The Male House of Prostitution

Drift, impermanence, ephemeral—such is life for the male hustler. The homosexual market (like many others) craves two things most of all, novelty and youth. Necessarily, then, the hustler drifts from city to city, from 42d Street in New York to Saint Louis’ Forest Park, seeking his fortune (he may say) but also running from scenes and people to which he is no longer new, trying to catch the impossible dream of eternal youth and undying virility. Failing that, and he must fail of course, there is, as we shall see, the dream of something much more ordinary—love, shelter, home.

But a house, as Polly Adler observed some time ago, is not a home, and this is as true of male houses of prostitution as it is of more familiar sorts of brothels. The house I am going to describe here, which caters exclusively to homosexual tastes, is really a composite of several known to me in a large metropolitan center in the United States. I will be no more specific in identification than this, for obvious reasons.

The Male House of Prostitution

The house stands in a residential area of single-family dwellings, duplexes and apartment houses. From the outside, one would imagine it to be occupied by the same sort of middle-income people who live in the neighborhood. The inside, needless to say, offers a different prospect. The doorway opens onto a reception room exquisitely decorated with occasional chairs, an overstuffed couch, brightly painted walls and wall-to-wall carpeting. Off the reception room is the business office of the house, containing a desk, chair and two telephones; this is where Jay works. Whether out of irony or deference to a possibly older tradition I do not know, but Jay is known as the madam. Officially, Jay runs a modeling agency.

The rest of the house contains four bedrooms, a kitchen, two bathrooms with showers and a sitting room for the models when they are not involved with the customers. There is a color television set in the sitting room, as well as a stereo set and a bar. The madam supplies the models with drinks free of charge, but he keeps the liquor cabinet locked. Of the four bedrooms, one can be said to be fairly typical. It is furnished with a queen-sized bed, flanked on each side by a nightstand table each of which contains a towel and a tube of K-Y lubricating jelly. The room is lavishly furnished with zebra skins on the floor, linen curtains and a quilted bedspread. Illumination is provided by lights recessed behind the bed and/or candles. Two straight-back chairs (for the model’s and customer’s clothes) complete the room’s accoutrements.

The Business Enterprise

Jay is an active homosexual himself, but he manages his business with the same goals as a legitimate enterprise. He wants to make a profit and to have satisfied customers who will return to use his personnel’s services. His typical question to a departing customer is, “Did everything go all right?” If the model goes on a call to a customer at a downtown hotel or a private residence, Jay will often telephone the customer later and ask the same question.

The madam prides himself on the fact that his business is no fly-by-night operation, and that his customers are completely protected against being cheated, robbed, assaulted or blackmailed in the sexual encounter; furthermore, he protects his clients, many of whom are socially prominent, against their homosexuality becoming public knowledge.

As he would in another business, Jay also advertises, discreetly. In the underground press and periodicals that cater to homosexuals Jay will occasionally run an ad announcing that he has models for hire and giving a telephone number. Jay always interviews a caller over the phone to discover his motives; if he has any doubts, he schedules an appointment to interview the man personally. Most customers, however, are referred by other individuals.

Jay’s staff is composed of a core group of approximately 15 full-time models and a fringe group of 20 models who supplement their income by doing modeling in their off-hours. The ages of the models range from 18 to 26, although there are exceptions. One of the most successful models in the city, for example, is in his mid-thirties, but given the primacy of youth as a value in the homosexual subculture, he is a rarity. In his ads, Jay usually bills his models as being from one to three years younger than they are, but seldom does a model pass more than three birthdays while in Jay’s employ. The demands on them are heavy, physically and psychologically. As one former core model stated: “You were never free from the job. Jay would wake me up at 2 A.M. to go on a call, or if business was active, I might have four or five calls in one day.”

