



Sex And Scientific Observation

Research on Prostitution in Socialist Czechoslovakia

In Czechoslovakia, experts began to play an important role during the 1960s. In fact, one could even go so far as to state that scientists helped to pave the way to socialist reform, to the Prague Spring, and, in the long run, to a new understanding of policy making.¹ By the mid-1950s, the country had fallen into a deep crisis, mostly as a result of Stalinist economic policy. Although Czechoslovakia did not experience far-reaching de-Stalinization,² the ruling Communist Party began to realize that changes were inevitable and sought expert advice. Scientists, many of them from disciplines that had been marginalized in the preceding decade,³ cooperated with politicians, helping them analyze and map out the situation and develop strategies for overcoming the crisis in the future. Members of one of the teams involved, led by Radovan Richta, even became internationally famous thanks to their ideas for the modernization of Czechoslovak society with the help of a »scientific and technological revolution«. Their book *Civilization at the Crossroads* was translated into numerous languages.⁴

This essay deals with far less well-known scientists than the sociologists, philosophers, and economists in Richta's circle. It focuses on studies on prostitution conducted in Czechoslovakia during the 1960s. While this might seem like a rather marginal issue, it was one that became explosive, despite, or rather because of, its marginality. Many had believed that the rise of socialism would lead to a »natural« extinction of prostitution, and so it was a topic that had largely been ignored in

politics. Prostitution was not really a taboo subject, but it was usually not addressed openly; instead it was referred to and treated within the context of other topics. Thus, the scientific research conducted on prostitution called the official stance of the government that prostitution was no longer a relevant phenomenon in Czechoslovakia into question – and, as a consequence, also challenged the image of Czechoslovak society itself. And like Richta, the scientists studying prostitution were optimistic that in the future, governments and the policies they drew up would rely more on science when it came to handling social problems.

In the following, I will first give a brief introduction of the legal situation regarding prostitution in socialist Czechoslovakia and then turn to a study on prostitutes conducted by two researchers from the Sexological Institute of Prague Charles University. Using this project as an example of science during the reform period, I will discuss the shift in the interpretation of deviance that took place and the development of new approaches to it. This shift, I suggest, occurred in parallel with a new understanding of the interaction between science and politics – one that was preserved after 1968, albeit with a change in the balance between the two.

Prostitution as a Form of »Parasitism«

Prostitution was not supposed to exist under socialism. According to Marxist-Leninist theory, prostitution was considered to be a typical outcome of capitalism and bourgeois gender inequality. Under capitalist conditions, prostitutes were viewed as victims. But after 1948, when the communists took over power in Czechoslovakia, the view of people in

1 Schulze Wessel, *Der Prager Frühling*.

2 Blaive, *Une déstalinisation manquée*.

3 Voříšek, *The Reform Generation*.

4 Hoppe/Sommer, *How the »Richta-Team« Was Born*.



Fig. 1 The Czechoslovak press usually published pictures such as this one of a heavily drunken prostitute to underline the misery in capitalist countries, not problems in the own country.
In: Kapr, Jaroslav: *O prostituci z pohledu sociologa*, p. VIII

prostitution changed.⁵ It was claimed that in a socialist society, in which women were no longer dependent on men and everybody was meant to be able to make a living by being employed in ›proper jobs‹, there was no reason to offer sexual services in exchange for payment. Women who engaged in paid sex (men were rarely mentioned) were classified as deviant. They were accused of going against ›socialist morals‹ and the ›socialist way of life‹, but most importantly their behavior violated a citizen's duty to work.

This fact was also reflected in criminal law. In Czechoslovakia, there were no laws specifically relating to prostitution. Instead, prostitution was covered by the so-called parasitism-paragraph – from 1956 to 1961, this was paragraph 188a of the Criminal Code; from 1961 onwards it was paragraph 203. In this paragraph, two different types of illegal behavior were combined: violations against the duty to work along with forms of money-making characterized as unethical such as gambling, begging, or living at the expense of others and, of course, prostitution.⁶ Over the years, paragraph 203 became synonymous with ›parasitism‹ and, whenever women were involved, prostitution.

