



HAL
open science

Seduced by the City: tourist imaginaries, tourist sexualities and the affective eroticization of the city of Paris

Allison Blythe Strickland

► **To cite this version:**

Allison Blythe Strickland. Seduced by the City: tourist imaginaries, tourist sexualities and the affective eroticization of the city of Paris. Business administration. 2021. dumas-03601765

HAL Id: dumas-03601765

<https://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-03601765>

Submitted on 8 Mar 2022

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



Université Paris 1-Panthéon Sorbonne
INSTITUTE DE RECHERCHE ET D'ETUDES SUPÉRIEURES DU TOURISME

**Seduced by the City: Tourist imaginaries, tourist sexualities and the
affective eroticization of the city of Paris**

*Séduit par la Ville :Les imaginaires touristiques, les sexualités touristiques et l'érotisation
affective de la ville de Paris*

Mémoire présenté pour l'obtention du
Diplôme de Paris 1 - Panthéon-Sorbonne

MASTER MENTION "TOURISME" (2-année)

Parcours: **Management of International Tourism**

Par: Allison Blythe Strickland

Directeur du mémoire: Maria Gravari-Barbas

Membres du Jury: 1. Maria Gravari-Barbas

2. Tristan Nguyen

September 1, 2021

IREST-MASTER TOURISME

Abstract

This qualitative study seeks to deconstruct the geographical, sociocultural, and historical modalities that influence tourist imaginaries and expressions of tourist sexualities. Tourist imaginaries are used here as envisioned realities presumed of, and imposed upon spaces, practices and peoples, that carry vast influences not only on the tourist experience, but on the construction of societies, culture, and public space. Sexualities are explored throughout this research as a spectrum of romantic, erotic and sexual expressions that, when intertwined with imaginaries, result in the eroticization of space. By prioritizing personal stories and perspectives of Paris, this study aims to deconstruct tourist imaginaries and sexualities and in doing so reveal the affecting eroticization of the city.

Keywords: tourist imaginaries, tourist sexualities, eroticization of space, sexual tourism, romantic tourism, Paris tourism

Table of Content

Abstract	2
1. Introduction	5
1.1. Researcher Background	6
1.2. Research Questions	7
2. Literature Review	8
2.1. Tourist Imaginaries, Tourist Sexualities	8
2.1.1. Tourist Imaginaries	8
2.1.2. From Sex Tourism to Tourist Sexualities	9
2.1.3. Sex, Romance and Gender	9
2.1.4. The Heteronormative Imaginative	10
2.1.5. Subjects of Eroticization	12
2.2. Constructs of the Eroticization of Paris	12
2.2.1. Literature and Film	12
2.2.2. Historical influences on the Eroticization of the city	13
2.2.3. Political: Sex Policy Analysis	14
2.2.4. Present Day Sexual Offerings in the City of Paris	16
3. Methodology	23
4. Findings	25
4.1. Data Collection	25
4.1.1. Questionnaire	25
4.1.2. Interviews	29
4.1.3. Field Work Observation	29
4.1.4. Map view of Fieldwork	30
4.2. Data Analysis	33
4.2.1. Deconstructing Paris Tourist Imaginaries, and Tourist Sexualities	33
Indulging in Quality over Quantity	33
Passion of the French, Passion of Paris	34
Loosening the Boundaries: From an Open Mind to Libertinage	34
Paris: You can see but can you touch?	35
4.2.1. Traversing Sexualities, Partaking in the Eroticization of Space	36
Explorations of the Historical Geography of Sex in Paris	36
Pigalle, Le Moulin Rouge, Sex Shops, and Incoming Gentrification	40
Sex Work remains in the Tourist Path: Bois de Boulogne, Rue St. Denis	45
5. Conclusion	47
References	49

	4
Appendix A	52
Appendix B	64
Appendix C	76
Appendix D	79

1. Introduction

What comes to mind when you imagine sex tourism? For most, it is visions of the mass-marketed sexcapades in Thailand, or wanderings through the Redlight District of Amsterdam. However, the nuanced sexual and erotic imaginaries of a place extend beyond the cities infamous for their explicit sexual services, as do the illicit services that can be found outstretched across urban trajectories. Cultural, societal, and historical aspects all factor into what one imagines about a place. Thus, it is important to think of sex tourism as a spectrum of tourist pursuits that extend from the romantic to the erotic, and are sometimes even totally platonic. One could even veer so far as to presume that where there is an urban city, there are visitors with sexual aspirations of what they seek to find.

Paris presents a complex case study of the relationship between the tourist, sex and the imagined city. Commonly known as the “City of Love,” Paris has maintained a steady reputation as one of the most romantic destinations. However, in the early 20th century, it also carried the name as the ‘Brothel of Europe.’ The connotations of the romantic, erotic, and sexual aspects of the city have shifted over time, but have always been interlinked and utilized in the promotion, and attractiveness of the city as well as in the fantasies and behaviours of the tourist. This research seeks to examine the tourist sexual imaginaries of Paris and further, to explore what elements of the city serve as key elements in tourists' imaginaries of the city.

Throughout this thesis, I develop two arguments. The primary argument is that tourists in Paris hold a diversity of sexual, romantic and erotic imaginaries of the city, where one can fulfill these desires in a multitude of avenues. I then form a complementary argument that the geographies in Paris that feed tourists' sexualities are maintained by historical, social-cultural, tourist stakeholders, and tourists themselves. How tourists experience a destination has much to do with their preconceived imaginaries, and these imaginaries are crafted by an intermingling of factors. This study explores how the tourists themselves, or rather their desires and imaginaries, are a driving force in the upholding of what is thought of as romantic and sexual Paris, and the eroticization of the city.

In this qualitative study, a literature review is first conducted, where previous research and recorded data are analyzed and the key terms used throughout this research are clearly defined. Then, findings are presented from the data gathered by means of observation, qualitative interviews, and a questionnaire on tourist imaginaries with a specific focus on

lived experiences and personal narratives. Finally, a thematic analysis is performed, drawing out the common themes across the multilateral data gathered.

1.1. Researcher Background

As an American cis-gendered lesbian woman who has been living in Paris for three years, there are aspects of my personal identity and experiences that certainly do not go without influence on the research, despite intentions of remaining as neutral as possible. Furthermore, my specific identity and qualities have both been of service and a limitation throughout the course of this research. My womanhood and femininity has offered me the opportunity to connect with others, in particularly to women, in ways that perhaps a male, or masculine-bodied person may not. As a member of the LGBTQ community, I took an effort to be inclusive in the data gathering of a diversity of sexual identities and preferences. However there are limitations as some consumers and stakeholders alike may feel more at ease connecting with a man around the topic of this research out of fear of being judged. I also had to enforce proper limitations to my research in order to uphold safe measures for myself and also out of ethical respect for the people involved, particularly in regards to the consumption of explicit sexual services.

My personal experiences prior to this study have also exposed me to how tourism opens doors for romanticism, sexually, and even eroticism. This includes going to Crazy Horse with a former colleague who was touring Paris and interested in erotic experiences. Another experience involved being asked to be the “beautiful blonde secretary” (his indirect means of asking me to be his escort) for a man from London who frequents Paris for work, which was an offer I declined but decided to continue the conversation and learn about his various sexcapades during his professional and personal travels. Furthermore whilst using Tinder and other dating sites during my time living in Paris, I have seen countless profiles from tourists seeking either a “girlfriend experience” or other sexual experience during their stay. These precursor experiences offered me a window into a realm of present-day tourism in Paris that is highly understudied and undocumented, and a useful personal lens by which to begin navigating erotic, sexual and romantic tourist imaginaries in Paris. These lived experiences influenced my choice to concentrate on lived experiences in the process of data collection, and take a narrative approach to data analysis.

1.2. Research Questions

Question 1: What are the present-day trends of tourist imaginaries in Paris, as an erotic, romantic or sexual destination?

- Hypothesis: Tourists in Paris hold both romantic, sexual and erotic imaginaries of the city, where one can fulfill these desires in a multitude of avenues, yet it does not have the representation of being a sex tourism destination.

Question 2: What are the geographical, sociocultural, and historical modalities contributing to the modes of exploration of tourists' sexualities in Paris in the present day?

- Hypothesis: Paris is a city where history and culture permeate the streets. The imaginaries of the tourists impact the lens by which they interpret these modalities and thus, the modes for which they explore their sexualities and how they imagine, and explore various geographies within the city.

Question 3: Where do visitors go to fulfill their romantic, erotic, and sexual desires in the city of love and pleasure?

- Hypothesis: Tourists who seek a romantic experience, an erotic experience, or sexual services are unlikely to be inticed by the same attractions and tourist offerings, and thus are drawn to different geographical spaces in the city.

Question 4: How is the tourism industry in Paris actively capitalizing on, and promoting the erotic, romantic, and sexual imaginaries of the city?

- Hypothesis: Tourism industry in Paris targets tourist sexualities and imaginaries of the city as a marketing tool to entice and attract visitors.

2. Literature Review

2.1. *Tourist Imaginaries, Tourist Sexualities*

2.1.1. *Tourist Imaginaries*

“The Imaginary - that is, the Ocean, the reservoir of all human representations - is indeed the ultimate ‘measure of all things’, and especially of that anthropological thing that the various human sciences have for the most part so badly circumscribed.” (Durand, 1993, p. 17).

Durand’s affirmation of the imaginary invites us to consider the vastness of the human imaginary as a means for which meaning is derived from the interwoven constructs that form the structures of societies-or collective society. How we understand ourselves and how we come to understand the world is altered at the same rapidity of our interpersonal exchanges, even if ever so slightly (Bohan, 2002, pg. 84). Various scholars (Salazar, Graburn, Gravari-Barbas, Staszak, etc.) have assimilated the imaginary into recent tourism research. According to Salazar, tourism imaginaries are “socially transmitted representational assemblages” which are used as “meaning-making” and “world-shaping” tools in tourism and beyond (2014, p. 1). Gravari-Barbas and Graburn view tourist imaginaries multidimensionally by examining them based on imaginaries of place, imaginaries of practices and imaginaries of participants-both locals and tourists (2012, p. 2). Salazar and Graburn further maintain this conjunctionality by stating, “Various imaginaries combine to offer a program of travels that legitimizes some of the daydreams of traveling individuals.” (2014, p. 4). Tourist imaginaries are the link between “here and elsewhere, the familiar and the exotic, the known and the unknown” (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012, p. 2).

The accuracy of the imaginary carries with it little significance or interest; what is imperative is that it is relevant (Staszak, 2015, p. 1). Imaginaries remain intangible, yet they are key elements in sociocultural and environmental structures, and the making of place, and interminable creation of culture (Salazar & Graburn 2010 as cited in Salazar, 2014 p. 1). Salazar maintains that “critical analysis of imaginaires offers a powerful deconstruction device of ideological, political and sociocultural stereotypes and cliches (Salazar, 2012, p. 1). In this research, tourist imaginaries are understood as envisioned realities presumed of, and imposed upon spaces, practices and peoples, that carry vast influences not only on the tourist experience, but on the construction of societies, culture, behaviours and places.

2.1.2. *From Sex Tourism to Tourist Sexualities*

Conventionally, sex tourism refers to the tourist practice of traveling for the purpose of purchasing sexual services. Sex tourism as a category of tourism has been highly debated by a range of scholars (Oppermann, 1999 as cited in Staszak et al., 2018, p. 1). In the research of Gravari-Barbas, Staszak and Graburn, two important facets of this debate are raised: The first being that rarely is there tourism that is exclusively sexual, and second contrasts the first by arguing the difficulty to identify tourism that is not at all sexual (Staszak et al., 2018, p. 2). The former seems to deny that sex tourism is practiced in exclusivity on a scale that would permit it to exist as it's own category, and the latter assumes that there is-whether conscious or not-an erotic component in the imagining, or the practices of most tourists' experiences. Furthermore, it is doubtful that the imaginary of the 'sex' tourist is vastly different than that of a "normal" tourist (Staszak, 2012, p. 34). Consulting scholars on the subject have gone insofar as to conclude that the process of tourism itself is sexual in the sense that the tourist penetrates a city, territory, or culture of which he, she or they traverse (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2017 p. 4; Salazar & Graburn, 2016, p.10).

The exploration of the categorical limits of sex tourism has led researchers to expand into a more encompassing conceptualization of tourist sexualities. Jaurand and Leroy propose that topics of tourist sexualities can be explored by cross-questioning tourists' sexual identities and behaviours in conjunction with their motivations and behaviours (Jaurand & Leroy, 2011, p. 1). Gravari-Barbas and Staszak define tourist sexualities as all of the sexual practices, affects, and imaginaries of tourists, in so far as that they are relative and specific to the places and times of their tourist stay, and unique from those specific to the daily context, before or after the trip (Staszak & Gravari-Barbas, 2018, p. 11). For the purpose of this study, tourist sexualities is used as defined by Staszak and Gravari-Barbas and is examined as a multifaceted system of practices, affects and imaginaries in which sex tourism is consulted not as a tourism category of it's own but rather as one-albeit influential-aspect of the broader scope of tourist sexualities.

2.1.3. *Sex, Romance and Gender*

"The tourist imaginary of places is closely linked to the romantic quest for an erotic affair." (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2017, p. 5).

Here, Gravari-Barbas and colleagues pose a metaphor of the tourist imaginary in conjunction to a lust for an erotic affair. The commonality is fantasizing for that which is forbidden, across new boundaries, or for the unfamiliar. Are such ventures (be it the tourist

imaginary or a quest for an affair) sexual or romantic? A debate may follow on that which is romantic and that which is sexual but what point does it serve? From Staszak, Gravari-Barbas and Graburn's perspective, the difference between sex tourism and romance tourism in practice is perhaps less useful than understanding the views of different actors about sex tourism and romance tourism (p. 4, 2018). As previously defined, tourist sexualities are transgressive of the various sexual practices, affects and imaginaries of tourists, and thus it should henceforth be considered inclusive of the continuum of the eroticized, the sexual, and the romantic.

Furthermore, the sexuality of men and women are not socially regarded in the same light. Boul, Hallam-Jones and Wylie explored hedonistic versus eudaemonic goals in regard to sexual function through a gendered lens and found that--from a generalized perspective--males might be more prone to hedonic pleasure, whereas females could be more likely to utilize sexual behaviours to fulfill the eudomic pleasures such as personal, relational and material goals (2009, p.9). However, sometimes hedonistic goals overshadow underlying eudominic goals in men, such as the use of sex to help reinforce a sense of long-term material security (Boul et al., 2009, p. 9). These ideologies help influence the differing perceptions of tourist sexualities amongst men and women. Male sexual desire is viewed as socially justified, even uncontrollable, and thus not subjugated to the same repercussions as their female counterparts (Spengen, 2013, p. 5). In tourism research, Gravari-Barbas, Staszack and Graburn noted that "when the tourists are men and the natives are women, the sexual dimension is highlighted; in the opposite case, they often emphasize the importance of romance" (2017, p. 8). Thus, tourist imaginaries are subject to socially constructed gender norms of what sexual behaviors are masculin, and what behaviours are feminin, which in-turn influence if tourism practices and destinations are thought to be "for men" or "for women." However, female sexual exploration is gradually gaining more acceptance in the progressive west, as are gender norms evolving (Spengen, 2013, p. 6). Furthermore, research shows that men also enjoy sentimental experiences as tourists, and women enjoy sexual services of foreign men (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2017, p. 8).

2.1.4. The Heteronormative Imaginative

"We might even say that heterosexuality is one of the major, foundational characteristics of what is referred to as public space. In that space, heterosexuality is displayed, recalled, manifested, at every moment, in every gesture, in every

conversation--as any trip to the cinema, to a cafe, to a restaurant, any bus ride, any conversation at work can attest.” (Eribon, 2004, p. 102-103).

