

SEX SOLICITATION BY SHORT WAVE RADIO

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STATUS OF THE CB PROSTITUTE

. Professional prostitutes recognize a status scale which is differentiated by style (Benjamin & Masters 1964). In recent times, some prostitutes use the Citizens' Band (CB) radio to solicit drivers and rendezvous with them along interstate highways. This has opened a lower niche in the profession of commercial sex service.

. Operating from a mobile van, a highway rest area, or a truck stop, CB prostitutes cater to truck drivers who settle for the cramped quarters of a truck cab instead of a bedroom. And the truck driver identifies himself by his radio call name over the airwaves to any CB operator within broadcast range, including other truck drivers who may know him. The driver also faces a greater risk of venereal disease, because this form of sexual exchange makes no provision for sanitation or prophylaxis for disease prevention.

. We collected data for 2 years at one interstate rest area in Oklahoma, known to the drivers as "Good Buddy Park." This includes tape recordings of CB transmissions between prostitutes and truckers, and direct observation of the nocturnal activity in the area. The CB prostitute has created a lower-level entry position in the profession, and may bear some special occupational stigma, besides that conventionally accorded the deviant role of prostitute.

. The descending scale of prostitutes includes 1) the call girl, 2) the streetwalker, 3) the bar prostitute, and 4) the flea bag (Bryant 1977). To this list, Rosenblum (1975) adds the dance hall girl, adolescent, camp follower, brothel prostitute, "beat" prostitute, and those dealing with the more perverse fetish and sado-masochist sex services. In modern times, the CB prostitute has only recently been accorded a categorical distinction, although she is functionally like the "wagon-yard

whore" in 19th Century United States, along the interstate post roads (Ingle 1980). The CB prostitute, like the massage parlor prostitute, has not yet been recognized in the occupational scale of prostitution.

. Rosenblum employed 3 criteria to establish the strata of prostitution: income, general method of operation, and clientele. According to Bryant (1977), the call girl occupies the top stratum of prostitution on the basis of income. The streetwalker is the most visible, and therefore, more vulnerable to law enforcement action. Bryant claims that the streetwalker caters to middle-class clients, while the bar prostitute usually works bars frequented by skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers of the lower middle-class. The "flea bag" prostitute services homeless men on skid row.

. Winick and Kinsie (1971: 28, 132) present two methods to classify prostitutes: 1) by the degree of visibility, as flagrant, semi-flagrant, semi-clandestine, and clandestine; and 2) by personal satisfaction afforded by the locale of their work. They discuss the relative advantages of the working atmosphere of red light districts, brothels, massage parlors, taxi-dance halls, cribs (no longer extant), fairs, streets, hotels, bars, and call houses. For the CB prostitute, we will consider Rosenblum's criteria of income, method, and clientele, Bryant's concepts of appearance and talents, and Winick & Kinsie's concepts of visibility and satisfaction with the work locale.

INCOME In our records, prostitutes never mentioned price, but the drivers do cite prices, often complaining that they are too high. The amounts most mentioned were \$20, \$25, and \$30, depending on the kind of service. A schedule of fees for CB prostitutes operating at a truck stop in

Wheeling, West Virginia starts at \$15 or \$20 for simple coitus, with an increase of \$5 to \$10 for oral intercourse (Hager 1977). A CB prostitute working this location could earn up to \$500 from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. However, most were relinquishing from 40 to 50 percent to their pimps. Lide (1980) interviewed 2 Phoenix, Arizona prostitutes who worked as a team from a customized van on city streets and parking lots. They catered to successful business men in their 30's and 40's who wanted quick service in the early morning before work, during lunch time, or early evening on the way home. These women gave simultaneous oral and anal stimulation for \$50, and conventional coitus for \$70. They claimed that they often earned up to \$500 by 9:30 A.M., and worked weekdays from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.

METHOD OF OPERATION

. At Good Buddy Park, the outlaw, or independent prostitutes arrive in their own car, equipped with a CB radio. Some trucks are already parked in the rest area, and others are on the road within shortwave radio range. Calls are made on Channel 19, the truckers' channel, either by the trucker or by the prostitute. The channel is used by truckers to report breakdowns and accidents, dangers, the location and activity of highway police, venereal disease, and prostitutes (Ingle 1980). The communication between prostitute and trucker pinpoints the trucker's exact location. The prostitute walks up to the truck cab to complete the negotiation. If the terms are accepted, she will enter and stay about 10 minutes. Conditions are cramped in the cab, but there is usually a bunk behind the seat. We observed individual prostitutes visiting up to 30 truck cabs in an evening, with no sanitary or prophylactic application.

. The content of CB solicitation varies, and is often vulgar. Two examples illustrate the more conventional approaches:

Record 1. Prostitute: Yeah, how

about this, Mr. 18-wheeler going down the highway? Would you like to have some fun? Ah, anybody like to see a Beaver tonight? You got my handle (Call name). Come on, talk to me. Come on, one of you horny truck drivers out there. Would you like to see a Beaver tonight?

Driver: You're too damned high.

Prostitute: Ah, well. Hell, maybe next time. You just save your quarters and dimes and maybe sometime we can date.