Recruitment of Models

A new model can be recruited either through the recommendation of a current employee or through the advertisement Jay runs calling for “young, well-built and good-
looking” men who are needed to pose for photographers. Or Jay might meet a potential recruit at parties or other social gatherings. One model who was recruited in this way, I met Jay at a party, I indicated that I was having a hard time financially and was looking for a new job. Jay asked me if I would like to go to work for him, and I asked him what he did. He stated bluntly, “I run a male house of prostitution. If you are interested, why don’t you drop by.” He gave me his address and telephone number, and several days later I dropped by.

The indication of interest by a young man is the first step in the recruitment process. Jay must then determine his suitability through an interview that follows a fairly standard format. If Jay has never met the young man personally, he will try to make him feel at ease by stating, “Call me Jay, I’m the madam of the house.” The interview begins with Jay’s asking the model his name, his level of education, his last employment and whether he is homosexual. This, or at least bisexuality, is mandatory. If, for example, the potential recruit claims to be heterosexual but wishes to earn some money by indulging in homosexual encounters, he is denied employment. The young man is then queried whether he has any qualms about whom he goes to bed with. To have certain qualms is perfectly acceptable; Jay doesn’t disqualify someone for not desiring to go to bed with a member of another race, a sadist or a masochist. Jay next establishes whether the applicant is “versatile” or “aggressive,” trade terms as well as code words in the homosexual subculture. Versatile means one will indulge in both active and passive acts of fellatio and anal intercourse. Aggressive refers to the model who will take only the active role in anal intercourse but will engage in active and passive fellatio. Jay prefers that his models be versatile, but he does accept on occasion those who are only aggressive if they are extremely attractive. Furthermore, Jay asks the young man whether he has any qualms about his nude photographs appearing in magazines or movies, under an assumed name of course. He also establishes whether the applicant has any sadistic or masochistic tendencies. This is important to Jay as he will not turn away a customer desiring such services, and he has special models to accommodate them.

Further questions elicit whether the candidate has ever been arrested on a morals charge. It is Jay’s strict policy never to employ a model who has ever been officially labeled “queer” by police officials; the risk is too dangerous for him. The young man is then asked whether he has had venereal disease or hepatitis in the last five years. If he has been cured of these disorders, he is employable, but a physical checkup in any case is required before he begins work.

The Physical Examination Interview

If, after an hour of questioning, the prospective model has satisfied Jay with respect to his personality and mental stability, the candidate is then asked to go to one of the bedrooms. There the young man is asked to remove all his clothes and to have an erection. If the latter proves impossible, Jay calls in another model and asks him to go down on the applicant. If this does not cause an erection, the candidate is dismissed on the theory that if he could not perform at this point, in all probability he would be unlikely to be able to perform with the customers.

The prospective model is next photographed with a color Polaroid camera in the nude, with his penis both in the flaccid and erect states. Jay then measures the model’s erect penis from the dorsal side and makes a note on its thickness. The photographs and measurements go into a book that the customer can review in selecting his model. Other vital statistics are included such as height, weight, eye color, age, body build and so forth. Jay does not have sexual intercourse with the prospective model, which stands in contrast to what has been reported in some accounts of female houses of prostitution. The model-to-be is also warned not to have sexual encounters with other models, as this causes conflicts and interpersonal attachments to develop among the business staff. The applicant then is told that once he is dressed (he may take a shower if he desires), he should return to the business office. One model in commenting on this aspect of the interview stated: “I was very nervous throughout the whole thing, but I kept thinking how good the money was.” When the applicant returns to the business office, Jay informs him whether he is acceptable for employment.

Acceptance for Employment

Since one of the primary motivations for engaging in prostitution is for material gain, Jay then explains in explicit detail the monetary arrangements. Jay makes all appointments for the models with the customers. Business calls fall into three categories: in-calls, out-calls and overnight calls. An in-call occurs in the house itself, for which the charge is $20 an hour, of which the model retains $14 and Jay takes $6. On out-calls the fee ranges from $25 to $35 per hour, with the model retaining $19 to $25; the customer is required to pay the model’s taxi fare to and from the hotel or place of meeting. An overnight call can take place at the customer’s place of choosing for a period of seven or eight hours. The fee ranges from $100 to $150, with the model retaining $70 to $110 and the remainder going to Jay. Thus, the fee split is approximately 70 percent for the model and 30 percent for the madam of the house. The model is allowed to keep all tips, which range from nothing to as high as $50, with the most usual tip being from $5 to $10. Although he is not required to tell the madam of his tips, he is encouraged to do so.

