



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

"When Will Women Be Human?"¹

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the portrayal of prostitution in *the World Conference on Women*

Elisabeth Lindström

Department for Human Rights

Institution of History

Course code: MRSG31

Term: 3rd term 2015

Supervisors: Olof Beckman, Frida Nilsson

Volume: Number of words (13738)

¹ MacKinnon, C.A. (2006). *Are Women Human? : and other international dialogues*, Cambridge, Mass. : Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, cop. 2006



Abstract

Prostitution is a disputed concept, not in the way that it is not defined, for it is, but not in the sense that would be to many viewed as ethical as well as moral values of the modern society. From the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Person and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others to the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, prostitution in itself is not defined and not established properly as an issue of old and still existing structures. The World Conference on Women and their following reports aim at establishing a platform of which women's rights are to be protected yet it seems to follow previous patterns of politics. The investigation aimed to analyze how the discrimination of prostitution is conveyed in the reports from these conferences and in that way try to analytically criticize the portrayed image of prostitution. As a mean to do this Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is used, partly, to help underpin the hegemonic structures that are evident in the research to try and understand the discriminatory differentiation of forced and free prostitution. The results shows that a gap of prostitution itself is a question of discrimination of women's fundamental freedoms and a violation of their dignity. Further the analysis depicts that the gender and economical hegemonies structures the moral values and the politics of the concept of freedom and sex equality, that in its turn hinders any institutional change on the question of "*free*" prostitution.

Word count: 260

Keywords: Prostitution, Feminism, Women, International Law, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Pornography, Traffic in Person, Critical Discourse Analysis

Table of Contents:

1	Introduction	2
1.1	Problem formulation, Purpose and Research Question.....	5
1.2	Material.....	5
1.2.1	Empirical Material.....	6
1.2.2	Secondary Material.....	7
2	Theory & Method	10
2.1	Theory.....	10
2.2	Method.....	12
3	Literary survey and Research attachment	14
3.1	Central Works.....	14
3.2	Position of Research	23
4	Investigation and Results	24
4.1	Investigation	24
4.2	Results	32
5	Analysis and Discussion	35
	Bibliography	42

1 Introduction

It is the middle of April, the streets of Amsterdam are filled with chatter and excitement of both tourists and locals. As one wanders the city the head attraction becomes evident as the red light becomes brighter and brighter the closer one gets. At first glance this district seems just like any other of Amsterdam, beautiful with old architecture and the soft sound of water as the canal runs along the streets. The presence of spring is vivid and embracing as one does not need more than a thin jacket anymore, but there is nothing warm about this place as one is hit by the cold slap of reality taking a glance towards the windows. Here window shopping receives a whole new meaning.

Everyone has an opinion on prostitution. It is a case of individual freedom, an issue of supply and demand or organized slave work. In discussions of prostitution, whether from a abolitionist or from a liberal point of view, the matter ends up in a battle of right and wrong. The existing international regarding prostitution is *the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Person and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others*, issued in 1949. The convention aimed at diminishing organized prostitution in the forms of trafficking and pimping as it would involve coercion.² Merely the title indicates that it is the exploitation of prostitution and all the evils that comes with it that would be the issue, not prostitution. Previous, during and after this convention there was a range of different concluding decisions involving conventions against slavery and also treatment by conventions of women's discrimination. The pressing matter in general that pushed questions as prostitution was the need for women to have extra protection. In 1981 CEDAW (Convention for the elimination of discrimination against women) established a framework for the protection of women's rights. The only article addressing prostitution is article 6 of the convention which says: " (s)tate Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and

² *Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Person and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others*, UN Treaty Series vol.96 p.271, RES/317(IV) 2 of December 1949, Preamble

exploitation of prostitution of women."³ The Convention bears with it complementary extensions, one of relevance being general recommendation 19. A piece of document which states poverty, unemployment as well as situations of conflict such as war, armed conflict and occupation of territories as causes to an increase of prostitution.⁴ Furthermore in 2000 two relevant documents in relation to the question appeared, one being an added convention and the other an added optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). The Convention against Transnational Organized Crime handles various transnational organized crime and its concern being to: "defend human rights and defeat the forces of crime, corruption and trafficking in human beings."⁵ It pays attention to the victims of the crimes which are covered by the convention⁶ and also to enable to work internationally against transnational organized crimes.⁷ In this pretext the convention becomes important in the internationally organized crime of prostitution which embodies a much larger network than borders may regulate. Therein one finds the UNTIP protocol, supplementing the convention against transnational organized crime. It is one of three protocols to the convention to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children.⁸ There are extensive requirements on states verbalized in this protocol as well as presented necessities to combat trafficking. In combination with the convention for the *Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others* and the convention of transnational organized crime the international legal aspect to combat trafficking is extensive and legislatively well organized. Further, on the contrary to CEDAW, the Convention on the Rights of the Child was extended in 2002 with an optional protocol regarding prostitution. The Optional Protocol is aimed at establishing a punitive frame-

³ *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, 1249 U.N.T.S. 13, 18 December 1979, Art. 6

⁴ UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), *General recommendation No.19, Violence against Women, of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, on temporary special measures*, 11th session, 1992, Art. 15,16

⁵ *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, UN Doc. A/RES/55/25 of 15 November 2000, Preamble

⁶ *Ibid.* Art. 25

⁷ *Ibid.* Preamble

⁸ *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 2237, p. 319; Doc. A/55/383, A/RES/55/25 of 15 November 2000, Preamble

work for all forms of prostitution, pornography and sale of children.⁹ The document shows extensive definitions of what is agreed to be prostitution in the regard of children, it encircles all forms of prostitution and sexual acts that include a child. Any framework to define or combat all forms of prostitution of women is not recognized nor existing, most surprisingly in the convention aimed at protecting the rights of women. When reviewing human rights in its pure form The Universal declaration of Human Rights states that all forms of slavery and slave trade is prohibited.¹⁰ The declaration together with *the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Person and the Exploitation of Prostitution* established that human trafficking is considered as a human rights violation. In the light of the international arena of conventions, reports and recommendations prostitution weighs between discrimination of the dignity of a person and the respect of freedom of the individual. Human trafficking is a phenomenon of extreme prostitution and its slave formation, thereby human trafficking has through the established definitions of human rights and violation in regard to versions of slavery a quite elaborate approach as it does have a definition. Prostitution in itself is stated in the beginning of the convention to be "incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person."¹¹ However the convention does not establish prostitution any further. The fundamental issue is that there are varieties of prostitution, that are subjugated by sex inequality. Laws, in this investigation are inadequate for recognizing prostitution as sex discrimination and thereby the concept of prostitution is not only hard to define but also problematically used as there is prostitution and there is *prostitution*. In between all these documents and arguments in the workings for an approach towards prostitution and trafficking lies the four World Conferences on Women of year 1975, 1980, 1985 and 1995. The reports of these conferences depict the discussions as well as the claims on the very need for change for women. Just as the optional protocol for the convention for the rights of the child, these reports proclaim the issue to coincide with the submission of the group, in this case, of women's status.¹²

⁹ Optional protocol to the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, A/RES/54/263 of 25 May 2000

¹⁰ *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, UN Doc. A/RES/217 (III), 10 December 1948. UDHR, UN Doc. A/RES/217 (III), 10 December 1948, Art. 4

¹¹ *Ibid.* Preamble

¹² See under reports in bibliography.

1.1 Problem formulation, Purpose and Research Question

The subject of this essay will inevitably be prostitution as sex discrimination. In an attempt to establish the understanding for the current lineage of the hot climate surrounding the discussion of the concept, this investigation will investigate bits of how the international discussions portray the issue of prostitution. The research will investigate how prostitution is portrayed in the four World Conferences on women from 1975, 1980, 1985 and 1995. To do this Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis will be used. It is not of interest to this investigation to research whether a differentiation is present in the reports is true in the sense of the reports of the World Conference on Women. Rather, the research is aimed at interpret the reflections of the reports that one may see in societal arguments or the discourses around prostitution as discrimination. Feminist authors such as Kate Millett, Catherine Mackinnon and Andrea Dworkin are leading in the discussion of prostitution as sex discrimination as prostitution is. I will argue for "forced" prostitution and prostitution being a case of differentiating sex discrimination. Therefore the research question is:

- How is prostitution portrayed in the reports from the World Conference on Women in regard to sex discrimination?

- How can sex discrimination be differed in relation to its forced form and prostitution in general?

1.2 Material

The material set forth in this investigation are relevant sources from international gatherings and discussions regarding the extension of the relevance of the human rights of women. It indeed includes apart from the empirical material relevant documents, books as well as conventions which will be used to clarify the platform as well as the framework which the empirical material lies on and is encircled by.

