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**BOGGS, VERNON WILLIAM**  
**A SWEDISH DILEMMA: SCANDINAVIAN PROSTITUTES**  
**AND BLACK PIMPS,**

**CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1979**

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A SWEDISH DILEMMA:  
SCANDINAVIAN PROSTITUTES AND BLACK PIMPS

BY

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## CHAPTER I

### A Swedish Dilemma: Scandinavian Prostitutes and Black Pimps

This is a sociological study exploring why and how the phenomenon of black pimps emerged in Scandinavia during the 1960's and 1970's. During a seven year period, 1971-1978, at least eighteen black Americans, five black West Indians, and two black Africans were convicted in various Swedish courts for the crime of koppleri, or pimping. Thus, the focus of this research effort is to uncover the historical and sociological origins of this phenomenon.

This study considers more than just twenty-five men convicted of a single crime. It also involves complex factors such as the U.S. Army's presence in West Germany; Vietnam - era military deserters in Sweden; Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian prostitutes and non-prostitutes; black American, African, and West Indian nationals; the co-ordination of European and American Law Enforcement agencies under the direction of International Police (Interpol); the Danish and Swedish Criminal Justice systems and officials; the Scandinavian mass media; and the shifting attitudes of the general Scandinavian population. Although the immediate target group of this study is twenty-five men, it actually deals with more than one hundred

people who became intimately involved in the problem of pimping and its control.

Through the operationalization and exploration of various sociological concepts, this study seeks to contribute to fields such as social deviance, social history and race relations. It is an on-site exploration of the inter-relationships of war, inter-racial sex and prostitution in several major urban centers in Western Europe.

Twenty-five men do not constitute a representative sample from which scientific generalizations can be readily drawn. However, the sample represents a substantial number of those persons involved in pimping and hustling in Scandinavia.

An additional aspect of the thesis is that it will illuminate the proliferation and control of the Scandinavian prostitution sub-culture in various urban centers. Although the central focus of this study centers on the experiences of black males with Scandinavian criminal justice systems, it will also show how their experiences contributed to and fomented racial stereotyping throughout Scandinavia. It will help to clarify how racial stereotyping was increased by the Scandinavian mass media with the explicit support of various Swedish criminal justice officials and several social scientists. The thesis will help to fill at least one gap in the social scientific literature on commercial vice by providing depth analysis of the conduct and control of prostitution in

Copenhagen, Malmo, Stockholm, and Goteborg.

The Pimp in American Literature

The paucity of studies of pimps can be summed up in the following quotation by two scholars who had reviewed the world literature: "The extreme paucity of field studies of the [pimp] since the 1920's makes [newspapers, jokes, and the arts and mass media] in many instances, the only available sources."<sup>1</sup> Recently, there have been a number of popular and perhaps somewhat fictional "biographies" such as Iceberg Slim's Pimp; The Story of My Life,<sup>2</sup> Susan Hall's biography of "Silky," Gentleman of Leisure,<sup>3</sup> Randolph Harris' Trickshot: The Story of a Ghetto Pimp,<sup>4</sup> and several books by Donald Goines. Most of these books tend to romanticize; that is, make the pimp appear suave and charming, or justify his lifestyle. Even a number of Hollywood films produced in the late 1960's and early 1970's, such as "Superfly," "The Mack," "Willie Dynamite," and "Gordon's War" tend to romanticize the life of a pimp. Seldom is the reader or viewer, in the case of films, given a fairly accurate picture of a pimp's life. Very often the flamboyant aspects of his life are projected in such a way as to make it seem "cool." The hardships, stresses, failures, pains and aches of "living in the life" are played down in order to make the life of a pimp more attractive. However, there have been a few studies which yield a more accurate rendition of the life of a pimp.

Ben Reitman has written a classic non-sociological report on pimping, The Second Oldest Profession: A Study of the Prostitute's "Business Manager."<sup>5</sup> Reitman had lived and grown up with pimps and had even been their medical examiner in jails, courts, and in "bawdy houses." Both the pimps and prostitutes were his friends and his relationship with them was intimate enough to enable him to elicit life histories. Reitman on many occasions was asked to deliver expert testimony in criminal courts concerning pimps and prostitutes. Thus, it can be said, that Reitman's book, although published more than forty years ago, represents a benchmark. Following Reitman, was Harold Greenwald's The Call Girl, which, in contrast to Reitman's, was a psychiatric treatment of the subject.<sup>6</sup> Then until the late sixties, the interest in pimps was on the decline.

In the early 1970's, the interest in black pimps grew tremendously. As an indication of this interest is the Milners' book Black Players, which grew out of a joint doctoral dissertation in Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley.<sup>7</sup> Both Richard and Christina Milner, the authors, lived and worked among a group of pimps in San Francisco for a number of years. Their participant-observation study is detailed but is limited to California, which some scholars assert is known for bizarre activities. It also resorts to the romanticizing and justifying of a pimp's existence which is typical of books on the subject which were published during the last

decade. Throughout the book the Milners seem to imply that the phenomenon of black pimps is directly related to "goals-means" disjunctures and racial dichotomies prevalent in American Society. However, had the authors been able to devote more time to a study of the women, perhaps a fuller picture might have emerged.

It seems clear on the basis of the current research, that a pimp's status, entrance, and continuance in the life hinges on a prostitute; although he may have been introduced to prostitution by another "player" (pimp) it is necessary for a prostitute to "choose" him. The circumstances under which she chooses him, the manner in which she entered "the life," and her outlook on life, would exert a significant effect upon his role as a player and more importantly his longevity. Thus, the Milner study is somewhat weakened by the omission of a section devoted to the prostitutes.

#### Field Research in Europe

Through a complex set of circumstances the researcher was able, after a number of years, to gain entré into the group he studied. By travelling with some of the respondents throughout Western Europe, the researcher was able to develop a degree of trust and rapport which facilitated his gathering of field notes, verbatim accounts of street action, and life histories. These facets of the study as well as regularly-collected archival materials form the "data" of this study. The author served

as both an informal counselor to the black men involved in the street life of these European vice districts and as an outside observer in Swedish litigation.

For the past nine years, since 1970, the author has conducted field work on prostitution and closely followed attempts by the authorities to control it in four major European cities. Gradually, the research increasingly came to center on situations and events in Sweden, and despite the general patterns of circulation of "players" from one city to another, the author never lost touch with respondents in Denmark and Germany. The specific cities were chosen because initial research revealed that many of the subjects circulated within these cities to form an informal circuit of prostitution and vice.

The major methodological tool used in this study was that of participant-observation.<sup>8</sup> Since the researcher had established earlier acquaintances with some of the members of the target group in this study, it was decided that this type of methodological thrust would be more fruitful than the use of more formal interviewing techniques.

The methodological approach of this study was further aided by the examination of courtroom cases of black pimps convicted in various criminal courts in Sweden. These cases came from the lower courts, appellate courts, and the Swedish Supreme Court. Furthermore, a number of interviews were made with pimps, prostitutes, and those "in the know." In order to

proceed with this undertaking, the author intensively studied Swedish for more than 700 classroom hours in Stockholm, Furuland, and Malmo and also learned Danish.

Frankfurt is one of the most populated cities in Western Germany. Aside from the German population, there are thousands of American G.I.'s stationed in and around the city. To visit "Hauptbahnhof," or main train-station, gives the visitor the eerie feeling that he is on a military base. For uniforms are seen all over and American English is heard almost anywhere in and around the station.

The vice district is located some few hundred yards away from the train station and a shorter distance from the "Rio" and "Corso" bars. These bars, it is said, are "off-limits" to military personnel, but they are favorite "hangouts" in any case for black G.I.'s. It is in these two bars where illicit drug-trafficking and gambling takes place among the black G.I.'s and hustlers.

Somewhat further north is another major city, Hamburg. The city's famous main vice district, called the Reeperbahn, is in the St. Pauli district. The main hangouts for black foreigners are the "Equator" and "Sahara" clubs, located in this district.

In Copenhagen, the vice district is located behind the main train station and in the middle of a low-priced hotel area. The Saga Hotel, formerly a favorite for G.I.'s visiting Copenhagen, is located right on the "stroll," the prostitute's main thoroughfare, and ten minutes away from the now defunct

Casanova Bar.

Malmo, Sweden, which is only about a half hour from Copenhagen by hydrofoil, has its vice district centered five minutes from the heart of the City in a tree-lined park. At the end of its "stroll," is St. Pauli's church. Prior to 1971, the "stroll" was located to the north of the city center near another church. And in Gothenburg, which lies north of Malmo, the vice district is located near the center of the city just as it is in Stockholm.

As these brief descriptions of the vice districts in the various cities show, their location generally attracts urban transients and sometimes American soldiers (although by no means exclusively). In some cases these vice districts have venerable histories and are tolerated by local authorities. In other instances, especially where they are only recently established as centers for commercial sex, the local law enforcement officials are determined to eliminate them. This, as we shall see, was especially true in cities like Malmo which received large and abrupt in-migrations of American deserters and war resisters during the Vietnam War.

#### A Theoretical View of Pimping

Pimping and prostitution are social acts that in most societies violate a country's criminal code. As such, the violators are punished either with fines or imprisonment. These acts are often thought of as violating a norm or behavioral

code and thus bring about negative sanctions or labeling as being deviants.<sup>9</sup>

Becker maintains that it is not the quality of the act that renders a person to be considered deviant, "but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions."<sup>10</sup> While this may be true of some acts, it does not take into account the fact that it is the quality of the act, pimping, which brings about the "consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions."<sup>11</sup> Although one may argue that the label "pimp" is not applied until a conviction has been reached in a criminal court setting, in many instances the vox populi applies the label and creates a situation whereby the labelling process, according to Becker, is set in motion.

Pimping is a deviant act normally defined as "promoting, soliciting for, or living on proceeds derived from acts of female heterosexual prostitution." As in most cases, this deviant occupation does not arise prior to that of female heterosexual prostitution. That is to say, an illegal opportunity structure is needed in order for pimping to flourish. In this study, the ravages of World War II made it possible for prostitution to proliferate in Scandinavia. The war effort also made it possible for Scandinavian females and American males, particularly black American males, to establish relationships which were primarily of a sexual nature.

The women in question practiced a lifestyle which was called half-prostitution, that is, providing sexual services to American soldiers on leave in Denmark. These relationships were not in themselves deviant, but were relationships which provided both the men and the women with opportunities to embark upon deviant occupational careers. Hence, these relationships were fundamentally unintentional nonconformist in nature.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps the core issues involved were the complex factors surrounding inter-racial sex, particularly sex between black males and white females.<sup>13</sup> These relationships later proved to be socially contagious and were widely diffused to other men and women.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the war effort had been instrumental in fostering inter-racial relationships in Denmark which had the added effect of inducing social deviant careers.

The assumption of deviant occupational careers as pimps and prostitutes requires a routinization of roles which facilitates functioning as such. These roles must be learned, internalized and transmitted by individuals possessing a sense of how the sub-culture functions. In addition, either formal or informal settings such as a bar, restaurant or night-club, are needed in order to make a transition from non-deviancy to deviancy.<sup>15</sup>

Pimping, like many other deviant occupational careers is usually tolerated until it surfaces, such as through the mass media, and public attention is focussed upon it. Thus,

the emergence of its existence brings about labelling and the intervention of societal agencies to suppress its existence.<sup>16</sup> However, the intervention of societal agencies usually displaces the phenomenon and it re-emerges elsewhere.

This phenomenon often surfaces in urban areas where transient populations are likely to be concentrated. These areas are also likely to be populated by newcomers to the city, in many cases immigrants. And given the usual economic hardships that foreigners face in the host society, the illegal opportunity network offers them a vehicle by which they can gain vertical, if not horizontal, mobility. Mobility gained by taking advantage of the deviant careers proffered them and in turn sometimes inducing their countrymen to assume similar careers.<sup>17</sup>

The assumption of deviant careers is not predicated upon a certain pre-disposition to social deviant lifestyles by foreigners, but often is based upon the need to resolve cultural conflicts and marginality which often represent the plight of a foreign population in a new environment.<sup>18</sup>

The adaptation that one makes in a new environment is a function of many complex variables; variables such as the "softness" or "hardness" of the society and to a large extent the factors of sex and race. In the case of female foreigners, the path to rapid social adjustment can be facilitated and accelerated by inter-marriage with male members of the host society. Here the question of sex and race often proves to be a helpful vehicle in the process of assimilation.

This of course is true when the female foreign population is not constrained by norms which would define exogamy as negative.

In the case of male foreigners, particularly those having different racial characteristics than the host society's population, assimilation is usually an arduous task. The women with whom they associate are usually unrepresentative of the larger society and like their male companions are stigmatized and considered as "pariahs." Thus these individuals are both seen and treated as "deviants"; deviants in that they do not conform to the normative expectations of the host society.

These couples gradually form a "sub-culture" whose norms and values often diverge from the host society's. When their norms and values markedly diverge from those of the host society and seem to threaten the moral fabric of the society, machinery is set in motion to arrest this development. And in most instances the machinery is directed against the male foreigners rather than at both the women and men. This in turn prompts a surge of national pride and in some instances racial intolerance. As will be seen this was true of Denmark and Sweden.

#### Definition of Terms

Throughout this study, the words pimp, gamester, mack, player, hustler, prostitute, half-prostitute and trick will be used. The word pimp will refer to men who have been convicted

of the crime of koppleri in Swedish courts or alfonserie in Danish courts. The words gamester, player or mack are defined as a male whose major source of income is derived from the proceeds of prostitution. A hustler is a male whose income is derived from a combination of illegal sources such as drug trafficking, prostitution, gambling and the fencing of stolen goods. A trick is a male who solicits, receives, and pays a set sum of money to a prostitute for heterosexual service.

A half-prostitute is defined as a woman whose income derives from the generosity of American G.I.'s and sometimes works as a prostitute in order to secure an income. A prostitute is a woman whose source of income is derived from the selling of heterosexual services to males for a set sum of money or the plaintiff in criminal proceedings against a male defendant indicted for pimping.

#### The Evolution of Swedish Theories on Black Pimping

Within two years of the beginning of this research effort, another investigation began. Detective Tore Olsson of the Malmo Police Morals Squad stated in his paper, The Crime of Pimping in English and Swedish Law, that black pimps in Sweden had "heard from the big boys at home [American pimps in the U.S.A.] what a woman can be used for" and that their modus operandi could be found in Pimp: The Story of My Life by Iceberg Slim,<sup>19</sup> and in 1976 it was theorized that since black Americans came from the big-city ghettos where pimping

and prostitution are a dominant feature, this would account for the large number of black Americans convicted in Swedish courts for the crime of pimping.<sup>20</sup>

These theories were advanced in order to establish that prostitution was a problem not germane to Swedish society. It was transferred to Sweden by Americans who were thoroughly familiar with deviant lifestyles, particularly black American males.

#### Summary

This chapter introduces the study "A Swedish Dilemma: Scandinavian Prostitutes and Black Pimps" from a socio-historical point of view. The dilemma referred to herein was the origin of the relationships of Scandinavian females and black males in a deviant sub-culture. This dilemma, which the Swedish authorities were faced with, can be expressed in the following questions: (1) What could account for the emergence of black pimps in Sweden; (2) how could the Swedish authorities check and arrest its spread without creating the impression that Sweden was racist; and (3) since the black American Vietnam War military deserters were deeply involved in this sub-culture, how could Sweden react without appearing to be reversing its humanitarian stance concerning these men? Thus, in this study it will clearly be seen how the inter-relationships between war, inter-racial sex and social deviance created a dilemma for Sweden and brought forward the racialistic character of that country.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Charles Winick and Paul M. Kinsie, The Lively Commerce (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971).

<sup>2</sup>Iceberg Slim, Pimp: The Story of My Life (Los Angeles: Holloway House Publishing Co., 1969).

<sup>3</sup>Susan Hall, Gentleman of Leisure (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1973).

<sup>4</sup>Randolph Harris, Trickshot: The Story of a Ghetto Pimp (Los Angeles: Holloway House Publishing Co., 1974).

<sup>5</sup>Ben Reitman, The Second Oldest Profession: A Study of the Prostitutes "Business Manager" (New York: Vanguard Press, 1931).

<sup>6</sup>Harold Greenwald, The Call Girl (New York: Ballantine Books, 1958).

<sup>7</sup>Richard and Christina Milner, Black Players (London: Michael Joseph, Ltd., 1973).

<sup>8</sup>cf. Howard S. Becker, Outsiders (New York: The Free Press, 1966); Jack D. Douglas, ed., Research on Deviance (New York: Random House, 1972); Ned Polsky, Hustlers, Beats, and Others (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967); Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1956).

<sup>9</sup>cf. Becker, op. cit.; Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947);

<sup>10</sup>Becker, op. cit.

<sup>11</sup>Ian Taylor, et al., The New Criminology (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973).

<sup>12</sup>Becker, op. cit.

<sup>13</sup>Calvin C. Hernton, Sex and Racism in America (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965).

<sup>14</sup>Gustave Le Bon, The Crowd (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969).

<sup>15</sup>cf. Becker, op. cit.; Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1966); Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957).

<sup>16</sup>Becker, op. cit.

<sup>17</sup>cf. Kingsley Davis, Human Society (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1970); Edwin H. Lemert, Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967); Sutherland and Cressey, op. cit.; Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organization (New York: Schocken Books, 1962); Merton, op. cit.

<sup>18</sup>cf. Everett V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man (New York: Russell & Russell, 1971); Merton, op. cit.; Thorsten Sellin, Culture Conflict and Crime (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938).

<sup>19</sup>Tillampade Studier i Straffratt, Lund, Sweden: Lund Universitet, 1975.

<sup>20</sup>Sven-Axel Mansson and Stig Larsson, Svarta Affarer (Malmo, Sweden: Malmo Socialforvaltning, 1976).

## CHAPTER II

### A Historical View of Prostitution: Sweden and Denmark

The commercial selling of sexual services is a phenomenon all too well known. It encompasses two major aspects: homosexuality and heterosexuality. The homosexual aspect is usually defined as sexual acts which take place between males for a set sum of money. Two major sub-divisions are fellatio and anal sex. However, merely the fondling of male organs by another male is also noted to occur. Heterosexual prostitution, sexual acts which take place between a male and a female, is the focus of this study. While recognizing that a male can, and does, sell sexual services to a female, this study is confined to that of women who sell to men. As will be seen later, the woman as a seller, or prostitute, the man as a buyer, or trick, and the woman's companion, pimp or player, play a significant role in the study of female heterosexual prostitution. The prostitute, the trick, and the player are a social triad which forms the basic structure of prostitution. However, the structure of this phenomenon is in reality that of a dyad: the prostitute and the trick. This is true in that heterosexual prostitution can function well without a pimp. However, should either the prostitute or trick permanently remove themselves from the triad, this form of prostitution would cease to exist. But it seems necessary to discuss

prostitution in this fashion in light of the social changes which modern societies are faced with. Historically it can be amply shown that society has grappled with this phenomenon for centuries. Even modern societies such as those found in Scandinavia have attempted to control the proliferation of commercial sex mainly through legislation. But despite the vigorous attempts to arrest and control it, prostitution still persists. Thus, in reading this chapter it will be seen how two modern societies, Denmark and Sweden, have attempted to control the spread of female heterosexual prostitution and the sub-culture it has generated.

Swedish prostitution was "discovered" more than three hundred years ago. It was not permitted to exist because it ran counter to the needs of an expanding society. Thus, in 1734, a law was enacted that not only railed against prostitution but its closely allied phenomenon, procuring, the act of securing a market for the sellers of sexual services. This law punished the owner and operators of brothels, as well as prostitutes, in the following ways: for those who "hold such houses and social gatherings where immorality and looseness are practiced be placed in the pillary for three days for procuring...The women, who in such a house let themselves be employed in weak living, shall be immediately seized and placed under arrest, and afterwards be sentenced according to the crime to fines or general work..."<sup>1</sup>

Prostitution continued, although it was clearly illegal. Throughout the 19th Century, various law commissions set about re-structuring the law in order to rid the society of immorality and vice.<sup>2</sup> It is even possible that a number of prostitutes, who had fallen victim to the law on prostitution, were forced to emigrate to America during 1859 to 1884, at the height of Swedish mass immigration.<sup>3</sup> Vagrancy, as prostitution was then considered, was severely looked down upon and a crime not tolerated in a developing society like Sweden.<sup>4</sup>

Then at the turn of the century, prostitution became a more serious social question; for the Swedish government tried to find "a better way to counteract the spreading of venereal diseases," namely, syphilis.<sup>5</sup> In 1917 and 1918, the law on procuring began taking shape for the coming years, whereas, on the other hand, prostitution ceased to be a criminal offense.<sup>6</sup>

Procuring had become the most important question in terms of prostitution. Questions dealing with the prostitute's activity never seem to have arisen in a serious fashion during more than two centuries. The effect of making prostitution legal was to grant the prostitute the right to dispose of her body as she saw fit. Furthermore, the law allowed her to develop a clientele who were willing to pay for her services without fear of legal sanctions.

Between 1948 and 1965, a legal committee set about "working out recommendations for new legislation" which even included procuring.<sup>7</sup> And in 1965, the law against procuring underwent another change.<sup>8</sup> In 1969 an amendment was added and even the concept "'felonious pimping' was inserted in the second passage..."<sup>9</sup> Although several attempts were made to re-structure the law during the next five years, as of October 1978, the law of 1965-1969 remained in effect. Thus, in today's Sweden, prostitution is permitted as well as its clientele whereas pimping remains a criminal offense.

At the end of the sixties, Sweden had begun to experience a re-birth of prostitution. The Danish authorities, who will be discussed in the next section, began a drive to rid Copenhagen of pornography and the activities associated with it. Simultaneously, the number of sex clubs throughout Sweden began to rapidly increase qualitatively and quantitatively, which set the stage for the numerous pimping convictions in the 1970's in Malmo, the third largest city in Sweden.

#### The Prostitute's Customer: A Visible Anomaly

Without clientele, prostitution could not exist. Yet this factor has been overlooked in the Swedish academic treatment of prostitution. Very little, if anything, has been written on this question. It appears as though the prostitute's client is absolved from complicity in this matter.

The "trick," as he will be referred to hereafter, is without a doubt the most important link in the chain of prostitution. It is he who buys or determines the costs. The trick is a reflection of economic theory: if the demand (sexual services) is low and the supply (prostitutes) is high, the costs involved are very low. On the other hand, if the demand is high and the supply is low, the costs are considerably higher. However, the trick has the potential power to reduce the costs even though the supply is low. This can be verified by examining the first encounter between the trick and the prostitute; very often on this encounter, the trick will attempt to persuade the prostitute to lower the price, while realizing that the fees for her services are fixed.

#### The Golden Codfish

The Swedish word "Guldtorsken," literally translated, means the Golden Codfish. In slang it means "Sugar Daddy." The Golden Codfish is a man that almost every Swedish prostitute wishes to catch. One never knows where he might be: on the street, at a sex-club, bar, hotel, on the train or even at the airport. The Golden Codfish "swims" along when least expected and prostitutes hope that he is in a "biting mood." However, for every Golden Codfish, there may be more than 1,000 regular "torskar" or codfish. And it is the regular "codfish" that make up most of the prostitute's trade.

The "torsk," or trick, is offered a variety of sexual service by prostitutes: Swedish massage, French massage, Spanish massage, American massage, and Danish massage. The Swedish massage is masturbation for which the torsk pays a street prostitute \$15 while she's fully clothed. Should he want her to remove her clothing, it may cost an additional \$10. The non-street prostitute charges \$20-\$30 for a Swedish massage with all her clothes on. The removal of her clothes requires an additional \$10.

The French massage or fellatio, costs \$20 with a street prostitute and \$40-\$50 with a non-street prostitute. The Spanish massage, which is the rubbing of the male organ between the prostitute's breasts in order to reach ejaculation, and the American massage, whereby the prostitute rolls her naked body over the trick's, are priced in accordance to the customer's ability to pay.

The Danish massage, or regular sexual intercourse, costs between \$10 and \$40 on the street, while at the sex-club, it costs from \$40-\$60. At some of the major Swedish hotels, where prostitution clandestinely flourishes, one hour may cost \$120-\$200. An overnight stay, "a long time," may cost a trick, upwards from \$400. However, it is mandatory that no kissing takes place between the two parties, a prophylactic is always used, and unless otherwise specified, the act should be completed within ten to twenty minutes.

The amount of money a prostitute may make in a week is dependent upon a large number of variables such as the number of "competitors" the prostitute may have, the "purchasing power" and willingness of the tricks, the size and location of the town or club in which she works, her personal attitude towards her activity, the attitudes of local law-enforcement agencies towards prostitution, the amount of time that she works, and many other variables which are too numerous to be mentioned here. However, the average non-street prostitute in Sweden, during 1973-1976, could gross \$1,400-\$1,600 weekly while the street prostitute could net between \$1,000 - \$1,200 weekly after deducting her expenses.

The overwhelming percentage of tricks in Sweden are Swedish males between 30-55 years of age and represent a cross-section of Swedish social and economic classes. Whereas, in Copenhagen, a significant percentage of the tricks are non-Danish citizens, usually tourists and businessmen. The "services" that tricks desire can be quite varied.

It was reported that one street trick in Malmo, wanted prostitutes to empty the contents of a used condom in his mouth; another wanted the prostitutes to sit on a chair with a sawed-out hole to defecate in his face while he lay under the chair with a towel over his chest; another is reported to enjoy licking a toilet seat; others like to kiss a prostitute's feet, to spank or be spanked, to have her crawl

naked on the floor with a chain around her neck while "barking" like a dog or "neighing" like a horse, to have her change his diapers or to watch him masturbate or just to tell him he's handsome and charming. These are just a few of the "irregular" sexual services demanded by tricks.

In the sex-clubs, the audience is shown sex-films and boxing-films to whet their sexual appetites or to attract them to the clubs. They are also given the opportunity to see a (simulated and sometimes real) lesbian show on the stage as well as strip-teasing or heterosexual live shows. Frequently, a strip-teaser does a "fruit-show." This consists of cutting fruit into small pieces, rubbing them over her body, and offering the pieces to the male audience to be eaten. The fruit-show very often ends with the insertion of a banana into her vagina and then offering it to the audience to be eaten. The "water-show" is the taking of a bath on stage and inviting volunteers to wash the prostitute's body and sometimes to take a bath with her.

As was mentioned earlier, prostitution could not exist if men refused or had no need for a prostitute's services. However, as the previous two sections indicate, the trick is a key factor in the sub-culture of prostitution; a factor that cannot be overlooked.

