

A Brief History of the Anthropology of Sexuality, and Theory in the Field of Women's Sex Work

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Introduction

Since the Enlightenment, Western discourse has employed reason as a tool in prevailing over irrationality through the pursuit of scientific fact over fiction. As theorists such as Michel Foucault (1980) argue, the dawn of scientific professions and specifically the medicalization of the body enabled the production of discourses on sexual deviance and normality, justifying the need for regulation and control of the sexual body, and the criminalization of non-conformity by the state. Foucault theorized that the ultimate representation or manifestation of such power is the self-regulating, conforming individual. The use of public and academic discourse as a tool for the construction of sexual bodies, identities, practices and communities politically and historically situates them in a manner that reifies categories, creating people within them as objects for control, as well as subjects for community and dissent. However, Marshall Sahlins (2002) on Foucault wrote that power in this sense comes from above and below; as it constructs and embodies us, individuals can potentially harness this power for other purposes through resistance to counter hegemonic discourse and its (re)production. Carol Vance (2005) also writes that marginal groups who do not fit within the dominant discourse are able to "create their own subcultures and worlds of meaning" (26).

As numerous authors have noted, "[i]n such writing on the history of anthropology occurs as though the discipline existed in a social vacuum" ignoring the

political and social upheavals of the times (Lyons and Lyons 2004:119). This is especially true of the Victorian attitude of discovery, in which upper-class men sat down in their studies or set out on ships to collect and analyze information about sexual practices in exotic climates. Spawning cultural evolutionist models, the purpose of these exploits was to gain a better understanding of the path of progress within European civilization through knowing the Other – the savage at the bottom of the evolutionary chain from whence we came. Thus, to know ourselves and understand our human nature, we must understand our former Other self.

These early first-contact accounts were merely a starting point in the production of discourse on sexuality as a tool to conscript bounded groups of people to serve historically defined goals in the production of knowledge. Lyons and Lyons apply the term conscription to the

deployment of data about sexual discourses and practices among 'Others' within discourses of power, morality, pleasure and therapy in the metropolitan cultures where anthropological texts have predominantly been produced and read. Conscription may imply the reaffirmation of existing social hierarchies or it may involve what Marcus and Fischer (1986) call 'cultural critique' (2004:18).

Thus, conscription is a diachronic process, entailing forces of power and inequality, and the privileging of certain voices over others through dialogue formation: the authoritative ethnographic account. It can be positive in its Othering, viewing processes of colonization as assimilative toward the sexual behaviours of peoples. It can also

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