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*Contesting identity and status: a study of female commercial  
sex workers and citizenship.*

**ANDREA GAYNOR**

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Submission date: 9<sup>th</sup> August 2018

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## Abstract

The extant research concerning commercial-sexwork is extensive, covering a diverse range of issues, such as physical and psychological risks; with on-street work regarded as persistently perilous. CSWs are marginalised from mainstream society by their work identity and associated behaviours which are incongruous with societal mores and norms for ideal citizens. Yet, apart from research related to geographical space and citizenship rights, and a few studies relating to sexual citizenship; the relationship between citizenship status/identity and commercial-sexwork is overlooked or included as an 'add on' to other concerns. This is regarded as an omission as those who do not conform to citizenship ideals are offered a "hand-up" or experience increased monitoring by the state in the form of law and policy directives. Importantly, for CSWs historical and contemporary legal and policy discourses (such as nuisance, victim, abuser, exiting and criminal) impact negatively upon their relationship with citizenship status compounding their marginalisation. Thus the overarching aim within this thesis is that it explores the citizenship journeys of CSWs utilising Lister's (2003a) differentiated universalism citizenship concept. To achieve this aim there are four research questions; 'How do CSWs experience citizenship?', 'How do participants express their understandings of citizenship?', 'To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?' and 'How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?'. A thematic analysis of data from five semi-structured interviews and 123 online forum correspondents found three overarching themes: 'Understanding citizenship: Civil rights and duties, and social rights'; 'Enacting citizenship: active citizenship and intimate citizenship and commercial sex work' and 'Exiting commercial-sexwork: becoming 'normal' citizens'. The main findings were that CSWs understand the conditional nature of citizenship; they pursue the right to work and the duties to pay tax and national insurance; evidence active citizenship behaviours, a community of practice and there is support for the notion that the disembodied nature of commercial-sexwork corresponds to work within the public arena - challenging the public/private binary. Yet, the state has appropriated these CSWs citizenship contributions without the corresponding benefits of citizenship status or identity. Further, via the quasi-legal status of commercial-sex work, the state has ignored or misrecognised key citizenship attributes such as agency in terms of their right to choose to work in this arena; such omissions amount to an injustice. This is compounded by the state's exiting process which does little to advance CSWs status and identity but rather leads to a disciplined citizenship status. This thesis concludes that for transformative recognition, a more differentiated citizenship concept which recognises the similarity between CSWs and other females in terms of claims to rights, agency and justice but acknowledges their diversity is a necessity. Additionally, policy and legal discourses are ineffective in reducing CSWs marginalisation which impacts on their citizenship status. The latter will continue unless law and policy makers explicitly recognise CSWs citizenship contributions whilst considering how legal and policy discourse negatively construct the citizenship status of those who conform (victims or those who exit) and those who do not (nuisances or criminals).

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## Glossary

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
AIR	Association of Internet Researchers
ASBO	Anti-Social Behaviour Orders
BS	Big Society
BSA	British Sociological Association
CDA	Contagious Diseases Acts
CLA	Criminal Law Amendment Act
CSW	Commercial sexworker
DBS	Disclosure and Barring Service
ECHR	European Convention of Human Rights
ECP	English Collective of Prostitutes
ESO	Engagement and Support Order
HMRC	HM Revenue & Customs
IUSW	International Union of Sex Workers
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans
NI	National insurance
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PCA	Policing and Crime Act
SOA	Sexual Offences Act
STD	Sexually transmitted disease
UKNSWP	UK Network of Sex Work Projects
VAGW	Violence against women

## Dedications and Acknowledgements

In loving memory of my Dad, Eddie Hinchcliffe (15/01/1941 – 08/11/2017).

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## Introduction

## *Background to the thesis*

The ideas for this thesis came about due to three converging 'incidents'. Firstly, during the final year of my undergraduate course we were permitted to choose our own topic to explore as a component of a behavioural sciences approach; I chose the topic of children/teenagers who were 'selling sex' and were classed as prostitutes within the social world. My exploration of this group related to the question of why these particular children/teenagers were not regarded as being sexually abused, whereas when the notion of selling sex was removed from the equation other children/teenagers were regarded as abused. Secondly, whilst on my PGCE teaching course and prior to being allowed to teach, we had to conduct a teaching practice session in front of our peers and one of my peers presented a 'lesson' on citizenship. Up until this point I admit that I regarded citizenship in the simplistic terms of birth right – I was born in Britain therefore I was a British citizen. This 'lesson' proved to be enlightening – I was hooked from this point and started reading around the area.

The third incident happened when I delivered my first 'real' teaching session at undergraduate level. This turned out to be one of the most horrifying experiences that I have ever had – at the time but not so on reflection. To cut what is a particularly long story short, a student within that session recognised me as being related to another lecturer and made an association between where we had attended high school and prostitution. I found out at a later tribunal (the student was excluded from the university due to harassing and stalking me on several occasions) that the student was informed by her brother, who had attended the same high school as me, that all the females who went to that school were prostitutes. Following this logic, she came to the conclusion that I had attended said school therefore I was a prostitute – this was untrue. I had no idea prior to the lecture that this was how she perceived me.

During the lecture, when the student realised who I was, she walked out of the lecture and stared at me through the door – the other students could not see her but I could and I have to admit to being very disturbed by this. She stood outside for quite some time staring at me, then she stormed into the classroom and, whilst shouting in my face, announced to everyone that I was a prostitute and asked the other students how they felt about paying £3000 a year fees to be taught by a prostitute. Other students came to my rescue and removed her from the classroom. After this, she stalked me around campus, informed other people/students that I was a prostitute and even tried to convince another student to wait for me outside a lecture to ‘get me’.

Even though I had never been a ‘prostitute’, these events led me to reflect on how those who sell sex might feel if they tried to work in what could be viewed as more legitimate forms of work – how they would probably be still classed as a prostitute – the work had to some extent become their identity; much as my role as a lecturer was in relation to my identity. As I was reading around citizenship at that time, I also started making links between how such an identity led to marginalisation from full citizenship... thus began this exploration.

Henceforth, the expression ‘commercial-sexworker’ (CSW) will be used to categorise people who sell sexual intercourse in exchange for money; it distinguishes the category of worker from the other twenty-five (plus) categories of work in the sex industry (Harcourt & Donovan, 2005). Epistemologically, the rationale for using ‘CSW’ instead of ‘prostitute’ stems from my intention to avoid reifying and compounding adverse connotations of ‘prostitute’; for example associations with shame, immorality and corruption (Weitzer, 2007). Further, naming commercial-sexwork ‘work’ intimates that CSWs have chosen to work in this field. This clearly is not always the case as some CSWs are forced by a lack of finance or by other

people to take up sex work. However, this relates more to those who are trafficked or vulnerable street workers, whereas the participants and forum contributors in this research have less erratic lifestyles and some of them indicate that they have agency of choice which according to Lister (2003a) is a key citizen attribute.

A further influence on the decision to use the term CSW is that it was adopted by sex workers to emphasise that they should be perceived as being engaged in economic activity - rather than focusing on their social/and or psychological characteristics (Bellis et al., 2007; Leigh, 1997). Consequently, when 'sex worker' is coupled with the term 'commercial'; it suggests the capacity for personal agency with regard to working within this area (Outshoorn, 2005). This is a key factor in the empowerment of CSWs to express *their* claims to citizenship. The term is also gender neutral – accounting for the fact that males also work in this field. However, only the accounts of those who identify with the female gender will be included within this project. This is consistent with Lister's (2003a) feminist citizenship approach which provides the overarching theoretical approach for this thesis.

Commercial-sexwork is an arena that has been explored in research which relates to a diverse range of complex social issues which are associated with this work. For example, children running away from home or abusive situations (Jeal & Salisbury, 2004; Potter, Martin, & Romans, 1999) and finding themselves without an income source (Balfour & Allen, 2014; Social Exclusion Unit, 2002), homelessness and exploitation (Munro & Scoular, 2012; Voices Heard Group, 2008). Also, as is evidenced by the above personal account, those who work in the commercial-sexwork arena have been/are perceived in the social world as lesser individuals than others who work in mainstream occupations. This view is consistent with how commercial-sexwork is often portrayed negatively within the media, that is, it is associated with crime such as drug dealing or is perceived as a nuisance to others in their community (see for example, Smirke, 2015; Telegraph Reporters, 2017; The

Daily Telegraph, 2018; Turner, 2017). The latter was exemplified within an Ipsos MORI (2008) poll of public opinions at the time of the beginnings of this thesis which found that 60% of those questioned said they would be ashamed if they discovered a member of their family was a CSW.

In line with the above, commercial-sexwork has been long debated as to whether CSWs are victims, criminals or simply a nuisance (Carline & Scoular, 2015; Phoenix, 2008; Sagar, 2007; Sanders, 2009) resulting in persistent discourses. For the purpose of this research, discourse relates to habitual and taken for granted language, based on norms and rules, for making sense of labels given to individuals and groups (for example a 'victim' discourse). Simultaneously there have been competing notions towards the extent that commercial-sexwork is work in the same sense as other mainstream occupation (Bellis et al., 2007; Leigh, 1997; MacKinnon, 1989; Oerton & Phoenix, 2001; Weitzer, 2007), or whether it is no more than slave labour (Pateman, 1988). The latter are influenced by the quasi-legal status of commercial-sexwork which has been created by the state via legislation such as the Sexual Offences Act (SOA) 2003 and, more recently, the Policing and Crime Act (PCA) 2009; in order to confuse clients (or sex-buyers) with a view to reducing the demand.

However, what is significant about these debates is that they remain unresolved; such polarised research and legal discourses lead to confusion about those who work in the commercial-sexwork arena and do little to advance their rights or address their discredited identity (Goffman, 1963). Further, it will be highlighted within this thesis, that there has been little consideration of how CSWs' discredited identity is implicated in their marginalisation from a full citizenship status. Neither is there consideration of how discourse, such as the victim discourse, may also have an impact on their citizenship status; for example the victim discourse implies a lack of agency which is a key citizenship attribute. The lack of attention to the impact of

working in the commercial-sexwork arena on citizenship status for CSWs is an oversight; researching this area in order to establish how CSWs experience their citizenship journeys is thus a necessity and provides the rationale and aim for this thesis. There are four research questions which will be used to facilitate this aim:

How do CSWs experience citizenship?

How do participants express their understandings of citizenship?

To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?

How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?

This part of the introduction has highlighted the complex nature of commercial-sexwork in terms of CSWs social and legal statuses and has indicated that the lack of attention to their citizenship status and identity is problematic. The next component of the introduction provides an overview of the thesis in order to outline how the above aim and questions will be addressed.

### *Overview of thesis*

Chapter 1: Review of the commercial-sexwork research literature in relation to citizenship status and identity.

The aim within chapter one is to introduce the complexities of researching the commercial-sexwork arena, taking into consideration the hierarchical nature of this work, how working in this arena leads to marginalisation for those who work in this arena and the impact these have on attaining a full citizenship status and identity. To note, citizenship is a status afforded to citizens based on residence within a particular nation-state which provides citizens the legal entitlement to rights (political,

economic and social) (Dominelli & Moosa-Mitha, 2016). Whereas the notion of citizenship identity has been traditionally aligned with a recognised and universalised person; that is, generally a middle class white male (Plummer, 2003). Lastly, the concept of citizenship is explored in terms of whether commercial-sexwork can be classed as work and the extent it is able to map on to the mainstream work contract.

## Chapter 2: Theoretical review of Citizenship

Chapter 2 is a theoretical review of concepts of citizenship and has two parts from which these concepts are explored. Firstly, within part 1, Marshall's (1950/1992) liberal conceptualisation of citizenship is critiqued as over focusing on rights to the detriment of duties and its lack of ability to account for how other identities such as gender or age can interact with social class and in turn lead to marginalisation. Secondly, the more contemporary alternative neo-liberal conception is critiqued in terms of its individualised and exclusionary properties for those who do not conform to perceptions of the ideal citizen.

Part 2 of chapter 2 discusses contemporary citizenship approaches which challenge and address the limitations within the mainstream concepts; beginning with the concept of sexual citizenship (Evans, 1993; Langdrige, 2006), this is followed by Plummer's (2003) concept of intimate citizenship, and the chapter concludes with Lister's (1997, 2003a) feminist citizenship conceptualisation of a differentiated universalism. From the theoretical review Lister's (2003a) differentiated universal citizenship concept, and aspects of Plummer's (2003) intimate citizenship (for example, grounded moralities, and argumentative stances), will be used as a unique theoretical framework to explore CSWs stories about their understandings and experiences of citizenship. Lister (2003a) did not reject the mainstream concept of citizenship but considered how the strengths within that concept could be utilised within a feminist concept. In line with the latter, the theoretical framework used in

this thesis includes consideration of the three realms of mainstream concept of citizenship (political, civil and social) by not only considering how binary thinking within those realms leads to a lesser citizenship status but how deconstructing binaries can enhance females' citizenship. For example, in relation to the political realm, how CSWs map onto the ideal political citizen, the extent to which CSWs exhibit informal political citizenship and how any such informal political actions can these be aligned with formal (male) contributions.

An additional consideration is how the public-private binary can be deconstructed to include CSWs; that is establishing how that binary is constructed socially and politically and the impact on citizens from the opposite sides of the divide. This is particularly important in terms of commercial-sexwork where this work contravenes the binary by bringing the private (sex) into the public arena. Importantly, both Lister (2003a) and Plummer (2003) point to the falseness of that binary; particularly as the binary is constructed to place females firmly in the private arena and a second class citizenship status. Additionally, by taking a differentiated universal approach to citizenship, the theoretical framework is intended to establish how issues of CSWs citizenship identity will be similar yet different to those of females in general in order to address those issues which are particular to CSWs. This is important in terms of citizenship in all three realms but in particular in terms of formal and informal political citizenship and recognition, as those female voices which are heard are not generally those from marginalised groups. This is problematic as CSWs activists' claims to rights have not been transformative and this group are currently subsumed into the general category of females but do not necessarily fully meet the social mores or behaviour norms for that group.

### Chapter 3: Historical and contemporary legal/policy discourses relating to commercial sex workers and the impact on citizenships status

Chapter 3 focuses on historical and contemporary legal/policy discourses and how these impact on the citizenship status of CSWs. The first section provides a historical mapping of the legal status of commercial-sexwork and the discourses which emerged from the Renaissance period (approx. 1484-1620) up to the introduction of the SOA 2003. Within this component, there is consideration of how citizenship is enacted historically, whereby citizens are either active or passive, has led to corresponding discourse for CSWs in which they have been constructed as either nuisances, criminals or victims.

The second section of chapter 3 is a critique of contemporary commercial-sexwork law and policy beginning with the SOA 2003; focusing on five key discourses (nuisance, victim, abuser (client), exiting and criminal) and how these impact on CSWs' citizenship status. That is, the contradictory legal and policy agenda leads to confusion with regards to the legal status of commercial-sexwork. This, in turn, leads to negative implications for CSWs; such as continued marginalisation and a lesser citizenship status. Indeed, the focus on confusion within law and policy obscures the issues of CSWs' citizenship status that the aforementioned discourses create.

### Chapter 4: Methodology chapter

Chapter 4 is the methodology chapter which aims to justify the philosophical approach taken to this research, and provide a procedural map to how the data was gathered and analysed. Part 1 provides a justification of the constructivist ontology

and the unique epistemology whereby the interpretivist epistemological stance is underpinned by the feminist citizenship approach (Lister, 2003a) which justifies the qualitative approach. Part 2 of this chapter is the method section which provides details of the data triangulation in which the data was collected in different contexts, at different times with a diverse range of participants. That is, the first data collection method involved a semi-structured interview process which was conducted via two mediums; telephone interviews with two participants and email interviews with four participants. The second method of the data collection involved a search of an online forum used by CSWs. The search elicited data from 123 forum correspondents thus providing support for the interviews in the first part of the data collection process.

Part 3 of the chapter outlines the data analysis technique used which was based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases for thematic analysis. Lastly, part 4 of this chapter includes an in depth exploration of the intricate ethical considerations of research in relation to vulnerable participants and recent developments in relation to the use of online data.

## Chapter 5: Understanding citizenship: Civil rights and duties, and social rights

The purpose of chapter five is to elicit CSWs understandings of civil rights and duties, and social rights in order to address two particular questions of this research: 'How do CSWs experience citizenship?' and 'How do participants express their understandings of citizenship?'. To note, there is no previous research focussing explicitly on commercial-sexwork and how CSWs understand their citizenship rights and duties in these areas. In part one 'The right to employment and the duties to pay income tax and national insurance contributions' are identified as key components of citizenship and the aim within this section is to discover the extent to which CSWs are able to access such rights. Within part two 'Social citizenship

rights' are explored from within the data to address a lack of explicit consideration in the commercial-sexwork literature towards the concept of social citizenship rights (such as education and access to welfare).

#### Chapter 6: Enacting citizenship: active citizenship and intimate citizenship and commercial-sexwork

Chapter 6 discusses the concepts of active and intimate citizenship in relation to commercial-sexwork in order to meet the following research questions: 'To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?' and 'How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?'. In part 1 of the chapter the overarching theme is Active citizenship and informal politics, which discusses subthemes about CSWs community of practice, contributing to the wider community (facilitators and barriers) and understanding the particular in relation to CSWs (stigma and identity) (see figure 11). Stigma is defined as "the co-occurrence of its components—labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination—and further indicate that for stigmatization to occur, power must be exercised" (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 363). Part 2 of this overarching theme focuses on intimate citizenship and moral storytelling, and includes the subthemes about having insight into the issues of relationships with men, tainted love and the extent to which CSWs evidence an ethic of care (see figure 12).

#### Chapter 7: Exiting commercial-sexwork: becoming 'normal' citizens?

Chapter 7 discusses the complexity of leaving/retiring or exiting and how this is problematic for CSWs' citizenship journeys and aims to meet the questions: 'How do CSWs experience citizenship?' and: 'How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?' Included within this chapter are four subthemes which

address these questions: 'Moving onto mainstream occupations, consideration of the issues of skills transferability and bridging occupations'; 'Looking back to commercial-sexwork "with a bit of melancholy"'; 'Bouncing back'; and 'The tension between the terminologies of exiting versus retiring' (see figure 13 below for the final thematic map for this overarching theme).

## Chapter 8: conclusion

The conclusion chapter outlines how the contractual, moral and conditional nature of the neo-liberal citizenship concept leads to the exclusion of CSWs. Consequently, their attributes which map onto citizenship ideals are unrecognised and they remain the subjects of continued surveillance via legal/policy agendas which lead to a disciplined citizenship status. Finally, the original contribution, limitations, policy implications and suggestions for further research are outlined. In terms of the original contributions; this thesis used a unique theoretical framework to exploring the citizenship journeys of CSWs which consisted of Lister's (2003a) differentiated universal concept of citizenship along with components of Plummer's (2003) intimate citizenship concept (such as grounded moralities). The latter will assist the development and differentiation of the mainstream universal conceptualisation of citizenship and provide a new theoretical framework to researching commercial-sexwork and CSWs.

Further, this thesis is empirically unique due to the novel focus on historical and contemporary legal/policy discourses and citizenship in chapter 3 (see above for detail). The methodology and analysis/discussion chapters offer a further unique empirical component from which to explore the citizenship journeys of CSWs. For example, the interpretivist epistemology, underpinned by the feminist citizenship approach led to an inductive reflection and interpretation of the CSWs previously undiscovered stories about their citizenship journeys. This provided a unique

empirical approach for exploring the citizenship journeys of CSWs and considering the exclusionary aspects of the state's mainstream and neo-liberal agendas.

Lastly, policy and further research recommendations were made in order to advance CSWs' citizenship status and access to rights as a remedy to the state's appropriation CSWs citizenship contributions without the benefits of the status or identity, and misrecognition of key citizenship attributes such as agency. For example, it is recommended that CSWs citizenship contributions are formally recognised in policy and practice, in order to transform their citizenship status and facilitate justice.

The next component of the introduction is a review of the commercial-sexwork research literature in relation to citizenship status and identity.

Chapter 1: Review of the commercial-sexwork research literature in  
relation to citizenship status and identity.