Finally, Jay discusses the question of the new model’s assuming a new name. A model rarely chooses to use his legal name but takes a new one, as is frequently the case in the entertainment industry. He is billed under his new TRANS-ACTION
name, always a first name, in keeping with the mores of the homosexual subculture.

Socialization of the Model

In a classic article, the sociologist Kingsley Davis stated that prostitution was characterized by emotional indifference to the customer, by barter and by promiscuity. Basically, these are the same values that Jay attempts to instill in the new models. They are told not to become emotionally involved with their customers or to see them outside the business context; they are forbidden to give customers their real names, addresses or telephone numbers. Breaking these rules is grounds for dismissal. The barter aspect is simple enough: on in-calls the customer either pays the model or the madam after the sexual liaison; on out-calls the model collects the fee in cash, unless he has been instructed by the madam to accept a check. Finally, a prostitute is by definition promiscuous, he is expected to accept all calls assigned to him unless he can provide an acceptable explanation for refusing.

Preparing for a Call

The model is given general instructions about preparing for a call. Since the accent is on “young, well-built and attractive” males, the models are expected to maintain an excellent physical appearance. Their hair is to be always well groomed and trimmed within acceptable lengths. Facial preparations are used to remove the telltale signs of lines in the face, especially during periods of heavy sexual activity. Models generally trim their pubic hair, and almost all models remove buttocks hair with a cream preparation.

Both versatile and aggressive models prepare for a specific call in almost identical ways. The model showers, using a deodorant and body powder; the versatile model will also douche his rectum. Clothing worn by the model depends upon the occasion, a dinner engagement with the customer before the liaison calling for one kind of attire, a request for a “butch” or masculine model calling for another, usually a formfitting shirt with tight trousers.

The First Calls

Since all the models are practicing homosexuals or bisexuals, homosexual experience is scarcely unfamiliar to them. For a number of the models, however, the first call is their initial experience in receiving money for their sexual favors, in being a prostitute. Previous encounters may have brought them gifts of clothing, weekend trips or no-expense vacations, or loans of money, but there had been no explicit understanding that the benefactor had to be satisfied in every way. In other words, the previous experiences, generally with men older than the models, carried with them expectations of reciprocity but no feeling of prostitution.

Many young men enter the house intending to stay only for a short period of time until they are financially on their feet. For example, one model stated:

When I first started I told myself I would do it for only one week—until I had all my bills paid off and a few dollars saved. However, the money was so good, and the life was exciting and thrilling to begin with, so I continued. But after a few months it became boring and tiresome.

This initial experience of good money and thrills is an entirely predictable outcome, inherent in a career of male prostitution. New faces are always in demand by Jay's customers; and since the models have been carefully screened to obtain young, well-built, attractive and versatile males, they receive more calls during the first two weeks at the house than do the older models. This means, of course, more money than the man is accustomed to, as well as high status as the new star of the house. The latter should not be underestimated; as one informant put it:

All my customers treated me good. No one was ever cruel or mean to me. Of course, occasionally some trick did not tip me, but this was the exception, not the rule. And I had a number of them who always asked for me when I was working for Jay.

Another young man made a similar point:

At first I thought it was so wonderful to have love made to me by so many wealthy and socially elite men. I will never forget my first experience with a trick. We met in the reception room where Jay introduced me to Bill. We then went to the bedroom and took off our clothes and got into bed. I was very nervous. We began to talk, and he told me he was married with a wife and two children. He said that he did not realize that he had strong gay tendencies until after his marriage and now that he was in his early forties that he wanted both his family and also to have homosexual relations. He was very nice—a airline pilot I think. He then asked me what I liked to do in bed, and I told him. I asked him what he liked, and he said he liked to be screwed, so I did it to him. We talked for the rest of the hour, and he gave me a $10 tip.