1.2.1 Empirical Material

The primary materials are the reports of the World Conference on Women from 1975 held in Mexico City, 1980 in Copenhagen, 1985 in Nairobi and 1995 in Beijing.¹³ The World Conference on Women, especially the last mentioned one of 1995, has generated a platform for matters of gender equality.¹⁴ The initial purpose of the conferences and all approaches applied in addition are towards the issues of equality, development and peace.¹⁵ The conference held in Mexico City in 1975 concludes as an extension of the Convention for the Suppression against traffic in Person and the Exploitation of Prostitution as well as in referral to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the Charter of the United Nations.¹⁶ The Conference was under the World conference of the International Women's year as well as the following 10 year period, which was proclaimed the United Nations Decade for Women.¹⁷ Thereby the conference of 1980 in Copenhagen functioned as a mid- decade follow-up and in Nairobi in 1985 as a conclusive evaluation of how the goals had been implemented in collaboration with the conferences' establishments.¹⁸ The report of 1980's conference focuses on complementing any decisions concluded in the 1975 conference as well as a review of the progress of its platform.¹⁹ The report confers with the work against discrimination against women and in its entity to take action towards total equality: meaning political, economical, social, physical, moral as well as health, intellectual and cultural growth among others.²⁰ Likewise does the 1985 report focus on the total equality but also a revisionary purpose is called upon of this conference. Thereby this particular conference has a purpose of evaluating progress in the form set by the goals of the United Nations Decade for Women.²¹ Furthermore the report calls and states a continuing progress of goals which were

¹³ UN Women- Headquarters, World Conference on Women, last viewed 29-12-14

<<http://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/intergovernmental-support/world-conferences-on-women>>

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year*, Mexico City 19 June - 2 July 1975, E/CONF.66/34, New York 1976

¹⁷ UN Women- Headquarters, World Conference on Women, last viewed 29-12-14

<<http://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/intergovernmental-support/world-conferences-on-women>>

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace*, Copenhagen 14 - 30 July 1980, A/CONF.94/35, New York 1980, p.4

²⁰ Ibid. p.4-5

²¹ UN Women- Headquarters, World Conference on Women, last viewed 29-12-14

to further the World Plan for Action set forward in the previous conferences and were to be strived for by year 2000.²² The Beijing conference concludes the progress made the five previous decades²³ but it is also a declaration of the new platform for action which is initiated from the conference.²⁴ Each report has specific paragraphs dealing with prostitution and traffic in person though as they are from various decades the formulations, definitions and approaches do shift. The reports are not a continuous piece of text but rather constituted as chapters with paragraphs and articles much like in any UN convention and thereby this investigation shall refer to them, partly, as pieces of international law. Conveyed by the reports are various issues that discriminate women but for this investigation that of it being related to prostitution, focus will be put on primarily those sections which address this particular issue. Some of these sections not directly labeled within the aspect of prostitution will be made use of from the reports where appropriate. This is to pinpoint clarity for the research question, there are paragraphs or sections which have importance in the research of how prostitution is portrayed in these conferences.

1.2.2 Secondary Material

The secondary material will consist of a collection of international law covenants, reports and reviews regarding prostitution in relation to international discussions and agreements, reports from meetings, and other literature such as books or previous essays on the subject of prostitution or related to the subject. These are relevant in the understanding of a broader discourse than that which is presented in the reports from the World Conferences on Women. The investigation will also encapsulate a framework of feministic ideology which is presented and supported by means of feminists such as, Andrea Dworkin, Kate Millett and Catherine MacKinnon. The views expressed by such

<<http://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/intergovernmental-support/world-conferences-on-women>>

²² *Report of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace*, Nairobi 15 - 26 July 1985, A/CONF.116/28/Rev.1, New York 1986, p.5-6

²³ UN Women- Headquarters, World Conference on Women, last viewed 29-12-14

<<http://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/intergovernmental-support/world-conferences-on-women>>

²⁴ *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*, Beijing 4-15 September 1995, A/CONF.177/20/Rev.1, New York 1996, p.1

authors are relevant to the platform of the investigation as the conferences focus on the discrimination of women and the actions taken towards the elimination of these. The feministic authors help to establish the approach which discrimination may take in the question of prostitution. All authors stated above present an abolitionist approach implying the total sex discrimination that prostitution, forced, free or voluntary, is. Catherine MacKinnon is a feministic author continuously used in the framework with various works she has published. Her works that are used are "*Feminist Theory: A Philosophical Anthology*"²⁵ where she discusses as a co-author sex discrimination, *Feminism unmodified: Discourses on life and law*²⁶ that has similar arguments on sex discrimination to the previous mentioned work but with more extensive focus on law. MacKinnon with her work *Are Women Human? : and other international dialogues*²⁷ presents an idea of prostitution as a gender based and sex equality issue that is connected to the sexual inferiority of women, calls prostitution sex discrimination and also criticizes international law. The last source from Makinnon is her article *Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State*²⁸ in which she connects the entire industry of prostitution and pornography as a result of the economical environment which is criticized by Marxist theory. Andrea Dworkin uses the same arguments as Mackinnon and in her works she stands hard on the point that prostitution is degrading for women as a result of male domination²⁹ and that they at that will be victims of objectification.³⁰ *Intercourse* is a book by Dwrokin that addresses the problematics with sex and the identity of women.³¹ In addition in *Pornography* the questions of sex and gender inequality are presented in context of pornography that also encircles discriminating images of women.³² Further Kate Millet takes the discussion into sexual politics which she present the relationship between gender and sex. This in regard of prostitution as based on double standards which in order

²⁵ Mackinnon Catherine, "*Sex Discrimination*" in Cudd Ann, Andreason Robin, (2005). "*Feminist Theory: A Philosophical Anthology*", Blackwell Publishing Ltd

²⁶ MacKinnon, C. A. (1987). *Feminism unmodified: Discourses on life and law*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

²⁷ MacKinnon, C.A. (2006). *Are Women Human? : and other international dialogues*, Cambridge, Mass. : Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, cop. 2006

²⁸ MacKinnon, C.A. (1982). *Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State*. *Signs* 7(3), 515–44

²⁹ Dworkin Andrea, *Prostitution and Male Supremacy*, Andrea Dworkin delivered this speech at a symposium entitled "Prostitution: From Academia to Activism," sponsored by the Michigan Journal of Gender and Law at the University of Michigan Law School, October 31, 1992, p.5,

³⁰ *Ibid.* p.4

³¹ Dworkin Andrea (& Levy Ariel), (2006). *Intercourse*, Basic Books, New York

³² Dworkin Andrea, (1989) *Pornography - Men Possessing Women*, Penguin Books USA

to be unwoven must undergo along with society a second sexual revolution, a sexual revolution which would entail total freedom of sex and economical independence for women.³³ These are those who are most frequently used and whose views are most relevant in this approach of sex discrimination and prostitution. Why these authors have been chosen has the very simple reason that they are seen as the leading "radical" feminists in the workings for abolishing prostitution.

In addition to the authors which are used in the feministic background to prostitution, there are researching reports which argue on the same note as them in relation to the international legislation and agreements on prostitution. There are two international meetings which criticize the differentiation with free and forced prostitution and argue that that is the issue at hand when it comes to overcoming prostitution. One is a report of a meeting held and initiated by UNESCO in 1986, it is specifically an *International meeting of experts on the social and cultural causes of prostitution and strategies for the struggle against procuring and sexual exploitation of women*.³⁴ The report discusses the issues related to gender inequalities and also brings up the issue of , as they call it, free versus forced prostitution. It has of purpose of establishing the causes to the existence of prostitution which does not give such an in depth consideration in relation to the laws and surrounding efforts by the UN. Moreover the second meeting held in 1991 with a report concluded in 1992 is also initiated by UNESCO but additionally with the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women.³⁵ This report expresses more conclusive ideas of the issue of the usage in the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others 1949 of forced and free prostitution. It concludes that as one of the most basic issue with the entire approach of prostitution lies in the two faced differentiation of forced and free. These two reports hold their relevance since they both tie a knot to the conventions and the workings as well as the critique of the workings on the issue of prostitution.

³³ Millett Kate, *Sexual Politics* , Pocky (1970), Svensk tryck Holmbergs, Malmö (2012), p.68

³⁴ UNESCO, *International Meeting of Experts on the social and cultural causes of prostitution and strategies for the struggle against procuring and sexual exploitation of women*, Madrid, Spain 18-21 March 1986, SHS-85/CONF.608/COL.10

³⁵ *Rapport de Penn State en anglais et français*, State College, Pennsylvania, USA, April 1992

2 Theory & Method

As the purpose of the investigation is to depict how prostitution is conveyed and thereby portrayed in the reports from the World Conference on Women from 1975, 1980, 1985 & 1995, an appropriate methodology to use is Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis. The methodology entails both a theory and method as it is not just a set method but includes a process which is theory driven to form objects of research.³⁶ It is virtually an interdiscursive analysis of focus. His focus on hegemonic structures and the power relations which construct the existing relations between societal values and institutional power is important to understand and evaluate the discourse of prostitution in the reports. Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis has a three dimensional conception of discourse as well as three-dimensional method of discourse analysis.³⁷ These will be presented as well as interpreted appropriately to the task of the investigation.

2.1 Theory

The theory process of the methodology is a process based on a theory of power. This is in its turn related to the understanding the technologies of discourses that are to be investigated. A theory that finds its functions in the link between state and the dominant class.³⁸ This is very closely bound to the structures of capitalist societies. It is a question of hegemony, the domination of one social group, that surpass the civil society and makes societal changes a difficult task.³⁹ As the standards of international discussions on prostitution in its forced form is already defined the idea of this investigation is to understand what these reports convey in the sense of prostitution as a whole and as the

³⁶ Fairclough Norman, (2010). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 2nd Edition, Longman, London, p.5

³⁷ Fairclough Norman, (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, Longman, London, p.97

³⁸ Fairclough Norman, (1995). p.92

³⁹ Fairclough Norman, (1995) p93

reports from UNESCO uses the term free/voluntary prostitution. The investigation will be an attempt to depict how the struggle of ideology and the structures of hegemony interact and are evident. Under the pretext that prostitution is a form of sex discrimination and a result of patriarchal structures the focus will be on the power struggle between gender and class issues between social groups, namely between men and women. It is in the hegemony that the functioning of ethical and moral values are linked to a state.⁴⁰ The moral values are interrelated to the demands and directly to the ruling groups of society. The theory of power is thereby simply put the view that hegemony and ideology are closely linked. Previous establishments on what prostitution really is has highlighted the fact that there are structures and values of gender differences that result in a climate that inhibits the access to a market of prostitution. More to the point prostitution in this proclamation is one factor of hegemonies interrelated to the gender differentiation that help sustain the "naturalized ideologies" of sex equality that help to contain as well as sustain the hegemonic structures.⁴¹