The previous research literature regarding commercial-sexwork is extensive; focusing on a diverse range of topics from the experiences of workers within indoor arenas to those who are exploited via trafficking. However, there is no research that explicitly considers the impact of working in this arena in terms of a full citizenship identity or status, and claims to civil, political and social citizenship rights. Where the two are linked this amounts to one or two paragraphs situated within the accounts of other research areas for example see O'Neill, Campbell, Hubbard, Pitcher, and Scoular (2008) and Sanders and Campbell (2007). Further, Sanders' (2007a, 2009) research focuses on sexual citizenship, commercial-sexwork and clients with disabilities; which is useful for those client's rights claims but this work does not fully address the full remit of citizenship rights (social, political and economic) for CSWs. Therefore, whilst the aim is not to ignore or dismiss the previous considerable and important range of research, this chapter focuses only on literature which has usefulness in terms of the direction of this thesis; that are consistent with concerns for universality and equality of citizenship status and identity rather than re-presenting debates that have been discussed extensively elsewhere. That is, within part 1 of the review there is a discussion about the complex and hierarchical nature of commercial-sexwork which is followed in part 2 by the concern for CSWs and the impact of marginalisation. Within part 3, there is a broad review of citizenship and the extent to which commercial-sexwork can be classed as work.

*Review of the research literature in terms of the complex, risky and hierarchical nature of commercial-sexwork.*

In the UK there are estimated to be 72,800 CSWs (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2016) and the origins of commercial-sexwork can be traced to sex work in the grounds of Ancient Mesopotamian temples (Lerner, 1986). CSWs have always been a diverse group; they include a variety of ages (including children), genders, social class and ethnic groups (Shaver, 2005). The antecedents of commercial-sexwork are complex and highlight a range of social issues experienced

by those who work in this arena. For example, the reasons for entering commercial-sexwork range from children running away from family problems and sexual abuse (Jeal & Salisbury, 2004; Potter, Martin, & Romans, 1999) and to those who find themselves in a new location without a source of income (Balfour & Allen, 2014; Social Exclusion Unit, 2002), or being homeless and vulnerable to exploitation (Munro & Scoular, 2012; Voices Heard Group, 2008) to a gradual drift into sex work (Weitzer, 2007). Yet some CSWs do not relate to the previous issues, rather they state that they are working in the commercial-sexwork arena by choice (Rickard, 2001; Sanders & Campbell, 2007).

Throughout the commercial-sexwork research literature, the extent to which it is a 'dangerous' or risky occupation is evidenced; risks to CSWs include: poor general and sexual health (Mc Grath-Lone, Marsh, Hughes, & Ward, 2014), physical, sexual and verbal violence, drug addiction and risky behaviour (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2016). Thus the assumption that commercial-sexwork is dangerous is persistent (Moen, 2014). Further, the extent to which CSWs are at risk of physical and/or sexual violence has been linked to its' hierarchical structure. That is, some on-street workers work in isolated places in order to avoid detection from the police; due to the criminalisation of associated activities within the PCA 2009, and SOA 2003. Working in isolation can lead to the risk of assault, rape or murder from 'clients' and others within the local community (Bellis et al., 2007; Campbell, 2015); hazards which were historically perceived as an unavoidable component of the work (Jeal & Salisbury, 2004).

In contrast, codes and protocols concerning indoor transactions afford off-street CSWs some security against clients who may be violent. According to Sanders and Campbell (2007, p.16) clients of off-street workers regard indoor work as being a job that has been chosen rationally; which "can act as a protective factor against violence" rather than for on-street workers whereby the "discourse of

disposability'...incites violence and disrespect.” However, it would be too simplistic to suggest that off-street work is entirely free from safety issues as there are indications that the criminalisation of brothel working (SOA 1956, 2003) leads to underreporting of violence against CSWs; inadvertently exacerbating the risks (Pitcher & Wijers, 2014). Conversely, whilst the risky and dangerous elements should not be minimised, they do not represent the experiences of all CSWs; perceiving commercial-sexwork as essentially dangerous has had a stigmatising effect which is firmly embedded within the law and policy in England and Wales [see for example, Home Office (2008), and PCA, 2009].

The hierarchical nature of commercial-sexwork is also reflected in relation to drug addiction; with those taking drugs regarded as 'low status' and predominantly on-street workers. Drug addiction has been deemed particularly problematic for CSWs because they are more likely to take part in risky behaviours (such as unprotected sex) in order to earn enough money to pay for their habit (Legros, 2005; Matthews, 2015). Yet, CSWs who work in indoor establishments (such as brothels) are said to pride themselves in having a *classier* reputation due to being drug free; drug use is perceived as disreputable and contravening “‘anti-drug’ policies” within brothels (Cusick, Martin, & May, 2003, p.46). Such *pride* in relation to off-street CSWs is used to justify a more professional approach within this arena (Abel, 2011; Cruz, 2013) when compared to the on-street arena. This, in turn facilitates a more discerning clientele, and allows those CSWs to be more selective in whom they accept as clients; thus affording those in the off-street market safer working conditions.

Additionally, even though sexual health risks were, and are, a concern for female CSWs, they have been a low priority within policy research (Sanders, 2004) (see for example Health Protection Agency, 2003, 2006). Importantly the incidence of sexually transmitted disease is also hierarchal; brothel workers have been purported

to have less sexual health risks (such as HIV/AIDS) than on-street workers (Weitzer, 2007). Yet, it is difficult to make such claims in relation to the CSW community as there may be more than one reason for the low statistics for STIs from those who work off-street. For example, previous health scares such as the HIV epidemic which was to some extent associated with sexual intercourse with CSWs has compounded their stigmatised identity (Reidpath & Chan, 2006; Scambler, 2007). Such views may prevent some CSWs seeking medical assistance due to feelings of apprehension related to being prejudged (Coy, Horvath, & Kelly, 2012; Legros, 2005).

Further, this has implications for their clients who in turn are stigmatised because of the notion of CSWs spreading STIs (Moen, 2014; Watson & Vidal, 2011). However, this notion is not supported; for example, data from the third National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles (Natsal-3) (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2016) between 2010-2012 of 6293 males, revealed 11% reported having paid for sexual intercourse (equating to 2.3 million males) and those buying sex accounted for 15.6% of all STI diagnoses over the previous 5 years (Jones et al., 2014). Such statistics should be taken with a certain amount of caution as under-reporting is likely due to the continued stigma attached to having paid for sexual intercourse. However, it is evident that the notion of CSWs as spreading sexually transmitted diseases is mostly unfounded.

Despite the different perspectives toward the nature of commercial-sexwork in the research literature and partial statistics, it is evident that the hierarchical structure of commercial-sexwork is significant in most of the areas where the workers are at risk (health, physical and sexual violence or drug abuse). For example, off-street CSWs do not experience the same level of danger as those who work in on-street arenas. For off-street CSWs, the hierarchal nature of commercial-sexwork is a protective factor as it facilitates the development of a more professional identity; they are

perceived in a better light by their clients, which, in turn reduces the level of danger and risky behaviours. Yet perceiving the off-street arena as safer may mask the extent to which those working off-street are subject to social and structural stigma and marginalisation. The latter is problematic as CSWs are a group more at risk of marginalisation. In relation to the commercial-sexwork arena, Sanders and Munford's (2007, p.186) definition of marginalisation is useful as it acknowledges that it is "a product of exclusion, reflecting the restrictions on opportunities to participate that result from exclusion and the development by excluded individuals of alternative lifestyles"; such as those relating to sexuality.

In addition to this, CSWs share some commonalities with the experiences of other marginalised groups such as disabled people, ethnic minorities or people who are not working. The work of Hall (2015), Jonsson (2016) and Kymlicka (2003) identified that it is difficult for those within marginalised groups to attain citizenship rights afforded others who are less reliant on the state or who are more aligned with the norms for citizenship. This has been exemplified in relation to ethnic minorities due to the concept of an imagined national community (Benedict, 1991), which connotes a shared culture and language. However, according to Alexander, Edwards, and Temple (2007) ethnic minorities are marginalised because they are perceived as sharing the *wrong* communities. The latter is important as commercial-sexwork intersects with the aforementioned, for example CSWs may also come from ethnic groups or have disabilities which compound their risk of marginalisation.

However, although ubiquitous - marginalisation is not equal; individual experience of marginalisation will be subjectively diverse and may depend on whether a person subjectively experiences their marginalisation. Thus, in researching CSWs, there is a need to understand their unique "life experiences, values, beliefs, needs and expectations" and the distinct views they have of themselves and others (Browne & Minichiello, 1995, p.602). The latter is important to note as Harcourt and Donovan

(2005) identified at least twenty-five kinds of commercial-sexwork (direct and indirect); included within this spectrum of sex work are 'high' and 'low' class prostitutes – high class prostitutes are often closer in status to their clients. Thus, it may be argued that high class CSWs will not experience marginalisation as acutely as those from the lower classes. On the other hand, a CSW from the working or 'underclass' may be marginalised but remain indifferent. Despite this, the quasi-legal status of commercial-sexwork leads to policy which has its base in the idea that all CSWs are marginalised victims; thus it aims to rehabilitate CSWs via the exiting process (see for example Association of Chief Police Officers [ACPO], 2004, 2011). Conversely, Sagar and Jones (2013) suggest that this inadvertently preserves their marginalised status by isolating them as outsiders thus non-citizens.

Consequently, marginalisation is problematic as it can restrict the access to key resources regarded as social citizenship rights such as health care, education and welfare support which can impact negatively on the ability to gain other rights and duties such as the civil duty to pay tax (Marshall, 1950/1992). Marginalisation also restricts access to participation in political life which is problematic for those marginalised individuals and groups as “the more individuals participate the better able they become to do so” (Pateman, 1970, p.43). It is important to establish the extent to which marginalisation as a result of commercial-sexwork impacts on citizenship status; whilst acknowledging the heterogeneity of experiences of marginalisation within commercial-sexwork.

### *Citizenship, marginalisation and the contractual nature of commercial-sexwork*

In the previous part of the review chapter it was highlighted that the hierarchical structure of commercial-sexwork means that CSWs have a significantly different experience in most of the areas associated with risk or danger (health, physical and sexual violence or drug abuse). For example, those who work on-street are more

likely to experience danger than those who work in off-street arenas. Further, the hierarchical nature of commercial-sexwork has been used to assist those CSWs who work off-street in developing a more professional identity, which can have a positive outcome on how they are regarded by clients; thus reducing the level of danger and risky behaviours. Yet perceiving the off-street arena as safer than the on-street arena may mask the extent those CSWs working off-street are subject to social and structural stigma and marginalisation. The latter is problematic as issues of marginalisation from both formal and informal citizenship status for CSWs are not discussed or considered in any depth within the commercial-sexwork research literature.

Accordingly, this section of the review chapter will provide a broad review of the mainstream concept of citizenship in relation to CSWs' marginalisation and the nature of commercial-sexwork in terms of the work contract (a more in-depth theoretical review is provided in chapter 2 below). The nature of commercial-sexwork with regards to whether it can be regarded as work has been widely discussed within research and theoretical material, with some stating that selling sex is akin to slavery (Pateman, 1988). Whereas others state that it is another form of service industry work (Bellis et al., 2007; Leigh, 1997; Oerton & Phoenix, 2001; Weitzer, 2007) which can be aligned with other work in the service industry (Sanders, 2005a). The latter debate is important as the ideal of the citizen worker is a key responsibility within the mainstream neo-liberal concept of citizenship.

The concept of citizenship is often contradictory and is certainly complex as noted by Friedman (2005, p.3) there are a variety of interpretations from which it can be understood:

an identity; a set of rights, privileges and duties; an elevated and exclusionary political status; a relationship between individuals and their states; a set of practices that can unify – or divide – the members of a political community; and an ideal of political agency.

According to Marshall (1950/1992) there are three key components of citizenship that is social, civil and political rights. A sense of universality in relation to citizenship status and identity has been created in the UK; such an approach should include all groups of citizens including those who are marginalised by other identities such as social class. The universality of the approach is somewhat supported by previously discredited groups who have pursued rights based claims and to some extent attained them; for example claims to sexual citizenship and LGBT rights (see chapter 2 for a fuller discussion on this notion). However, it is suggested that a *mask* of universalism has been created in relation to females and their citizenship rights (for example social welfare rights) (Lister, 2003a; Roche, 1992). That is, stigmatised views attached to the gendered nature of female work in the private arena make claims to a full citizenship status and identity difficult to achieve.

Further, not all females are considered worthy of full citizenship identity and can be excluded from within (Lister, 2003a); because they are not aligned with the social mores for the ideal female thus they are excluded from the mainstream category for females. Dworkin (1994) highlighted that the gendered nature of commercial-sexwork means that whereas male sex-buyers are exercising their right to choose which services they buy; the illicit nature of the transaction erodes the female CSWs citizenship rights; such as the right to protection from the law. The precarious positions of CSWs in relation to citizenship undermines the universality inherent to the concept, as Dahrendorf (1994, p.15) explains “If we allow say 5 per cent to be denied access to our civic community, we should not be surprised if doubts about the validity of our values spread throughout the social fabric”. The lack of research literature in relation to this topic does little to provide support for the opposite.

The previous points allude to the gendered nature of citizenship status which is firmly entrenched and understood within a patriarchal framework where males dominate

and females are associated with non- or lesser citizenship due to their work within the private arena (Pateman, 1987). Despite formal equality, the impact of the public/private divide in the work arena continues to impact negatively on females (including CSWs) across the UK and Europe. Indeed, the European Parliament (2014) adopted a resolution which recognised the gendered nature of commercial-sexwork and that, in contradiction of the principles of the European Parliament, Council and Commission's (2012) Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union; it violates human dignity and equality in terms of gender. The latter are key citizenship values; highlighting the extent to which female CSWs can be marginalised from the benefits of a full citizenship identity.

Thus research drawing on lived experiences is essential for establishing what a differentiated citizenship means for different social groups. Further, Andrijasevic (2012) suggested that taking a feminist standpoint which views citizenship as a process rather than a status facilitates the discovery of the contradictory components of citizenship; particularly for those groups who are marginalised from political participation such as CSWs. This is important as within Marshall's (1950/1992) mainstream concept whilst both civil and political rights can be thought of as a prerequisite to full citizenship, without the inclusion of social rights they are deemed insufficient as they do not account for inequalities which undermine formal rights and equality of status. Further, civil and political rights provide a vehicle for empowering citizens to achieve social rights (Manjoo, 2016). Thus it is evident that all three components of citizenship are intricately linked to each other and CSWs can be excluded from any or all of these due to the gendered nature of their work (in line with females in general), the social discourse of disposability and the quasi-legal status of commercial-sexwork.

One contradictory component within the citizenship process in terms of commercial-sexwork is the nature of their work and the rights and duties afforded full citizens.

That is, in order to claim civil work rights and duties, such as the duty to pay income tax and national insurance (NI) contributions, commercial-sexwork has to be regarded as work. Although the drive to perceive commercial-sexwork as work is viewed as a contemporary debate, there are indications of its roots as early as the high middle ages (1000 – 1300) at which time it had a trade status (Brundage, 1976). Thus the debate regarding whether commercial-sexwork is work has persisted overtime but is unresolved which indicates the complex nature of commercial-sexwork. The contemporary notion of sex as work was advanced by CSWs (Oerton & Phoenix, 2001), liberal contract theorists and marxist feminist researchers (see for example MacKinnon, 1989). From this viewpoint, a CSW is the same as “any other wage labourer” (Bellis et al., 2007; Leigh, 1997; Oerton & Phoenix, 2001, p.402; Weitzer, 2007). Additionally, whether working on- or off-street, for some CSWs every encounter of selling sex is “first and foremost work” (Oerton & Phoenix, 2001, p.402). Further, in some of the research literature, commercial-sexwork has been related to aesthetic and emotional labour; that for some CSWs “it’s just acting!” (Sanders, 2005a, p.319). Emotional labour is defined as work within which workers have to ‘manage’ their feelings during their work to hide their true feelings (Hochschild, 2003; Wellington & Bryson, 2001).

However, there is no consensus for whether it can be aligned with the general work contract. That said, commercial-sexwork is generally associated with the “informal and unregulated economy” due to its mixed legal status (some components are criminalised under the SOA 2003) but there are comparisons which can be made with the formal work sphere; for example skills and structures (Pitcher, 2015, p.113). To note, commercial-sexwork has become a component of the sex industry, but there is a hierarchy within as some components of the industry are more socially acceptable (such as lap dancing clubs) than commercial-sexwork. Despite this there is evidence of attempts to professionalise commercial-sexwork in line with other more mainstream professions (Abel, 2011; Cruz, 2013). However, whilst in other countries this has led to a legitimisation of commercial-sexwork such as in Victoria State, Australia (Gorjanicyn, 2013) whereby it is being perceived in both the political

and legal arenas as a legitimate form of work, this has not been the case within England and Wales.

Yet, despite the extent selling sex can be classed as legitimate work being contested, it is evident that for some CSWs it is an economic choice; selling sex can be chosen from several options (including mainstream work options) in order to pay for expenses with regard to “personal debt, unexpected life events, further education fees” (Legros, 2005, p.5; Weitzer, 2007). For example, there has been an increase in female undergraduates in the UK choosing to work within the commercial-sexwork arena to support their studies rather than choosing work which would be regarded as legitimate (Roberts, Bergstrom, & La Rooy, 2007a; Roberts et al., 2007b; Roberts et al., 2010). However, this does not indicate that in general commercial-sexwork is integrating into the mainstream work arena or becoming more socially acceptable. For example, recent research by Sagar et al. (2015) conducted with members of University faculties in Wales indicates that the notion of students working as CSWs is problematic at an institutional level; the Universities stated that students who work in the sex industry may bring the university’s image into disrepute. From this there are also negative implications for student CSWs in relation to future career prospects if they are perceived as having a CSW identity. Therefore, even though commercial-sexwork is regarded as work for some individuals, it is clear that within the social and institutional arenas there is a negative impact on their identity and status.

Additionally, the relationship between ‘sex’ and ‘work’ is complex; societal disapproval about their choice of work is compounded by inequalities between males and females in capitalist patriarchal societies (Pateman, 1988). For example, it is complicated due to normative conceptions of sex and work and where each belongs within the public/private divide:

Prostitutes stand at the flash points of marriage and market, taking sex into the streets and money into the bedroom...publicly demanding money for sexual services that men expect for free, prostitutes insist on exhibiting their sexwork as having economic value (McClintock, 1992, p.72).

Therefore, commercial-sexwork oversteps the boundaries between the public and the private divide; which can lead to stigma related to CSWs exhibiting “their sexual and economic values” in public (McClintock, 1992, p.73). For Pateman (1988, p.16) this amounts to politicising the “natural” - ‘what it is to be a ‘man’ or ‘woman’ and typifies how these differences are central to, and reflect the (natural) order of, civil society. Yet it is suggested that selling sex can be contractual in nature (which is consistent with mainstream work), however the sexual contract provides the medium used by men to convert sex (regarded as a male right) into a “civil patriarchal right” for men (Pateman, 1988, p.6). Also, underlying dominant (hegemonic) narratives with regard to work and sex compound this issue for example the assumption within the work arena that individuals “Don't mix business and pleasure” and about the nature of sex within intimate relationship that “Money can't buy you love” (Zatz, 1997, p.294).

Pateman (1988, p.191) takes issue with the argument that commercial-sexwork is just like any other work because, for her, this suggests that there is “nothing wrong with prostitution that is not wrong with other forms of work” and that the “prostitute contract” is similar to the mainstream work contract. However, taking this stance can mask the many inequalities within the CSW/client relationship. Further, for commercial-sexwork to be considered contractual it needs to be established if there are commodities produced from the exchange; as these would be a requirement of the work contract (Marx, 1867/1999). In order for something to be transformed into a commodity a “product must be transferred to another, whom it will serve as a use value, by means of an exchange” (Marx, 1867/1999, p.1). As Marx (1844/2000) indicated that human labour can be regarded as a commodity; it should follow that commercial sex can be regarded as a commodity also (Denham, 2004). From this it

appears that commercial-sexwork, on this level at least, can be aligned with the capitalist work contract.

Yet this is problematic, as reducing the value of a female to that of a commodity could lead to a “discourse of disposability” (Lowman, 2000, p.987) which aids the legitimisation of the isolation/marginalisation of CSWs as undesirable ‘others’ (Hubbard, 1998a; Lowman, 2000). From the above, it is not difficult to see how the relationship between ‘sex’ and ‘work’ is unresolved as it reflects the extent of the complexity and controversy within the debate. However, whilst this remains the case it will be difficult for CSWs to make claims to the right to choose which area an individual works in; this is problematic as the latter is a key citizenship right. Yet, there is a lack of research which focuses on the citizenship journeys of female CSWs; this is an important omission, especially as it is unknown how CSWs perceive their citizenship status or identity in relation to the commercial-sexwork arena.

