

## Work, Rights, and Resistance: Queer and Feminist Views on Sex Work in Europe

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When *Anora*, a film depicting the life of a Brooklyn sex worker, was awarded the Palme d'Or at Cannes and subsequently an Academy Award in 2025, sex work – simultaneously commodified and celebrated through mainstream artistic acclaim – attracted the attention of global audiences. Lauded for its emotional complexity and apparent realism, the film nonetheless reignited longstanding debates about representation, authorship, and exclusion. Whose story was being told, by whom, and to what end? While *Anora* was praised for offering an empathic reading of sex work, sex workers themselves were largely absent from the public discourse surrounding a cultural product that claimed to speak for them, as they so often are, even when the topic is their own lives (Karandikar et al. 2024). Moreover, the film's Western gaze, which portrays not only Eastern European sex workers but also third parties as naive, boorish, or primitive, helped perpetuate existing hierarchical divisions between East and West (Krivonos, Diatlova 2020; O'Brien 2018).

This wave of visibility took place against the backdrop of a rapidly changing global landscape. The Covid-19 pandemic accelerated a boom in online erotic labour, diversifying the field and making it more accessible to new social groups, while simultaneously introducing new forms of precarisation, exploitation, and marginalisation (Yu, Nelson, McBride 2020; Pezzutto 2024; Benoit, Unsworth 2022). The platformisation of sex work opened up new income streams via subscription-based services and streaming platforms, yet it also intensified dependence on opaque algorithms,



corporate gatekeeping, and emerging forms of exploitation. This contradiction between increased visibility and persistent marginalisation defines much of the current discourse on sex work, which, in turn, impacts sex workers' lived experiences. Popular culture increasingly draws on stereotyped sex worker aesthetics and narratives (Cojocaru 2016), but often fails to address the structural inequalities and stigma that continue to affect the most precarious workers – particularly migrants, racialised individuals, and trans and disabled sex workers (Rosati et al. 2024). While sex work has re-entered the mainstream, the participation of sex workers in public discussion themselves remains limited. Even when porn stars or OnlyFans creators achieve visibility as influencers, they are rarely seen beyond their association with sex work and are often reduced to one-dimensional figures.

Unlike those in conventional jobs, sex workers are rarely portrayed as complex individuals. At the same time, the public conversation around sex work often revolves around narratives of personal choice and motivation and questions of why or how someone begins sex work, rather than focusing on the broader social and economic conditions that shape these decisions. This emphasis reflects a neoliberal logic that isolates individual agency from structures of precarity and inequality, treating sex work as an exceptional case rather than part of wider labour dynamics (Benoit et al. 2021). Such a framing obscures systemic factors and ultimately reinforces stigma, as it disconnects sex work from collective struggles over labour rights, economic justice, and social recognition. In this sense, the renewed cultural visibility of sex work often operates within a limited framework of personal stories and marketable aesthetics, rather than as a platform for addressing the intersecting hierarchies of class, race, gender, and citizenship that shape who is seen, who is heard, and who remains marginalised.

This logic of visibility also extends to visual and aesthetic representations, where the same neoliberal frameworks of individuality and desirability intersect with longstanding social stigma. Sex workers continue to be represented through narrow, stereotyped tropes that conflate sexuality with moral worth and reproduce different hierarchies. The concept of whiteness plays a central role here: white women are frequently depicted as victims of prostitution (Brooks 2021), deserving of sympathy and rescue, whereas women of colour are rarely afforded the same perception (Kempadoo 2004). Instead, they are often viewed through a double lens of racialised bias – considered less attractive according to dominant white beauty standards, yet simultaneously hypersexualised and portrayed as inherently promiscuous. Even within sex worker rights movements, whiteness often remains the default, shaping which narratives are amplified and whose experiences are centred (Ham 2024). At the same time, racialised women, while facing multiple axes of discrimination and harm, can also navigate and strategically employ these very stereotypes to generate forms of erotic capital and



agency (Ham 2024). Within predominantly white Western contexts, hypersexuality and the figure of the illicit other can become resources through which some racialized sex workers negotiate visibility, mobility, erotic autonomy, and self-care. This does not erase structural inequalities but highlights the complexity and ambivalence of erotic labour as a site of both constraint and resistance.