Pimps: the Cause of Prostitution..  
in Sweden: 1696-1970

As suggested earlier, Swedish legislators enacted laws which were aimed primarily at procurers, procuresses, and pimps. These three groups were constantly blamed for being basically the cause of prostitution. As early as 1887, one writer suggested that "virtuous matrons were the prime cause of prostitution," and proceeded to discuss prostitution as resulting from illegitimacy and household servitude in the homes of farmers.<sup>10</sup> Other writers felt that "other women" were causing the phenomenon.<sup>11</sup> As time progressed, other causal theories were advanced: "unfavorable home conditions,"<sup>12</sup> "newcomers to the city,"<sup>13</sup> "economic greed,"<sup>14</sup> "lonliness, isolation and economic emergency."<sup>15</sup> Gradually, these causal theories were replaced with new ones; some more sophisticated and others which clung to the past, but neither being explicit.

Prostitutes were sometimes seen as being misfits in the larger society. Since " in a society with good employment opportunities, good pay for women, and social equality it is reasonable to assume that virtually only psychically defective women become prostitutes."<sup>16</sup> They were called "immoral, lazy and dangerous."<sup>17</sup> Both the pimp and the prostitute came under the scrutiny of the public but the prostitute's patron, or customer, remained an anomaly.

Throughout literature published in Sweden, the pimp was always cast in the forefront as the main cause. Pimps were seen as con-men, thieves, blackmailers, men of violence, beggars and narcotics addicts, while the prostitutes were called alcoholics or "fallen" women.<sup>18</sup> Throughout the years, Swedish opinion, as in most societies, has nurtured the highest contempt for the pimp; although it appears as though he undoubtedly is the effect rather than the cause of the union between the prostitute and her clientele.

#### Danish Prostitution

Danish prostitution, which had been occurring for many years, was firmly put in check in 1901 with the prohibition against brothels.<sup>19</sup> And by 1906, the regulating of Danish prostitution had come to a stop and a new law, in October 1906, had taken its place:

As a replacement the law introduced rules about that whoever did not have a legal profession and who had been enjoined to seek such a profession could be punished with imprisonment. Among other things, immorality was not accepted as a legal profession and thus professional immorality was punished as vagrancy when the persons concerned had not secured a job after being warned. Furthermore, it was punishable to practice immorality in such a way that neighboring people felt themselves insulted by the activity, like even "walking on the street" was considered as an infraction of the police regulations.<sup>20</sup>

Although the "October Law," as it was called, was designed to put a halt to Danish prostitution, the problem continued to plague Danish authorities some forty-odd years later.

On June 4, 1947, the law was somewhat amended in order to arrest the spreading of venereal diseases.<sup>21</sup> And by the early fifties,

Copenhagen's Police Morals Squad (had) in accordance with the above-discussed regulations, during the period January 1, 1953 to January 1, 1958, taken actions against several thousand loose-living girls and had, during the same time period, taken in custody over 1,000 of the so-called "American Girls."<sup>22</sup>

Thus, almost fifty years after the passing of the October Law the Copenhagen Police still had serious problems coping with prostitution. And, it seems as though their major problem was the so-called "American Girls." The "American Girls," according to Jens Jersild, were "half-prostitutes" who were

...as a rule rather young women who because of a pleasure-seeking nature and having a need for gifts and allowances get mixed up with occasional masculine people. Although they often receive money out of their relationships, however, the distinctive difference between them and the whole-prostitutes is that as far as they are concerned, it doesn't involve a demand for money "up front" at first, in that the payment is often given afterwards, for example, taxi-fare home or as "keeping-you-company" money; that is to say, that they get the money or some of the money that the waiter, during the restaurant visit, gives back....<sup>23</sup>

These half-prostitutes became visible when foreign troops or naval ships visited Copenhagen and rapidly multiplied not long after World War II. It was during

...this period of time that only the smallest amount of young women themselves could anyhow get specially well-

paid jobs, aside from those of house-assistants, but nonetheless they were found on board foreign ships in the harbor or at the small hotels, where they were lodging with occasional masculine people -- especially American soliders...<sup>24</sup>

Although there was a large number of whole-prostitutes in Copenhagen as well, the American Girls at the end of the forties and well into the seventies, became a major problem for the Copenhagen Police Morals Squad:

"Irma" is a 21 year old Danish female who works the strolls in both Copenhagen and Sweden. She began prostitution at thirteen years of age. She's considered a "dog" by most of the gamesters who also state that "anybody can pull her and get the cake" but no male remains with her for long periods. She is amiable and likes to talk. She also has a small baby whom she seems not to know who the father is. The following conversation was held in a bar.

- R: Hi Irma! How are you?  
 Irma: I was sick for awhile but now I'm o.k.  
 R: How's your baby and your brother?  
 I: They're fine. You see these pants, my boyfriend sent them to me from Germany.  
 R: You got a new boyfriend now? Is he in the army?  
 I: Yes, he's stationed in Frankfurt where I met him when me and Olga (a Norwegian prostitute who works the streets in Copenhagen and Denmark) were there two weeks ago.  
 R: Oh yea? Did you like Frankfurt? Where did you go in Frankfurt?  
 I: You know the Rio and the Corso Bars? We went there and had a lot of fun. Olga is going back after she makes some money and so am I. But my boyfriend wants me to stop working and get a job so we can get married and live in California when he gets out of the army.  
 R: Yea, you should stop working 'cause you've been out there a long time now haven't you? About four or five years?  
 I: (Smiles) More than that, but I won't tell you how long.  
 R: Aww, come on! We're supposed to be friends. Why hide it from me? Pretty please?  
 I: Well...eight years.  
 R: Eight years? No, you're too young for that! I don't believe you!  
 I: I started in Copenhagen when I was thirteen.

- R: How did this happen?  
 I: I had a girlfriend who always had a lot of money, so I asked her how she had so much. So she took me with her and showed me but I was scared and ran away. The next night she told me she made love with her boyfriend so why not get money for it. So she took me to a man in a car and asked him for 600 Danish crowns for me and in an hour I made 800 Danish crowns. (= \$160). So I went home and gave the money to my boyfriend.  
 R: Was he Danish?  
 I: No, he was a black soldier.  
 R: What did he say when you gave him the money?  
 I: He asked me where I got it and I told him, so he beat me and tried to make me stop. But I like money.  
 R: Did your girlfriend have a black boyfriend?  
 I: Yes, there was six of us.  
 R: When was that?  
 I: That was in 1969.  
 R: What happened to your other girlfriends?  
 I: Well, the girl who showed me what to do, died on the street. Narcotics. The other girls married black soldiers.

As the above conversation shows, an early attraction and camaraderie developed between the "American Girls" and black American G.I.'s. This attraction, both cross-culturally and interracially, laid the foundation for the future development of black pimps in Scandinavia.

#### The Prostitute's Customer: From Shadow to Substance

Just as in Swedish literature, the "trick" remained an anomaly. Books were written that examined the causes of Danish prostitution, but there was little if any mention of the trick.<sup>25</sup> However, as one scholar noted:

The main parties in the prostitution-contract are the prostitute and her patron. As an interested third party is the prostitute's exploiter, pimp, procurer, assigner and others who directly or indirectly draw income from her prostitution.<sup>26</sup>

The trick is considered by the author to be "the most important party in this triangle of vice," since it is "his demand that creates the supply."<sup>27</sup> The trick's "enormous army has succeeded in keeping an almost impenetrable anonymity while the prostitutes, and to some degree even their exploiters, have been examined out of ethical, sociological, biological and medical viewpoints to almost (be the leading causes)."<sup>28</sup>

For the author, the tricks come from all sectors of society. Although the bachelor is commonly thought to abstain from soliciting the services of a prostitute, he may only do so because

his home district won't allow prostitution. Of course, the lack of venal women is only one cause for his good behavior. There also can be found moralistic qualifications even with celibates. But should he come to the big city, his morals easily slide away, and even worse, if he travels abroad. Man bears a heavy burden: his polygamous nature.<sup>29</sup>

The married men who visit prostitutes, suffer from the deficiencies in their marital relationships when it comes to sex. But regardless of whether a man is a ruler or a slave to the wage system, the occasion arises where he might seek the services of a prostitute.<sup>30</sup>

#### The Pimps: Their Relation to Danish Prostitution

"Alfonserne," the pimps, were considered to be the "fourth" cause of Danish prostitution.<sup>31</sup> Their brutality towards the prostitute, their means of introducing "innocent" women into prostitution, and their greed has been closely examined.<sup>32</sup> The Danish pimp, like his Swedish counterpart, was held in society's highest contempt.

According to one author, the pimps could be divided into three categories: the active, the passive and the very active.<sup>33</sup> The difference between the three is that the "passive" pimp is a man who may engage in the heavy consumption of alcoholic beverages. Thus, his household economy is in disrepair. Unknown to him, his wife is tempted to engage in prostitution in order to "make ends meet." When he finally learns what she has been doing, he is shocked and hurt. But after a while he learns to adjust to her "new" lifestyle. He may walk the dog, baby-sit, or lie in the bed with the children while his wife makes ends meet. He is the epitome of a passive "alfons," or pimp.

The "active" pimp warns the prostitute when the police may be coming. This of course spares her the embarrassment of being arrested on a vagrancy charge. Furthermore, it keeps him from losing capital while she's away.

The "very active" pimp is one who takes part in the prostitute's work. He may sit in the kitchen in order to protect her from an eventual violent trick or to demand that the trick leave if he feels they have spent too much time together. He may violently force his woman into prostitution if he has a need for money.<sup>34</sup> Even murders of prostitutes were known to take place in his circles in the late 1940's.<sup>35</sup>

"Alfonserie," or pimping, was commonplace during the twentieth century in Copenhagen. In one particular case, in 1934, a Dane was convicted of seven years of pimping.<sup>36</sup>

But despite the fact that the pimp has been considered to be "the third interested party," he is often considered to be the most detestable man in Western societies and basically the cause of prostitution.

#### Summary

In this chapter the historical development of the sub-culture of Scandinavian prostitution was examined in two countries, Sweden and Denmark, in terms of a triadic relationship. A relationship involving three people, the prostitute, the trick and the pimp. However, the phenomenon of Danish prostitution took on added significance, particularly in Copenhagen, during the post-World War II period.

This period uncovered a dormant phenomenon in Copenhagen called "half-prostitution." Although half-prostitution was noticed to be flourishing in Copenhagen as early as the second decade of the 1900's, it had changed in character and acquired a new element; an element of an inter-racial nature: black American G.I.'s and Danish girls. This type of an inter-racial relationship was also noticed to have occurred in Britain during World War II, but various social dynamics found in English society did not permit the inter-racial relationships to develop to the degree that they did in Copenhagen.<sup>37</sup> Another element contained in the relationships was that of cross-cultural attraction. The Danish girls with whom the G.I.'s associated were called "Amerikaner Piger" or

American Girls. This term was one of endearment rather than of opprobrium. Nonetheless, these cross-cultural and interracial relationships viewed against the back-drop of a world war, were instrumental in partly creating and supporting an opportunity structure which gave momentum to the proliferation of Danish half-prostitution in the 1950's in Denmark.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Tore Olsson, Koppleribrottet i Svensk Och Engelsk Ratt (Applied Studies in Criminal Law, Lund University, 1975) p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Edvard Welander, Blad Ur Prostitutionsfragans Historia i Sverige (Stockholm: Hugo Gebers Forlag, 1904) p. 126.

<sup>4</sup>Sven-Hugo Ryman, "Prostitutions-och Losdrivar-Lagstiftningen," Nordisk Kriminalteknisk Tidskrift 33 (1963): 145-159. Cf. Edith Otterstrom, Delinquency and Children from Bad Homes (Uppsala: The State Institute of Human Genetics and Race Biology, 1946) p. 259, and S. Ringby, "The Influence of the Latest World War on Criminality in Sweden," Select Papers on Penal and Penitentiary Affairs IV (November 1951): 237.

<sup>5</sup>Olsson, Koppleribrottet i Svensk Och Engelsk Ratt, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, pp. 5 - 7

<sup>7</sup>Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid

<sup>9</sup>Ibid

<sup>10</sup>Knut Wicksell, Om Prostitutionen: Huru Mildra Och Motverka Detta Samhallsonda? (Stockholm: Kungholms Bokhandel, 1887) pp. 2 - 78. Cf. Jonas Frykman, Horan i Bondesamhallet (Lund: Liber Laromedel, 1977).

<sup>11</sup>Staten's Offentliga Utredning, Utredning Med Losdrivarlagens Upphavande m.m. (Stockholm: 1949) 4:73-75; and also Dick Blomberg, Den Svenska Ungdomsbrottsligheten (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1960), p. 99.

<sup>12</sup>John Takman, "Promiskuosa, Prostituerade och Alkoholiserade Flickor," Sociala Meddelanden 4 and 5 (1962): 389 and also "Flickprostitutionen I Sverige," Sociala Meddelanden II. (1954): 659-677.

<sup>13</sup>S.O.V. Supplement 2, op. cit., p. 63.

- <sup>14</sup>Sweden's Supreme Court Case B114/76 Supplement 1.
- <sup>15</sup>John Takman, "Prostitution" Sexologi, Edit. Joachim Israel (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970) p. 173.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 429.
- <sup>17</sup>S.O.V., op. cit. pp. 83 - 109.
- <sup>18</sup>Gustav Jonsson, "Soutenoren som Psykologisk och Social Typ," Festskrift, Edit. Olof Kinberg (Stockholm: Stockholm's Bokindustri A.B., 1938) pp. 184 - 195 and Torsten Eriksson, Prostitution Och Samhället (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Forlag, 1939).
- <sup>19</sup>Jens Jersild, "Amerikanerpiger," Popular Tidskrift For Psykologi Och Sexualkunskap 9 (1958) 2: 63.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>22</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup>Leif Beckman and Herlof Petersen, "Kampen Mod Prostitution," Kampen Mod Forbrydelsen (Copenhagen: Emil Wienes Forlag A/S, 1952) II p. 473.
- <sup>24</sup>Ibid., P. 473
- <sup>25</sup>Tage Kemp, Prostitution (Copenhagen: Levin & Munkgaard, 1936).
- <sup>26</sup>Torsten Eriksson, Prostitution Och Samhället (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Forlag, 1939) p. 26.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 30.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 35 - 37.
- <sup>31</sup>Kemp, Prostitution, p. 190
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 214 - 223.
- <sup>33</sup>Beckman and Petersen, "Kampen Mod Prostitution," p. 478.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 478 - 482.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 482 - 488.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. Norman Loggmate, The G.I.'s: The American in Britain 1942 - 1945 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975) Ch. II "Blacks Tuesdays, Whites Wednesdays."

### CHAPTER III

#### The Black G.I. and Copenhagen: 1946-1970

Racial discrimination in the forties and fifties was a public issue in both the American military and non-military sectors. This issue was extremely sensitive for the Armed Forces involved in the European Theatre during the 1940's and 1950's. What partly lay at the bottom of the military's problem was the fraternization of black troops with European women. The spectre of inter-racial sex, upon which the American version of racialism was based, caused problems for military commanders. How could they discourage this phenomenon at home and allow it to flourish in Europe? Thus, the American government and the governments of France and Britain tried to resolve this question in a "gentlemanly" fashion. However, "gentlemen's agreements" are usually powerless when it involves the suppression of human instincts, particularly that of sex.

The issue of sex, although stripped of its inter-racial component, was a major factor in the enactment of the "anti-fraternization" laws which the Allied Commanders issued to their troops with women of enemy nationality, but became part of the push-pull factors that attracted G.I.'s to Paris and Copenhagen on military leaves. However, the French language proved to be a major obstacle for G.I.'s visiting the country. The same was true for those visiting Denmark, but

the Danish girls, unlike their French counterparts, attempted to communicate with the visiting G.I.'s more in English than in their native tongue. In addition to this, the Danish girls were very liberal on the issue of pre-marital coitus. This liberal attitude was not only displayed to white G.I.'s but to black G.I.'s as well.

The black G.I.'s in particular represented a new and exciting sexual experience for Danish girls. An additional experience in associating with G.I.'s was that since their monthly salary was very often several times higher than those of the girls with whom they consorted, they offered the women luxuries that the women wanted but could not afford.

Although the Danes were racially tolerant, the G.I.'s began establishing racial frontiers in Copenhagen. The frontiers were erected upon informal racial exclusionary policies; one club or hotel for white Americans and another for those who were black. An example of one frontier was that white G.I.'s frequented the "Dixie Bar" while the black G.I.'s frequented "Casanova Bar." The name "Dixie Bar" is a clear indication of the informal racial exclusionary policy that the G.I.'s practiced in Copenhagen. However, the "Casanova Bar" which represented the "territorial rights" of black G.I.'s became a major social institution for them.

The Casanova Bar, which remained in existence until July 30, 1978, was

a bar that opened in Copenhagen around 1946, shortly after World War II. The clientele was mostly made up of Black Americans, other non-white ethnic groups, and Black G.I.'s on leave from Germany...The Casanova regulars...refer to the bar as "The Nova" or "The Jungle." Someone recently called it -- "The Plantation" -- which in regards to the situation there seems the most apt and definitive title.<sup>1</sup>

And it was in this bar and in various hotels that the black G.I.'s met "Amerikanerpiger" or "American Girls."

The "American Girls" belonged to a category of women who can be called "quasi- or semi-prostitutes." Before World War II, they had different names:<sup>2</sup>

Today they are called American Girls. Before the war, they were called the Long-Line Girls and during the war German Girls with different less-flattering surnames. But since the Long-Line ships seldom came and the Germans were hated, the Americans are in abundance and very often welcomed tourists.

The American Girls came from all social classes. However, one can place the "typical" American Girl in the "working class." An example of an American Girl can be seen in the following passage:<sup>3</sup>

Fourteen years old, she was fired from her job through no fault of her own and without permission goes off to Copenhagen....She is taken into custody by the juvenile authorities and placed in a home. After several controversies and returns home, she at seventeen years old, travels to Copenhagen and gets a job as a hotel maid. However, she neglects her duties and goes to night clubs and bars with American soldiers on leave.

After she has been with several soldiers on leave, she sets up a steady relationship with some of them:<sup>4</sup>

She "goes on shift" between them, who, each in his turn, pay for her room and board and supply her with pocket money for her small necessities. When they depart, they give her the remaining Danish currency that they have. With this money, she takes a little recreation-pause in order to regain her strength for her next friend's arrival. She feels strongly attracted to this way of living since she thinks that the American soldiers are both courteous, entertaining and generous; as well as she also places a high value on the comradeship which exists within the ranks of the American Girls.

Another example of an American Girl is the story of a religious girl who became pregnant at an early age and married the baby's Danish father. Shortly thereafter her husband was drafted into the military service and soon discovered during his absence that she had been unfaithful. Thus, they divorced. Then,

One evening a somewhat older woman takes her to an American bar. The girl thinks that it is exciting and that the American soldiers are very polite and attentive. During a long period of time, she has been an American Girl and has become pregnant.<sup>5</sup>

And by the 1950's, the American Girl had become an established phenomenon in Copenhagen's night life activities; activities in which American soldiers were increasingly involved.

By 1953, the Danish authorities had noted an alarming rise in the number of cases of venereal diseases carried by American Girls. Thus, the Copenhagen Morals Police began raiding places frequented by the American soldiers:<sup>6</sup>

From June 1 to November 15, 1953, a total of 117 American Girls were taken by the Morals Squad. 61 were taken into custody at the bars and 51 at the so-called American hotels...Of the 61, 22 were taken in custody simultaneously during a raid at one of the more notorious American bars.

And by January 1, 1958, more than 1,000 American Girls had been taken into custody by the Danish Police. Although more

than 1,000 had been taken into custody, the phenomenon of the American Girl continued.

The American Girl phenomenon was clearly related to World War II. Denmark, having to finance the upkeep of its Nazi occupiers, was left financially unstable after the war. This was true for most European countries whose economies were also placed in a state of unstable equilibrium due to the war effort. But to a small degree, the money being spent in Copenhagen by G.I.'s on leave helped the Danish economy. Thus they became "welcomed tourists" and attracted the attention of Danish girls.

This attraction although originating from a financial and emotional need, quickly developed into an accepted routine. A routine repeated again and again, which was inadvertently socializing other Danish girls. The routinization of the process became an acceptable way of life for significant sectors of the Danish female population. It also became a fad to receive support from American G.I.'s, a fad spread throughout the community through a process of social contagion. However, what had merely begun as a fad, that is, half-prostitution, was evolving into a proliferation process of Scandinavian prostitution in the 1960's.

The Vietnam Era G.I.'s and Copenhagen

By the 1960's, American soldiers had become more popular in Copenhagen. The original "Amerikanerpiger" had disseminated to their successors the attachments that they had developed for American G.I.'s and in 1961, Drs. Gunnar Mortensson and Emma Vestergaard of the Danish Department of Justice's Psychiatric Examination Clinic published a report on the "Psychiatriske Undersøgelser af unge Prostituerede Kvinder."<sup>7</sup> The report concerned 457 young women, who in the years 1952 to 1959, were examined in their clinic, Department B. They divided the women into five different categories:(1) those predestined to prostitution; (2) the intellectually defective; (3) the conflict-filled; (4) the character insufficient; and (5) the pleasure-seekers into which the "Amerikanerpiger" fit.

They reported that these women had three special locales in Copenhagen where they were found. The "Amerikanerpiger," who frequented special bars with G.I.'s on leave, according to Mortensson and Vestergaard, were the highest ranked both socially and culturally.<sup>8</sup>

The American Girls are very often intellectually well-developed and relatively well-educated, and in this group one finds the prettiest, neatest and most well-dressed (prostitutes). There is nothing remarkable in this, in that it is necessary that the girls have a certain quality in order to attract American soldiers, who are often well-supplied with money. (We will possibly see a change here in the near future, in that, the American soldiers now on duty in West Germany, in a

higher degree than ever before, are draftees with a relative small salary in relation to the thus far enlisted soldiers). The single girl, as a rule, associates with the same American soldier during the couple of weeks he is on leave here in the country. She lives together with him at the hotels and is a tourist-guide for him during the day. When he leaves, she receives the remainder of his Danish coins and she takes over one of his newly arrived friends and thus continues her actions. Some girls consider themselves "more or less engaged" with an American and some individuals later become married in the U.S.A. "The American Girls" are only at the beginning stage of prostitution. They are more pleasure-seeking, more luxury-orientated and less tragic than the other types and their prognosis is generally better.

As this report demonstrates, the American Girl had become a social problem for the Danish authorities. The American Girl posed a serious threat to any attempts to control the spread of Danish prostitution and by 1964, the problem had begun to become more complex. A new feature had been added that compounded the problem of social control: American Girls and black American G.I.'s.

Until the middle sixties, the question of inter-racial sex had little significance to the control of prostitution. However, social policies and movements in the United States had created a controversy which had quickly spread abroad; the controversy of civil rights for Afro-Americans. This controversy "pushed" a number of ex-G.I.'s to migrate to Denmark where the American Girls were eager to demonstrate their opposition to racism.

As mentioned in an earlier passage, the American Girls saw in black G.I.'s an excellent opportunity to act out any sexual fantasies or desires that they may have entertained.

And in Casanova Bar, both the ex-G.I.'s and the girls were able to fulfill their desires.

Casanova Bar, as seen in Cecil Brown's novel

The Life and Loves of Mr. Jiveass Nigger,

sat squatted in the darkest shadows in the middle of the street, which, due to the great number of black American soldiers and young Danish girls who used the street, had gained the notoriety of being a back street. If the Drop Inn (restaurant) was the purgatory, Casanova was the inferno where all...were doomed; doomed were the young Danish girls, who were not prostitutes (unless you came on like you were white, nigger!), but who had the prostitute's eyes, the prostitute's walk.<sup>9</sup>

Casanova Bar, a cornerstone of Afro-Danish relationships, is hereby described in detail in the late 1960's. But the author goes on to say that his two main characters walk into the bar and on

the right and left, black soldiers were rapping, touching, caressing, biting, coaxing, threatening, beautiful, sometimes not so beautiful, young and sometimes not so young women. Some of the women were Swedish and came over with the speedboat from Malmo with the single-minded purpose of spending the weekend in Casanova and the hotel rooms about Casanova.

Casanova was also the only place in Copenhagen where Soul Music could be heard; the Danish girls learned from the black soldiers how to do the...Boogalou.... And if you were walking along the street...and heard James Brown...you know that someone is a "Casanova Girl."<sup>10</sup>

Cecil Brown's personal account of Casanova Bar gives further evidence of the intensification of the inter-racial attractions between Danish girls and black G.I.'s; a phenomenon which was also occurring simultaneously in the U.S.A. In the following conversation with a black ex-seaman a similar picture of Copenhagen emerges:<sup>11</sup>

Me: When did you first come to Copenhagen and how?

Seaman: In 1957 on a Merchant Marine ship.

M: What was Casanova like at the time?

S: Man, Casanova was fantastic! The Commissioner of Police used to come there and buy black G.I.'s drinks on the house. Many upper-class people came there and bought the G.I.'s drinks. That was Copenhagen! Shit, I remember when \_\_\_\_\_ was married to a Danish chick who owned \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_. \_\_\_\_\_ had a two-inch carpet on the floor and beautiful paintings on the wall. Man, that was Copenhagen! The Danes didn't love you but they knew you had a mother, so they treated you fine.

M: Were the dudes buying pussy then?

S: Buying pussy? Man, the girls gave pussy away... They would come and take you home with them and feed you. You could get as much pussy as you liked. You see, there were very few prostitutes then. You know where the Saga Hotel is? Well, they worked right next to there near the archway. They never worked in front!

M: Well, when did the brothers start pimping then?

S: I left and came back in '64. That's when it started. I remember when me and a dude from New York were up in the Hotel Vester one night. He told me that he was going to get a girl to come up and suck his dick and then fuck right in front of me. He went to the bar and a girl came up to the room. He told her to undress and suck his dick. Then they fucked right in front of me! (giggles) I could tell you something, but maybe I shouldn't. That was \_\_\_\_\_'s wife named \_\_\_\_\_.

M: No shit? (laughing)

S: That's right, man. A lot of those Danish chicks either went to Germany or live in the States right now. Man, that was Cope!

The ex-seaman with whom I spoke had been living in Scandinavia for at least thirteen years.

What had begun in the late 1940's as a fad, that is, the phenomenon of half-prostitution, had quickly evolved into a process which was largely responsible for the proliferation of Scandinavian prostitution in Copenhagen during the 1950's and 1960's. What was originally considered to be "fun" quickly became the path to a career as a professional prostitute. However, a new element which was gradually being introduced into this phenomenon was that of inter-racial sex.