The investigation has great relevance to already established research and this will be conceived as a theoretical framework in addition to the theory of power relations. The investigation also has some relevance in interpreting the power hierarchies which consists between the different ideas of prostitution, as forced and free, making the theory as well as methodology relevant. Prostitution as free is sustained by the implications of such hegemonic structures that include institutions and enable both them and organizational bodies to maintain the idea of what morals and values should be regarding the concept. This is duly related to Fairclough demonstration of hegemony being a victim of the ethical state that has a need to raise certain values for the winnings of the society of production.⁴²

To refer to the three-dimensional conception of discourse, the idea is that it is a language text which can either be spoken or written, consists of discourse practice which analyses the production and interpretation of the text and the third is the social cultural practice.⁴³

⁴⁰ Fairclough Norman, (1995). p. 93

⁴¹ Fairclough Norman, (1995). p. 91

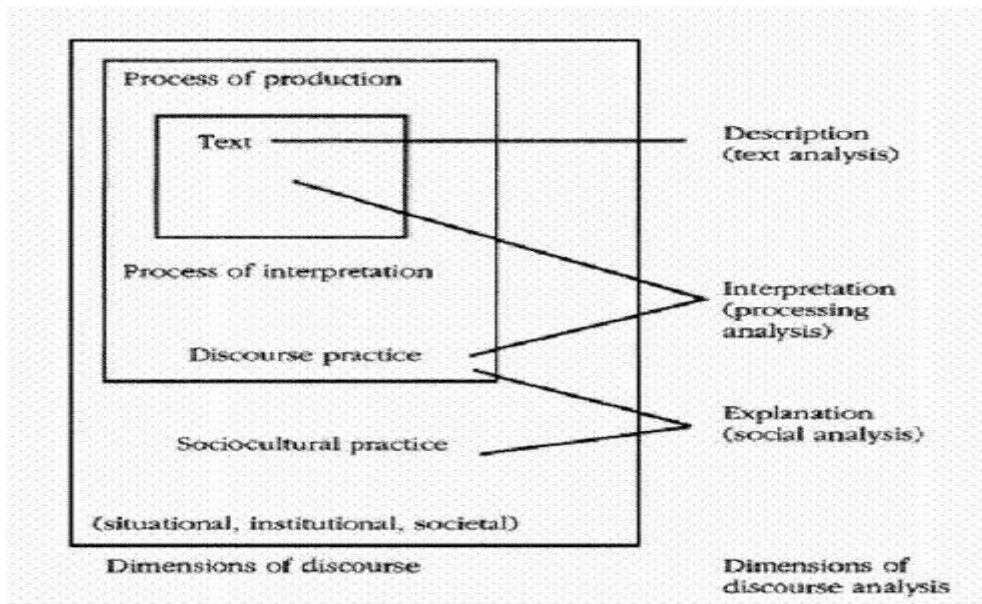
⁴² Fairclough Norman, (1995). p. 93

⁴³ Fairclough Norman, (1995). p. 97

2.2 Method

Discourse method includes *description, interpretation* and *explanation*. The text is to be described in its linguistic form, the relationship between the text and the discursive processes, the making of discourses, are to be interpreted and finally the sac is tied as the link between discursive process and societal process is explained.⁴⁴ Its reference to a methodology rather than method is that there is a theoretical process in the making of the critical discourse analysis. The question of how prostitution is portrayed and changes in the course of these reports is as much of a analysis in relevance to Fairclough as a theoretical investigation on the basis of found and personally interpreted analysis. The method which also includes a theoretical process aims at analyzing the power relations and the relationship of hegemony and the dominance of men over women which will also be based on the feministic framework. The three-dimensional model will be used but it must be noted that it will not be followed totally as it will be formed to the format of the investigation. The model is relevant in understanding the discourse of the conferences and the reports though the last and final level of analysis might deviate to a more personally adjusted form of analysis and not focus entirely on the social process in its whole but to the interpretation which will be appropriate to the results.

⁴⁴ Fairclough Norman, (1995). p. 97



This model demonstrates the three dimensions of Fairclough's analysis. First the text will be described and that will include a thorough investigation of what is presented in the reports in a textual analysis. The focus will be to express in what way prostitution, not just as forced and free prostitution is expressed and can be interpreted from the textual evaluation that then calls for the discourse practice being interpreted. This will be an analysis of the discourse practice that evidently one becomes familiar with what the reports produce, what it distributes and how that is consumed. Thirdly and finally the social practice will be explained and linked to the research question that will in regard to the social and historical aspects try to explain how the interpretation of the discourse is evident in the text as well as in the societal discussions on prostitution. Fairclough's model of critical discourse is intertwined with what has been presented in theory, and the "technologies" of power that confiscates the dominant power of modern society in relation to the hegemonic structures despicable by analyzing the reports with a critical approach. Focus will be laid on the free prostitution aspect in the analytical process in opposition to the forced of course but not in the effort of evaluating any relevance to that distinction. Rather by applying these steps to the research, *free prostitution* or *prostitution just as prostitution* will be the primary focus. Finally and specifically to the interpretation of the textual analysis the hegemonic structures or predominant discourses are to be evaluated.

3 Literary survey and Research attachment

The angle of this investigation is prostitution as discrimination, in order to establish this, relevant research has been done in what is regarded as radical feminism. Authors such as Kate Millett, Catherine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin are leading researchers or pioneers one could call it in this field. In what others call "radical" also lies logic, a logic that explains their aspects on power relations between gender and sex.

3.1 Central Works

In Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* she explains and puts the concept of sexual politics in context through theory, history and examples from literature. The explanation of the usage of politics between genders is, in all versions of power relations and structures, politics.⁴⁵ She further explains that sex is really categories of structures of status and with that has political correlations.⁴⁶ In her discussions of the usage of politics she ushers that it is indeed necessary for the understanding of the fundamental nature which is so often related to in regards to gender issues. And in that way she also calls for a need for a new political theory to explain power structures.⁴⁷ These structures implicate power struggles between all different groups or collectives as she refers them as, therein creating unequal terms as one collective rules the other.⁴⁸ Millett continuously comes back to the point of patriarchy, men's predominant occupation of power positions⁴⁹ and that women in this structure are second class citizens⁵⁰ and she pinpoints all her arguments to this structure. Within the reality of the patriarch one finds the reality of sexual

⁴⁵ Millett Kate, *Sexual Politics*, Pocky (1970), Svensk tryck Holmbergs, Malmö (2012), p. 32

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.32

⁴⁷ Ibid. p.33

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.33

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.33-34

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.62

politics and the situation of the reality is what is considered natural.⁵¹ There are many aspects of the patriarch that are addressed and some of them have been selected. Firstly Kate brings forward the family as being the fundamental institution which upholds the patriarch also therefore institutionalizes the roles that are in no way natural but rather a contribution of transgression that these norms bring.⁵² Secondly in regard to class, the issue of identity within the group of women is that they are positioned against each other. It becomes a struggle of the "whore" and the wife.⁵³ The patriarch also includes economical connotations as its "regime" finds its foundation in the economical environment as the system continuously demands women's economical dependence.⁵⁴ Thirdly, with the patriarch violence also takes its toll as the structure is promoted and upheld through the violence. This in its turn is upheld with the help of laws.⁵⁵ The violence is both a factor of the patriarch as it is gendered as well as it generates images in sexuality with its full potential in the question of rape.⁵⁶ As a consequence, violence against women in the question of sexual politics becomes ambivalent.⁵⁷ Fundamentally the issue lies in the linkage of cruelty with sexuality that in its turn often transcends into images of evil and power. It is much linked to the roles, as she presents them, of masculinity(sadism) and femininity (victimization) and in the question of sexuality in their relation pornography is highly relevant.⁵⁸ Except for matters directly linked to the patriarchal structure of society Kate Millett presents the resolution of these matters by a sexual revolution. A sexual revolution is the ultimate threat to the patriarchal formation.⁵⁹ It would wipe away all negative aspects to sexuality, that would involve the double standard of sexuality and prostitution.⁶⁰ Indeed it would mean a total demolition of the patriarch and reconstruction of what we have learned to be considered as naturally human and the full independence of women's own economy.⁶¹

Michel Foucault also makes an account on the point of family but he associates the implications of marriage to the direct taboo of sexuality, as he "blames" the taboo on the

⁵¹ Millett Kate, *Sexual Politics*, Pocky (1970), Svensk tryck Holmbergs, Malmö (2012), p.36

⁵² Ibid. p.41-43

⁵³ Ibid. p.45

⁵⁴ Ibid. p.47

⁵⁵ Ibid. p.50-51

⁵⁶ Ibid. p.51

⁵⁷ Ibid. p.51

⁵⁸ Ibid. p.51

⁵⁹ Ibid. p.67

⁶⁰ Ibid. p.68

⁶¹ Ibid. p.68

bourgeois formation of the family as a mean of a reproduction unit.⁶² He thereof speaks of a censorship of sex and that sex is virtually administrated. A censorship also within religious values that regulated what was to be considered morally wrong.⁶³

As co-writer in the work "*Feminist Theory: A Philosophical Anthology*" Catherine MacKinnon explains two approaches; differentiation and dominance. To best explain what MacKinnon means by differentiation a short story about sexes and gender must be told "... on the first day, difference was; on the second day, a division was created upon it; on the third day, irrational instances of dominance arose." In many of her works she pinpoints that the view of what is human, what is natural, is the man. Thereby differentiation of sex becomes measurements as opposed to the natural man and all else become exceptions that in context deviate from the norm. This results in sex equality being an unachievable goal when in fact sex, as she argues, should be viewed as a *continuum*.⁶⁴ What MacKinnon argues as a missing ingredient in the discussions of equality between sexes/genders is that men and women in their differences are equal as they are equally different from each other. But even so, socially they are not equal.⁶⁵ The second approach she discussed is the dominance approach which really derives sex discrimination from aspects of morality to politics.⁶⁶ She argues for a dominance approach which she calls for which does not only include sex segregation that pushes women into poverty but the violence done to women and prostitution being the "fundamental economic condition, which we do when all else fails."⁶⁷ For MacKinnon the issue lies in the special protection of rights as that implies that equality is in need for special protection or is it really a question if they should be treated as less.⁶⁸

