquérir une meilleure idée des besoins des danseurs par rapport aux services de santé prodigués par les infirmiers et infirmières. Tout d'abord, je dois me renseigner davantage sur les divers aspects de votre travail. Puisque vous êtes l'expert à ce sujet, j'aimerais que vous me parliez de votre rôle à l'intérieur de votre milieu de travail.

Information générale à propos du travail des danseurs dans un club de danseurs nus

- 1. Pour commencer, pouvez-vous me décrire le déroulement d'un quart typique à votre travail? J'aimerais que vous me parliez de votre routine habituelle à partir du moment où vous arrivez à l'établissement, au moment où vous quittez.**
 - a. Pourriez-vous décrire ce que vous avez fait au club lors de votre quart de travail le plus récent?
 - b. Votre routine, est-elle semblable pour les autres danseurs?
 - c. À propos des danseurs et des routines de travail, je me demande s'il y a différents types de danseurs. Pourriez-vous me dire s'il y a différents types?
- 2. Je suis intéressé à connaître votre expérience en tant que danseur dans un club de danseurs nus?**
 - a. Quelles sont vos impressions de votre milieu de travail (musique, lumière, nudité, collègues de travail, alcool et drogue)?
 - b. Qu'est-ce que vous aimez de votre travail?
 - c. Qu'est-ce que vous aimez le moins de votre travail?
- 3. En tant que danseur, pourriez-vous me décrire où vous passez typiquement votre temps pendant un quart de travail?**
 - a. Pourriez-vous décrire où vous vous sentez le plus à l'aise dans votre espace de travail?
 - b. Pourriez-vous décrire où vous vous sentez le moins à l'aise ou vulnérable dans votre espace de travail?
- 4. Lorsque je réfléchis aux autres types de travail, je pense aux dangers potentiels du travail. Ceux-ci peuvent avoir un impact sur la santé et la sécurité des employés. Un travailleur de construction doit travailler avec des machines dangereuses, un cuisinier travaille avec des couteaux. En tant qu'infirmier, je suis exposé à des dangers bien spécifiques. Je suis intéressé à savoir les moments que vous avez perçu votre travail comme étant dangereux pour votre santé ou votre sécurité. Auriez-vous des exemples personnels que vous pourriez partager?**
 - a. Vous avez fait référence à _____. Pourriez-vous penser aux autres types de dangers qui sont présents dans un club de danseurs nus?
 - b. Selon vous, quels est l'élément le plus important pour qu'un danseur maintienne sa sécurité au travail?

Interactions avec clients en privé

- 5. Je suis intéressé à apprendre davantage au sujet des interactions entre les danseurs et les clients, ainsi que les services qui sont disponibles aux clients à l'intérieur du club. Pourriez-vous me décrire une interaction habituelle avec un client du club?**
 - a. Quels types de services privés sont offerts aux clients du club?
 - b. Est-ce qu'il y a différents types de clients? Si oui, quels sont ces différents types?
 - c. Auriez-vous des souvenirs d'interactions avec des clients qui ne se sont pas bien déroulées?

- d. Quelles sont les questions les plus importantes qu'un danseur devrait se poser, ou les choses dont il doit tenir compte pendant une interaction avec un client?
 - e. Pourriez-vous décrire les problèmes auxquels vous faites face dans vos interactions avec les clients?
- 6. Maintenant, j'aimerais concentrer notre attention plus spécifiquement sur l'aspect de la danse privée dans le contexte de votre travail. Pourriez-vous décrire l'espace où les danses privées se déroulent ainsi que ce qui se passe à l'intérieur de cet espace?**
- a. Pourriez-vous décrire les différents types de danses privées et les différents services que les clients peuvent acheter pendant une danse privée? Services à l'extérieur du club? Cela coûte combien?
 - b. Est-ce qu'il y a des danses privées ou des interactions que vous considérez plus à risque que d'autres? Contact avec liquides corporels, violence, etc.?
 - c. Est-ce que vous vous sentez en sécurité dans cet espace?
- 7. Quelles sont les différences entre vos pratiques sexuelles à l'extérieur de votre travail et vos pratiques sexuelles lorsque vous êtes au travail?**
- a. Pourriez-vous me décrire les services que vous avez fournis à vos clients?
 - b. Selon vous, qu'est-ce qui entraîne cette différence?
 - c. Avez-vous des relations sexuelles avec des hommes en dehors de votre contexte de travail?
- 8. Pourriez-vous décrire les étapes requises pour vendre à un client une danse privée ou autres services privés?**
- a. Est-ce que les clients vous approchent, ou est-ce vous qui approchez les clients?
 - b. Approcheriez-vous n'importe quel client pour lui demander s'il aimerait une danse privée? (*Si le participant dit qu'il n'offre pas de danse privée à un type de client en particulier, demandez-lui la raison pour ceci. Après, créer une situation hypothétique où le client offre une somme d'argent importante. Alternativement, demander au participant s'il y a quoique ce soit que le client pourrait lui offrir pour changer sa décision.*)
 - c. Est-ce que votre approche change lorsque le club est moins achalandé, disons un mardi soir?
 - d. Qu'est-ce qui se produit d'habitude lorsque vous arrivez à la cabine privée avec le client?