People who did not work regularly and made money through illegal means could be sent to prison for up to two years. The 1963 version of the paragraph and a paragraph dealing with recidivists were even harsher: those who made only some of their money ›dishonestly‹ could be sent to prison,

too, and the possible sentence was increased to three years.⁷ However, this neither solved the problem of the existence of citizens who did not contribute to the socialist economy in the manner expected from them nor eliminated prostitution. The existence of prostitution in Czechoslovakia, albeit less visible than in former times, was an open secret.⁸

Scientists and the ›Rediscovery of Prostitution‹

In the early 1960s, experts from several fields – mostly criminologists, police representatives, and health-experts – reported that prostitution was on the rise in Czechoslovakia in general and especially in its capital, Prague.⁹ Whether this was factually accurate or not is hard to judge, as no reliable figures existed and these observations were based on local experience and general assessments.¹⁰ However, what is more important is the inherent criticism of the state. Several experts expressed the opinion that even though the Communist party claimed to have rid the country of prostitution after its rise to power, this was, in fact, not true; indeed, no serious attempt had been made to solve it and, as a consequence, the state had

⁵ On prostitution and how socialist Czechoslovakia dealt with it, see: Havelková, *Blaming All Women*; Dudová, *Prostitution and Trafficking in Czechoslovakia*.

⁶ Vlček, *Příživnictví v československém trestním právu*.

⁷ Ibid. p. 43.

⁸ Archiv bezpečnostních složek, Praha: *Zpráva o současném stavu a problematice boje proti prostituci v ČSSR 1966*.

⁹ Quotes for example in the small serial on prostitution published in the popular magazine *Mladý svět* in 1966 under the speaking title ›We don't live in paradise‹. Holler, *Nežijeme v ráji*.

¹⁰ Archiv hlavního města Prahy: Zpráva o vyhledání a postihu trestné činnosti podle § 203 (příživnictví, včetně prostituce); Osmančík/Vacková, *Zpráva o výsledku pilotáže k výzkumu prostituce* p. 74.



Fig. 2 The closed venereology ward at Prague Charles University Hospital was part of the large hospital complex located on Apolinářská-street.

lost its ability to monitor and effectively fight prostitution.¹¹ In January 1968, Jiří Prokopec, a well-known demographer,¹² even went so far as to claim that »prostitution has acquired such a scale in our country precisely because for many years the very fact of its existence has been hidden«. ¹³ By that time, prostitution, the mention of which in the press had been censored not long before,¹⁴ had developed into an issue of public debate. Several academic institutions had initiated research projects on the topic and the researchers involved frequently participated in lively discussions on the subject in journals and on the radio.

The experts who began to research prostitution in the early 1960s were few and far between and hailed from different fields. In the period between 1962 and 1969, several projects on the topic were completed. Their authors were physicians such as Božena Rudlová, who wrote her dissertation on the topic,¹⁵ and sexologists, who will be discussed here in more detail. Another remarkable study was carried out by Jaroslav Kapr, a medical sociologist. Its results were published in the popular magazine *Reportér*, accompanied by an unusually radical, for that time, photo of a drunken prostitute.¹⁶ Finally, a »pilot study« was conducted at the Institute for Criminology

by leading criminologist Otokar Osmančík and psychiatrist Iva Vacková. The study was meant to be only the first part of an extensive evaluation of prostitution and institutions dealing with it.¹⁷

Despite disciplinary differences, there was a lot of common ground that existed between the scientists involved. They all had been drawn to the subject due to their everyday work and wanted to contribute – in one way or another – to developing new methods for coping with deviance. As to prostitution, in their view, the first step was to stop denying the phenomenon and instead to gain more knowledge of it. In this manner they aimed to lay the foundation for a more realistic and effective approach to prostitution.¹⁸