In this particular case, the model's initial experience was a financially and psychologically rewarding one. At first the number of calls the models receive is heavy—as many as seven within a 24-hour period of time. However, unless he is exceptional, he is considered one of the regular members of the business staff after approximately two weeks. The term “exceptional!” is given to those models who are outstandingly good-looking, well hung, versatile and have a pleasing personality. His physical assets are the subject of much talk in the homosexual community, and Jay's customers seek the exceptional model's services frequently until his newness, too, finally wears off. After the model becomes an established member of the business staff he will receive an average of three calls a day, although some models may have only one call per day.

Part of the model's socialization to his role involves learning to satisfy the customer. Jay strongly inculcates his models with the necessity of this. The model is to re-
member that for one hour he exists to gratify the customer's desires. Part of this means being pleasant, talking with the trick but never asking questions about his personal and business affairs, unless such information is volunteered. Conversely, the model is not to discuss his own personal life with the customer except in the most general terms.

According to my informants, the typical customers are financially affluent white professional or businessmen in their forties or early fifties; a sizable proportion of these men are married, with various models estimating the number as being between one-third to one-half of their customers. (This is in basic agreement with Paul Humphreys' findings that a majority of the known participants in homosexual encounters in public places are married.) Their relatively advanced age makes it difficult for them to compete for youth in the free market of the homosexual subculture, but their financial status makes it possible for them to purchase the youth and physical attractiveness so strongly desired in the homosexual (as in the heterosexual) world. Most of the customers are what would be termed in the homosexual argot as "size queens," that is, they are fixated on the size of the penis—the larger, the better. The men constantly comment on the size of the call boy's organ. If there is fetishism here, it is rather analogous to the American heterosexual male's alleged fetishism for large breasts. In any case, one call boy, with frankness, stated: "My big pecter was the reason I was chosen so frequently—I want to be liked for myself, not my body." It seems clear, too, that the customers are men whose social and political position as well as marital status require them to keep their deviance a secret. Jay is the key figure here, and he apparently merited the trust his customers place in him.

Progression in the Career of a Model

As previously noted, the typical model does not begin his work with the expectation that he will become committed to the role of a call boy. The career is begun with the rationalization that it will be for only a few days or weeks until pressing financial problems are resolved. In the initial interview Jay, the madam, always explains to the young man the difference between a whore and a prostitute. According to him, a whore is "one who gives his sexual favors without being rewarded financially," whereas a prostitute is "one who receives money for his sexual favors." Jay, although avoiding the label prostitute for his business staff, does try to make the model understand what his role will be. Although in moments of anger the models will refer to each other as "whore," "slut" or "prostitute," Jay and the models refer to their role as that of a call boy—never prostitute. This self-identification, according to one informant, came "about the third week on the job. It was easy money, and I did not desire to trick on the side. I was having more than enough sex at work. I always had nice clothes and money in my pockets." In other words, he is a businessman.
like anyone else in the society, above all emotionally unin-
volved with his customers.

Sexual Encounters

Whatever the psychological gratification obtained by either call boy or client in the conversations that occur during the hour, the primary purpose of the male prostitute is to provide sexual gratification to the customer. Sexual encounters fall into a typical pattern. This can be best described in the words of the call boys themselves. Bill, in recounting an episode stated:

The customer picked me from the book of photos that Jay has of the boys. Jay got me from our room [the models’ sitting room] and took me to the reception room where he introduced me to Jack. Jack was about 35 years of age with blond hair and was good-looking. We went into one of the bedrooms, and he asked me to undress. He admired my body, especially my cock, and stated that I was really well hung. He then undressed, and we got in the bed and embraced. He asked me if I liked to have sex with the lights on or off. I said I preferred sex in the dark, so he turned off the lights. We talked for a while; he told me he was from Texas and had heard about our house from some of his friends, so he decided to visit it.