Thus far, the scope of analysis has remained within the heteronormative due to the very premise that Eribon maintains; that what imagine and thus, what we experience as public space is dominately heterosexual. However, the progressive concentration on the integration of LGBTQ community has led to significant socio-political, economic and notably spatial impacts and are more and more perceptible in daily life (Leroy, 2006, p. 579). Most people, both gay and straight, know where to find gay bars, gay cafes, or gay neighborhoods in cities (Eribon, 2004 p. 22). Furthermore, gay and lesbian travel has evolved into a multi-billion dollar industry, where millions of marketing dollars (referred to as the pink economy) are spent on campaigns that promote cities, nations, and other spaces as “gay-friendly” (Waite et al. 2008, p. 781). Jaurand and Leroy (2011) make three essential claims in regards to the gay tourism:

1. Gay tourism hinges on the aspiration for freedom and search for less homophobic spaces (Pritchard et al., 2000, pp. 267-282, as cited in Jaurand and Leroy, 2011, p. 8).
2. The segmentation of the emotional and the sexual, common amongst the LGBTQ community can lead to a multiplication of sexual interactions, when in safe spaces (Binnie, 2004, as cited in Jaurand & Leroy, 2011, p. 8).
3. The context of identity tourism, or even community tourism, in search of the “other” as common in heterosexual tourism, is quite relative for the gay tourist, as the sentiment of the “other” is often more familiar than that of “belonging” (Hughes, 1997, pp. 3-7, as cited in Jaurand & Leroy, 2011, p. 8).

Thus, the relationship between the LGBTQ community, the imagined city, and tourism, remains complex. Prioritizing the broader scope of tourist sexualities will allow this research to question gender norms and ideally venture beyond heteronormative perspectives towards being more inclusive of a diverse spectrum of sexuality trajectories. The aim is not only to be inclusive but also to take a critical glance at the constructs that make the city, and the imagined city. In this research, gender norms and heteronormative ideologies are consulted as constructs, and thus cross-examined for both their influence on tourist imaginaries, as well as questioned in attempt to minimize bias and deconstruct norms within the realm of tourist sexualities.

2.1.5. Subjects of Eroticization

To what extent are tourists actors in the eroticization of places, cultures, or people? Gravari-Barbas and colleagues define eroticization as a largely indirect process by which actors turn certain destinations into objects of sexual desire, or places for which one can go to fulfill such desires, and/or indulge in erotic practices (2017, p. 2). In this research, eroticization is discussed as a conjoining of the tourist imaginary and tourist sexuality and an influential component of the lived experience of any tourist discovering a destination. Here, eroticization is defined as the process for which sexual desire is imposed upon places, cultures, or people (both individuals and groups). It is considered as a largely unavoidable process of objectifying the other, the foreign, the unknown within the commonplace human endeavor of desiring. We should then avoid calling something erotic as if it is a quality that inherently belongs to them but rather subjects of eroticization that is imposed upon places, people, and cultures (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2017, p. 2). This research seeks to explore the eroticization involved in the rhetorical narrative of tourist actors, in order to circumvent the intertwining relationship between tourists' imaginaries and sexualities, and the city of Paris.

2.2. Constructs of the Eroticization of Paris

As Gravari-Barbas and colleagues attested, Paris seems to be the only metropolis that has accomplished playing the dual role of being the most romantic city and the sexiest city in the world (2017). In Camille Emmanuelle's erotic guide to Paris, exclaims that the city is both a queen and a whore at once (2014, p. 15). "The city offers us its spirit, its magic, its hidden corners and gives us a lot, a lot of pleasure," Emmanuelle states (2014, p. 13). This analysis seeks to review the existing literature on the historical, cultural, political, and geographical modalities involved in the eroticization of the city of Paris, and what the offerings are today. For this component, scientific literature is used in conjunction with grey literature from the marketing advertisements, the arts, and tourist websites in order to comprehensively review niche aspects of the process of eroticization that expand outside of available scientific literature.

2.2.1. Literature and Film

Dating back to the second half of the 19th century, the literary and dramatic scene in France was gaining traction, and, as Gonzalez states, "French authors were massively read and translated, while plays created in Paris were performed in a large number of capital cities." (Gonzalez et al., 2019). This aided in pushing certain sexual ideologies about French

culture, French women, and an “easy going” society (Gonzalez et al., 2019). Traversing into the 20th century, Paris was an intellectual hub of many free thinkers, artists and writers, many of whom had rumored affairs and some of whom found their success in sharing their sexual, erotic and romantic histories in Paris. “I have never seen a place like Paris for the variety of varieties of sexual provender,” wrote American writer, Henry Miller in his erotic novel, *Tropics of Cancer* (1934, p. 130). His longtime lover, French writer Anais Niin, was also one to intertwine sexual desire with the city of Paris.

“At five I always felt shivers of sensuality, shared with the sensual Paris. As soon as the lights fell, it seemed to me that every woman I saw was running to meet her lover, and that every man was in a hurry to meet his mistress,” (Nin, 1977 p. 49).

Prolific influencers from past to present shape understandings of the geographies, playing off of existing imaginaries and lived experience, and through their influence, perpetuating these imaginaries into the present and future interpretations of the space. Hollywood films such as the 1950s “Funny Face” in which Fred Astaire’s character, Dick exclaims that in Paris you have “a new love affair every hour on the hour” (Edens, 1957) In the trendy Netflix series, *Emily in Paris*, we see a similar play of words from the side character, Mindy, “You haven’t done Paris right until you’ve had at least one wildly inappropriate affair.” (Flemming et. al, 2020).

2.2.2. Historical influences on the Eroticization of the city

In regards to history, the erotics comprises a vast spectrum of cultural activity, conjoining issues of imagery, gender, sexuality, and prostitution (Gordon, 2017, p. 4). During the *Belle Époque*, there was a clear class divide in the sex offerings of this city, in that there were that of the poor, and that of the wealthy. There was also that of the more standard, “dirty” brothel, clustered in the region of Pigalle, primarily along what is still considered the *Red Light District* of Paris (My Paris Today, 2020, web.). However, there was that of the bourgeois, where artists, government officials, and those others of the elite class would rent fancy suites available in Palais Royale, and other infamous luxurious *maisons closes* (My Paris Today, 2020, web.). King Edward VII himself maintained a private room year-round for his sexcapades in the late 19th century (Un Jour de Plus à Paris, 2021, web.). The association of Paris as a city of love, as well as eroticism, and sexual voyaging was largely derived from this time period of tolerance, and idolized fusion of art, sex, sensuality and elitism. As Gordon attests throughout his collections of Paris prostitution since World War II,

despite public and political disputes of sex work, the well-established imaginary of sensuality has endured the test of time, and tourists arrive in Paris with possibilities of imagined or real sexual discoveries (2017, p. 10). Furthermore, he states that tourism and its imaginaries have an erotic or sexual component, which reflects existing power relationship (Gordon, 2017, p. 10). Tourism imaginaries draw from a number of aspects, and in the case of a sensual association with Paris, it is deeply rooted in history. The world fairs were the initiation of people coming to Paris for sex. The *Belle Époque* is a major actor in establishing Paris's reputation as the *City of Love* and as an ideal destination for sexual or sensual tourism, and this imaginary was exasperated during wartime Paris (Gordon, 2017 p. 5). What makes Paris stand out amongst other sex tourism destination is the foundation for which it was built off of in that it is inclusive of the romantic, and the entire continuum of tourist sexualities. Scientific literature in regards to the evolution of the eroticization of Paris from a tourist standpoint is not copious, however this research

2.2.3. Political: Sex Policy Analysis

As Gravari-Barbas and colleagues attest, the sexual character of cities is contingent of “paid, accessible and/or legal sex, and the « attractions » (shows, cabarets, red light districts, urban beaches, etc.), where the erotic consumption stays mostly visual.”(). Representations of the city are dependent on what is allowed in that city, not just practiced, or offered. Despite a tourists intentions, Amsterdam is thought to be a sex tourist destination, not only because of the Red Light District, but also because of the policies in place to allow it to exist in such a way. Where as Paris is disputable as a “sex tourism” destination because it is illegal.. Analyzing the shifts in policy can then in return lead to an understanding of the character of a city today.

In table 1, a timeline of major sex policy turning points is displayed. According Denny, countries' policy approach to prostitution can be divided into the three categories, of prohibition, regulation, or the abolition of state regulation (2017). However, former sex worker and scientific researcher, Dr. Magnanti expands these pillars from three to four in her book *Sex, Lies and Statistics* and defines them as full criminalization, decriminalization, legalization, and partial criminalization, often called the Swedish Model or Nordic Model (2012).

Table 1 Policy Timeline

Year(s)	Turning Point
1880 - 1943	Belle Époque - Prostitution was regulated in France, sex workers were registered by the state and required to have regular checkups. During the height of this moment, there were over 224 brothels in the city limits of Paris (Un Jour de Plus à Paris, 2021)
1946	Shortly following the Second World War, brothels were prohibited in France (Denny, 2016, p. 5).
1949	France signed the 1949 United Nations convention on the ‘Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others,’ a law that is still referenced today when considering prostitution policy (Mathieu, 2012 p. 167).
1960	The medical and police registration of women in prostitution was discontinued, marking the clear shift from a regulatory approach to a abolitionist approach (Denny, 2017, p. 5).
1970-1980	A rise in sex worker rights groups, and more groups began to be outspoken on abolitionist views, most notable the organization of Movement du Nid (Denny, 2017, p.6).
1981-2001	The AIDS crisis lead to increased polarization on the subject of prostitution and accelerated the political concentration on sexual activities (Denny, 2017, p. 6). The left wing predominately warned against further marginalization of already belonging to low socio-economic groups, including prostitutes. Whereas the right wing concentrated more exclusively on the threat to the disease in the country. What is clear is that AIDS signified a point of no return, and solidified France’s abolitionist stance on prostitution (Denny, 2017, p.6).
1990	- The development of a more globalized world lead to more public and political attention to the rise of organized crime and trafficking related to sex work (Matthieu, 2013 p. 155).
2003	The adoption of the loi pour la sécurité intérieure (LSI), or sometimes referred to as the “Sarkozy Bill” in 2003 marks a concrete shift in abolitionist stance, from a healthcare concern to domestic security and targets (Denny, 2017, p. 6). The law makes soliciting sex a punishable crime (usually a fine) and foreign sex

	workers were expatriated (Denny, 2017. p.7).
2010	Widespread political and public dissatisfaction with the efficacy of the law of 2003, and policymakers generally agreeing that it helped promote the informal economy and pushed the sex work industry further underground (Denny, 2017, p.10).
2016	A new law established, replacing the law of 2003 which marks a final shift in the abolitionist movement, towards diminishing the sex work industry by illeminating the demand side (Denny, 2017, p.10). Hereforth, prostitutes are no longer punished for sex work; however, it is a punishable offence to solicit sex. This model is considered neo-abolitionist, or also inline with what is known as 'the Swedish model.'

2.2.4. Present Day Sexual Offerings in the City of Paris

As writer Stimmler-Hall describes in her guide book, *Naughty Paris*, “The French capital has become the mythical embodiment of all that is romantic, passionate, decadent, and hedonistic” (2008). Her guide, (see figure 1) targets (heterosexual) women seeking to explore Paris through a “naughty” lens. Figure 2 utilizes the apple of temptation to show a map of Paris, pinpointing places for a discreet *rendez-vous*. A glance at the zip codes in table 2 below will reveal that the sexual offerings of Paris are not confined to any area or “Red Light District.” Although clustered areas still draw attention to certain areas, leaning them to be more erotic, more sexual, more romantic, or in another regard for ceertain sexualities, there is much to be found across the spectrum all over Paris. Different attractions market themselves targeting a certain aspect of tourist sexualities. The headline of Les Chandelles, a popular swingers club, is written as “discover a world of magic sensations, in a sophisticated erotic boudoir... for the sake of pleasure ... in complete freedom...” (Les Chandelles, web). For the self-proclaimed most high-class cabaret in Paris, Le Lido attests that guests will be ‘enchanted by the beautiful Bluebell girls’ and further calls itself a tribute to the city of light, (Le Lido, web). Calling to the tourist sexualities, the attraction seeks to lure the tourist in. As Gravari-Barbus and colleagues phrased it, “occasionally, in an inverted relationship, the tourist spot, like a flirtatious woman, is supposed to try to seduce the tourist,” (2017, p. 15) This research explores the case of Paris, and this relationship between the tourist spot

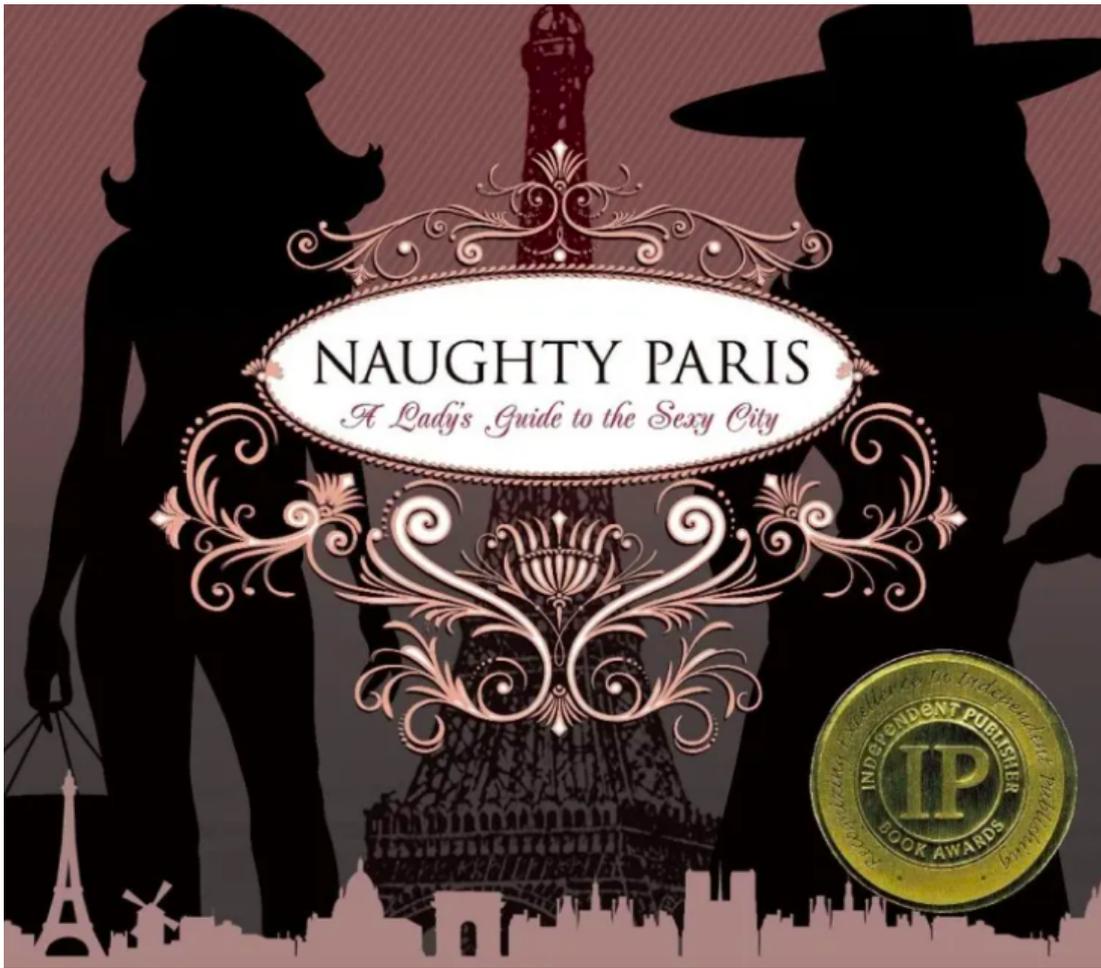
(seducer) and the tourist (seduced). Even the Paris Tourist Office (See figure 3) invites tourists to explore the sexy side of the 'City of Love', taking part at once in both the eroticization of the city, and the seduction of the tourist.