Négociation des services

- 9. À l'intérieur du club, où négociez-vous les conditions de services privés avec votre clientèle?**
- a. Est-ce possible que ceci varie selon le client?
 - b. Pourriez-vous décrire d'autres éléments à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur de votre milieu de travail, ou à l'intérieur des cabines privées, qui compromettent vos capacités à interagir et faire affaire sainement avec les clients?
- 10. Pourriez-vous décrire votre approche lorsque vous négociez des services sexuels avec vos clients?**
- a. Avez-vous des règlements? Quelles sont les conditions pour enfreindre ces règles (ex. argent ou drogues)?
 - b. Quelle somme d'argent, dans les cabines privées, devra vous offrir un client pour du sexe anal non protégé?
 - c. Questionnez-vous vos clients par rapport à leur état de santé? Statut VIH et ITS? Intoxication?
- 11. Lorsque vous faites affaire avec un client, pourriez-vous décrire les éléments qui ont des impacts sur votre décision de fournir ou de refuser de fournir un service à un client?**

- a. Pourriez-vous décrire les dangers auxquels vous réfléchissez pendant votre négociation des services avec les clients?
- b. Voyez-vous des avantages à prendre plus de risques avec vos clients?
- c. Vous gérez ceci comment? Comment dite vous « non » à un client?

12. Est-ce que vous sentez l'appui de vos collègues de travail (danseurs, personnels de soutien, gestionnaires, etc.) pendant vos négociations de services avec les clients?

- a. Pouvez-vous parler ouvertement avec vos collègues concernant vos interactions avec les clients?
- b. Avec les autres danseurs, vous parlez de quoi typiquement?

13. Pourriez-vous décrire les mesures qui sont en places dans votre milieu de travail qui assurent votre sécurité et celle des autres danseurs lorsque vous êtes avec les clients dans les endroits privés du club, tel que les cabines de danses privées?

- a. Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres stratégie, outils, ou politiques en place pour assurer la sécurité et la santé des danseurs dans votre environnement de travail?
- b. Est-ce que vous avez les matériaux et les compétences de communication nécessaire pour négocier des services avec les clients en toute sécurité?
- c. En tant que danseur, quels sont les outils que vous devriez avoir pour que vous vous sentiez en sécurité et en santé lors des interactions avec les clients dans les endroits privés du club?

Clôture

- Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres sujets ou questions que vous aimeriez aborder ?

Remerciement du participant

Information pour le participant relatif aux étapes suivantes du projet de recherche

- Transcription et analyse de chaque entretien ;
- Dissémination des résultats de recherche par conférences et publications scientifiques ;
- Développement et intégration des résultats de recherche dans des programmes de santé communautaires pour la population cible.

APPENDIX I – QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS RESULTS

Frequency Tables for Socio-Demographic Data

Age in Years	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
18-20	1	7.14%
21-23	5	35.71%
24-26	2	14.29%
27-29	2	14.29%
30-32	3	21.43%
42-45	1	7.14%
$\bar{x} \pm s = 26.6 \pm 6.4$		
Grand Total	14	100%
Gender	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Male	11	78.57%
Non-Binary	2	14.29%
Feminine	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%
Ethnic Origin	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Caucasian	11	78.57%
Latin	1	7.14%
African-Canadian	1	7.14%
Asian	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%
Language	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
French	8	57.14%
English	4	28.57%
French & English	2	14.29%
Grand Total	14	100%
Education	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
High School	9	64.29%
College Diploma	3	21.43%
Bachelor's Degree	1	7.14%
Elementary School	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%
Sex With:	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Women	5	35.71%
Men	4	28.57%
Men and Women	3	21.43%
Men, Women and Trans	2	14.29%

Grand Total	14	100.00%
Months of Employment	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
1.5	1	7.14%
3.0	3	21.43%
7.0	2	14.29%
12.0	2	14.29%
36.0	4	28.57%
48.0	1	7.14%
72.0	1	7.14%
$\bar{x} \pm s = 22.3 \pm 21.7$		
Grand Total	14	100%
Secondary Employment	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Yes	8	57.14%
No	6	42.86%
Grand Total	14	100%

Frequency Tables for Alcohol and Drug Use Data

Anabolic Supplement Use	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
No	9	64.29%
Yes	5	35.71%
Grand Total	14	100%
Intravenous Drug Use	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
No	8	57.14%
Yes	6	42.86%
Grand Total	14	100%
Needle Sharing	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
No	14	100%
Grand Total	14	100%
Types of Drugs Used at Work	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Cannabis	9	21.95%
Tadalafil	8	19.51%
Cocaine	6	14.63%
GHB (Gamma-Hydroxybutyrate)	6	14.63%
Poppers (Alkyl Nitrites)	3	7.32%
Stimulants (Amphetamines, Methamphetamines)	3	7.32%
I don't Use Drugs	2	4.88%
Crack-Cocaine	2	4.88%
MDMA (Ecstasy)	1	2.44%