The element of inter-racial sex coupled with prostitution brought about an illegal opportunity structure for the development of black pimps, hustlers and black marketeers. This was partly caused by the racial controversy raging in the U.S.A. which was pushing ex-G.I.'s, who had previously visited Copenhagen, to migrate abroad. This, inextricably bound up with a weak job market in Denmark for foreigners resulted in the appearance of black American pimps and Scandinavian prostitutes. And by 1967, as an ex-American Girl expressed it, "It was hip to have a little black poodle."

On September 21, 1968, a Danish newspaper published a two-page story called "Man kan lave penge pa Danske Piger" (You can make money on Danish Girls).<sup>12</sup> "Monkey-Man," a black ex-G.I. living in Copenhagen, granted Miss Lizzie Lundgaard, a Danish journalist, an on-the-spot interview in Casanova Bar. He told her that "the girls are proud to be whores for us. It is a question of prestige to have a Negro as a pimp." She wrote that Monkey-Man was one of Copenhagen's biggest pimps:

"He is the chieftain in the circle of 5 or 6 of his countrymen, who gradually have staked out an essential part of prostitution and who have 25 to 30 girls at work on the street and at bars. In this fashion, they cash in on at least a few thousand kronor per month or per week and they lead a life of luxury."

Miss Lizzie Bungaard, went on to write that during "the summer, when several Danish pimps were imprisoned, the foreigners took over the market..." Furthermore, as one prostitute told her, "The Arabs are notorious for their brutality and they don't exempt the girls from a whipping. That rape-affair which took place in the summer also gave us a living fright. It's something else with the Negroes. They are much sweeter and as a rule, they only beat us when we are fresh and really deserve it." This article clearly signalled that an entirely new development had taken place in the sub-culture of Scandinavian prostitution, namely that of black pimps.

The "Monkey-Man" article vividly illustrated that the cross-cultural and inter-racial attraction that existed between black Americans and Scandinavian women were far from superficial. The intensity of the emotional attractions had lent itself to careers in social deviance. Securing jobs which were open to them, proved to be an insufficient measure for hindering a deviant career because the job opportunities that they gained were less attractive and financially rewarding than that of a player or hustler.

By 1968, the Vietnam War debate was attaining international prominence, and in socialist-oriented countries, such as Denmark and Sweden, American military intervention was seriously being challenged by various politically-active groups. The political activism of these groups became partly instrumental in furthering the men's deviant careers by challenging "capitalism, racism, bureaucracy" and "militarism;" concepts with which conventional careers were identified. This activism was also somewhat responsible for encouraging military desertion and promoting the cause of racial integration; a cause that the American Girls wholeheartedly supported.

The political activism signalled a new era in the relationships between the men and the women. Whereas formerly the sexual attractions were mainly played out in Casanova Bar, these attractions were now being played out by supporting desertion and the Black Panther Party in Scandinavia. It was a sophisticated manner of expressing the same emotions: inter-racial sexual attractions.

This sophistication was made necessary by the nationwide impact the Monkey-Man interview had in Copenhagen. His interview had created the impression that all black Americans in Copenhagen were involved in crime and it provoked the police into taking action against those "in the life." Therefore, the growth of political activism helped to delay the demise of black pimping. However, as late as 1970, American G.I.'s were still revered by Scandinavian prostitutes:<sup>13</sup>

Me: When and how did you first come to Copenhagen?

Ex-soldier: I was stationed not far from Munich in 1970 and I used to spend my time down there. Two guys in my company kept telling me about Copenhagen but I didn't believe them and they begged me to come. So one week, I took a leave and drove up. I went to Casanova and I met this chick. We went home and "smoked" and the next day, we went shopping. When I found some pants I wanted, I went into my pocket and she told me, "No, I'll pay for them." So I said, "O.K." Two days later, I saw a pair of leather boots that I wanted, and she wanted to pay for them, too. When I got back to the base one week later, I had a brand-new wardrobe and my entire pay minus the money I paid for gas and stuff. Man, I hurried back to Copenhagen every time I could. When I came back I couldn't find the first girl I met, but it didn't matter 'cause I met a whole bunch of other ones!

M: Did you ever sleep in "Number 7"? (a working hotel for Danish prostitutes)

E: (laughs) From the first floor to the fifth!

M: How did you get over to Sweden?

E: I was looking for my two friends who were supposed to meet me. And that's how I ended up getting married to a Swede.

But despite the fact that cross-cultural and inter-racial attractions were still being displayed in Copenhagen, the phenomenon of black pimps and American Girls was gradually disappearing.

The disappearance of this phenomenon was brought about by several important factors: (1) Monkey-Man had triggered a public reaction demanding that those "in the life" be vigorously prosecuted, (2) drug abuse was rapidly increasing in Western Europe, (3) the costs of living had skyrocketed in Europe and the relationship of the Deutsch Mark to the

dollar had been reversed, and (4) Sweden, as a result of the abrupt in-migrations of hundreds of deserters, was quickly becoming a mecca for those "in the life."

#### Summary

World War II had a tremendous impact on European nations, especially those nations which made up Scandinavia. The war effort had shattered Europe and had a tremendously devastating effect on their economies. Denmark, who had suffered through almost five years of Nazi occupation, fought an uphill battle to establish equilibrium with its national economy. The financial disequilibrium that it was facing forced the Danish population to devise ways and means to adjust to the crisis and in the coming of Allied troops to Denmark, a sizeable segment of the Danish female population discovered a way in which to cope with their fragile existence, namely that of "half-prostitution."

Half-prostitution for Danish girls was a way of living with Allied troops; the girls provided the Allied troops with female companionship while the troops supplied them with money and small gifts. The females, it must be remembered, did not demand payment for their companionship. This was an informal agreement expressed between the two parties. Within a few years the women were called "American Girls" primarily due to the attraction the girls had for American G.I.'s. Although their attention was originally focussed on

British soldiers, the girls showered their affection on American G.I.'s. This, it seems, was largely due to the difference in salaries between the two: American privates made five times the salaries of their British counterparts. Thus, the Danish girls became quite attached to American G.I.'s.

Another element of this attachment was that of inter-racial sex. Though black G.I.'s were an integral part of the American intervention in World War II, they were severely restricted in the Armed Forces. This restriction was often employed wherever they were stationed, but had little effect on Danish girls. In fact, the racial element had a reverse effect on the Danish population particularly the girls: As a result of the hospitality the men received in Copenhagen, both black and white soldiers who were stationed in Germany began taking "Copenhagen leaves."

The "American Girls" had developed a good reputation amongst the American G.I.'s and the G.I.'s likewise had developed a reputation amongst the girls. Thus the relationship between American Girls and American G.I.'s became socially contagious; the number of G.I.'s taking "Copenhagen leaves" increased and the number of American Girls also increased. But what had begun merely as a fad began taking shape as a vehicle for furthering Scandinavian prostitution. That is, through the increase of half-prostitution in Denmark, a social deviant pattern which had emerged in the 1900's, an increase in professional prostitution was also emerging.

As a result of the changing social policies in the American Armed Forces, and a build-up of troops in West Germany for the Korean War, the number of black troops stationed in West Germany dramatically increased. This also increased the number of black soldiers who took a "Copenhagen leave." One effect of this increase was to produce an increasing number of "American Girls." And by 1960 the American Girls posed a serious threat to any attempts to control the spread of venereal disease and professional prostitution throughout Copenhagen; two phenomena caused in part by associating with G.I.'s on leave.

This type of association had another effect which went unnoticed at the time: Both Danish girls and American G.I.'s were unwittingly being socialized into a sub-culture which had at its base anti-social behavior. This sub-culture aided the men and women in internalizing norms and values which prepared them for future careers as prostitutes and pimps. In short, the inter-racial and cross-cultural attractions expressed between Scandinavian women and particularly black American men reacted to yield an opportunity structure capable of producing black pimps in Scandinavia. By 1968 this production had come to fruition.

During the 1960's America was facing social upheavals in the forms of civil rights demonstrations, urban riots, the cry of black power, the Black Panther Party and the ideology of black consciousness. These social upheavals and the sex-

ual attractions of Danish girls were the major push-pull factors that brought a small number of black ex-G.I.'s back to Copenhagen. When the ex-G.I.'s experienced a lack of job opportunities in Copenhagen they resorted to assuming deviant careers in order to sustain themselves. The deviant career which was open to them was that of a player; a career contingency made possible by the existence of the American Girls. But in 1968 the Monkey-Man interview caused Danish law-enforcement agencies to set about coping with this problem; a problem brought to public attention by the Danish press.

By 1969, black Americans in Copenhagen were all thought to be "Monkey-Men." But the Vietnam War debate and the arrival of the deserters helped to somewhat deter the police in totally eliminating the spectre of black players. The American Girls were able to take advantage of the political activism and continue to offer the G.I.'s career contingencies as players. However, by 1970 the phenomenon of black players in Copenhagen was rapidly on the decline.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Leonard Malone, "Who is the Real Pimp?" Ekstra Bladet (October 2, 1970): 10. Although the article appeared in Danish under the title, "Hvem er den Virkelige Alfons," I received the original English copy from Mr. Malone on November 25, 1977 in Copenhagen, Denmark.

<sup>2</sup>Police Inspector Jens Jersild, "Amerikanerpiger," Popular Tidskrift for Psykologi och Sexualkunskap 9 (1958) 2: 62.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Sociala Meddelanden #4 (1961): 297-304.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid, p. 301.

<sup>9</sup>(Greenwich, CT.: Fawcett Publications, Inc. 1969) p. 67.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid, p. 68-69.

<sup>11</sup>Conversation held with "Stone" at "Burger King" in Malmo, November 10, 1977.

<sup>12</sup>Ekstra Bladet, p. 19.

<sup>13</sup>Conversation held with a black American in New York City on October 26, 1977.

## CHAPTER IV

### The Peak and Decline of Black Pimps and Hustlers: Germany and Copenhagen

Western Europe, during the latter sixties, was experiencing challenges from its youthful population. Events such as the student revolts which had taken place in France in 1968, were common occurrences. This, however, was also true in the United States of America. In addition to that, drug abuse and inflation was exacting its toll throughout Western Europe. However, political activism among students and youths became a thorny issue for European leaders.

Students in Europe staged mass demonstrations protesting American involvement in Southeast Asia. The students were also advocating the military desertion of American servicemen from their military units and found political allies in the Black Panther Party which was in the process of establishing chapters abroad especially in Germany and Scandinavia. This was made possible by the large contingent of black American servicemen who were then stationed in Western Germany. Thus, the activities of the students and some of the black servicemen, as well as an alarming rise in drug abuse, became instrumental in bringing about stringent measures by European law-enforcement agencies, especially in Frankfurt, West Germany.

In Frankfurt there were several thousand G.I.'s of which a large percentage were black. These G.I.'s usually congregated at the Rio and Corso bars where drug-trafficking and gambling had been taking place. These bars also figured heavily in the sub-culture of prostitution which existed in Copenhagen. The nexus between Frankfurt and Copenhagen was that the American Girls frequently travelled there in search of male companionship with the G.I.'s and some of the more adventurous girls even attempted to work on the streets of West Germany.

Another aspect of the nexus was that the ex-G.I.'s in Copenhagen had discovered another means of increasing their incomes, namely by transporting narcotics to Frankfurt to be sold to the soldiers and thereby reaping a profit which was used in turn to purchase cigarettes and alcohol from the Army PX's which were later sold in Copenhagen. Thus, the illegal activities which flourished in Copenhagen made it possible for black Americans to establish deviant careers which extended from Copenhagen to urban centers in West Germany.

By participating in this informal circuit of vice and crime and becoming involved in political activism, the men and women accelerated the involvement of German law-enforcement agents. In short, the inter-relation between crime and political activism had created a demand for crime control; a control that would have far-reaching consequences for the American Girls and the black G.I.'s.

Although Frankfurt offered both the men and women an excellent opportunity to sustain themselves in a life of crime, Hamburg was somewhat competitive with Frankfurt in this issue. Hamburg is geographically located closer to Copenhagen than is Frankfurt and a sizeable number of black foreigners were living there. Thus Scandinavian girls, who were attracted to black males, began visiting the city and frequenting the Sahara and Equator discotheques, both favorite gathering places for black foreigners. But in 1971, a racial clash occurred at the Sahara Club which was initiated by German males. The results of this clash helped to push a small migration of black foreigners to Scandinavia. And partly due to the suppression of the sub-culture of vice and crime and political activism flourishing in and around the Rio and Corso bars, a number of black males began migrating to Sweden.

The choice of Sweden over Copenhagen signalled a new era in the careers of those "in the life" for several reasons: (1) The rise of drug abuse throughout Western Europe had affected the earning power of the American Girls and had altered the spending habits of black G.I.'s stationed in Frankfurt and (2) student political activism and the Black Panther Party had triggered a response by Western European law-enforcement agencies for the suppression of this phenomenon. Thus these phenomena, plus a mutual inter-racial sexual attraction, became the major part of the push-pull factors drawing a number of black foreigners to Sweden instead of to Copenhagen during the

seventies. However, the decisive issues in this process was the mass influx of American Vietnam-era deserters in Sweden and the earlier articles on "Monkey-Man" and his friends which had appeared in the Danish press.

On Saturday, September 21, 1968, Lizzie Bundgaard's interview with Monkey-Man was published in Ekstra Bladet. As mentioned earlier, "Monkey-Man" made it seem like all black Americans who lived in Copenhagen were big-time pimps:

A popular pimp never has any real problems with getting money out of the girls. They are proud to hand it over and therefore he can easily get 1,500 Danish kroner in one afternoon. It is a question of prestige for the girls to be able to say, "I work for him. He's mine. I go to bed with him." But you have to lay the cards on the table right away and say that you have several girls, otherwise there will be trouble.<sup>1</sup>

Monkey-Man's interview created internal strife amongst the black Americans who were living in Copenhagen at the time and Malmo, which was "unknown" to them, suddenly took on great significance. Three days after the Monkey-Man interview, Lizzie Bundgaard wrote another article; this time about Casanova Bar.

The article which was entitled, "Big-Time Pimps are also in the Narcotics-Police's Searchlight," became the second part of the "push-pull" factors in Copenhagen which brought about black American migration to Malmo, Sweden in 1968.<sup>2</sup> And on September 25, 1968, one day after the article on Casanova Bar appeared, Lizzie Bundgaard wrote another entitled, "Marriage Certificates Protect the Pimps."<sup>3</sup> In this article, Lizzie Bundgaard asked members of the Danish police when, if ever,

they were going to strike against black American and Arab pimps who were then operating in Copenhagen. She also asked why they hadn't acted before. The police stated that they hadn't known about the problem before she had brought it to their attention. However, once the police investigated the stories they set about eradicating the informal circuit of vice and crime in which various black Americans were entrenched.

The effect of these articles, and several more, was to create the impression that all black Americans residing in Copenhagen were pimps and narcotics-traffickers; an impression which could not be tolerated in view of the fact that it was compounded by race. In a sense, the racial issue was the main issue at stake. The notion that black males were introducing white females into careers as prostitutes could not be entertained even in a society which was known to be racially-tolerant. Thus, the Danish police put a policy in action for the suppression of this activity.

Some of the articles raised issues about there being a nexus between prostitution and narcotics in Copenhagen and vice circles down in Germany. The issues raised in these articles were firmly supported by police raids on Casanova Bar and other establishments which served as gathering places for those "in the life." What was happening, was that the articles and the police were serving as major push factors in the migration of black foreigners from Copenhagen to Sweden. Another factor was that a number of Scandinavian prostitutes, who had also become drug-abusers, began denouncing the men to

the Danish police for criminal activity. When the men went to trial the Danish newspapers devoted considerable attention to these trials and black Americans again gained the reputation of being thought of as pimps and pushers. On October 2, 1970, Leonard Malone, a black American ex-G.I., wrote an article in Ekstra Bladet entitled "Who are the Real Pimps?"<sup>4</sup> The article was written partially in response to the Monkey-Man issue and to the attention that black Americans were still receiving in the Danish press.

From the fall of 1968 to the spring of 1971, the sub-culture of prostitution in Denmark in which a number of black Americans were enmeshed, underwent abrupt changes. As a result of various events which had taken place in Germany, the informal circuit of vice and crime which extended from Copenhagen to Frankfurt had been nearly severed by police intervention in both countries. Furthermore, the rise of drug abuse in Germany and Copenhagen and the rapidly changing cost of living and the dollar's relationship to German Mark, also helped to disassemble the opportunity structure which was providing black Americans with opportunities for deviant careers in vice and crime which had begun in Copenhagen during the 1960's.

These events, however, did not completely prevent black Americans from assuming deviant careers in Copenhagen. It prevented the men from gaining easy access to these careers, that is, as easily as they had in the early sixties. In addition to this, the Copenhagen police were vigorously attempting

to control prostitution and pornography in Copenhagen. Thus, Malmo, Sweden, where prostitution was legal and the number of sex-clubs was rapidly increasing became a focal point of migration for a dwindling number of men and women, like Monkey-Man, who made up a significant segment of crime and vice in Copenhagen.<sup>6</sup> Thus, drug abuse and police intervention in the deviant sub-culture flourishing in Copenhagen, as well as legalized prostitution in Sweden and a large number of deserters there, comprised the push-pull factors in the migration of a small number of these people to the urban centers of Sweden. Another factor was the story of "The Old Man."

The Old Man: the Gamester's Model?

In 1960, Marcus W \_\_\_\_\_, also known as "The Old Man," had been arrested in Copenhagen in connection with pimping and the possession of 735 grams of marijuana.<sup>7</sup> Due to insufficient evidence, the allegations were never completely proven and he was released from jail and forbidden to return. However, during 1962 to 1968, the Copenhagen Morals Division continued to have problems with him.<sup>8</sup> It was believed at the time that he had at least six prostitutes working for him at restaurants catering primarily to American G.I.'s on a "Copenhagen Leave."<sup>9</sup>

During the 1960's, "The Old Man," as he was known, regularly frequented Club 6 and Casanova Bar. He abstained from narcotics and alcohol and maintained a very "low profile,"

living principally in Wilhelmshafen, West Germany, where he was the co-owner of a German brothel and drove a German registered Mercedes-Benz.

In 1965, he was re-discovered in Copenhagen by the police and accompanied to the German border. Five years later, he was re-arrested in Copenhagen in connection with pimping and ordered out of the country.<sup>10</sup> Then on March 18, 1971, The Old Man's activities became the focus of international attention.

In 1959, he had met a Danish prostitute at a German brothel and established a relationship with her. By 1965, she had become his "main lady." A few years later, he found two additional prostitutes who were willing to "work for him" and even succeeded in getting one of them to convince her younger sister to work in his brothel.<sup>12</sup> Then in February 1971, the three Danish prostitutes kidnapped a 16 year old Danish girl from Denmark and transported her to Wilhelmshafen, West Germany.

They had placed an ad in a Danish newspaper for a girl willing to assist them while travelling to an international dog exhibition. A young girl answered the ad in the hopes of finding a job and when she came for an interview, two of the women attempted to etherize her. When their attempts failed, they gave her something "warm" to drink and when she awoke, she was in Wilhelmshafen. The young girl put up such a struggle that the women bound her and placed her in a cellar. However, she managed to escape and alert the German police.

At first, the German police did not believe her tale. Then within two months, the Danish police arrested the three prostitutes and persuaded them to confess. Meanwhile, the German police on two occasions had interrogated The Old Man and released him. And by April 1971, The Old Man was wanted all over Europe by Interpol, the International Police.

In September 1971, the three women were convicted of the crimes and received long sentences for their part in the kidnapping.<sup>13</sup> The Old Man was located in Illinois where he had applied for a taxi-driver's license.<sup>14</sup> Since Denmark at that time had no extradition treaty with the United States of America, The Old Man was able to avoid extradition in order to stand trial in Denmark. The significance of this case was that it clearly signalled the decline of black American pimps and hustlers involved in the sub-culture of prostitution that had been flourishing in Copenhagen.

#### Summary

Western Europe during the latter sixties was witnessing student unrest, a spiralling upward trend in the cost of living and an alarming increase in drug abuse and crime in its major urban centers. This was particularly true in Frankfurt, West Germany, where thousands of American troops, a large percentage of them black, were being stationed in readiness for the Vietnam War, a war being bitterly contested by

political activists both in the U.S.A. and in Western Europe. Although most of these events were independent of each other they had the effect of producing a response by European leaders for a firm control of its spread. This control came in the form of massive police intervention.

The police intervention also affected the G.I.'s in Germany for several reasons: (1) there was an inter-relationship between political activists and the rise of the Black Panther Party in Western Germany, a rise brought mainly about by the large concentration of black G.I.'s then being stationed in Germany, (2) racial clashes that were taking place on the military bases and spilling over into several German cities, and (3) the informal circuit of vice and crime which extended from Copenhagen to cities like Frankfurt. Thus the police intervention and the drastic change in the ratio of the U.S. dollar to the German Mark brought a decline in the deviant sub-culture that had been flourishing particularly in Frankfurt in and around the Rio and Corso Bars. The massive police intervention had the added effect of pushing a number of black foreigners into Sweden. An identical pattern was also occurring in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Although the inter-racial and cross-cultural attractions held by black G.I.'s and Scandinavian women in Copenhagen were still very strong, a series of events had taken place which were greatly affecting the deviant sub-culture which was flourishing in Copenhagen during the 1960's. First,

the "Monkey-Man Papers" caused a massive police intervention which was aimed at suppressing the number of women and men involved "in the life." Secondly, the rise of drug abuse in Copenhagen, Denmark, had taken a profound effect on the youthful Danish population and the American Girls. Thirdly, the number of deserters who were passing through Copenhagen en route to Sweden had the effect of further politicizing various groups in such a way to increase opposition to the Vietnam War. Fourth, the steady growth of narcotic and pimping trials reported in the Danish press, such as that of "The Old Man," had the effect of labelling black Americans and Arabs as pimps and hustlers. And finally, the massive police drive in 1970-71 to control the spread of pornography and prostitution in and around Copenhagen, Denmark. These events, like those in West Germany, were the major push-pull factors for causing a number of black foreigners to migrate to Sweden.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>Ekstra Bladet, September 24, 1968, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Ekstra Bladet, September 25, 1968, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup>Ekstra Bladet, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup>See Ekstra Bladet's archives envelopes F15-F9. A few months before this occurred, the black American bartender at Club 6 shot and wounded several Arabs who had been making trouble on the premises.

<sup>6</sup>See Case B102/70 W \_\_\_\_\_ vs. the People of Sweden (Stockholm): 1970 (American non-deserter); Felonious Narcotics Crimes and Unlawful Possession of Smuggled Goods, Preparation for Robbery, Attempted Robbery: 2½ years and Lifetime Deportation.

<sup>7</sup>"Følges ur af Landet," Ekstra Bladet, 5 April 1971, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup>"Gangster-Syndikat Bag Bortførelsen," Ekstra Bladet, 19 June 1971, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup>"Den Efter-Søgte Amerikaner Er Uømsket I Fire Landet," Ekstra Bladet, 31 March 1971, pp. 21 - 23.

<sup>10</sup>"Møder De han her, sa ring efter politiet," Aktuelt, 6 April 1971, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>"Tre Danske Ludere Tjente 627,000 Til Slavehandler" Ekstra Bladet, 19 June 1971, p. 7.

<sup>12</sup>"Undskylder Søster Der Solgte Hende til Storal-fons," Ekstra Bladet, 30 September 1971, pp. 18 - 23.

<sup>13</sup>"Slet Inger Undskyldning for Hvid Slavehandel," Ekstra Bladet, 31 September 1971, p. 13.

<sup>14</sup>"Hovedmanden Fundet I U.S.A.," Ekstra Bladet, 23 September 1971, p. 12.

## CHAPTER V

### The Peak and Decline of Black Pimps in Sweden

From 1949 to 1970 the entire world underwent dramatic changes. Some of these changes were the result of technological growth which had taken a quantum leap. There were other changes which had taken place in the form of political, social and economic problems. Two of these problems were the Korean War and the Vietnam War; two wars fought in Asia which involved American military intervention.

On both occasions, thousands of black American troops were brought to European shores. However, the Korean War had heightened the issue of racism and inter-racial sex in that the war made it possible for black G.I.'s, particularly those visiting Copenhagen, to openly consort with European females. Many of these females were professional prostitutes who quickly developed emotional ties to the men. Thus, a number of the men when finally discharged from military service returned to places like Frankfurt and Copenhagen and gradually became enmeshed in an informal international network of vice and crime in major European urban centers. Within a few years of their debut as hustlers and players, various events such as newspaper articles on black pimps and hustlers in Copenhagen, an alarming rise in drug abuse and narcotics-trafficking throughout Western Europe brought about massive police actions to check and control the rise in crime in European urban centers. These events, and several more,

were responsible for pushing a number of black foreigners into Sweden where hundreds of deserters both black and white were seeking refuge from the Vietnam War. Another factor in attracting the black foreigners to Swedish soil, was the cross-cultural and inter-racial sexual attractions which the men and women mutually held for each other. Briefly stated, police interventions and sexual attractions were the major forces in the push-pull factors which brought experienced black players and hustlers to Sweden during a four year period, 1968-1971.

Sweden, a social-democratic country which was reported to be racially-tolerant, quickly proved to be inhospitable to the influx of black foreigners particularly the deserters. In the following example of one black deserter, one can read in his own words his Copenhagen to Sweden odyssey:

Copenhagen was to me a city of international blending. The peoples was easy-going, especially at the time of the late sixties. If you was a black American, it was a easy way to get with the Danish women. In such cases you get involved in things which you would not dare to do on your home front. Such as hustling, so-called pimping, robbery, killing and taking or dealing with drugs.

By taking all my military leaves in Copenhagen, when I decided to desert, Copenhagen was my destination. My entering was illegal, so after a three month stay, I was caught in a pass control at known in-crowd hotel and had no proof of identification, which I was then taken into police custody, until I was positive identity by American Embassy. In that case they gave me an order to return to my military unit in Germany but by knowing the outcome. I remember some friends saying that Sweden was neutral, except for deserters.

With a quick impulse, I came to Sweden, met some friends who told me they inform me about how to seek political asylum.

By going to the foreign police, I was told that political asylum couldn't be given to me, but I should apply for AN - Alien Pass, that upon my waiting for a answer, I should report to a Hotel Rex, which the police use for all exiles, until you was admitted a working and resident permit. But this hotel was not only for our accomodation, it was more of a way for the foreign police to keep us under steady control. Which mean if you stayed at this hotel, you was not allowed to have any guest and you should vacant your room every-day from eight to ten o'clock in the evening. In such case, if you was not back at the hotel before 10 P.M. you probably wouldn't get in.

If you was granted resident and working permit then you was allow to go automatic to the Swedish language school for a period of four months, with an allowance about \$200 a month. If you did complete your language course, then you had a chance applying a trade or vocational school with pay. This included half for the rent you had on your apartment.