Table 2 Sexual Offerings in Paris

Category	Name	Address
Cabarets / Peep Shows	Chochotte	35 rue Saint-André-des-Arts 75006
	Crazy Horse	12, Avenue Georges V, 75008
	La Nouvelle Eve	25, Rue Pierre Fontaine, 75009
	Le Club 88	88, rue Saint-Denis, 75001
	Le Lido	116, Avenue des Champs-Élysées, 75008
	Le Moulin Rouge	82, Boulevard de Clichy, 75018
	Le Paradis Latin	28, Rue du Cardinal-Lemoine, 75005
	Whisper Club	13-15 rue de Berri, 75008
Strip Clubs	Le Duplex	2 bis Av. Foch, 75116
	Le Secret Square	27 Av. des Ternes, 75017
	Pink Paradise	36 Rue de Ponthieu, 75008
	Pussy's	42 Bd de Clichy, 75018
Swingers Clubs	Au pluriel club	13 Rue François Miron, 75004
	Club 2Plus2	9 Boulevard Edgar Quinet, 75014
	L'overside	92, Rue du Cherche-Midi, Galerie Le Sevrien, 75006
	Le Liberty Club	84 Rue St Honoré, 75001
	Le mask	18 Rue Feydeau, 75002
	Les Chandelles	1 Rue Thérèse, 75001
	Quai 17	15/17 Quai de L'oise 75019
	Rituel foch	26 Rue Le Sueur, 75016
	Taken club	8, Rue Le Regrattier, 75004
	The Moon City	34 Boulevard de Clichy
	The we club	83 Rue Quincampoix 75003
Sex Shops	Au Passage du Desir	17, Rue Pierre-Lescot, 75001
	Le Sexodrome	23 Blvd de Clichy, 75009
	Love-Shop	144, Rue Saint-Denis 75002
	Odyssex Sex-Shop	27, rue de la Gaîté, 75014
	Souvenirs Sexy	40 Blvd de Clichy 75018

Hotels and Accomodations	Hotel Amour	8 rue Navarin 75009
	Hotel Vice Versa	213 Rue de la Croix Nivert, 75015
	Love Hôtel à Paris	88 Rue Saint-Denis, 75001
	Maison Souquet	10 Rue de Bruxelles, 75009
	The Five	Rue Flatters, 75005
Museums, venues and Guides of Paris	Aux Belles Poules	32 Rue Blondel, 75002
	Erotic Guide of the Louvre and Musee D'orsey	75007 / 75001
	Musée de la vie Romantique	16 Rue Chaptal, 75009
	Paris Coquin	75009

Figure 1:



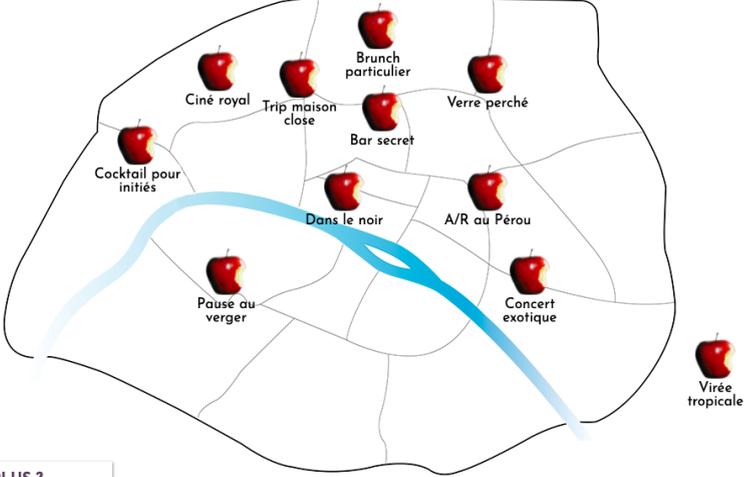
Note Source: (Stimmler-Hall, 2008).

Figure 2

ZIG ZAG 10 LIEUX POUR UN RENDEZ-VOUS DISCRET À PARIS  

Gleeden.com
 Votre rendez-vous commence ici !

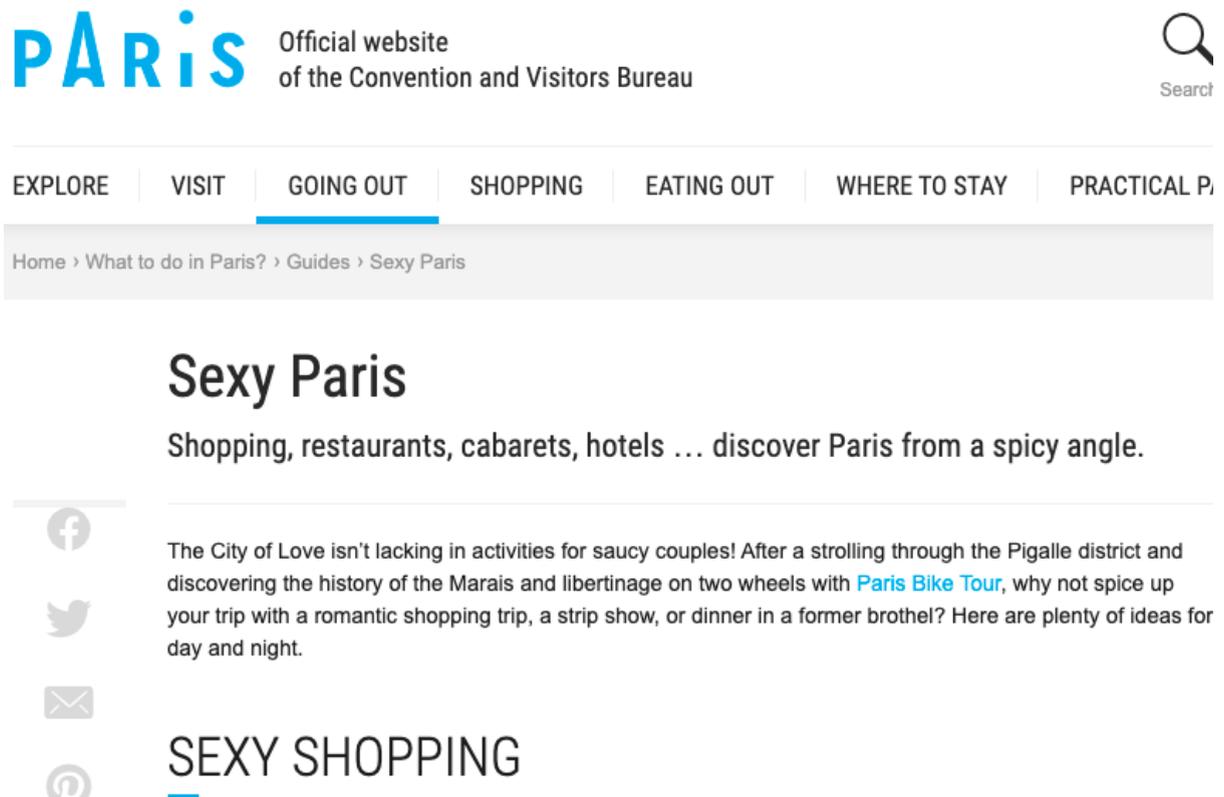
En partenariat avec **Gleeden.com**, le 1er site de rencontres extra-conjugales pensé par des femmes, nous vous avons sélectionné une dizaine d'adresses planquées pour s'acquiescer en toute liberté à Paris. Que ce soit avec l'amour de votre vie ou l'amant d'une nuit, voici donc quelques idées pour cultiver votre jardin secret...



VOUS EN VOULEZ PLUS ? INSCRIVEZ-VOUS !

Source: (Paris ZigZag, Web.)

Figure 3



PARIS Official website
of the Convention and Visitors Bureau

Search

EXPLORE | VISIT | **GOING OUT** | SHOPPING | EATING OUT | WHERE TO STAY | PRACTICAL P

Home › What to do in Paris? › Guides › Sexy Paris

Sexy Paris

Shopping, restaurants, cabarets, hotels ... discover Paris from a spicy angle.

The City of Love isn't lacking in activities for saucy couples! After a strolling through the Pigalle district and discovering the history of the Marais and libertinage on two wheels with [Paris Bike Tour](#), why not spice up your trip with a romantic shopping trip, a strip show, or dinner in a former brothel? Here are plenty of ideas for day and night.

SEXY SHOPPING

Source: (Paris Info, Web.)

3. Methodology

This research seeks to unearth nuances behind social constructions that create a spectrum of sexual, romantic, and erotic imaginaries of Paris, thus, it hinges on acknowledging complex and intertwined facets behind imposed meaning and collective and individual thought. This will not lead to singular answers about an overarching sexual and erotic imaginary of Paris, but instead unearth elements that play a key role in the social construction of the spectrum of tourists imaginaries and desires of Paris.

In this study, multiple qualitative research methods were employed. A three-pronged approach of interviews, a questionnaire, and field observation were used to gather data. This was chosen largely because the delicacy of exploring sexual and erotic fantasy required an open-minded and integrative method. Furthermore, it was decided early on in the research that one sole method of qualitative data gathering would not provide adequate insight into the subject matter, however analyzing data gathered through a questionnaire, interviews, and observation together proved revealing of various dimensions involved in the construction of the tourist imaginaries of the city of Paris. The questionnaire allowed the preservation of anonymity in offering personal and often sexual insights, while the in-depth interviews allowed for a closer look into lived narratives, and lastly the observations provided contextual data into the lived experiences.

An open-ended questionnaire was shared in online tourist groups via Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter, and Reddit. The questionnaire involved primarily open-ended questions about personal views of the city of love and pleasures. The questionnaire included required questions contemplating the city of love and pleasure, offered the option to share personal sexual and erotic experiences. In total, there were 49 respondents to the questionnaire, ranging from age 19 to 83, and from 16 different countries.

A small sample of in-depth interviews were conducted for more detailed personal narratives. These include 2 tourists interviewed on their personal erotic and sexual perspectives of the city and 3 tour guides, all of whom have crafted erotic and romantic tours and guides of the city.

Finally, an observational study was conducted in key places of Pigalle, the Bois de Boulogne, the event venue *Aux Belles Poules*, and on a tour titled 'Paris Coquin'. Participatory observation was conducted through participating in a tour titled, Paris Coquin, and also by partaking in a guided open house of *Aux Belles Poules*. Direct Observation was

taken at various locations in the Red light District of Pigalle, and the Bois de Boulogne. The observation was particularly useful for contextual data on tourist experiences.

There were multiple limitations to this study. Given the sensitive and private nature of sex work, direct contact with active sex workers, and people specifically soliciting sex is difficult to accomplish in an ethical and mutually safe way. However, people employed in the industry of eroticism in Paris and tourists who visit these attractions proved to be more open to sharing, and also fully capable of answering the research questions. The Covid-19 pandemic was also a major limitation of the study, however the majority of the field work will be conducted during the summer months when the tourism industry can hopefully come back to life in Paris once again.

4. Findings

4.1. Data Collection

4.1.1. Questionnaire

(For full responses, see Appendix A)

Table 3 Participant Profile

Participant	Nationality	Age	Personal Pronouns	Sexual Identity	Place of Residence	Have you ever been to Paris? If so, how many times?
A	American	29	She/her/Hers	Lesbian	Tennessee	0, but going in November
B	American	22	She/her/Hers	Lesbian		2 sort of
C	American	23	She/her/Hers	Bisexual	North Carolina, USA	I've been twice
D	American	28	she/her	straight	France	resident
E	American	28	She/her/Hers	Lesbian	Memphis	No
F	American	32	He/His/Him	Straight	Paris	Before moving, 5 times
G	American	32	She/her/Hers	Bisexual	Paris	Yes, many times
H	American	51	She/her/Hers	Straight	Cary, NC	Yes. 8
I	American	57	She/her/Hers	Straight	North Carolina	Yes, approximately 15 times
J	American	39	He/His/Him	Straight	US	Yes - Lived for 2 years
K	American	25	She/her/Hers	Gay	USA	Yes, as a small child

L	American	38	She/her/Hers	Other	Durham NC	Approx 5
M	American	47	She/her/Hers	Straight	Brooklyn NY	10+
N	American	83	She/her/Hers	Straight	Florida	10
O	American	49	She/her/Hers	Lesbian	North Carolina	2
P	American	51	She/her/Hers	Straight	Cary, North Carolina	Twice
Q	Asian American	34	She/her/Hers	Straight	Los Angeles, CA	Yes. 1.
R	Australian	31	She/her/Hers	Straight	Darwin	Yes, once
S	Brazilian	30	He/His/Him	Gay	Brazil	No
T	british	21	She/her/Hers	Asexual	London, UK	1 time
U	Canadian	22	She/her/Hers	Straight	75011	Live here 4 years
V	Dutch	40	She/her/Hers	Straight	Ardèche, France	Many times
W	Filipino	22	Them/They/The irs	Straight	Philippines	Not yet
X	French	19	He/His/Him	Gay	Paris, France	All m'y life
Y	French	19	He/His/Him	Straight	Paris	Well, I live there
Z	French	22				yes, multiple
AA	French	27	He/His/Him	Straight	Nice	Yes. I lived 5 years there
BB	French	27	She/her/Hers	Straight	Paris	Yes - I live here

CC	French	41	He/His/Him	Straight	Paris	I live there
DD	French	21	Them/They/Theirs	Pansexual	Paris	I have lived in Paris for 5 years
EE	French	31	She/her/Hers	Straight	Paris	Yes, all the time
FF	French	40	She/her/Hers	Straight	Clichy la garenne	I leave in the suburbs, i go to Paris almost every day
GG	Gabonese	22	She/her/Hers	Queer	Lognes	I live just outside the city
HH	Indian	31	She/her/Hers	Straight	Reims and Paris	Have been coming to Paris every weekend for the last three years. Have spent summers here too.
II	Irish	51	She/her/Hers	Straight	London	10+
JJ	Maltese	33	She/her/Hers	Straight	Malta	Yes, twice
KK	Multi-National - American and Russian	38	She/her/Hers	Straight	USA	Yes, 5
LL	Multi-National - Franco-American	24	She/her/Hers	Bisexual	Suresnes	Yes, ages 0-5 & 22-24, and now I live here again

MM	Multinationa l - UK, US, Suisse	53	She/her/Hers	Straight	Lausanne, Switzerland	10
NN	MultiNation al Irish and British	20	He/His/Him	Straight	England	Yes, three times
OO	Russian	24	She/her/Hers	Straight	Paris	I am a student in Paris
PP	Scottish	62	She/her/Hers	Straight	Paris	Living here 40 years
QQ	South African	32	She/her/Hers	Straight	Cape Town, South Africa	Once
RR	South African	41	She/her/Hers	Straight	South africa	Once
SS	Canadian	23	She/her/Hers	Lesbian	Montreal, Canada	6
TT	Iranian	33	He/His/Him	Straight	Canada	no
UU	irish	51	She/her/Hers	Straight	uk	no

4.1.2. Interviews

(For transcripts, see Appendix B)

1. Tourist: Polyamorous woman, sexual/business tourist - 50 minute Interview
2. Tourist - Bisexual woman, couple tourist /Libertine tourist - 15 minute Interview
3. Paris Tour Guide and Canadian journalist who writes often on romance in Paris- 55 minute Interview