Ketamine	1	2.44%
Grand Total	41	100%
Number of Drugs Used per Participant at Work	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
0	2	14.29%
2	5	35.71%
3	3	21.43%
4	2	14.29%
5	1	7.14%
7	1	7.14%
$\bar{x} \pm s = 2.8 \pm 1.9$		
Grand Total	14	100%
Preferred Drugs for Work	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Cannabis	8	50.00%
None	3	18.75%
GHB (Gamma-Hydroxybutyrate)	2	12.50%
Ketamine	1	6.25%
Poppers (Alkyl Nitrites)	1	6.25%
Tadalafil	1	6.25%
Grand Total	16	100%
Negotiating Services on Drugs	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Occasionally	6	42.86%
Most of the Time	3	21.43%
Half of the Time	2	14.29%
Never	2	14.29%
Always	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%
Negotiating Services while Drinking	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
I Don't Drink Alcohol	6	42.86%
Most of the Time	3	21.43%
Occasionally	2	14.29%
Never	2	14.29%
Always	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%

Frequency Tables for Sexual Practices with Clients Data

Clients Seen in Dance Cabins per Shift	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
4	4	30.77%
5	3	23.08%

7	1	7.69%
8	2	15.38%
10	2	15.38%
25	1	7.69%
$\bar{x} \pm s = 7.6 \pm 5.7$ Adjusted $\bar{x} \pm s$, outlier x=25 removed: $\bar{x} \pm s = 6.2 \pm 2.3$		
Grand Total	13	100%
Types of Services Offered in Dance Cabins	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Contact Dance	14	19.18%
Hugging	14	19.18%
Client Touches your Genitals	11	15.07%
Oral Sex with no Condom	7	9.59%
Touching your Client's Genitals	7	9.59%
Client Performs Anulingus	5	6.85%
Kissing	5	6.85%
Masturbation with no Condom	4	5.48%
Client Fingering your Anus	4	5.48%
Masturbation with Condom	1	1.37%
Receptive Anal Sex with Condom (Bottom)	1	1.37%
Grand Total	73	100%
Private Work Availability	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Yes	13	92.86%
No	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%
Screening Clients for STIs	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Never	7	50%
Always	4	28.57%
Occasionally	2	14.29%
Half of the Time	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%
Screening Clients for HIV	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Never	8	57.14%
Always	5	35.71%
Most of the Time	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%
Payment Method	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Money	12	85.71%
Money, Drugs and Housing	1	7.14%
Money and Gifts	1	7.14%

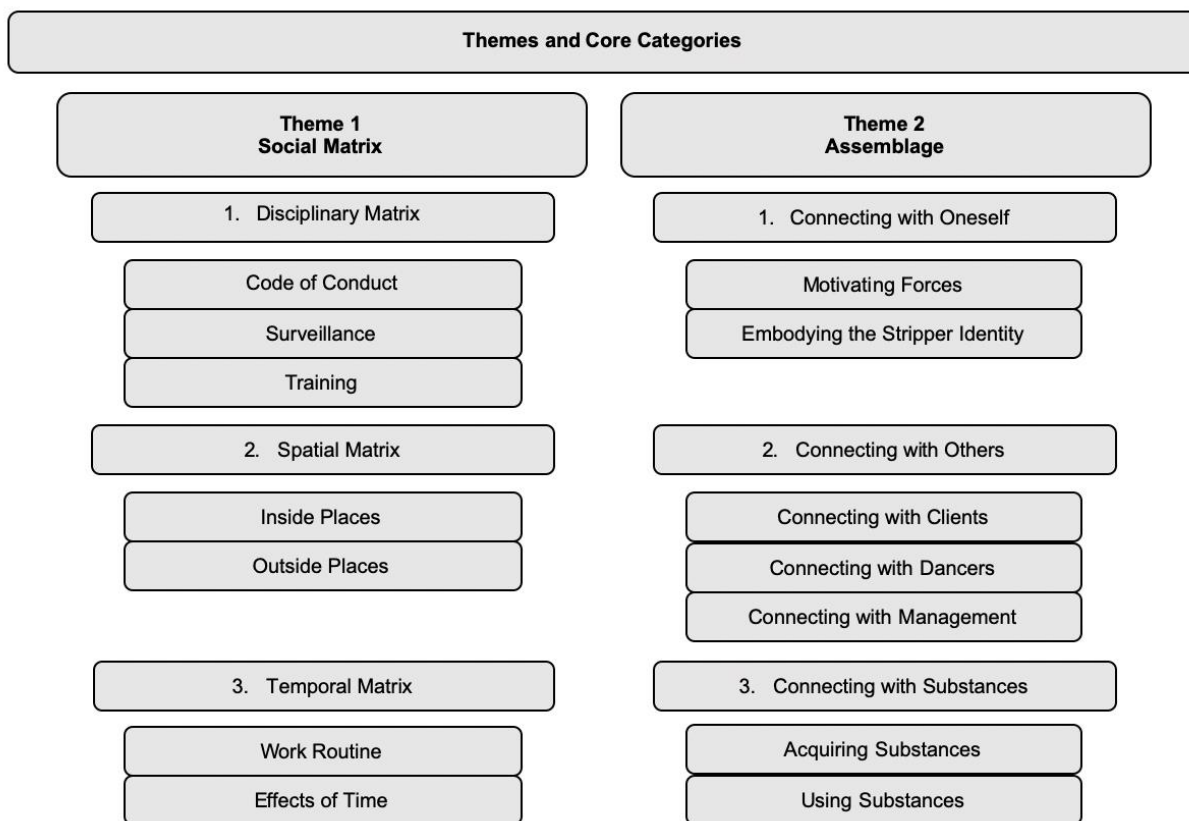
Grand Total	14	100%
Bareback Sex with Clients	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
No	13	92.86%
Yes	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%
Perception of Safety at Work	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Yes	11	78.57%
Sometimes	2	14.29%
No	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%