Myself, had begun a course in electronics but it was useless, because of the lack of getting a job in that field. Instead, by luck I got a job as a youth leader, which was successful for some years. But after certain conflicts I lost my job. Since then I could put myself into searching for another job in Sweden.

As the above statement shows, "[f] you [were] a black American, it was...easy to get Danish women" in Copenhagen in the latter sixties. This, of course, meant that an illegal opportunity structure was flourishing in Copenhagen which still favored black Americans. However, due to raids being carried out by the Danish police, "I was caught in a pass [port] control at the Saga Hotel ... and ordered by the American Embassy to return to Germany but on quick impulse deserted to Sweden ." But what was the initial procedure the deserters underwent when they sought refuge in Sweden?

Whenever an American serviceman sought political asylum in Malmo, he was required to go to the Foreign Police and register. He was interviewed, given lodging at a local hotel until his application was reviewed by the Immigration Office, and provided with tickets for lunch and dinner at a local restaurant. Then he received a weekly sum of money, \$5.00 - \$20.00 from the Welfare Bureau for toilet articles; money for cigarettes and entertainment were not allocated, and in addition, he was not legally permitted to work. At the Rex Hotel, he was required to leave his room no later than 8 a.m. and could not return until late in the day; visiting privileges at the hotel were never granted. He was required to eat at certain times during the day at two local restaurants. and if he came late, he missed his meal. He was also required to study Swedish in a crowded classroom with other deserters.

As time progressed, some of the deserters were granted asylum on humanitarian or political grounds, and others were sent back to Germany. Still there were others who could not adjust and voluntarily returned to their military posts. Also during this period, the deserters formed a Malmo chapter of the Stockholm-based American Deserters Committee (ADC) which had as one of its aims helping the deserters to improve their economic stability and to adjust in Sweden. Although the Malmo-based ADC and Black Panther Party had some overlapping functions and were actively engaged in helping the

deserters, both of the groups began losing their significance in 1971 since American deserters who had been convicted of felonies were being deported.

The initial period of adjusting in Sweden was one marked with insecurity, fear and anxiety for both black and white American deserters. The deserters began to realize that they were outsiders in an all-white Social Democratic society. For many of them, living in Sweden under the circumstances in which they were found was an unbearable situation:

Man, when these cats came here they were green!  
They had no money, nothing. They were bored.  
There was no place to hang out so they used to go down to Gustaf Adolf's Torg [Plaza] and buy a little piece of dope and smoke it to kill the boredom. Then they found out that they could break off a piece and sell it to the hippies for the same price they paid for the original piece. So they saw they could make a profit and started selling dope. The other cats used to ask the chicks to "hustle" for them and when the girls found out what they meant, they got hat. The guys would come running to me scared, asking me to hide them cause they thought the Man was coming to get them!

This statement given to me by an ex-deserter explains in part what life was like for the deserters in Sweden. Until the Fall of 1969, the Swedish government had not developed any concrete plans for assimilating the deserters into the society. Prior to the Fall of 1969, the deserters were either housed in hotels and received their food and subsistence allowances from the welfare bureau and the Alien Police, or, they were placed in homes with Swedish families. In the Fall of 1969, a new plan was devised.

New deserters were sent to a training camp outside of Uppsala where they were housed and received schooling in Swedish. The deserters viewed the plan as a means of isolation and containment and refused to go there. Thus the original plan of housing them in hotels was reverted to. This plan had the unintended consequence of coercing the deserters to seek Swedish girls with whom to cohabitate. Thus the first few years of the great migration of deserters to Sweden, were years mixed with feelings of anxiety and insecurity. Feelings which, when compounded with the realities of living in all-white Social Democratic society, produced cultural conflict and marginality.

Although the deserters, both white and black, were facing problems of adapting to the host society, racial divisiveness became another issue. The issue was exacerbated by the black awareness and Black Panther Party ideologies being propagated in Sweden. Thus political activism in Sweden became another point of contention for the deserters.

The deserters, some of whom had had criminal pasts, began discovering an illegal opportunity structure operant in Sweden which favored their involvement; a structure which had been created in part by various events in West Germany and in Copenhagen. This structure had also been created by Monkey-Man and his friends, who, due to the notoriety they had been given in the Danish press, had fled to Sweden and were promoting the notion that a "Black Mafia" was needed. In

addition there were other events such as the sharp increase of drug abuse and prostitution taking place in Sweden at the time. However, the effects of marginality began taking it's toll.

On May 17, 1971, E\_\_\_\_ P\_\_\_\_, Jr., a black deserter who had lived in Malmo for seven months, took his Swedish girlfriend to a Malmo airport and with a knife pressed against her throat, entered an airplane and demanded to be flown to the United States. He was arrested and convicted and found to be suffering from schizophrenia. Thus, he was committed to a hospital and deported within a few months. The E\_\_\_\_ P\_\_\_\_ Jr. case was such that it created a critical reaction in the press against the deserters. Whereas, unlike the 1960's when the Swedish press had been sympathetic to their plight, the press began casting the deserters in the light as criminals and ingrates. The public's reaction, in the form of "Letters to the Editor," began raising the question as to whether or not the deserters should be deported to the U.S.A. And in the Fall of 1972 the question of interracial sex and crime involving black deserters became a major issue for the government of Sweden in the trials of W\_\_\_\_ E\_\_\_\_ and R\_\_\_\_ M\_\_\_\_.

E\_\_\_\_ and M\_\_\_\_ vs. the People of  
Sweden: 1972

W\_\_\_\_ E\_\_\_\_, a 23 year old Army draftee from Chicago, had been stationed in West Germany for about a year

before he took a short Copenhagen leave. While on leave he met a Danish prostitute and returned to Copenhagen again. On the second leave both E\_\_\_\_ and the prostitute returned to West Germany, withdrew his savings of \$3,000 and returned to Copenhagen. After they had spent all of the money, his Danish girlfriend asked him to leave her apartment. Shortly thereafter, E\_\_\_\_ decided to desert his unit and returned to Copenhagen where he spent three days before coming to Malmo on July 5, 1970.

Another black G.I., R\_\_\_\_ M\_\_\_\_, a 24 year old from Mobile, Alabama, had also been stationed in West Germany. When he felt that he could no longer accept the social climate that was found in the Army, he decided to desert. He travelled to Paris to secure a false passport, but was unsuccessful. Consequently, he returned to Germany and went on to Amsterdam where an organization called "Release" helped him to reach Malmo on July 28, 1970.

Both E\_\_\_\_ and M\_\_\_\_, like other American deserters, were housed in the Rex Hotel until they both found Swedish girlfriends with whom they could live. Within a few months, the Malmo Police Morals Squad had noticed that not only they, but a number of other black American deserters had girlfriends who had begun working on the streets as prostitutes. By the end of the year, E\_\_\_\_ and M\_\_\_\_ had become very good friends and E\_\_\_\_ told M\_\_\_\_ of his earlier experience with the Danish prostitute whereupon M\_\_\_\_ promised revenge.

Thus in January 1971, M\_\_\_ sought out the prostitute who had betrayed his friend and convinced her to work for him. Within two days, he was arrested by the Danish Police on suspicion of pimping, then released and sent back to Malmo where he was renting out a "working apartment" to several prostitutes from whom he received payments. He was also receiving money from a Danish prostitute in Copenhagen while simultaneously receiving welfare. In addition to their pimping activities, both M\_\_\_ and E\_\_\_ began using different types of narcotics and in late 1971 and early 1972, they began having conflicts with the Malmo Police.

On one occasion, E\_\_\_ was taken to a psychiatric clinic and held for a few days after being found in the nude dancing and singing on one of the streets. M\_\_\_, at the time, was awaiting the outcome of a criminal suit accusing him of attempted arson. As time passed, both E\_\_\_ and M\_\_\_ began behaving more and more bizarrely; M\_\_\_ began spouting astrology and E\_\_\_ began calling M\_\_\_ "the Prophet."

Then E\_\_\_ began giving "Prophet" most of his worldly possessions and whatever else he had remaining, he tried to pawn. Then one day, Prophet met a girl whom he decided to visit and was later accused of rape. He was arrested and held for a week and the charge was later reduced to disturbing the peace. Prophet decided from that time onward he no longer wanted to associate with women and began almost immediately after the incident, counseling E\_\_\_ to leave his

girlfriend because she was a "devil." As a result of Prophet's counseling, E\_\_\_\_'s girlfriend asked him to leave the apartment because Prophet had altered their relationship. At that point, Prophet and E\_\_\_\_ became almost inseparable and tried together to return to the Army but were sent back to Sweden.

Then during the first week of October 1972, several black deserters were taken into custody on suspicion of receiving stolen goods. Thus on October 6, E\_\_\_\_, M\_\_\_\_ and another black deserter went to the Alien Police to complain about the treatment of black deserters in Sweden; Prophet, however, was the most outspoken. He complained about the police, the Welfare Bureau, and Swedish women who sexually abused black men, and, Sweden in general. But before he left, he told a policeman on duty that on Monday the 9th, something would happen.

On Monday the 9th, M\_\_\_\_, E\_\_\_\_ and another black deserter visited the Welfare Bureau as M\_\_\_\_ did each week. When Prophet's demands for money were officially rejected, the group left the office and E\_\_\_\_ went to his hotel. M\_\_\_\_, who had been earlier asked to leave the hotel where he was living had no place to live. Finding himself outside in the cold, he decided to visit E\_\_\_\_. When he entered E\_\_\_\_'s room he suggested leaving the door open because it smelled like someone had placed a bomb under the mattress and he accused Onassis and E\_\_\_\_'s girlfriend of trying to separate them. Then on Prophet's suggestions they removed all their

clothing and lay on the bed holding hands.

M\_\_\_ then decided that their clothes, mattresses, and any inflammable materials should be cast from the room and into the hall, because an exploding bomb would ignite their buttons and zippers which were made out of plastic. However, they were making so much noise in the room that the assistant manager, Sven Persson, came up to inquire. When Persson entered the room, Prophet ordered E\_\_\_ to hold his arms while he hit Persson three times in the face. When Persson was released, he fell to the floor and Prophet asked E\_\_\_ if he was going to let Persson "stand between" them. With his bare feet, E\_\_\_ stomped Persson's head against the floor three to six times. Then they threw some mattresses over the body and ran naked down the stairs and into the street. While running, they held their Swedish passport in one hand and held each other with the other hand, until they were seized.

In less than two weeks, Persson died, and the local newspapers published a series of articles about the two American deserters who not only had caused a man's death, but had defrauded the Welfare Department and had their girlfriends working on the streets as prostitutes.

During the interrogation, Prophet and E\_\_\_ stated emphatically that pimping was something that all black deserters in Sweden did. Detective Tore Olsson, who interrogated both of them, and District Attorney Bertil Josefsson, who argued the case, set about the task of eradicating black American crimi-

nality in Sweden. Both E\_\_\_\_\_ and M\_\_\_\_\_ were convicted of pimping, manslaughter and drug-trafficking and sent to prison.

W\_\_\_\_\_ E\_\_\_\_\_ was given five years imprisonment and lifetime banishment while Prophet was given seven years imprisonment and lifetime banishment. Although one year earlier a black American deserter had killed a Finn in Copenhagen and was sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment, this was the first time in Sweden that the elements of sex, race and homicide figured in a criminal trial involving American deserters. The trial also alerted criminal justice officials to the number of black Americans involved in the subculture of Swedish prostitution.

The trial of these two men and the consequences they suffered began to clearly demonstrate that Sweden, although possessing a liberal image, was reacting to a nexus of sex, race and violence in a similar fashion to that of its non-socialist Western counterparts. While the manslaughter component played an important part in the men's sentencing, the inter-relationship between inter-racial sex and prostitution took an added significance for Swedish criminal justice officials. This inter-relationship, that is, the nexus between sex, race and crime proved to be a dilemma especially to Swedish officials. The dilemma was expressed in the following questions: How and why did this inter-relationship arise? How should it be combatted without creating the impression that Sweden, too, was racially-oriented? And furthermore, what measures could be taken against deserters whom

Sweden had provided with a refuge from the Vietnam War? Although these questions were never formally expressed, the reaction of the police and criminal justice system toward the deserters, particularly those who were black, clearly exposed the dilemma.

By the Fall of 1973, the Swedish criminal justice officials had noticed that an increasing number of American deserters and black foreigners were being prosecuted for felonies of which the crime of pimping was continually recurring. These trials were only compounding the unresolved issue of the nexus of sex, race and crime. Even though Monkey-Man, five black deserters, two Arabs and a Swedish girl had been convicted in Stockholm in 1970 on various charges, the Swedish criminal justice officials and the Swedish press were still unable to explain the nexus between the subculture of prostitution which had flourished in Copenhagen and its Swedish counterpart.

During the winter of 1974. M \_\_\_\_\_ vs. the People of Sweden came to the public's attention. M \_\_\_\_\_, a black American deserter, who had been previously deported from Copenhagen and imprisoned in Stockholm along with Monkey-Man, was arrested and convicted of pimping. He was given a ten-month prison sentence and ten years deportation. The deportation was, however, overturned by the Appellate Court and he was allowed to stay.

M \_\_\_\_\_ had been arrested on a warrant that had been issued by the Copenhagen Police, charging him with rape,

pimping and several other offenses. However, it was not M \_\_\_\_\_ who was wanted, but L \_\_\_\_\_ M \_\_\_\_\_, Jr., an Afro-American who had been using a number of aliases; one of which was "Mike," a shortened form of Michael, M \_\_\_\_\_'s middle name. Nevertheless, the Malmo Police, using skillful tactics, were able to reveal that M \_\_\_\_\_'s ex-wife had been a prostitute for him as well as the woman with whom he was then living.

The M \_\_\_\_\_ case was welcomed by District Attorney Bertil Josefsson and especially by Detective Tore Olsson since Detective Olsson had been gathering data for a number of years on M \_\_\_\_\_ and his closest American friend, G \_\_\_\_\_ L \_\_\_\_\_ R \_\_\_\_\_, also known as "B \_\_\_\_\_." Both R \_\_\_\_\_ and M \_\_\_\_\_ were American deserters who had been convicted in 1970 in connection with the Monkey-Man case. At the time of this case, Detective Olsson let it be well known that he wasn't satisfied with M \_\_\_\_\_'s sentence and wanted both M \_\_\_\_\_ and R \_\_\_\_\_ to stand trial for felonious pimping. At the same time that M \_\_\_\_\_ was under arrest, Detective Olsson interrogated R \_\_\_\_\_, who was then in prison on a charge of assault, as to his knowledge of M \_\_\_\_\_. During the interrogation, Detective Olsson informed R \_\_\_\_\_ that he, too, would be someday arrested on a charge of pimping.

M \_\_\_\_\_'s trial was significant in several respects:

- (1) It was the third time in four years in which the nexus between the subculture of prostitution which had flourished in Copenhagen and that of Sweden was clearly exposed,
- (2) it

marked the beginning of a period where Swedish criminal justice officials began vigorously attempting to grapple with the subculture of Swedish prostitution which had rapidly grown up during a four year period, and (3) it signalled an important change in the relationship which had been nurturing between Scandinavian prostitutes and black American pimps. This changing attitude, and the modus operandi of black pimps in Sweden, were clearly demonstrated in the trial of the "Mink-Fur Pimp."

When G\_\_\_\_, a/k/a "The Duke," came to Sweden, he had recently been deported from Copenhagen where the Danish police said that he had demanded 20,000 Danish kronors from a Swedish prostitute to release his hold on her. This method of severing the relationship between a pimp and a prostitute is reported to be common in the West German underworld, of which G\_\_\_\_ had been involved. Prior to his stay in Copenhagen, G\_\_\_\_ had served nearly eighteen months imprisonment for the possession and sales of narcotics in Nuremburg, West Germany. Thus, when G\_\_\_\_ arrived in Copenhagen, he had gathered a little experience which he then tried to use.

After his quick deportation from Copenhagen, he arrived in Malmo via Amsterdam and resumed his earlier relationship with the same Swedish prostitute that he had been with in Copenhagen. She, too, had been deported from Copenhagen for "loose living." In Malmo, G\_\_\_\_ began to build a reputation both in and outside "the life."

He applied for and received permission from the Swedish authorities to study in Sweden. He had his father, who was a preacher, submit a written affidavit that he would send a monthly sum of \$300 for his son's maintenance and G\_\_\_ received a visa and began to study Swedish. But within a few months, G\_\_\_ had become quite well-known to the Malmo Pimp Squad for several reasons.

First, G\_\_\_ purchased a Ford in Malmo, which costs twice as much in Sweden as it does in the United States. Secondly, G\_\_\_ purchased a fur coat for his "main lady," and had a mink fur jacket and a matching hat custom-made for himself in accordance with his drawings. Then G\_\_\_ began using drugs which partially led to his seizure on May 31, 1975, for the crime of pimping in connection with more than five women.

G\_\_\_ was indicted for assaulting one prostitute and forcing her to pay \$3,000 in order to be "free." This point of indictment was called assault and blackmail. In less than three weeks, he had received the money and the prostitute had gained her "freedom." But shortly thereafter, G\_\_\_ began to threaten her in order to resume their relationship. The woman felt seriously threatened and was counseled by friends to file a complaint, but she withheld her complaint until another prostitute had done so.

At the time of G\_\_\_'s arrest, R\_\_\_ had been visiting him at the apartment. The police, who knew R\_\_\_ very well, asked for identification and released him immediately. Then, during G\_\_\_'s investigation, one of the plaintiffs

mentioned that one of R\_\_\_\_'s girlfriends had introduced her to prostitution. R\_\_\_\_'s girlfriend was then arrested and charged with aiding and abetting pimping. After the trial was finished the "Duke" received five years imprisonment and lifetime banishment while R\_\_\_\_'s girlfriend received a heavy fine (as a result of the mink-fur jacket and matching hat, the mass media nick-named G\_\_\_\_ "The Mink-Fur Pimp.).

The trial of the "Mink-Fur Pimp" not only marked the peak and decline of black pimps and hustlers in Sweden, but it brought to fore cultural stereotyping of black Americans in Sweden. This was created in part by G\_\_\_\_'s admission that he had gotten his expertise by reading the biography of Silky, a black pimp in New York, which was published under the title of Gentleman of Leisure. The cultural stereotyping was also enhanced by the publication of significant portions of Detective Olsson's paper which dealt with the phenomenon of black American pimps.

The trial and the publication of Detective Olsson's paper coincided with a drive by the Malmo Police to rid the city of brothels which they suspected of being operated under the guise of pornography clubs. On almost a daily basis the press was reporting that the Swedish subculture of prostitution was mainly being led by Yugoslavians, black Americans and Arabs. Thus the trial of the "Mink-Fur Pimp," besides representing a landmark decision in Swedish jurisprudence, denoted a period of the rise of racism throughout Sweden. It also denoted: (1) the changing relation between prostitutes and

pimps, (2) conscious attempts by a few black Americans to transplant American pimping styles in Sweden, (3) a concerted effort by the police and the press to create public opinion which would demand a massive repression of prostitutes and pimps, and (4) it also raised the issue of whether a "Black American Mafia" was operating throughout Sweden.

Although the "Mink-Fur Pimp" appealed the decision up to the Swedish Supreme Court, the lower court's decision was not overturned. The press, through innuendoes, catch-words and not-so subtle hints, informed the public and especially black Americans, that the "Mink-Fur Pimp" was an example of what could be expected by foreigners involved in pimping. D.A. Josefsson in his summation unequivocally expressed the notion that G\_\_\_ should be made an example for his fellow-countrymen to see. However, within a few weeks of G\_\_\_'s sentencing, another black American was arrested by the Swedish Police.

"The Pearl" vs. the People of Sweden: 1975

E\_\_\_ C\_\_\_, a nineteen year old black American from Louisiana, who had been stationed in West Germany, deserted the Army and came to Sweden. Not long thereafter, "The Pearl;" as he was called, began his long career of criminality in Sweden. In 1970, The Pearl was arrested and convicted of assault and narcotics-trafficking for which he was given three months imprisonment. During the next few years,

The Pearl began establishing a reputation for assaulting prostitutes and anyone else he came in conflict with. Prostitutes, whether in Copenhagen, Malmo, Gothenburg or Stockholm all feared The Pearl.

In 1973, C\_\_\_ was re-arrested for assault, driving without a license and driving misdemeanors. He was again imprisoned for three months and later released. Then in 1974 he was convicted of unlawful possession of weapons and driving without a license and again given three months imprisonment during which it was said that he ordered his wife to make \$5,000 by working in the street. Then later that year he was re-arrested for narcotics crimes and placed on probation.

On December 2, 1974, both he and his wife visited one of Malmo's discotheques. When they left the discotheque they began quarreling in the street and C\_\_\_ knocked her down several times. After that, they continued arguing whereupon he knocked her down again prior to the arrival of the police. When the policemen tried to place him in a patrol-car, he violently resisted and called them "pigs." Then they were taken to the precinct and interrogated but neither of them admitted that the assault had taken place. A few days later, C\_\_\_ was released by the police and returned to their cottage on the outskirts of Stockholm. Within five weeks, both he and his friend "B\_\_\_ J\_\_\_," another black deserter, had assaulted and threatened another black American. Finally, on July 21, 1975, "The Pearl" was arrested and charged with murdering his wife.

According to witnesses, The Pearl had suspected that his wife had been sexually intimate with another black American to whom she was giving money. Then about 10 A.M. the fatal day, C\_\_\_\_ and his wife began arguing out in the kitchen and he told her to leave. His friend B\_\_\_\_ J\_\_\_\_ and his girlfriend and even E\_\_\_\_'s sister were there at the time, but since none of them heard cries for help while the two were arguing, they were reluctant to intervene in a "lovers quarrel."

According to their testimonies, both C\_\_\_\_ and his wife would argue and stop, and resume arguing again. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the visitors left and at approximately ten o'clock that evening Lena C\_\_\_\_ was found dead. Five months later Sodra Roslags Court of Sessions ruled that:

E\_\_\_\_ C\_\_\_\_ has, the 21 July 1975, in his dwelling... intentionally assaulted his wife Lena C\_\_\_\_ to death by: partly casting boiling water and boiling oil over her and also running hot water on her whereby she consequently sustained comprehensive burns on her face as well as on the remainder of her body; partly striking her with a hammer, a table cross-bar, and electric cord and also with his fists, whereupon she consequently sustained impression-fractures on the border between the chest-bone's shaft and body...partly driving a chair-leg into her vagina and with a hammer strike a few blows on the upper end of the chair-leg so that a rupture had arisen within the vagina's rear wall below the uterus cone.

The Pearl was found guilty of murder, pimping, and two counts of assault and imprisoned for ten years after which he will be deported from Sweden forever.

This trial marked the second time in three years in which a black deserter had come to trial for violence and pimp-

ing. The trial also had the added effect of supporting Olsson's theory about black American pimps. It also came on the heels of the trial of the "Mink-Fur Pimp," which had brought about a change in policy in the Swedish press.

Prior to the trial of the Mink-Fur Pimp the Swedish press refrained from making mention of race or supplying the public with pictures. But the "Mink-Fur Pimp" and "The Pearl" trials changed this policy completely. A private photographer was asked by high-ranking officials to stage a sequence of pictures showing a "black" pimp assaulting a "blond prostitute" and taking her money. The pictures were conveniently taken near a defunct discotheque which had been used by black foreigners in Malmo's "life." Thus, 1975 clearly exposed the racist character of Swedish society.

#### Butch The Ohio Player vs. The People of Sweden 1975

During the Fall of the year, "Butch, the Ohio Player," had his rented car destroyed by an unknown arsonist. After Butch had fled back to Ohio, he returned to Malmo and within two months of his arrival, he was arrested for raping a prostitute. Detective Olsson was again pleased for he had earlier expressed a desire to arrest Butch for pimping.

Butch was well-known by Malmo's inhabitants and the Malmo Police. He had rented a Canary-yellow Chevrolet Corvette which he drove through the streets of Malmo, while "gangster-leaning" and wearing a "big hat." On at least two occasions

Butch was taken into custody by the Malmo Morals Squad down on "the stroll" for trying to "catch," while watching his wife as she worked. Butch used to say that "you can't cop at bars and discotheques, you have to go on the stroll." He even said if he got "busted" he would "break out of the joint and kick his 'hos in the ass if the cake wasn't right." And when he would "return to the joint, everybody would say that Butch is one pimping motherfucker." Since it was his "life-time plan to pimp till he was dead," Butch would sometimes spend \$150 to \$200 per night "entertaining the ladies" at bars and restaurants in Sweden and Denmark.

As a result of his public arrogance and flamboyance, Butch had very few friends. If a girl was a prostitute, he would "crack" on her; it was of no importance whom she was with, Butch was "working." If a woman would ask him if he knew her man, Butch, who probably knew her man well, would usually say that he never heard of him. Thus, on many occasions Butch found himself in violent confrontations with Yugoslavians "in the life" and even incurred the wrath of most of the black foreigners who were living in Scandinavia. When he finally came to trial, he had numerous indictments filed against him; two of which were pimping. Within six months of receiving his twenty months sentence, Butch escaped and returned to the United States. Approximately one year later, Butch was re-arrested in Canada and extradited to Malmo to finish serving the rest of his sentence.

Butch's trial further exposed the latent racism of the Swedish press. One of the papers depicted him in a drawing holding a whip in one hand and clutching a bundle of money with the other, while a number of scantily-clad females were huddling in fright behind his back. But despite the fact that the Swedish press had made little mention of Butch's race, the articles and drawings concerning his trial conveyed sufficient information to firmly establish in the minds of the public that Butch was a black American.

His trial also marked another effort to consciously transplant American pimping models in Scandinavia. Butch's modus operandi was a conscious attempt to synthesize and operationalize the writings of "Iceberg Slim" and "Silky." But the objective conditions of Scandinavian life, proved to be unreceptive to the transplantation of these models. Shortly after his trial had convened another American, "R\_\_\_\_\_ R\_\_\_\_\_ J\_\_\_\_\_," was arrested and convicted in Stockholm for the crime of pimping and several misdemeanors.

R\_\_\_\_\_ R\_\_\_\_\_ J\_\_\_\_\_ 's conviction signalled a definite change in the relationships of Afro-Americans and Scandinavian prostitutes. Whereas earlier, Scandinavian prostitutes rarely denounced their men, from 1974 onwards, they began soliciting intervention from the Swedish police. This solicitation was also being caused by a sharp increase in drug abuse and assault which was occurring more frequently amongst those "in the life." Just like the early seventies when it had become a fad to establish a relationship with a black

American and work on the street, it had also become a fad for the women in question to denounce the men to the Swedish police. The proliferation of the denunciations, in contrast to the absence of them earlier, was an indication of a new period; a period of "reverse" social contagion.