The persistent stereotyping of sex work and sex workers is mirrored in policy and legislative developments across Europe. Within the European Union and at the national level, we are witnessing a growing wave of legal and regulatory shifts that, under the banner of protection, increasingly criminalise or control sex work and sex workers. These developments are often driven by moral panic, conservative ideologies, and carceral feminism, and they disproportionately impact the most marginalised sex workers. At the EU level, anti-trafficking and migration legislation and policy have helped bolster punitive approaches to sex work, which are rooted in stereotypical representations of 'vulnerability' and narrow understandings of the sector as a whole (Rossoni, de Massol de Rebetz 2025). While some states have pursued more worker-centred reforms, such as Belgium's 2022 move towards decriminalisation, which was later coupled with labour protections (e.g. pensions, healthcare, parental leave) for sex workers working under contract (IPPF 2024), these remain exceptions in a broader landscape dominated by criminalisation and securitisation.

One of the most influential – and controversial – policy frameworks remains the Swedish model/Nordic model, which criminalises clients while claiming to protect sex workers (Vanwesenbeeck 2017). This model has been adopted in countries such as France and Ireland, was recently proposed in Spain, Scotland, and Germany, and was endorsed by a 2023 European Parliament report under the name of the equality model (Rossoni, de Massol de Rebetz 2025). However, despite its stated aims, the model has often led to increased police harassment, social isolation, loss of income, and reduced access to healthcare and justice, especially for migrant sex workers (Smith, Mac 2018). For these reasons, it is often referred to as punitivist (Vuolajärvi 2019) or sexual humanitarianism (Mai et al. 2021). In France, for instance, a 2016 law penalising clients has pushed sex work further underground, increasing workers' vulnerability to violence (Giametta, Bail 2023). Additionally, large-scale international events, such as the Olympics (dos Santos, de Sá, Condessa 2025), have intensified these dynamics, often leading to policies of social cleansing (Finkelstein 2024) aimed at removing marginalised populations, including unhoused people and sex workers, from public spaces.

In this evolving context, sex worker-led activism – often rooted in queer, migrant, and feminist movements – has become more organised, visible, and transnational (Cruz, Herrmann 2024). Sex workers are no longer merely the 'studied subjects' of



policy and research but increasingly act as researchers, educators, and organizers, bringing critical, experience-based perspectives to debates long shaped by paternalistic and abolitionist frameworks. This issue might serve as an example that this collaboration between academics, practitioners, and activists is fruitful and produces rigorous and transformative results.

Accordingly, in recent years, research on sex work has grown substantially, increasingly shaped by sex workers themselves, activist scholars, and participatory and community-based approaches that centre lived experience. However, despite the growing academic interest, sex work remains a contested and under-researched field, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). In this region, publications examining sex work under state socialism have only recently begun to appear (Dobeš 2022; Dolinsek, Saryusz-Wolska 2023; Dušková 2023), and analyses of post-1989 developments remain notably scarce. Feminist, intersectional, and decolonial frameworks are still largely absent from regional scholarship. Only a small number of scholars have approached sex work from explicitly feminist perspectives (Havelková, Bellak-Hančilová 2014; Dudová 2015; Dobrowolska 2020), while the dominant discourses continue to be shaped by criminology, medicine, and legal regulation, with sex work frequently framed as deviance or social pathology rather than labour (Novotný, Zapletal 2001; Chmelík 2003; Kraus, Hroncová 2010).

It is also important to note that feminist interpretations of sex work vary significantly – ranging from a recognition of sex work as legitimate labour (Leigh 1997) to its framing as inevitably patriarchal violence (MacKinnon 1991; Dworkin 1981), sometimes with transphobic ideology (Raymond 1980). Among the most vocal critics are some radical feminists, often referred to as SWERFs (Sex Worker-Exclusionary Radical Feminists). Meanwhile, feminist and queer perspectives may at times range between glamorisation and moral condemnation, limiting the space for more nuanced understandings of sex work as a complex social and economic practice. In this special issue, we position ourselves within an understanding of sex work as legitimate labour, while rejecting both its idealisation and its blanket condemnation. We recognise that sex work, like other forms of labour under capitalism, is shaped by structural inequalities and material conditions, and is therefore neither inherently liberating nor inherently violent (Berg 2021; Weeks 2011). Decriminalisation is, for us, the first necessary systemic step toward ensuring safety, rights, and economic justice for sex workers.