All research was based on studies conducted in the Dermatological Clinic of Prague Charles University Hospital on Apolinářská Street, often simply referred to as »Apolinářská«. ¹⁹ The head of the Department of Venerology, Dr. Kvíčera, played a decisive role in making this happen. As a specialist in sexually transmitted diseases, he was extremely interested in the topic.²⁰ He granted scientists access to the Venerological Ward and allowed them to conduct interviews with women

11 For example: *Prostituce problém k řešení*. – Baláš, *Prostituce a boj proti ní*.

12 Dr. Jiří Prokopec was the secretary of the State Population Commission (Státní populační komise, SPOK), a commission founded in 1956 to advise the government on questions relating to population politics. During the 1960s, the SPOK was involved in many of the decisions made pertaining to family and social politics.

13 Prokopec, *Ja je to u nás s prostitucí?*, p. 7.

14 Archiv bezpečnostních složek, Praha: *Prostituce 1964–1967*.

15 Rudlová, *Problém prostituce z psychiatrického hlediska*.

16 Kapr, *O prostituci z pohledu sociologa*.

17 Osmančík/Vacková, *Zpráva o výsledku pilotáže k výzkumu prostituce*. The manuscript was never published. After 1969, Osmančík lost his leading position at Prague Institute for Criminology, his expertise on »un-adapted citizens« was still requested, although less visible. For example, he contributed to a hand-book for social workers with a chapter on deviance and a chapter on prostitution. *Péče o společensky nepřizpůsobené občany*, p. 192–230.

18 Osmančík/Vacková, *Zpráva o výsledku pilotáže k výzkumu prostituce pp.* 74–76.

19 A history of Apolinářská has not yet been written. There is some general information on it in Alexandra Březinová's unpublished 1981 dissertation on prostitution. Březinová, *Příspěvek k sociální zdravotní problematice*.

20 Kvíčera, *Anonymní zdroje pohlavních nemocí*.

who were being held on the ward after being picked up by the police on suspicion of working as prostitutes.

As the projects overlapped in design, methods, and even findings, it makes sense to outline their research using one of them as an example before moving on to the discussion of the political impact of this research. I decided to focus on the study conducted at the Institute for Sexology, as it is rather well documented and many Czech and Slovak researchers have referred to it since its publication.

The Sex-Expert's Study on Prostitution

The Sexological Institute at Prague Charles University was located in the vicinity of Apolinářská, its founding history closely connected to the university's Dermatological Clinic. There are still many open questions relating to its development due to the fact that the institute does not have an archive, and, indeed, it is unclear whether it ever did.²¹ What is clear, however, is that this institute was not an isolated place of work but the leading research institution on sexuality in Czechoslovakia and an active player internationally.²² Josef Hynie, for decades the institute's director, succeeded in ensuring that it remained in existence even in difficult times such as the early 1950s – mainly by conducting new research on fertility.²³ Research on sexual deviations constituted the second-most-important field of work.²⁴

The study on prostitutes was carried out in 1963/64 by Iva Šípová and Karel Nedoma, two researchers who had been members of the institute for many years. Both were specialists in aberrations from sexual ›normalcy‹, Šípová did research on transsexuality, and Nedoma's special research interest was homosexuality. He was also the author of the only article on male prostitution published in socialist Czechoslovakia.²⁵

Šípová and Nedoma conducted their work in the Apolinářská in the 12 months between fall 1963 and fall 1964 and published the results progressively in articles in renowned academic journals. This took a while, though. The first of their studies on prostitution was published in the *Journal of Czech Physicians* in 1970,²⁶ followed by several short contributions on individual aspects of their research in journals for gynecology, psychiatry, and sociology.