### *Summary*

The literature in relation to commercial-sexwork is extensive and has utility in identifying key issues for CSWs and those who are researching the commercial-sexwork arena. However, despite the variety of issues considered within the literature, there is limited consideration of how commercial-sexwork impacts on CSWs citizenship identity or status. What is evident within the previous research is the complex nature of this work and the negative impact it can have on the lives of those who work in this arena. Further, the hierarchical structure within this work arena means that there is a negative, stigmatising association between on-street work and risk. Yet it would be remiss to assume that off-street work is a better option as those who work indoors are as likely as those who work on-street to experience social and structural stigma and marginalisation. This is important as

marginalisation has a negative impact on an individual's ability to participate in citizenship and to access social, political and civil citizenship rights. Further complicating this is the complex debate towards the extent to which commercial-sexwork can be aligned with the mainstream work contract is unresolved. Whilst this is the case, it will be difficult for CSWs who choose to work in this arena to make agentic claims to the citizenship right to choose which area an individual works in. This is problematic as there is no research which consults CSWs about how they perceive their citizenship status and identity in relation to the work arena. Accordingly, chapter 2, which follows below, provides a theoretical review of mainstream and alternative citizenship concepts in order to establish the extent to which these concepts are universal or differentiated adequately to account for those who do not meet the requirements for a full citizenship status; such as CSWs.

## Chapter 2: Theoretical review of Citizenship

The previous chapter revealed that commercial-sexwork has been researched from several different approaches towards the complex nature of this work and the experiences of those who work in this arena. However, there is a lack of research which focuses solely on how commercial-sexwork impacts on CSWs' citizenship status, identity or their ability to access social, political and civil citizenship rights. Additionally, the lack of consensus as to whether commercial-sexwork can be thought of as work, in the same way as other more mainstream occupations, means that CSWs are unlikely to be able to access rights associated with paid work or the identity of a worker citizen. Within this thesis, the aforementioned are deemed to be problematic, as for those who are marginalised from the mainstream awaits a lesser citizenship identity. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to explore the concept/s of citizenship in order to establish the extent to which the conditions and nature of the mainstream citizenship status and identity are associated with the construction of marginalised citizens.

In Britain, citizenship as a legal status is bestowed on full and 'active' members of a society; encompassing all people who have a legitimate claim for example those born here since 1/1/83 (British Nationality Act, 1981). The importance of being a citizen on two levels - a vertical relationship with the state (Lister, 2006) and a horizontal relationship to a citizens' community (British Institute of International and Comparative Law, 2008; Goldsmith, 2008) is ratified. The association of active citizenship as a practice, with a male partaking in political duties for their community supported by female work in the private sphere, stems from the civic republican tradition in classical Greece particularly noted in the works of Aristotle (1598/1999). Further, and similar to the civic republican approach in terms of active responsibility, the communitarianism strand of citizenship included the concepts of collective identity, solidarity and welfare rights (Cohen, 1999). In order to address issues of marginalisation, attempts to provide an egalitarian concept of citizenship which encompasses all individuals has led to citizenship being a concern within several disciplines (Brannan, John, & Stoker, 2006; Faulks, 2006; Lister, 2007a; Simpson, 2007) and policy research (Goldsmith, 2008; Heath & Roberts, 2008); whilst

generating much media debate – both negative and supportive (Doughty, 2008; Garton Ash, 2008; Johnston, 2008); yet the concept remains highly contested.

Thus this chapter provides a theoretical review of mainstream and alternative citizenship concepts in order to establish the extent to which those concepts can adequately account for, or not, those who do not meet the requirements for a full citizenship status and identity. Within part one of this chapter, both Marshall's (1950/1992) mainstream conceptualisation of citizenship and the more recent aspects of the late modern concept will be critiqued. Part two includes alternative citizenship approaches which challenge and aim to address limitations within the mainstream concept. The first concept is that of sexual citizenship (Evans, 1993; Langdrige, 2006), followed by Plummer's (2003) concept of intimate citizenship and lastly, Lister's (1997, 2003a) feminist citizenship conceptualisation of a differentiated universalism.

### *Part 1: The problem of modern and late modern interpretations of citizenship rights*

#### Marshall's dominant 'rights' based concept of citizenship

Marshall (1950/1992) offered a social democratic alternative to classic and modern liberalism within which he defined citizenship as a status that is 'bestowed' on full members of a community (men). For Marshall (1950/1992), the relationship between citizenship and inclusion was intricately linked with an individual's ability to conform to the male worker-citizen model; excluding those who do not, or are unable to, work from a full citizenship status and access to citizenship rights. This is important as the fulfilment of one citizenship right is dependent upon the fulfilment of others. For example, according to Manjoo (2016, p.12) "social rights help to promote the

effective exercise of civil and political rights, while civil and political rights in turn empower citizens to realise their economic, social and cultural rights”.

In order to explain the relationship between citizenship rights, social class status and work, Marshall (1950/1992) outlined the socially constructed developments of modern citizenship (system of equality) and social class (system of inequality) in the 18th and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries as, rather than opposing, to some extent supportive of each other. That is, the civil right to freedom of speech is meaningless if a person lacks social citizenship rights such as a decent standard of education due to their social class status. The roots of the social aspect can be traced to the Poor Law 1834, yet there was stigma associated with accepting poor relief as it meant relinquishing political rights and the right to personal liberty (Marshall, 1950/1992). The negative association with assistance continued with the Factory Acts 1833, 1844 and 1847 which gave protection to women and children in relation to working hours and conditions but not to men.

Accordingly, men were not protected as this was perceived as a threat to their civil liberty in relation to the choice to negotiate their own contracts (Marshall, 1950/1992). As a result, social rights claims diminished until they re-emerged within the compulsory elementary education system instigated by the Elementary Education Act 1870; whereby children were to be provided with an education to develop citizenship like behaviours for the benefit of the individual and the community (Marshall, 1950/1992). Important within the dominant paradigm was the de-commodification of labour; it was essential that living standards were not associated with a citizen's labour power (market value). Thus the purpose of increasing social rights was to mitigate social class inequalities by redistributing resources (Marshall, 1950/1992).

In line with the latter, Marshall's (1950/1992) late modern tripartite conceptualisation of citizenship (see Table 1) focused more on issues of social class status and the substantive (social and economic) relationship with citizenship rather than the formal (civil and political).

Table 1

*Marshallian aspects of citizenship (from Marshall, 1950/1992, p.8)*

The civil aspect	The political aspect	The social aspect
The right to: individual freedom, liberty, free speech, own property, to justice, 'the right to defend and assert all one's rights on terms of equality with others and by due process of law'	The right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body	The whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage...to live the life of a civilised being.

Therefore, within the mainstream late modern paradigm, the aim was to further increase social rights via welfare liberalism, in order to create a common social identity and community cohesion to enable all citizens to fully participate in their community (Marshall, 1950/1992; Turner, 2009; van Steenberg, 1994). Equality of status for Marshall (1950/1992, p.8) superseded equality of income; thus it was necessary to establish what resources were required to participate in the community such as providing an education for all and social services/welfare ("income from social rights"). Marshall's (1950/1992) social citizenship ideals considered the association between paid work and its necessity to support welfare systems at a time of high levels of employment (levels of unemployment were below 5% during the 1950s (Lindsay, 2003)) and contemporary levels are very similar with 79.2% of people aged 16-64 working in 2016 (Office for National Statistics [ONS], 2016a) and the unemployment rate 4.8% (ONS, 2016b).

Yet, the dominant paradigm was deemed problematic as it could not account for structural complexities and the intersectionality of issues such as the generational transmission of social inequality and poverty which continues to be an issue in late modern society (Roche, 1992). Nor did it account for the negative impact of the marketisation of welfare which, according to Pateman (1987, p.1), left some citizens "bereft of the resources for social participation". This implies that Marshall's (1950/1992) claim that extending social rights could solve poverty via the welfare state system was to some extent mythical (Roche, 1992).

Conversely, there are some successes to question the myth claims in relation to elderly poverty; for example, since the late 1980s relative poverty in this population has fallen (Falkingham, Evandrou, & Vlachantoni, 2014). That it has continued to do so is a result of the means-tested Pension Credit benefit under the State Pension Credit Act 2002. However, whilst there are risks to the elderly male population, those within the 14% whom are living in poverty are more likely to be elderly females living on their own (ONS, 2015a) and this group are more likely to experience poverty for longer (ONS, 2016b). One reason identified for this is a lack of appropriate income over their life course for women, which is compounded by the lack of equality within the public/private divide and duties relating to care work (Bennet & Daly, 2014). Also, there has been a social class division in terms of how income is distributed towards those females with an upper middle class status to the detriment of females of the lower social classes (Edmiston, Patrick, & Garthwaite, 2017).

A further limitation of the dominant approach is that it lacks the ability to discern the complicated nature of how the intersection between social class and gender impacts on the ability to access full citizenship. For example, the hegemonic and gendered nature of the public/private divide in terms of work means that some females,

particularly from the lower classes, are unable to claim the status of worker-citizen. This is problematic as it is difficult to fulfil the strict requirements of full citizenship; only some succeed and these are generally male (Lister, 2003a). The reason for this is that traditionally males have been freed from private concerns so that they can bodily fulfil their citizenship duties and claim rights supported in this by those without citizenship status – females (Lister, 2003a). According to Gifford, Mycock, and Murakami (2014, p.82) this highlights how the dominant concept has been “grafted on to rather than displaced pre-existing social hierarchies and solidarities, particularly those of gender”. From this, it is suggested that, because of the mainstream paradigms over focus on social class, it lacks the ability to account for the complexities of intersectionality; such as the relationship between gender and social class.

Thus, for females, from lower social classes at least, the claims to positive benefits from welfare policies associated with social rights emerging from the mainstream paradigm are questionable (Roche, 1992). This is problematic because social rights are claimed to be essential for attaining civil and political rights for those who lack the power or resources (Marshall, 1950/1992). On this point, the mainstream approach is limited in its’ ability to account for individuals who do not have the ability to fulfil the requirements of citizenship due to a lack of social capital or opportunities (Barns, Dudley, & Harris, 2005). This is certainly the case for the majority of CSWs as their social status has a negative association with social capital (Lin, 2000). A further issue for females relates to the overemphasis of rights as the key focus of citizenship within the dominant paradigm, which has been to the detriment of duties which according to Roche (1992) is both morally and politically problematic. This is because for those who are only able to carry out duties (for example volunteering), rather than to exercise the right to paid work, awaits a lesser citizenship status (Lister, 2003a).

Consequently, Marshalls' (1950/1992) concept has been unable to moderate the impact of the intersection between social class and gender on citizenship status as is evidenced by those groups who continue to be regarded as second-class citizens; such as CSWs. Therefore, Marshall's (1950/1992) social citizenship has not fully addressed the issue of equality of status. Additionally, if the social dimension of citizenship is truly mythical, as suggested by Roche (1992), then using social citizenship to assist claims to rights in the formal political and civil dimension is futile. Thus, it is argued that opportunities to contribute in those realms are not accessible to all which brings into question whether the issue of equality status is addressed via equality of opportunity; both are exclusionary and challenge their original purpose and the universality claims within the mainstream concept of citizenship. Accordingly, the second part of this chapter critiques the neo-liberal, late modern citizenship concept which has challenged Marshall's (1950/1992) rights based concept with a shift towards duties; to establish if this approach is more inclusive.

The contemporary neo-liberal shift in citizenship towards 'duties' in late modernity

In the last section, the dominant rights based approach to citizenship associated with Marshall (1950/1992) was argued to be limited in its ability to fully account for the continued marginalisation of certain groups due to the intersection between social class and other identities such as gender and age. This section of the chapter focuses on the more recent neo-liberal citizenship approach which has led to a more contractual and conditional form of citizenship; and, contra to Marshall (1950/1992), which has shifted the focus of citizenship towards duties rather than rights. Clarke (2005) referred to the movement away from Marshalls' (1950/1992) welfare liberalism towards the neo-liberal principles associated with subjects who were able to self-regulate alongside the development of a sense of unity. Such principles were exemplified within the citizenship philosophy of successive New Labour and Conservative governments within which the focus has been towards not only rights but that subjects also have responsibilities to themselves and others within the

community. The aim was to empower citizens to make decisions for themselves, contribute to their wellbeing and on a civic level, their community (regardless of the size of the contribution) (Blunkett & Taylor, 2010). For example, Blair's (1997) and Giddens' (1999, p.57) third way thinking looked to the "redistribution of possibilities"; within which equal significance is given to the personal, cultural (community), and economic (employment) components of social conditions. As a result, accessibility to social citizenship rights has become conditional on behaviours which are perceived as self-supporting leading to the:

restructuring of welfare systems in opposition to the principles of a rights based model of citizenship... the defining feature of governing projects designed to embed autonomy into the welfare system has been the emphasis on duties and responsibilities. (Gifford & McGlynn, 2013, p.299)

Thus a late modern citizen is one who supports themselves financially via work in order to avoid reliance on the welfare state, which according to Gifford and McGlynn (2013, p.299) signifies a "reconfiguration of the power relationship between the state, the citizen". Because of the latter, the neo-liberal shift in citizenship has, according to Clarke (2005), resulted in the construction of four types of citizens; these are activated, empowered, responsabilised and abandoned citizens; each of which is discussed individually in the material which follows.

In relation to the activated citizen (Clarke, 2005), the late modern concept of citizenship has migrated from the "equality of outcome" within the mainstream concept towards inclusion and "equality of opportunity" (Powell, 2002, p.2) whereby communities are reinvigorated and citizens are active within them rather than being dependent subjects. That is, Blair's (1997) New Labour notion of the active citizen was developed from the social democratic, communitarian and neo-liberal concepts of citizenship; heavily focusing on the latter in terms of freeing citizens from the state. More recently, the Conservative/Liberal coalition government supported Giddens'

(1999, p.57) “redistribution of possibilities” via citizens who were active by way of Cameron’s (2010, p.1) concept of the Big Society (BS) which aimed to have “millions of people... giving their time, effort, even money, to causes around them”.

Additionally, there was an expectation that the BS vision would be funded by the creation of a social investment market (Maude & Hurd, 2011). The concept of the active citizen is still regarded as key within the current conservative governments’ citizenship discourse:

That spirit that means you respect the bonds and obligations that make our society work...a commitment to the men and women who live around you, who work for you, who buy the goods and services you sell. That spirit that means you do as others do. (May, 2016, p.1)

In this way successive governments, via neo-liberal principles, have created other solutions to state care provisions in order to minimise the impact of austerity measures; solutions which ultimately, as suggested by Fisher (2007), rely on the active citizen’s self-investment within their communities. Which, in turn, is problematic as some individuals are unlikely to be able to make such investments in their local communities because they are isolated from within the community (Lister, 2003a), for example CSWs who have a stigmatised social identity.

Additionally, the neoliberal notion of freeing citizens from the previous domination from the state; has led to the construction of the “empowered citizen” (Clarke, 2005, p.449). That is, empowered citizens “don’t always turn to officials, local authorities or central government for answers to the problems they face” (Cameron, 2010, p.1); they are also free to develop their own sense of identity contra to rigid traditional norms (Fisher, 2008). Thus the empowered citizen is reflexive as the freeing from the constraints of the state mean ‘fate’ no longer exists; resulting in the “erosion of several ascriptive patterns of collective life, each of which has gradually lost its legitimacy” (Beck et al., 2003, p.6). Consequently, people have had to adapt and

become reflexive citizens. Key within the concept of the empowered citizen is the notion that, for independence, citizens have both choice and voice. The notion of choice has driven change against the state's traditional paternalistic approach to public services, which was challenged due to increasing social perceptions of citizens as 'consumers' who expect to be able to make personal choices about the services they access (Clarke, 2005). Yet, the extent to which in reality choice in this sense exists is problematic; rather, the discourse of choice has evolved in order to mask the state's increasing privatisation and marketisation of key public services such as the National Health service (as discussed by Talbot-Smith & Pollock, 2006).

According to Clarke, Newman, and Westmarland (2007) it is important to realise that, as much as choice can be perceived as a key component in active citizenship, this is not extended to all rather it can reproduce inequality rather than dealing with the problems in public services in terms of how power is orchestrated. For example, the notion of a choice and service user autonomy in social care and welfare continues to be a concern, particularly for those who are vulnerable or elderly. This was exemplified by the Care Act 2014 which was the first mandate for the personalisation of care and direct payments with the aim of allowing service users who receive care to have a choice in their care and how they receive it. However, the debate about choice, or rather the lack of it, continues to be concerned with the state's marketisation agenda taking precedence over social justice; which the personalisation agenda purports to enhance (Mladenov, Owens, & Cribb, 2015; Owens, Mladenov, & Cribb, 2017).

Alongside the allusion to choice, Blair's (1997) New Labour principles and Cameron's (2010, p.1) BS notion intended to extend the ways in which citizens, as active agents, could have a 'voice' to facilitate participation within their communities and local government ("Vanguard Communities"). The aim was to show people that the government was willing to 'listen' by asking citizens: "what powers do you want? What more do you want to be able to do?" (Cameron, 2010, p.1). However, there is

an issue in relation to which voices would be listened to and which would be silenced within the process of consultation (Clarke, 2005). Additionally, those voices which are heard rarely influence government processes or the institutions that citizens are concerned about; thus the neo-liberal notion of 'listening' amounts to little more than tokenism, so "empowerment is an ambiguous condition" (Clarke, 2005, p.451).

Alongside active citizenship and empowerment, there has been an increased focus towards citizens' having responsibilities to the state and those around them. This notion has been a continuing discourse from Blair's (1997) New Labour through to Cameron's (2010) BS concept with its focus towards "the small state, to differentiate the current government from its predecessors" (Gifford et al., 2014, p.92) to the current Conservative government with May's (2016) 'spirit of citizenship' ideal with its focus on obligations. The responsibility for "the UK's 'broken society'" is a shared enterprise between individuals and the government (Gifford et al., 2014, p.92). Thus the responsible citizen regulates their own behaviour to promote civility and supports themselves and those who are dependent on them by being 'hard working' and looking after their own wellbeing. The responsible citizen ideology was intended to facilitate the inclusion of those from marginalised groups for example elderly people or those with disabilities into the mainstream (Fisher, 2007).

Therefore, according to Clarke (2005, p.451) ideal citizens are "moralized, choice-making, self-directing subjects...choice is framed by sets of injunctions about reasonable choices and responsible behaviour... bad choices result from the willfulness of irresponsible people, rather than the structural distribution of resources, capacities and opportunities". As such, which groups or individuals are recognised, or not, as citizens is associated with 'conditionality' (Hines, 2013); that is only those who can meet the conditions of citizenship are afforded the full range of citizenship rights and duties.

For example, in relation to the 'hard-working' citizens, being economically independent from the state is associated with social citizenship rights, access to a sense of common identity and participation within an individual's community (Edmiston, 2017). Yet, although neo-liberalism has to some extent protected workers' labour power, this is in terms that constrain them to certain levels of pay, for example working tax credits which include punitive measures for those on benefits, such as benefit caps (Welfare Reform Act, 2012 amended by the Universal Credit, 2017), impacting on the ability to access social citizenship resources (Hines, 2013). In this way, New Labour and the current Conservative government "no rights without responsibilities" (Dwyer, 2004, p.265) morals towards the ideal citizen, lead to lesser citizenship for those who cannot, or do not, engage in paid work especially in the public sphere (Fisher, 2008; Hines, 2013).

Additionally, for Lister (2001, p.98) in relation to New Labour and the third way ideology there has been an imbalance in how rights and responsibilities are shared out "there is no talk of taxation of the better off as an expression of citizenship responsibility to balance the emphasis on work obligations for those at the bottom". Additionally, after the global financial crisis of 2008 there have been increasing cuts on public spending on social welfare, thus the burden of this crisis has fallen more heavily on those with lower incomes. This continues to be an issue in contemporary society; the conditionality of social citizenship rights based on the citizen-worker model has led to state sanctioning (via Job Seekers Allowance) of the most vulnerable citizens. According to Reeves and Loopstra (2017, p.335) the reason that this is the case is because some vulnerable citizens (such as those with disabilities) cannot replicate the ideals of "productive and active citizenship". Thus such an individualistic approach to sanctioning means that marginalised citizens are blamed for their choices about (un)employment behaviours and are then compared to those who are abler to fulfil the status (Edmiston, 2017).