He then told me how good-looking I was and that we wanted us to perform “69,” which we did. I told him to tell me when he was going to come as I don’t like for tricks to come in my mouth. It makes me sick. He said he would, and he did. I did not come myself.

We conversed about this Texas, and he told me about his wife and his son. He said he never tricked with a male unless he was out of town on a business trip. He was very nice to me. He then asked me what I liked to do. I told him I liked to fuck, and he said he liked to be fucked, so I got the K-Y out of the drawer and fucked him. He said he enjoyed it. We talked awhile, and he said that he would like to see me again when he was in town again. I said all right—just call the house.

We then got up and took a shower together. He then dressed, and he gave me a $10 tip—Oh, I guess I had him about once a month over the next five months.

The major thing to note about this episode is that the call boy follows the interpersonal leads of the customer on both sexual and conversational activities. This liaison also illustrates the statement of most informants that most customers prefer to have fellatio performed on them and to be the passive partner in anal intercourse.

The frequent performance of fellatio on customers raises the question of the call boy of what to do with the fluid at ejaculation. Some require the customers to inform them before they ejaculate. One call boy stated:

I had this trick who did not tell me he was coming. He came in my mouth. It made me so sick that I had to jump out of bed, grab the towel and vomit in it. I was sick for hours after that. I just can’t stand that.

Some call boys, however, accept the swallowing of the semen as part of the job even though they may not enjoy the taste or the sensation. And there are some who do enjoy it.

Anal Intercourse

Generally speaking, certain physical attributes of the model determine whether he is to be the active or passive partner in anal intercourse. Customers prefer to be the passive partner when the model is of the butch type, with a larger than average penis. Customers who want the active role in anal intercourse seek models who are more slender, with smooth bodies and an average-sized penis. It should be emphasized that there are exceptions to these generalizations, but on the whole they hold up.

One of the call boys, Ben, related the following experience concerning anal intercourse:

There was this young guy of about 30 years old who came to the house one night. Much to my surprise he was a guy who had known from the bar. He was always trying to get me to go home with him, but I always refused. I’m sure he did not know I was a model. Well, he picked me from Jay’s photo book, and Jay introduced us as usual. Once we were in the bedroom he said to me, “It’s funny that we meet this way. Finally— in bed.” The first thing he did was to blow me, and I came in his mouth, as he wanted it that way. Then after some talk about his always wanting to have sex with me and how much of a crush he had on me from seeing me in the bars, he said, “I’m going to fuck you.” I said, “All right, but be careful (as he was well built). Don’t ram me as I am built small.” To be honest, I enjoyed it—especially the sensation of his coming inside me. He said he would be coming back to the house frequently.

In a few days he returned and told me how much he liked me. He asked me what I liked to do. I said I liked to fuck, but he refused to let me do it as he was almost a virgin—he had been screwed only once or twice before. Well, we did “69” that night. He said he would return soon.

About a week later, he returned. I was attracted to him, and he said he really liked me. I told him that I wanted to screw him. At first he hesitated and said I was too large, that it would hurt him. In the end he consented if I would be careful. I told him the easiest way would be for him to lean over the bed and that I would use Vaseline as it does not dry as fast as K-Y. Well, I took it easy and was very careful not to hurt him, and it took me
about ten minutes to get it in, as he was so tight. He did not really enjoy it, but he did it for me.

One hears in this story a contradiction of Davis’ observation that the prostitute shows emotional indifference. And, in fact, this customer desired the call boy to become his lover, but Jay, sensing that the model might reciprocate these feelings, saw to it that Ken was never available to this customer again.

It should be noted that some customers are so oriented to anal intercourse that after the model has performed the active role the customer will request that the model use a dildo on him for the rest of the hour. One model quoted a married man who was a regular customer of his as stating: “I like to get fucked and suck a cock. These are two things my wife cannot do for me.” Call boys, however, generally view this type of customer as a “weirdo.”