What was happening in effect was that the men, in placing higher demands on the women and resorting to assault, were not fulfilling their role expectations placed upon them by the women. This was also complicated by the increasing usage of drugs found in the men's circles. And a personal television appeal by Detective Olsson, to both the public and the women to "turn in pimps," helped to accelerate the process of reverse social contagion. Then in July 1976 the deviant careers of black Americans in Sweden was reaching the end.

M \_\_\_\_\_ vs. the People of Sweden: 1976

J \_\_\_\_\_ L \_\_\_\_\_ M \_\_\_\_\_, a 25 year old black American basketball player, came to Gothenburg, Sweden, in 1974 to play and teach basketball. However, M \_\_\_\_\_, who had a minor heroin problem, did not succeed very well. What was unknown at the time was that M \_\_\_\_\_ also had other problems: He was out on parole in Iowa from two kidnapping convictions in 1971 and was fleeing from an outstanding warrant which charged him with being a prime suspect in a forced burglary/entry affair which had taken place in Texas in 1973.

It was rumored in the press that M\_\_\_\_'s playing performance was somewhat poor because of vaguenesses which were found in his playing contract. As a result of his poor performance, M\_\_\_\_ decided at the end of his first season in Sweden to try playing basketball elsewhere in Europe. He went to France and Belgium and in 1975 returned to Gothenburg and not long thereafter he resumed his habit of using narcotics and married his Swedish girlfriend.

His sister-in-law, who was a prostitute at the time, and sometimes his wife, joined him when he used narcotics and in 1976 M\_\_\_\_ became addicted to heroin again. He smoked hashish and heroin cigarettes but carefully avoided the use of "speed." Then on July 6, 1976, his sister-in-law was found brutally murdered in her Gothenburg apartment and within two days, M\_\_\_\_ broke down and confessed to the crime.

The prosecutor rendered a version which reads similar to this:

M\_\_\_\_'s sister-in-law, E\_\_\_\_ C\_\_\_\_, had called his home on the fatal day to buy some hashish. M\_\_\_\_ received the sum of \$80 to buy the drug. When he returned he and his sister-in-law smoked the drug and discussed the possibility of him borrowing \$2,000. However, at that time, she was reluctant to lend him it and they suggested discussing the matter later. M\_\_\_\_ left her apartment to pick up his wife and he returned alone to his sister-in-law's apartment. This time he brought along a dagger. He came in and they drank juice, which possibly contained speed, and began discussing the loan. The argument was continued out in the kitchen, whereupon fighting ensued. The fighting continued into the bedroom where he stabbed repeated on and about her head. Finally, M\_\_\_\_ removed the unconscious victim to the bathroom, where he placed her in the bathtub and proceeded to drown her. He ransacked her apartment for the money, found nearly \$1500 and left. He then returned

home and sent his wife to the store for a bottle of grape juice in order to gain time to wash the trace of blood from his person. When his wife returned to their apartment from the store, she rang her sister several times but received no answer. M\_\_\_ suggested visiting the victim to ascertain her whereabouts. M\_\_\_'s wife called some friends who lived in the vicinity and asked them to check. They entered her apartment and discovered her body and rang for the police.

M\_\_\_'s version, although essentially in agreement with the prosecutor's, contains more intimate details:

He had been having sexual intercourse with his sister-in-law, who from time to time had helped him with money. It was common for his sister-in-law to spike glasses of orange juice with a small amount of speed, although she carefully avoided putting it into his, for he complained that speed made him impotent and caused him to feel "funny." He had approached his sister-in-law for a \$2,000 loan so that he and his wife might visit the United States. His sister-in-law became jealous and angry. He had to leave to pick up his wife and suggested discussing the loan further when he would return. Upon leaving, he felt "funny" from the juice. He then decided to take his knife in the event that he would be forced to use it. They renewed the conversation and M\_\_\_ believed she had spiked his juice. She agreed to lend him \$1,000 but not more. She threatened to reveal their affair to his wife and to coerce her to work. They then began arguing and his sister-in-law made insulting comments about his sexual prowess. And afterwards, he killed her.

Prior to the trial, the court ordered a psychiatric examination of the defendant. He was considered sane enough to stand trial for murder. He was then found guilty and sentenced to eight years imprisonment and lifetime deportation. M\_\_\_'s case was extremely important in at least two different ways: (1) it was the third case in which a black American had killed a Swede in less than four years and one in which prostitution figured heavily; and (2) his testimony resulted in the arrest and conviction of "S\_\_\_" and R\_\_\_.

Approximately a week after M\_\_\_ began confessing, he also began to tell about his narcotics transactions. He gave names, dates, places and even the quantities he had purchased. Although the information was pertinent to his forthcoming murder trial, the prosecutor withheld it from the other documents until the Gothenburg Narcotics Police had gone into action. And within three weeks, G\_\_\_ L\_\_\_ R\_\_\_, also called "B\_\_\_," was seized in his Malmo apartment and transported to Gothenburg for interrogation. And shortly thereafter, "S\_\_\_" was arrested in Stockholm and also transported to Gothenburg. At the time of these arrests the Gothenburg Police were intensively trying to find "B\_\_\_ T\_\_\_," another black American implicated in M\_\_\_'s case who had managed to flee from Scandinavia.

M\_\_\_ had confessed that "B\_\_\_ T\_\_\_," "S\_\_\_," and R\_\_\_ had supplied him with amphetamines, cocaine and heroin: B\_\_\_ T\_\_\_ had sent him speed through the mail from West Germany; R\_\_\_ had supplied him free of charge almost 40 grams of heroin; and S\_\_\_ had sold him cocaine for \$60 a gram. M\_\_\_'s wife helped to corroborate his story and thus S\_\_\_ and B\_\_\_ were arrested.

S\_\_\_ remained a mystery to the Gothenburg Police for a while, for he had in his possession an American passport, issued in someone else's name. However, within three weeks, the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington had been able to establish his true identity through his finger-

prints since S\_\_\_ had been arrested on numerous occasions in and around Redwood City, California during the 1960s. During the first few months, while awaiting trial, S\_\_\_ refused to cooperate with his interrogators and continually gave conflicting statements. Then through the joint efforts of the Danish and Swedish Police, it was firmly established that L\_\_\_ M\_\_\_, Jr. alias S\_\_\_ was wanted in Copenhagen for rape and pimping in 1974.

During that time, S\_\_\_ was said to have used nine different names, one of which was "Mike." When the woman who originally filed the complaint was shown several pictures of black foreigners, she was able to state that L\_\_\_ M\_\_\_, Jr. was known to her as Mike and therefore the police continued probing S\_\_\_'s past, for they also suspected that he had cut up the face of another prostitute. When this information was disclosed, the Gothenburg Police began looking for even other leads. The investigation was so exhaustive that it required more than four months to bring both S\_\_\_ and R\_\_\_ to trial. At the time, the Gothenburg Police were thoroughly investigating R\_\_\_'s past seven years in the country; seven years of which it was firmly established that R\_\_\_, although a deserter, had not worked more than one year during his entire stay in Sweden. What the prosecution was going to prove, besides possession and sales of narcotics, was that R\_\_\_ was a notorious pimp. The prosecution authorities had gathered sufficient evidence from the Malmo Police which could legally

be binding, but a formal complaint by a prostitute which would give the prosecution an air-tight case against R\_\_\_\_ was still lacking.

Finally, L\_\_\_\_ L\_\_\_\_, who earlier that year had filed a complaint against another black American, R\_\_\_\_ R\_\_\_\_ J\_\_\_\_, for the crime of pimping in Stockholm, went to the prosecutor and stated that she had "falsely" accused J\_\_\_\_ of being a pimp. After a thorough investigation, the prosecution established that R\_\_\_\_ had also received monies which arose from her activities. Thus, the prosecutor went to court with an air-tight case which proved that R\_\_\_\_ had in fact been a pimp. On December 23, 1976, S\_\_\_\_ was convicted of pimping and other related crimes and given 3½ years imprisonment; R\_\_\_\_ was also convicted of pimping and narcotics crimes and given a seven year sentence.

This case was widely covered by the press because it was firmly believed that the case established beyond doubt the existence of a "Black American Mafia" in Western Europe. Since B\_\_\_\_ T\_\_\_\_ had supplied the West German "link" and L\_\_\_\_ M\_\_\_\_ Jr. the Copenhagen "link," it seemed clear that R\_\_\_\_ supplied the Swedish link; there was no question that these three "links" constituted proof that a Black Mafia had been mainly operating in Sweden. But according to press reports a "Mr. Big" in Copenhagen was still missing. By then the Mansson and Larsson report had been published and released in Sweden. The Mansson and Larsson report, of which a considerable portion was devoted to black pimps, clearly supported

the mass media's theory of the Black Mafia. Meanwhile on television, the question of prostitution was gaining prominence. The Swedish Police then declared an open war on prostitution and one by one the National Police were raiding sex-clubs throughout Sweden and arresting the owners on suspicion of pimping. Then, unknown to the public at the time, the Malmo Police were planning a full-scale effort to halt prostitution on Kungsgatan in Malmo.

Sweet W\_\_\_\_\_ vs. the People of Sweden: 1978

During the summer of 1977, the Malmo Police Squad had begun a close surveillance of prostitution centered in and around the city. Their surveillance activities were unknown to most people until they struck on October 3, 1977. When they did, a small group of them raided a sex-club in Landskrona, a neighboring town to Malmo, while a second group picked up and interrogated a number of Malmo's street prostitutes. A third group set about arresting two gypsy-cab drivers who catered mainly to prostitutes, a small real estate owner, who at usurious rates, rented working apartments to prostitutes, and lastly "Sweet W\_\_\_\_\_." However, the police did not succeed in arresting "Sweet," as he was often called, until October 4, 1977.

Approximately 3:00 P.M. on October 4, 1977, Sweet W\_\_\_\_\_ was sitting in a restaurant at one of Malmo's large department stores eating and talking to an Arab acquaintance of his. After he had paid and walked upstairs, he was accosted by

two members of the "stake-out" team and accompanied to the precinct for questioning. When he was brought before the court for a hearing, he was held over for trial on charges of "felonious pimping"; a charge which carries a maximum penalty of six years imprisonment. Sweet was held under formal arrest for three months prior to his trial and during this time, more than four prostitutes were interrogated as to their relationship with him.

Interpol was contacted and revealed that during 1971 to 1972, he was suspected of pimping and document falsification in Mannheim and Hamburg and had been deported from West Germany for lifetime. The Gothenburg Police had suspected him of pimping during 1974 to 1975 and the Swedish Customs officials had suspected him of transporting narcotics from Copenhagen to Sweden while the Malmo Pimp Squad had placed him under surveillance as early as 1974. When Sweet W\_\_\_\_, "one of the kingpins of the pimps," as the Malmo Police referred to him, went to trial on January 9, 1978, and received eight months imprisonment and lifetime deportation, it was incontrovertible proof that "the game was over."

#### Summary

Sweden, during the 1960's, underwent dramatic societal changes. Some of these changes were the mass influx of Southern and Eastern European migrants who were either seeking employment opportunities or political asylum in Sweden. Another major change that had taken place was the liberalization of moral codes concerning pre-marital sex, sex education

and co-habitation. These changes were followed by a surge of political activism surrounding the debate on the Vietnam War. Thus, the political climate in Sweden at the time was favorable for receiving American servicemen desirous of deserting their military units. And in 1967 the first wave of deserters touched upon Swedish shores.

By 1968 Sweden began receiving an increasing number of both black and white American deserters primarily from bases in Western Germany. Within a few months of their arrival some of the men began engaging in criminal activities. And by 1970 a significant percentage of those domiciled in Sweden had been arrested for misdemeanors and felonies throughout the country.

The criminal behavioral patterns exhibited by the men were intertwined with living in an all-white Social Democratic country in which they were treated as outsiders. The norms and values which they had internalized at home ran counter to those of the host society. The result of this being a cultural clash which the deserters couldn't resolve. Thus their inability, and sometimes unwillingness, to assimilate into the host society caused them to quickly become marginal men in Sweden. Other social changes, which had taken place in other Western European urban centers also helped the deserters to become marginal men.

The massive police interventions of the late 1960's in Frankfurt and Copenhagen had pushed a small number of professional pimps and hustlers to Sweden which simultaneously

coincided with the deserters arrival. These interventions had also pushed a number of Danish prostitutes to Sweden at a time when Swedish prostitution was sharply increasing. Thus the deserters sought identification with these men and women and internalized their norms and values. Gradually, the men and some of their girlfriends adopted the behavioral patterns of the men and women who were formerly involved in the informal circuits of vice and crime which had extended from Copenhagen to Frankfurt.

The deserters, particularly those who were black and living in Malmo, had face-to-face contact with the experienced hustlers and pimps. Both groups began to develop intimate associations with each other and through their association, the deserters were socialized into deviant careers as pimps. The norms of the subculture of pimping and hustling were internalized by the deserters. This process of identification, imitation and internalization was also extended to a number of Swedish females through contagion. Thus by 1972 the Malmo Police had noted a sharp increase in street-prostitution and also the association between these women and black men.

By 1974, a significant number of black foreigners had been convicted of pimping and drug-trafficking. These convictions although quite small in demographic terms, gave rise to the Swedish dilemma. The dilemma can be expressed in three parts; (1) How were these men able to function as pimps in Sweden, (2) how could Sweden combat this

problem without appearing racist, and (3) how could Sweden control the deserters' deviance without appearing to have reneged on their promise of offering refuge to the men? These salient points formed the backbone of the Swedish dilemma. However, Sweden, like its non-socialist Western counterparts, reacted the same way to the dilemma, that is, racialistically.

The racialism became quite evident through the mass media's reporting of the trials during 1975 and the treatment that Detective Olsson's theory received well into 1976. Prior to 1975 the press had refrained from exposing a defendant's race; after the "Mink-Fur Pimp's" conviction this was changed. By the end of 1976, it had been made clear to the public that black American pimps constituted a severe threat to Scandinavian women, and Swedes in general. Thus the police stepped up their efforts to eliminate black foreigners from the subculture of vice and crime.

The efforts of the police were aided in that a "reverse" social contagion process had permeated the subculture of prostitution: it became quite "acceptable" for prostitutes to denounce black men to the police in contrast to protecting them from the police as they earlier did. And since the Vietnam War was no longer an issue and drug abuse was widespread, the Malmo Police were able to take measures which resulted in the deportation of black Americans in order to bring about an end to black pimps in Sweden in 1978.

## CHAPTER VI

### Get You a Ho: The Game Run Down

This chapter explores the various stages that a male goes through in order to gain recognition as a player. These stages can be thought of as a number of rituals which are contained in the subculture of prostitution. Rituals such as "choosing," "copping," or "catching," "cracking for the cake" and others are repeatedly played out in such a way that they become incorporated into the lifestyles of the men and women. These rituals are internalized by the individuals belonging to the subculture and transmitted to others upon entering "the life."

The norms, values, rituals and folkways are orally transmitted and thus eventually form a male's modus operandi or "game." Simply expressed, the player's game is geared to acquiring a prostitute (catch), receive her earnings (get paid) and secure her fidelity to him (lock and block). Having successfully accomplished this goal, the male reflects on his strategy and explores different ways to increase his earning power (working). However, the key issue in the male's "game" is the quest for money:

S: You seen Vern, you can't be a "nice guy" like you with these hos. See a ho might like a nice guy but you won't get any money. Not any real money.

R: (Laughing) So what you're saying is that I can't cop?

S: (Laughs) No, I'm not saying you can't cop. You're a nice guy, intelligent, good-looking...

- R: Nigger stop bullshitting! You know Slick, I think you should tighten up your game a little. 'Cause you worry me. You get out front there with the hos. Man, I can't do that, not that way.
- S: Yea Vern, I know you're right, but you can't cop sitting in the house or hiding. Fuck the Man, all he can get me for is being too long in the country. A ho wants you to be out front. But as long as I'm getting paid, then I'll do it.
- R: Well, I guess you're right there. But I can't understand \_\_\_\_\_. I saw him walking down the street with his main "P" ten yards in front of him! Can you imagine that? The nigger was too scared to walk beside her in the street!
- S: That silly boy. Vern, he ain't nothing but a loser. That's how these niggers lose their hos being scared to be seen in public with them.

The quest for money is not solely predicated on a principle of greed, it is the accepted way in which a prostitute conveys to a man her belief that he is a man, her man. Once the transfer of money has taken place, he faces certain obligations. The manner in which the male carries out these obligations is called "working" or "on the job." And in the final analysis it can be clearly stated that a "working man deserves his pay."

In order to become a pimp, hereinafter referred to as a "gamester" or "player," one must gain entre to the sub-culture of prostitution, "the life." In this study those men who became gamesters in Scandinavia gained entre "into the life" primarily due to cross-racial (black male/white female) sexual attractions and Danish pro-American biases. In addition to these factors, the paths to a deviant occupational career for them in Western Germany and Scandinavia was occasioned by far-reaching international events which involved American military

intervention such as World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War and on a domestic front the "Civil Rights War." Thus, the players who make up this study gained access to a European illegal opportunity network which seems to owe its origin to social disjunctures temporarily created by war. In short, black American ex-servicemen met Scandinavian prostitutes who both introduced them to and taught them "the life." In the world of players and prostitutes, this phenomenon is called "being turned out." An illustration follows:

Researcher: I have been studying several cases of brothers being popped in Sweden for pimping and the Swedes think that the brothers learned to pimp in the U.S.A. and then turned the girls out over there. I say the Danish girls turned them out. What do you say?

Gino: (Becomes very angry) That's bullshit! Those girls were already turned out. They just needed a protector! The Danish men never gave 'em any love, and you know how we are, we gave 'em some love! They were lonely in their apartments and they wanted some company. They used to come and take G.I.'s out of the hotels to their apartments. It was cheaper for them. The guys could spend the money there instead of at the hotels. Plus she had some company. The reason why she started in the street was because the guys would say they had no money and had to leave. She had gone through this three or four times and this time she decided she was tired of losing a man, so she went to work. That's all. Pimping? Man, those Danes used to pimp those chicks. If she didn't want to work, they would burn her on her stomach with cigarettes.

R: Tell me, were there a lot of brothers pimping when you first came there?

G: Not between '62 and '65. Man, most of the brothers who came there were musicians. I know 'cause I used to sell them a little herb. They used to ask me where I would....(He used his hands to show that he would introduce them to a seller).

Gino was an ex-G.I. who knew the Copenhagen "scene" very well. His description of the manner in which black Americans became players in Scandinavia is illustrative of the "turn out."

Having been "turned out," the new player is faced with developing strategies to maintain his position as a player. An important part of this strategy is "the game." The game is a verbalized account of how a gamester operates in the life. Various rules, both formal and informal, are transmitted to the new player by members of his peer group by the use of slang. Unlike the carpenter who explains to the apprentice, "The easiest way to sand a piece of wood is to stroke with the grain, not against it," the new player is expected to understand phrases heavily laced with slang conveyed to him by more experienced males, the "boss players." Whereas the carpenter can physically demonstrate the grain of the wood, the boss player cannot physically demonstrate game strategies and is often reluctant to do so. In many instances, it is the prostitute who assists the new player in developing game in order to function in the capacity of a player.

The prostitute teaches the new player through words and deeds. She, unlike the boss players, derives status from the fashion in which her "man" speaks, dresses and the manner in which he acts. Her man, in most instances, is a status-conferral vehicle in her life. Her female counterparts rank

her according to both her words and deeds and to a large extent by her man. Therefore, the man to whom she attaches herself should exhibit qualities which enhance her status in the subculture of prostitution. In the life, this would then seem to account for the word "choosing." As opposed to picking, choosing seems to connote a conscious effort to select a male with qualities respected by those in the subculture of prostitution.

In the life, it is said that the prostitute does the "choosing." However, it is rare to hear an experienced male say that he was "chosen." Since the player in the subculture strives for identification as a strong masculine figure, he is more likely to express his relationship in terms which reinforce his masculinity. He is more inclined to say he "copped" or "pulled" as opposed to the woman "choosing" him. By expressing how his relationship with a prostitute began, in terms of the male "copping," "pulling" or "catching," he displays the powers he possesses which the female couldn't resist. Yet as one veteran in the life expressed it, "You can only catch the women who like you." An example of "choosing" is given below:

Eloise: You're Vernon, aren't you? Georgia told me a lot about you and sends her regards.

Me: Thanks, give Georgia a kiss from me. Was it good what you heard? Or was it bad? Ha! Ha!

E: It was very good. I wonder if I can ask you a question?

M: Sure, go ahead and shoot!

E: You know David (a black American) don't you? He asked me to be his woman but he's "expensive." I'm working, but it's part-time because I go to school. But he's got other women working for him. I wonder if I work full-time can I get him, because that's what he wants.

M: What do you want?

E: I like him but he's too expensive and I don't know if he's worth it.

M: Well...you have to think what you really want. Do you want a Ford with a Cadillac body or a Cadillac with a Rolls-Royce engine? You understand?

Eloise wanted to choose David but was uncertain if her decision was wise. She was reluctant to commit herself until she sought someone else's advice.

In this study, it must be emphasized that the interracial, or cross-racial, sexual attractions between the two sexes, appear to be the most significant underlying cause for the men becoming players. Usually the path to a deviant career began in the Saga Hotel, Casanova Bar or Club 6. In these places, particularly the latter two, a ritual was enacted whereby the women openly flirted with the men, induced them to dance and encouraged them to make sexual advances. Having completed the sexual act, the women offered their living quarters to the men. An acceptance of this offer signalled that the two had established a relationship. It was merely a question of time before she gave him her earnings. When that act was completed, he became **Her**"man" and she his "woman" or "lady."

This ritual, as expressed by those in the life, is as follows: (1) She gave up rhythm, (2) she cracked on him, (3) she gave up some leg, (4) he copped by leading with his dick and (5) got paid. This ritual was repeated again and

again and thus, the new player was able to develop a viable strategy which would propel him along in a deviant career. By internalizing and practicing these norms, the men were able to exert their influence in wide circles of vice and crime. Their most formidable strategy, or game, developed from the principle: "lead with your dick."

The principles of dancing and "leading with your dick" became the cornerstone upon which the players' strategy rested. This was also a ritual strictly adhered to by the women "in the life." A player could tell if he was "being chose" through the process of slow-dancing. A prostitute who would slow-dance with a male, who was neither attached to her nor her customer, was considered to be "giving up rhythm," that is, in the process of "choosing." She was then open for a "crack," a sexual advance. However, there were times when the sexual advance was not reciprocated by the female. When reciprocity did not materialize, she was considered to be "playing on him" and gained the reputation of being called a "dog."

It must be remembered that these norms and values are transmitted in an oral tradition if transmitted at all. Upon entering the life, one is expected to recognize certain accepted modes of behavior and abide by them. The speed with which the new player internalizes the normative values of his peer group is a highly significant determining factor in his future deviant career. This can be clearly seen in the case of two players:

V: What's the beef between Lee and Relton?

Sip: See Relton came to Cope in '69 and he met Jayne and she was working out of Number 7. She and Relton used to come to Casanova all the time. One day Lee told Jayne that she was a dog and she should take off those funny shoes she was wearing (giggles). So she went home and they didn't come out for a couple of weeks. When they came out again, they both had on new shoes. Relton used to wear funny-looking pointy-toed shoes. And ever since then, Lee and Relton never got along.

V: (laugh) But you said Jayne worked out of "Number 7"? She's working out of Kakadu now. How did that happen?

S: Your boy won't tell you that shit will he? See, he and Jayne used to live in Number 7 together, until one night, he "tricked" me. He asked me if Jayne could go with my people to Kakadu. So I said Okay. That's how she got in there. I shouldn't have let the nigger do it, but he thinks he tricked me. See, I know that nigger. That's one nigger I do know.

Both Lee and Relton were members of the same group which placed certain values and role expectations on them. Relton and his "people," Jayne, seem to have violated the dress code which prompted Lee to reprimand Jayne in Casanova Bar. As a result of the reprimand, Jayne and Relton withdrew from the group and changed their mode of dressing. However, Lee's reprimand was interpreted by Relton as disrespectful thus causing hostility between the two men. In short, what had happened was that Relton and Jayne had violated a norm and come under peer-group pressure. Relton probably resented Lee's approach to Jayne, "cracking on his woman," because Lee's actions were revealed in public and directed towards Jayne rather than to

Relton. Relton interpreted it as disrespectful to his role as a man. However, both Relton and Jayne valued their membership in the group and made a conscious effort to conform.

Once a new player has "copped," internalized various norms and developed strategies to assist him in furthering his career, he begins to think of himself as "working," that is "on the job." This usually means (1) looking for other prostitutes to add to his "family" and (2) conveying the notion to the woman in his life that he "earns" his money.

The new player conceives prostitutes in several different ways, two of which are: "cop and blow" and "cop and lock." The term "cop and blow" is used to denote having a relationship with a prostitute for a short duration. The length of the relationship is determined by many variables; variables which defy enumeration. Nevertheless, it can be stated that a relationship with a prostitute for less than six months can be accurately described as a "cop and blow" type. Although one finds notable exceptions, the street prostitute, particularly in Copenhagen, is "cop and blow." Thus, the major emphasis of a player's game is placed upon "cop and lock" or "cop and hold."

"Cop and lock" or "cop and hold," as it's sometimes referred to, is a process of establishing a long-lasting intimate relationship with a prostitute. This process requires flexibility, manipulation and conscious efforts on a player's part. It requires props such as: jewelry and perhaps a car,

a wardrobe (expressive equipment), gentleman-like mannerisms and etiquette (acting in bad faith). Unlike "cop and blow," this process is designed to ensnare and bind a prostitute. Although a prostitute engages in multiple relationships while at work, there exists a tacit approval of her behavior by the player. Sexual relationships which fall outside this domain are strictly forbidden and in order to keep her from being "unfaithful" the player employs the practice of "cop and lock," thus the use of props, clothing, etc. Should the prostitute adhere to their tacit agreement, that is, remain "faithful," she is then considered to be "locked and blocked."

As mentioned earlier Scandinavian street-prostitutes appear to be more the "cop and blow" variety than the "locked and blocked" type. However, there are numerous exceptions to this rule. Nevertheless, the experienced player is likely to find that "non-street" prostitutes can be placed in the "cop and lock" categories. This may be a function of the seemingly higher self-esteem that non-street prostitutes place upon themselves.

The act of "copping and locking" demands that a player anticipate in advance a prostitute's moves. He must be sensitive to her wants and desires, cater to her whims, tolerate her idiosyncrasies while firmly establishing that he is her "man." This requires a great deal of physical and psychic energy, organizational skills, foresight and above all, self-restraint. Furthermore, he is expected to be able to handle

large sums of money. The ability to integrate all of these demands in his role as a player will determine his ease in coping and locking. This would then seem to clearly explain his acceptance of the revenues generated by the prostitute. Since he's "on the job" he expects to get paid. For him, coping and locking is analogous to "working."