4.1.3. Field Work Observation

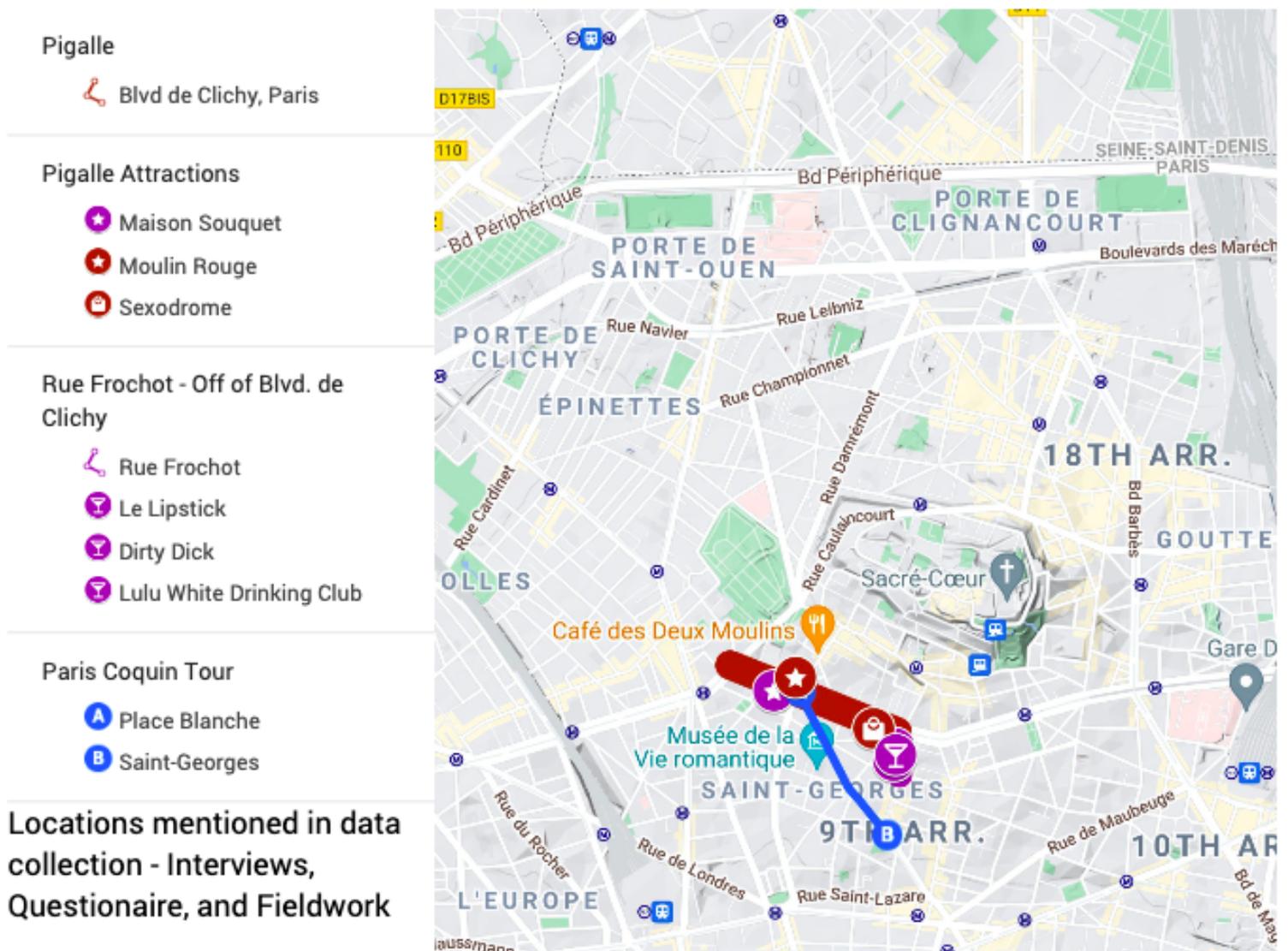
(For field notes, see Appendix C)

1. Aux Belles Poules Open House - Aux Belle Poules is a preserved brothel on Rue Blondel used as an event venue today. off of Blvd. Saint Denis which is used today as an event venue.
2. Paris Coquin tour - A guided tour of New Athens, the most libertine area of Paris since the 18th century.
3. Pigalle by night - Blvd. de Clichy and Rue Frochot.
4. Bois de Boulogne - Tracing a common tourist path by foot - Fondation Louis Vuitton to Metro Les Sablons

4.1.4. Map view of Fieldwork

(See also Appendix D for an overview map of Paris)

Figure 4



Source: (Google, n.d.-a)

Figure 6

Directions from Fondation L. Vuitton, 75116 Paris, France to Les Sablons, 92200 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France

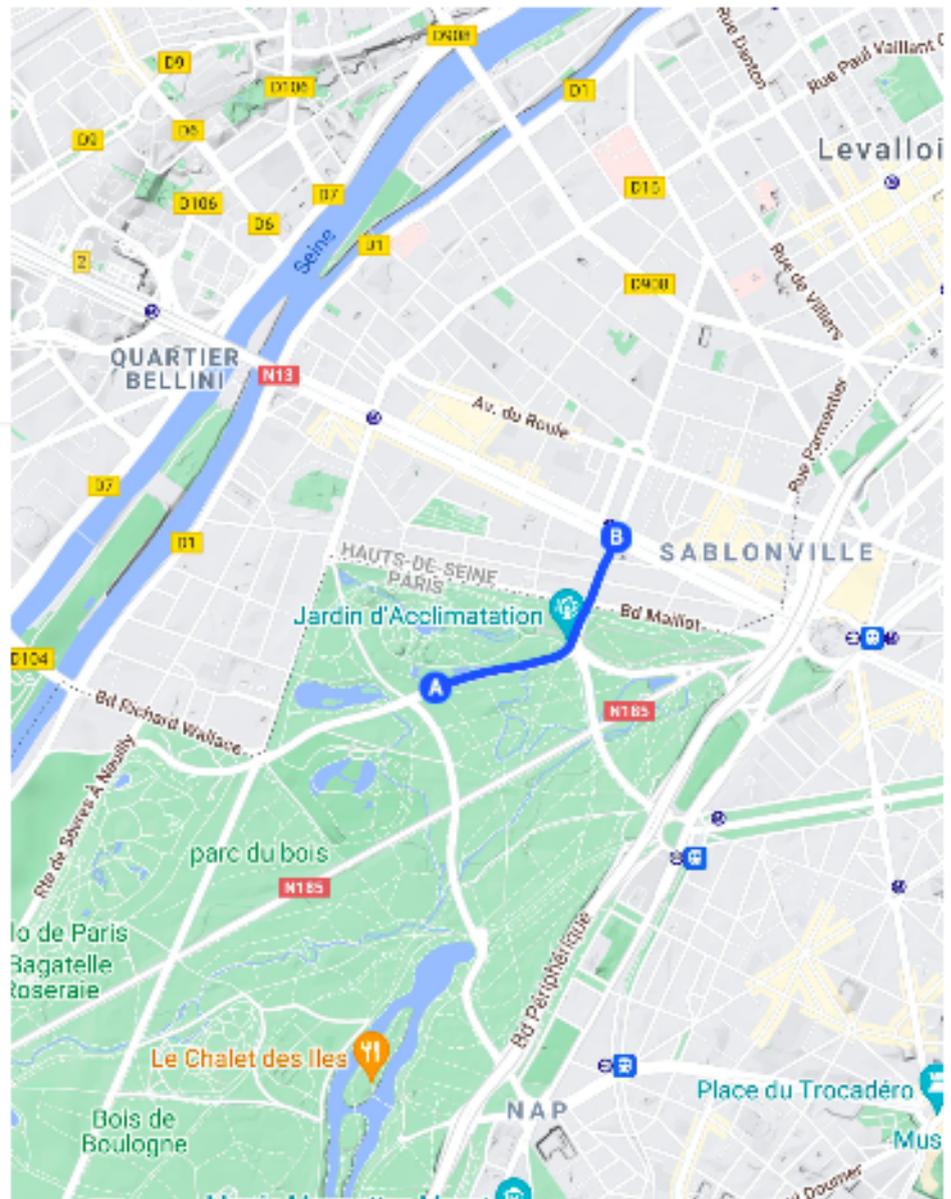
A

Fondation L. Vuitton, 75116 Paris, France

B

Les Sablons, 92200 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France

Locations mentioned in data collection - Interviews, Questionnaire, and Fieldwork



(Google, n.d.-c)

4.2. Data Analysis

4.2.1. Deconstructing Paris Tourist Imaginaries, and Tourist Sexualities

“The city of lights, architecture from centuries ago, cafes, walking along the river, seeing art masterpieces from many different times. To me the whole experience exudes romance and sexuality” (Interviewee 1, Personal Communication, 2021).

Indulging in Quality over Quantity

“It's a city for indulging and overindulging, be it food, drink, or other pleasures” (Participant F, Questionnaire, 2021).

Several participants mentioned “to indulge,” or referenced the concept throughout their responses in regards to what one practices when in the city of Paris, their perceptions of how French people behave, and their understandings of French culture. They described this in direct sexual forms in regards to indulging in sexual pleasure and flirtatious behavior. “One can indulge in pleasure in many ways there” (Participant N, Questionnaire, 2021). In other instances, it was used in the sense of indulging in French patisserie or a fresh macaroon. “Every time I have gone (to Paris), I always find myself acting the flâneuse in cafes and eating lots of amazing food” (Participant SS, Questionnaire, 2021). Or as, indulging in pleasure simply by what you find in the city; “Pleasures of the eyes and the soul that you indulge in while visiting museums' ' (Participant HH, Questionnaire, 2021). Another participant listed indulging in food, wine, art, etc as well as love (Participant L, Questionnaire, 2021). In all uses of the word, it was used in a way of letting oneself have something of desire that usually one would abstain from. Which begs the question, is there a form of indulging that is not sexual? Contrary to connotations of American culture where there is an association of bulk, or ‘supersized,’ “In Paris it’s not about quantity, it’s about quality” (Interview 1, Personal Communication, 2021). Another referred to the French as hedonistic, and continued to say they value taking pleasure in life and the “finer” things” (Participant A, Questionnaire, 2021). There is a clear connection between the participating tourists and ‘fulfilling of desires.’ Paris is expressed as a place for all sexual identifying people to “express their desires including erotic ones” (Participant QQ, Questionnaire, 2021). The seduction of the city is in part in the release of letting yourself indulge in something of fine quality, which is a desire deeply interwoven in the eroticization of the city and the sexualities of the tourists as they lend themselves to their indulgences.

Passion of the French, Passion of Paris

“The Parisians don’t hold back as much as the prudish anglo saxons and so they are kind of ready to just go where passion leaves them and get wrapped up in these passions. And so that’s something that’s kind of linked to how they are.. this is a bit of a more passionate city in general (Interviewee 3, Personal Communication, 2021).

As mentioned here, the French tend to be considered as passionate both in romance and also in life pursuits. Other regards to passion include expressing their point of view, and finding “drama in everything” (Participant MM, Questionnaire, 2021). Some attest it to a historical trend as well. The notion of passion was also indicated in terms of spontaneity. In Paris, people are known to enjoy the moment, and not think about the consequences (Participant OO, Questionnaire, 2021).

Loosening the Boundaries: From an Open Mind to Libertinage

“Paris has always been a city of loosening the boundaries and enjoying the moment,” (Participant OO, Questionnaire, 2021).

For many, travel is an opportunity to be curious. As one American woman said, “being a tourist pushed me to explore dating a different gender on Tinder, which I wouldn't have done in my country of origin” (Participant D, Questionnaire, 2021). Another woman who identifies as lesbian said, “The power of travelling is that you can assure you are on the same page as someone because your fling can only last a few weeks” (Participant SS, Questionnaire 2021). Paris is a destination where not only a man can be free with his sexual desires, but also women, and not only straight couples but also lesbian, gay and bisexual. The imaginaries of the French themselves add to this as well. Many people associate “the French with words such as “libertarian,” and “open-minded sexually,” as well as “free-spirited” (Questionnaire, 2021). Two tourists who often travel for sexual pleasure however indicated that other parts of France, notably Cap D'Agde, are more free than Paris (Interviews 1 & 2, Personal Communication, 2021). Additionally, there was what was referred to as “casual sex,” or sex with “no strings” attached. This includes hookup, or affair, or just sex for sex sake. Some participants felt liberated by this openness and others felt uncomfortable by the experiences, where a partner wanted just sex rather than a sentimental experience.

Paris: You can see but can you touch?

Inconjunction in this indulgence was the theme that Paris is a tease. This theme arose in a multidimensional way amongst respondents. Paris is infamous for its peep shows and cabarets which offer a glimpse, or sometimes more than a glimpse, but “less” overt than what is thought of as a stripclub. “I think the cabarets were teasers to going around and doing other things,” (Interviewee 3, Personal Communication, 2021). Here, we see the shows, and the city described as a form of foreplay, giving a glimpse without giving everything over or revealing too much. From the perspective of interviewee 2, despite the feeling that sex and romance are all around, Parisian culture can feel exclusive, or out of reach, including from a sexual sense (Personal Communication, 2021). “I think the city is romantic and it’s nice you are going with one person but if you are going for a sexual experience or sexually free experience, I feel like It could be hard” (Interviewee 2, Personal Communication, 2021). There is the sentiment that as a tourist, you are always going to be an outsider to Parisian culture, something tourists often admire, and desire but many say is not so easy to break into.

4.2.1. *Traversing Sexualities, Partaking in the Eroticization of Space*

Explorations of the Historical Geography of Sex in Paris

Several participants mentioned history in their temoignages, with one saying that Paris is a city of pleasures partially because of its “long history of *maisons closes*” (Participant PP, Questionnaire, 2021). Paris is a city where history permeates in the present, through longstanding architectural structures that carry an essence of the past and former brothels are a prime example. Despite changing laws and social sexual practices, a semblance of the bustling *maisons closes* can still be found today and further, there appears to be a marketable interest in exploring, or in some cases immersing, into Paris’s sexy past. The active available offerings of the historical views of sex in Paris are currently targeted towards the local French tourist, or Francophones. This is assumed to be due to the Covid-19 context, as guides and exhibition hosts reported an interest in attracting international clientele and online tours can be found, there are a plethora of English guides to sexy Paris. Repeat visitors who have seen the main attraction sites and know Paris perhaps more indepthly are intrigued by the opportunity to join these “off the beaten path” excursions (Interview 3, Personal Communication, 2021). These journeys allow under the lens of the historical and the educational. Sex work and brothels remain disputed expeirences, but that does not mean there is not a curiosity. The historical and the educational are “acceptable” routes for some to engage with this part of history.

In the fieldwork of *Aux Belles Poules*, a former brothel of the *Belle Epoque* that has been preserved and is now used as an event venue. When inside, you feel as if you have entered into a time portal. The walls are mirrored and embroidered in a tile that shapes out the courtesaines or sex workers (see figures 7 and 8). The owner regularly hosts open house in which she explains the history of the brothel, and of prostitution in Paris during the 19th century. Both this and the *Paris Coquin* tour implemented a feminist perspective. Bringing this history to light is a way of rewriting the narrative for which we think of this time, and giving voices to the lives of the women who were the operators of such places. Joining a brothel was one of the only opportunities for independence, however it was often an illusion of liberty because once in the maison close, there was often no path out without a man (often a customer) who wanted to marry or have you as a private escort (*Paris Coquin Tour*, Field Notes, 2021). The majority of the observed participants of the tour were women. Most of the men in attendance were there with their female partners, while there were a number of

women in attendance on their own. It is concluded that this educational and historical exploration attracts a dominantly a female audience, and perhaps a feminist audience.

“We can imagine brothels in the late 19th century like we see brasseries today,” the guide said as we stood on a square lined with brasseries (*Paris Coquin*, Field Notes, 2021). Insights about how to spot the former *maisons closes* were given such as the hooks where the red light lanterns hung and the larger numbers inscribing the street. The distinct numbers were meant to be a discreet way of signifying that the building was a *maison close*, and the red light illuminated to signify that they were open for business (See figure 7). Facts were given such as the fact that the infamous tiramisu was created for sex workers as a means of giving them a caffeine and sugar boost to help them have the stamina to satisfy their physically taxing jobs that often involved taking on multiple customers in the same hour (*Aux Belle Poules*, Field Notes, 2021). After voyeuring into the sexual depths of Paris, do you ever traverse the city in the same way again? From personal experience in the field, I have not seen a tiramisu again without thinking about its aphrodisiac origins in the Parisian *maisons closes*.

Figure 7: Former maison close. Indicators include the bold font street number above the door and the hooks on the left panel, where a red lantern once hung.



Source: Personal Photo, Paris Coquin Tour

Figure 7 & 8



Source: (Fieldwork, Aux Belles Poules, 2021)

Pigalle, Le Moulin Rouge, Sex Shops, and Incoming Gentrification

“If I’m walking down the blvd. de Cliché home or wherever you know it's packed. Because there is this mixed scene of the pub and the peepshows and bars... I think that later in the night they might increase in the night with bar overflow” (Interviewee 3, Personal Communication, 2021). Despite the fact that it is diminishing, that does not keep Pigalle from holding the rank of being the most eroticized location in Paris today.

Lots of people love walking around Pigalle and like looking and they’re curious. How many people actually go to these venues it would be interesting to know (Interviewee 3, Personal Communication 2021).

Empty Strip Clubs, Bustling Sex Shops

Whilst the strip clubs remain deserted, the sex shops were crowded with people (Field Study, 2021). The largest is called the Sexodrome which holds three stories, the bottom floor carrying a theme of devilish and the top embodying an angel theme that seemed to be the most popular. There are also ones that are advertised directly towards tourists, titled “souvenir shops,” (figure 11). “There was like a giant Eiffel Tower dildo” (Figure 12). Both a bouncer of a strip club and a manager of the one of the smaller sex shops said that the Covid-19 pandemic was difficult, once saying the majority of customers were tourists before 2019.