This impacts on the purported function of social citizenship in relation to equality of status; in fact, the focus towards punitive measures in relation to employment behaviour is antithetical as it has “destabilise[d] the emancipatory potential of citizenship” (Edmiston, 2017, p.315). However, according to Jensen and Tyler (2015, p.471) this position is nothing new; the state has always used punitive measures based upon ideals for citizenship behaviours; creating a “‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’” binary. Thus it appears that the welfare austerity measures in the UK rather than supporting a universal concept of citizenship means those who are vulnerable due to their employment status are denied a full citizenship status, equality of opportunity, civil and political rights and the resources which are accessed based on that status.

A further component of the relationship between the state and citizens is the responsibility of the individual to be law-abiding. According to Clarke (2005, p. 458) some citizens are helped to gain the law-abiding status by way of a “‘hand up, not a handout’... ‘personalized’ interventions” whilst others are subjected to “surveillance, criminalization and incarceration”. In this way the neo-liberal conditional principles of universalism can, conversely, lead to exclusion for some (Hines, 2013). Thus citizens who cannot meet the required conditions are abandoned by the state (Clarke, 2005); the extent to which this is the case in relation to CSWs is discussed below in chapter three which considers the impact of successive historical and contemporary legal/policy discourses on their citizenship status.

### *Summary*

In Marshall’s (1950/1992) concept, social citizenship would moderate the effects of social class on citizenship status but this has been shown to be short sighted as it is clear that second-class citizenship prevails; those from lower social classes and marginalised groups such as CSWs are excluded. Thus it is argued that rather than

providing a universal umbrella which enables citizenship for everyone; social welfare measures undermine the status of those with lifestyles that contrast these ideals. Therefore, Marshall's (1950/1992) social citizenship has not fully addressed the issue of equality of status nor have contemporary ideals of equality of opportunity addressed barriers to participation. However, if the social dimension is truly mythical then utilising it to make claims to rights in the formal political and civil dimension is futile and controversial. Further, opportunity of contribution is not available to all but the reasons behind the absence of participation are lacking depth. Consequently, this brings into question whether the issue of equality of status within Marshall's (1950/1992) conceptualisation of social citizenship can be addressed via equality of opportunity whilst such issues are left unaddressed. Essentially both are exclusionary and contradicting their original purpose.

To address the issues within the rights based approach, more recent neo-liberal principles developed by New Labour and subsequent Conservative ideologies of citizenship (BS and the Spirit of Citizenship) have focused on the duties of citizenship rather than the rights focus within the mainstream approach. For Clarke (2005) the neo-liberal ideology has resulted in four types of citizens; these are activated, empowered, responsabilised and abandoned citizens. Active citizens self-invest within their communities; but those who cannot do so are marginalised. The notion of the empowered citizen is based around freedom from the previous domination of overbearing state influences; citizens are reflexive and can make decisions about how to deal with their own problems without having to always turn to officials for answers; empowered citizens thus have choice. They are also provided with a voice, whereby the government will listen to their views within the process of consultation. Yet both choice and voice, for some citizens at least, are illusionary – both amount to tokenism in that choice masks the state's privatisation and marketisation of public services and whilst the government may be 'listening' to citizens, rarely do citizens' voices influence government processes or institutions.

Additionally, New Labour, BS and Spirit of Citizenship ideologies have led to the notion of “no rights without responsibilities”; citizens’ have increased responsibilities as hard working individuals who look towards their own wellbeing and that of others within their communities. There is also an expectation that citizens will be law-abiding, with assistance to those who need it being provided by interventions for some and increased surveillance, via policy and law agendas, for others. Yet, the responsible citizenship morals can be exclusionary; those who cannot meet the aforementioned principles can be abandoned by the state as un-citizenship like. Thus the extent to which both late modern mainstream and more recent neo-liberal developments have facilitated a universal concept of citizenship is debatable; suggesting that it is necessary to consider alternative concepts that can provide challenges to the mainstream approach in order to advance a less exclusionary concept.

*Part 2: Alternative concepts of citizenship: contesting the traditional approach and challenging the false sense of universalism*

In part one of this chapter, Marshall’s (1950/1992) mainstream and more recent neo-liberal (see for example Blair, 1997; Cameron, 2010; May, 2016) late modern approaches to citizenship were problematised due to issues within the concepts which mean that some citizens are marginalised from a full citizenship status. That is, the mainstream concept lacks the ability to account for the intersectionality between identities which make it difficult for some citizens to meet the requirements for the ideal citizenship identity (such as social class, gender and age). Thus the traditional concept leads to a narrow definition of the relationship between an individual and the state (Abraham, Ngan-ling Chow, Maratou-Alipranti, & Tastsoglou, 2013). Additionally, the contractual, moral and conditional aspects of the more recent neo-liberal citizenship concept are difficult to meet; thus some people do not exemplify the attributes of active, empowered, and responsibilised citizens and they become the subject of targeted regulation or are abandoned.

Accordingly, it is necessary to consider alternative approaches to citizenship which have made a profound challenge on several levels to the aforementioned conceptualisations by exploring the nuances which impact on a full citizenship status. For example feminist writers (see for example, Lewis, 2004; Lister, 2003a; Pateman, 1987; Williams, 2001), despite different approaches towards what constitutes the requirements for attaining equality of status, have previously emphasised the need for a truly universal citizenship concept rather than one which masquerades universality. It is apparent that in order to facilitate a concept of citizenship which is inclusive it has to be differentiated enough to account for the differences between men and women particularly in relation to the public/private divide (Lister, 2003a). Yet there is a tension between the need for a universal approach to citizenship and one that is differentiated enough to incorporate the experiences of everyday lives for those with marginalised identities (Purvis & Hunt, 1999) such as those of female CSWs. Therefore, this section of the chapter reviews alternative approaches which are useful as a 'springboard' for a differentiated citizenship concept that is inclusive of citizenship actions in both the public and private arenas (Faulks, 2000). Included are the concepts of sexual citizenship (Evans, 1993; Langdrige, 2006), Plummer's (2003) concept of intimate citizenship and finally Lister's (1997, 2003a) feminist citizenship conceptualisation of a differentiated universalism.

Sexual citizenship: are some citizens too sexual?

According to Evans (1993, p.8) "The history of citizenship is a history of fundamental formal heterosexist patriarchal principles and practices ostensibly progressively 'liberalised' towards and through the rhetoric of 'equality' but in practice to effect unequal differentiation". Thus, Evans' (1993) neoliberal approach challenged the heteronormative model citizen portrayed in the mainstream late modern citizenship

concept in order to recognise that individuals have a right to choose their sexual identity yet avoid political exclusion and a lesser citizenship status/identity. This was an important challenge as the views which form the foundations of citizenship are ‘all inflected by sexualities’ and have thus underpinned how the concept of citizenship has been constructed (Bell & Binnie, 2000, p.10).

More recently, the sexual citizenship approach focused on the remodelling of principal “legal and political articulations of rights, responsibilities, inclusion, nationhood, and legitimacy” (Grabham, 2007, pp.35-36); informing the debate for claims to rights from the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) movements in the UK (Langdridge, 2006). For example, whereas heterosexuality had public recognition via institutions such as marriage, LGBT sexual orientations have been until very recently perceived as a private concern. Thus for rights campaigns to be successful it was necessary to bring LGBT concerns into the public arena as was exemplified within the push for equal citizenship rights (Donovan, Heaphy, & Weeks, 1999) which followed the decriminalisation of homosexuality within the SOA 1967. This led to further rights legislation (see for example: Adoption and Children Act, 2002; Civil Partnership Act, 2004; Gender Recognition Act, 2004; Equality Act, 2010; Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations, 2007; Local Government Act, 2003) which have mostly afforded the LGBT communities the same rights as for those who ‘fit’ the heteronormative ideal.

However, the push for equality via sexual citizenship has not led to full citizenship for all sexual citizens; there are some within the LGBT community whose sexual behaviour means they are regarded as too deviant or sexual for full citizenship. For example, those who identify with bisexuality are often perceived as deviant ‘others’ “linked to the development of biphobia” (Richardson & Monro, 2012, p.18); thus they are not considered good citizens which impacts on their ability to claim rights (Monro, Hines, & Osborne, 2017). As such they do not conform to the normalising effect of

sexual citizenship such as mirroring heterosexual marriage (Plummer, 2003). The implication from this is that taking an affirmative recognition approach to the LGBT communities has promoted existing differentiations leading to further stigma (as highlighted in the work of Fraser (1995)) leading to a dichotomy of good and bad LGBT citizens (Bell & Binnie, 2000; Johnson, 2016).

This point was exemplified further in sociological 'queer' theory research by Seidman (2002, p.189) as the shift from "the polluting gay" to "the normal gay" whereby gays and lesbians were acknowledged as citizens as long as they conformed to heteronormative perceptions of family and sex in a loving marriage. Further, they were required to portray the characteristics of "economic individualism" (Seidman, 2002, p.189) and some evidence of pride in relation to the nation; consistent with the ideal citizen (Grabham, 2007) in relation to the neo-liberal principles of the activated and responsabilised citizen (Clarke, 2005). Those who did not conform were perceived as 'bad' LGBT citizens; a status which has a negative relationship with equality, recognition and citizenship rights because "rights [are] awarded to those who assimilate" (Hines, 2013, p.94).

Thus, it is apparent that there is a need for more transformative remedies to allow for the deconstruction of "the homo-hetero dichotomy" (Fraser, 1995, p.83) for some sexual citizens. To note, the concept of bad sexual citizens does not only apply to the LGBT community as was exemplified in Langdridge's (2006, p.380) work on sadomasochism and citizenship, within which he revealed how practicing sadomasochism could create a "sexual citizen that is simply too sexual, too erotic and therefore too transgressive for full citizenship". Similarly, whilst the link between marginalisation, sexuality and citizenship is explicit, there are clear demarcations between the LGBT community and CSWs as the rights based claims from CSW activists (see for example International Union of Sex Workers [IUSW], 2009a) have not led to transformative recognition for CSWs as sexual citizens.

Therefore, the benefits that some of the LGBT community has experienced due to the recognition of sexual citizenship rights have not been extended to CSWs. Rather, they have served to identify more the extent to which CSWs are transgressive or too sexual – essentially bad. This is significant as according to Sanders (2009, p.507) the state has attempted to force “correct” forms of sexual citizenship on CSWs via “forced welfarism” created by legal and policy mechanisms based on discourses for criminal CSWs (see chapter 3 for fuller discussion). In this way, according to Sanders (2009), ideals for sexual citizenship are upheld and CSWs are excluded from within (Lister, 2003a). Therefore, as with others who are regarded as too sexual, the creation of good and bad sexual citizens facilitates the exclusion of those who do not conform. Consequently, it is clear that the concept of sexual citizenship in isolation is unable to support claims to equal rights for CSWs.

#### Plummer’s (2003) concept of intimate citizenship

Within his concept of intimate citizenship Plummer (2003) explored areas such as the impact of globalisation, commercialisation and increasing media presentations of new intimate “troubles”, the move towards greater individualism and the belief that individuals have more choice around issues such as sexuality. Utilising the LGBT community’s claims to rights and obligations, Plummer (2003) contradicts the dominant citizenship paradigm’s perception of rights and responsibilities as natural; instead they are a changeable and constructed activity which can be challenged from within. Plummer (2003) used the broad model of sexual citizenship within the concept of intimate citizenship to highlight how not all citizens are treated equal by the state or within the social world. For example, due to negative attributes, insiders and outsiders – those who are good or bad (such as CSWs) are placed within a social hierarchy. Therefore, there is a need to consider other attributes/identities which lead to exclusion and how they interact with the gender identity such as social class (consistent with Lister, 2003a); an issue that is not entirely addressed in the concept of sexual citizenship (Plummer, 2003).

Further, according to Plummer (2003, p.68) the public-private binary no longer exists rather the spheres should be seen as interacting with each other; “as designating *'public discourse on the personal life'*”. Interestingly it could be argued that in the case of commercial-sexwork that there were never separate spheres as for this group “the personal invades the public and the public invades the personal” (Plummer, 2003, p.68). In order to perceive the public-private binary as redundant requires a shift in thinking about how the spheres interact. For example, how the public sphere intervenes in the private; for instance, in relation to CSWs the state’s intervention into private sexual transactions (within the intimate zone) via law and policies is directed either towards controlling commercial-sexwork or protecting the victims (see chapter 3 for discussion of legal and policy discourses).

Further, Plummer (2003) stated that the public sphere, rather than being perceived as unitary, emerges in post-modern society as many separate yet interacting spheres (for example the LGBT spheres) where voices are heard via contemporary mediums such as internet forums or conferences. This would include CSWs organisations such as the International Union of Sex Workers (IUSW, 2009a) and could be used to acknowledge the contributions of activists who attend the IUSW’s conferences; which should afford those individuals a political identity. This is important as political identity is a prerequisite to representation in the political sphere, membership and action (Plummer, 2003). However, for CSWs it appears that such instances of activism are as yet unable to overcome their essentially negative identity rather than affording recognition.

Further, commercial-sexwork intersects both the public and private spheres; this is important as the nature of the private sphere is complicated in relation to citizenship; it is a component of civil society, yet is detached from the civil sphere as a component of the natural and female sphere (Lister, 2003a). This is complicated

further with regard to sexual intercourse as for commercial-sexwork there is a dichotomy between natural sexual intercourse (female sphere) and public sexual intercourse (civil and male sphere). From this view, it may be argued that commercial sexual intercourse and citizenship rights are defined in “spaces and places” (Lister, 2007b, p.1) which are designated by the “moral boundaries of the nation” (Hubbard, 2001, p.2). This can be aligned with Plummer’s (2003, p.15) concept of intimate citizenship which emphasises the spatial nature of citizenship suggesting new public spheres – such as the “sex worker sphere”.

A key component of citizenship in general and intimate citizenship for Plummer (2003) is dialogue between citizens with conflicting views. However, for Plummer (2003) the trouble with dialogue is when people completely disagree and polarised arguments become about the individual rather than the issue. The outcome of this can be that guilt is placed with an individual, who in turn seeks to lay the blame elsewhere to alleviate negative feelings about themselves, ignoring even those arguments that are valid against themselves (Plummer, 2003). Especially when such issues threaten to challenge long held personal and social world views (Plummer, 2003). Thus Plummer (2003) suggests that conflict dialogue is an essential intimate citizenship tool to acknowledge that argumentative stances (for example choice or victim in relation to CSWs) do not take place in isolation.

Plummer (2003) acknowledges that conflict dialogue can be difficult when the opposition views are strong and there is a lack of consideration from opposing factions for the other’s view but states it is possible to find common ground with the establishment of “interpretive communities” (via social movements). Plummer (2003) suggests that it would be inappropriate to try to abolish all conflict as it is necessary to bring issues to the forefront in the push for social change or establishing boundaries; this was exemplified within the gay rights movements push for legitimacy. For example, conflict dialogues were evident in relation to gay sexual

intercourse and its legal status prior to the SOA 1967 whereby the opposing sides in the rights based claim conflicts had momentum (Plummer, 2003). However, this does not appear to be the case for commercial-sexwork despite CSW activists (see for example, IUSW (2009a)) pushing for the same. Consequently, in relation to this component of intimate citizenship, it is important to establish why this is the case – where the lack of momentum lies.

Additionally, as was discussed in the first component of this chapter, within the neo-liberal late modern concept of citizenship there is an expectation that the responsible citizen rather than trying to work out what they ought or ought not to do, asks of themselves how to address the situation (Clarke, 2005). In this way, Plummer (2003) suggests that morals and ethics are moving towards being grounded rather than abstract. Such grounded moralities may help with understanding how moral lives are conducted by investigating the processes (grounded) such as listening to others' stories, and adding their own, of how to deal with ethical concerns (Plummer, 2003). Plummer (2003) highlights new stories of intimate citizenship such as new family types, or new phenomena in general, and the necessity of finding novel languages that can account for new phenomena. Similarly, Plummer's (2003) concept could explain how this relates to groups, such as CSWs, where the moral language discourse is longstanding.

Consequently, Plummer's (2003) concept was able to address issues with the concept of sexual citizenship by focussing more explicitly on the intricate nature of intimacy and how conflict dialogue can be utilised to facilitate change and the acknowledgement of new and more intimate forms of citizenship. Thus, it should be useful for understanding the issue of conflict discourses relating to commercial-sexwork and how CSWs' stories continue to be ignored; which in turn could be useful for developing a more differentiated concept of citizenship.

## A differentiated universalism

Lister's (1997, 2003a, 2007b) feminist citizenship concept was developed to address false universality claims within both the mainstream and neo-liberal concepts which have led to gender exclusiveness. Lister (1997, 2003a) also critiqued the principles on which the late modern concepts were formed, that is both civic republican and communitarian ideals which have underpinned the rights-based approach, and formal citizenship with its base in classic and modern liberalism. However, Lister (1997, 2003a) did not dismiss the concepts entirely, but rather proposed a synthesis of the strengths of the civil republican and liberal rights concepts. Lister's (1997, 2003a) aim was to develop a pluralist concept in which to pursue a differentiated form of universalism achieved by synthesising difference with the universal and the deconstruction of the public/private dichotomy.

Thus, Lister (2003a, pp.195-196) stated that citizenship could be understood "as both a *status*, carrying a set of rights...and a *practice*', involving political participation...to include the kind of informal politics in which women are more likely to engage". Accordingly, if the marginalisation of women is to be challenged it has to be concerned not just with the status of citizenship but practices of inclusion – challenging discrimination and social divisions (Lister, 2003a). In this section of the chapter, components of Lister's (2003a) concept are discussed, these include: 'Collapsing the equality-difference and the public-private binaries', 'Reconciling the universalistic ethic of justice with the particularist ethic of care', and lastly 'Political citizenship for women'.

### *Collapsing the equality-difference and the public-private binaries*

A key concern for Lister (2003a) was that equality and difference are often presented falsely as opposites leading to the creation of an artificial binary between men and

women. For example, in relation to difference, the male ideal citizen for which to measure female against means that "when men and women are treated the same, it means women being treated as if they were men; when men and women are treated differently, the man remains the norm" (Phillips, 1993, p. 45). This focus on difference leads to an unnatural polarisation which supports hegemonic patriarchal assumptions about the differences between males and females and is thus problematic. Whereas, the gender equality focus has been on natural differences in terms of intelligence and morals (Bryson, 2003). Yet, equality narratives are generally affirmative in nature rather than transformative as they serve to preserve hierarchical structures of power by maintaining those inequalities regarded as important "*by overlaying yet not negating* traditional accounts of difference" (Carver, 2013, p.22). It is apparent that equality should not be conceived as sameness but equal rights for all to citizenship status and identity.

Thus it is possible to collapse the gender dichotomy by exploring the extent to which binary and fixed oppositions mask how such oppositions are dependent upon each in order to be effective (Lister, 2003a; Scott, 1988). This would need a transformative alternative rather than a reversal or validation of what is already known (Scott, 1988). For example, the suppression of difference within the equality-difference binary has led to the misrecognition from within the male/female categories in terms of other sexualities, such as the Trans community (highlighted within the concept of sexual citizenship above). Consequently, it is clear that such binaries are problematic, however for Lister (2003a) this does not mean that equality and difference should be perceived as irreconcilable; rather it is the way in which they are understood which leads to a false and unproductive binary.

To address this, Lister (2003a) suggested that, in line with Eisenstein (1998, p.8), there is a need for a pluralisation of difference which can account for similarities; so that the term is better understood as diversity rather than "not homogenous duality" as the latter has meant that all females are perceived as alike in their difference to

males. Accordingly, the aim is to afford the recognition of both men and women as different but similar; which in turn for Lister (2003a) should minimise political, economic and social inequalities. Yet, collapsing the binary should not be seen as entirely unproblematic, that is; the danger of perceiving women as different to each other can have an inadvertently negative impact on equality claims. This is exemplified when legislation aims to afford some groups of women equality but for others may impact negatively on their ability to claim equality, as not all women require the same measures. This is discussed in depth within chapter 3 which relates to the legal and policy discourse for CSWs. Despite this, in order to achieve a reconsideration of the terms in relation to each other, there is a need to outline how they can be seen as compatible; they are “better understood as simultaneously incommensurate and complementary rather than antagonistic. The opposite of equality is *inequality*. To posit it as different disguises the relations of subordination, hierarchy and consequent disadvantage and injustice” (Lister, 2003a, pp.97-98). Consequently, by re-conceptualising the terms from a diversity stance it is possible to challenge the binary oppositions of equality and difference (Lister, 2003a).