In MacKinnon's work "*Feminism unmodified : Discourse on life and law*"⁶⁹ she present the aspect of legislative mishaps. In that feminism has failed to do its purpose. In the question of sex discrimination MacKinnon concludes that sex equality has

⁶² Foucault, M. (1990).§ The history of sexuality: An introduction Vol. 1. Hammondsworth: Penguin, p.4

⁶³ Ibid. p.23

⁶⁴ MacKinnon Catherine, "*Sex Discrimination*" in Cudd Ann, Andreason Robin, (2005). "*Feminist Theory: A Philosophical Anthology*", Blackwell Publishing Ltd, p.91

⁶⁵ Ibid. p.85

⁶⁶ Ibid. p.90

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 88

⁶⁸ Ibid. 89-90

⁶⁹ MacKinnon, C. A. (1987). *Feminism unmodified: Discourses on life and law*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

faults as equality is different.⁷⁰ She argues that equal treatment becomes "a matter of treating likes alike and unlikes unlike: and the sexes are defined as such by their mutual unlikeness."⁷¹ It is also an issue with legislation as in views of gender being socially constructed as sex discrimination law is silenced since the discrimination happens almost exclusively to women thereby not within the definition of sex equality issues.⁷² As previously mentioned her standpoint is that sexism it is not the biological males and females that are the differentiation that are the issue but rather that these are twisted into masculine and feminine sex roles.⁷³ Thereby "...it is not a general accepted understanding that intercourse, sex roles and eroticism are violent to women."⁷⁴

In her latest work *"Are women human? : and other international dialogues"*, MacKinnon regards and criticizes CEDAW and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as not explicit enough and weak as it does not, at least not enough, present a view of the structures of male supremacy and thereby she argues that by not doing so, the male supremacy is sustained and sexual politics loses its root. In the same discussion she argues that CEDAW does not actually reject sexism and embraces sex equality as *the only option* but rather as *an option* to end discrimination.⁷⁵ The issue is much in the view of human rights being considered as not universal which make situations seem not as inhumane.⁷⁶ Further the state is gendered, it has a sex, in all its aspects through all aspects of law and Mackinnon challenges this to not only be of the state but transcending in the dimension of international law as well even though it was set out to be the opposite of that.⁷⁷ These laws are gendered in masculinity done with the predominance of men who have had the positions of power to create men's laws.⁷⁸ Additionally sex equality might have a grand acceptance as a principle in legislative aspects though "...women's actual second class status continues to be concealed..." and are maintained in means of discussion of right and wrong and in that she argues generates an image of being a question of morality when it really is an issue of politics. The morality view

⁷⁰ MacKinnon, C. A. (1987). *Feminism unmodified: Discourses on life and law*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p.32

⁷¹ Ibid. p.32

⁷² Ibid. p.41

⁷³ Ibid. p.117

⁷⁴ Ibid. p.86

⁷⁵ MacKinnon, C.A. (2006). *Are Women Human? : and other international dialogues*, Cambridge, Mass. : Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, cop. 2006, p.11

⁷⁶ ibid p.3

⁷⁷ ibid p.4

⁷⁸ ibid p.7

makes values derivable and do not call for basic principles that cannot be debated.⁷⁹ In this book she also expresses that pornography is the reason and promotion for the inability to distinguish between violence and sex.⁸⁰ This correlation of the two concepts mixes pleasure of one with the objectification of the other. Consensual sex therefore is also problematic as pornography sexualizes violence and as long as there is a demand for the violent sex it cannot be forced as it is sexual for some though that is matter of a wrong idea of consent in the image of what pornography should offer. Her conclusion and in her cooperation with Andrea Dworkin they pinpoint that: " pornography is an act of sex inequality."⁸¹

As a last point to make of Catherine MacKinnon's works it is important to consider her take on Marxist theory. The connection of inequalities in a society will inevitably always relate to the hierarchies that exist. Catherine MacKinnon argues that: "sexuality is to feminism what work is to Marxism and establishes that like work sexuality is socially structured."⁸² The social relations between gender is thereby explained in the formation of sexuality by the division of men and women equally as work is built on social constructions of people creating value in the material world.⁸³ Both Foucault and Millett also interact Marxism as they both refer to class as issues intersecting with sex inequality and taboo's of sex.

More to the phenomenon of prostitution, Andrea Dworkin in all her works has very similar arguments to MacKinnon and they refer, on occasion to each other. In her speech "Prostitution and Male Supremacy", prostitution in its most basic form is an abuse of the female body.⁸⁴ Andrea expresses in addition to MacKinnon that men are considered the norm and that women are deviating from that norm.⁸⁵ She is more explicit in her accusations against laws in regard to equality and proclaim them to be built on lies regarding justice. The norm being masculinity makes the woman a vehicle for

⁷⁹ MacKinnon, C.A. (2006). p.10

⁸⁰ Ibid. p.93

⁸¹ ibid p.91-94

⁸² MacKinnon, C.A. (1982). *Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State*. *Signs* 7(3), 515–44, p.516

⁸³ Ibid. p.515-516

⁸⁴ Dworkin Andrea, *Prostitution and Male Supremacy*, Andrea Dworkin delivered this speech at a symposium entitled "Prostitution: From Academia to Activism," sponsored by the Michigan Journal of Gender and Law at the University of Michigan Law School, October 31, 1992, p.2

⁸⁵ Ibid p.5

the maintenance of men's domination⁸⁶ and the lies she speaks of will remain intact as long as male domination is sustained in a hierarchy where prostitution is at the bottom.⁸⁷ As objectification is a substantial issue in regard of women's subordination and derail from the natural, prostitutes are a specific target of women's objectification.⁸⁸ To relate back to masculinity, men as using women as their vehicle distinguishes prostitution as their arena to maintain their feeling of big, brave and ironically a transport for them to stay on top.⁸⁹

Andrea Dworkin's book *Intercourse*, takes up privacy in relation to the state. Privacy should in its sense be free from the state, though as laws are interlinking and controlling sex/intercourse it is not private she argues.⁹⁰ However in this written work, Andrea also presents her views on the actual intercourse or the "politics" of it. She is more "radical" as she portrays sex as being the actual climax of male domination as in intercourse the true domination is expressed and the entire identity of the woman is eliminated as the man possesses her.⁹¹ The domination is also expressed in forms of control as women's sensuality may control men and in that way they must be controlled as that hold is a threat to men's domination.⁹²

Just as Mackinnon guards, Andrea Dworkin focuses a lot of sex and gender issues to pornography. In the book *Pornography* that really issues itself with just that, one chapter is dedicated under the name "Whores". In this she encircles the point of male sexual domination initially being metaphysics for women being whores and as of that fact women or whores cannot be raped, only used.⁹³ In addition she mentions the rising question of arguments that women might in spite of socio-economic status women choose this "occupation" that in her sense is absurd as these arguments portray women as prostitutes in nature and that restriction should exist to punish their nature. It is also a portrayal of women's greed for money and she pinpoints that women in general are considered whores and that prostitutes are portrayed greedy whores not only for money but

⁸⁶ Dworkin Andrea, Speech (1992). p.4

⁸⁷ Ibid p.6

⁸⁸ Ibid. p.4

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 5

⁹⁰ Dworkin Andrea (& Levy Ariel), (2006). *Intercourse*, Basic Books, New York, p.185-186

⁹¹ Ibid. p.80-82

⁹² Ibid. p.19

⁹³ Dworkin Andrea, (1989) *Pornography - Men Possessing Women*, Penguin Books USA, p.203-204

for sensation, pleasure and men.⁹⁴ Ideology and their economical constructions are relevant to most of the authors such as Dworkin, Mackinnon and Millett. Dworkin puts these in perspective as she discusses that prostitution for the right wing is secretive and that also includes the porn industry as she explains as the old pornography industry. What she says is the new pornography industry is a free one of the left, portrayed as fun and public and in that a liberation of women's political and sexual will, but the dirty little secret of the left is not sex but thereby commerce.⁹⁵ Initially Dworkin encircles the entire matter by her ability to convey that the society builds up a ludicrous image of prostitutes identity that enables them to always be criticized, that no wrong can be done but rather that the prostitute *is* wrong.⁹⁶

Continuing on a different track in Madrid 1986, a few years after the Convention for the elimination of discrimination against women had been established and in the consecutive year of the third world conference on women, there was a concluding report of a meeting initiated by UNESCO (*United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*). It aims to establish the causes as well as strategies of social and cultural character to the issue of prostitution. It is more specifically a focus on the procuring and sexual exploitation of women.⁹⁷ The research is conducted as a platform for future concluding elements of prostitution in relation to the *Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Person and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others*. The grand focus is on the causes and the report clearly establishes the link to the dominant structures between sexes. There is also an inherent influence of economical and ideological presence as the history of industrialization is explained as the industrialization of prostitution or the industrialization of sexuality as any other demand of service.⁹⁸ Furthermore it establishes that the surrounding discussions of the convention of 1949 had an abolitionist approach to the issue of prostitution.⁹⁹ It is also properly expressed that the historical as well as the social structures that have encircled prostitution has made it

⁹⁴ Dworkin Andrea, (1989. p.206

⁹⁵ Ibid. p.208

⁹⁶ Ibid. p.207

⁹⁷ UNESCO, *International Meeting of Experts on the social and cultural causes of prostitution and strategies for the struggle against procuring and sexual exploitation of women*, Madrid, Spain 18-21 March 1986, SHS-85/CONF.608/COL.10, Preamble