Masturbation and Voyeurism

Less frequent than fellatio and anal intercourse are sexual activities that involve masturbation by the model and/or customer. Customers for this sort of service are often “watch queens,” men who receive gratification from watching the sexual activities of others. They may ask the model to walk around the room nude, and he may or may not masturbate. Or the client may request the model to lie in bed with him while he watches him masturbate, or, a variation on this, the model may sit on the customer’s chest and masturbate. Or, while the two lie in bed together, the customer masturbates the model and may or may not expect the model to masturbate him.

Less frequently a customer will request to watch the sexual activities of two models as they perform fellatio and/or anal intercourse. Some models think of voyeurism of this classic type as incomprehensibly odd. As one model stated: “He is paying for something he does not participate in.”

Violations of House Regulations

One of the cardinal rules of the madam is that the models are not to have sex with each other, the reason being that the models, all young, physically healthy and attractive, might become emotionally involved with each other, which would lead either to their becoming lovers (with the possibility of leaving his employment) or to friction with other models. Given the transitory nature of many homosexual liaisons, Jay is probably more concerned with the bitterness that might develop between two models at the end of the affair. In his mind, emotional attachments among his staff could only lead to business problems, and that would reduce his profit.

As with all group norms, the rule of no sex between models is violated. As one model stated: “What else could you expect to happen when you had so many virile, young homosexuals together? Sex was bound to occur.” The madam is realistic about this and does not dismiss a model for an occasional indiscretion with another model unless they become too emotionally involved.

The major prohibition, which the madam states, time after time to the models, also concerns emotional involvement, this time with the customers. However, Jay desires to have satisfied customers who return frequently, and some of them are bound to ask for the same model for each sexual encounter. As long as the model and the customer satisfy the madam that no personal attachments are developing, he approves of such an arrangement. If, however, he discovers an emotional relationship, Jay no longer allows the pair to be together. He would rather risk losing the customer than the model. If they met socially outside the house, he would dismiss the model.

Models and customers, nevertheless, do become emotionally attached to one another, given the context of single, wealthy middle-aged men and striving, attractive young males. The natural history of one such attachment is told by the model Joe:

Aaron selected me from Jay’s book of photographs. We hit it off from the first time. In the next month he asked for me seven times. On his eighth visit he asked me to have dinner with him, but I refused. He kept begging me to go out with him and said that he was very attracted to me. On his next visit he again invited me to dinner, and I accepted his invitation to meet him at a gay bar and then go out to dinner. At that time I was living at the house, and I telephoned the madam to tell him that I was not going to work that night as I was tired and was going to spend the night with a friend. Aaron and I met for dinner, and he invited me to stay overnight at his apartment. I accepted, and we went to his home where we had sexual relations, but he did not give me any money. I was so happy after that night; I felt that at long last I had found someone to love me. We made arrangements to keep meeting outside my business hours.

Several times in the next week the madam intercepted telephone calls to me from Aaron, as I was living in the house. About two weeks after Aaron and I had been meeting outside the house the madam called me to the office. Bluntly Jay asked me, “What in the hell is going on between you and Aaron? He is always telephoning you, and he hasn’t been to the house in the last few weeks. What’s the score?”

I replied that I thought I loved Aaron and wanted him for a lover. The madam was furious with me and shouted, “No! No! I will not permit it. It’s bad for business. I told you when you first started working here not to become emotionally involved with the customers. You must break it off at once.” I replied that I was
moving out of the house and going to live with Aaron—
that nothing he said would change my mind.

At this point Jay had calmed down somewhat. He said,
"I'm against it, and it won't work out. Go ahead if that's
what you want. You're a good model, and I'll hate to see
you leave. But you'll still work with me, won't you?"