Another fixed binary opposition that is problematic for attaining a full citizenship status is the public-private divide in relation to work. Lister (2003a, p.123) challenged such binary thinking as hiding the symbiotic nature of the public and private spheres as “one woman's private sphere can become another woman's public”. Further, women's ability to act in the public sphere is curtailed by the unequal distribution of labour in the private domestic sphere and unequal pay in the public sphere. Yet, paid work away from the private sphere increases social participation, increases self-esteem (necessary for the fulfilment of citizenship potential) and exposure to political processes; which are the “route to both social citizenship rights and active political citizenship” (Lister, 2003a, p.138).

Yet despite decades of legislation (for example the Equality Act, 2010) and policy (see Council of the European Union, 2011) to address this issue, the public-private divide remains problematic. This was illustrated by an addition to the Equality Act 2010 that will require the reporting of gender pay gaps from April 2017. This can be regarded as a positive move towards equality as men's work in the private sphere has increased, as has women's work in the public sphere (ONS, 2017a); however, approximately 41% of women work in part-time labour against 11% of men (ONS, 2015b). Importantly for women, fulltime work is more problematic than for males as it can lead to *time poverty* (Council of the European Union, 2011; Lister, 2003a) due to women spending more time managing the private (unpaid) sphere alongside paid work. Additionally, time poverty leads some women to 'choose' part-time work and economic marginalisation (Marshall, 1950/1992) and, in its most severe form, separation from citizenship participation vertically (relationship with the state) and horizontally (relationship with the community) (Lister, 2003a). Time poverty, then, is an obstacle to being economically independent; it weakens women's position in the labour market and has a corresponding negative impact on claims to social citizenship status and the rights that accompany that status (Clarke, 2005; Lister, 2003a). Further, time poverty impacts on women's ability to act as a political citizen and curtails opportunities for self-development.

Accordingly, Lister (2003a) suggests that as with the rearticulation of the equality-difference divide, the public-private divide needs articulating also. Such a rearticulation needs to challenge universality in the public domain (which is associated with justice and independence) and in the private, the notions of dependence associated with work and care. That is, the fixed nature of the binary needs to be challenged in order to recognise how it is constructed both socially and politically, and how both sides of the divide impact on each other. The hope is to discover how access to citizenship for both males and females are established differently due to how each interacts with the public-private divide (Lister, 2003a). One way in which this can be achieved is by reconsidering a further binary which

underpins the equality-difference binary; which is the opposing ethics of justice (equality) and care (difference).

*Reconciling the universalistic ethic of justice with the particularist ethic of care*

There has been some debate between feminist and critical theorists (see for example, Flax, 2013; Fraser, 2005a, 2009, Lister, 2003a) in relation to a further component of the equality-difference binary, that is the opposing ethics of justice and care. This debate is a key component of Lister's (2003a, p.197) differentiated universalist concept, within which she states that there is a need to consider the contradictory processes of the opposition within the latter binary via a "process of subversion and critical synthesis". The aim is to create a differentiated concept in which women and men have equal status. Thus the first part of this section considers the universalist ethic of justice; this is followed by a discussion which relates to the opposing particularist ethic of care and how, for Lister (2003a), the two can be reconciled.

In terms of justice, citizenship virtues, duties and rights are created as a response to the needs of other citizens; citizenship rights are based on the necessity for justice for all (Lister, 2003a); that is "to act as a citizen is to act out of a concern for what justice requires in relation to one's fellow citizens" (Mason, 2011, p.265). Justice can be utilised as a vehicle for marginalised groups to gain recognition of their value as a human being (Kabeer, 2005) which is a necessary foundation for agency (Fisher, 2008). This is important as a lack of recognition can lead to exclusion from community participation which impacts negatively on an individual's citizenship status (Lister, 2003a). For Lister (2003a), the discourse of social justice, alongside the mainstream liberal concepts' politics of redistribution, had become associated with recognising difference. Thus, Lister (2003a) drew on the work of Fraser (2005a, 2005b, 2009) to emphasise the need for social interaction as a prerequisite to

participation in the economic, cultural and political dimensions of citizenship to advance equality of status.

In line with the latter, Fraser (1995, p.71) outlined the two opposing and contradictory discourses of injustice; socioeconomic injustice which leads to exploitation, economic marginalisation and deprivation, and cultural (or symbolic) injustice which results in “cultural domination, non-recognition and disrespect”. Socioeconomic injustice remedies focus upon redistribution of resources to alleviate issues such as poverty without disturbing the frameworks which create inequality. Conversely, these tend to result in those who are different being perceived as always needing support thus not meeting neo-liberal conditions for the responsabilised citizen (Clarke, 2005; Hines, 2013; Lister, 2003a). Whereas cultural injustice remedies focus upon attaining marginalised groups’ recognition by disturbing the frameworks which create injustice (Fraser, 1995). For example, the political struggles for recognition in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century transcended issues of social class; as injustices were addressed via cultural recognition rather than redistribution (Fraser, 1995).

Consequently, for justice, it is important to have a concept which can account for those who fit into a shared culture and those who ‘fall out’ (Plummer, 2003; Lister, 2003a). Therefore, for recognition to be effective, it needs to go further than affirming rights to those previously excluded rather it needs an approach which transforms traditional universal views (Hines, 2013; Lister, 2003a). Accordingly, whereas affirmative approaches mask the underlying issues, transformative approaches to recognition are preferable as they aim to destabilise existing differentiations based on universal groups in order to allow new groupings to emerge (Fraser, 1995).

Yet, it is too simplistic to utilise recognition approaches in isolation from redistribution (Lister, 2003a) as the issues of injustice are not addressed in relation to inequalities in status (such as immigration, see for example Hussain and Bagguley's (2005) work) which intersect with those associated with redistribution. For example, immigration status is compounded by gender status; female immigrants experience socioeconomic marginalisation more profoundly than their male counterparts (European Commission, 2010). This, according to Hines (2013, p.115), is a result of the conditions for recognition which lead to certain subjects being "worthy of citizenship at the expense of groups who remain misrecognised or are non-recognised anew...working to further disempower the disenfranchised". Importantly, then, females need an approach which can alleviate both socioeconomic and cultural injustices, but the remedies to these are contradictory and achieving justice is problematic (Lister, 2003a).

Yet, the opposing ethic of care, with its focus on difference rather than equality, is no less problematic for attaining citizenship rights for women. For example, for Lister (2003a, p.199), the overemphasis on the ideal of "citizen-the earner over citizen-the carer" within the concept of social citizenship has resulted in women having a lesser version of social citizenship rights. This is as a result of the patriarchal sexual division of labour, within which women's care work in the private sector supports male work in the public sector. The outcome of this is a "vicious circle of interaction" between those sectors which results in male advantage within the public sphere (Lister, 2003a, p.200). This in turn has led to an alternative to the ethic of justice for women - an ethic of care; which focuses on their difference to males rather than equality (Lister, 2003a). One issue within the ethic of care is the universal targeting of the sexual division of labour as a barrier to inclusion for all women; as this is not necessarily the case – other issues of exclusion may need to be addressed as the primary obstacle (such as ethnicity). Such concerns thus need to be included within any challenge to citizenship formulations for women alongside the public-private divide (Lister, 2003a).

Additionally, the polarisation of the debate between the ethics of justice and care mask that they may be able to support each other in a reformulation. For example, the ethic of care is enhanced if justice is considered alongside it, as care could lend to altruism and serve to maintain exploitive gendering of care relationships without some form of framework to ensure equality; thus the need for a dual ethic (Lister, 2003a). Accordingly, care needs to be recognised as a citizenship responsibility, with care and justice perceived as complementary, supportive and transformative. However, this should not equate to an ethic of care relating only to private and justice to the public sphere (Lister, 2003a). The latter was exemplified by lobbyists who demanded equality for people with disabilities and their carers in relation to having the autonomy to decide how their benefits provided for care were spent so that neither is dependent on the other. This led to direct payments (see for example, The Community Care (Direct Payments) Act, 1996; Health and Social Care Act, 2001; Putting People First, Department of Health, 2007) which were ratified for all who have capacity within the Care Act, 2014. However, the latter successes have been tainted somewhat, as already discussed above, in that the allusion to choice masks the state's marketisation agenda rather than truly supporting the personalisation agenda (Mladenov, Owens, & Cribb, 2015; Owens, Mladenov, & Cribb, 2017). According to Lister (2003a, p.200) then, there is a need for policy agenda which provides a:

*'gender inclusive'* citizenship through which citizen-the earner/carer and carer/earner can flourish... shift the dynamic of the interaction between public and private from a vicious circle that undermines women's citizenship to a virtuous circle that promotes it...acknowledge the constraints...that derive from the 'private' sphere as well as those in the public sphere.

Thus in order to *refashion* the two ethics (care and justice) there is a key concern for how they can become recognised as practice and a political ideal which is not constrained within the hegemonic assumptions relating to the public-private divide (Lister, 2003a). Consequently, Lister (2003a) has provided an insight into how the fixed nature of the ethics of justice and care binary can be challenged in order to pursue a more useful synthesis within a differentiated universalist concept of

citizenship. The hope, then, is that women would have equal status to men in the social, civil and political realms of citizenship.

### *Political citizenship for women*

Another key concern for Lister (2003a) in terms of developing women's citizenship was that women should have the opportunity to be actively included in the creation of policies, rather than just being the subject of them. In order to facilitate this, women would necessarily have to be included in political systems (formal and informal) (Lister, 2003a). Lister (2003a) highlighted two approaches towards political citizenship for women; the first is the promotion of difference whereby men's dominance in the division of labour is challenged by affording value to women's care work in order to fight for equality in terms of political citizenship rights and opportunity. For Lister (2003a) this approach was unlikely to be successful in isolation (see discussion above in relation to the equality-difference binary).

Whereas, an approach which utilises policy and practices that combine both difference and equality to attain political citizenship for women would be more effective (Lister, 2003a). Within such an approach it is important to acknowledge that female political citizenship contributions will be generally informal; thus different to the formal political citizenship of males due to the aforementioned over-representation of females within the private sphere. Thus in relation to female political citizenship there is the need to take account of the connotations of associations with caring and in some cases maternalistic notions in the private sphere which are not regarded as equating to political citizenship actions. To advance a female version of informal political citizenship which equates to that of males there needs to be an acknowledgement by the state that informal politics is more than maternalism but motivated by intimate reasons (family, friends, local community issues) (Lister, 2003a). For Lister (2003a, p.165) then, in order to advance political citizenship so that it is friendly towards women there are three notions which need to be incorporated within; these are:

- women's informal and different politics need to be acknowledged within definitions on civic virtue and political action
- women to be considered "equals in the institutional political arenas in which decisions are made". Diversity of women to be respected.
- the relationship between formal and informal politics to be rearticulated to ensure that acting in one arena does not equate to exclusion or a lack of influence in the other.

In terms of the first point, there is an issue with the more recent neo-liberal concept in relation to social citizenship and voluntary work. That is, the aim was to acknowledge voluntary work formally as a component of social citizenship; for example, volunteering work within the care sector within Cameron's (2010) 'BS' concept. The care sector is heavily supported by females who account for approximately two thirds of the voluntary workforce (UK Civil Society, 2016). Whilst these contributions are recognised by the state (see Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, 2015) they have not enhanced the citizenship status of women. Accordingly, Lister (2003a) suggests that voluntary work may be more effectively situated in the political sphere rather than the social; where such actions may be recognised more fully. For Lister (2003a), this would mean acknowledging that women's informal politics actions are different from males but not any less valuable. Yet, attaining political citizenship for women via affirmative recognition alone is likely to be ineffective; transformative recognition could be achieved by a change in the mainstream citizenship concepts definition for political action.

Therefore, and in relation to Lister's (2003a) second point above, the outcome of affirmative recognition approaches in the formal political sphere supports the need for transformative recognition as males continue to dominate parliamentary membership despite female claims to recognition. For example, what appears to be a positive increase of female members of parliament from 6.3% in 1987 to 29.4% in 2015 (Apostolova & Cracknell, 2016) is undermined by the sex ratio in the UK in

2014 which was 100 females per 96.9 males (ONS, 2016c). This suggests that women are still not considered as equal to males in the institutional political arena; for women to influence decision making at an institutional level they must be considered as equals and their diversity respected (Lister, 2003a).

Subsequently, whilst it is apparent that political citizenship can be opened up to females, it is unlikely to do so equally unless the challenges are transformative (consistent with Fraser, 1995) and destabilise longstanding perceptions about formal political participation as has been observed in other challenges to equality from within the general population (see previous discussion above with regard to lobbyist's demands for equality for people with disabilities and their carers). From this, it is clear that females, and other marginalised groups such as those with disabilities (which will include females), are not regarded as equals within the institutional political arena and they lack the ability to influence decision making.

Thus, and in relation to Lister's (2003a) third point above, there needs to be a rearticulation of the relationship between formal and informal politics. However, it is essential that such rearticulating is inclusive of all females, not just for 'elite' females, so that it is open to diversity. Thus the rearticulating of political citizenship should attempt to synthesise difference and equality; addressing barriers to formal politics created by the public-private divide - drawing on both the universal and the particular (Lister, 2003a). According to Deem (1998) such an approach should facilitate informal political acts (for example being activists within local community groups) to be seen as equal to formal acts conducted within political parties. Yet, whilst such actions are driven by female's attempts to undermine the public-private divide, they are generally related to single issues; which can lead to females becoming accidental activists (Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, 2015), but when claims reach the national level they become overtaken by men (Lister, 2003a).

Accordingly, women's informal political citizenship actions are not enough to gain full recognition; they are subsumed as unequal or inadequate until they are adopted by males and made formal. This is problematic for Lister (2003a, p.153) as it is likely to reify the economic sexual division of labour as women's formal and informal political contributions are down played and stereotyped as "politics of care'...women's issues". This situation is likely to continue unless formal politics is opened up to include the informal politics of women; recognising contributions from below (for example from voluntary organisations and activists) and from above with political integration (Lister, 2003a). Thus, it is clear that mainstream political citizenship is an exclusive concept within which only those contributions that support the hegemonic notions of male political action within the public arena, such as within political institutions, are recognised.

However, this does not mean that political citizenship should be regarded as impenetrable. Rather according to Lister (2003a), if the concept is rearticulated to be more inclusive of female informal contributions within the private sphere, then formal political citizenship could be opened up to females. Also, identified above was an issue in relation to the possible misrecognition of voluntary actions as equating to social citizenship ideals, which have done little to advance the citizenship status for those who contribute at this level. Lister (2003a) suggested that such contributions would be more transformative if they were perceived as equating to political citizenship, especially those contributions from activists within voluntary organisations. Yet, the mainstream concept has not adopted this approach and females remain excluded.

### *Summary*

In part one of this chapter, the mainstream and more recent neo-liberal approaches to citizenship were problematised due to the contractual, moral and conditional

aspects which can be difficult to meet; leading to some individuals being the target of regulation and others abandoned. Thus within this part of the chapter the aim was to review alternative theoretical approaches to citizenship which might provide a vehicle to address the limitations within the mainstream approaches. Indeed, a review of the concept of sexual citizenship revealed how some sexual citizens had achieved recognition for their sexual citizenship rights but others remain excluded from those rights due to being perceived as too transgressive – essentially bad. For CSWs in particular, the state, by forcing sexual citizenship onto CSWs, has increased legal and policy mechanisms (Sanders, 2009) yet CSWs are still regarded as bad sexual citizens and excluded from within. Consequently, it is evident that the concept of sexual citizenship in isolation is unable to support claims to equal rights for CSWs. To remedy the latter, a review of Plummer's (2003) concept of intimate citizenship addressed some of the issues within the concept of sexual citizenship with its focus towards the intricate nature of intimacy, grounded moralities and how conflict dialogue can facilitate change. For example, in relation to CSWs and the moral nature of commercial-sexwork there is a need to address the extent to which citizenship moralities are grounded. Also, Plummer's (2003) intimate citizenship concept was deemed useful for understanding the issue of conflict discourses about commercial-sexwork and how CSWs stories continue to be ignored; which in turn could be useful for developing a more differentiated concept of citizenship.

Whilst, Plummer's (2003) intimate citizenship concept clearly has utility for this thesis Lister (2003a) suggested that this should not be the entire focus of an alternative approach because it does not address the arenas in which a lesser citizenship status is maintained. For example, some, because of their gender, social class or work status, experience marginalisation from the benefits associated with a fuller citizenship status such as access to citizenship rights (Lister, 2003a). Therefore, the feminist citizenship approach, along with aspects of Plummer's (2003) concept (grounded moralities, and argumentative stances) will be used within this thesis to create the theoretical framework, in order to establish the extent to which it is possible to deconstruct the issues within the mainstream concept in terms of agency,

justice and the impact of focusing on difference rather than equality. However, in order to achieve the latter, for Lister (2003a) it is important to include not only those who have already achieved a full-citizenship status but those whose voices are marginalised, for example CSWs; in order to avoid 'slipping back' into a false universalism and tokenism. Within a differentiated universalist citizenship, women's citizenship contributions are considered equal but different to males; addressing the tension between universalism and particularity. Additionally, in order to address the neo-liberal over emphasis on duties over rights; these can be perceived as complementary rather than individual pursuits to promote autonomy.

Further, a more pluralist approach to the public-private dichotomy can aid its deconstruction and thus the ability for women to act in all three citizenship domains. For example, Lister's (2003a) rearticulation would challenge the artificial fixed nature of the binary in terms of work and care, which places women firmly in the latter; leading to a second class citizenship. Within such a rearticulation there is a need to account for how this binary is constructed socially and politically, and to establish then how each side of the public-private divide impacts on each other. Further, the equality-difference binary should be challenged as it has led to opposing ethics of justice (equality) and care (difference). A *refashioning* of these two ethics could enable the recognition of both as complimentary rather than fixed binaries which isolate women to a lesser citizenship status. Additionally, women's informal politics would need to be perceived as equating to male's formal politics within the public domain. The importance of Lister's (2003a) feminist differentiated universalism becomes even more salient within the next chapter which focuses on how the contractual, moral and conditional aspects of the more recent neo-liberal citizenship concept have resulted in CSWs being the target of regulation and/or abandoned. Thus the next chapter will review legal and policy discourses relating to commercial-sexwork and the corresponding impact these have on their citizenship status.

Chapter 3: Historical and contemporary legal/policy discourses relating to commercial-sexworkers and the impact on citizenships status.

In the previous chapter, the mainstream and neo-liberal approaches to citizenship were critiqued due to their contractual, moral and conditional aspects which can be difficult to meet; leading to some individuals being the target of regulation. Alternative approaches (sexual, intimate and feminist citizenship) were suggested to address the issues within the former, particularly Lister's (2003a) differentiated synthetic approach which can be used as a tool to deconstruct binary thinking within the mainstream and neo-liberal approaches. However, such an approach in isolation is unlikely to affect change, it is important to use the approach to understand how binary thinking (such as good/bad citizens) influences legislation for those who have been chosen for a 'hand up' (Clark, 2005). There are two levels connecting the citizen to the State: formal (civil and political for example legal status) and substantive (social and economic) (Lister, 2003a). This chapter focuses on the formal component which bestows citizenship rights for 'lawful' British citizens whereby the behaviours which conform to those of a 'good citizen' are identified by those which do not (Dean, 1999) and to what extent this impacts on the substantive. For example, sexual promiscuity can be regarded as a natural condition for both men and women, and societal regulation provides the means for controlling and regulating this condition (Durkheim, 1906/1974). However, as society is made up of individuals, it is impossible for everyone to conform to rules created with regard to perceptions of the collective type (Durkheim, 1893/1933).