⁹⁸ Ibid. p.6

⁹⁹ Ibid, p.7 para. 12

impossible to derive from prostitution as a profession.¹⁰⁰ The discussion deviates towards the international issue of the differentiation of free/voluntary and forced prostitution. It is an account for the objectification of women and the power relations that are evident in the structural aspects of gender issues. Prostitution in their opinion is of such a direct result of sexism.¹⁰¹ There is a frontal effort to further that the fact that a distinction between forced and free prostitution is made in the convention and the following works of the conventions aftermath as a result of the view of individualism which could not refuse the choice of being a prostitute.¹⁰² And in that sense a result of the ideological framework present to the time of its formation. It is accordingly the reason why the act of prostitution is considered to be a voluntary choice today. Thereby the distinction of prostitution on the streets would be linked to voluntary prostitution while forced would be human trafficking and mass prostitution.¹⁰³ It is conveyed that there is an evident issue of the fact that the convention establishes the difference between forced and voluntary prostitution. Moreover the report brings to light the problem that there is a differentiation of prostitution and pornography and that the connection of the two is not explicitly made. It also becomes evident that there is a strong relevance that the issues of trafficking and prostitution in itself are subjects which are taboo thereby still in part a discussion left as a problem hidden away in the dark. What stands clear is that the cause for the taboo of prostitution also includes all aspects of prostitution as an idea of women as prostitutes being normal and accepted.¹⁰⁴ The structure of sexual politics virtually enables the system to punish the prostitutes and put focus on the identity of the prostitute instead of client for instance.¹⁰⁵

In addition to this report there is a report concluded by the Penn State College in Pennsylvania, USA. The report is a conclusion of several meeting of experts initiated from UNESCO and the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women. One of the meetings which this report handles is an *International Meeting of Experts on Sexual Exploitation, Violence and Prostitution*. It is in part a report that distinctly addresses the issues that

¹⁰⁰ UNESCO, *International Meeting of Experts on the social and cultural causes of prostitution and strategies for the struggle against procuring and sexual exploitation of women*, Madrid, Spain 18-21 March 1986, SHS-85/CONF.608/COL.10. p.7 para. 14

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p.5

¹⁰² Ibid. p.8 para. 17

¹⁰³ Ibid. p.8 para. 17

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p.3

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p.12

are present in the reports from the World Conference on Women. It consequently discusses which right outweighs the other; is the right to prostitute of higher relevance than the protection of human dignity? Is the ability to prostitute a human right? ¹⁰⁶ It becomes quite clear that the convention lies as the starting point to the issue of prostitution, in the least that it falls short. To fall back on the extract from the Madrid report, the international meeting identifies a new ingredient which the work against prostitution as in the convention of 1949 and CEDAW in 1980 has missed to add, that of sexual exploitation in its dehumanizing form.¹⁰⁷ There is a new dimension of the focus on the sexual exploitation which in their meaning is a violation not only of physical character but a discrimination against the entire self and being of that person.¹⁰⁸ The differentiation of two separate concepts within the same crime as prostitution, the concept enables a hierarchy also by other factors such as women versus children or "third world prostitution" and "western prostitution". This is argued to problematize the universality of human rights.¹⁰⁹ It is also questioned in the meeting that during the time the convention on prostitution was issued, the focus was put on the protection not only the promotion of human rights. Human rights have therefore become dynamic and progressively functioning according to the conditions and changing conditions that the world constantly undergoes.¹¹⁰ This sort of aspect was not really included during the time of the Convention of 1949 was made. Even so there is not much success in extending the convention as even CEDAW lacks any implications of establishing legislative aggression against sexual violence and sexual exploitation any further than the convention of 1949.¹¹¹ The meeting in cohesion with discussions of other United Nation's organs, *prostitution itself* is established to be discriminating and violating women's human rights in accordance with article 1, 4 & 5 of the UDHR.¹¹² It is thereby in fact a violation of women's dignity. Pornography is also in this context regarded as an issue as they describe it: "...pornography is the practice of prostitution that legitimizes prostitution by presenting it as a fulfilling, lucrative profession for women."¹¹³ Thereby societal images that are

¹⁰⁶ *Rapport de Penn State en anglais et français*, State College, Pennsylvania, USA, April 1992, Preface

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p.7

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p.7

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p.1

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p.2

¹¹¹ Ibid. p.3

¹¹² Ibid. p.3

¹¹³ Ibid p.4

easily accessible are portraying prostitution, with similar traits to propaganda, how women as prostitutes are supposed to be viewed.

3.2 Position of Research

The research which has been done in regard to this investigation shows extensive proof of a wide vacuum of different views on prostitution. The authors have what is regarded as radical views of feminism in contrast to others and they also convey that feminism in its ideology as divided. Absolutely their arguments are present in the overall documents that are being surveyed though missing is the regard of the difference of voluntary and forced prostitution. Even so it is problematic to call for a distinction of these to be forced and free/voluntary equally to what is argued in the reports earlier presented. My thesis is based on these two aspects in coherence. The question of free/voluntary and forced is that it is an issue with a separation of the two, and that prostitution in itself is an issue and should not be differed as it is a part of the structural issues. There is however a need to differ prostitution, not in the sense that one is to be regarded as second grade issue, rather it should be the case that they should be treated with regard to discrimination in different but equally relevant forms. The reports speak of voluntary and free prostitution and sources of related sources speak of free prostitution. But these are concepts they put forward. Discrimination is highly present as a violation of human dignity of women but the initial differentiation is never made. Forced prostitution is often mentioned as a matter of discrimination but the thesis of this investigation is that what they present as free and voluntary, I find the usage of these words as troubling. The approach of the research is that accepting prostitution as an occupation makes it an issue of indirect discrimination. That is not evident in any research. Authors like Mackinnon and Dworkin do not make any differentiation but I argue that it is needed as forced is really a question if direct discrimination while prostitution in its total regard of power structures is an issue of inaccurate divisions of views on sex discrimination and should be consumed equally in its need for change. Therefore it is in the middle of these definitions that my research lays, in between an issue of differentiation and of power structures forging the concept of freedom in its pure form.

4 Investigation and Results

The chosen text of analysis are the parts of those sections in the reports from *the World Conference on Women* that address the topic of prostitution. The analysis involves three steps, that of description, interpretation and explanation. For the preference of this investigation the two first steps will be presented in this chapter, that is for the sole reason of description and interpretation being closely interlinked in the process. The description will be the actual investigation and interpretation will be separated in results though it must be noted that these two coincide with each other along the way. The reports will be investigated in chronological order, not with any relevance of time but for the comfort of an easier read.

4.1 Investigation

Prostitution is continuously described in the reports in a matter of two alternative perspectives, one being human trafficking/forced prostitution and free prostitution. The reports as well as the convention which they are extended from all show common features in how prostitution is portrayed.

"Considering that prostitution is one of the most grievous offences against the dignity of women(.)"¹¹⁴

This is the absolute first line regarding prostitution in the 1975 conference report. As it addresses prostitution *just as prostitution*, there is an established conversation about prostitution and not just human trafficking or forced prostitution. Neither is there any explicit definition. It stands quite clear that the fact that prostitution is an offence to the

¹¹⁴ *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year*, Mexico City 19 June - 2 July 1975, E/CONF.66/34, New York 1976, p.79

dignity of women and that it is already established as it states that **considering** prostitution is a **grievous** offence it is overall accepted to be regarded so. Thereby it is not only already considered as a issue in its whole but also a severe one, conveying the idea that prostitution would be one of the most fundamental discriminatory offences that violate women's fundamental rights and their dignity. Prostitution is an offence and clearly related to the fact that it is *a degradation of their dignity*.

"Urges Governments of countries where the practice of prostitution and exploitation of women and young girls still exists, in their efforts to abolish prostitution, to take energetic action to put an end to forced prostitution and the traffic in women, both of which are forms of exploitation."¹¹⁵

This reviews *the practice of prostitution*, although the actual **actions** to be taken are against *forced prostitution*. There is a paradox idea to this statement and that is the usage of both prostitution and the added forced prostitution. A total shift in the same sentence has taken place here, as this as previously mentioned directed towards *the practice of prostitution* and aiming to *abolish prostitution* but the actions to be taken are against the forced prostitution. It also becomes clear that the actions to be taken have a clear goal not only to put an end to forced prostitution but an effort to abolish prostitution. Therefore the connection of prostitution and forced prostitution clearly engages in the same issue though it becomes apparent that forced prostitution and trafficking is an already established form of **exploitation**. The practice of prostitution may exist and might be acknowledged as a part of a problem though it is the forced prostitution and the traffic in person that is the fundamental issue at hand.

"Recognizing that in the de facto situation, the practice of prostitution and exploitation of women and young girls is still prevalent in many countries, as a result of socio-economic conditions."¹¹⁶

On a further note the exploitation and practice of prostitution are both caused by the same conditions in society, namely the socio- economical. Evidently *the practice of*

¹¹⁵ *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City 19 June - 2 July 1975, E/CONF.66/34, New York 1976 p.79*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid. p.79*

prostitution would not only encircle forced prostitution and trafficking as for that, those terms would be specifically used. It signifies a relationship with the socio-economic conditions that rule the society and they **recognize** this as the de facto situation. There is no indication of whether the entire practice of prostitution is in the violation of women rather that it is stated as an issue, which roots may be found in the same aspects of society that causes various forms of discrimination. It is also evidence of the economical implications that are causes to the situation, that thereby concludes prostitution a fundamental issue of inequalities of a society. This involves the conditions quite inexplicable to the naked eye as it only recognizes it a cause to the situation, not elaborating the causes to the issue but commenting the climate enabling the existence of prostitution. Though considering the stated violation to women's dignity, the practice of prostitution and exploitation of women are again related to each other.