While issues such as consent, autonomy, and sexual violence are examined from a variety of perspectives and particularly in feminist discourse, the labour dimension of sex work is frequently overshadowed by the focus on sex and sexuality. Key anthologies on sex work often uncritically accept the position of labour in capitalism and ignore the violence in wage work (Berg 2014). While recognising sex work as work is essential



for framing sex workers as legitimate participants in the labour market (Pitcher 2015), without redistributive measures, such as access to social protections and strong labour rights, recognition risks remaining purely symbolic.

Neoliberalism frames labour flexibility as a sphere of freedom; for many workers, including those engaged in sex work, flexibility is also tied to financial insecurity and anxiety about meeting basic needs. Austerity policies and financial crises disproportionately affect the less privileged segments of the population (Jarvis-King 2023). Precarious conditions in the labour market force people to combine multiple jobs, one of which may be selling sexual services. This sector is further negatively affected by factors such as the absence of a clear legal framework or the presence of punitive legislation, discrimination in the labour market, and stigma (Benoit et al. 2021). These dynamics contribute to a persistent lack of awareness regarding working conditions, the problems of employment contracts, access to training, and opportunities for collective organising (Gall 2012). Moreover, amplifying critical voices or acknowledging that sex work is not inherently empowering, and may in fact be exploitative, is often co-opted by some radical or Marxist feminists to support arguments for the abolition of sex work itself, rather than prompting a broader critique of capitalism or labour structures more generally, which would arguably be a more appropriate and productive point of departure.

The challenge of organising and gaining recognition, such as being part of a union, confronts a deeper issue: the very definition of work and, more specifically, the recognition of sex work as legitimate labour by external decision-makers. As Gregor Gall (2012: 1) writes in his book *An Agency of Their Own*, 'professions, like law and medicine, not only control entry into their own ranks and internally regulate themselves – making themselves into powerful collectives – but they are also accorded large measures of respect and worth by society in general'. The limited participation in collectives is therefore not solely a result of internal dynamics within sex work communities, but also of external conditions that hinder such organising, conditions that instead perpetuate ostracisation and reinforce hierarchies between work and nonwork and between productive and reproductive labour.

Polarised feminist debates around sex work, as well as reflections on sex work as labour are still largely absent from Central and Eastern European literature and legislation. The field remains comparatively underdeveloped and dominated by moral, religious, and post-socialist narratives – a trend that editors and authors hope to begin countering via this special issue.



## The contribution of this thematic issue

In this issue, we critically engage with these evolving dynamics of sex work across different cultural, legal, and historical contexts and from diverse perspectives, while centring the agency of sex workers. The intersection of sex work with gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, migrant status or citizenship, and disability raises urgent questions that can no longer be answered through black-and-white, outdated, or moralising frameworks. This issue seeks to create space for contributions that challenge persistent stereotypes and resist the framing of sex work as inherently pathological, while remaining critical of narratives about the 'happy hooker', white feminism, or saviourism (Smith, Mac 2018). Our aim is also to amplify the voices of sex workers, which remain largely excluded from mainstream and academic debates, especially in Central and Eastern Europe. Some of the editors and contributors to this issue are sex workers themselves, and the issue draws on queer, intersectional, feminist, and anti-carceral theories that emphasise lived experience, structural critique, and political agency. By reflecting the complex and changing realities of sex work today and situating them within broader feminist, queer, and anti-carceral frameworks, we hope to open up new questions, unsettle old binaries, and contribute to more nuanced and inclusive understandings of sex work and its place in society, both globally and locally.

This collection brings together four articles and two essays that explore sex work from a range of perspectives and across different disciplines, lived experiences, and geographical contexts. Soloviova opens the issue by offering a historical perspective on the study of sex work in CEE in which she examines currency prostitution in Soviet Ukraine. Drawing on declassified Soviet archival materials, media reports, legal decrees, and Soviet-era films, she delves deeper into the framings and representations of currency prostitution in Soviet moral discourses. The analysis demonstrates that currency prostitution posed a significant challenge to official narratives of economic equality and justice in Soviet Ukraine. Its regulation functioned not only as a means of controlling the illicit economy but also, importantly, as a tool for reinforcing the ideological legitimacy of socialism.