Another process a player frequently engages in is introducing a woman into the life. This process is called "turning out." There are several means by which this is attempted; none of which is sure to succeed:

1. Love: By developing an intense relationship with a woman, a male can appeal to her emotions for accomplishing the goal. He assumes that she will be inclined to follow his suggestions rather than seeing his financial stability seriously threatened. He usually explains that a human sacrifice means re-evaluating the norms and mores under which she functions and substituting new ones in their place; norms and mores for becoming a prostitute.
2. Another Prostitute: Perhaps the easiest way for a male to induce a woman to become a prostitute is by encouraging her association with an experienced prostitute. The player assumes that an experienced prostitute's explanation of her work, in contrast to his explanation, will elicit more credibility from a woman. He operates on the principle that "women-to-women" talk is more persuasive than "man-to-woman" talk.
3. Trick-Out or Short Money: A player takes a woman out of her surroundings and spends a large sum of money on her. He "suddenly" realizes that they have insufficient funds for the return trip home. Since he "inadvertently" purchased one-way tickets they are in dire need of cash and the situation could be remedied if she could "turn a trick or two." Should she refuse, he departs to find money but never returns. This, of course is a very dangerous act and one rarely reverted to.
4. Jonesed: By introducing her to drugs, he hopes to create a necessity for buying them. When she must

generate the necessary money, he suggests that she "work." Most players will abstain from using this method since a narcotic-addict's loyalties lie with drugs. However, the most efficient way to "cop" a prostitute is to find one who has been already "turned out" by another prostitute. An example of a female who was introduced to the life by a prostitute is given below:

R: Well, anyway, if you had to do it again, I mean "work," would you do the same thing?

E: No, I would work in the clubs!

R: Why that?

E: Because, in the clubs you keep all your money until the end of the week and you can count it. If you work on the street, you spend it every day. But, at the clubs you have to work every day even if there are no "tricks." On the street you can go to work whenever you please and leave whenever you please.

R: But you make more money in the clubs don't you?

E: Yes, you do. But I don't know anybody who can recommend me to one.

R: How the hell did you begin anyway?

E: Georgia told me to try it and I made a lot of money at first.

As the above conversation demonstrates, Eloise, "E" had been turned out by another prostitute. This process is recognized by players as the best solution to the "turn out" process. For it frees him from responsibility in the event of facing criminal charges. However, the central issue which is foremost in his mind is "getting paid."

The transfer of money from the prostitute to a player is based upon a principle of "who wears the pants." The player is expected to adequately function as a "conventional" man does in the role of a bread-winner. He is ex-

pected to "work" at home and at other places in order to receive her money. Upon fulfilling his obligations, he expects to be paid:

- R: I've been thinking that everything a brother pulls over here is on "the stroll."
- S: Because these niggers live from day-to-day. They can't plan ahead. Look at the difference between us and the West Indians. They make more money as a group than we do.
- R: Of course, they got black chicks working in the clubs. The rest of the niggers got bitches on the stroll. I wonder why brothers can't pull "top" bitches if there's supposed to be so many in the country.
- S: Because we don't go to the right places. See last night me and Pebble went over to Cope and visited the Chat Noir. I got play from the "ladies" as soon as I walked in but we were "travelling heavy" so I had to be cool. But it's there.
- R: (Laughs) But you got to change up your game with them. You can't have all that flash like you got for these hos over here.
- S: Oh, Vern, I'm quite certain that it won't be any problem. As long as I get paid. I remember I was in Stockholm one time and a bitch wanted me to protect her from some man. I wasn't getting paid so she got an ass-whipping.
- R: You mean you couldn't do the lady a favor?
- S: Sure, if the cake is right. See, Vern (laughs) I don't know about you, but "I controls all cake!"
- R: Sure, if the cake is short anybody can control it! (Laugh) Even a baby likes "shortcake."
- S: (Smiles) Vern, I got three hos. I mean real hos and I been trying to get 30,000 Kr. (\$6,000) together in the last six months. And Vern, I cannot do it with three hos.
- R: (Laughs) I know what you mean brother, I know what you mean. Maybe you're not on your job?

S: Them bitches ain't on their job! Instead of working, they're running their mouths, drinking liquor or licking on each other. That's the three problems you got with these hos.

As Slick, "S," expresses it, a player who works, "controls the cake." Charity is foreign to a player. He is supposed to be on the job and as such entitled to his pay.

The work of a player with a street prostitute differs considerably from that of one with a non-street prostitute for several distinctive reasons: (1) a street prostitute doesn't travel far nor frequently, (2) she comes home with the money every evening, (3) she sees him daily and is capable of monitoring his outside activities, and (4) she's more likely to come to the attention of the police than her non-street counterpart. Thus, a player is compelled to develop a game strategy which readily adapts itself to the woman.

The most significant aspect of prostitution is whether a woman chooses to work on the street or in the clubs. Both choices have their advantages, but the street forces not only players but the prostitutes as well to devise means to mask their identities. One of the means at their disposal is the use of taxis when travelling to and fro. The taxis offer them a modicum of anonymity which public transportation fails to provide. An example of this is taken from my field notes written one night in a bar:

Sheryl: I just want a little beer before going to work.  
It's sure cold tonight, isn't it?

- R: You sure you got on enough clothes tonight?  
I don't know how you can stand it out there in  
the cold weather. Why don't you work in a club  
instead?
- S: I tried the clubs one time, but you need a good  
body to work in a club. On the street, all you  
need is a nice face. Plus, you have to travel  
so much to work in a club. Planes, trains, taxis.  
Uusch! On the street it's fun. You can talk to  
your friends. You don't have club-owners telling  
you what to do. Even my male friends (Swedes)  
come down there and talk to me.
- R: But if you got a man, you can't protect him.  
Because the people in town know you and when they  
see your man, they say: There's her pimp!
- S: I know, that's bad! See, I never go downtown in  
a taxi with my mother because she doesn't know  
what I'm doing. She thinks I'm working in a store.  
The taxi-drivers all know me too. Even the way I  
dress people know.
- R: Why do you dress that way?
- S: (Giggles and shrugs her shoulders) Because it's hip.
- R: You know, I bet you take a taxi at least twice a day.  
You probably spend more money on taxis in one month  
than I make at work. How much do you think you spend  
every month on taxis - 2000 kronor (\$400)?
- S: Maybe 3000-4000 (\$600-\$800).
- R: Whew! Why don't you take the bus like me?
- S: I don't know....I should....

As the above excerpt clearly shows, prostitutes as well as  
players use taxis as a defense mechanism; a means of masking  
their true identities. The excerpt also shows some of the  
important issues which compel a prostitute to choose the  
street instead of clubs.

The player's main concern, while developing a strategy for legitimizing his right to the "cake" as well as protecting his identity, as mentioned before, is getting paid. The player realizes the advantages and disadvantages of having a woman on the stroll. He also realizes the need to "work." But in the mind of a player "working" is synonymous to being courteous or actively looking for new prospects. Two examples are given below:

A prostitute whom we both know walks in, greets us and gives me a kiss:

R: (Laughs) Petra do you know my friend? Let me introduce you to Mr. Slick.

Petra: Hello, Mr. Slick, I'm Petra.

S: Well, you look mighty cute today all dressed up. Going someplace?

P: (Laughs) No, I just came to town to talk to Vern.

S: You two are very lucky. Vern, I wonder if "your" woman would like something to drink? I hope you don't mind me asking her.

R: Sure brother, go right ahead. I'm quite certain she'd be glad to have something.

P: That's nice that you're paying for it.

S: Sweetheart, I'd buy you anything if you'd see things my way.

P: Well I might but you're too expensive for me.

S: Not if you'd do things the way I want. You see, we can't travel and have nice things without money.

P: What about your other ladies, what will they say?

S: Well, that's not your problem, now is it? I'm quite certain that we can work something out in time.

P: Yes, but time is money and I know your time is expensive.

Petra and Slick laugh as he goes to get her a coffee. Petra tells me she knows "his game." He wants some money and she's not about to give it to him. He returns and gives her the coffee and then we depart.

The first example shows Slick, a player, "at work," in a restaurant. He displays charm, tact and verbal agility. He is trying to "catch" by mustering all of his psychic energies and channeling them so that they appeal to the woman. However, the second example of a player at work is expressed in an entirely different way:

R: You're always complaining about your people, man; why don't you get a job?

Sip: I got a job! Everytime you see me hit the streets I'm working!

R: But you never catch anything! Or, you might get caught!

S: If that dog-assed cow would do something, I'd have some cake and would be nice to them. You know what she did today? Sat in the kitchen whistling at the radio. I told her don't whistle in the house, go down there (the stroll) and whistle at the tricks.

The second example is a demonstration of a player's dislike for his "people" as well as justifying his reluctance to seek gainful employment. However, both men share one view in common: controlling the cake or getting paid.

In the world of a player, the quest for money is a never-ending task. There are no set rules for "getting paid." One is permitted to "crack for the cake straight up," "trick a ho out of cake," "work for it" or if necessary "gorilla it" from her. Money, while providing luxuries and the necessities

of life, is a vehicle which confirms the role of a player as "the man of the house." His role as a man is seriously threatened if a woman "plays him out of pocket." By "playing him out of pocket," that is, withholding her earnings in part or full, the prostitute challenges his masculine role and creates the opportunity for him to be viewed as a trick:

S: Vern, I got to get out of Malmo. Man, I wanted to be home now. But every time I plan something, something goes wrong. Maybe we should see if Karla (a prostitute) is home and fuck up Smiley's game. Make him lose the little action that he's got.

R: He's a sneaky motherfucker ain't he? I caught him creeping around Sweet-legs house the other night. When he saw me he was shocked.

S: Vern, you know the bitch told me she was buying him clothes and giving him money here and there. He was not getting paid! The bitch was giving him money to keep him from starving!

R: Well you know what you'll get if you fuck around there. Probably nothing!

S: Well, in that case I'll ask for the money up front! Explain to her what I am and see what'll happen.

As clearly seen above, Smiley was suspected of not controlling the cake. Karla was "giving him money to keep him from starving." Thus, in the eyes of Slick, Smiley wasn't better than a trick. Smiley, in Slick's opinion was violating the cherished rule of the man being responsible for handling money.

When a player violates game rules in such a way that it becomes public knowledge, he incurs the wrath of his peers. Usually, his transgressions are commented upon in a subtle way which will not provoke hostility. The manner in which this is done is called "cracking." Here cracking, in contrast to the

verbal exchange between a player and a prostitute, is a subtle form of peer group pressure. This exchange takes place in a joking fashion. However, sometimes it is not so subtle:

R: "Chicago" said to tell you he's sorry you're in the slams and that his wife couldn't go to Copenhagen with you the night you got busted. And if you want her address (Chicago was separated from his wife at the time), write to him and he'll send it to you.

Sip: He said that shit? Fuck him! I'll write and tell her to come and visit me and give me some pussy!

R: (Laughter)

S: Did my people send me some ribs?

R: Yea, and they taste good too!

S: How you know?

R: I was over Betty's house when she was cooking them.

S: Hmm. Are they working everyday?

R: No, they been bullshitting with Betty this week. We been laughing and stuff.

S: What? Nigger, you polluting the game! Make that dog go to work so my cake will be right when I get out the joint!

R: (Laughter)

As demonstrated above, the researcher, who was visiting a player in one of Copenhagen's penitentiaries, was subjected to ridicule for not abiding by rules of the game. He, like Smiley, had "polluted the game" and was held in contempt by his peers. Since the quest for money and its control is the major focus of men in the life, any action on the part of a player which seems to contradict this focus is a violation of the group's normative behavior; a severe violation that brings

about reprimands and in some instances avoidance and exclusion from the peer group's functions.

The building of a deviant career as a "player in the life" is founded upon several important stages. The first stage is the introduction of a man into the subculture of prostitution. This usually takes place after a prostitute has "chosen." This initial stage is called being "turned out." The second stage in the career is learning how to successfully function as a player. The learning stage is one in which the prostitute is instrumental in conveying information to the new player in the form of hints, cues and making demands. This learning process is supplemented by the other experienced players in the life.

Third, through a continuous participation in choosing rituals, the new player is able to develop game strategies and internalize the rules of the game. These rituals, which are constantly being repeated, assist the new player in developing a conception of prostitutes which will enhance his ability to increase his earnings, stabilize his career and improve his status as a player.

Fourth, having gained the respect of his peer group and demonstrated a strong masculine identity, he begins to seek women whom he can "turn out," that is, introduce to prostitution. This process of "turning out" is predicated on the notion of "getting paid," that is a quest for money.

Money, as in the larger society, plays a significant role in the life of a player. It gives status, recognition as

a male and also self-esteem. This is also true for women in the life. Thus, the increasing quest for money is the fifth stage in a player's career.

Perhaps, the most significant aspect in a player's career is that of abiding by norms and values which comprise the social structure of his subculture. The quicker he recognizes and internalizes the norms, the quicker he will be recognized as a player. Money, as was previously mentioned, is not only the central focus of a player, it is a decisive issue in his longevity. Thus, the transfer and control of money in the subculture of prostitution, a subculture whose basic structure is that of a triad, the player, the prostitute and the trick, is the main construct of what it means to be a player.

## CHAPTER VII

### In the Real Life: Typologies of the Characters

In the preceding chapter the major elements of the "game" were introduced. It was given in the form of an ideal model, but many important questions still remain: How is a player chosen? Do all women choose black players? Do prostitutes save money? Do they willingly turn over all of their earnings to a man? Do any of them exhibit signs of psychic sickness? Did all black Americans in Scandinavia become players? How does a deviant career develop? What is the reaction of a player to another player when he senses the possibility of his lady being "stolen"? Are all players turned out by prostitutes? What is a boss gamester and how does he think? These are some of the questions this chapter will explore.

The usual view of prostitution is such that it is a monolithic group of people engaged in a bizarre activity; an activity which at best is chaotic. Prostitutes and gamesters are thought to be unconventional human beings who have little in common with the larger society. However, there is little evidence to support this view. By examining the "inside" of the life through the eyes of those people who make it up, we can see some of the basic themes expressed in this subculture which are also found in the larger society.

The first example in this chapter is Von, an ex-G.I. who lived in Copenhagen during the 1960's. Although he was not a player, he was closely associated with those in Copenhagen's "life." His conversations provide an excellent insight into this period. The second example is "Sip" a compulsive gambler who began his criminal career in Frankfurt in the Rio and Corso Bars. The third is Tyrone, a player who became addicted to heroin. The encounter with Tyrone illuminates clearly the rules of the game. Francois, the fourth example, demonstrates the principle of "differential association" in unmistakable terms. Phleb, the fifth example, typifies the "gorilla pimp." Slick, the sixth example, can be designated as a boss gamester who, as a result of not being "on his job," is imprisoned in Malmo for the crime of pimping. Thus, by examining the players, one gets an excellent view of men in the life. Having examined the players, the chapter addresses itself to the ladies. The first example is Geraldine, a prostitute who subtly attempts to "choose" the researcher. This case provides the reader with a vivid example of the verbal exchange between a prostitute and a male who is being "chose." Marita, the second example taken from my field notes is an example of a prostitute who exhibits symptoms of mental disorders. The third example, Consuela, demonstrates how a prostitute very often defies the general view that the men in their lives hold an iron grip on them. Consuela also demonstrates the strong inter-racial sexual attractions

which were instrumental in providing the men with opportunities to become players in Scandinavia. Herta and Jean, examples four and five, are quite unlike the other prostitutes in this study in that they "chose" male companions from North African countries. It is further evidenced how one of them, Herta, has a marked dislike for her father and the other, Jean, has never known her father; two factors which may have predisposed them to eventually become prostitutes. The last example is Eloise, an all-too-often seen picture of a prostitute who has generated large sums of money which were quickly dissipated. Finally, it can be said that the examples found in this chapter render an excellent view of some of the men and women who made up part of the "Scandinavian life."

The first example given below is that of an ex-G.I. who received a European discharge and settled in Copenhagen. The manner in which he chose to do so is a pattern that was followed by a number of black ex-G.I.'s during the late half of the 1960's; a pattern repeated again and again which resulted in "Scandinavian Prostitutes and Black Pimps."

"Von" is a Harlem businessman whom I met in Greenwich Village a few years ago. He came to Copenhagen during the early sixties just prior to his discharge. After getting his discharge, he travelled extensively throughout Europe and finally settled in Copenhagen and lived there a few years. While residing in Copenhagen, he studied Danish at the University and took different jobs and sometimes acted in the capacity of an unpaid "advisor" to black Americans who were living there. After five years of living in Copenhagen he returned to New York City, where he was born, and finished his studies at Columbia University where he received his M.A. Each year he returned to Copenhagen to visit his friends and to view the changes that were taking place.

He is extremely extroverted and as such knows quite a few people throughout the five boroughs. He was the same way in Copenhagen and thus, knows most of the black Americans who are or have been living there. Moreover, he is well-known throughout Scandinavia by most of the black American residents. When I returned to New York City in October 1977, I contacted him about my research.

V: What's happening over there?

R: Well you know that your boy "Chicago" is doing time for pimping and narcotics; "Stone" just got out the joint for fraud and Jessie was awaiting his time when I left!

V: Wow! Those guys never learn! I used to tell them to save their money cause one day it was going to end. Stone just got out? Man, I remember me and two other friends brought Stone up here in 1962. We met him in Spain. ("Stone" had been convicted of pimping in Malmo and is one of the cases I examined.)

R: Von, that's what I wanted to talk to you about. The cats getting busted for pimping in Sweden. That's what my research is all about. Tell me, when did you first come to Copenhagen and why?

V: I was stationed in Hanau but I used to hang out in Berlin. Then "J.K." and another cat told me about Cope. So I started coming there in '59 or '60. I don't remember. But the three of us were the only ones out of a company of 200 G.I.'s who came to Cope.

R: Were the "brothers" pimping there then?

V: No, man you could count the brothers in Copenhagen on one hand at that time. And there were no Africans there, period. They came there later. Arabs, shit they didn't exist. Man, I hate those Arabs. (He goes on about the Arabs until I interrupt)

R: Finish telling me about Cope and the brothers.

V: Man, I remember when me and "J.K." and another dude walked into Casanova at that time and the "hens" (his word for women) were lined up from the front door all the way to the Chinese restaurant on the corner. You know where I mean.

- R: Yea, you mean the one near Radhusplatsen.
- V: Yea, that's right. There were twenty-six hens and three of us! I know because me and "J.K." counted them!
- R: Were they working out of "Number 7" then?
- V: No, 'cause "Number 7" was more of a hotel then. They came there later. See, the hens used to work out of the hotels near the "Bredvig" (Hotel Saga now). And all the soldiers stayed at the Bredvig, so the hens would come and knock on your door or pick you up in the street. Then they would fuck you to death. You see, near Istegade (the stroll in Copenhagen) there was a hotel owned by a lady we called Miss Ann. When the soldiers were broke they used to take their cameras, jewelry, cigarettes and stuff and sell them to Miss Ann.
- R: You mean, she was like a pawn-broker?
- V: Right! The soldiers didn't know they would spend so much, so they got broke.
- R: Well didn't anybody have a hen on the stroll then?
- V: No, except "The Old Man." He was the first brother to have two hens working out of the "Kakadu Bar." Because in those times, the Kakadu, the Valencia, you know the Valencia don't you, didn't let any hen work in there if she had a black man. The other girls would tell and she'd be out! But the "Old Man" had two! He made a lot of money! You know who the old man was don't you?
- R: He was the dude that had those two chicks and took a young Danish girl to (he interrupts here)
- V: Right! You really know your shit! See the "Old Man" is the one who can really tell you about the scene. One time he held a meeting to organize all the guys who were pimping to lay out a plan of action. You were nothing if you didn't show. I went there and looked.
- R: What year was that?
- V: '68 or '69.
- R: What happened?

V: Well the police came down and made a little sweep as they usually do. Plus, the Panther thing was going strong. Cats were coming over from Sweden and a lot of Swedish girls were coming too! And the "Old Man's" plan never got off the ground. Man those cats, including the "Old Man" blew a lot of money. They didn't save a thing.

R: Where'd the money go? "Smoke," rides, partying?

V: No, down in Germany they had some fast cats who could gamble. They used to come up there every week, take the money from those cats and split back to Germany.

R: Tell me about the "Old Man." I can't remember the exact date that thing jumped off.

V: '71 or '72. It happened at the same time the police made a big sweep. That's when all those cats went to Sweden. That's why they're over there now.

R: When did the pimping thing really get big in Cope?

V: After '65, that's when the girls started trickling into "Number 7."

R: Were there many dudes off into pimping after '65?

V: No about the same number as over there now. As a matter of fact...

Here he started mentioning a number of black Americans who had lived in Copenhagen and Sweden and were or had been involved in prostitution in both countries.

R: Why did the police come down so hard? Was it because of the "Old Man"?

V: No, the police knew about the "Old Man." You see, it was a few things: prostitution, the Panther Movement, and other things. See Denmark and Sweden have socialist tendencies and the universities, especially Copenhagen University were the thing that made the Panther Movement so big there.

R: Well didn't the Panther Movement come in to Cope through Germany?

V: It came through the states also.

R: Tell me about "Monkey Man." When did that happen?

V: In '67 I think. It was just some bullshit written in the newspapers about him taking money from some hens at Club Six. See, the broad that wrote it, Lizzie Bundgaard, was a racist. She wrote a bunch of articles saying that we all lived like that. We didn't put them out there. They were out there before they met us.

R: Did she write a lot in the papers? BT wasn't it?

V: No, Ekstra Bladet! Yes, ask Skip cause he knows the whole scene. See, cats like Skip nobody writes about. He's a writer, produced a couple of TV programs, went to school. Ask him. He'll run the whole scene down to you. We had a meeting with Lizzie and she interviewed us. All the dudes said they were writers. So we sat down at the Dew Drop Inn (a restaurant) and suggested writing an article for the newspaper. When we came back the next day, I was scared because I was facing all those writers. But when I read their stuff and looked at mine, I laughed. Niggers couldn't write a lick. All of em 10th grade educated! Come on let's eat.

We went into the kitchen and had a lovely meal prepared by his wife. Afterwards, we went to a bar in Harlem.

The above conversation clearly illustrates the social milieu which black American G.I.'s found in Copenhagen in the 1960's. A picture all-too familiar by now.

First, there were few Africans or Arabs found in Copenhagen at that time with whom the G.I.'s had to compete for the Danish girls' attention. Second, there was a good deal of women who were frequenting Casanova Bar for the sole purpose of meeting black G.I.'s. Third, the development of black players took place in Copenhagen sometime shortly after 1965. Fourth, the "Old Man" had established himself as a player prior to the influx of ex-G.I.'s. Fifth, as other black Americans arrived in Copenhagen and entered in the sub-

culture of prostitution, the "Old Man" attempted to organize them into a group. Sixth, shortly thereafter, the publicity surrounding the Monkey-Man interview, and the rise of the Black Panther Party in Scandinavia, brought about a reaction from the Danish Police in the form of periodic raids. And seventh, there was a connection between those in Copenhagen's "life" and black professional gamblers operating in Germany. Just as in earlier chapters one can readily see the stages an ex-G.I. underwent to become a gamester in Copenhagen.

Briefly stated, a soldier was persuaded by his fellow servicemen to visit Copenhagen on leave where he found Danish women who had embarked upon careers as professional prostitutes. Unwittingly, he was at the initial stage of assuming a deviant career as a player. After being discharged and taking up residence in Copenhagen, he began to internalize the normative behavior which was expected of him in this sub-culture. In short, the black ex-G.I.'s had found an illegal opportunity structure which afforded them considerably more than the conventional Danish labor market. However, it can be safely said that the core of the illegal opportunity structure in which they became enmeshed was composed of a complex lattice of cross-cultural and inter-racial sexual attractions.

As a final note, it can be said that the case of "Von," a "pioneer," illustrates a clear example of the Germany-to-Copenhagen trek that other G.I.'s engaged in. It clearly shows how an illegal opportunity structure was developed in Copenhagen during the 1960's for black ex-G.I.'s.

Unlike "Von" in the first example, Sip arrived in Copenhagen in the latter 1960's. Furthermore, although both men were proffered opportunities to assume deviant careers, only Sip took advantage of the opportunities and became a "gambler-player" in the Germany-to-Copenhagen network.

"Sip" was one of ten children in his family. He was born in Mississippi and raised in Alabama in 1943. He joined the Army, serving duty in the U.S., then re-enlisted for another term. This time he was stationed in Mannheim, West Germany like a cousin of his. Through his cousin, he learned about Copenhagen. He visited Copenhagen on a few occasions and then he began having problems in the service. Thus, he asked for and received a medical discharge in West Germany. Having completed less than eight years of education, he came to Copenhagen and looked around for "something to get into." Relatively large and physically attractive, he was able to attract the attention of many Danish prostitutes. However, he changed temperament while there. He was no longer as he once was, the quiet, ex-G.I. with the Southern drawl; he began to gamble and drink excessively which caused him to get into many brawls.

In 1969 he was found without a passport and was given ten years deportation from Copenhagen and put on an airplane to New York. He visited his brother who was studying in Chicago and later returned to New York where he worked at various odd jobs for nearly a year. He returned to Copenhagen and resumed his drinking and gambling habits and was temporarily jailed and deported again. He immediately returned to Europe taking up residence in Frankfurt, a city he knows very well. While there he was arrested on suspicion of theft and later released "to find a job." He returned to Copenhagen and assumed a "low profile" for fear of being arrested.

His major source of income was derived from prostitution during these years. Although he loved "to turn over some cards" and frequently won, he lost quite heavily. He was re-arrested in Copenhagen and deported to West Germany where he found his way to Frankfurt. He flew to another country and succeeded in returning to Copenhagen. His "people," who was a non-Danish Scandinavian citizen living in Copenhagen, returned to her country and thus he came to Malmo in 1973.

For nearly a year he was "scuffling" until he was "chosen" by a Swedish prostitute. His relationship with her lasted more than two years. During this time he returned to Copenhagen and was re-arrested. After serving two months he returned to Frankfurt and remained there a few months until he came back to Malmo. Finally, he left Malmo and returned to Germany.

By judging from Sip's life history, it can be hypothesized that he would have developed a deviant career whether in Europe or America. He possessed the same traits frequently found in studying the life histories of men embarked upon a criminal career: low-level education and financial status, inability to adjust in a highly-regimented organizational structure, high consumption of alcohol and a strong predisposition for gambling. However the significance of Sip in this study is that he provides the reader with an excellent picture of the "gambler-player" network that was operant in Frankfurt and Copenhagen during the 1960's.