Le Moulin Rouge

At 7pm on a Saturday night, there is a line of people waiting to take a photo in front of the infamous Moulin Rouge (Field work, 2021). “The Moulin Rouge experience was a lot of fun and I cried the first time. I might’ve been drinking champagne. I was just happy to be there..” (Interviewee 1, Personal Communication, 2021). Whilst many might avoid the “dirty” atmosphere of Pigalle, Le Moulin Rouge draws people back (Interviewee 3, Personal Communication, 2021).

Gentrification of the Area

As Interviewee 3, attested, there is a “revitalization” going on within the side roads, just off of Blvd. de Clichy. Trendy upscale bars and cocktail shops have arrived in the area with names such as “Dirty Dick,” “Le Lipstick, and an absinthe cocktail bar called “Lulu Whites.” These venues, side by side on Rue Frochot all carry with them a sexualized thematic, and capitalizing on the history of the area, and attracting new tourists back to the area. Regardless

of change in demographics, what time has told is that this area will remain a highly eroticized geography of Paris. As a manager of a sex shop mentioned during field work, “When people think sex in Paris it’s here, it’s Pigalle” (Pigalle, Fieldwork, 2021).

Figure 10



Source: (Fieldwork, Blvd. de Clichy, 2021)

Figure 11



Source: (Fieldwork, Blvd. de Clichy, 2021)

Figure 12



Source: (Fieldwork, Blvd. de Clichy, 2021)

Sex Work remains in the Tourist Path: Bois de Boulogne, Rue St. Denis

Very few participants mentioned Bois de Boulogne in any regard. It does not appear to be on the main tourism path in Paris today. I nonetheless decided to conduct an observational study, walking the main line a tourist may walk along the pathway to La Fondation Louis Vuitton, a contemporary art museum located on the edge of the woods. On the website for *Foundation Louis Vuitton*, the first recommendation to access the museum from central Paris was by metro via line 1, Station Les Sablons (950m). An observational study was conducted along this walk between the Fondation Louis Vuitton, and the metro, which traverses along the edge of the woods. Near the walkway, condoms by the hundreds could be seen amongst the foilage and sex workers were visible every 20meters. I noticed two sex workers, one sitting at her presumed post in a chair in the dirt, and another walking. When the two workers saw each other, they exchanged a friendly wave, indicating that they were comrades, and the one by foot carried on into the woods. As I continued along the path towards the metro, I began to take note that outside of the workers, there were a few joggers and cyclists, but nearly all of the walkers were middle to older-aged men (Fieldwork, 2021). A number of them were not walking, looking off into the woods, presumed to be searching for their sexual partner. Rue St. Denis is one of the only streets of Paris where sex workers are still active. When walking past them, they continued talking amongst themselves. It was clear that customers had nowhere insight. What this passing-by provides to the tourist imaginary is the feeling that sex work is not at the forefront of the tourist imaginary of Paris, it remains within the periphery.

Figure 13



Source: (Fieldwork, Bois de Boulogne, 2021)

5. Conclusion

The data collected exposed that the tourist imaginaries of Paris are intertwined in a web of sexualities, and processes of eroticization. The trends in the data show that themes such as Paris as a place for indulging, the passion of the French, letting go of boundaries, and Paris as a seductive tease all contribute to the imagination of the city. The hypothesis that tourists in Paris hold both romantic, sexual and erotic imaginaries of the city, where one can fulfill these desires in a multitude of avenues yet it does not have the representation of being a sex tourism destination proved to be partially correct, yet limiting in that it is very subjective to what a tourist defines as “sex tourism.” For some, Paris very much is a sex tourism destination. However for others, it does not qualify because it is not in the ranks of top sex tourism destinations in the world. That, however is of little importance. What is of pertinent is that in Paris, romanticism, eroticism, and sex itself are intertwined in trends such as indulging, passion, and an open mind.

Like any city, perceptions of Paris are both static and in constant flux, evolving into yet never disconnected from the pillars it was built from. The history of Paris was referenced most often by participants to a certain period of time that contributed to their perceptions of the city. The Belle Epoque was a major catalyst in the eroticization of the city, but even tourists who are unfamiliar with this period of time are familiar with its byproducts, such as Le Moulin Rouge and the neighborhood of Pigalle. The notion that French culture, or “The French ” as several participants referenced, are sexually open, and free was not born overnight, but built up over centuries in time. Many participants pointed out that Paris is not a sex tourism destination in the ranks of Amsterdam or Thailand, and this can be in part attributed to the policy changes and abolitionist stance from the French Government. The hypothesis that Paris is a city where history and culture permeate the streets proves to be true. As predicted, the imaginaries of the tourists impact the lens by which they interpret these modalities and thus, the modes for which they explore their sexualities and how they imagine, and explore various geographies within the city.

Paris is a large enough city that tourists can live out their sexualities in multiple avenues. Whilst it is true that tourists who seek a romantic experience, an erotic experience, or sexual services are unlikely to be inticed by the same attractions and tourist offerings, this does not mean they are not influencing one another. In Paris, the spectrum of tourist sexualities are mutually supportive and reinforcing, from the sex shops of Pigalle to the sensual lights of a romantic evening along the seine, there is a feeling that in Paris, there is

something for everyone. Tourist imaginaries influence the perception of the city, and the behavior of the tourist, and in the process influence the city itself. Furthermore, the tourist stakeholders are actively keying into the profitable game of seducing the tourist. Both the tourist imaginary and the stakeholders of the city work in tandem in the eroticization of the city, and in the process are together engaging in the seduction of the city--Taking part together in the expression of our individual and collective sexualities. Which leads to a final question, 'Do we, tourists and stakeholders, eroticize the destination or is it the city eroticizing us?'

References

- Bohan, J. S. (2002). Sex Differences and/in the Self: Classic Themes, Feminist Variations, Postmodern Challenges. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26(1), 74–88.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-6402.00045>
- Boul, L., Hallam-Jones, R., & Wylie, K. R. (2008). Sexual Pleasure and Motivation. *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy*, 35(1), 25–39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00926230802525620>
- CARTO : 10 lieux pour un rendez-vous romantique à Paris. (2016a, March 25). Les cartes de Paris Zig Zag.
http://cartes.pariszigzag.fr/carte_graphique/10-lieux-rendez-vous-discret-a-paris/
- CARTO : 10 lieux pour un rendez-vous romantique à Paris. (2016b, March 25). Les cartes de Paris Zig Zag.
http://cartes.pariszigzag.fr/carte_graphique/10-lieux-rendez-vous-discret-a-paris/
- Crézé, R. (2018). Jean-François Staszak (dir.), Frontières en tous genres. Cloisonnement spatial et constructions identitaires. *Lectures*. Published.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/lectures.24357>
- Discover Paris's grandest museums. (n.d.). Paris - Official Website of the Convention and Visitors Bureau.
<https://en.parisinfo.com/what-to-see-in-paris/love-in-paris-romantic/Romantic-walks-hand-in-hand-Paris-Tourist-Office/discover-paris-grandest-museums>
- Donen, S. (Director). 1957 *Funny Face* (Film) Paramount Studios.
- Durand, G. (1993). The Implication of the Imaginary and Societies. *Current Sociology*, 41(2), 17–32. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001139293041002004>
- Emmanuelle, C., & Bernard, F. (2014). *Paris couche-toi là ! (Paris guides illustrés et thématiques) (French Edition)*. PARIGRAMME.
- Eribon, D. (2004). *Insult and the Making of the Gay Self*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Fleming, A. (Director). 2020 *Emily in Paris* (S 1, Ep. 1). Netflix.
- Gonzalez, L., Calvignac, C., de Maeyer, J., & Bril, M. (2019, January 24). *When Paris was the Whorehouse of Europe*. Mondes Sociaux. <https://sms.hypotheses.org/18568>
- Gordon, B. M. (2017). Tourism and Erotic Imaginaries in Wartime Paris: French and Germans during the Occupation, 1940–1944. *Via Tourism Review*, 11–12.
<https://doi.org/10.4000/viatourism.1710>

- Gravari-Barbas, M., & Graburn, N. (2012). Tourist imaginaries. *Via Tourism Review*, 1. <https://doi.org/10.4000/viatourism.1180>
- Gravari-Barbas, M., Staszak, J. F., & Graburn, N. (2017). The eroticization of tourist destinations. Spaces, actors and imaginaries. *Via Tourism Review*, 11–12. <https://doi.org/10.4000/viatourism.1830>
- Jaurand, E., & Leroy, S. (2011). Tourisme sexuel : “clone maudit du tourisme” ou pléonasme ? *Mondes Du Tourisme*, 3, 53–65. <https://doi.org/10.4000/tourisme.514>
- Leroy, S. (2005). Le Paris gay. Éléments pour une géographie de l’homosexualité. *Annales de Géographie*, 646(6), 579. <https://doi.org/10.3917/ag.646.0579>
- Mathieu, L. (2003). Prostituées et féministes en 1975 et 2002 : l’impossible reconduction d’une alliance. *Travail, Genre et Sociétés*, N° 10(2), 31. <https://doi.org/10.3917/tgs.010.0031>
- Mathieu, L. (2004). The Debate on Prostitution in France: A Conflict between Abolitionism, Regulation and Prohibition. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 12(2), 153–163. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1460846042000250864>
- Mathieu, L. (2012). An Ambiguous Compassion: Policing and Debating Prostitution in Contemporary France. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 9(3), 203–211. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-012-0082-5>
- Miller, H. (2021). *Tropic of Cancer (Penguin Modern Classics)*. Penguin UK.
- Nin, A., & Herron, P. (2016). *Auletris: Erotica*. Sky Blue Press.
- Salazar, N. B. (2012a). Thinking through tourism, edited by Julie Scott and Tom Selwyn. *Anthropological Forum*, 22(3), 314–316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2012.717023>
- Salazar, N. B. (2012b). Tourism Imaginaries: A Conceptual Approach. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(2), 863–882. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.10.004>
- Sexy Paris*. (n.d.). Paris Info. <https://en.parisinfo.com/what-to-do-in-paris/info/guides/sexy-paris>
- Show and Dinner Spectacle Paris | Lido de Paris*. (n.d.). Le Lido. Retrieved September 1, 2021, from <https://www.lido.fr/en/the-show>
- Spengen, A. (2013). The Gendered Nature of Sexuality. *Western Social Science*. Published.
- St. Denny, E. (2017). The gradual transformation of a weak but enduring regime: contemporary French prostitution policy in transition (1946–2016). *Modern &*

Contemporary France, 25(3), 299–314.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09639489.2017.1304902>

Staszak, J. F. (2015). Imaginer l'ailleurs. *Sciences Humaines*, N° 273(8), 24.

<https://doi.org/10.3917/sh.273.0024>

Staszak, J. F. (2019). Exotisation et érotisation d'un haut-lieu et bas-fond touristique : la Casbah d'Alger. *Téoros*, 37(2). <https://doi.org/10.7202/1055638ar>

Stimmler-Hall, H., & Loop, K. (2015). *Naughty Paris: A Lady's Guide to the Sexy City (Naughty Guides)* (2nd ed.). Fleur de Lire Press.

Strickland, A. (2021). *Subjects of Eroticization in Paris*. Google Maps.

<https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1u-L6rHDZUY-bxQAheImCVPRXavV VlgZ&usp=sharing>

Today, M. P. (2019, July 1). *Explore Paris Red Light District*. My Paris.

<https://myparis.today/explore-paris-red-light-district/>

Un Jour de plus à Paris. (2021). Un Jour de Plus A Paris.

<https://www.unjourdeplusaparis.com/en/paris-reportage/belle-epoque-bordel-paris>.

You have just discovered the heart of pleasure in Paris. . . Welcome to Les Chandelles | Les Chandelles. (2021). Les Chandelles. <https://les-chandelles.com/en>

Appendix A

Questionnaire results

Respondant Label	What was your primary reason for visiting Paris?	Give 5 words that come to mind when you think of Paris	Why do you think Paris is known as the City of Love?	Did you know Paris is sometimes also known as 'City of Pleasures?' Why do you think that is?	Which is more fitting for Paris?
A	food, culture, language immersion	food, art, fashion, architecture, history	because of the stereotype of the French as romantic, which is still perpetuated through movies/TV	I didnt. Maybe because the French are a bit hedonistic ;) but really, because the French/lots of western European cultures value taking pleasure in life and the "finer" things.	City of Pleasures
B	1st time was for vacation, 2nd time was for study abroad	beautiful, magical, elegant, vibrant, grand	it's an incredibly beautiful city, lots of traditionally "romantic" spots like the Seine, etc	hmm i don't think i knew this, i would say historically and currently there is something for everyone (in a sexual sense) in paris, it has been a huge cultural center for the LGBT community for centuries	City of Pleasures
C	Study Abroad	Beautiful, Architecture, Crowded, Light, Romantic	I think it has to do with the people and the way they speak. The French language just feels very romantic, even if someone has no idea what the words mean.	I did not know that. I feel like a lot of people come to Paris with the goal of having a romantic fling whether it be with their current partner or someone they just met. It's kind of a self fulfilling thing I suppose.	City of Love
D		historic, romantic, cosmopolitan, cultural, diverse	stereotypes, cinema, social media	Yes - the red light district and Moulin Rouge are well known by most people, but people are also sexually open, there are a lot of sex shops, and an active nightlife.	City of Love
E	N/A	Love, romance, fashion, art, fancy	How it is depicted in movies and art	I did not	City of Love
F	Learning French	river, wine, France, museums, architecture	The atmosphere of twinkling lights, hidden gems, a culture of wine and food, it all seems conducive to romance and relationships and falling in love	It's a city for indulging and overindulging, be it food, drink, or other pleasures	City of Love

G	To visit my then boyfriend	Village, river, dinner, lights, beauty	Beautiful sceneries, romanticism	No, but there's something for everyone so why not	City of Love
H	Siteseeing	Beauty, history, food, joy, desire	There are lots of romantic spots and the Parisiens know how to celebrate love and life.	You can easily tempt off of the senses in Paris	City of Pleasures
I	Mostly for work	Beautiful, magical, warm, friendly, chic	It feels romantic	Yes—wonderful food, art, nature, fashion	City of Pleasures
J	Work	Dirty, hobo pee, human feces	Good marketing for dumb tourists	Degenerates who like seeing naked hobos on the metro	City of Love
K	My parents were there as tourists	museums, art, Versailles, May Day, demonstration			City of Pleasures
L	Travel and research	Art, beauty, food, wine, romance	It's been portrayed that way in film and media	Indulging in senses - food, wine, art, etc as well as love	City of Pleasures
M	Work and pleasure.	Croissants, green garbage trucks, narrow streets, boutiques, intimate	The streets are narrow, so you walk close to the person you're with; French people are very passionate about life and their POV and about enjoying the things that make them French, and this passion is palpable; delicious food and wine just invites you to enjoy it together with someone you care about	See about answer	City of Love
N	Tourist	Light, luxury, beauty, culture, love	Something wonderful always happens there	One can indulge in pleasure in many ways there	City of Love
O	Fun	Sex, wine, fashion, art, history BEAUTY	Because it's beautiful and sexy and feels romantic with the architecture	It's obvious when you're there. Wine and food and fashion... pleasure. Perfume and music...	City of Pleasures
P	Exchange student in high school	Food, beautiful, historic, art, busy	Because French people are passionate?	Never heard that before	City of Love
Q	Tourism.	Louvre. Eiffel tower. Versailles. French riviera. Love.	Romantic vibes.	You can enjoy everything.	City of Love
R	Tourism, vacation	Big, multicultural, cold, small hotels, expensive	It has been romanticised in popular movies	A sordid past ie. moulin rouge	City of Pleasures