Frequency Tables for Participant Health Care Access and Use Data

HIV Test History	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Yes (Negative Result)	11	78.57%
No	2	14.29%
Yes (Positive Result)	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%
Regular STI Testing	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Yes	12	85.71%
Never	1	7.14%
No	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%
STI Test Frequency (Months)	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
1	2	16.67%
2	1	8.33%
3	5	41.67%
5	1	8.33%
6	3	25%
$\bar{x} \pm s = 3 \pm 2.1$		
Grand Total	12	100%
STI History	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
None	7	38.89%
Chlamydia	5	27.78%
Gonorrhea	4	22.22%
Syphilis	1	5.56%
Anal Herpes	1	5.56%
Grand Total	18	100%

Condom Accessibility	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Yes	14	100%
Grand Total	14	100%
Lubricant Accessibility	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Yes	13	100%
Grand Total	13	100%
Supportive Management	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Yes	9	64.29%
No	5	35.71%
Grand Total	14	100%
PrEP Use (Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis)	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
No	7	50%
Never Heard of PrEP	5	35.71%
Yes	2	14.29%
Grand Total	14	100%
PEP Use (Post-Exposure Prophylaxis)	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
No	7	50%
Never Heard of PEP	5	35.71%
Yes	1	7.14%
No, I am HIV+	1	7.14%
Grand Total	14	100%
Knowledge of Stripper Health Services	Frequency (f)	Frequency (%)
Yes	10	71.43%
No	4	28.57%
Grand Total	14	100%

APPENDIX J – THEME AND CATEGORY STRUCTURE



APPENDIX K – RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD CERTIFICATE

29/05/2018

Université d'Ottawa

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche



University of Ottawa

Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

CERTIFICAT D'APPROBATION ÉTHIQUE | CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS APPROVAL

Numéro du dossier / Ethics File Number

H-04-18-435

Titre du projet / Project Title

Risk Negotiation Practices
Between Male Strippers and their
Male Clients

Type de projet / Project Type

Thèse de doctorat / Doctoral
thesis

Statut du projet / Project Status

Approuvé / Approved

Date d'approbation (jj/mm/aaaa) / Approval Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

29/05/2018

Date d'expiration (jj/mm/aaaa) / Expiry Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

28/05/2019

Équipe de recherche / Research Team

Chercheur / Researcher Affiliation

Role

Désiré RIOUX

École des sciences infirmières / School of Nursing

Chercheur Principal / Principal Investigator

Dave HOLMES

École des sciences infirmières / School of Nursing

Superviseur / Supervisor

Conditions spéciales ou commentaires / Special conditions or comments

550, rue Cumberland, pièce 154 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154
Ottawa (Ontario) K1N 6N5 Canada Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Canada

☎ 613-562-5387 • 📠 613-562-5338 • ✉ ethique@uOttawa.ca / ethics@uOttawa.ca
www.recherche.uottawa.ca/deontologie | www.recherche.uottawa.ca/ethics

29/05/2018

Université d'Ottawa

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche



University of Ottawa

Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Le Comité d'éthique de la recherche (CÉR) de l'Université d'Ottawa, opérant conformément à l'*Énoncé de politique des Trois conseils* (2014) et toutes autres lois et tous règlements applicables, a examiné et approuvé la demande d'éthique du projet de recherche ci-nommé.

L'approbation est valide pour la durée indiquée plus haut et est sujette aux conditions énumérées dans la section intitulée "Conditions Spéciales ou Commentaires". Le formulaire « Renouvellement ou Fermeture de Projet » doit être complété quatre semaines avant la date d'échéance indiquée ci-haut afin de demander un renouvellement de cette approbation éthique ou afin de fermer le dossier.