Record 2. Prostitute: What's happening out in Buddy Park?

Driver: Oh, there ain't much goin' on here. Ah, how you be doin'?

Prostitute: I be doin' fine.

Driver: I be sittin' down in the rest stop, if you ain't got nothin' to do.

Prostitute: Come again?

Driver: I'm sittin' down at the rest area, if you ain't got nothin' to do.

Prostitute: What truck are you in?

Driver: Look for the green trailer.

Prostitute: I hope I'm not wasting my time.

Klein & Ingle (1980c) discuss the role of police in CB prostitution, and describe it as a cat and mouse game. There are periodic police raids and arrests of both prostitutes and clients at Good Buddy Park, but these occur months apart. Traffic law enforcement has higher priority than complaints by truckers requesting a clean-up of the rest area. There was only one deputy sheriff assigned to undercover surveillance of the rest area during our observation. Pimps, prostitutes, and some truckers know that the deputy is there and they know his call name and vehicle. The prostitute's fear of arrest is no greater in Good Buddy Park, than on the streets of Oklahoma City.

CLIENTELE

. CB prostitutes cater to truck drivers, but they can give service to any other motorist or any CB base-station operator. The CB prostitutes at the rest area are

primarily interested in long-distance truckers with 18 wheels. The drivers constitute a homogeneous group whose occupational loneliness, boredom, and isolation from sexual companionship intensify preoccupation with sexual desires. Occupational pressures coupled with the trucker image of heavy manual labor and control of a large vehicle foster a subcultural identity which emphasizes masculinity. In CB conversations between truckers and between truckers and female CB operators sexual topics often frame the context to preserve trucker masculinity and sexual availability. Sexual solicitation by male truckers to female truckers is not uncommon (Klein & Ingle 1980a, 1980b). Lembright and Reimer (1980) report that among female truckers, the most frequent sexual harrassment is subtle propositions by male truckers.

. Truckers are eager for female companionship on the road, and they receive very few refusals by CB prostitutes. In negotiations by the side of the truck cab, either the prostitute or the driver may refuse, and usually, price is the issue. The cabside confrontation enables the prostitute to screen her clients. And being able to identify a trucker's company on his truck or noting his license number can provide her a sense of assurance.

APPEARANCE AND SPECIAL TALENTS

. One prostitute admitted that she had been unsuccessful as a streetwalker because of a lack of seductiveness, and that other prostitutes at the truck stop lacked ability to entice customers outside of a captive situation. At Good Buddy Park, the majority of CB prostitutes are quite attractive, of late teenage, or in their 20's. Clothes worn by these prostitutes are merely suited to the weather, and are not seductive or ostentatious. The rest area is too dimly lit for clothing to be noticed. Competition of 20 to 30 prostitutes for up to 300 truckers is there, but there is no perception of hurt

feelings in the case of refusal. The contract is initiated without face-to-face contact. The trucker has no opportunity to choose from a group of women. The only talent possessed by the CB prostitute is her ability to communicate her message over the air. Her choice of language can either entice the prospective client, or put him off.

VISIBILITY & SATISFACTION WITH LOCALE

. The CB prostitute may be classed as flagrant, with her bold, harsh language in broadcast solicitations. Since we did not interview prostitutes at the rest area, we cannot relate any expressions of personal satisfaction with the work locale. The advantages of CB solicitation on an interstate highway rest area may be stated. The clientele are not selective, and they do not require atmosphere. Rarely are there gaucers or sight-seers in the rest area. Police intervention is at a minimum. The only harrassment that seems to be annoying is the degradation that can be suffered when other drivers monopolize the CB channel to ridicule the prostitutes. This is directed only to the collectivity, and not to individual prostitutes.

CONCLUSION If the CB prostitute degrades the profession, there are lower levels. When a new form of prostitution appears, we can observe its methods, classify the style, and rank it with regard to other styles. Judging CB prostitution by such criteria as income, method, and client, we find that the method and client detract in some ways from the motivating income. The homogeneity of CB clientele can offset the disappointing aspects of trucker character. Appearance and special talents offer the CB prostitute a less demanding public than is the case for streetwalkers and bar girls. Therefore, these can elevate their position regarding CB prostitutes. Degree of public visibility, as a criterion, measures the CB prostitute as an abrasive personality
(Concluded on page 68)

of adding it all together are reduced. The concept of the performance is different. Devices like "meanwhile, back at the ranch" seem inadequate. Until we sense this part of the problem, visual sociology fails tantalizingly. In showing sequence we bring more of the whole which we experience into the statement.

. That is the germ of social experience. Interaction makes continued sense while some ambiguity exists. Easily solved problems are trivial and boring. The siren's song is the enormity of the task. We cannot abandon our holistic hemisphere for the sake of the linear hemisphere. We need both the creative whole and the disciplined sequence. Anything less falls short of our experience.

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(KLEIN INGLE: from page 63) who cannot afford to use subtlety. Work locale and its personal satisfactions need to be explored further. There is a low overhead: no house fees, motel or hotel bills, or apartment rents. The advantage of the locale is that customers come to the site and furnish all physical accommodations. CB prostitution enters the profession at a relatively low level.

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