As to the design and methods of their research project, Šípová and Nedoma combined questionnaires with standardized tests. For the women in the ward, participation in the study was optional. Of the 105 women over the age of 20 the sexologists had asked to take part in the study, 100 were willing

to do so.²⁷ In guided interviews, they were asked basic information on their life, education, work experience, and family background. The researchers included a reference group not associated with prostitution only for one aspect, the sexual biographies of the women.²⁸ This first part was followed by two tests that were popular at the time: the Raven test, a procedure for measuring the capacity for abstract thinking, and a personality test based on the method developed by Toman and Mittenecker, both very simple, as Šípová and Nedoma assumed that those participating in the study would have a low level of education and short attention spans.

They found that this assumption was true, judging by the results of their research: the sexologists concluded that women involved in prostitution were significantly less intelligent than the average population.²⁹ They attributed to them a lack of discipline and endurance, poor self-assessment, and a disposition to mental disorders. In addition, they diagnosed emotional deficits, among others, a lack (or even the absence) of the ability to bond, i.e. to build lasting relationships.³⁰

Concerning the crucial question as to why the women engaged in prostitution, they believed that it was related to the desire for a quick and effortless satisfaction of wishes and needs. Šípová and Nedoma knew these needs were not sexual in nature. However, their study went far beyond the simple statement that paid sex was sex without emotional commitment. Based on the women's sexual biographies, they drew the conclusion that most prostitutes were not able to have a fulfilling sex life and that ›frigidity‹ was wide-spread among them.³¹

Šípová and Nedoma defined all these patterns taken together – disadvantageous mental and personal dispositions, problems in their childhood homes and the resulting premature and thus misguided sexual development – as ›social-sexual deprivation‹. And deprivation, they emphasized, was not a result of material poverty – neither of the women themselves nor of their families of origin – but a syndrome that developed due to emotional and educational deficiencies.³²

It should be mentioned that Šípová and Nedoma addressed certain limitations of their survey. They acknowledged that the study group they had been working with had by no means been representative as it was the police who regularly brought the women to the clinic and thus unknowingly made a pre-selection with regards to research participants.³³ This pre-selection, the sexologists assumed, included mainly prostitutes working in the streets and cheap bars, while

21 Even today, it is not clear whether the Institute for Sexology actually never had an archive, or whether an existing archive was destroyed or simply lost.

22 On the Institute for Sexology see, Lišková, *Sexual Liberation Socialist Style*, esp. chapter 1.

23 Schindler, *Josef Hynie*, p. 315.

24 On the research of the institute and its international reception see, Davison, *Cold War Pavlov*.

25 Nedoma, *Homosexuální prostituce u mladistvých*.

26 Šípová/Nedoma, *Osobnost socio-sexuálně deprivovaných žen*.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 610.

28 Šípová/Nedoma, *Gynekologicko-zdravotnický profil žen s prostitučním chováním*.

29 Šípová/Nedoma, *Osobnost socio-sexuálně deprivovaných žen*, pp. 610–612.

30 Šípová/Nedoma, *Heterosexuální vztahy žen s prostitučním chováním*.

31 Šípová/Nedoma, *Gynekologicko-zdravotnický profil žen s prostitučním chováním*; Šípová/Nedoma, *Heterosexuální vztahy žen s prostitučním chováním*.

32 Šípová/Nedoma, *Rodinné prostředí v dětství u socio-sexuálně deprivovaných žen*.

33 Šípová/Nedoma, *Osobnost socio-sexuálně deprivovaných žen*, pp. 609–610.

prostitution in luxury hotels and private apartments remained mostly undetected.³⁴

Even if the study referred only to a specific group of women in prostitution, it is not an exaggeration to say that the result was a portrait of someone who was the opposite of the ideal socialist woman: instead of the faithful wife and mother, these women were promiscuous and unable to maintain a stable relationship, either with a partner or with their own children. Instead of working regular hours, they earned money illegally. As to society and politics, these women exhibited either passive, or even latently negative, attitudes.³⁵ In short, they were the epitome of a »parasite«.