In example three, one sees "Tyrone," a "junkie-player." Tyrone's case illuminates how an essential part of "the game" functions and also confirms the view that narcotics play an essential part in the subculture of prostitution:

Tyrone is a heavy-set American whom I first met in Paris in 1971. He hails from Los Angeles and is approximately thirty-two. He has been living in Europe for a number of years. When I met him he lived quite care-free like the "hippies"; smoking hashish and drinking wine in the streets of Paris. He was arrested for selling hashish in Paris for which he paid a fine and was released. He then came to Copenhagen and went on to Northern Sweden where he associated with Phleb before he became addicted to heroin.

We met in a bar in Stockholm during the summer of 1973 and talked about the old times in Paris. About midnight, he decided it was time to leave:

Tyrone: Hey man, why don't you come with me to a party?  
We can buy some pussy!

R: Buy some pussy? In Scandinavia? Man, you must be joking.

T: (Laughing) You don't want to go. Okay. See, that's how I copped Dorothy. I bought some pussy and the next day I copped. That's how you could cop!

Evidently he was "checking me out" to see my reaction. If I had become enthusiastic upon hearing his offer, I would have gained a 'rep' of being a trick. This type of reputation, as I later found out, would always follow you and prevent you from copping. For Scandinavian prostitutes have little, if any, respect for a black trick.

After a while Tyrone avoided me. He believed as did Phleb that I was a C.I.A. agent. However, I met Dorothy a month later at the same bar. We struck up a conversation while she waited for Tyrone who never came. This episode was repeated on four different occasions and she began to confide in me. She explained what she was doing, how much she made and gave to Tyrone and how he was mistreating her. Just as she finished telling me how he was mistreating her, a taxi pulled up and Tyrone jumped out and hurried inside. He saw us sitting at the table and immediately became angry:

T: (To me) Mister, you got nothing to say to my woman.  
(To Dorothy) Woman, if you want to talk to him you do it in some other place where I can't see you!

Tyrone, sweating heavily, rushed to the bathroom. Dorothy looked at me, smiled, and moved to another table. I got up and met him coming out of the bathroom. He had obviously

been using "speed" before he arrived.

R: Man, I'm sorry about that thing. We were just bullshitting. It'll never happen again.

T: No man, I ain't mad. You can have the bitch if you want to pull her. I just don't want anybody knowing her business and asking a bunch of questions. It's cool man.

Although she and I were out of earshot of anyone else, our conversation, out of his presence, violated one of the most important rules: Don't crack on another dude's lady, especially if he's American, though this rule is frequently broken. He saw in our conversation the possibility of me "stealing" his woman which would "blow his game" in the eyes of his friends. Dorothy broke up her relationship with Tyrone not long after this incident as Tyrone had become more and more dependent on drugs. Finally Tyrone was deported to the U.S.A.

In the field notes above one sees how the field researcher's "game" was being tested; a process frequently experienced by researchers of deviant subcultures. In addition to the test, one witnesses another example of how a male gains entre into the subculture of prostitution and embarks upon a career as a player: be a trick and "cop a ho." This means of becoming a player is often employed in urban centers in the United States. However, the key issue in the above excerpt is that of "stealing."

Stealing, or the taking of a player's "lady," was a key issue in the subculture studied. Players were strictly forbidden from "cracking on" someone's lady. If a "lady" were to change players, it should be done in a formal manner. The male should be informed by his replacement in a face-to-face encounter rather than doing it surreptitiously. Even a casual conversation between a male researcher and a prostitute is construed by players to constitute an attempt to "catch." Furthermore, an "engaged" prostitute is considered to be the property of a player. And any exchange of a non-financial nature which involved a male must be sanctioned by her player. Thus the casual conversation between the researcher and Tyrone's prostitute constituted a serious violation of the player's code. Finally, it must be mentioned that Tyrone, as a player, was addicted to drugs. Drug addiction, as well as gambling, is a recurring feature in the subculture of prostitution.

The following example of a man "in the life" is that of a "popcorn pimp," that is, an unsuccessful player. To others in the life he exemplifies the vulgarization of "player-dom." His "game" is based on imitation, fright, naivete and inexperience. Francois is an example of that small group of black foreigners who left Hamburg in 1971 after a racial clash at the Sahara Club. Also included in this description are statements from his ex-lady:

Francois was a 25 year old West Indian who had come to Sweden from West Germany where he had been living for a number of years. While in Germany he had made acquaintances with a few black Americans who migrated to Sweden as he did. Although French was his native tongue and Haiti his pays-natal, he always spoke English and stringently maintained that he was born in North America. He would wear big hats and clothing like most of the black Americans; speak American slang; associate only with black Americans and try to play Afro-American jazz.

He was a quiet and somewhat introverted person; one who constantly looked for reinforcement from his friends. One day while at home, his lady noticed him furtively practicing vocal "game" in the bathroom of the apartment. She also found out that his copy of Susan Hall's Gentleman of Leisure was found secretly tucked away behind the bookcase in his apartment.

His ability to "turn her out" was primarily due to that the woman in question had been urged on many occasions by other men in his group to begin prostitution. Shortly before she met him, she had seriously considered making her debut. She stated that she did so because she wanted to "belong to the family." He, then, was a precipitating factor in her debut. When she actually began, he neither told her how nor where to begin. He even neglected to mention how much she should charge. However, this neglect on his part should not be seen as total ignorance but rather a conscious attempt on his part to avoid facing any indictments in the future, a notion which seems to have been partly conceived of by his "running partner."

Within six months of her debut, he was facing serious domestic problems. The threat of indictment loomed in the horizon and he began to take her threats in earnest. Thus, he approached me one day for assistance in "getting it together":

Francois: Hey man, I been looking all over town for you! I have to tighten up my game. I want to go to school.

R: Yea, well let's go to a couple of 'em and see what can be done.

F: Man, I been fucking up. I spent nearly \$12,000 renting cars this year.

R: Yea, and I bet you don't have a penny saved up!

F: Yea, that's true (Mumbles to himself).

He enrolled in several language schools but a short while later he was convicted of pimping.

Francois is a "follower" type. His actions are patterned on those whom he deems to be "significant." There is little originality in his thinking and acting. This, then, compels him to consult a book to develop "game." In the true style of a "popcorn pimp" he, in living from "day-to-day," quickly dissipates money. This, in turn, causes his lady to re-assess his role in her life. She "runs away," leaving him without financial support. When he finds her, he threatens her with bodily harm. She goes back to work, but lacks incentive. The money she brings in declines sharply. Francois, realizing that his game, as well as his standing in the group, is threatened, succumbs to peer-group pressure and assaults the woman. She sees no alternative to denouncing him to the police which results in his arrest and conviction for pimping. The usual result of "popcorn pimping."

It is often said in the life that whenever a player's game fails, he looks to others upon whom to lay the blame, usually the woman in his life. Then being somewhat confused about how to proceed he begins "to gangster" people around him. That is, he resorts to the use of violence in order to resolve his conflicts. In this typology we see the exemplification of

a violent player. Or in the words of players, a "gorilla pimp."

"Phleb" is an approximately 35 year old American who has been living in Scandinavia for quite a few years. When he arrived in Copenhagen in the late 60's, he did nothing but observe the activities which the others were engaging in. As time progressed, he "copped" and became very violent. He frequently was involved in barroom brawls and was violent toward women and men around him. Prior to his deportation from Copenhagen, an attempt was planned by the other Americans to get rid of him. After his deportation, he somehow managed to return to Scandinavia by way of East Germany and settled in Northern Sweden where he continued his career of violence. In contrast to his fellow countrymen, he always kept a job, usually as a waiter.

Normally he is very secretive about himself, but might "lay his lips on the table" while he's drinking if he trusts you. Although he maintains that he hails from the New York Metropolitan area, his Southern drawl is very heavy. When we first met, he was convinced that I was "C.I.A." If I meet him today his first remark will be, "You resigned from the C.I.A. now, huh?" It was he who began the rumor about me being an agent and as such is always reserved in my presence. However, we do have conversations if I don't pose too many questions.

One evening he, another foreigner and I were conversing at a discotheque:

3rd Man: Hey, I saw your woman at the Apex (another discotheque) last night. She looked good.

Phleb: Yea, the bitch gave me a thousand kronors (\$200) last night! I made her take a bath and I ate the hole out of the pussy! Ha! Ha!

R: Man, you know what they say: You eat the hole, you'll suck the pole!

Phleb: Shit nigger, if a bitch gave you a thousand crowns every night and told you to eat her pussy, you'd do it too! Now ain't that right?

R: (Laughing) I guess you're right.

Here is a usual justification frequently heard. Cunnilingus was a means to an end. There is no shame involved if "the cake is right."

Today Phleb is much more subdued. No longer is he involved in barroom brawls, but he has resorted to excessive drinking. Phleb, although a violent-prone player, is somewhat enigmatic: He holds a full-time job as a waiter. This helps him, despite his frequent brushes with law-enforcers for violent behavior, to maintain longevity in the life. However, his fear of "C.I.A. agents" is a calculated game to deflect inquiries which may seriously jeopardize his involvement in the life. The short conversation with Phleb provides the reader with a little-known secret in the subculture of prostitution: Do anything to get the cake, even if it means "going down on a ho."

Finally we come to Slick, the epitome if a "boss player." The boss player occupies the highest rank in player-dom. It is not only his physical looks, attire and verbal

abilities which sets him apart from others, but his weltanschauung, his modus operandi, and his self-conception which are basically responsible for his position. Furthermore, in this example, one sees how even the "boss player" who is not "on the job" can fall from a mantle.

"Slick" is a 30 year old American who was born in a little town in the south. At fourteen years of age he moved away from home and took an apartment. While attending high school, he held a part-time job in a dry cleaning store in order to cover his expenses. Shortly after moving in, he met a black prostitute who recognized his plight and sent him furniture for his apartment. She even paid for his clothing, entertainment and all the costs for his car. However, there were two rules which he had to accept: 1) he received no money from her and 2) they would have no intercourse together.

One night she approached him with two tickets to a "rock and roll" show and asked him if he would like to go with her. He accepted the invitation and she bought him some new clothes and filled his car with gas. They went to the show and afterwards returned to his apartment for she was tired and did not want to go home. When they went to bed he forced her to have sexual intercourse with him. The next morning she cooked breakfast and after they ate she left and she never returned.

A few years later, he graduated from high school and received a scholarship to a Southern college. He decided instead to join the army and was later stationed in Germany. After his discharge he returned to Germany and found a job on one of the military bases. However, the West German night life had a strong appeal for him.

He was at a discotheque one night when a German prostitute made advances to him. He didn't know at the time what she was doing but found out the next day when she went to work and left him a note and money. He then began to establish himself in prostitution circles.

After a while, he met another prostitute and moved to Northern Germany with her. Then a series of circumstances brought about a confrontation with the German police. He left Germany and took up residence in Copenhagen with one of the prostitutes with whom he had been living in Germany. From Copenhagen they migrated to Gothenburg where they had a few old-time friends.

Slick quickly established himself in Swedish prostitution in Gothenburg, since the other prostitute with whom he was travelling returned to her own country. After living a few years in Gothenburg, where he had come in conflict with the Gothenburg police, he moved to Malmo and continued his involvement with Swedish prostitutes until he was convicted of pimping.

The above description illustrates a young inexperienced male being introduced into the life (turned out) by a Southern prostitute, violating her behavioral code by sexually forcing himself upon her (thinking with his dick instead of his head), which results in the dissolution of their relationship (cop and blow). When he finds himself proffered similar career opportunities in Germany, he seizes upon the opportunities and employs different strategies to overcome his initial failure (tightens up your game). However, within a few years he runs afoul of the German police (not on the job) and migrates to Sweden where he's eventually convicted of pimping (popping weak game). Despite the fact that the boss player's career comes to an abrupt halt, one can see in his conversations some of the elements that makes up a boss player and rationalizations for pursuing a deviant career.

R : Hey Slick! What's happening? I hope I'm not interrupting anything, 'cause you might be in the bedroom licking.

Slick: (Laughs) No, brother, come right on in! You want some coffee or tea?

R: Yea, coffee sounds good! You know, I was thinking about you last night. You're not as hard as you try to be. In fact, I don't even think pimping is your game, is it?

S: You mean me, pimping? Naw, man, I'm no player if that's what you mean. Plus you can't pimp a Swedish broad with the welfare office supporting her.

- R : Well, if you feel that way why don't you give this bullshit up?
- S : Vern, I have no skills. I don't have no Masters Degree. I do what I know best: Vern, you see, you and I want the same things, but in a reverse order. I want to live comfortably and go to school and become a lawyer. I don't want to struggle while I'm going to school like you. But we want the same things.
- R : Don't you ever get tired of all these lazy-assed bitches?
- S : Yea (points to the bedroom), this one here says she's sick. I'm going downtown and find out when her train leaves, take her to lunch and send her little ugly-ass to work. All she wants is for me to make her wet. The dummy. Always complaining about this or that. Vern, I sent that ugly-ass thing to the store to buy some food and she came back with some bullshit coca cola. So I got to go to the store. You going downtown? Let's go together.

Here Slick attributes his career as a gamester due to the lack of a Master's Degree. He uses the researcher's educational achievements as a point of reference with which he measures himself. Since he doesn't "have any skills," he therefore resorts to doing "what he knows best," that is, being a player. However as we continue our conversation later, one sees some of the trials and tribulations of being "at the top" as well as the folklore found in the life.

- R ; Hey man, ain't you tired of this shit? I know you got a lot of bills and the way you spend money....
- S : Vern, all I need is a ride and a little more to live comfortably. See this ugly-ass thing (points to the bedroom) can run off if she wants to, she's the one who got beat not me!
- R ; You got the cake!
- S : (Smiles) Exactly! The ho can do whatever she wants now. When I get a woman, I want one that I can put

a ring on her finger and sit her down in the house. Not this little ugly-ass thing! Vern that's why you don't see me around here much any more, I can't stand her ugly face! She's going to work today. Came home two days ago and said she was sick. This morning at 9 AM we were at the doctor's office.

R : (Laughs) That's kind of early for you to be getting up!

S : (Sternly) I got them out of here early and we went to the doctor's and nothing was wrong. So they're going to work to-day!

R : You're kind of hard ain't you nigger?

S : Vern, you know these bitches. I'm not hard but the money comes from somewhere and (lowers his tone) I don't have an M.A.

R : Man, you could if you wanted to. I cannot understand why you just don't say "aw fuck this shit!" and go on to school.

S : Vern, I will be going to school next year. But I must have some money first. I'd hate to leave Sweden and find out that someone else....

R : ....Came behind you, took your shit and made a fortune. Nigger, I know that would kill you!

S : (Laughs) Man, that would be embarrassing! Let's smoke some dope! Get that pipe over there.

R : Nigger you know I wants nothing to do with that dope. I'll take some "cake" instead. (Laughs)

Slick laughed and walked into his kitchen. Someone knocked on the door and it turned out to be Sip. He came and sat down and asked Slick if he had something to drink.

Slick: (to Sip) Boy, you better tighten up your game 'cause you going to jail. Kicking women in the ass....

Sip: Fuck the dog. I should've knocked her down.

Slick: See, you keep that up and I know where you're going to be. You're like the man who lost his head over a little piece of tail. This man who had a tail was walking across the railroad tracks when a train came rushing past and cut off a little bitty piece of his tail. So instead of waiting for the train to go past, he got mad and stuck his head under the train and got it cut off. The man lost his head over a little piece of tail. You understand Junior?

We all laughed and Sip maintained that he didn't understand what was said and went into the bathroom.

Slick, at the time, was involved with four prostitutes: (1) the "ugly-assed thing" whom he rightly suspected, as I later found out, was feigning illness, (2) one on the stroll who wanted to give up "the life" and go to school, (3) the third, who either "missed" her trains or had inadvertently given him all her money and couldn't go to work, and (4) another who was demanding that he leave the other three and move in with her if he wanted to be paid. At this point Slick, the boss gamester, was experiencing downward mobility as do many men living in the life with a "family."

Finally, as typified in this conversation, players see a prostitute as a means to an end rather than as a constant companion; the conventional woman gains most of their respect. And in the final analysis it can be said that it is the lack of respect a man shows to a prostitute that usually brings about his downfall.

Since the prostitute plays a key role in the life, it is necessary to examine the question of whether she is a "fallen" woman coming from the lower-classes or is she just

"like the girl next door." By examining the story of Geraldine, one is not only provided with an answer to this question, but gets to see the researcher being "chose."

"Geraldine" was twenty years old at the time of this conversation. She had finished high school and begun studying to become a geologist. Her student loan was insufficient to meet all her expenses, thus she chose prostitution. For more than two years, while she was working she was attached to a Belgian national who was a married man. He did not spend much time with her, for his wife, child and job consumed most of his free-time. After their break-up, she lost all interest in almost everything. She lost her apartment, her clothes, her jewelry and most of her belongings due to carelessness and neglect. She lived a parasitical life for more than a year until she decided to return to prostitution.

Like most of the other prostitutes, I met her in a local bar. She, like some of the others, had heard about me through the "grapevine." She and some of her friends sat at the table where earlier I had been cautiously jotting down notes. We were discussing "women's liberation" in a lively fashion. After an hour most of the girls left for work, but she remained seated.

Geraldine: You know, I'd like to invite you to a party, with only women present, so we could continue our conversation.

R: Fine! For my lectures, I usually charge \$200 and a bottle of Red Label.

G: Hmmm! You're cheap. I thought you were expensive.

R: Why should I be expensive?

G: Most of these men around here are.

R: Well if you can "afford" me, how come an attractive woman like you has no jewelry? I remember when you used to wear a fur coat and diamonds. What happened to them?

G: Well the man I had took everything and I had to sell the fur and the diamonds.

R: How long ago did you break up?

G: About a year ago.

R: Well if you can "afford" me, you surely can afford to buy some earrings and a watch. What are you doing with your money?

G: I have no money except for a little.

R: Are you happy, standing on the corner for 100 kronors (\$20)? Isn't your body worth more than that?

G: (Laughs) I thought about that.

R: So, if any man offers you 100 kronors, assuming that you're not afraid of him, he can buy some pussy. Maybe what I should do is to put on a shirt, tie, and suit and come on down to Kungsgatan and buy some pussy from you. How does that sound?

G: (Smiles) That sounds interesting. I'd like to try it.

In a subtle fashion Geraldine questions the researcher about how much he demands to assume a relationship with a prostitute (choosing cake). Although "choosing cake" was not an absolute requirement for a prostitute to acquire a "man," it was expected that upon the serious formation of a player/prostitute relationship they would exchange gifts. The researcher would be expected to engage the women in a private conversation (his "gift" to Geraldine) and Geraldine would compensate him for his lecture (her "gift" to him: choosing cake). The transfer of money would signal that he was "chosen." As the last part of the conversation shows, he would then be obliged to engage in sexual play (lead with his dick).

The manner in which Geraldine approaches the researcher releases him from requesting a token of her faith in him (cracking for the cake) and firmly establishes that she

desires to select him as a matè. Geraldine is an example of a prostitute with a better than average education who, out of economic considerations, embarked upon prostitution as a career frequently like "the girl next door."

Very often the life of a prostitute has tremendous socio-psychological effects on the women involved. These effects are manifested in alcoholism, drug addiction, self-debasement, suicide, homosexuality and severe mental disturbances. The street prostitutes, in contrast to those not working on the street, very often display bizarre behavioral patterns when not at work. Some of them are unable to cope with the demands placed upon them in the capacity of professional prostitutes. Thus they exhibit manifestations of mental illness. Marita is a prime example of a mentally-disturbed prostitute:

"Marita" is a 25 year old Eastern European resident of Malmo who has been working on the stroll for two years. Her sister, who first introduced her into the life, lives in Northern Sweden with her Arab boyfriend. Marita has no steady male companionship since she doesn't "want to work for any man." She is very often seen openly crying in public. However she states that until twenty years of age she was a virgin. She grew up in a religious home and therefore had little previous experience with sex. She travelled very little and often smoked hashish. Her purpose for working on the street was to buy luxuries and support her parents. She openly states that she is "schizophrenic." It is difficult to keep her discussing in an orderly fashion for any length of time for she either spontaneously begins crying or talks about people "wanting to take advantage of" her.

Marita, in a group of people, was never able to hold a discussion that concerned anything but her own problems. When seen in the street, she emptily stared straight ahead and was

rarely if ever accompanied by males. Although she has now ceased working as a prostitute, she still manifests mental disturbances.

One of the major misconceptions about prostitutes is that they overwhelmingly have pimps who demand that a certain financial quota (trap) be met or run the risk of losing their lives. Consuela's example shows how prostitutes often have male companions who receive a minimal part (chump change) of the woman's earnings. Consuela, like many other prostitutes, has a high evaluation of herself. Working everyday is not beyond her abilities. She places a high premium on money and is very thrifty. In the player's world, she's a "man-stealer."

Consuela was a 29 year old Rumanian refugee who had come to Copenhagen in 1972 with her small daughter. She was granted refuge in Denmark where she worked as a cosmetics specialist for two years. While at the University in Rumania she became attracted to black men: she married an African. While in Copenhagen she met and associated mainly with black Americans who often told her "how much she could make." She never followed their advice until she came to Malmo.

While working in Malmo, she met a Danish porno-club owner who suggested she become a "strip-teaser," which she later did. I frequently met her in a bar and before long she and I held long conversations. She had studied nursing before migrating and her husband had studied zoology. They had met at the university, married and divorced before she migrated. As such she liked "men who studied" and one day while sitting in the bar, she began telling me how much she admired me sitting there always reading or writing.

Consuela: You work here in town don't you? You're Vernon right?

R: Yes, and you're Consuela.

C: How'd you know?

R: (Laugh) I keep my eyes on pretty ladies.

C: You remember sitting here this summer when G \_\_\_\_\_ came in?

R: No, I don't think so.

C: Well, I asked him why he didn't speak to his "brother." He asked, "What brother?" and I pointed to you. He said "Shit!"

R: Yes, I know how he felt about me, but I was the last brother to see him before he got those five years. He was glad then, though.

C: (Laughs) He came over to me with his sweet talk and said "Baby I love your hair." Shit! I know what he really wanted, but I asked him "What about my hair? You can't fuck that!" Those damn Swedish girls! They see a black man and they open their legs and their pocketbooks. Me, I give them shit.

Consuela never bit her tongue for men. Whatever she had to say, she said. She was one of the few prostitutes who really saved her earnings. Even with her "men," she was frugal. She boasted that she would give her man enough money to live on but not much more. Maybe she would give him \$100 a week to spend, and buy him clothings, but "no big money." One day while sitting in the bar, her man, at that time a black American, came in and started to talk to me. She arrived a few minutes later and sat across the floor from us, all the while observing our faces. Finally he left and she came over to me:

C: What did he want?

R: He was complaining that you give him 15 kronors (\$3) a day. (Laughing) Girl, you ought to be ashamed of yourself!

C: He's lucky. What does he need money for? He sleeps and eats free! So I give him enough money for the

bus and a pack of cigarettes. That's all he needs! He should go to school like you or work. He thinks he can get another girl to work for him. I should work all week and give him all my money? He's crazy.

R: Consuela, that's wrong. You know he's sick and needs to be sent home. Why don't you call his mother and have her to send him home?

C: I'll call his mother, but he doesn't want to go home. I'll give him 30 kronors (\$6) a day, not more.

Not long before Consuela had found this man she had had another boyfriend who went to jail and was deported and she was involved. After her second man, the one mentioned above, she became involved with another black foreigner who also went to jail; although both men went to jail while associating with her, neither was convicted of pimping. Consuela finally took her daughter to Lebanon and has not been seen since.

Consuela's typology gives a fresh insight into the subculture of vice. She exemplifies a woman who, although a prostitute, exerts considerable control on her personal life and finances. She is self-assertive, aggressive and future-oriented. She has a high self-esteem despite being seen as a prostitute and holds herself above Swedish prostitutes whom she scorns for opening "their legs and their pocketbooks" for black men. A favorite pastime for her was seducing black men, usually those attached to Swedish prostitutes which caused many problems. This seems to have been an expression of her "See-I-dan-get-your-man" attitude which stemmed from her dislike for Swedes. Consuela, it must be remembered, was

very attracted to men, particularly black men and thus gained a public reputation in Malmo of being a "neger-hora," or a "Negro's whore." Before she left for Lebanon, she entertained meeting a "nice brother over there."

The fourth and fifth typologies of prostitutes is that of Jean and Herta. These women are somewhat representative of the earlier literature bearing on the causes of prostitution: Jean has never seen or known her biological father and Herta dislikes her father intensely. Most of the literature about women entering "the life" seem to suggest these factors as being a prime cause in the proliferation of prostitution. But as the conversations below indicate, both women feel a need for male companionship and clearly differentiate between players and tricks. Jean and Herta are called "Arab Girls."

One evening while sitting in a bar, two Swedish females in their early twenties approached me and asked for advice.

Herta: Excuse me, I heard that you study law, is that right?

R: No, I'm studying criminology and I spend a lot of time at the court. Maybe I can help you though. What's the problem?

H: Well, you know what we do, right? Tonight when we were standing on Kungsgatan, a car came past very fast and took our pictures. I hope my mother won't see it because she doesn't know what I'm doing and she's sick. Can they publish it in the papers?

R: Well, as far as I know they can't show your face on a prostitution picture because you can sue them. They have to prove you're a prostitute and get your permission first. Otherwise you can take them to court. Just call lawyer X tomorrow and ask him. He'll know.

H: (Somewhat pleased) You know, I don't like most of the black guys in Malmo, but you, you're different. You come here every night and don't say a thing. How come you're so different?

R: Well, I don't know. Maybe because I'm afraid of girls so I keep quiet.

H: (and her friend laugh) Well, thanks. I feel better now. We're going to the movies. See you later!

Herta avoided all contacts with black foreigners for two years prior to the approach she made to me. I later found out that she and her five girlfriends, who, with one exception, eventually became prostitutes; two had black boyfriends, the others Arabs. As time went on, we became very close and had many conversations. I found out that Jean, who was led into prostitution by Herta, was also an "Arab-girl" as they were sometimes called. Jean had never seen her father and stated that he, a Norwegian, had left her mother as soon as she was conceived. She had travelled a little in Europe, with her mother, and to North Africa where she had a Sudanese boyfriend. She was working to get enough money to spend a month with him in Sudan before they married.

She told him what she was doing and he didn't mind. But she was afraid that if he lived in Malmo he would associate with the other Arabs and would want her to continue her career as a prostitute so that he could gamble and find other

women. She wanted a man to herself; not one she would have to "share." She was willing to "work" if they would buy a house or a business, but not for him to gamble the money away. On another night Herta and Jean came into the bar and sat down next to me. I noticed that something was bothering Herta and began to engage in small talk with her. Finally I asked

R: How come you always look so mad?