As a result, there are bound to be individuals whose character is regarded as criminal by the collective conscience – such as CSWs. Interestingly, it is not the act as such but rather the stronger the collective conscience feels toward deviant behaviour the more exacting regulation is towards even slight deviations from conformity (Durkheim, 1893/1933). Consequently, although selling sex is not a crime, it is considered problematic resulting in the social exclusion of CSWs to the margins of society and a lesser citizenship status. It is not the intention within this section to examine the concept of citizenship in any depth as this was covered in chapter 2 but to highlight the impact of legal/policy development overtime on the citizenship status of CSWs. The first section provides a historical mapping of the

legal status of commercial-sexwork and the discourses which emerged from Renaissance period (approx. 1484-1620) up to the introduction of the SOA 2003. The second component will be a critique of contemporary commercial-sexwork law/policy from the SOA 2003 focusing on five key discourses (nuisance, victim, abuser (client), exiting and criminal) and how these construct CSWs' citizenship status.

*Part 1: The historical legal/policy discourses relating to commercial sex workers and the impact on citizenships status.*

This section of chapter 3 provides a brief history of citizenship status and commercial-sexwork law agendas beginning with the Renaissance period (approx. 1484-1620) up to contemporary legislation (SOA, 2003). Throughout time citizenship status has impacted on the rights and duties of women in general. Although not explored in the research or theoretical literature, it is possible to suggest that there is an association between how citizenship was historically enacted (passive or active) and the basis for female legal commercial-sexwork discourses. Highlighted are longstanding issues related to commercial-sexwork's legal status and the reoccurring discourses which emerged, that is, victim, 'defective', nuisance and criminal.

During the Renaissance period a citizen was denoted by a male who engaged actively in debates within corporate society ('commonwealth') (Withington, 2007). It was at this point that citizenship became a meaningful status and the period drew inspiration from the Greek and Roman thinkers. For example, for Roman's civility was an essential component based on the virtues of justice, prudence, fortitude and temperance (Cicero, 1800/2002). These virtues were inconsistent with commercial-sexwork as Cicero (1800/2002, p.19) stated '...lust...unfailingly agitate and disturb the spirits and cause trouble'. The private and the public greatly overlapped in this period, as the virtue of a Greek city was built by the women creating virtuous

households (Aristotle, 1598/1999). Not all commentators at the time thought that the 'natural order' in relation to wedlock should apply to all circumstances; such as civic responsibility - where it was possible for a female to be a wife and subordinate to the husband but be a magistrate and in charge of him (Aylmer, 1559). However, for the greatest part this was not the case and one of the civil roles of marriage was to reduce *prostitution* (Witte, 2012). Canon law proscribed sex within *prostitution*; only sex within marriage was permitted (Council of Trent, 1564/1848). Simultaneously there was increasing legislation and changes in perceptions of the nature of *prostitution* towards public sin and zero tolerance (Witte, 2012). For example, Henry VIII (1546, April 11-20) proclaimed that stews (brothels) were no longer to be licensed as they were places of suffering and evil alike; where women abused their bodies and young men were led astray. Stews were closed and those who lived there were instructed to return to where they had originated from.

Following this, the rights (civil and political) based approach to citizenship from the 17<sup>th</sup> century liberal tradition (Faulks, 2000), meant that regardless of any other differences (such as social class) all men were classed as equal citizens (Phillips, 1993). Alongside this, the rise of Puritanism was influential resulting in an abolitionist stance towards commercial-sexwork; fornication was punished with three months in prison for the male with the female having to evidence good behaviour for a year (Adultery Act, 1650). For keeping a brothel, the punishment for a first offence was whipping, put in pillory (stocks), forehead marked with a B using a hot iron, then prison for three years and a repeat offence was regarded as a felony (Adultery Act, 1650). Interestingly, one of the arenas that active citizenship was played out was in the coffee-shop; places where men (no women) could debate. But the women workers/owners of coffee shops were said to use the rooms above the coffee-shop for *prostitution* (Spectator, 1711). These women were said to powerfully affect men – some committing suicide if rejected by a woman they had earlier had sexual intercourse with (Spectator, 1711).

Towards the end of the 17th century and leading into the 18th century, the conception of rights for citizens moved towards the subjective rights of the individual rather than rights related to duties to God, in which the ruling power must justify their power over the rights of the individual (Hobbes, 1651/1909; Locke, 1690; Rousseau, 1789). Citizens' rights still did not include females; they remained subordinate to males in civil and private spheres. Similarly, 'natural' rights were controlled by ceding those which were contradictory to the social contract and the balance of civil society (Hobbes, 1651/1909). Therefore, CSWs were generally perceived as choosing to be *prostitutes* due to having loose morals. Prosecution for *prostitution* or brothel keeping led to imprisonment rather than any attempts towards rehabilitation (Disorderly Houses Act, 1751) and invariably led to a return to *prostitution*.

With the increasing rights for the working class man and the development of women's suffrage, actively taking part in civil society was prominent and encouraged (Heater, 2006). Thus the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw an increased political and social interest in commercial-sex work from different standpoints giving rise to contradictory discourses. For example, CSWs were perceived as either an evil nuisance; related to a lack of morals and laziness or a victim to be rescued in order to reclaim their soul (Oswald, 2012; Prochaska, 1980). For example, there were reports of CSWs who had been to prison returning to the streets when released, they were labelled as an outrageous nuisance and their behaviours regarded as breaches of the peace ("crowds of women...infesting the streets") (Committee on the State of the Police of the Metropolis, 1816, p.510; Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, 1831-1832).

The Vagrancy Act 1824 (p.698) reified the nuisance discourse with the first mention of 'common prostitute' in British law associated with "...wandering in the public Streets or public Highways...behaving in a riotous or indecent Manner...deemed an idle and disorderly Person" and resulting in a penalty of hard labour in a House of

Correction for up to one calendar month. Policing and punitive measures were unable to deal with the issue of sexwork so they were generally moved on (Select Committee on the Observance of the Sabbath Day, 1831-1832). There was an attempt to address this within the Metropolitan Police Act 1839 whereby a penalty of under forty shillings was given for soliciting and nightwalker loitering, and fourteen days in prison (Towns Police Clauses Act ,1847)

Concurrently, there was evidence that CSWs were perceived as victims in relation to mendicity, overcrowded living conditions and dire poverty (Committee on the State of Mendicity in the Metropolis, 1815). This was more evident when links were made between the introduction of the Poor Law 1834 and an increase in commercial-sexwork which coincided with female paupers being refused relief; although no cause and effect relationship was claimed at the time (Select Committee on the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1838). The victim discourse for female CSWs was also recognised in the Protection of Women Act, 1849 where the offences of procuring and fraudulently causing the defilement of women for financial gain led to imprisonment for up to two years with hard labour.

Despite this, CSWs in the latter part of the 19th century were the subject of intensive legislation based on reports such as the Army Medical Department's (1864) report into sexually transmitted diseases and the armed forces which made an association between commercial-sexwork and increasing STDs. This led to the Contagious Diseases Acts (CDA) of 1864, 1866, 1873 which aimed to improve public health rather than make commercial-sexwork illegal. The discourse within the CDA was of CSWs as carriers of sexual diseases which exonerated their male clients and resulted in any female who looked like a CSW being stopped and forced to an invasive examination to see if they had venereal disease. If they were found to be infected this led to compulsory detainment in a 'Lock' hospital until they were free of the disease.

The CDA was deemed successful in Navy towns for example, in Plymouth and Devonport the CDA was indicated to have halved the incidence of contagious STDs, brothels decreased from 356 to 131 and resulted in the reclamation of females (CSWs decreased from 1770 to 645) (Commissioner of Police to the Board of Admiralty, 1870). As a result of such success and the danger of importing sexual diseases from unregulated towns, requests were made by high ranking medical professionals for the extension of the CDA to other towns in Britain (Alderson et al. 1868). The move towards extending the CDA was supported in Parliament and extended from five to fifteen miles around military districts as CSWs were living just outside the five-mile border (Childers et al., 1869). Notably, although there was evidence of displacement this was rarely reported thus any impacts of this were mostly disregarded. Also, there was limited evidence of any public support for the extension of the CDA as its aims were at odds with public concerns about the treatment of CSWs; leading to numerous public meetings and petitions demanding the repeal of the CDA (including one of approximately 125,000 females (who exhibited active citizenship ideals)) (Shaen, Pennington, & Gladstone, 1871).

Further, pressure was rising from women's rights activists, for example Butler (1874), a feminist reformer, was pressing for the church to become involved in urging local members of parliament to repeal the CDA, as they were perceived as being created in order for men to justify the use of women within commercial-sexwork. Butler (1874) suggested that this was only possible because women had been suppressed politically, socially and legally. Notably, those opposing Butler were not only men but women from the higher social classes who thought women should not be concerned by such matters (the domain of men) reiterating hegemonic ideals (Gladstone & Curgenvin, 1871). Furthermore, some in parliament worried that there would not be an exhaustive enquiry into whether the CDA should be kept due to the high public demand for the speedy repeal of the CDA; that the voices of those who were shouting the loudest were being heard rather than those who quietly supported the

extension (Gladstone & Curgenven, 1871). Despite such opposition the CDA was suspended in 1883 and repealed in 1886.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act (CLA) 1885 supported the victim discourse in relation to younger female CSWs making it an offence to have 'carnal knowledge' of or manage/control those under 16 (previously 18). However, according to Walkowitz (1980) the underlying purpose of this Act was to control the behaviour of adult CSWs and its focus on the closure of brothels led to a change in the structure of commercial-sexwork due to an increased reliance on male 'pimps' for protection. This inadvertently, created a gender imbalance in sexwork from female to male control (Walkowitz, 1980, p.211); creating a negative outcome for CSWs as "there now existed third parties with a strong interest in prolonging women's stay on the streets". Thus, this brought into question the effectiveness of the CLA (or any future legislation or policy) which aimed to 'protect' when such adverse effects led to further vulnerability for CSWs.

There was no further legislation until the 1950's when there was clear demarcation between morality and legality; commercial-sexwork was perceived as a private affair until it became a public nuisance. The amount of commercial-sexwork in cities was deemed a nuisance to law abiding citizens and visitors; thus stronger legislation was necessary to "remedy the situation" (Cabinet Office, 1954, p.98). Although it was recognised that there would be resistance from women's organisations to any changes. The nuisance discourse formed the basis for the legal framework within SOA 1956 which informed all subsequent UK legislation. The SOA 1956 did not criminalise the act of performing commercial-sex but instead criminalised specific associated activities such as those that could persuade a person to become a CSW, whereas the Street Offences Act 1959 was concerned with the CSW and the regulation of transactions between them and their clients.

The Wolfenden Report (1957) on homosexual offences and commercial-sexwork, reified the nuisance discourse within the public-private divide by recognising that whilst the private nature of commercial-sexwork indoors should not be perceived as harmful or regulated, that which was conducted outdoors and considered a nuisance should be. The nuisance discourse continued to influence Parliamentary debate and legislation into the 1980s and (as with the 1800s) there was an increase in moral opinion in relation to CSWs as carriers of STDs, this was amplified during the AIDs (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) 'crisis' (Alexander, 1994) and led to localised protests [see for example the Bradford protests Hubbard (1998b)]. However, it was suggested that this was the reaction of a few and did not reflect the majority view which related more to localised criminal activity but rather the minority view was being heard due to public protests (as with the protests against the CDA). Consequently, there was a shift in discourse from CSW's collectives towards addressing increased stigmatisation (Day & Ward, 1997; West, 2000). Importantly, whilst such an emphasis impacted positively on health promotion for CSWs, focusing almost entirely on health was to the detriment of rights based citizenship claims as in the main these were deferred.

Thus, the nuisance discourse continued to be dominant and this combined with the discourse of CSWs as disease carriers, which was constructed within the CDA in relation to venereal disease, led to the creation of SOA 1985 which increased the penalties for soliciting and persistent soliciting. Therefore, it is apparent that historical legal and policy discourses (nuisance, victim or criminal) in relation to commercial-sexwork were contradictory and changes in law were often reactionary due to demands from mainstream groups who were mostly outraged at either the treatment of CSWs or concerns for public wellbeing. The outcome was that 'unreformed' CSWs remained in the margins of society, contained in places where they were to be reformed (forcibly or not), or moved on and hidden from public view; all of which are inconsistent with claims to citizenship rights and status. This is important, as historical discourses prevail in contemporary society and more modern

conceptions of citizenship which impose structural constraints on the realisation of a more inclusive citizenship status.

*Part 2: The current UK legal and policy discourses relating to commercial-sexwork*

At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the focus on the lack of equality of status due to gender inequalities within mainstream society began to have an impact on commercial-sexwork law and policy. For example, the inclusion of the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR, 1950) in relation to gender equality within the Human Rights Act 1998 was a catalyst for the Home Office's (2000) consultation paper *Setting the Boundaries: Reforming the Law on Sex Offences*. The aim of this consultation paper (which collated 160 responses from a public consultation in 1999) was to assess if the law on sexual offences was compatible with the ECHR (1950) and still met the needs of the country.

Also, although it purported not to consider the legality of commercial-sexwork within its consultation paper, the Home Office (2000) called for a Public Order Act to permit the police to address gender inequalities in previous laws by ensuring that male CSWs were penalised in the same way as females in relation to soliciting. Consequently, the paper recommended utilising a gender neutral approach in relation to the offences of living off illegal earnings and controlling a CSW under the SOA 1956. Further, it considered that it is not the case that all men who live with CSWs are controlling them but that some are in emotional relationships and should be afforded the same right to a private life as other citizens to develop emotional relationships (ECHR, 1950). Furthermore, it briefly considered whether it was the right of CSWs to choose to work and provide for their partner; just as with other citizens. From these considerations, it was recommended that the offence of living off immoral earnings should be utilised only where coercion was strongly evidenced. Overall within the Home Office's (2000) consultation paper there was a clear

indication of support for the victim CSW/criminal sex-buyer dichotomy with recommendations for new offences for exploiting, managing or controlling and recruiting, and a reification of the nuisance discourse. The implications of the victim-criminal dichotomy were far reaching as it created the idea of good and bad CSWs; those who want to reform and those who choose not to.

The Home Office's (2002) white paper *Protecting the Public*, reiterated the right to a private life and consensual sex and the need for gender neutral offences in relation to commercial-sexwork. Importantly, there was recognition of the individual's responsibilities and the right "to determine their own behaviour" (Home Office, 2002, p.5) which are requirements for participating in social and civil citizenship. Additionally, the commercial nature of sexwork began to re-emerge with the suggestion for the creation of a new offence: the commercial sexual exploitation of adults. However, the victim-criminal dichotomy had even more emphasis with clear focus on prevention and the emergence of an exiting discourse coupled with more effective ways to deal with nuisance elements in order to make the public feel more protected.

These consultations led to SOA 2003 which criminalises specific associated activities making it possible to be a CSW and not commit an illegal act. For example, as long as the CSW does not solicit for her clients, does not allow others to work from her premises and/or encourage others to become CSWs. Under this Act for the period 2014–15, 456 prosecutions of CSWS for soliciting and loitering were recorded (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2016). Importantly, the main focus of the SOA 2003 was to address a lack of gender neutrality highlighted within the Home Office's (2000, 2002) consultations in relation to the SOA 1956; the Street Offences Act 1959 and the SOA 1985. Gender inequality had been highlighted previously within Wolfenden's (1957) report, which demanded the decriminalisation of homosexual practices in private and recommended that

commercial-sexwork legislation be updated to include male offenders and homosexual practices. Specifically, and consistent with Wolfenden's (1957) agenda, within the SOA 2003 the aim was to bring commercial-sexwork offences in line with the ECHR (1950); that commercial-sexwork is not a gender specific offence and thus it includes the terms 'male or female' or 'person' rather than just female or woman.

However, the aim within the SOA 2003 somewhat inverts the European gender neutral laws as it brings males in line with females rather than the other way around such as with wage equality where the aim is to bring female wages consistent with males rather than reducing male wages to meet females (see for example Commission of the European Communities, 2007; European Commission, 2015; European Parliament & The Council, 1957). This implies that patriarchal views of males in commercial-sexwork contradict those of other more mainstream gender issues (such as wage equality) that commercial-sexwork is perceived as un-citizenship like regardless of gender and that male CSWs have the same discredited-citizen status as females. Further, within the SOA 2003 the consideration of the individuals' rights and responsibilities of all citizens needed to be tempered against the protection of vulnerable citizens and communities. The SOA 2003 underpins all subsequent legislation (currently the PCA, 2009 and the Support to Exit Prostitution Bill [HL] 2016 (prorogued after the first reading)) within which it is evident that the historic law discourses persist. In the remainder of this section the impact of the key legal and policy discourses (nuisance, victim, abuser (client), exiting and criminal) is critiqued in relation to commercial-sexwork and CSWs' citizenship status.

### The nuisance discourse

The nuisance discourse continues to prevail in policy and law; key to its continuation is the notion that those living near the 'market' suffer directly as a result of the

activities surrounding commercial-sexwork. One way the state aimed to address this issue was by the use of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) which were brought in within the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. However, rather than having a positive impact, ASBOs created further instances where CSWs are caught within the legal system (Sagar, 2007). Additional concerns which supported the nuisance discourse (consistent with historical discourses), were that children who lived in areas where commercial-sexwork was conducted were at a higher risk of moral danger, local men were solicited by CSWs, local females were propositioned by kerb-crawlers, an increase waste pollution associated with drug taking and commercial-sexwork (for example, needles and condoms) and real or perceived increases in criminal behaviour (ACPO, 2004; Home Office, 2004a; Hunter, May, & the Drug Strategy Directorate, 2004). The notion within ACPO's (2004, 2011) policy that commercial-sexwork is a market crime suggests that it can be opportunistic responding to demand and that the market is unregulated yet profitable. Whilst the off-street market is not considered as so much of a concern if it does not impact on other residents, the on-street market is seen as problematic (consistent with the Street Offences Act 1959). This is because it has been suggested that where street commercial-sexwork is carried out there is a "spiral of decline" Home Office (2008, p.8) as the area becomes undesirable to those living within and potential residents.

The ACPO (2011) tried to address this problem by indicating that any measures to resolve nuisance issues need to include 'others' in the community; the intention being to decrease harm and increase public confidence. Thus reiterating the need for policing measures to ensure that 'legitimate' members of local communities are not victimised or stigmatised and help is available (consistent with Home Office, 2004a, 2006a). Further, the ACPO (2011) strategy acknowledged that CSWs need to be recognised as a 'part of the community' in relation to when community level decisions are being made. Such inclusion could have led to citizenship status claims in terms of informal political action; which within a differentiated approach to citizenship, is suggested to have utility as an alternative to traditional (and male) formal politics (Lister, 2003a).

However, as CSWs are not referred to in the latter sense within the report from the ACPO (2011) the assumption is that they are not explicitly involved. Also, the effectiveness of the nuisance discourse as a remedy to community issues is challenged as it often results in displacement which can lead to risky and dangerous behaviour. Consequently, CSWs are not afforded all the rights of others in the community (such as safety) because they are perceived as the problem not the solution; which is at odds with pursuing citizenship status. This is problematic for claims to citizenship in terms of informal politics which would necessitate the inclusion of CSWs within community decisions; especially those which impact on CSWs as a whole and individually.

#### The victim discourse

The nuisance discourse has in the main been succeeded by the victim discourse within the SOA 2003, the Home Office's (2006a) *Coordinated Prostitution Strategy*, and the PCA 2009 where there is increased protection afforded to victims of commercial-sexwork with the aim of supporting "the needs of this new victim group" (Sagar & Jones, 2014, p.230). For example, the ACPO (2011) strategy included within its' principles the development of witness protection schemes and supported the extension of the 'ugly mugs' (UK Network of Sex Work Projects [UKNSWP], 2016) reporting scheme to national level. The intention was to develop the confidence of CSWs so they feel able to report attacks knowing that the abuser will be prosecuted (ACPO, 2011). Alongside this, the offences of loitering or soliciting (Street Offences Act 1959) and ASBOs were seen as ineffective as they resulted in a fine which in turn creates further need to sell sex to pay for the fine. Thus there have been legal amendments to these offences such as adding 'persistently' (two or more occasions in any period of three months) to the Street Offences Act 1959 for the offence of loitering with the maximum penalty being a level 3 fine (currently £1000,

Serious Crime Act, 2015) or the preferred option of an Engagement and Support Order (ESO) to meet with a specified person on three occasions in order to address un-citizenship like behaviour and find ways of stopping the offending (PCA, 2009).