S		Beautiful, cultural, romantic, expensive and rude	The media did it, France used to be the cultural center of the western society, so I think they "advertised" their capital very well	I didn't. I think people associate love with pleasure/sex maybe, even though they're not the same	City of Love
T	Part of a school trip to France	French, busy, loud, cheese, cigarettes	I don't know. If I had to guess I'd say it probably had something to do with the city's history, perhaps romantic literature was published a lot in Paris.	I didn't know that. I'd guess for the same reason as it's called the 'city of love'.	City of Pleasures
U	Education	pastries, eifel, museums, picnics, romantic	Media, films, books, artists portrayals	never heard of that...	City of Love
V	Initially tourism, then visiting friends	Metro food terrace museum périphérique	It's beautiful, good place for photos	I didn't know and I have no idea	City of Love
W	For tourist spots	Love, Beautiful, Exciting, Relaxing, Romantic	Because of its great ambiance that you feel when you are in that place and with the people around around 🥰🥰🥰	Because of its culture as well as when you get the time that feel in that moment and that is love.	City of Pleasures
X		Dirty, beautiful, complicated to live, exhausting, special	I think it is due to an imagination mixing the courtesy of the old regime and the texts of authors of the 19th century	Yes I knew that, I think it comes from between 2 wars	City of Love
Y	pretty much anything	fun, friends, beautiful, busy, annoying	The american imaginary as a beautiful place, and the idea that french people are sexually liberated	Well, it's a huge city, of worldwide importance, and you can definitely find anything you want to have fun + an entire district (Pigalle) dedicated to sex and eroticism (Le Moulin Rouge for example)	City of Pleasures
Z		crowded, beautiful, historical, noisy, dirty			City of Love
AA	Education	Elitism, culture, luxury, "savoir-vivre", dirty	Movies primarily, stereotypes second, media in general	I honestly didn't know 🙄 i guess it derives from the city of love.	City of Love
BB	I live here	Capital Busy Beautiful Exciting Home	Coming from the Romantic movements which ha a lot of artists in Paris + is a Latin city speaking in French, which sounds good to non-francophones	An image of the typical Parisian person being a libertarian, loving, free spirited person	City of Love

CC	I live there	Architecture, International, Romantic, Nightlife, History	Because the French celebrate love like no one else (besides Italians)	Before brothels were outlawed, many European head of states came to Paris for a good time.	City of Love
DD	Studying	Beautiful, cultural, emotional, intimidating	I feel like Paris has a really romantic vibe	French people can be really open minded (sexually). There's also many different pleasures, such as decadent food for example.	City of Pleasures
EE	Living there	Dirty, busy, noisy, historic, foody	Is it?	Easy to find prostitutes	City of Pleasures
FF	Université	Beautiful , museums, romantic, gardens, eiffel tower	It s beautiful and romantic, also because of the french kiss	Macarons ! 😊 Also à lot of prostituées there.	City of Love
GG	School	Culture, architecture, pretty, café, chocolate	Because of good branding.	I didn't know, I'm assuming cabarets	City of Love
HH	Sightseeing	Eiffel tower, Romantic, Bastille, Metro, Blablar	Probably because of the bridges over La Seine. From personal experience, sunset from over any of the bridges can be peaceful and romantic at the same time. You can see far, you can see history, beauty. It's hard not to feel love for a person or a city.	Moulin Rouge? Cabaret that the tourists go on? Pleasures of the eyes and the soul that you indulge in while visiting museums?	City of Love
II	Holiday	French, love, Louvre, Seine, Eiffel	It is romantic, but I thought it was known as "City of light"	Never heard of Paris called by that name, but probably because it is associated with sensual pleasures or decadence.	City of Love
JJ	Leisure	Love, food, art, wine, macaron	Romantic strolls	Overt people, don't worry about what others think	City of Love
KK	Visiting friends and tourism	Pan chocolate, baguette, louvre, seine, Eiffel	Romantic, film culture	So many pleasures here as well	City of Love
LL	Culinary school	Food, wine, accent, dirty, exhibitionism	I think this may have to do with the fact that at night, Paris is gorgeous. It is easy to romanticize it.	I think this has to do with the thin walls. Everyone can hear everything so it is easy to assume that people have more sex than they actually do	City of Love

MM	Work/Pleasure	Beauty, Delicious, Enriching, Plaisir, Relaxing	My husband is French - oh the drama in everything, the expression of passion, but it's everywhere in France.	J'aime le plaisir! The food, craft-fashion & MAM museums, & the cafes. The attitude & leisurely approach. It's one of my favorite cities. It's	City of Pleasures
NN	Seeing museums and galleries	Peripherique, Diana, Eiffel, Seine, Louvre	It's a nice place	Prostitute rings	City of Love
OO	A short trip before entering the university in Paris. Tourism. The idea of meeting my teenager love.	elegant, beautiful, love, stressful, night, police,	handsome guys, open and tolerant society,	Yes. The famous Moulin Rouge. Paris has been always a city of loosing the boundaries and enjoying the moment.	City of Pleasures
PP	Work	Stunning, architecture, art, history, culture	Romantic place to wander around	Long history of maisons closes, exchange clubs, pleasure seeking.	City of Love
QQ	To visit my sister who lived there with her husband for two years	Beautiful, historical, art, culture, refined	To be surrounded by such beauty inspires you to declare your love. And the French is perceived as very romantic all over the world.	I think that it coincides with the concept of love. When one is in love, everything feels happy and pleasurable. Being in love also refers to heated bedroom affairs, which is usually very pleasurable!	City of Love
RR	Visit	Beautiful, quaint, delicious, graffiti, views	Because of the ancient feeling of love and culture. Romanticism at it's height	Everyone has a notion of the city of love, therefore perhaps goes there in search of pleasure, be it romance or carnal	City of Love
SS	Tourism, seeing friends, seeing family	Mysterious, historical, rebellious, sensual, spooky.	The romantic skyline and other sights, the secret alcoves, lots of places to fall in love.	I think there is a hedonistic aire about Paris. Every time I have gone, I always find myself acting the flâneuse in cafes and eating lots of amazing food. The whole history of burlesque on the Butte is also a probable reason for that name.	City of Pleasures
TT		Wine, Eiffel tower, love, Champs-Élysées, croissant	This image was drawn by cinema for me.	No, I did not know that.	City of Love

UU		food, history, cafe culture, chic	yes		no. people are open and fun?	City of Love
----	--	-----------------------------------	-----	--	------------------------------	--------------

Respondant Label	On a scale of 1 to 10 how sexy is Paris?	Would you view Paris as a destination for sex tourism?	Do you think the city of Paris is more aligned with the sexual or romantic desires of a specific gender identity and/or sexual identity more than others?	From your perspective, is Paris erotic?	What is the most erotic or sexual place that you know of in Paris?	Have you ever used traveling to explore sexual desires?	Would you be willing to share any erotic or sexual experiences you have had as a tourist? In Paris or elsewhere. *optional*
A	8	no	it generally seems pretty straight, although I do feel that the idea of Parisians as being more open minded could allow it to be a relatively accepting city for LGBTQ people.	No	Moulin Rouge?	No	sadly none to share :(
B	9	no		Yes	LA MUTINERIE		
C	4	no	I think Paris is aligned a lot more with romance than sex, though romance can include sex. While there is a vibrant gay scene, I think the stereotypes of romance in Paris are very heteronormative.	No	I'm not too sure...I would argue that people in Paris can be erotic anywhere.	Yes	I lived in Paris for a semester and found that sex was a lot less taboo than in the US. I dated a French guy for about a month but I was too overwhelmed by our language barrier (he spoke no English and my French wasn't that great at the time) so I broke things off. He immediately offered to just have sex together because "there wouldn't be much talking." I was offended by that offer but there was definitely a large disconnect where he thought casual sex was a totally normal thing to offer.

D	7	yes	from a historic, stereotyped image then yes it's a romantic city commonly representing straight love, but from a resident's modern knowledge of the city, it's also a place for all sexual identifying people to express their desires including erotic ones.	Yes	Crazy Horse	Yes	Being a tourist pushed me to explore dating a different gender on Tinder, which I wouldn't have done in my country of origin.
E	7	yes	Heterosexual	Yes	The big park that's name escapes me	No	
F	8	no	In the mainstream, at least, it seems more heteronormative, as far as international media goes, but it also seems open and welcoming.	No	Boulevard de Clichy seems to have a lot packed in	No	
G	5	yes	I don't think so	No	More luxurious parts where you can actually wear your sexy outfits without looking weird and walk with your heels without getting them caught in cobblestone. Places where you don't have to push through crowds, that you can go for random jewellery shopping or get a spa treatment and tea/cocktail at a 5* hotel	No	No
H	9	no	No. I believe anyone could find it romantic or sexy regardless of their gender or identity.	Yes	The area around Pigalle, Bois de Bolognes (sp)	Yes	No
I	9	no	No	No		No	
J	1	no		No	The Metro	No	
K	1	no	straight men	No	hotel room?	No	
L	7	no	Hetero	No	No idea	No	

M	8	no	No	No	I have no idea tbh, i only went with my (first) husband once - otherwise I went alone - and we barely had sex while I was there. And we are now divorced.	No	
N	7	no	No, it's just so easy to fall in love there	Yes	The quais of the Seine	No	Just asked for directions of a Parisien and we spent the next two days together!
O	10	yes	No	Yes	Montmartre	Yes	
P	8	no	No - love is love	No	I don't think of Paris as sexual or erotic any more so than any other place	No	Nope
Q	8	no	No	No	Not sure	No	
R	6	yes	Straight men	Yes	The neighbourhood around moulin rouge with the brothels and prostitutes	No	I have had sexual experiences whilst travelling, but that was never the purpose of the journey, and they were often short and sweet
S	7	no		No		Yes	When I visited Lisbon I had a few sexual adventures, it was the first time I went to a bathhouse and I met guys from all over Europe there. When I visited Rio and USA I exploded a lot of my sexual desires too
T	1	no	It would be more aligned with cisgender straight people, as western societies are. Everyone else would be concerned with homophobia and transphobia.	No	I have never been anywhere I considered erotic or sexual. I'd guess a location specifically designed for sex (eg a sex toy shop?)	No	I don't have any experiences to share
U	7	no	romantic ideas of paris come a lot from heterosexual media we see in films tv etc	No	most well known erotic place would be pigalle where they have a lot of sex shops and the	No	

					least would be my bedroom lol		
V	6	no	Maybe the marais for gays?	No	Moulin rouge	Yes	I used to date a married man and meet him in different places. Not sure if that counts, but Paris London Amsterdam Frankfurt were destinations where we spent weekends to meet
W	10	yes	yes, its romantic desire of a specific gender identity	No	haven't been in Paris 😞	No	if ever I experienced it why not 🍷
X	1	no	Romantic	No		No	
Y	8	no	No	Yes	Pigalle	No	
Z	8	no					
AA	4	no	Cis men and women yes.	No	Lido. It's a sex theater club. But Pigalle street in Montmartre is more famous.	No	I don't travel for sex, I travel for culture and knowledge
BB	5	no	No	No	Sexual = boulevard de Rochechouart / boulevard de Clichy (sex shops)	No	N/A
CC	10	no	No	Yes	Victor Noir's grave	No	
DD	8, 9	no	I feel like it's more for straight people.	Yes	Probably théâtre chochette	No	I don't have any
EE	2	yes	no	No	Bedroom	No	Nope
FF	10	yes	Yes à lot of gay guys come there for sec, also à lot of straight single guys. A lot of couples come for romance.	No	Pigalle	No	I never had a sexual or ever erotic expérience as a tourist lol
GG	5	no	Heterosexual people	Yes	The area around the Moulin Rouge with the sex shops	No	

HH	8	no	No, the concept is definitely very binary, but it isn't seem aligned with masculine or feminine identity. It seems both. You see vintage pictures of couples kissing, walking under the rain, etc.	Yes	Any bridge from where you can see Eiffel Tower light up at dusk.	No	I don't know if this is pertinent, but I had met a a Belgian guy from Leuven online. I lived in Reims at that time. After chatting for a couple of weeks, we decided to visit Paris together. We met in Paris for the first time, but what was supposed to be a 'getting to know each other' weekend turned into a solely sexual weekend as we had tremendous physical connection but no emotional one. This was four years ago. We texted pleasantries for a while and are not in touch now.
II	8	no	No	No	Le Pigalle - is probably closest to a red light district.	No	No
JJ	9	no	I think the romantic ambiance can appeal to all couples. However it may be that it is more associated with a straight couple type of romance.	Yes		No	
KK	6	no	Romantic and sensual... but not sexual	No	N/a	No	
LL	6	no	I believe women are more likely to view Paris as a romantic destination than men. I also believe men take the casual exhibitionism to mean something much more sexual than it is	No	Quai 17	No	I had to learn that hard way that casual sex partners here can be just as selfish as the ones in America. My partner finished in three minutes and had the audacity to ask if I had orgasmed. There was zero attention paid to me or my own desires even though we had spoken at length about what each of us would like out of the experience beforehand.

MM	7	yes	No	Yes	Anywhere can be if you know where to go. Every city has underground sex clubs.	No	Amsterdam is way more sexually dynamic, it's everywhere. Much much more open... live sex shows, etc. All major cities in the world have a lot of easily accessible sex/encounters if you're looking for it. Paris isn't in my top 3.
NN	4	no	More imagery seems to be focussed around straight couples there	No	Passed by a few strip clubs	No	Orgasmic relief finally coming off the peripherique after rush hour on the way back to Dover to catch the ferry
OO	10	yes	I think it is more about straight and gay.	Yes	Monmartre	No	From my observations, in Paris people tend to enjoy the moment, they are willing to have pleasures and dont think about the future consequences.
PP	6	yes	No, something for everyone.	Yes	Le Dépot	No	
QQ	8	no	In South Africa, Paris is seen as the ultimate romantic destination for couples in love or on their honeymoon. Coming from a very conservative culture, this refers to straight couples.	Yes	Not one specific place comes to mind, but the atmosphere in the summer evenings holds a feeling of promise and desire	No	Haven't had any as a tourist, but can see why Paris would ignite it!
RR	7	no	Have not spent enough time there to know the answer to this	Yes	Again not spent enough time there to give a clear answer	Yes	Sure
SS	7	no	I think France in general has a long way to go to be more inclusive of queer people's sexuality and gender. I definitely think that Paris is aligned with a hetero male version of sexuality that comes with its history as a place for sex tourism back in the 1800s. I, as a lesbian, have had many sexy times within the queer underground/counter culture of Paris, but I do not	Yes	Crazy Horse	Yes	While travelling, I would often have hook ups because lesbian culture tends to revolve around an idea of settling and lesbian cruising is not something that is nearly explored enough. So the power of travelling is that you can assure you are on the same page as someone because your fling can only last a few weeks. I've had many lovers across Europe this

			think that those experiences were at all spurred by the marketing of Paris as a tourist destination.				way.
TT	8	no	No, but in my mind as a straight person is more aligned with heterosexual relationship.	No	Don't know one	No	
UU	8	no	i don't know	Yes	pigalle	Yes	

Appendix B

Interview Transcripts

Interviewee: 1- American, age 49, Female, Lesbian, Lives in Los Angeles, Frequent Tourist in Paris

Interviewer: AS (Allison Strickland)

AS: Do you find Paris a sexy destination?

1: The sexiest

AS: Do you find Paris sexual?

1: Oui

AS: What do you imagine when you think Paris?

1: The city of lights, architecture from centuries ago, cafes, walking along the river, seeing art masterpieces from many different times times. To me the whole experience exudes romance and sexuality.

AS: Do you remember the first time you went to Paris?

1: I do it was in May 2017. I wanted to go to Paris for years and finally got an opportunity to go for work. I had always wanted to go with someone I loved, that was really the dream, and in the end I went by myself. Luckily I was very happy with myself at the time. I went with work and was able to stay for a little bit longer. When I was sitting on my last day at a cafe next to the Eiffel Tower I was thinking man I want to come here more so I worked on a plan to return to Paris often for two to three weeks at a time for the next few years.

AS: So even before you first arrived in Paris you had sort of a romantic idea the city and what it was like?

1: I did have a romantic idea and I hoped it would be that romantic when I came but I did not meet anyone my first time as I was there for work. I was able to go to the lesbian bar, and some cafes and just went to the Eiffel Tower. I had a vision and I hoped it would be as good and for me it was even better and I wanted to keep returning.

AS: What is the most erotic place you have visited in Paris?

1: For certain, Les Chandelles.

AS: Ah you've visited there?

1: Yes, it's wonderful, it was created by a woman. I have had a couple of experiences and it really centers around the female experience. I have been there three times.

AS: Can you share about any of your experiences there? I think it opened yesterday for the first time since a while due to Covid. I am hoping to get in touch with the managers there for my research.