Although I really wanted to stop being a model, I replied
that I would, but I was still going to move to Aaron's
apartment. I discussed the matter with Aaron. I told him
I didn't want to work anymore for Jay. Well, I should
have known better when Aaron told me that it would be
good for me to continue working at the house until I
found another job. I guess I was so attached to Aaron at
that time that I would have agreed to anything.

Almost immediately I began to have problems with
Aaron. He expected me to work and at the same time to
have sex every night before I went to work. Then the
newness of the affair began to wear off after a few
weeks. I was tired all the time—physically and mentally.
I began to drink more heavily and became very depres-
sed. That only made my situation worse. I also began to
take more and more "bennies" [amphetamines] to keep
me going. But I could not keep up with my work at the
house; I could not perform for the customers.

Around a month after I originally left the house to live
with Aaron, the madam called me to the office and read
the riot act to me. He said that my performance with the
customers was poor—that either I leave Aaron or he
would fire me. He also said that if I left Aaron I could go
visit my parents in another state for a two-weeks' vaca-
tion and return to work if I pulled myself together. I
told him I would leave Aaron as I was already regretting
ever getting involved with him. He was tricking on the
side, and he also drank heavily, which did not help my
drinking problem.

Aaron did not seem to care about my leaving him, and I
went home to visit. I returned to Jay's house a few
weeks later, but it was not the same. I just did not have
it in me to be a model anymore.

Joe's recollections are presented here in detail to
establish the point that the prostitute does, at times, become
very emotionally involved with his clients. It is perhaps
doubtful whether such relationships as developed between
Joe and Aaron have much of a chance of developing into
long-term relationships. But it is difficult for many models
to see a solution to their life situations in the perma-
nent attachment that a customer may provide them. If one
recalls the strong motives of material gain that led the
models into their present jobs, it is understandable that
they should prefer being "kept" by a wealthy client to the
life of a call boy.

Disenchantment with Modeling

As I said at the outset, a call boy's career is a short one;
it generally comes to an end in the mid- or late twenties. We
do not have systematic longitudinal data on a significant
number of models, but we can discuss some of the reasons
why a model might call it quits. Above all, there is disen-
chantment with the profession, added to this the physical
and psychological decline of the model.

Many models, after the initial excitement, become fed up
with their lives. They begin to perceive their occupation as
being dead-end, a journey to nowhere. As one former
model poignantly stated:

The job was making me depressed. I was young and
wanted to go out and have some fun. If I did, it would
take me away from the job, and I would lose money. I
could not start a romance—who would want a call boy as
a lover. I was lonely all the time. I wanted someone to
love me for myself, not just my body.

Hustlers and call boys are stigmatized in the homosexual
subculture, despite the fact that the group itself is stig-
matized by the larger society, and despite the fact that a
significant number of homosexuals are almost as promiscu-
ous as the hustler or call boy. Behaviorally there is little
difference between the homosexual's "one-night-stands"
and the call boy's activities. The former, however, justify
their behavior on the grounds that it does not involve the
exchange of money.

Beyond this, the model is always fighting a battle to keep
the appearance of youth and good looks, and against odds
made impossible by irregular hours and periods of heavy
sexual activity. He becomes physically tired and turns to
stimulant drugs to keep him vibrant and awake. Or in
moments of depression about his work and stigmatized
position he drinks heavily and becomes intoxicated.
Whether through drugs or alcohol, his sexual performance
with the customers is inevitably affected—he becomes irri-
table, tired, unable to have an erection. His face begins to
show the effects of such a life style—"bags" under the eyes
that no amount of make-up can hide, bloodshot eyes or
weight loss, etc. His physical desirability decreases, and
slowly he loses customers until he arrives at the inevitable
day when the madam fires him.

Psychologically, the strain of many short, intensive en-
counters with his customers threatens his mental stability.
He constantly searches for either a lover to provide him
with emotional security, such as the case of Aaron and Joe,
or a "sugar daddy," a successful business or professional
man, sometimes married, who will support him and provide
him with an apartment.