While the Soviet case highlights how sex work was framed within socialist moral and economic discourses, more recent contexts reveal new challenges and contradictions. Drawing on Marxist feminist theories of social reproduction and humanitarianism, del Vita presents a case study of a non-profit organisation that provides socio-health support to sex workers in France, a country that applies a neo-abolitionist approach to sex work. Through ethnographic research, the article demonstrates how the organisation drifted away from the peer-led principles on which it was founded, increasingly adopting a victimising stance towards sex workers. This shift is reflected in the absence of



sex worker representation among the organisation's staff, a reluctance to advocate for legislative reform, and hesitancy to collaborate with the broader sex work movement, often out of concerns about jeopardising funding. Del Vita highlights the critical importance of non-hierarchical, sex worker-led community models that challenge the structural conditions that produce precarity, and that promote meaningful and sustainable social transformation.

Engaging with this call, Martini focuses on the experience of sex worker trade unionism in Germany. Through qualitative interviews with sex workers who have experience with union organising, she explores the challenges and opportunities of organising sex workers in Germany, a country where discussions around the potential criminalisation of clients of sex workers are ongoing. While identifying stigmatisation, isolation, segregation, and power relations are pressing challenges, the research argues that sex worker unionisation plays an essential role in representing the interests of sex workers and is essential to advocate for fairer working conditions.

Recognising the growing importance of technology in sex work, Hombach and Ivanova's paper examines sex workers' use of Reddit forums and specifically focuses on three prominent queer and trans-centred NSFW ('not safe for work') Reddit communities (subreddits): r/transporn, r/FtMPorn, and r/EnbyLewds. Through observation of these communities, coupled with qualitative interviews with online sex workers, the authors examine how these digital spaces function simultaneously as sites of identity validation, affirmation, and commerce, further underscoring the ways in which queer content creators strategically adjust their presentation across platforms with different norms and audiences. The research highlights the complex interplay between identity negotiation and commerce, as well as the mediating role of technology, as a tool for affirmation and sexual agency within marginalised online communities.

The two essays address key issues relevant to a range of professionals working on (and in) sex work. Echoing the contributions on sex worker activism by other authors in this issue, Bledsoe turns the spotlight on the experience of the Berlin Strippers Collective, tracing its history, wins, and challenges, and emphasising the crucial role played by artistic performances in contrasting stigma. Walter's philosophical reflection offers a thoughtful epilogue on the issue. Centring the argument on three much-needed shifts in approach and mindset relevant to academics, journalists, and activists alike, they argue for moving away from reductionism towards acknowledging the complexity of sex worker identities and experiences; from moral ethics towards pragmatic ethics; and finally from a reading of sex work as an isolated phenomenon towards understanding it as an interconnected reality.

The collection closes with two contributions – a congress report and a book review. Samek's account of the Congress on Media, Gender and Sexualities: Representations, Literacies and Audiences, organised by the Benasque Science Center, discusses key



presentations on topics such as queer art practices, dating apps, the manosphere, and porn, shedding light on the deep interconnections between the media, gender, and sexuality. The concluding book review, penned by del Vita, further expands the collection's scope by engaging with Gallant and Lam's recent book *Not Your Rescue Project*, a critical account of NGO work in the anti-trafficking space, which combines a lucid analysis of the anti-trafficking industrial complex in different national contexts with attention to the importance of sex worker activism.

With its rich and diverse contributions, this issue does not seek to provide definitive answers but to expand the scope of inquiry. By gathering diverse perspectives and centring voices too often marginalised, it aims to enrich existing debates and to encourage further research attentive to complexity, context, and lived experience. Above all, it underscores the importance of listening to sex workers as knowledge producers, experts, and political actors in their own right. We hope that the contributions in this issue will serve as a foundation for more sustained, interdisciplinary engagement with sex work in Central and Eastern Europe and beyond.

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