Toutes modifications apportées au projet doivent être approuvées par le CÉR avant leur mise en place, sauf si le participant doit être retiré en raison d'un danger immédiat ou s'il s'agit d'un changement ayant trait à des éléments administratifs ou logistiques du projet. Les chercheurs doivent aviser le CÉR dans les plus brefs délais de tout changement pouvant augmenter le niveau de risque aux participants ou pouvant affecter considérablement le déroulement du projet, rapporter tout événement imprévu ou indésirable et soumettre toute nouvelle information pouvant nuire à la conduite du projet ou à la sécurité des participants.

The University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board, which operates in accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement* (2014) and other applicable laws and regulations, has examined and approved the ethics application for the above-named research project.

Ethics approval is valid for the period indicated above and is subject to the conditions listed in the section entitled "Special Conditions or Comments". The "Renewal/Project Closure" form must be completed four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to request a renewal of this ethics approval or closure of the file.

Any changes made to the project must be approved by the REB before being implemented, except when necessary to remove participants from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) only pertain to administrative or logistical components of the project. Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes that increase the risk to participant(s), any changes that considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project or the safety of the participant(s).

Riana MARCOTTE

Responsable d'éthique en recherche / Protocol Officer

Pour/For **Daniel LAGAREC** Président(e) du/ Chair of the **Comité d'éthique de la recherche en sciences sociales et humanités / Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board**

550, rue Cumberland, pièce 154 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154
Ottawa (Ontario) K1N 6N5 Canada Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Canada

☎ 613-562-5387 • 📠 613-562-5338 • ✉ ethique@uOttawa.ca / ethics@uOttawa.ca
www.recherche.uottawa.ca/deontologie | www.recherche.uottawa.ca/ethics

APPENDIX L – TCPS-2 CORE ONLINE MODULE CERTIFICATE

Groupe en éthique
de la recherche

Piloter l'éthique de la recherche humaine

EPTC 2: FER



Certificat d'accomplissement

Ce document certifie que

Désiré Rioux

*a complété le cours : l'Énoncé de politique des trois Conseils :
Éthique de la recherche avec des êtres humains :
Formation en éthique de la recherche (EPTC 2 : FER)*

25 août, 2020

APPENDIX M – ENGLISH CONSENT FORM



Université d'Ottawa
Faculté des sciences
de la santé

École des sciences
infirmières

University of Ottawa
Faculty of Health
Sciences

School of Nursing

INFORMATION LETTER AND CONSENT FORM FOR SELF-ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Risk Negotiation Practices Between Male Strippers and their Male Clients

Principal Investigator

Désiré Rioux, RN, PhD Candidate
University of Ottawa
Faculty of Health Sciences
School of Nursing
451 Smyth Road
Ottawa, Ontario, K1H 5E8
E-Mail: healthsc@uottawa.ca

Thesis Supervisor

Professor Dave Holmes, RN, PhD
University of Ottawa
Faculty of Health Sciences
School of Nursing
451 Smyth Road
Ottawa, Ontario, K1H 5E8
E-Mail: healthsc@uottawa.ca

Introduction

You are being asked to participate in this study because you are a male stripper working at a strip club for men.

The goal of this study is to gain a better understanding of your role as a male stripper and the health and safety issues related to your line of work. Before you decide to participate, it is important that you understand the content of this consent form, including the risks and benefits, in order to make an informed decision, as well as ask any questions if there is anything that you do not understand. Please read this entire consent form and take your time to make a decision. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to sign this informed consent form.

☎ 613 562-5473
📠 613 562-5443

451 Smyth
Ottawa ON K1H 8M5 Canada

www.uOttawa.ca

Research Objectives

- Describe male strippers' work culture within a male strip club;
- Gain an understanding of strippers' perceptions and experiences of health and safety issues relating to their line of work;
- Describe male strippers' private service negotiations with clients in a male strip club.

What Your Participation Will Involve

Your participation in this study will consist of completing a short questionnaire of 32 questions. Afterwards, you will be asked to participate in an individual semi-structured interview that is expected to take anywhere from 30 to 60 minutes. The interview will take place in a private office located at RÉZO (a community organisation), or in another private location of your choice. The interview will be audio-recorded. You may decline to answer a particular question or questions, and/or request that the audio digital recorder be turned off at any point during the interview. You can still take part in the study even if you choose not to be audio recorded. Interviews will be transcribed. During transcriptions, all identifying information mentioned in the course of the interview will be removed (such as names and place of employment).

Study Duration

The entire study will last approximately 2 years. Your participation in the study consist of one questionnaire and one individual interview with the researcher.

Risks

Minimal risks are associated with your participation in this study. However, due to the nature of the interview, you could find it difficult to talk about your experience. You can be assured that the researcher will make every effort to minimize these risks. You can choose not to answer some questions if they create a discomfort for you and you will not have to justify why you chose not to answer them. If needed, helpful resources are listed for you at the end of this document.

Benefits

You will receive no direct benefit from your participation. However, the data collected from this study will help understand male strippers' work experiences and needs. Such an examination could help improve the health services that are available to them.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You may decide to withdraw from this study, or to be in the study now, and then change your mind later. At any point after the questionnaire or interview, you may request for your data to be removed from the study and destroyed.