Yet according to Carline and Scoular (2015, p.110) rather than supporting CSWs who are perceived as victims, ESOs have had quite the opposite effect in that they permit the state to continue its' focus on the "surveillance and control of public spaces" in which commercial-sexwork is perceived as a preventable crime and the CSW as someone who is unable to monitor their own body and sexuality. This amounts to "forced welfarism"; as the welfare agenda which was developed to support the victims of commercial-sexwork uses ESOs as a tool to "enforce 'correct' sexual citizenship" (Sanders, 2009, p.507) behaviour via the victim discourse with the aim of benefiting CSWs and all citizens within their communities. Conversely, the impact of ESOs is that CSWs have not benefitted rather they remain excluded from the mainstream regardless of their victim status (Sanders, 2009). Thus the outcome of this and other issues such as the forced welfarism created by the legal requirements of ESOs is a "revolving door" process (Carline & Scoular, 2015, p.103).

Additionally, an important component of the victim discourse is the rejection of the notion that CSWs have legitimately chosen commercial-sexwork. Whilst there is an acknowledgement that some CSWs claim that they sell sex and stay in the profession through choice (where legal and consensual, ACPO, 2011) this is mainly negated. For example, the Home Office (2004a, p.41) stated that it is not an authentic choice as it is the result of "a combination of fear, the process of normalisation or in an effort to maintain their dignity" or that commercial-sexwork is a survival activity resulting from abuse or being coerced (Home Office, 2006b). Therefore, and consistent with historical discourse, they are particularly vulnerable to violence and sex crimes from those who buy sex or coerce them into selling sex and members from the community they work in. Also, illicit drug use is perceived as a

precursor to commercial-sexwork rather than the other way around resulting in impaired judgement which makes selling sex appear an easy choice (ACPO, 2004). The *need* for help and support is emphasised by ACPO (2011, p.4) in the form of health, welfare and exiting provision “in order to leave it behind and start a new life”. However, whilst this acknowledges social marginalisation in terms of health and social care provision, these are not referred to as rights but that they “should be able to access” such support (ACPO, 2011, p.7). Therefore, whilst it appears on face value that the victim discourse could assist claims to social citizenship rights (Marshall, 1950/1992), this is not the aim.

Consequently, the victim discourse does little to advance these claims because viewing an individual in this manner assigns an ‘other’ status to them; meaning that they will always be second class citizens (Lister, 2003a). Further, this has inadvertently impacted on citizenship status in another way as the over focus on victim discourse marginalises the citizenship rights claims from CSW’s unions/collectives see for example IUSW (2009a, p.1) who “campaign for everyone in the sex industry to have the same human, civil and labour rights as other citizens, the same protection of the law as other citizens...”. Thus this discourse is problematic in terms of attaining a full citizenship status as perceiving CSWs as objects of pity denies them agency which is key for formal and informal political participation.

### The abuser discourse

The abuser discourse was infrequently evident historically mainly due to perceptions that clients were nuisances due to moral weakness or a lack of education rather than having any culpability in relation to the transaction or offence. However, some earlier commentators suggested that the nuisance discourse relating to the buyer hid the abusive nature of commercial-sexwork (see for example Butler, 1874 who

pursued social justice and sexual equality for CSWs). This has some concordance with more contemporary policy research, for example Hester and Westmarland (2004) indicated that it is more effective to deal with the person buying the service (such as kerb-crawlers) either with arrest or programmes to deal with their behaviour rather than moving on the CSW. Consistent with this, the Home Office (2004a) suggested that the way to address the abusive nature of commercial-sexwork was by criminalising the abusers (pimps and traffickers).

A key driver behind this discourse was that although the Home Office's (2006a) *Coordinated Prostitution Strategy* indicated that some improvements have been evident from the initiatives recommended in relation to disrupting sex markets, and enforcing kerb-crawling laws, these were perceived as not going far enough with regards to the person demanding sexual services. Additionally, when threats of violence are used to keep CSWs in commercial-sexwork the Home Office's (2008) review *Tackling the demand for prostitution* stated that the Government had a responsibility to protect CSWs and bring those responsible to justice. In order to create an effective plan to tackle the demand, The Home Office (2008) review made comparisons to the Swedish and Dutch approaches to commercial-sexwork (at the time commercial-sexwork was illegal in Sweden and legal in the Netherlands). The Swedish approach created the sex-buyer law (Penal Code, 2014) which aimed to address gender inequality (men buying casual sex from women) and violence, and provide routes out for CSWs. However, within the Home Office (2008, p.13) review this was seen as a "step too far" due to differences in the size of sex markets and UK attitudes towards commercial-sexwork. For example, the UK was seen as divided towards whether or not commercial-sexwork should be legalised and it would therefore require the Government to challenge the attitudes of both the general public and the buyers of sexual services before making commercial-sexwork illegal could become an option.

This was somewhat incongruous as UK attitudes in relation to choice versus exploitation were not dissimilar to those which were put forward in Sweden prior to the ban and those expressed since (The Swedish Institute, 2010). Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain the legitimacy of this as a reason for not pursuing the Swedish example. However, moves to an outright sex-buyer law are still being avoided as it is suggested that such an approach does not account for those CSWs who choose to work in the profession (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2016). The implication for indoor workers is that their voice is ignored; yet their experiences need to be considered especially in relation to choice in order to avoid policy or law being discriminatory and thus impacting on their rights. This is despite the Secretary of State for the Home Department's (2016) response to the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee (2016) report in that they recommended not prosecuting those CSWs who were found to be working together in brothels [whilst reserving prosecution for individuals when there was evidence of coercion or exploitation].

Also, at the time of the Home Office (2008) review, the Dutch government was cracking down on brothels with the legal requirement of licensing and soliciting illegal CSWs to become an offence (Ministry of Security and Justice, 2008). In this way clients are deemed to be aware if they are legally purchasing sex. But the Home Office (2008) review did not consider that licensing would reduce exploitation and discounted the Dutch example as a viable option for the UK. However, a combination of these approaches provided support for an approach within the Home Office (2008) review that neither legalises nor makes commercial-sexwork illegal in the UK but places the responsibility on the buyer. This view had some local government support, for example research conducted by Brent Council Task Group (2010, p.19) indicated that whilst earnings for brothels could be extremely lucrative: "one flat in Soho could generate as much a 1 million pounds a year", the only person not liable for prosecution (unless kerb crawling) was the client.

Although the Home Office (2008) review mainly relates to trafficking, its findings impact on all commercial-sexwork transactions. For example, with regards to the reviews evaluation of raising awareness campaigns in relation to trafficking, these were deemed largely ineffective because of the direct approach. On the other hand, campaigns that resulted in uncertainty with regards to trafficking were more effective. Therefore, it was recommended that all future campaigns should take the same approach; a state of confusion is intended to reduce the demand for sexual services. To support this objective, the Home Office (2008) review recommended a new strict liability offence (fine up to £1000) of paying for sex from a CSW if they are being controlled by another for gain. This was intended to place the onus on the buyer to discover if the CSW is being controlled and is applicable whether the buyer is aware or not. This was coupled with the suggestion of amending the SOA 1985 to remove 'persistent' in relation to kerb-crawling and soliciting, to allow for prosecution for the first offence.

Which is in direct contrast to the addition of 'persistent' for the offence of loitering to the Street Offences Act 1959; thus supporting the victim/abuser dichotomy. The Home Office (2008) review indicated that this is not intended to be all the buyers of sexual services but those who are buying from those who have been exploited even though, as the review itself states, finding out if this is the case is not always practical. In response, the PCA 2009 was created with a new offence added to the SOA 2003 of paying for sex from those who have been 'subjected to force'. To some extent this has been supported by organisations working with CSWs (generally exiting support), where there is a desire for abuse against CSWs to be targeted rather than the workers themselves (English Collective of Prostitutes [ECP], 2010). This is deemed important in separating abuse from consensual commercial-sexwork with a key aim of being able to support CSWs claims to the same work rights as others (ECP, 2010).

Further, ACPO (2011) indicated that CSWs have the formal right to normal protection in the law in relation to assaults, abuse, and crimes against CSWs should be investigated fully when reported to the police. Therefore, it is necessary to situate the abuser discourse within the 'chain of crime' (ACPO, 2011, p.10). For example, although the clients of CSWs may not regard themselves as exploiting them, the police regard them as offenders at level 1 (Local crime and antisocial behaviour) of the National Centre for Policing Excellence's (2005) National Intelligence Model with the CSWs loss of self-esteem regarded as the exploited factor.

Alongside this, suggestions to overcome exploitation were utilising 'Ugly mugs' reports that, whilst they cannot be used as full crime reports, could be regarded as useful local intelligence (Home Office, 2011) and ASBO's which are also seen as an effective deterrent against kerb crawling (Home Office, 2006b) (in direct contrast to their purported lack of utility in relation to CSWs) and the resurrection of anti-kerb crawling campaigns (Home Office, 2008). In line with this the ACPO (2011, p.30) proposed programmes for kerb-crawlers which would allow them to "reflect on their conduct and cease offending"; in most cases this is self-funded by the offender; having agreed to do so as a condition of a court sentence.

Within the PCA's 2009 new offence (paying for sex from those who have been 'subjected to force') the buyer cannot use the excuse that they did not know that the CSWs had been forced, threatened or coerced. Thus it is evident that a no tolerance discourse is emerging where the abuser is thoroughly investigated and prosecuted; thus subtly disciplining male buyers to conform to more appropriate citizenship behaviour (Stychin, 2003) and leaving CSWs citizenship status in flux. This brings in to question both the Home Office's (2008) report and the PCA 2009 claims that it was not the right time to make selling sex illegal as this amounts to backdoor legislation and a form of prohibition. Further, such legislation is unlikely to decrease the demand as it does not effectively address the complexity of why males access

commercial-sex. For example, according to Brooks-Gordon (2016, p.3) the reasons for buying sex are “...conditioned by: location, disposition, religion, range of opportunities to conceal consumption, and risk...current understandings do not provide justification for the criminalization.” Yet the underlying legal principles in relation to commercial-sexwork remain that it would not exist if there was no demand (PCA, 2009) even though it is apparent that the reasons behind the demand are unaccounted for.

Therefore, it is clear that the abuser discourse has developed over time to increasingly lay the demand for the commercial-sexwork transaction with the abuser or sex-buyer. Consequently, whilst not out rightly stating that this is the case, previous law and policy has become a vehicle for a type of backdoor legislation; a form of prohibition – a sex-buyer law. That is, although it is already established that buying sex is not illegal with consenting adults, policy and legal discourses leading up to the PCA 2009, have deliberately created a situation where sex-buyers are perceived as abusing victims of commercial-sexwork. This is especially pertinent to those CSWs who are coerced or trafficked; a lack of knowledge of whether CSW is being abused is not accepted as an alibi if the buyer is found with a CSW who falls into the latter two categories. The aim, thus, is to create a situation whereby the sex-buyer is confused as to whether buying sex is illegal or not, thus reducing the demand and the abuse of those who are victimised within the commercial-sexwork arena. However, as noted earlier, this approach is deemed unsuccessful as it is unable to account for the complexity of reasons for buying sex and has done little to reduce the demand.

The exiting discourse

Within the exiting process ESOs form the basis for exiting but as they consist of only three meetings they are unlikely to be able to facilitate the complex process of

exiting. Therefore, in recognition of this issue and supporting the victim discourse, alternatives to prosecution are preferred such as diversion programmes where CSWs are diverted from the CJS system into exiting programmes (Home Office, 2011) which also offer assistance to those who choose to leave “routes out of prostitution” (Home Office, 2006a, p.43). It is possible to trace early examples of exiting to the development of the Magdalen Charity in 1758, whereby CSWs were rescued and their souls saved from “eternal loss” (Dodd, 1776, p.44). Also, on a societal level, it was thought that excesses of alcohol consumption led the young into commercial-sexwork, whereas sobriety and moral training would lead them to more useful employments that would benefit the economy (Select Committee on Inquiry into Drunkenness, 1834). There was some indication of what the Magdalen Charity regarded as successes, such as women restored to morality and voluntary admission to the society.

However, those returning to commercial-sexwork were viewed as ‘bad women’ who would have a negative, but somewhat expected, impact on the reputation of the Magdalen Charity (Dodd, 1776). But this did not deter the charity as the benefits of rescuing the morality of a few was deemed worthwhile (Dodd, 1776). Concurrently, there was an association between a lack of education and commercial-sexwork because the uneducated were only able to work in factories. Thus, because it was thought that ignorance equated to ‘wickedness’, when factory work was unavailable females turned to commercial-sexwork as they were unable to do any other form of work (Turner, 1832). Employers were unwilling to reemploy them once they had been CSWs; partly due to them being unable to settle back into the work environment and that the employers wanted their work force to be reputable (Sadler, 1831-32).

These discourses were important as they formed the basis for the emergent yet conflicting exiting discourse. For example, and in line with the Magdalen Charity,

Butler (1874) indicated that CSWs had irreclaimable characters thus they needed rescuing in order to reclaim their souls rather than punishing them. Whereas Gladstone (1848-1854 /1974) recorded in his diaries how he spent nights *saving* CSWs; the intention was that after receiving 'training' they could be rehabilitated into more suitable employment, become married or given the opportunity to emigrate. However, this was without much success because of conditions and restrictions in the institutions they were sent to as it was suggested that those forced into attending the Lock Hospitals were 'hardened characters'; older women, that they were not be able to be reclaimed (Select Committee on Contagious Diseases Acts, 1882). Therefore, there was more likely to be a positive association between those voluntarily seeking assistance, younger registered CSWs and reclamation.

Importantly, even though the conditions differ, the earlier ideals and discourses of saving and educating victims of commercial-sexwork and of those CSWS who are too hardened to leave are very similar to those within the contemporary exiting discourse which emerged after the SOA 2003. For example, the Home Office (2004a) suggested ways of providing support to change CSWs lives by drawing on the evaluation of eleven Crime Reduction Programme projects (such as *What Works in Tackling Prostitution*, see Hester & Westmarland, 2004) as those abused in commercial-sexwork required help to exit and become good citizens (ACPO, 2004). The key principles of this approach were to support CSWs to facilitate their individual social re-inclusion, to provide access social citizenship rights such as education, training, and re-housing, and thus a fuller citizenship status (Gaynor, 2009). It was suggested that exiting provision must be easily accessed and immediate assistance to exit must be provided 'where appropriate' (although this was not specified) (Hunter et al., 2004).

The current legal discourse with regards to exiting was revealed within the Support to Exit Prostitution Bill (HL Bill 54) (2016, p.1), which has since been prorogued,

which aimed to ensure that the exiting process was formally monitored and reviewed, and is long term rather than just emergency provision. The support objectives were “(a) supporting persons to exit prostitution; (b) recognising prostitution as a form of violence against women; and (c) recognising that prostitution is a barrier to gender equality” (also see table 2 in appendix 1). The first objective of *supporting persons to exit prostitution* has been evident within the legal and policy agendas of consecutive governments (New Labour (Home Office, 2006a), Conservative/Liberal Democrat (Hansard, 2011) and the current Conservative government).

Analyses of earlier exiting programmes found that a holistic approach involving education, alternative incomes, and harm reduction was the most effective approach (Mayhew & Mossman, 2007; UKNSWP, 2008). This continues within contemporary programmes for example the Lighthouse project which is in several cities across England was endorsed by the Home Office (2011) for recognising the importance of education (alongside considering other issues such as health) for those who have exited in order to help them gain alternative employment and the New Futures Project (2016) follows a similar holistic approach. However, there is a lack of statistical evidence to indicate whether exiting is successful or otherwise. This is a long term issue and puts in doubt the effectiveness and timeliness of exiting programmes (Sanders, 2007c).

One problem with this is that most exiting programmes expect CSWs to put themselves forward for assistance (Mayhew & Mossman, 2007) yet there is no evidence to suggest there will be a successful outcome for them. Also, such a focus on individuality leads to greater marginalisation for those who are unwilling or unable to exit. The outcome of this is that it supports a polarity between “good and bad, deserving and undeserving women, so that only those who responsibly exit, who fit dominant norms of citizenship and resume normal lifestyles and relationships are

socially included, leaving those outside increasingly marginalized” (Scoular & O’Neill, 2007, p.11). Thus instead of facilitating universal claims to equal rights which are afforded all full citizens, encouraging CSWs to facilitate their individual social inclusion by exiting commercial-sexwork creates an opposing good and bad citizenship binary for CSWs. This is problematic in relation to those who are unable to or do not want exit in terms of continued formal and informal exclusion from citizenship identity and leads to a disciplined citizen status.

Clearly, such binaries are unproductive for a universal approach to citizenship as they are exclusionary; dismissing those who do not access support despite there being various barriers (such as self-esteem, lifestyle, criminal record or stigma) which lead to a lack of engagement. For example, a major financial barrier to exiting commercial-sexwork is that some CSWs are in the industry to support drug addiction (ECP, 2010) as it can be seen as a viable alternative to other criminal activities with even harsher penalties; “I was sick of going to jail all the time, doing this is the only way I can get enough money to keep my habit and not be locked up every five minutes” (The Voices Heard Group, 2007, p.49). Also, some CSWs doubt whether they are employable, even if exiting training is successful as whilst they would “...love a job...who’s going to give me a job?”; (The Voices Heard Group, 2007, p.50). Therefore, although having a more socially acceptable occupation is desirable their lifestyles are such that they do not perceive that this is a realistic aim.

This contradicts the findings within some exiting programmes where it is suggested that a lack of qualifications as a barrier outweighs the impact of criminal records (Andrews, 2008). However, as discussed earlier, for those with a conviction under the SOA 2003 in many occupations this outweighs both qualifications and any experience gained within exiting programmes and often leads to a return to commercial-sexwork or ‘yo-yoing’ behaviour. Importantly, and in contrast to ACPO (2004), within the exiting agenda it is now acknowledged that there may be

occasions when a CSW returns to commercial-sexwork before successfully exiting (Home Office, 2011). Conversely, according to the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee (2016, p.21), such acknowledgements only superficially attend to the key underlying issue that criminalising CSWs continues to impact on engagement with exiting programmes:

treating soliciting as an offence is having an adverse impact, in terms of preventing sex workers from seeking help to exit prostitution, exposing them to abuse and violence, and damaging other areas of their lives... Having a criminal record for prostitution-related offences...creates an insurmountable barrier for sex workers wishing to exit prostitution.

Thus, when coupled with ambiguous criminal legislation (especially the PCA 2009), this means that they will continue to have their citizenship status affected formally on a civil and political level and informally on a social level. The ECP (2010, p.2) state that this can be alleviated by the onus being placed on society to provide a system of support in terms of social citizenship rights and duties; rather than focusing on educating the individual or punitive measures:

...targeted assistance for women to escape domestic violence; immediate weekly cash payments...to cover the transitional period until women are able to get benefits or another form of employment...Financial recognition for mothers...pay equity for those who go out to waged work...

This mostly reflects the issues within the gender division of labour and constantly unmet claims to social citizenship rights (Lister, 2003a). Equally, such claims within the process of exiting are unlikely to be met by the state as the response to commercial-sexwork is heavily influenced by the need to be seen as being value for money (Home Office, 2011). Further, a number of organisations fund exiting provisions; which can lead to additional monitoring to assess for “value for money”

(Home Office, 2011, p.36). The implications of this are that exiting programmes are not always driven to provide the best service for CSWs but rather towards reducing the cost burden at a structural level within the programme itself.

One outcome of this identified within a review into exiting provision is a lack of consistent strategies resulting from poor overall organisation (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2016) which means that some basic citizenship rights remain unattainable. This is exemplified in that the basic right to shelter remains an issue for on-street CSWs. This reflects the intricate nature of commercial-sexwork highlighted by statistics from Crisis (2012, p.6) which indicate that as a result of their erratic lifestyles “a quarter of young homeless women have engaged in sex work in order to fund accommodation or in the hope of getting a bed for the night.” Whilst caution towards such surveys needs to be observed due to possible bias, this is an issue which remains as yet unresolved.