Of course, this conclusion raised the question of who was responsible for the fact that these types of women existed in socialist Czechoslovakia – and, apparently, not in small numbers. For Šípová and Nedoma, it was evident that causes could not be found in society, but only in the individuals themselves and in the families they came from.³⁶ Developing this argument, they drew on international as well as on national research.

When it came to international research, they mainly referred to a study on prostitution carried out in Hamburg and published in 1968.³⁷ The remarkable thing is not the fact that they cited Western literature, as this was a frequent occurrence in the 1960s and Czech sexologists had always had close links to the international scientific community. But the way in which they related to the Hamburg study indicated an important change of view. Šípová and Nedoma presented prostitution as a common problem prevalent in all modern societies – nothing exclusively capitalist and not something that was of negligible importance and would soon be overcome thanks to socialism. According to Šípová and Nedoma, comparing the Hamburg and the Prague study clearly showed that while forms of prostitution were different due to the different legal situations in the two countries, the reasons behind women choosing to work as prostitutes were similar. In both systems, women from broken families, with a lack of formal education and with psychological problems, were often found within this group.³⁸

This matched with the national context that the sexologists' research was grounded in. From the late 1950s onwards, a huge debate raged in Czechoslovakia on juvenile deviance and delinquency, one that was initially purely academic in nature but soon caught the interest of the general public. The term used to describe emotional and social deficits caused by neglect in childhood was »deprivation«. Social scientists argued that as a result of the social transformation that Czechoslovakia had undergone since 1945, deficiencies of that kind had become so frequent that they amounted to a problem of

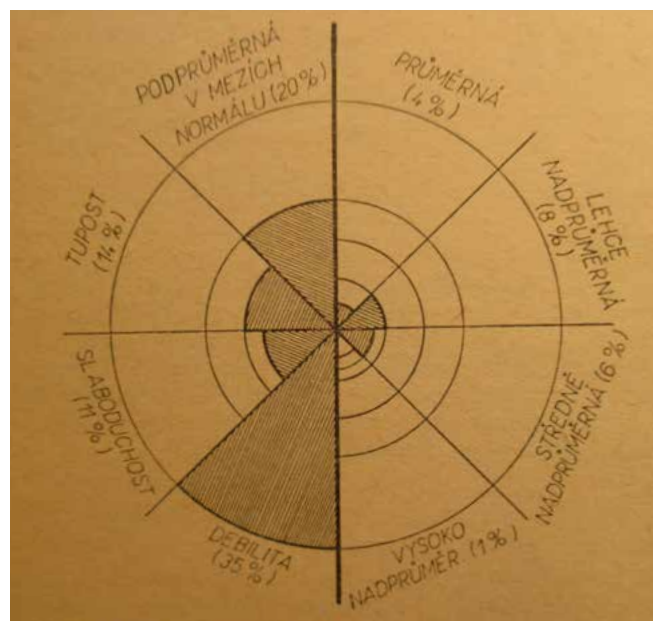


Fig. 3 Diagram taken from Šípová's and Nedoma's article on »The Personality of Social-Sexual Deprived Women« illustrating the outcome of the Raven test with which they attested a lower intelligence to the 100 prostitutes participating in their study. In: Šípová/Nedoma: *Osobnost socio-sexuálně deprivovaných žen*, p. 610

importance for society as a whole.³⁹ By adopting the concept of deprivation for their research, the sexologists placed the growing problem with prostitution in the broader context of a crisis of education and families. To put it differently: prostitution, or what they called »prostitutional behavior« (*prostituční chování*) – a behavior on the threshold between promiscuity and prostitution – was just another possible consequence of deprivation, a typically female way of violating duties and norms due to personal deficits.