Study Costs and Compensation

There will be no cost to you for your participation in this study. You will be paid 60 dollars for your participation in the questionnaire and interview. If you choose to complete the questionnaire but do not consent to participate in the interview, you will be paid 20 dollars. If you choose to complete the interview but do not consent to the questionnaire, you will be paid 40 dollars. If you start either component of the study (questionnaire or interview) but do not complete it, you will still receive the full compensation for the portion you have started.

Conservation of Data

The digital audio recordings will be downloaded to a USB flash drive. The flash drive will be encrypted and password protected. Interviews will be transcribed by the researcher. All paper copy data (paper transcripts and questionnaires) will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the thesis supervisor's private office at the University of Ottawa. Digital audio recording and all related information will be password protected on the researcher's computer. The data will be accessible only to the researcher and his thesis supervisor. For data validity and research integrity purposes, interview transcriptions and questionnaires will be kept for a minimum of five years and a maximum of ten years following the end of the study (digital files will be deleted, the computer trash can will be emptied, and paper material will be shredded). All interview audio-recordings will be deleted once the final interview transcription is completed. This will be done in order to further protect participants' anonymity and data confidentiality.

Confidentiality

All personal identifying information such as your name will be kept confidential. Under no circumstances will your personal identifying information be released.

All workplace identifying information such as the name of your workplace will be kept confidential. Under no circumstances will your workplace identifying information be released.

As a participant, you will be assigned a coded study number that will be used throughout the study on all of your study records. Only this coded study number (alpha numeric code) will appear on the interview transcript and self-administered questionnaire; your name or workplace will not appear in any report. As an additional confidentiality safeguard, you will be given the option to use a pseudonym when signing this consent form.

All the information will be kept locked in a filing cabinet in the private office of the researcher's thesis supervisor at the University of Ottawa. Digital audio recordings and all related information will be password protected on the researcher's computer.

Research records will be kept for five years as required by the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board.

All telephone communications with the researcher will occur on a cellphone solely designated for research purposes. This cellphone will be formatted at the end of the study.

The University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board may review all original study documents for audit purposes.

Conflicts of Interest

There are no conflicts of interest to declare related to this study.

Publication of Results

Research findings will be shared with the scientific community, community groups, service providers (workshops for health care providers), and appropriate governmental agencies. Study results will also be published in peer-reviewed journals. To maintain confidentiality, identifying information will not be revealed. You will not be identifiable in any publications or presentations resulting from this study.

Questions

If you have any questions regarding this research project, you can contact the researcher.

If you have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, (613) 562-5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca

Consent to Participate

Risk Negotiation Practices Between Male Strippers and their Male Clients

- I understand that I am being asked to participate in a research study about the health and safety concerns of working in male strip clubs as a male stripper;
- This study was explained to me by the researcher;
- I have read, or have had it read to me, each page of this Participant Informed Consent Form;
- All of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction;
- If I decide later that I would like to withdraw my participation and/or consent from the study, I can do so at any time;
- I voluntarily agree to participate in this study;
- I will be given a copy of this signed Participant Informed Consent Form.

- ☐ I hereby consent to participate in the questionnaire.
- ☐ I hereby consent to participate in the interview.
- ☐ I hereby consent that the interview be audio-recorded.

Participant's Printed Name or
Pseudonym

Participant's Signature

Date

Investigator Statement

I have carefully explained the study to the study participant. To the best of my knowledge, the participant understands the nature, demands, risks, and benefits involved in taking part in this study.

Investigator's Printed Name

Investigator's Signature

Date

Resources for the Participant

Info-Santé

A free and confidential telephone consultation service for non-urgent health-related issues. The service is available 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

Telephone: 8-1-1

RÉZO Santé

A community health organization for the health and well-being of gay, bisexual, cis and trans men.

Screening clinics for HIV, STI and other blood-borne illnesses are offered.

Telephone: 514-521-7778

Website: www.rezosante.org

Suicide Action Montreal – Crisis Line

Offers a range of services for those who are suicidal, in distress, worried, bereaved, or have witnessed a crisis. The service is offered 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

Telephone: 1-866-277-3553

APPENDIX N – FRENCH CONSENT FORM



Université d'Ottawa
Faculté des sciences
de la santé

École des sciences
infirmières

University of Ottawa
Faculty of Health
Sciences

School of Nursing

**LETTRE D'INFORMATION ET FORMULAIRE DE
CONSENTEMENT POUR QUESTIONNAIRE AUTO-
ADMINISTRÉ ET ENTRETIEN DES PARTICIPANTS**

**Pratiques de négociation du risque entre danseurs nus pour
hommes et leurs clients**

Chercheur principal

Désiré Rioux, IA, candidat au PhD
Université d'Ottawa
Faculté des sciences de la santé
École des sciences infirmières
451 chemin Smyth
Ottawa, Ontario, K1H 5E8
Courriel : scsante@uottawa.ca

Directeur de thèse

Professeur Dave Holmes, IA, PhD
Université d'Ottawa
Faculté des sciences de la santé
École des sciences infirmières
451 chemin Smyth
Ottawa, Ontario, K1H 5E8
Courriel : scsante@uottawa.ca

Introduction

Vous êtes invité à participer à cette étude car vous êtes danseur nu dans un établissement de danseurs nus pour hommes.