H: I'm not mad, I just look that way. You don't know me yet. But anyway, it keeps the men away.

R: Why? You don't like men? How can you work if you don't like men?

H: Oh, that's different; they're tricks! I mean these men in Malmo. They just want money. But I won't give them any. The other night when the police asked me if I had a man, I told them that I couldn't afford one because I only worked three nights a week. They laughed and said I was right.

R: (Jokingly) But don't you want to have a man to keep you warm at night?

H: (and her friend laugh) Yes, but I never met a man.

R: You haven't been trying hard. There are plenty of men in Sweden.

H: Not in Malmo! Where are they?

R: (Smiling) I bet you hate men. Tell me the truth, come on. Come on now!

Herta is obviously angry with men and her friend, Jean prods her to answer.

Jean: What about your father? You don't love him, do you?

H: No, I can't stand him!

: Why not? He is your father.

H: Because I saw how he treated my mother. He used to beat her and curse her all the time. I'd like to get back at him.

R: What would you do if a man did the same to you?

H: I'd put him in jail.

The first conversation held with Jean and Herta were held within a week of their debut. It has been reported by other prostitutes that upon their debut, they, too, experienced a fast-moving car taking pictures of them. And in one pimping case examined by the researcher, a statement was found which leads him to surmise that the "fast-moving car" is an integral part of police intelligence. Thus, Herta's concern about her picture being publically revealed is indicative of her newness "in the life." She, like most of the other prostitutes whom were met, exhibited strong emotional ties with her mother. This was even true for prostitutes whose nuclear families were still intact. However, the preoccupation with her mother and the subsequent conversation in which Herta expresses hostility towards her father partly supports the older theories which draw a nexus between a woman disliking her father and becoming a prostitute.

Jean, as we see, is the "passive partner" in this dyad. She, when questioned about her father, spoke matter-of-factly. She also explained that her choice of an Arab boyfriend was due to Herta introducing her to one. The nexus between the "broken home" and becoming a prostitute theory does not seem to be very strong in this case. It appears more than likely that Jean saw Herta as a "significant other" and thus modelled her behavior accordingly. Finally, it can be

said that Herta's statement "you're different than the other black guys in Malmo " can be treated as a minor indication of her dislike for black foreigners. Something which seems to be missing in Jean.

The sixth and final typology of women in the life is that of Eloise. She shares with Jean and Herta a common characteristic of women who become prostitutes: She comes from a foster home. However, the nexus between her deviant occupation and her "broken home" life is mitigated by two important factors: (1) She was led into prostitution by a friend of her who regularly frequented Casanova Bar in Copenhagen and (2) she attended a professional school while "moon-lighting" as a prostitute. Eloise can be thought of as a "easy-come, easy-go" part-time prostitute.

November 1976, Eloise, a Swedish student, approached me in a bar. She had never spoken to me before, but she "heard about me" from a close friend of hers who began prostitution in order to help her boyfriend meet his financial needs. She was eighteen years of age and a product of a foster home. Her relationship with her foster-mother, who lives in a northern Swedish city, was reported to be very good. She kept in contact with her biological father but their relationship was "so-so." Over a period of a year we had many discussions about the life of a street prostitute:

R: What's wrong with you? You look angry.

E: Everything's wrong. I hate Malmo and I never want to ever see a man again! I want to travel somewhere to get away from school and from Malmo.

R: Hey, what kind of talk is that? I thought that you were doing good in school.

E: I quit school because the students told the teachers what I was doing at night.

R: Wow! That's heavy. So what're you going to do now?

- E: I don't know. Maybe work in a boutique or something.
- R: In Malmo?
- E: No, out of town.
- R: That's escapism. You're an intelligent woman; you can't run away all your life. Plus I told you before that you can't be a professional whore and a professional teacher at the same time. Either one or the other. Which is it going to be?
- E: I know you're right, but it's easy money and I don't have to pay tax on it.
- R: Yea, but how much can you make - 300-400 kronors (\$60-\$80) per night? Is your body only worth 100 kronors (\$20) a trick? If it is then I can come down there and buy some pussy from you, right?
- E: (Laughs) No, because I don't sell to friends; only to tricks!
- R: Now you don't have a dime, do you? You spent it all bullshitting around.
- E: I still got a little left saved up. But I can't save too much in the bank because the tax people might find out.
- R: You've been working how long? Two years?
- E: No, about a year and a half.
- R: You've made about 75,000 kronors (\$15,000) and I bet you don't have 10,000 (\$2,000) left, do you?
- E: Well....
- R: 5,000? I bet you don't have 3,000 kronors (\$600).
- E: Yea, I got that much.
- R: Let me see your bankbook!
- E: (Shows me the bankbook containing 2,300 kronors) I got another thousand to get from a guy who owes me some money he borrowed.
- R: All that money gone down the drain. You need some discipline about handling your money.

E: I know, if I had a man I could trust I would give him all the money. But you know these guys around here!

As the field notes show, Eloise's "double-life" had come to the attention of her classmates who reported it to her teacher. This episode led to stigmatization and she finally dropped out of school. Shortly thereafter, Eloise moved out of the city and graduated from school and became a teacher.

In the conversation which appears above, one catches a glimpse of one of the reasons for becoming a prostitute ("easy money"), the fear of auditing by internal revenue agents (avoiding the use of banks for saving money), and most importantly the key role that a player has in a prostitute's life, that of handling the money ("if I had a man I could trust, I would give him all the money"). Finally, it can be generalized that Eloise's typology, aside from her education, is commonly found in the subculture of prostitution.

#### Summary

For centuries, man has pondered over human societies and attempted to define "ideal" types or models by which societies could be measured. But in all societies one is likely to find human beings who in their words, deeds, and thinking do not conform to the "ideal type." These people are said to deviate from the norm and are thus labeled as deviants. Very often this label is applied from a moralistic point of view as is true in the case of prostitutes and players. However,

one is also likely to find that even inside the subculture of prostitution there are "deviants." Although, it must be quickly pointed out that the label "deviants" inside "the life" is not a moral judgement, but solely a way of classifying people whose lifestyles diverge from the "rules of the game," a classification referred to herein as "typologies of characters."

The typologies examined herein are those of people involved in the informal circuit of vice and crime found in Western Germany and Scandinavia in the 1960's and 1970's. The typologies of the men were as follows: The pioneer, the gambler-player, the junkie-player, the popcorn-player, the gorilla-player and the boss-player. Each of these typologies to a significant degree deviates from the ideal type of a boss player. Thus within their subculture they can be seen as "deviants." The women present a similar picture in that they too, deviate from the ideal model of a "sho-nuff stepper." The women presented herein are called: The girl next door, the mentally-disturbed, the man-stealer, Arab-girls, and the part-timer. By closely examining all of their roles one gets to see how the "real life" functions from day-to-day.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Summary

The phenomenon of Scandinavian prostitution and black pimps has its origins in Danish social history, that is, the historical development of Danish half-prostitution. Prostitution, as mentioned earlier, was noted in Copenhagen as early as 1546 and operated on a "cash and carry" like basis. However, within a few centuries another phenomenon developed, namely that of half-prostitution.

Half-prostitution, in contrast to professional prostitution, did not involve the outright purchasing of heterosexual services for a fixed sum of money. For the women involved in this process were often full-time employed, but received gifts and gratuities for the companionship they offered to men. These gifts were often money left over from a restaurant visit or the receiving of stockings and other hard-to-find consumer durables. By the end of W. W. I, this subculture was gradually becoming contagious and attracting a significant number of Danish girls to Copenhagen.

Post-World War I brought French and British soldiers in intimate contact with Danish girls in Copenhagen. The Danish girls who consorted with these men faced little if any opposition from their fellow citizens and were thus dubbed "Long-Line Girls"; a name that carried little if any opprobrium. However, within a few decades of the Long Line Girls'

appearance, another group of girls emerged. These were Danish girls who associated with German military troops who were then occupying Denmark. These girls were called German Girls and the name was one of contempt and opprobrium.

The "German Girls" in stark contrast to the Long-Line Girls were considered traitors to Denmark and, both during and after World War II, they were often jailed for treason. These girls, like their Long-Line counterparts, were a mixture of "whole-prostitutes" and "half-prostitutes," although it appears as though they were mainly half-prostitutes. However, by the late 1940's both the Long-Line Girls and the German Girls had almost ceased to exist. In their place came another group of girls: The American Girls.

After the Allied Forces had defeated the Axis Forces in the 1940's and the Americans began occupying large parts of Germany, American soldiers who were stationed there began taking their "R & R" leaves in Copenhagen. As a partial result of the Danish welcome that they received and their intimate relationships with Danish girls, these relationships became contagious. A fad evolved in that Danish girls would seek out the soldiers, and sometimes sailors, both black and white, and spend days and sometimes weeks with them. And since the servicemen were courteous, attentive and even generous, the association with American servicemen became an exciting moment in their life. As time passed many of these American Girls became adjusted to this way of life and when-

ever one serviceman would leave, they would seek out another. Thus the number of G.I.'s visiting Copenhagen and the number of American Girls in Copenhagen significantly increased.

The increase in this phenomenon was due to a complex set of factors such as cross-cultural attractions. But more importantly the cross-racial, or inter-racial, sexual attractions became the accelerating force in these relationships. Since the Armed Forces were ordered to desegregate in 1948, the number of black servicemen found on duty, particularly in Germany, increased at least two-fold. This increase in numbers, well into the 1960's, increased the number of inter-racial liaisons between the American Girls and the black G.I.'s. In various hotels and bars in Frankfurt and Copenhagen the men and women were able to act out their sexual fantasies. However, half-prostitution had evolved into a process which was producing full-time prostitutes. Thus the G.I.'s and girls became unwittingly enmeshed in an illegal opportunity structure which extended from Copenhagen to Frankfurt. By the late 1960's, the structure was able to produce Scandinavian prostitutes, black pimps and hustlers who became firmly entrenched in an informal circuit of vice and crime.

A number of articles which were published in the Danish press and exposed this informal circuit of vice and crime brought about a prompt response by law-enforcement agencies in Germany and Denmark. The response by these agen-

cies and the desertion of American soldiers from the Vietnam War effort to Sweden, became push-pull factors in attracting Scandinavian prostitutes and black pimps and hustlers to Sweden. Thus by 1970, another informal circuit of vice and crime was evolving in Sweden.


Sweden, like many European countries, was experiencing a rapid increase in drug abuse and, due to a relaxation of Swedish laws towards pornography clubs, the proliferation of prostitution. Thus the deserters, who were eking out a marginal existence in Sweden and were involved in face-to-face encounters with the men and women who had formerly embarked upon deviant careers in Europe, gradually assumed deviant behavioral patterns in Sweden. This pattern, not totally unlike the unfolding of events in Copenhagen, was closely allied to the cross-cultural and cross-racial attractions that existed between Swedish females and black American males. Thus through contagion, identification and imitation a Swedish fad developed: Scandinavian prostitutes and black pimps.

This development did not go unnoticed by the Swedish police. Various theories were offered to account for its origin. Its origin and control eluded Swedish agencies and thus became a dilemma for them. However, the Swedish state did react in a racialistic fashion in order to resolve the dilemma; a fashion not unlike its non-socialist counterparts. And by 1978 the phenomenon of black pimps in Scandinavia had almost ceased to exist.

In summarizing, it must be pointed out ~~that~~ although there has been a large population of black American males in England, France and Western Germany, for example, prostitution and pimping does not seem to have occurred in the way it did in Sweden. Thus it would seem to indicate that Scandinavian females are probably quite liberal in their mating selection patterns and ~~that~~ there are unique social forces operating in Scandinavia.

Both the unique social forces and exogamous mating patterns enjoyed by Scandinavian females would seem to account for the appearance of pimps from varying nationalities. The research, although focused on black males, clearly shows that white males were also deeply involved in the sub-culture of Scandinavian prostitution. This involvement is not only borne out by courtroom records but was clearly visible at various bars and discotheques which served as informal institutions for the development of deviant occupational careers as pimps, players and prostitutes.

In comparing this sub-culture with its American counterpart several significant differences are noted:

- (1) The black pimps in this study did not traditionalize the use of violence and extortion. Instead they "nurtured" their women;
  - (2) Scandinavian prostitutes devote more time to non-sexual activities, such as shopping, family visits, vacationing and leisure-time pursuits, than do American prostitutes;
- 

(3) Scandinavian prostitutes are more likely to solicit the aid of the police than American prostitutes; (4) few, if any, problems would be encountered should a female choose to work independently of a pimp in Scandinavia; (5) and the practice employed by New York City pimps in "charging", that is, "fining" a prostitute, would result in numerous arrests of pimps in Scandinavia. These differences seem to stand in stark contrast to the sub-culture of American prostitution and indicate that an American pimping model would not be transferable to Scandinavia.

Finally, it should be pointed out that this is a study of a unique natural social experiment which represents a concatenation of social and historical processes; processes causing the emergence of black pimps in several West European urban centers during the 1960's and 1970's. This phenomenon could possibly re-occur during another period of war and therefore social scientists should be alerted to this possibility.

## APPENDIX A: Methodology

Sometime during the summer of 1972, The Social News Exchange Service published a document in Sweden called "A Political Document From Sweden: How Nixon and the C.I.A. is Using Racism Against the Swedish People."<sup>1</sup> The document was neither well-written nor well-edited but its impact on the deserter population in Sweden at the time seems to have been quite strong. The basic theme was that any American, black or white, who was interested in the American deserters at that time was a C.I.A. agent.<sup>2</sup>

This researcher was unaware of this feeling when he began to gather data by direct questioning in the Fall of 1973 and had his exploratory study published during Christmas of that year. When it became known that he had published an article, the deserters began to spread the rumor that he was a C.I.A. agent. Thus, in 1974 the researcher was obliged to alter methodologies in order to continue the research effort.

The first method used in this study was "participant observation." The researcher resided in Malmo, Sweden for a period of not less than five years and developed a fair degree of rapport with the group under study. Attempts were made to actively participate in some of their activities and

to visit some of the respondents at home. They were informed of the research effort and adjustments were made to overcome their suspicions and reluctance. Field notes were never recorded in their presence. Both taped and untaped interviews were taken. The taped interviews, after transcription, were destroyed in the presence of the respondents. Most of the interviews, however, were of an informal nature. This type of interviewing tended to minimize suspicions and permitted greater latitude in conducting the research. As a guard against receiving false information, the researcher successfully completed seven hundred hours of training in Swedish language schools.

The second method that was employed was to examine the courtroom records from various Courts of Sessions and Appellate Courts in Sweden. The researcher studied the Swedish Supreme Court records as well as the prosecutor's records which dealt with black foreigners tried and convicted of pimping. Then a search was made for documents on prostitution and black American deserters. The researcher also visited the main libraries in Lund, Malmo, Borlange and Stockholm to collect data from primary sources as well as from expressive documents. The archives of several newspapers and journals in Sweden and Copenhagen were also used for gathering data.

As a third method, the researcher consulted with and informally interviewed some of Malmo's police, prosecution, social and courtroom officials concerning the study. These

consultations and interviews were conducted both in English and in Swedish. Various journalists, attorneys-at-law, courtroom interpreters and legal laymen were also interviewed. The researcher also corresponded with and visited black American prisoners in the main prison facility in Malmo.

Fourthly, the researcher translated documents from both Danish and Swedish into American English. Those documents were official papers, current and past articles in magazines and journals, as well as newspapers, all dealing with prostitution and black Americans.\*

\*A word of caution should be added here. A researcher studying Swedish courtroom records will be faced with two sets of documents to analyze. The first is the "forundersoknings protokoll," or pre-trial minutes. This document contains the defendant's, the plaintiff's and witnesses' statements as well as all pertinent documents which have a direct bearing on the case. The second document encountered is the "Dom," or the judgement. This is a shorter and more concise version of what the case revolves around. It does not contain the complete background of the case, but it does explain the points of indictment and the penalty imposed.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>(Stockholm, Sweden (n.d.) )

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Thomas Lee Hayes, American Deserters In Sweden (Association Press, New York: 1971) Ch. 9

## GLOSSARY

Many of the slang-words used by the group I studied are defined in the Milner's book Black Players, Susan Hall's Ladies of the Night and Gentleman of Leisure, and Iceberg Slim's book Pimp. Thus, I have refrained from defining most of the words in current usage and tried to concentrate on words not found in the above-mentioned works.

A lot of play	Used in reference to women. A flirtatious woman. "She got a lot of play in her."
Action	Denotes that a large number of women frequent an establishment and are flirtatious. "There's always some action in Casanova on the weekends."
A-Dam	Amsterdam, Holland
Alfons	Danish word for "pimp"
Back to the World	Arose during the Vietnam era. Means the U.S.A. "I'm going back to the world." "John is back in the world."
Barbed-wire pussy	Black female's sexual organs. "I want some barbed-wire pussy."
Big Hat	Wide-brimmed hat worn by many Americans.
Beef	Indictment, charge or warrant. "I got an outstanding beef on me, so I have to leave town."
Bit	Jail sentence. "Joe did a two-year bit."

Book	Leave. "I'm booking next week."
Bricklayer	A street prostitute
Brothers	Black Americans. Sometimes used for all black males in Europe. "The brothers go to Casanova."
Bullshit tip	Misdemeanor. "He was arrested on a bullshit tip: loitering."
Busted	Arrested. "He was busted yesterday."
Cake	Money
Casanova Bar	A favorite bar for black foreigners in Copenhagen.
Change	Money. Same as "cake." "She gave me \$100; chump change."
Choose	Used mainly with prostitutes. To select a male partner. "She chose me last night."
Cookies	Money. Same as "cake" or "change."
Cop	To acquire. Used mainly with prostitutes. "He copped Laura in Stockholm."
Cop and blow	To acquire and lose. Used mainly with prostitutes. "He copped her last month and blew last week."
Cope	Copenhagen, Denmark.
Crack	To ask about or for something. "I cracked on her for the cake."
Creep	To move surreptitiously or without notice. Used when visiting a woman. "I got me a nice creep on the other side of town." Or: "I caught you creeping." Very often this term is used to denote when a man visits a woman other than his wife or girlfriend.
Cut out	To leave. "I'm cutting out tomorrow." Same as to "book."

Cut loose	To release or let go. "The bitch's change wasn't right, so I cut her loose."
Dig sides	To listen to records.
Dog	A low-valued woman or prostitute.
Draw	To gain attention or noticeability; to attract. "I like to be with Jim 'cause he can draw some bitches."
Draw a blank	To be rejected or receive a negative reply. "I cracked on the bitch but I drew a blank."
Draw heat	To come under law-enforcement surveillance.
Drop a dime	To denounce someone to the police. Possibly originates from the use of American public telephones.
Dude	Male. A man.
Family	Two or more prostitutes. "Man, I'm building up my family."
Fast ho	A prostitute who needs no prodding to work.
Flash	Conspicuity; manner of dress. "That dude will draw heat with all his flash."
Free-fuck	To have sex without payment. A contemptuous term used by prostitutes towards non-prostitutes and others. "They're so dumb they're free-fucking instead of getting something for it like me."
Free-lancer	A prostitute without a steady male companion.
Fresh ho	A new prostitute. One who hasn't had a male companion or who hasn't worked very long as a prostitute. "Man, I need me a fresh ho."

Front	1. To behave ostentatiously. "Man, that bitch don't want to dance, she's just sitting there fronting." 2. A decoy. "That nigger thinks he's slick with his job as a front." 3. Highly noticeable. "Man, that dude is out front with that big hat on."
Front off	To display. "Man, these bitches want to buy you a diamond ring so they can front you off to their girlfriends."
Front street	In full public view. Same as "out front." "That fur coat put that boy right out on front street."
Funny	Counterfeit; illegal; forged. Something suspicious about one's documents. "The dude got a funny passport."
Game	1. To coerce; to trick; to persuade. "I gamed on the bitch and she thought I had left." 2. Persuasion; verbal ability. "That bitch's game is boss; she makes long cake." 3. The phenomenon of prostitution. "She's been in the game a long time."
Gamester	A male whose source of income is derived mainly from prostitution. Most studies refer to him as a pimp.
Game on the run	Receiving money internationally from a prostitute while fleeing from the police.
Gangster lean	Driving a car while leaning the torso to the right.
Get into something	To acquire financial means for supporting oneself. Same as to get a job; to sell narcotics; to cop. "I need to get into something quick."
Get paid	To receive money from a prostitute.
Get something going	To generate capital. Same as "to get into something."

Gorilla	1. To take by force or violence; to use violence. 2. A violent or brutal person.
Hallick	Swedish slang for pimp.
Hardhead	Any male.
Head	Oral intercourse. "The bitch gives some good head."
Heat	The police; something which was stolen. "My ring had heat on it when I bought it."
Herb(s)	Marijuana; hashish.
Hip	Aware; knowledgeable.
Ho	Whore
Hook (it) up	To connect; put something together; to meet. "I'll hook up with you later."
House call	A visit. Used mainly with women. "Hey man, I gotta make a house-call, so I'll see you later."
Ignorant oil	Whiskey; alcoholic beverages.
In the life	Involvement in prostitution.
Jam	To have sexual intercourse. "I jammed her last week."
Joint	Jail; prison.
Jones	Habit; craving; strong desire for something. "Your boy's got a candy jones."
Kick	To work as a prostitute. "She's kicking now; she's a kicker."
Lay your lips on the table	To confess; to admit; to reveal oneself. "Never lay your lips on the table for a ho."
Lead with your dick	To begin a relationship from a sexual point. "When you cop over here, you gotta lead with your dick."
Leg	Pussy. "That bitch got some boss leg."

Lick	To be affectionate; to kiss. "Stop licking on the ho so much!"
Lift your game	Moving up. A prostitute who abandons the street and works in clubs or hotels is "lifting her game."
Low profile	State of unnoticeability; arouse little attention. "The Old Man kept a low profile in Cope."
Macaroni	Pimp; pimping. "Jack got busted for macaroni."
Main people	Principle girlfriend; wife. Can be used for both prostitutes and non-prostitutes. "I saw your main people downtown today."
Man	The police; figures of authority.
Mud	Any place that a prostitute works; the street.
Mule	Prostitute. "Man, you need a mule in the mud."
Murph	Con game.
Nose open	To be in love. "He got his nose open behind her."
Number 3	A well-known "working hotel" for Copenhagen's prostitutes on Reventlowsgade.
Number 7	A well known "working hotel" for Copenhagen's prostitutes on Colbjørnsengade.
On stage	To act. "He's always on stage around the ladies."
On the job	Duties performed by a gamester; trying to cop. Used mainly in connection with prostitutes. "Bill is always willing to help the ladies; he's on the job."
Open someone up	To involve someone in a conversation. Used mainly with prostitutes. "Everytime I see her, I try to open her up."
People	Wife, girlfriend. "My people is good to me."

Pimp	One who has been convicted of <u>alfonseri</u> or <u>koppleri</u> (in this study).
Pipe someone.	To try to gain knowledge about someone in a devious fashion. "Nigger, if you want to know, ask me; don't pipe."
Play on	To take advantage of one's weaknesses. "The bitch knew I was with my main, so she asked me to dance. The bitch played on me."
Play past	To ignore. "He said I cracked on his wife, but I'll play past him."
Pollute the game	To not abide by the rules. Used mainly by players. "He bought her a diamond ring and a fur coat. He's polluting the game." An insult to a man "in the life."
Pop	1. To be arrested. "He got popped yesterday." Same as busted. 2. To have sex with a woman. "I popped her." Same as "jump up and down," "cup some leg," "jam."
Pull	Same as pop (2).
Pull someone's coat	To tell or inform someone of something.
Ride	Car; automobile.
Run down	To tell or inform. Same as "pulling someone's coat." "I ran my best shit down on her and I still drew a blank."
School	To educate. "I have to school my people."
Shit	1. Any possessions, including persons, i.e., wives, girlfriends, etc. "The nigger cracked on my shit at the party last night." 2. Narcotics.
Shaky	1. Unreliable. "Man, the dude came up shaky when we were supposed to cop." 2. Dangerous. "Cut the bitch a loose; 'cause she deals with some shaky people."
Short	Low on cash. "I'm short today."

Slam	Jail. Same as joint.
Slide	1. To leave. "I have to slide." 2. (Plural) Pants. "I copped me a boss pair of slides."
Smoking	To smoke narcotics.
Something for the head	Narcotics which cause euphoria.
Softhead	Any female.
Speed	Amphetamines
Square	1. Someone not involved in prostitution. 2. A cigarette.
Steal	To take without formalities. Used mainly in prostitution circles.
Steer	To lead someone to something. "He didn't cop her, I steered him to her."
Step	To work as a prostitute. "The bitch is a sho nuff stepper."
Strasse	Street (German).
Stroke and swoop	To meet a female and to leave with her. "I stroked her at Club 6 and made my swoop."
Stroll	Street where prostitutes work. "Let's go on the stroll and catch."
Step off time	To serve a prison sentence. "Lee is stepping off a deuce."
Sugar daddy	A man who generously pays for a woman's upkeep and makes little demands on her.
Table-top	The giving of money before any sexual play is involved. "I'll deal with that bitch table-top."
Take a hit	Share a pipeful ("a bowl") of hashish. "I'll make a bowl if you let me take a hit."
Tighten up	1. To organize properly. "I have to tighten up my game." 2. To pay. "I got to tighten up my landlord today." 3. To have sex. "I used to tighten her up before she got busted."

Travel heavy	To go out with one's wife or girlfriend. "I can't play tonight, 'cause I'm travelling heavy."
Trick	A female prostitute's customer.
Trick a ho out of cake	A process of getting money from a prostitute who is reluctant to give up cake. For example, asking her to "loan" money for car repairs, rent in arrears, etc., which will never be paid back. "I tricked the bitch out of \$200."
Tune down	A process of soothing a prostitute who has just finished working.
Tune up	A process of preparing a prostitute for her coming "tour of duty."
Turn a trick	A prostitute is said to "turn a trick" when she receives money from a male for sexual services.
Turn her over	To introduce a woman into prostitution. Same as to turn out.
Untogether	Unreliable; erratic; disorderly. "He's a very untogether person."
Wired up	A non-prostitute female who knows the game. "Be cool when you rap around my sister 'cause she's wired up."
Wives-in-law	The female members of a gamester's "family."
Work for	A prostitute is said to "work for" a man when she gives him her earnings.
Working	1. A prostitute at work, i.e., a working lady. 2. A gamester in the process of trying to catch. "Whenever you see me downtown, I'm working."
Working apartment	The apartment that a prostitute uses for turning tricks.

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