Unpleasant Facts and their Interpretation

The sexologists' research has to be seen within the larger context of Czechoslovakia's »revolution of facts« – a term used by Pavel Kolář to describe the effects of scientists analyzing the causes behind the country's many problems.⁴⁰ Much of what they revealed about Czechoslovakia's economic situation and living standards, but also recent history, was unpleasant, even shocking, and stood in harsh contrast to utopian visions propagated during the Stalinist years. The scientists working on behalf of the government did so in an even larger number of projects and commissions and became increasingly confident in their work and their ability to speak out.⁴¹ Not only did they wish to explain how and why Czechoslovakia had come to find itself in such a difficult situation, they also hoped to assist politicians in finding a way out of it. What they sought to

³⁴ Ibid., p. 612.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 610.

³⁶ Šípová/Nedoma, *Rodinné prostředí v dětství u socio-sexuálně deprivovaných žen*.

³⁷ Reng, *Das sexuelle Verhalten junger weiblicher Prostituiertes*.

³⁸ Šípová/Nedoma, *Osobnost socio-sexuálně deprivovaných žen*, pp. 611–612.

³⁹ Henschel, *All Children Are Ours*, pp. 137–138.

⁴⁰ Kolář, *Der Poststalinismus*, chapter 1.

⁴¹ Nisonen-Trnka, *The Prague Spring of Science*, pp. 1749–1766.

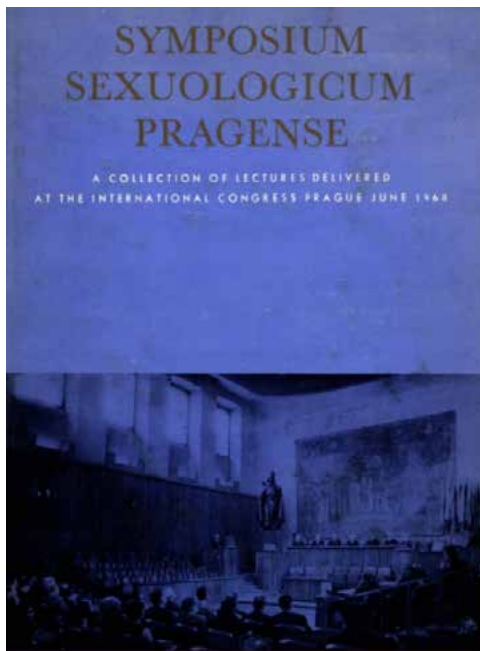


Fig. 4 Czechoslovak sexology was internationally well-renowned. The International Sexologist's Congress took place in Prague in the summer of 1968. Hynie, Josef/Nedoma, Karel (eds.): *Symposium sexuologicum Pragense. A Collection of Lectures Delivered at the International Congress* (cover)

create – and the reformist socialist government gladly accepted their contributions – was a new style of central planning and policy-making. The blind belief in a ›scientific worldview‹ characteristic of Stalinism was replaced by a tremendous confidence in the power of science and progress.

The teams researching prostitution were not at the core of this major political shift. But they, too, had something to contribute to the ongoing critical evaluation of society. Their research provided facts on marginal groups, facts that contradicted the ›socialist way of living‹ in nearly every respect, especially in terms of social and sexual mores. And what is more, those living such ›abnormal‹ lives were not just a group left-over from a bygone era, they had instead been born and grown up in a socialist society.

During the late 1960s, thanks to these findings, the experts contributed to a public debate that soon went far beyond its original subject matter and challenged every single element of Czechoslovakia's modernization post-1945. The education system, women's emancipation, and the liberalization of sexual morality were some of the first topics to be raised. These heated debates were only possible due to the reforms that were under way, a growing public sphere, and the gradual decline of censorship. Czechoslovakia opening its borders to the rest of the world was important, too, and a development that many scientists actively supported. It is not a coincidence that in the summer of 1968, Prague hosted an International Sexological Congress.⁴²

The violent crushing of the Prague Spring brought an end to the open discussion of prostitution. After 1969, controversial

texts on prostitution were no longer published in journals and newspapers. Of course, academia was hit hard by the purges taking place. When scientific institutions were ›cleansed‹ from people associated with reformism, some of the researchers whose work was focused on prostitution lost their positions.