1: The first time I went it was a bit difficult because you only have the information that is on the website and when I arrived alone, I was told it was a couples only event and that I can't come and then I asked about the next night and was told the following night was a members only night and then they saw that I was persistent and decided to let me in and I went a total of three times. The other two times I took a woman with me who I had also gone to Cap D'Age with. So yeah it was a good experience, I met a lot of cool people, had sex, danced, drinks.

AS: Are you allowed to actually have sex inside?

1: (Laughing) Yes, absolutely

AS: And there are rooms or something?

1: Yes they do and you can't bring drinks in there, sometimes they have restrictions to the playrooms. Yeah one time I went it was like a guys in Kilts theme and I kept saying "Je suis Lesbienne" and my friend was bisexual so I kept pointing all of the guys over to her.

AS: Are Kilts supposed to be hot? I won't judge.

1: Apparently. It wasn't too sexy for me.

1: The first time I had a sexual experience there, this woman was really fit and her husband and her came up to me and she was attracted to me and we ended up going back to the playrooms and the guy kept trying to come in and I had to tell him no, I am lesbian. And he was like "well then she's mine, I am not going to share her. And I was like that is fine with me, it's your wife, you don't have to share, but I am a lesbian, so..."

AS: So you sort of mix and mingle in the bar setting and then communicate and agree to go back to the playroom.. is that kind of how it works?

1: Oui

AS: And are there sort of protocols involved? I've read online that they try to keep it somewhere where women feel comfortable. Were you aware of that or did you feel that while you were there?

1: I did feel that and this was not my first experience. First in Paris but not my first experience. I have been places in Los Angeles and in the south of France, in Cap D'Age. But you know, no means no, you don't just grab somebody, you have a conversation, there is a dance floor, and you have you know first drinks and they have different themed nights. There are couples only, nights where only women are invited, themed nights. It wasn't easy for me at the time to discern what the events were, so I just kind of showed up and found out what was going on.

AS: It's really cool that you had that experience. And have you been to a few of the cabarets as well?

1: Crazy Horse and Moulin Rouge

AS: And people have different ideas of what is erotic verses sexual or romantic and it all sort of exists on a spectrum. Where do these experiences fit for you? Are they more erotic or romantic or sexual?

1: So that's a great question. For me romance more is the cafe and intimate dinner, candle light, nice music, the atmosphere of the river or the Eiffel, conversations. Moulin Rouge was more of a show, there were men and women, you know they try to bring in more content that appeal to the women that are there so there were more men on stage and it was couple oriented. It was really more like a Vegas experience. Crazy Horse was more rowdy, I guess I should say. It was sexual but just for fun sexual, you know so they were definitely different experiences. However I think Crazy Horse was more intimate because you are usually able to sit right next to whoever you are there with, it is more of like sharing a couch where as Moulin Rouge you are seated across the table almost in every case, even if your just with one person.

AS: Do you think French culture in itself is sexy? Where for you do you place the sex appeal of Paris?

1: So the French Language in my humble opinion is the most sexy. So it starts with the language and then the Food, you know we have different senses as humans. The sounds are sexual, the food, the tastes, the visualisations... the reds, the candle light, the details of the artistry and the architecture.

1: I went to a strip club in Paris as well near the Champs E. And it was more artistic there. I've been to strip clubs in the United States and its more loud music and grinding and how fast the genitalia come out. The French strip club was more about an artistic dance so it was definitely more sensual.

1: . Moulin Rouge experience was a lot of fun and I cried the first time.. I might've been drinking champagne. I was just happy to be there but going back and just reflecting on it.. Moulin Rouge could be in Vegas.

AS: For you what is sex tourism?

1: When I think of sex tourism it is usually going some place to have experiences that you normally can't some place where you normally are. And it could be because something is

now legal in that place that is not legal where you are from or you have animosity. Or you have a setting or an environment that is sexual or sensual than an experience that you could have where you are from.

AS: That is an interesting way to describe it... To look at the intentions behind seeking sexual experiences. A lot of people have reminded me in speaking to me about my research that Paris isn't Thailand or Paris isn't Amsterdam. I think there are plenty of people who aren't traveling strictly for sex but also not strictly for romance, there is a lot of in between, and sometimes the lines are blurred as well when it comes to intentions and reasons behind what we seek out.

1: Sex tourism is not about just going to a place to pay for sex, it is about what sort of experiences you are able to have there. I was super excited to go to les chandelles. My very first time in Paris I tried going to a place, it was a swingers place but it was a bit more like a bath house, so I paid my money, got my locker, got undresses and had a towel and I didn't really feel comfortable with the situation. I felt like a bit of a target and I just didn't see anyone that I was attracted to and so I decided to leave and go to a lesbian bar and I told myself I'd rather my sexual experience not be about touching genitals in public for sexual gratification but rather my sexual experience be in a safe space filled with lesbians like me where it was safe and romantic and sexual freedom experience rather than just sex.

AS: Do you remember the name of the place that was like a bathhouse?

1: Um I don't remember it, it was very near Arc du Triomphe. And I went to 3w after, that was the lesbian Bar.

AS: Classic. Do you often find bar scenes sexual?

1: La mutinerie, definitely. Everyone is welcome, I met a girl there that I dated briefly. So yeah I always enjoy going there and knowing it's a safe space.

AS: In comparison to other destinations that you've been to do you find Paris more difficult or more easy to find sexual experiences..

1: I think it's pretty easy, I usually googled sex clubs, I remember that is how I found Les Chandelles. And I just search also for Lesbian bars.

AS: And in general when you are in Paris, do you meet more French people, or other tourists or foreigners?

1: That's a great question. I would say both.. Most of the people I met were French but not Parisian.

AS: I wanted to ask you more about what you were saying earlier about the senses. What about French food is sexual to you?

1: Fromage, Chocolat, I love the bread... In Paris it's not about quantity, it's about quality.

AS: What about the different museums you've been too.. The Louvre or others... do you find them sexual or erotics?

1: Interesting question.. I've been to a number of the museums, the Louvre, the Picasso Museum, The Musee D'orsay, and there is a lot of nudity. The women are depicted as being more subservient to the men. The first Time I saw this piece by Colbert (Points as framed print on her wall of ____). I was like oh my gosh finally there is representation of female eroticism that is accurate. He also did origin of the world. I don't know if I would call that

erotic but very explicit. This is one of my favorite French erotic piece. I see it when I fall asleep and I see it when I wake up. You might say I was effected.

AS: Yes you might say (laughing.). Uhm.. So since it seems you've had sexual experiences on various parts of the world, have there been deep contests between the different countries or different cities... Do you feel you find the same thing everywhere or is it very specific to the place that you are in...

1: That's an interesting question. So like Cap d'Ag that's people coming from all over, and mostly Europe specifically for that libertine purpose. That's a bit different than what you find in Paris.. People who go to Les Chandelles it might be a regular part of their life if they live in the city...

**Interview 2 Woman 26 years old, Bisexual, American, Lives in Los Angeles
(Conversation with interviewee 1 included as per request of comfort for interviewee 2).
Interviewer: AS (Allison Strickland)**

AS: Do you think France is sexual, or Paris is more sexual specifically:

2: Well I personally think Paris is romantic, but you have to be on the inside circle

AS: You felt like you were a bit on the outside whilst you were there?

2: Yeah, and I like the art and the beauty (of Paris) and i think that it is romantic, but I think other parts of France have that free quality and are more open to outsiders.

AS: Are you thinking of specific places?

2: Everywhere we went in the south everyone was just super open and free, and not just at the sex clubs were just more open and welcoming.

AS: Ive been here three years and there are still times when I feel like I'm on the outside so the culture here can feel a bit like a closed door. So you would you say that conflicts with the sex appeal of the city?

2: Well I think the city is romantic and it's nice you are going with one person but if you are going for like a sexual experience or sexually free experience, I feel like It could be hard.

2: You are probably going to end up with other non-Parisians. Especially if they think you are just a tourist passing through, I experienced this as well when I first arrived in Hollywood. I have made friends with a few parisians, but its more rare. It's not a general thing.

AS: They feel a bit unattainable. Or Hard to reach.

2: Yeah

AS: There is a trend in using dating apps to have either sexual experiences or a girlfriend experience whilst traveling. Have either of you used Tinder or another dating app whilst traveling?

2: umm I havent but I know a lot of my friends do that.. and just for friends too.

AS: Yeah for totally non-romantic reasons

2: Yeah

1: For me, definitely, numerous..

AS: Ah really.. which one, more girlfriend experiences or sexual?

2: For me I'm not a dating app person.

1: In contrast, I have had multiple scenarios. And actually I set my location to Paris two weeks in advance and started making connections before I arrived.

AS: Wow that's creative

1: Yeah and then kept a running list going of people I had met on trips before.

AS: And were these people you met friends, romantic partners, sexual partners... all of the above?

1: All of the above. One of my best friends in Paris I met on tinder, and we never had a sexual experience. But I've had romantic partners from tinder and bumble

AS: SO you set your location actually before your arrive.. That's cool

2: She is a planner

1: Yes and I would include my international travel plans in my bio of my dating life.. Yeah that was a time in my life when I wanted to live whilst I was young.

AS: Let me just look through my questions to see what we haven't touched... Paris is sometimes been called the city of pleasures as opposed to the city of love.. what are your thoughts on this?

2: I feel like that's more accurate. Because it's like your looking at beautiful art, youre eating delicious food, and alcohol, and you're seeing moulin rouge, going to all these shows. And for me I see romance as like a deeper thing and that because of the outsider thing, I don't think you can get that deep. And I think you are there to get a fix.. like a pleasure fix,... like go get some eclairs, fulfil a fantasy, go on the Paris ride. And then you're going to leave. So year

AS: do you think that Paris is a tease?

2: Yes because you are always going to be an outsider.

1: I'm going to agree with you, that was well stated.

AS: Do you think sex workers have any connection to you to Paris or not so much?

1: Not for you.

2: No

1: Just performers.

2: Yeah I don't consider Moulin rouge as sex work, they are performers. I view sex workers as like strippers, prostitutes.

AS: Are you familiar with the former red light district?

2: NO, I know about that in Amsterdam but not Paris.

1: I am not.. I mean we've been to the sex shops around Moulin rouge

AS: So you've been to a few sex shops in Paris?

1: Yeah how many stories was that one like three stories?

AS: which one was that?

1: I will send you the link I need to search for the name.

AS: You don't have to tell me specifically of course, but where you just there to look around, did you buy things?

1: I absolutely did buy things.

2: They had a lot of unusual things.

AS: Did it feel like a tourist shop or like a place anyone would go for sex toys? Or a bit of both maybe?

2: There was another one that was a bit touristy. There was like a giant Eiffel Tower dildo.

1: If you walk on that strip, by moulin rouge you'll find a ton. There are a lot of lingerie shops as well. We bought a skirt there.

2: I went to a strip club on that strip there. I didn't really enjoy that experience.

AS: Was it lesbian?

1: No it wasn't. But I was with a bisexual woman.

AS: Well I think that is all of my questions.

1: I can't wait to get back to Paris, maybe in November.

AS: Yes things are finally starting to open up here, and that city has felt a bit empty. It was really good talking to you and thank you a lot for this.

1: thanks to you!

Interview 3 - Paris Tour Guide / Journalist from Canada, Woman living in Paris for 20 years.

Interviewer: AS (Allison Strickland)

3

AS: How long have you been living in Paris ?

3: I have been living in Paris for about 20 years but writing for about 12

AS: How old were you when you first came to Paris?

3: When I first came to Paris I was 17 and then I visited during a study abroad in Italy, and then I studied abroad in Paris during university and just fell in love and moved right back here when I finished my studies.

AS: Either from a personal perspective or from your professional experience, what is the tourist imaginary of Paris?

3: Well you know I definitely think that most tourists have sort of a dreamy view the first time that people come and then, well I think that people keep a hold of this as well afterward however is that people think that it is this quintessentially romantic destination and it can be and so really I think that it probably is the most romantic city in the world and then Venice is a close second. But then Venice you kind of have to get off the beaten path a little bit and I think Paris offers a lot more opportunities for that. But um I think a lot of tourists have this perfect image of Paris before coming that just everyone goes and just sits at cafes terraces and drinks glasses of wine or coffee all day and just amazing quality food. And that isn't exactly the case you know. You know, they go sit at a terrace and there is someone smoking so the reality is a little different, it is that, but just slightly more realistic. Things aren't always just this glossy perfect impression that people can have> But I think the city offers a lot of opportunities and a lot of um ways of exploring and sort of living your Paris dream. And I don't think that there is one city in the world that has so many people who love it so much. So this is then getting around to repeat visitors. Because some people might come and then be a bit put off but the dirtiness, or smoking.. or you know this impression that French people are rude is becoming less and less and every single person I meet, because you know I do

tours as well, people always say.. “you know people say that French people are so rude but everyone’s been so nice to us” so the fact that I think that that is an outdated stereotype which I think is good and um and so there is this cult following of Paris and I know that through my facebook page. So I started my website almost 8 years ago and it stemmed from me writing books on my romantic misadventures in Paris and so originally I wanted Um I kind of had seem well in the lead up to publishing a new book it would be good to have more of a presence and at first it was telling more romantic stories and sharing other peoples romantic stories. And then people started asking me for dating advice and that’s where the blog has gone in that direction now. And I’m trying to propose unique things and special things to do that aren’t the stereotypical things that people do. More romantic and authentic but also more local things to do. So um but I’ve got people who follow my page who are obsessed with paris. They just adore anything Paris. So I really feel that there is this love of Paris and this love of the fact that Parisians love living and they go out a lot, they’re enjoying culture, they’re enjoying restaurants they go to art galleries, and buy clothes and enjoy craftsmanships and these are all wonderful characteristics that a lot of people are attracted to and aspire to. So it is possible to live this imaginary image of Paris, they do exist and it is possible to experience that. I just think the road isn’t always so smooth as the painting of it.

AS: It sounds like you’re sort of describing there is the imaginary that they come with and then the reality they find and there is sort of a shift or a recalling in love with the city in perhaps a more realistic way. I noticed on your website where you offer tours they seem to be sort of targeted towards repeat visitors. Why is that?

3: Yeah I think it is because I want to offer something a little bit different. You know not just the classics and taking people and showing them another perspective of the city. And you know please first time visitors when you come the city, you know we need both but I don’t think it’s impossible for first time visitors to see a different side of the city and not just kind of the top tourist sites and things to do as well. You know, once again there is a way to balance the real city and the kind of imaginary city too.

AS: You have a ton of guides, it’s the first time I’ve seen a romantic guide of each arrondissement it was really impressive. But I must say out of curiosity I went directly to the 9th and 18th just to see how far you got into the sort of historic sex district. And you do include this in your guides so I was wondering where does the sexy side fit for you inside the romantic attraction of paris?

3: So today you know people visiting a new dest. Can be a little wary of things that are unknown or might be a little naughty or something a little bit different. However, I live in Montmartre and right at the edge of Pigalle and lots of people love walking around Pigalle. And like looking and they’re curious. How many people actually go to these venues it would be interesting to know. And I think some of the locations around Pigalle it is local people who go or French people. So I do think it has a certain amount of local tourism and of like male tourism. Not a lot of couples I don’t think a lot of couples go to these places um but what I’ve

found and which you probably saw in that article I wrote for Playboy about this kind of revival of the area and I think that's very interesting. Because as the neighbourhood went, in the second half of the 1800s a lot of people did come to Paris for sexual tourism and I think now, Amsterdam has certainly taken over that role, and Bangkok so those are the two places that have taken that over. I don't think People come to Paris thinking "Oh you know lets" But there is this kind of sexier side to the city too that couples can partake in because of the swingers clubs in Paris and because of someone of maybe some sexy spas that can be found in the Pigalle area. Um because I did a photoshoot for someone in one of those. Heather that I mentioned for her naughty Paris book and there were people there there were couples. But there are these venues and there area. Lot of swingers clubs. France has more swingers clubs than any part of the world. That's what I mean about Paris being a bit of sexy and maybe that is geared towards French tourists or europeans who might be already in-tune with that worlds. Because of that scene. Because I don't think that is as common in anglosaxon countries because it's more frowned upon I suppose. You know fewer people are swingers in my opinion. So back to these SOPI area and theses refurbished bars, I think they're very exciting but I don't think people necicarily go to them because they know where they are. You know there was one of two that started like Dirty dick was the first and there was an exciting cocktail scene that started booking around 10 years ago. I think that it was a little bit of a coincidence and a happy one because I'm quite fond of those places and really I do think really have kept the essence of the neighbourhood because lets face it... there is gentrification and it can be sad in neighbourhoods that have local character but there was no local character about those places, they were raunchy, not nice, and that's because these kind of local these bordellos that used to be there or the cabarets were maybe a little local but then it turned into these x-rated move houses and peep shows and girls and so and flashy neon lights and there is nothing Moulin Rouge about these places. And so over the course of the 20th century, the image of Pigalle did go down. And also these girls, you know I think it was pretty much after WWII where even the girls over the course of the 70s and 80s and today I think most of the ladies of the night in the area are not even French anymore most of them are eastern european or asian and probably don't necessarily want to be doing It so anyways I'm sure there are stats nd figures about that sort of thing. But I do think that there are cocktail bars in the area its a really exciting way to twist the neighbourhood around and you know hthis place still shows the personality of the area while being modernised. So they are great. And you know the Maison soquet is quite interesting that is the boutique hotel that has this beautiful cocktail lounge so there that's open to outside visitors. But you know what, I never see these places you know some are a little more romantic than others but that's super romantic and I don't think that its very well known. Soum I try to promote people to go to these places because I think they are very cool . And som eof the revived cabarets int he area are interesting too.