"Concerned with the injustice and suffering imposed especially on women who are forced into prostitution..."¹¹⁷

The report of 1975 states that in cohesion with the women's year the conference is **concerned** with women who are *forced into prostitution*.¹¹⁸ The statement alone would mean the sole focus on **forced prostitution**. Evidently this is not the only aspect of prostitution that the conference acknowledges though on this particular quote one may depict the essence of the reports concerns. Opposed to previous presentation of the term prostitution in the conference reports, this directs focus and establishes the differentiation of concern versus recognition, consideration and acknowledgement. Women who are forced into prostitution is a different statement of the forced prostitution. Implying by **especially** those who are forced into prostitution gives the impression that that is not the sole concern of the discussions. That would in fact be evidence that it is not only forced prostitution that causes suffering and injustice even though that should be the focus of efforts. Indeed it also comes across as forced prostitution since it should have special attention is of a more grave level of violation. That the offence is of more signif-

¹¹⁷ *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year*, Mexico City 19 June - 2 July 1975, E/CONF.66/34, New York 1976, p.79

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p.79

icance, not the sole offence. Contributing to this, the report of 1980 goes deeper into what the offence really means in the sense of its character.

" (W)omen and children (boys and girls) are still all too often victims of physical abuse and sexual exploitation constituting virtual slavery."¹¹⁹

In a considerably different manner this shows how correlated prostitution is to many offences. In addition to constituting **exploitation** to **sexual exploitation**, it is related to **slavery** that is common when it comes to both women and children. The course of the discussion proves to be that of **physical abuse** and in this it also brings forward a victimized view of women (and children). Furthermore it is indeed evident that there is category of violations that generate more crime towards women and children, that sexual offences are primary for these groups. Leaving out men in this equation is not necessarily an indication of cause and effect though in "claiming" the focus of such abuse to women and children indicate them as subordinate to the remaining.

"Further reminds governments that women and children prostitutes have the right to legal protection against maltreatment which they may be subjected to for the sole reason of their being prostitutes."¹²⁰

The shift of statement of offences of dignity to the maltreatment causes in addition a turn in its acceptance. Prostitution that is a violation against the dignity of women is transcended to a violation against them as *being prostitutes*. The **maltreatment** of prostitutes is the offence. Legal protection should be granted to prostitutes when they are discriminated for being prostitutes not as women. On a further note, women being prostitutes are as much as children victims of grave offences done to them and equal legal protection should be given to both groups, child prostitution and women's prostitution are in need of special protection. The integration of women and children also implies a different status of women and so the parallel drawn between the two groups indicate a subordination though it also suggests the inability of women to be independent.

¹¹⁹ *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace*, Copenhagen 14 - 30 July 1980, A/CONF.94/35 , New York 1980, p.103

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* p.104

" Urges the governments of member states to recognize that women and children are not a commodity and that every women and every child has the right to legal protection against abduction, rape and prostitution."¹²¹

Although there is a difference in these proclamations, simultaneously, there is an evident contextual relevance in that prostitution is as much a sexual offence as rape or abduction, involuntary acts that are done to you and therefore should be punished by law. In the context of abduction and rape the highlight is involuntary acts. That goes hand in hand with its statement that they should not be seen as a **commodity** which also have legal rights to have protection against **prostitution**, not only forced prostitution. Initially it is not solemnly directed to forced prostitution as both using the sole word of prostitution *and* referring back to them not being commodities, not being sold as products of commerce.

"State parties to the United Nations convention for the suppression of the traffic in person and the exploitation of the prostitution of others should implement the provisions dealing with the exploitation of women as prostitutes."¹²²

The inherent addition that are added to the legislative buttons against prostitution and to offences of **exploitation**, again of *women as prostitutes*. Provisions that in this particular context would mean legislative action. Though provisions do not entail legal action per se therefore it states a more ground-level aspect of the work towards the end of exploitation and it addresses women as prostitutes, thereof not prostitution in itself but rather those who are exploited as prostituted. That deviates from earlier discussions of legislation to protect all women against abuse such as rape, abduction and prostitution though again confirms the focus of the discrimination lies in the exploitation of teh occupation not the actual occupation.

¹²¹ *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace*, Copenhagen 14 - 30 July 1980, A/CONF.94/35 , New York 1980, p. 104

¹²² *Report of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace*, Nairobi 15 - 26 July 1985, A/CONF.116/28/Rev.1, New York 1986, p.71 para. 291

"Often these include vulnerable groups of women who are victimized by procurers. Sex tourism, forced prostitution and pornography reduce women to mere sex objects and marketable commodities."¹²³

This is a quite interesting shift from the focus of legislation and the establishment of violations and offences in itself. It becomes clear that vulnerable groups mean those who have positions due to the socio-economical conditions that have been presented earlier. It is indeed also clear that the **vulnerable groups** are victims of a third party prostitution, thereby forced or trafficked into the position. What really becomes interesting is the socio-economical association with *marketable commodities*, the connection of prostitution and women as commodities has earlier occurred though in this case the issue is related to a market and an **industry** of pornography, sex tourism and forced prostitution. It renounces all correlation to just prostitution though it also indicates the submissiveness of women as a gender by adding that the market make women become *sex objects*. For the victimization of women are victimized by procurers, that it is them that objectify and in its turn victimize women. It is rather fascinating that sex tourism and pornography ranks equally to forced prostitution as both of their existence generalize an image of **sex objects** and **marketable commodities**, as they are factors that create norms of sex in general. Sex objectification is thereby viewed as an issue of forced prostitution, not prostitution.

" Governments should also endeavor to co-operate with non- governmental organizations to create wider employment possibilities for women. Strict enforcement provisions must also be taken at all levels to stem the rising tide of violence, drug abuse and crime related to prostitution."¹²⁴

The paragraph in itself is not extremely relevant to the purpose of the investigation though its focus on the employment possibilities that must undergo improvement does entail the socio-economic conditions previously discussed. In this, in the pretext that prostitution as a whole is a result of underemployment and the vulnerability of being of that group puts women at certain risks of crimes related to prostitution. Though the fo-

¹²³ *Report of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace*, Nairobi 15 - 26 July 1985, A/CONF.116/28/Rev.1, New York 1986, para. 290

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* para. 291

cus of provisions is put on the related crimes to prostitution, violence and drug abuse becomes the headline of change and the vile consequences that come with unemployment. Even so, the text implies that prostitution is correlated to crimes and violence, matters that are not in any sense considered as a part of Utopia.

"Forced prostitution is a form of slavery imposed on women by procurers. It is, inter alia, a result of economic degradation in underemployment and unemployment, It also stems from women's dependence on men."¹²⁵

Evidently *forced prostitution* constitutes as **slavery**. The exploitation has in this manner become extreme violence to the dignity of the self, a violation against freedom. This also speaks for the forced sexual slavery as a result of societal issue that do not only affect the industry of forced prostitution but indicates the relevance on women's subordination to men. The degradation and the dependence initiate an overall idea that prostitution even if referred to as forced is direct outcome of economic conditions. More to the point the mentioned reasons for forced prostitution is underemployment and unemployment and therefore implies connections to prostitution as an occupation not only in terms of slavery. The inherent thought that comes to mind is why would not the same reasons be applied to prostitution that is not forced, that would as previously mentioned undergo the category of the practice of prostitution but not share traits of slavery. Argument for such claims are not to be found.

"...(V)iolence against women include violation of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict. in particular murder, systematic rape, *sexual slavery* and forced pregnancy."¹²⁶

"Violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared to men."¹²⁷

¹²⁵ *Report of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace*, Nairobi 15 - 26 July 1985, A/CONF.116/28/Rev.1, New York 1986, para. 290

¹²⁶ *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*, Beijing 4-15 September 1995, A/CONF.177/20/Rev.1, New York 1996, para. 114

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* para. 117

Violence against women and the stated social mechanism that "force" women into subordination is clearly a statement of overall-value. Thereby *violence against women* in its entity would constitute as all effects of the social imposition that women have been given by structures of society also it is something done to them, directly towards them as a group. Though in the first quote it becomes evident that the human rights claim ends at **sexual slavery**. There is no connection direct to the practice of prostitution.

"Images in the media of violence against women, in particular those that depict rape or sexual slavery as well as the use of women and girls as sex objects, including pornography, are factors contributing to the continued prevalence of such violence, adversely influencing the community at large, in particular children and young people."¹²⁸

To follow on the note of violence against women this shows the relevance of the depiction of women in their sexual roles. Roles that are consumed by the community as a whole and thereby turns into acceptance. It says that pornography is directly contributing to portraying women and young girls as sexual objects that contributes to a medial integration that influences the common views that enable such violence against women to exist. It puts pornography as one of the initial factors of the regard of women. The section explains that they are direct reasons for how society continues such images of what is right and what is wrong. It has been present as an argument in the earlier report of 1985 though the 1995 conference that establishes a more thorough account of what it constitutes and intersects the medial portrayals to violence against women. By doing so distinctly providing an element of prostitution that has earlier been viewed as a form of violation against women as consequence of women being objectified and a maintenance of the image.