This was not the case for Šípová and Nedoma. The first results of their research on Prague prostitutes were published in 1970, after the new government had already started to carry out its ›Normalization‹ project, which basically consisted of swathes of reformist policies being revoked. No sources are available on the internal development of the Sexological Institute during this period, neither on the vetting of staff carried out post-1969⁴³ nor on publishing policy.⁴⁴ Thus, my reflections are solely based on the content of the published results of the study. In my view, these texts provide a very good example of how various schools of thought prevalent in the 1960s were carried over into the 1970s.

Šípová and Nedoma's work had not only made an unwanted milieu visible but also revised the view of it as shaped during Stalinism. By using biological reasons and deficits in education to explain the existence of prostitution, they shifted the focus from the political to the individual. From this perspective, being a prostitute did not have to be automatically identified with being a class enemy or having a hostile attitude toward socialism but could be explained by individual deficits. In doing so, the two sexologists implied two things: First, that there was no reason to expect that prostitution – or other forms of deviant behavior resulting at least partly from inborn disadvantages – would disappear in the near future. Second, that if the underlying pathology behind prostitution was also rooted in families and an individual's upbringing, as they suggested, it was evident that if one wanted to eradicate prostitution one must start there. The conclusion to be drawn was obvious: while the fact that prostitution would continue to exist could not be blamed on the political system or the state, the state was entitled to acknowledge this phenomenon and to deal with it – and the support of science would be needed for this difficult task.

Conclusion

While the expectation during the 1950s was that any form of deviance would disappear with the rise of socialism, the crisis following Stalinism and the cooperation between politics and science during the 1960s brought the insight that even a socialist society would have to cope with criminality. Over the course of this process, the way in which deviant behavior was discussed significantly changed. Due to the participation of scientists, the Stalinist rhetoric of relentlessly fighting against enemies had been transformed into a discourse of science-based problem solving. Social help and therapy became key topics in discussions about the prevention of deviance

⁴³ Lišková goes so far as to state that ›Sexology became the right hand of the state‹ during the 1970s. Lišková, *Sexological Spring* 125. I would be more cautious here with regard to the different areas of sexology.

⁴⁴ On post-1968 academic writing: see Oates-Indruchová, *Censorship in Czech and Hungarian Academic Publishing, 1969–89*.

⁴² Hynie/Nedoma, *Symposium sexuologicum Pragense*.

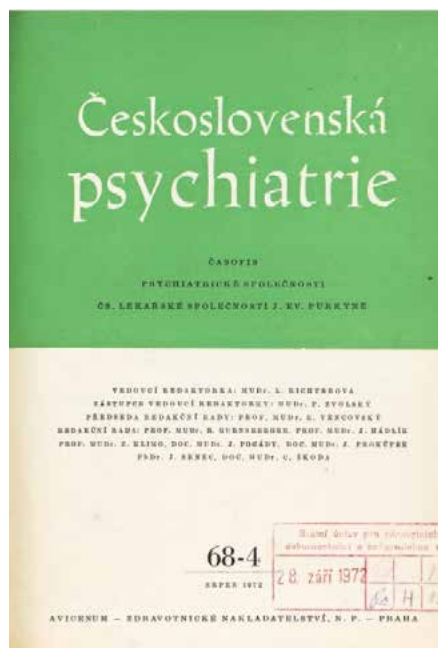


Fig. 5 Šípová and Nedoma's research results were published in journals relating to various different scientific specializations as well as the *Journal of Czechoslovak Psychiatry. Journal of Czechoslovak Psychiatry* 4/68 (1972), cover

and pathologies, such as the ones presented by the two sexologists.⁴⁵ A clear shift from repression to support took place, at least at a discourse level.