Le but de l'étude est d'obtenir une meilleure compréhension de votre rôle de danseur et de relever les enjeux concernant la santé et la sécurité dans votre milieu de travail. Avant de prendre la décision de participer, il importe de bien comprendre le contenu de ce formulaire, incluant les risques et les bienfaits de l'étude, de poser vos questions au cas où un élément vous semble flou, afin prendre une décision éclairée. Je vous prie de lire le formulaire en entier et de prendre le temps qu'il vous faut pour prendre votre décision. Si vous décidez de participer à l'étude, une signature de votre part sera requise.

☎ 613 562-5473
📠 613 562-5443

451 Smyth
Ottawa ON K1H 8M5 Canada

www.uOttawa.ca

Objectifs de recherche

- Décrire la culture de travail des danseurs nus dans un établissement de danseurs nus pour hommes;
- Acquérir une compréhension des perceptions et expériences des danseurs au sujet de la santé et la sécurité dans leurs champ de travail;
- Décrire les négociations de services en privé entre les danseurs nus et les clients dans un établissement de danseurs nus pour hommes.

Ce que votre participation implique

Votre participation à cette étude consiste à remplir un court questionnaire de 32 questions. Suite à cela, vous serez invité à participer à un entretien individuel semi-structuré. Celui-ci sera d'une durée de 30 à 60 minutes. L'entretien se tiendra dans un local privé situé à RÉZO (un organisme communautaire), ou dans un autre endroit privé de votre choix. L'entretien sera enregistré sur bande-audio digitale. Vous avez le droit de refuser de répondre à une ou plusieurs questions. À votre demande, le magnétophone peut être éteint à n'importe quel temps moment l'entretien. Vous pouvez toujours participer à l'étude même si vous décidez de ne pas être enregistré. L'entretien sera transcrit. Pendant cette étape, toute information d'identification (nom, lieu de travail, etc.) sera supprimée.

Durée de l'étude

L'étude entière durera environ 2 ans. Comme mentionné ci-haut, votre participation à l'étude consistera à répondre à un questionnaire et participer à un entretien individuel avec le chercheur.

Risques

Des risques minimes sont associés à votre participation à cette étude. Cependant, en raison de la nature de l'entretien, vous pourriez trouver difficile de parler de certains sujets. Vous pouvez être assuré que le chercheur fera tout son possible pour minimiser ces risques. Vous pouvez choisir de ne pas répondre à certaines questions si elles entraînent un inconfort, et vous n'avez pas à justifier votre décision. Au besoin, des ressources vous sont fournies à la fin du document afin de vous aider.

Avantages

Vous ne recevrez aucun avantage direct suite à votre participation. Cependant, les données recueillies dans le cadre de cette étude aideront à comprendre les expériences de travail et les besoins des danseurs nus. Un tel examen pourrait contribuer à améliorer les services de santé mis à la disposition de ceux-ci.

Participation volontaire et retrait

Votre participation à cette étude est entièrement volontaire. Vous pouvez décider de vous retirer de l'étude, ou d'y participer maintenant, et puis changer d'avis plus tard. À tout moment après le questionnaire ou l'entretien, vous pouvez demander que vos données soient retirées de l'étude et détruites.

Coût de l'étude et compensation

Vous n'aurez aucun coût à défrayer pour votre participation à l'étude. Vous recevrez 60 dollars pour votre participation au questionnaire et à l'entretien. Dans le cas où vous choisissez de compléter le questionnaire,

mais ne consentiez pas à l'entretien, vous recevrez 20 dollars. Dans le cas où vous choisissez de compléter l'entretien, mais ne consentiez pas au questionnaire, vous recevrez 40 dollars. Si vous commencez l'une ou l'autre composante de l'étude (le questionnaire ou l'entretien) sans la terminer, vous recevrez toujours la pleine compensation pour la partie que vous avez commencée.

Conservation des données

Les enregistrements audionumériques seront téléchargés sur un lecteur flash USB. Le lecteur flash sera crypté et protégé par un mot de passe. Les entretiens seront transcrits par le chercheur. Chacune des copies papier (transcriptions et questionnaires) seront conservées dans un classeur verrouillé dans le bureau privé du directeur de thèse situé à l'Université d'Ottawa. L'enregistrement audionumérique et toute information connexe sera protégé par un mot de passe sur l'ordinateur du chercheur. Les données seront accessibles uniquement au chercheur et son directeur de thèse. Afin de maintenir la validité des données et l'intégrité de recherche, les transcriptions d'entretiens et les questionnaires seront conservés pour un minimum de cinq ans et un maximum de dix ans suite à la fin de l'étude (les fichiers numériques seront supprimés, la corbeille de l'ordinateur sera vidée, et les documents papier seront déchiquetés). Les enregistrements de bande-audio des entretiens seront supprimés dès que le dernier entretien sera transcrit. Ceci sera fait pour protéger l'anonymat des participants et la confidentialité des données.