¹²⁸. *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*, Beijing 4-15 September 1995, A/CONF.177/20/Rev.1, New York 1996, p.49-50 para.118

4.2 Results

One of the evident discourses found in the reports is must fundamentally the question of sex or to make it less confusing, intercourse. What sex constitutes as derives from a range of different norms. Prostitution in itself is sex, or the purchase of sex thereof an aspect of sex. The consequences of differing prostitution from prostitution as either voluntary or forced gives way for the line of when sex as a voluntary choice or consensual when it is within an occupation. Sex in the sense of "free" prostitution is without the conception that sex could be wrong. Not in the sense that the sex in itself is wrong but that the intent has other related factors such as women as sex objects and pornography. The differing from forced to voluntary implicates consensual sex but the concept or usage of voluntary makes the case of voluntary and consensual rather complicated as what sex really should be is fundamentally challenged and thereby affected by affirming norms through pornography, sex tourism and forced prostitution. Consensual sex has therein also variety and the violence of prostitution too. The industry of sex is consumed with implications of women as sex objects but non-forced prostitution is somehow implicated to be excluded from these images. Sex as sexual slavery is clearly a violation since it entails the restriction of a person's liberty and dignity thereof the most fundamental human rights. The violation in its sexual form makes it an even worse crime and in relation to women as prostitutes the violations in terms of exploitation is evident in the discourse but that generates that prostitution is an identity and group identity. Prostitution in its occupational form is sex with the same pretext but with other connotations, the discourse implements an exclusion from the same type of violation, sex discrimination.

Furthermore another discourse that is transparent is the discourse on age whereas women are frequently accompanied to the rights of and the violations done to children. These two groups have claim on the same rights. The discourse depicts that women and children are the victims of these kind of violations and that they are to be equally protected against these faults. The two groups also are entitled to the same rights and that all forms of this victimization and objectification should be eliminated. As they are mentioned together in all aspects of talking about the group women, there is evidence of an inability to separate the two. It also gives way for implications of women and children being equal victims in the abuse, that in its turn diminishes the status and

the independence of women. Women thereof are just as vulnerable and equally in need for protection as children. The need for the extra protection does therefore not only merely entail women but also young persons and children thereof even young boys. Indicating that it in addition is a question of age not only gender. The reports therefore portray the need for women and children in an equally submissive position in the regard of sexual abuse. Sex is therefore also as sensitive in all its forms for women as it is for children. Consensual sex in that context of women in comparison to children encircles all types of restrictions as children in regard to sex is fundamentally unnatural and unlawful.

Forced prostitution and prostitution embodies the discourse of exploitation. The exploitation in itself is a discrimination, that easily links to the dignity of a person and indeed also their freedom. Exploitation constitutes in various forms to the already prostituted, as forced prostitution is an extreme form of exploitation with the indicating factor of sexual slavery. Prostitution is also portrayed as a threat to the dignity of persons but the exploitation lies in the exceeded forms of prostitution as it is duly noted that there is a restriction in how to treat prostitutes. The inclination implies a needed restriction in which way to not violate the profession of prostitution and that the "occupation" is not to be exploited. Discrimination lies therefore in the prostitutes being exploited not that prostitution is exploitive. In addition it is also a question of exploitation in the terms of exploitation of women and that would in the context be prostitution but as the action are spoken of the question of exploitation in relation of the practice of prostitution in itself and the exploitation of women in general, the idea conveyed is rather that exploitation is a grave violation if in connection with forced prostitution or traffic in women.

The overall discourse lies in the definition of forced prostitution and prostitution. It is evident that there are different connotations to branched variety to what true discrimination in regard to prostitution can be. Forced prostitution is a concept well understood. The discourse related to this is evident in the discussions in the reports, the mishap is what the non-forced prostitution is in the reports. Forced prostitution is a concept directly related to issues of dignity, freedom and detention. It is virtually slavery in the sense that it is forced labor and discrimination against women and children fundamental rights. Though discrimination is not only in the form of forced prostitution but also in relation to the practice of prostitution and that would initiate that it would be an issue of prostitution but never so explicitly stated. Pornography and economical/social

connotations are related to this while prostitution is associated with rape and violence. It does not forward any clear image of prostitution as discrimination even though it leaves traces of sex discrimination as they are parallel in the essence of the reports. Therefore it is clear that the presence of the forced prostitution, the discourse on forced prostitution is really an indication of the non-existent discourse of prostitution itself. To say that the discourse of forced prostitution initiates a discourse of free prostitution would really be to exceed the framework of the reports. That indicator is not implied other than the mere lack of its discourse. Nothing implies in the discourse of forced prostitution that there would lie a choice in the prostitution in itself, when there is room for interpretations of this nature the same values and the problematic circumstances are held accountable for the situation.

5 Analysis and Discussion

After elaborately investigating and interpreting results this section will address the social-cultural practice. This section will treat the explanation as a part of the critical discourse analysis presented in the method, it will relate to the theoretical framework of Fairclough in addition to the literary summary to attain a conclusive evaluation of the reports in regard to prostitution as sex discrimination. Quite accurately the reports convey different aspects to prostitution, this as was expected is not the focus per se, the explanation lays in the aspect of sex discrimination and its deviating character in prostitution. The question of class hierarchies and groups submissiveness is an ideological must and the theory of power coincides with these continuously in questions of prostitution.

To refer back to Fairclough theory of power it is a discussion of issues between social groups which in his views are links to morals and values. In comparison as Mackinnon concludes in the regard of sex inequality it is in fact not a question of morality but of politics. Values and morality might be less suitable for the authors such as Mackinnon. Though in her difference and dominance approaches to reside completely from morality even in questions of politics I think is dangerous since these all intersect. Thereby to argue that the only factor is politics limits the discourse rather than simplifies it. Fairclough also agrees that the climate of hegemony is interrelated to the naturalized ideologies¹²⁹ such as gender differentiation that Mackinnon speaks of. Just as she argues Fairclough states these help sustain hegemonic structures of male domination. It is not gender roles that are the hegemonic danger. The existence of gender roles in social groupings are the tools to uphold the initial danger. As MacKinnon makes clear sex difference is not natural in the sense that is present today as it promotes sex inequality. Sex inequality is shown in prostitution, it is present in the very fact that there are several "versions" of prostitution. The view should be applicable equally to each sex since the

¹²⁹ View Fairclough in section for theory.

sexes are equally different from each other.¹³⁰ No normalization of man and deviation of woman. Prostitution is the promotion of this sex inequality of the already existing hegemonic structures and gender roles that are applied to sex difference as it is regarded as in present as upholding the "need", ability and supply of prostitution.

That of which in itself is proof of violations against one group, thereof discrimination, is clear when the direction goes towards socio-economical discussions that are considered causes of forced prostitution. Not in the sense that prostitution and the stated forced prostitution would be concluded as the same thing all together but that it is produced by a view of women as a commodity; that in itself cannot only apply for women who have not chosen prostitution. That this, even though as a choice, has a hold in the existence of the market in addition to the socio economic conditions enabling the demand to be answered with a supply does not exclude "voluntary prostitution" from the definition of violation of the dignity of women. The explanation of the differentiation on this account could lie in the issue that the social and economical climate may not be interpreted as an issue to the phenomenon that also goes hand in hand with just that, a choice. Freedom and the respect of choice in the case of occupation is what becomes so obvious, it could be concluded that the free choice is not a free one since there are other hegemonic structures present. But they are interpreted as a choice since the sexual politics shift the morals and values of the idea of consensual acts clashes with expectations. In the discourse of different kinds of prostitution gender roles are so fundamentally constructed throughout society in culture, time and the entity of our existence that it is institutionalized. Sex inequality and the norm of the man is institutionalized thereby their rights are not prioritized but always measured against and thereby in a sense the primarily focus. Generated from the institutionalization of sex inequality policies and principles regarding prostitution creates a focus of the prostitutes needs as well. Mackinnon brings forward the question of the need for special protection and that is quite accurately a relevant subject. Special protection should be given to prostitutes, to women, to children and on it goes. Yet in the discourse on prostitution of the reports this special protection is not to be made against prostitution but the exploitation of the group prostitutes. The identification of a group as prostitutes produce a role and an identity of women that coincides with femininity, the "weaker gender" in subordination with

¹³⁰ View previous research under MacKinnon.

the masculine gender role. Prostitution is a "natural" occupation of women; it is a result of the hegemonic structures that the naturalization of the ideology of man. Extreme or unlawful prostitution (forced prostitution or human trafficking) is treated with legal action / or has the ability to react on it through law as direct discrimination as the market of human trafficking, virtually slavery targets images of women and their dignity since the majority of prostitutes are women.

Further on that note the demand in its turn is upheld by men and women being told what to want, what to be. Sex has such a charged presence in our lives that it becomes a definition of one's identity. But prostitution is not a sexual orientation rather a sexual preference. It is no longer a question of whether one may have sex or not but rather what type of sex is considered normal and what is not, what type of sex is consensual and what is not, what type of prostitution should be accepted what type should not. The violation then turns into an accepted need that hegemonic structures of men that already gives way for the need men have for sex. It cannot be based on any differentiation of actual sexual lust yet the essence of that is still there and the taboo of women's sexuality is still evident. There the double standard which Kate Millett refers back to often. The sexual lust should be contained in its taboo but the exception goes for prostitution as that is "predominant" occupation of women and in majority a role occupied by women. Considering sex, violence and pornography the predomination of law's, values, morals and politics in the interest of men the consent in prostitution is merely a consent for male dominance. If it is not regarded as forced it is consensual even though the same underlying structures that complicate sex equality are furthered through legitimization by reviewing reality that is already unequal. There is a significant difference between consensual sex and consensual prostitution, even so they are both sex and regarded as just by the mere essence of a yes.

A child has securely protected rights against prostitution, child pornography and child slavery in the optional protocol to the convention for the rights of the child. That child is protected against all forms of prostitution and the production of the demand which pornography issues. Though hypothetically when a child would grow to become a young women of adult age these rights would be eliminated as it vanished by the difference of one step across the line. Therefore the power lies with age as well are resulting in political liberation contra restriction. Boys and girls when they are still of a specific age that they are still regarded as children are not differentiated, that is a factor of age and in that a categorization of sex not only in its simple form but in relation to age.