AS: Ive been sort of tracing where the reputation comes from, both the sexy side of Paris and Paris as the city of love.. and you know the average tourist might not know to far back into the history of paris, and the history of Paris as the brothel of europes, yet if you walk down the same streets, as you were mentioning , you do sort of get this feeling that it's historically always been there.. and so in some ways pigtail has remained pigalle... through these revivals

that you mention. Paris I think is fairly consistent in how its viewed.. its changed a bit,, you know its not the border of Europe anymore but it seems to be be fairly consistent—

3: Oh yes, you know if I'm walking down the blvd. de. Cliché home or wherever you know its packed. Because there is this mixed seen of the pub and the peepshows and bars... I think that later in the night they might increase in the night with bar overflow.

AS: I read one study on the red light district of Amsterdam and the writer was sort of interviewing people and noticing the moral delimita because there it almost feels obligatory to go see and that I think is more there than here. Because Pigalle is not like the Eiffel Tower its not something that maybe everyone feels they must go to on their first trip, and some may not even know of it.

3: Yeah I think the moulin rouge has helped people still go to the neighborhood. If the moulin rouge didn't exist I think that would change a lot.

AS: Ive noticed the cabarets are often listed on your sight.. For me I don't know where these stand in regards to sexual or romantic or erotic,. For you where does it stand?

3: Well cabaret in the past compared to cabaret today... I think a lot of foreigner do associate cabaret.. interesting even that we use the French word for it. Cabarets were kind born in Paris. Cabarets seems to be this fine line between entertainment and then leading to sex. Because even to this day at any of the major cabarets in paris, except kind of some of the more newer ones but the kind of classic 3 or 4, they are always going to be topless or partially nude ladies. And this must link back to um this kind of sexy side of cabarets. And cabarets back in the day of course there were these performers that were courtesans who had gentlemen callers and beneficiares.

But I do think that the dancers were probably very loose anyways. Then there were of course the prostitutes working the streets anyway. I think there was something like a prostitute for like every 5 meters. So back in the hay day it must have been quite something. But there weren't topless girls right at the beginning. It must've been in the 20th century but back in the day showing those dancing girls had holes in their knickers so that's why they were doing cart wheels. And so this is you just think oh just showing off the frill of the knickers... if you were up close you could get more of a very very fast peek. So I think almost the cabarets were the teasers to going around and doing other things. The cabarets were I think mostly frequented by men but not only but sometimes if you see women in these pictures and you know not only and if men were accompanied by women it might've been their mistresses and not necessarily their wives. Um but the moulin rouge was such a large complex that it had something for everyone. It had a dance hall for couples and other areas... you know... one anecdote that I really enjoyed coming across was that in the elephant in the garden, I'm not sure if you've seen pictures there was a special lounge where you paid something like 5 francs to see an exotic bellydance... so there was other stuff going on... and you know this was all happening in the belle époque era. And so linked to tourism this is sort of a long the

lines of what you are talking about are the worlds fairs. And so the worlds fairs especially in the 1889 worlds fairs, and that's where the moulin rouge was built for and then the 1900 worlds fair.. the fair grounds were near the Eiffel Tower but the entertainment zone was up in pigalle. And so in the evening most people would come. So that's quite interesting and so many of them would have been making there way up there during that time as well. And you know there was a circus so it was entertainment center. These cafes but a also these crazy cabarets and you know some were quite gruesome but the sexy side definitely was there.

Something else maybe you have looked into is the Palais royal area used to be the hub of pprostituion.

AS: And that was more elitist.

3: And then there's this very famous swingers club right near by there so I think there is sort of a link between those as well.

AS: And so even before Pigalle, and rue st. Denis it wasn't always there. That one is a little bit of a newer things.

ASL yeah that was one of the last places I went before coming to the US and I was surprised actually to see street prostitutes there.

3: Yeah for street prostitution in Paris that's where it's most obvious. There are a few alleys around Pigalle that in the evening you will see some girls and Belleville I'm not sure if you've seen that. ..

AS: No I haven't

3: So Belleville is where the Chinese prostitutes are so where Belleville is like one block either way you see them. And they are actually Chinese, I'm not just saying that.

AS: It's been interesting to see how it seems most of the sex workers are foreigners... and how there is sort of a segregation. Ive seen in the bois de Bologne there are many trans sex workers and I've read that many of them are from Latin American countries. Which might lead certain people who have different taste to go in the area, I don't know

3: Yeah probably.. so yeah the apper end of rue. St. denis. That's more the old school ones. But there is another one... rue de providence over near the opera where you have business men. You can see prostitutes there.

AS: I think if I remember it used to be a thing to go to the opera and leave with entertainment.

3: and leave with the entertainment haha. Are there other things that I haven't touched on?

AS: You have mentioned this a little earlier but the association of Paris and love affairs... I was watching Funny Face with my mom last night and Fred Astaire says the line of "Oh you're going to have a different love affair every night" and that idea sort of for me really blends together the sexy and the romantic because it's a love affaire, not just a one night stand... and even with this new show Emily in Paris... there is really a fan based there.

3: Its crazy people love it but its terrible.

AS: I know its painful to watch it

3: I couldn't watch it but someone told me to push through.

3: But yeah so one thing that you might want to investigate a little bit more is the French themselves. Just the comment you just made about Funny Face.. the oh you're going to have another love affaire every night well the French are very passionate people and live out their passions more than other cultures. And this is like the historic thing too. And because of that this is why people think ohh... we might have more love affaires in Paris than in other places and its kind of true.. the Parisians don't hold back as much as the prudish anglosaxanes and so they are kind of ready to just go where passion leaves them and get wrapped up in these passions. And so that's something that's kind of linked to how they are.. this is a bit of a more passionate city in general. You might want to read by Elaine... I never remember her name. She is a NYT writer... she wrote a book caused La seduction.. Seduction not only romantically. I highly recommend it. It might gave you a little more insight.. Yeah its how the French play the game of life. Yeah I think its worth having a look at because she goes back to like medieval times.

AS: We've covered quite a bit of ground. Ive been probing people a little about the city of love and city of Paris and its almost a 50/50 splits between if people think one is the more fitting.

3: If I had to choose id probably say city of love. But now that depends on what Pleasure is for you because not everyone wants to eat 20 macaroons or stuff their face with eclair or eat in amazing restaurants or go to museums so I agree but like I think that's a little subjective to what pleasure is ... bc for some pleasure is sport or laying on a beach... Paris pleasure is more gastronomic and culture than anything else.

AS: Are there any last things in your interactions with tourists.

LH: Well tourists are definitely coming here for romance. A lot of people get engaged here usually by the Eiffel tower. Its definitely for so many people are coming here fro live out their romance and have these special moments with there partners. Definitely people are still

coming for that. And sometimes its personal romance... they love the city so much that they just have to come back.

AS: Yes they are in love with the city.

3: I even had this woman who left her husband at home and said she's coming anyways so but yeah if anything else comes up Allison feel free to come by.

AS: and I saw that your books are at Red Wheel barrel so ill wait until I get back to Paris and go visit Penelope.

3: Oh well thank you and I hope you enjoy and yes my new book is less romantic. And best luck to your research and feel free to drop me a line.

Appendix C

Field Notes

#	Date	Location	Notes
1	June	Paris Coquin Tour	<p>Observations: Mostly women, the men were the partner of a heterosexual couple.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - comparison of prostitutes sanitary cards to the Covid-19 sanitary pass. - "One should think of brothels like we think of brasseries." - Large street numbers indicate the location was a brothel - Hooks for the lanterns indicate where the red light used to hang - Becoming a sex worker in a Maison Close was
2	July	Aux Belles Poules	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open house - Preserved main room of a Maison Closes - Used as an event venue - birthdays, business gatherings, conferences, and weddings. - business professional audience/ attendees - Targeted during internationals when Covid passes. - Spoke fondly of the sex workers still on the streets of Rue St.

			<p>Denis -Tiramasu - sugar and caffeine - created for the sex workers.</p>
3	August	Bois de Boulogne	<p>On the website for Foundation Louis Vuitton, the first recommendation was for accessing the museum by metro via line 1, Station Les Sablons (950m). I conducted an observational study along this walk between the Foundation LV, and the metro, which traverses along the edge of the woods. Along the edge of the woods, condoms could be seen amongst the foilage and sex workers were visible every 20meters. I noticed two sex workers one sitting at her presumed post in a chair in the dirt, and another walking. When the two workers saw each other, they exchanged a friendly wave, indicating that they were comrades, and the one by foot carried on into the woods. As I continued along the path towards the metro, I began to take note that outside of the workers, there were a few joggers and cyclists, but nearly all of my fellow walkers were middle to older-aged men. A number of them were not walking, looking off into the woods, presumed to be searching for their sexual partner.</p>
4	August	Pigalle	<p>8pm: Walk around Blvd. De Clichy Lots of tourists around Moulin Rouge, posing for photos. Despite the fact that the venue is closed and there are no shows. Most of the sex shops were completely empty, however a few seemed to be “hot spots” most notably, the latest 3 story one called the Sexodrome. The Sexodrome- three stories, the basement is BDSM themed with whips, bondage and other “dark” sexy items to give atmosphper of the devel, the ground floor is neutral and standard sex toys, the top floor is langerie and other “dainty” things. More romantic, a feeling of “angel theme” Clear Heaven/hell theme. Conversation with sex toy shop manager: - Him: “The majority of our customers were foreigners before Covid” - “When people think sex in Paris it’s here, it’s Pigalle.” 9PM Clear gentrification on the side roads - Rue Frochot - Bars - Dirty Dick</p>

		<p>Lulu Whites, Le Lipstick Clear gentrification on the side roads - Rue Frochot - Bars - Dirty Dick Lulu Whites, Le Lipstick</p> <p>11pm: Conversation with Strib Club bouncer Him: Are you here for work? AS: No, I am just walking to the metro. Why did you ask me that?" Him: It's just that usually when a woman is here at this hour it is for work. AS: That's interesting. I am actually doing some research on sex in Paris. Him: There is not sex here, it is just a show. AS: Yes, I meant sexual experiences by tourists. Him: There are not many tourists here. But before we had a ton of tourists. Half of our tourists were American. Usually from larger cities like Chicago, NYC and Miami AS: That's interesting, I wonder why that is. Him: They want a good time. They are used to the city. We have fun here. AS: It doesn't seem like there are many people here right now. Has it been difficult to get clients. Him: Yes there are less.. But it is still early. It really starts after midnight. Why don't you go inside and see? I will give you a discount. AS: No thanks, I can't but thanks. Him: Have a good night Mademoiselle.</p>
--	--	---

Appendix D

Subjects of Eroticization in Paris

- Pigalle
 -  Blvd de Clichy, Paris

- Pigalle Attractions
 -  Maison Souquet
 -  Moulin Rouge
 -  Sexodrome

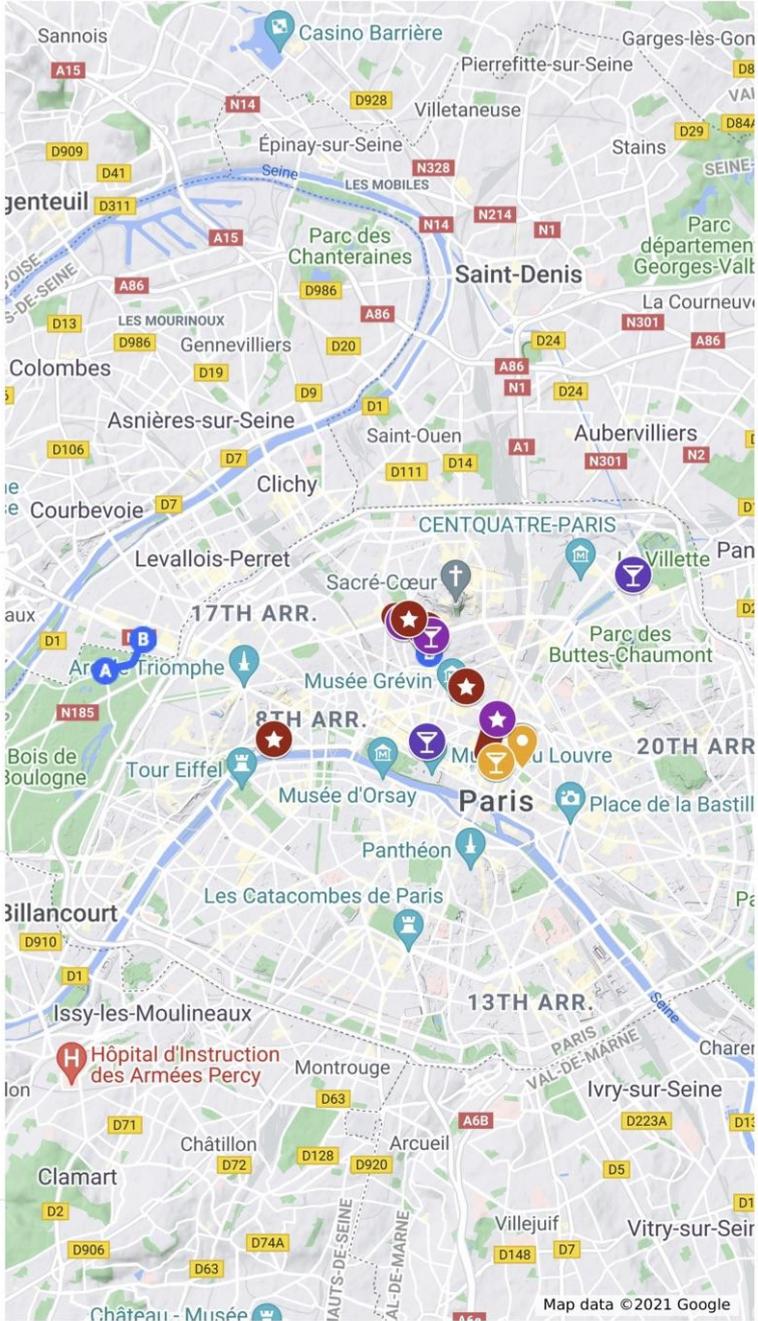
- Rue Frochot - Off of Blvd. de Clichy
 -  Rue Frochot
 -  Le Lipstick
 -  Dirty Dick
 -  Lulu White Drinking Club

- Paris Coquin Tour
 -  Place Blanche
 -  Saint-Georges

- Rue Saint Denis
 -  Aux Belles Poules

- Directions from Fondation L. Vuitton, 75116 Paris, France to Les Sablons, 92200 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France
 -  Fondation L. Vuitton, 75116 Paris, France
 -  Les Sablons, 92200 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France

- Cabarets/Libertine Clubs / Clubs
 -  lido
 -  Crazy Horse Paris
 -  Opium Paris club privé
 -  Les Chandelles
 -  La Mutinerie



Locations mentioned in data collection - Interviews, Questionnaire, and Fieldwork

Source: (Google n.d)