Confidentialité

Toutes les informations d'identification personnelles tel que votre nom resteront confidentielles. En aucun cas vos informations d'identification personnelles ne seront divulguées.

Toutes les informations d'identification du lieu de travail, telles que le nom de l'établissement, resteront confidentielles. En aucun cas l'information d'identification de votre lieu de travail ne sera divulguée.

En tant que participant, un numéro d'étude codé vous sera attribué pour identifier vos documents tout au long de l'étude. Seul ce numéro d'étude codé (code alphanumérique) apparaîtra sur la transcription de l'entretien et le questionnaire auto-administré; votre nom ou votre lieu de travail n'apparaîtra dans aucun rapport. Comme garantie de confidentialité supplémentaire, vous aurez la possibilité d'utiliser un pseudonyme lors de la signature de ce formulaire.

Toutes les informations seront conservées dans un classeur dans le bureau privé du directeur de thèse du chercheur à l'Université d'Ottawa. Les enregistrements audionumériques et toutes les informations connexes seront protégés par un mot de passe sur l'ordinateur du chercheur.

Les dossiers de recherche seront conservés pendant cinq ans, tel que requis par le Comité d'éthique de la recherche de l'Université d'Ottawa.

Pour toutes communications téléphoniques avec le chercheur, celui-ci se servira d'un téléphone portable désigné à des fins de recherche seulement. Les informations sur le téléphone portable seront supprimées à la fin de l'étude.

Le comité d'éthique de la recherche de l'Université d'Ottawa peut examiner tous les documents d'étude originaux à des fins de vérification.

Conflits d'intérêt

Il n'y a aucun conflit d'intérêt à déclarer pour cette étude.

Publication des résultats

Les résultats de la recherche seront partagés avec la communauté scientifique, certains groupes communautaires, les fournisseurs de services (ateliers pour les fournisseurs de soins de santé) et les organismes gouvernementaux concernés. Les résultats de l'étude seront également publiés dans des revues scientifiques évaluées par les pairs. Pour maintenir la confidentialité, les informations d'identification ne seront pas révélées. Vous ne serez pas identifiable dans les publications ou les présentations résultant de cette étude.

Questions

Si vous avez des questions concernant l'étude, vous pouvez joindre le chercheur.

Pour tout renseignement sur les aspects éthiques de cette recherche, vous pouvez vous adresser aux responsables de l'éthique en recherche, Université d'Ottawa, Pavillon Tabaret, 550, rue Cumberland, pièce 154, (613) 562-5800 ou ethics@uottawa.ca

Consentement à participer

Pratiques de négociation du risque entre danseurs nus pour hommes et leurs clients

- Je comprends que l'on me demande de participer à une étude sur les préoccupations en matière de santé et de sécurité liées au travail dans un établissement de danseurs nus pour hommes;
- Cette étude m'a été expliquée par le chercheur;
- J'ai lu, ou on m'a lu, chaque page de ce formulaire de consentement du participant;
- Toutes mes questions ont été répondues à ma satisfaction;
- Si je décide plus tard de retirer ma participation et / ou mon consentement à l'étude, je peux le faire à tout moment;
- J'accepte volontairement de participer à cette étude;
- Je recevrai une copie de ce formulaire de consentement du participant dûment signé.

- ☐ Je consens par la présente à participer au questionnaire.
- ☐ Je consens par la présente à participer à l'entretien.
- ☐ Je consens par la présente que l'entretien soit enregistré sur bande sonore.

Nom du participant ou
pseudonyme

Signature du participant

Date

Énoncé du chercheur

J'ai soigneusement expliqué l'étude au participant de cette étude. À ma connaissance, le participant comprend la nature, les exigences, les risques et les avantages associés à sa participation.

Nom du chercheur

Signature du chercheur

Date

Ressources pour le participant

Info-Santé

Un service de consultation téléphonique gratuit et confidentiel en cas de problèmes de santé non-urgents.

Le service est offert 24 heures par jours, 365 jours par année.

Téléphone : 8-1-1

RÉZO Santé

Un organisme communautaire de santé et mieux-être des hommes gais et bisexuels, cis et trans. Des cliniques de dépistage pour le VIH et les ITSS sont offertes.

Téléphone : 514-521-7778

Site web : www.rezosante.org

Suicide Action Montréal – Ligne de Crise

Propose un éventail de services qui s'adressent autant aux personnes en détresses ou suicidaires, à leurs proches, ou à ceux et celles qui ont vécu le suicide d'un être cher. Service offert 24 heures par jours, 365 jour par année.

Téléphone : 1-866-277-3553