At some point they are sexualized. The difference therefore is established in a timeline as endurance and consent comes with age. Of course children are to be excluded from any form of sexual abuse, act or promotion but the way that this is presented and differed when it comes to women in accordance to the problem of prostitution it turns inadequate, worrying and at the same time consumed by the idea of age in relation to sex and sexuality. Again this one could argue is based on an idea of what a woman is expected to want, to do, the hegemony of age intersected with the social gender. Inferiority of age or the "submissiveness" of children in relation to adults is not a discrimination since it is a question of their ability of independence. Their rights are protected extensively though the optional protocol to the convention of the rights of the child. Women being associated with children in the reports marks the discourse being still in a view that women have dependence, similar to a child. Even so the dependence is issued in the reports of old structures of socio-economic structures that result in women's dependence on men and that these preserve forced prostitution. The same structures apply to prostitution in itself yet that distinction is not made. Evidently again this is referred to the troubles of equality law and special protection. Children need special protection because of their vulnerability but that is something that has to do with maturity of age not gender and thereby children as a social group is defined by that. Women need special protection because they are not men but initiating laws in relation to children only furthers the institutionalization of the hegemony that men are the predominant norm. In addition the fusion enables the refocus of true equality laws as that would have to see to humans in their nature as different from what the structures suggest today. If prostitution of children and women would have the same "protection" the protection should not be needed since child prostitution is utterly forbidden, and considered morally and politically wrong.

Moreover the freedom and the respect for freedom lies in deep connection here as it is easy to relate to a violation of freedom when it is directly violated by a procurer or by an organized crime organization. In the case of forced prostitution the violation of freedom and of dignity is crystal clear as there is question of no choice. The existence of that sort of phenomenon is not hard to rap around our heads as that is so clearly related to forms of slavery. What is not expressed is the lack of understanding for the slavery that each of us are to institutions, to our present society and to our history. Freedom should not be violated but this freedom of choice is only harmful and not anything other than a result of centuries of an idea that if there is a demand there should be a supply

that in itself proves the mark that capitalism has on our institutions and the institutionalization of capitalism. The argument of respect of choice only further denies what is already so evident, that the product of society has a limitation in what is wrong and what is right. One moral or ethic cannot overturn the other, if prostitution is one of the most fundamental offences to women's dignity the inability to refer to "free" prostitution is really an issue of the idea of freedom. Freedom is the ability to choose, but the choice is not free if the situation overcomes the options, when the adaption overcomes aspiration. Again this is what overturns the issue of values to the situational climate that the world presents to an individual. The freedoms we speak of are adapted to the situation the world revolves around, time may change the idea of freedom and that only further confuses the right and the wrong as all these aspects are interchangeable and interconnected with the movement of the world's development. That development has continuously been in the beaming light of capitalism. What one is so overcome by, is the respect for one freedom over the other. The discrimination that functions and is upheld by the inability for an acceptance that even though there is a willingness for supplying the market with a service, the freedom is the centrally and fundamental issue that is founded in an incorrect vision of how individuals go with individuals in correlation to its society. A freedom should never work as a limitation, it should neither be limited, but when an idea of what is freedom collides with what is discrimination that is based on structures of power there is no discussion. Prostitution is presented on two different accounts in the reports one being forced and linked to slavery, an evident crime, and the other a voluntary choice that consists with the freedom of the individual. The image presented by many does not hold as prostitution and forced prostitution a still both find its reason for existence in the same issues. Discrimination of a group versus violation against one's individual freedoms are two concepts that balance on a thin and closely linked line. Who is to interpret what is right is not hard as just because the reasons for why one of the most grievous offences result in two sides of the same coin but with different character, that does not mean that one is discrimination and the other is not.

The universality of human rights is a defuse concept really as it would lie on definitions, principles and values that are not yet successfully constructed. For the evaluation of the final implication is that ethical values and thereby also morals control the society, such values that are initially controlled by the ideology of institutions. The demand for and the ability of supplying a service cannot overweigh morals and ethical values. Though prostitution is still a part of the economical gain and of the rotation of

money and profit, which is an explanation why even the views of prostitution of anything else than discrimination, neither is morally wrong. Thereby the production and industry that generates gain both financial and personal correlations since the economical climate gives way for submissiveness of certain groups to be profitable.

Sexual politics indeed being a silent war between the sexes show the faltering aspect of politics, politics are not sex or gender equal. When Mackinnon discusses the non-existent apprehension of the recognition of sex discrimination in her book *"Are women human?"* she states that the non existence of the acknowledgement of these aspects in CEDAW of sex discrimination, sexual politics finds no ground and becomes inapplicable.¹³¹ Yet when observing and viewing the discussions and discourses evident in the reports the one thing that comes to mind is that something *is* missing, not a tool for it to be regarded as discrimination or free or voluntary but leaving out the entire notion being commented. Prostitution is acknowledged as discrimination as it is clearly stated to be in violation of the dignity of women and as of that in violation of women's dignity and indication of that it is indirect discrimination. It is indirect as there are laws and regulations that protect prostitutes, a vulnerable group, from forced prostitution the discrimination in regard to forced prostitution is direct but society is built on bricks that enable prostitution to exist in the first place and is upheld by all institutions of society. Furthermore, Mackinnon argues the issue lies in the principle and policy making of laws. The instruments of legislation are policies and principles and these are implicitly politics.¹³² In the reports the issue lies in the non commented version which is not forced prostitution. That law does not construe prostitution as discrimination properly lies in the issues with the politics of ideology, thereof the not the morality of that aspect of prostitution as also morality one could argue finds its ground today in politics. Prostitution might be valued as discrimination, it might be valued as sex discrimination but the principals and policies suggest otherwise, therefore the reports show evident that "free" prostitution is in fact a phenomenon that one could call indirect sex discrimination of women as the same causes uphold both forced and "free" prostitution..

Conclusively the discrimination as indirect is the concealed politics. The inability to anchor the discussion of the same phenomenon in equal terms of discourse is deriving parts of the discourse from discrimination and from the universality of human rights. In

¹³¹ View previous research under Catherine MacKinnon.

¹³² View previous research under Catherine MacKinnon.

a sense the reports show that the discourse of prostitution is divided and done so by basic principles of sex and gender equality. These principles make ground for policy of institutions and thereby make way for conceptions that prostitution is not discrimination so directly as forced prostitution is in regard of slavery, fundamental freedoms and the dignity of person.

Now imagine years from now, let us go back to the streets of Amsterdam, to the pavement of the street walks and to the red light district. It is April again and the neighborhood is filled with joy and the happy flusters of the city's visitors. In full view close by one may see traces of the past. What once was the market of flesh, now is a flourishing, healthy part of the beautiful metropolis. Following the canal one is halted by the strike on one glorious though; "prostitution was eliminated from Utopia."¹³³

¹³³ Pomeroy Sarah B, (1995). *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves; Women in Classical Antiquity*, New York : Schocken Books, p 117

Bibliography

Empirical Material:

- *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year*, Mexico City 19 June - 2 July 1975, E/CONF.66/34, New York 1976
- *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace*, Copenhagen 14 - 30 July 1980, A/CONF.94/35 , New York 1980
- *Report of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace*, Nairobi 15 - 26 July 1985, A/CONF.116/28/Rev.1, New York 1986
- *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*, Beijing 4-15 September 1995, A/CONF.177/20/Rev.1, New York 1996

Secondary Material and General Sources:

Literary Works:

- Dworkin Andrea (& Levy Ariel), (2006). *Intercourse*, Basic Books, New York
- Dworkin Andrea, (1989) *Pornography - Men Possessing Women*, Penguin Books USA
- Fairclough Norman, (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, Longman, London
- Fairclough Norman, (2010). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 2nd Edition, Longman, London
- Foucault, M. (1990).§ The history of sexuality: An introduction Vol. 1. Hammondsworth: Penguin
- MacKinnon, C.A. (2006). *Are Women Human? : and other international dialogues*, Cambridge, Mass. : Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, cop. 2006
- MacKinnon, C.A. (1982). *Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State*. Signs 7(3), 515–44
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1987). *Feminism unmodified: Discourses on life and law*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

- Mackinnon Catherine, "*Sex Discrimination*" in Cudd Ann, Andreason Robin, (2005). "*Feminist Theory: A Philosophical Anthology*", Blackwell Publishing Ltd
- Millett Kate, *Sexual Politics*, Pocky (1970), Svensk tryck Holmbergs, Malmö (2012)
- Pomeroy Sarah B, (1995). *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves; Women in Classical Antiquity*, New York : Schocken Books

International United Nations Documents:

- *Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Person and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others*, UN Treaty Series vol.96 p.271, RES/317(IV) of 2 December 1949
- *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, 1249 U.N.T.S. 13, 18 December 1979
- Optional protocol to the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, A/RES/54/263 of 25 May 2000
- *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 2237, p. 319; Doc. A/55/383, A/RES/55/25 of 15 November 2000
- *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, UN Doc. A/RES/217 (III), 10 December 1948. UDHR, UN Doc. A/RES/217 (III), 10 December 1948
- *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, UN Doc. A/RES/55/25 of 15 November 2000
- UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), *General recommendation No.19, Violence against Women, of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, on temporary special measures*, 11th session, 1992

Reports:

- UNESCO, *International Meeting of Experts on the social and cultural causes of prostitution and strategies for the struggle against procuring and sexual exploitation of women*, Madrid, Spain 18-21 March 1986, SHS-85/CONF.608/COL.10
- *Rapport de Penn State en anglais et français*, State College, Pennsylvania, USA, April 1992

Speeches:

- Dworkin Andrea, *Prostitution and Male Supremacy*, Andrea Dworkin delivered this speech at a symposium entitled "Prostitution: From Academia to Activism," sponsored by the Michigan Journal of Gender and Law at the University of Michigan Law School, October 31, 1992

Internet Sources:

- UN Women- Headquarters, World Conference on Women, last viewed 29-12-14
<<http://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/intergovernmental-support/world-conferences-on-women>>