As was the case during the reform period of the 1960s, the 1970s authoritarian state also relied heavily upon science, especially with regard to its social policies, which were to become fundamental for stabilizing the regime. Of course, the balance of power between science and politics had changed and the experts involved played a different role than they had in the lead up to the Prague Spring. Now, they were no longer optimistic activists showing the government the way, but rather, like the former media star Radovan Richta, supporters of technocratic politics.⁴⁶

The two sexologists whose research I have presented in this essay did not provide suggestions on how to make »socially deprived women« fit for socialist society or whether prostitutes should be punished or instead undergo therapy.⁴⁷ However, others did, developing strategies and programs for the integration of »difficult« people into society. Some of these ideas created during the late 1960s were realized even after

45 On therapy in Czechoslovakia during the Normalization: Gjuríčová, *Proměna socialistického člověka v liberální individuum?*

46 On Richta's career and the transformation from reformist socialism to technocratic socialism, see Spurný/Olšáková/Sommer/Janáč: *Technokratischer Sozialismus in der Tschechoslowakei*.

47 Other experts discussed this issue with regards to the large number of women who repeatedly ended up in prison for prostitution. Svatopluk Stuchlík, a psychiatrist from Pardubice, argued that instead of sending women to prison time and again, they should be trained in professions that are easy to do. For those of them who still would not work, he suggested that they be admitted into closed institutions. Stuchlík, *K trestnému činu přilivnictví*, p. 123.

the end of the reform era.⁴⁸ Programs directed at – as they were then labeled – »un-adapted citizens« as a special group explicitly included prostitutes.⁴⁹ And it does not come as a surprise that they were based on research carried out during the 1960s.⁵⁰

The results of these programs were modest. And whereas at least some efforts were undertaken to support, for example, former prisoners and to cure alcoholics,⁵¹ dealing with women in prostitution remained the responsibility of the police, courts, and prisons only. While the discrepancy between the discourse of rehabilitation and actual practice was huge in general, it was even more so with women who engaged in prostitution. And this was not because they evaded the general obligation to work, and thus the most important imperative of socialist society, but because their behavior violated ideas of appropriate female behavior and sexual morality. Transgressing these norms obviously disqualified them from the right to receive empathy, social support, or therapy.

With regard to gender roles and sexuality, traditional values and attitudes were not contradictory to socialism, nor did the liberal 1960s have an unambiguous liberalizing tendency within this field.⁵² As to research on prostitution during the 1960s, it indeed contained critical potential as it was undertaken with the aim of collecting actual facts on a phenomenon about which very little was known for ideological reasons. However, the way these facts were gathered and interpreted did not challenge older moral judgements. Rather, the scientists »translated« them from the politicized languages of the Stalinist period into the »scientific« style of legitimizing policies during the 1960s. And finally, characterizing prostitutes as inferior citizens due to biological and social causes matched the logic of the so-called Normalization policies,⁵³ as the paternalist system of the 1970s and 1980s distributed welfare among »orderly« citizens and »difficult« and »un-adapted people« in a very unequal fashion.

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48 On the shaping of new social institutions after 1969 and how to transform repression into care and therapy: Národní archiv, Praha: Zápis z pracovních porad sociálních pracovníků NV na úseku péče o společensky nepřizpůsobené občany. 16.05.1970.

49 *Péče o společensky nepřizpůsobené občany*, p. 192–230.

50 Sociální studie o ženách s prostitučním chováním. This small book on women exhibiting »prostitute behavior« is based on data taken from studies conducted in the early 1960s. It was written by two former members of the Population Commission.

51 Esther Wahlen demonstrated how women addicted to alcohol were »discovered« as a distinct problematic group, identified as sick (instead of being ignored or categorized as criminals), and how a special program was designed to cure them. Wahlen, *Turning Women into Alcoholics*, p. 245.

52 Havelková, *Three stages of gender in law*, pp. 37–44.

53 On social peace and disintegration during the normalization period see Kolář/Pullmann, *Co byla normalizace?*, esp. pp. 78–81.

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