Some contemporary programmes, for example the Sex Workers in Community/Custody (SWICC) initiative have attempted to address issues of poor organisation by providing improved training for those who work with CSWs in the criminal justice system; both in the prison service (initially piloted in five prisons) and the community (All Party Parliamentary Group, 2011; Hansard, 2011). This is in line with the prorogued Support to Exit Prostitution Bill (2016) whereby to overcome some of the internal issues within exiting programmes it was suggested that a professionalisation of services is necessary to ensure that they are supporting CSWs effectively; including monitoring quality standards and involving CSWs in the development of these and providing feedback on services and policing (consistent with ISUW, 2009). This is intended to ensure that support is available and that policing strategies do not interrupt other agencies providing support as CSWs are reticent to use support provisions due to a lack of trust; some believe that they are either linked closely to the police or would provide information to them about their

prostitution activity (Home Office, 2011). Additionally, it was proposed within the Support to Exit Prostitution Bill (2016) that the onus for strategies of support should be brought under the control of local authorities and local Health and Wellbeing Boards to provide a coordinated multi-agency approach.

Within the Support to Exit Prostitution Bill (2016, p.1) the second key area identified was the recognition of “prostitution as a form of violence against women” (VAGW). Defining commercial-sexwork as such means that it should be viewed as discriminatory in nature, thus an obstacle to equal rights (consistent with the United Nations (1993) *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*). Early support for this issue was evident in the Home Office’s (2006a) exiting agenda which created a picture of a vulnerable and abused individual who has little choice with regards to selling sex. Consistent with this, more recent strategies from the Government focus on reducing VAGW for example, the HM Government (2009, 2012, p.7) strategies within which the focus is “to reduce the harm suffered by the vulnerable women working in prostitution”.

Paradoxically, whilst the aim is to empower abused CSWs to exit, such a model focuses on the negatives of commercial-sexwork and thus projects them as “little more than a bundle of unresolved needs” (Matthews, Easton, Reynolds, Bindel, & Young, 2014, p.10), portraying them yet again as in need of rescuing. Further the evidence to support the extent to which violence occurs in commercial-sexwork is conflicting – in some cases it is presented by exiting programmes as highly violent in nature (Bindel, Breslin, & Brown, 2013) and others question the extent to which this is the case (Laing, 2016). That this discourse lacks the power to discriminate is deemed problematic on several levels by some who work in the commercial-sexwork arena (Laing, 2016, p.6):

To say all sex work is violence against women is to say that all sex workers are victims. The same logic would mean that women who enjoy sex work and work of their own free will are all somehow mentally disturbed...To take away the rights of an entire group of non-coerced adult people to define their own sense of self is just so wrong. (Sex Worker 1)

Thus it is evident that unresolved issues relating to the victim discourse remain problematic within exiting programme discourses. Further, where there is an emphasis on whether choice exists there is an implicit assumption that there must be a corresponding element of choice in a lesser citizenship status and marginalisation. That is, abused victims are expected to choose between seeking out the assistance of exiting programmes to escape commercial-sexwork or be on the receiving end of the punitive measures for crimes such as 'loitering' (Phoenix, 2008). Therefore, if they choose to remain in commercial-sexwork and have the same rights and responsibilities as other UK citizens (as has been demanded by IUSW (2009)) they are thwarted and are at risk of punitive measures (Phoenix, 2008). This is problematic as 77.1% of CSWs in a survey by Laing (2016) which asked if they support the new proposals (which led to the Support to Exit Prostitution Bill (2016)) said that they did but only for those who wanted assistance. This is important because the over focus on trafficking and violence means that there is also a danger of creating a simplistic dichotomy which suggests "that all non-trafficked prostitutes are working in the sex industry as a matter of free choice" (Galilee & Lopes-Baker, 2014, p.120). Thus perceiving commercial-sexwork as VAGW does not account for the continuum of experiences of CSWs which ranges from those who are vulnerable to those who choose to work in this arena and enjoy their work.

Consistent with the Human Rights Act 1998 and earlier policy in relation to commercial-sexwork (see for example, the Home Office (2000)) the third key area within the Support to Exit Prostitution Bill (2016, p.1) was "recognising that prostitution is a barrier to gender equality". However, whilst recognising that commercial-sexwork is a barrier to gender equality appears to be a step forward, this

replicates the underpinning ethos of the Swedish sex-buyer law (The Swedish Institute, 2010) thus brings suspicions as to the overall intention of governments agenda. This is important as such recognition is unlikely to do a great deal for the citizenship status of those who have exited, those who choose to remain or those who are unable to exit. For example, focussing on the particular in this case could have a negative impact by highlighting the difference status of commercial-sexwork from other women's work in the private and public spheres rather than addressing the universality of women's exclusion from equality of status due to their gender.

This is important, because if commercial-sexwork is to be perceived as a barrier to gender equality there is a need to establish firstly if it is work (as discussed in part 2 of this literature review) and how it can be included in general discussions about gender equality and the public-private divide. Paradoxically, this would then question the need for exiting programmes as these are not necessary within other occupations. Further, the notion of equity through recognition is at odds with the state's utilisation of exiting as a vehicle to attaining citizenship status as CSWs have become disciplined citizens and it "is being used as leverage for increased control rather than for increased social justice" (Scoular & O'Neill, 2007, p.11). Therefore, it is too simplistic to indicate that gender is a barrier without consideration of the above issues; thus it seems more of an appeasing statement by the state.

Further, the consultation process for the new bill has included the voices of CSWs – thus appearing to allow them some political citizenship rights. However, this appears to be a superficial appeasement particularly in relation to VAGW and choice as these appear to have been ignored. Thus CSWs voices are once again marginalised and their political citizenship rights curtailed. This is particularly problematic in relation to choice as it is still evident that whilst there is to some extent the acknowledgement that commercial-sexwork is chosen as an alternative to other more mainstream

employment, the legal and policy discourses still reiterate the notion that those who persist in this work are to be punished under the SOA 2003; POA 2009.

### The criminal discourse

The victim discourse, which suggests that CSWs lack an authentic choice in terms of working in the commercial-sexwork arena, is rescinded for those CSWs who choose not to seek out the assistance of exiting programmes to escape commercial-sexwork or those who return after a period of support to exit (Phoenix, 2008); as such they are viewed as 'criminals' and are on the receiving end of punitive measures.

Currently, the Crown Prosecution Service (2016, p.1) only recommend prosecution where "there is a genuine choice". Thus, the victim discourse is disciplinary in nature: "be helped or else" (Phoenix, 2008, p.45) as there is a line established between victims and non-victims (those who choose to remain). Hunter et al. (2004, p.8) indicated that CSWs are engaged in criminal behaviour that leads their clients into other criminal behaviours such as introducing "new buyers to the crack house" and that those with previous convictions or contact with the CJS were highly likely to become career criminals.

Consequently, commercial-sexwork is regarded as a 'signal crime' for communities and has a negative outcome on the perception of policing in that area (ACPO, 2011). The appropriate response to which is deemed to be the creation of community partnerships of the police, partner organisations and the public (ACPO, 2011; Home Office, 2004b) in order to ascertain the response for particular communities. The outcome of perceiving commercial-sexwork as a local issue is problematic because of the range of perceptions in relation to the seriousness of its criminal nature. For example, as evidenced above throughout time within law, policy and local communities, CSW has been regarded as a nuisance and generally described as anti-social behaviour alongside the negative moral connotations that accompany

such a discourse (see nuisance discourse above). However, similar to the VAGW discourse and its lack of discriminatory power (Laing, 2016) this term is too broad in nature to account for the complexities within commercial-sexwork:

... anti-social behaviour is a term regularly deployed to cover a whole range of circumstances including prostitution which is a low level offence, its place on a community priority action list alongside dog fouling and illegal parking neglects to acknowledge the complexity of sex work and the multiple factors drawing individuals into sex work and keeping them there. (Sagar & Jones, 2012, p. 435)

Also, regarding commercial-sexwork in such a way reifies the discourse of disposability (Lowman, 2000) and justifies the criminal discourse. This is at odds with the ECP (2007) and IUSW (2009) agenda which is to decriminalise their work; enabling them to choose how they work, particularly in relation to safety issues for example being able to work in groups. Thus the political rights of CSW activists are curtailed, especially as CSWs are rarely consulted in law/policy decisions (ISUW, 2009) despite demands that they should be central to such processes (ECP, 2010) and where they are consulted it appears that their views are sidelined (see above re exiting consultation). This is important as when the police use displacement as an option, support needs to be provided (Hester & Westmarland, 2004) in order to ensure that safety issues have been addressed.

The idea of tolerance or managed zones were suggested but rejected outright by ACPO (2004) as increasing commercial-sexwork and perpetuating exploitation of CSWs, in favour of *priority action zones* with progressive interventions; the key focus was to assist exiting, alongside social citizenship rights such as welfare support. This supports the initial notion within the ACPO (2004, 2011) that they are in fact victims; resulting in confusion around their status in policing practice. In line with this, highlighted is the need for multi-agency involvement, for example when CSWs

are arrested or prosecuted, they might need support (including those in prison) from other agencies about their rights (may lose children; housing advice). Consequently, whilst there remains a dichotomy between victims and those who can be prosecuted (PCA 2009) claims to citizenship will remain problematic.

Further, a return to commercial-sexwork after exiting assistance appears to be a fait accompli, they are no longer victims by choosing to return which means that prosecution becomes an option (a caution or fine for loitering and soliciting (Street Offences Act 1959 (n.b. for those over 18 only, Serious Crime Act 2015) and between six month and seven years in prison for keeping a brothel (SOA, 2003). This is the case regardless of whether the choice is perceived as authentic or not, this is indicative of the confusing nature of the discourses in relation to commercial-sexwork in general. The outcome is a negative impact on perceived citizenship status (with rejecting help and returning to commercial-sexwork equating to bad citizenship) and actual citizenship status and rights (for example at its extreme, imprisonment and the forfeiture of voting rights (Forfeiture Act of 1870).

There was an attempt to address this within the Home Office's (2004a, p.420) *Paying the Price* consultation which indicated that there is a "need to recognise that...abandoning support services to return to prostitution, is not the end of the line". However, those CSWs who have been through the exiting process and voluntarily return to commercial-sexwork and persistently sell sex are still regarded as criminals (ACPO, 2011; PCA, 2009). Further according to Graham (2017) the state's overreliance on the law to contend with the issue of commercial-sexwork has in fact led to the position where they are more vulnerable to exploitation and violence. This is problematic as stereotyping CSWs as criminals impacts on their ability to take full advantage of rights afforded other citizens with a fuller status, for example not disclosing to GPs that they are CSWs due to perceived stereotyping (Voices Heard

Group, 2007) or in some cases withholding important health information (Home Office, 2011).

### *Summary*

In this thesis, both the vertical relationship with the state and the horizontal relationship with the community are proposed as problematic and ambiguous on several levels for CSWs. For example, on the vertical level, the confusion regarding the legal status of commercial-sexwork (PCA, 2009; SOA, 2003) and their lack of access to key resources (such as health care, education, social support) can impact negatively on their citizenship identity and their right to work and the obligation to pay tax. For those who do not fulfil the obligation to pay tax this can lead to public perceptions of them being irresponsible citizens (Orton, 2004). This has implications for the horizontal level, where the good citizen is self-created (Lazar & Nuijten, 2013) and there is an expectation of appropriate citizenship-like behaviours (Goldsmith, 2008). Conversely, the narrative from commercial-sexwork groups (ECP, 2010; IUSW, 2009) is consistent with UK citizenship narrative; with regards to recognition and claiming the same rights and responsibilities bestowed on all citizens. However, due to public perceptions that CSWs are not good citizens (nuisance and criminal discourses) this impacts on CSWs active involvement in the community.

Further, the historical discourses (nuisance, victim or criminal) in relation to commercial-sexwork and CSWs are opposing and contradictory. Accordingly, the way in which CSWs have been disciplined in law has reflected this and has often been reactionary as mainstream groups made demands with regards to the perceived dangers for public or CSWs wellbeing. Consequently, CSWs were often contained within the margins of society in order to be rehabilitated (forcibly or not) or moved on to places away from mainstream society. The corresponding disciplined

citizenship status was thus incompatible with making claims to citizenship rights and a full citizenship status.

Furthermore, despite contemporary legal and policy agendas attempts to address marginalisation, there remains a paradox in relation to the legal status of commercial-sexwork. That is, although the current legislation (PCA, 2009; SOA, 2003) does not criminalise the act of selling sex, it criminalises specific associated activities which can result in a criminal offence for 'bad citizen' behaviour and is implicit in other areas (such as in relation to the sex-buyer). The outcome of this is that the legal and policy agenda is contradictory in nature and leads to confusion (a deliberate aim within the Home Office's (2008) review and the PCA 2009). The implication from this for CSWs is that whilst this approach continues it is unlikely that there will be a resolution in relation to the marginalisation of this group as a whole. This will remain the case regardless of the legal or policy discourses (nuisance, victim, abuser, exiting and criminal) which emerge, as the approach whilst focusing on confusion, obscures the issues of citizenship status that the discourses create.

For example, the victim discourse is problematic in relation to citizenship, agency and being perceived as political actors, and criminality leads to a lesser citizenship status with rights curtailed. Further, it is evident that exiting provision is problematic; it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which it is successful or not. This implies that for CWS's claims to a full citizenship status, exiting cannot provide the stepping stone towards regaining some of the necessities of the status (such as a more citizenship like occupation). This is problematic as exiting projects profess to offer a way towards social citizenship rights with the provision of educational courses aimed to prepare CSWs for a more acceptable career. However, legal barriers and stigma prevent access resulting in CWS's access to social citizenship rights being curtailed because of the nature of their work. Due to the longevity of legal and policy discourse relating to CSWs and marginalisation, it is clear that prior approaches

have been ineffective. This situation is problematic as marginalisation leads to a lesser citizenship status. The implications from this are that the underlying issue is not being addressed, for example there is a lack of focus within all the legal and policy discourses towards the impact of how citizenship is defined and how this impacts on the citizenship status and corresponding marginalisation for those who do not conform to the ideal.

### *Overall conclusion of the literature, theoretical and legal/policy reviews*

The previous research on commercial-sexwork is extensive and considers a variety of issues; thus is informative in terms of understanding the complex nature of this work. It also provides an insight into the experiences of CSWs such as structural and social stigma which lead to marginalisation. However, there was no agreement as to whether commercial-sexwork can be thought of as work and aligned with the mainstream work contract; this poses a problem for claiming social citizenship rights. Importantly, marginalisation corresponds to a lesser citizenship identity and status; with limited or no access to social, political and civil citizenship rights, duties and resources. Yet there is limited consideration in the literature of the impact of commercial-sexwork on the citizenship status or identity of CSWs; this is regarded as an oversight in this thesis.

Within the theoretical chapter it was evident that the mainstream concept of citizenship lacks the universal capacity it purports in relation to marginalised groups. This is particularly the case for female CSWs as they do not conform to the masculine ideal attributes which are required to fulfil the potential of a citizenship status. Additionally, the contractual, conditional and moral constraints within the neo-liberal concept mean that some groups, such as CSWs are subject to surveillance via law/policy as a result of their lack of ability to meet citizenship ideals.

Consequently, a more universally differentiated concept of citizenship is necessary. Accordingly considered in the theoretical chapter was whether the concepts of sexual and intimate citizenship were able to fit more closely to CSWs' experiences and identity. It was suggested that sexual citizenship was informative and indicated how other groups such as LGBT citizens had attained citizenship rights. However, CSWs were *too sexual* to map closely onto the concept of a sexual citizen. Further, Plummer's (2003) concept of intimate citizenship highlighted how grounded moralities can have a negative impact on attaining a citizenship identity for CSWs, as their discredited social identity takes precedence. Accordingly, Lister's (2003a) differentiated universal citizenship concept (which includes intimate citizenship), with its focus on deconstructing false binaries (such as the public-private divide), can be used as a tool to examine the extent to which CSWs exhibit key citizen attributes such as agency and the extent to which the benefits of citizenship for example justice and equality, apply to them.

The latter concerns are important as it is clear that the confusing quasi-legal status of commercial-sexwork is problematic for making such claims. For example, the state has created a victim discourse (SOA 2003; PCA 2009) which has led to a negative impact on CSWs' claims to a full citizenship status. In turn, this can impact on their right to work and the duty to pay income tax contributions; supporting public perceptions of CSWs as irresponsible citizens. Accordingly, this supports the nuisance and criminal discourses; impacting negatively on their ability to be actively involved in the community. Thus it is apparent that CSWs have been constituted as disciplined citizens which is incompatible with making claims to citizenship rights and a full citizenship status.

Importantly, this situation is unlikely to change as the legal/policy discourses cause confusion which obscures the issue of citizenship status. The state has tried to

reintegrate CSWs who are willing to become *good* citizens via the exiting process into the mainstream; focussing on access to a more legitimate occupation by providing them with the social rights to education, wellbeing and welfare. However, there is a lack of evidence to support the success of such programmes but the state continues to push this agenda regardless of the extent to which it marginalises further those who cannot or do not wish to conform to the exiting agenda. Consequently, the aim of this thesis is to address a paucity of research with regards to the citizenship journeys of female CSWs. There are four research questions which will be used to facilitate this aim:

How do CSWs experience citizenship?

How do participants express their understandings of citizenship?

To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?

How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?

The methodology chapter which follows provides the tools to explore these questions; using a constructivist ontology, an interpretivist epistemology underpinned by the feminist citizenship approach, and a qualitative approach to the data. Within the method section, outlined will be the data collection methods (telephone/email interviews and online forum data extraction). This is followed by a thematic analysis, using Braun and Clarke's (2006) framework. The final section outlines the ethical considerations in relation to the interview participants and online forum contributors.

## Chapter 4: Methodology

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis (chapter 1) there is an extensive amount of research with regard to commercial-sexwork which covers a diverse range of problems for those that work in this area – such as health, physical and psychological risks. The degree of risk or poor health is connected to the location of the sex work; indoor workers are safer and usually ‘drug’ free. However, apart from research related to geographical space, and citizenship rights and a few articles which explore sexual citizenship and CSWs; the relationship between citizenship status and/or identity and commercial-sexwork is mostly overlooked or perceived as an ‘add on’ to other research areas. Conversely, the relationship between individuals and the mainstream concept of citizenship is mapped as a singular macro identity onto ‘citizens’ who in reality experience a plurality of micro identities; for example, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and work related identities. This is especially problematic for those who are already marginalised by identities and behaviours that are incongruous with societal mores and norms. Such concerns were highlighted in chapter 2 where the extent to which the mainstream concept of the ideal and active citizen, rather than creating a pluralist umbrella to support the concept of a citizenship for all, marginalises those who do not conform. Lister’s (2003a) feminist citizenship concept of a differentiated universalism was suggested to provide an alternative to account for the limitations in the mainstream concept.

Following this, chapter 3 drew upon historical (nuisance, victim or criminal) and contemporary legal and policy discourses (nuisance, victim, abuser, exiting and criminal) and considered the relationship between the discourses and the citizenship status of CSWs overtime. Importantly, the analysis of the policy and law discourses in chapter 3 contributes to the methodology chapter as it reveals how CSWs have been historically constructed as lesser or disciplined citizens. Concluded within chapter 3 was that the lack of attention to the aforementioned and the impact of non-conformity to citizenship ideals is compounding the experience of marginalisation from the mainstream for CSWs. Thus the aim of this thesis is to address a paucity of research with regards to the citizenship journeys of female commercial sex workers (CSWs). There are four research questions which are designed to discover this

relationship: 'How do CSWs experience citizenship?', 'How do participants express their understandings of citizenship?', 'To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?', and 'How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?'.

The first part of the methodology section discusses the philosophical underpinnings of this thesis; providing a justification for the constructivist ontology [in line with the law/policy analysis chapter] and the epistemological triangulation which involves combining the interpretivist stance with the feminist citizenship approach (Lister, 2003a) which in turn supports the credibility of the qualitative approach taken to the data, this is followed by a personal reflexivity component. The philosophical position which underpins this research acknowledges the importance of establishing the researcher's perceptions in light of the nature of what can or cannot be regarded as reality within the social world (Seale, 2000). This is particularly important in relation to this thesis due to the contested nature of both the concept of citizenship and commercial-sexwork. Thus the philosophical stance of this research is selected due to its usefulness for supporting me to account for the unique, and as yet undiscovered, nature of the relationship between CSWs and their citizenship journey.

Part 2 of this chapter is the method section which provides details of the triangulation of the data which was facilitated by semi-structured interviews conducted via telephone and email and data collection from an online forum used by CSWs. Part 3 of the chapter outlines the data analysis technique used which was based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) 15-point checklist of criteria for a good thematic analysis (see table 3 in appendix 2) and their six phases of analysis. Lastly, part 4 of this chapter includes an in depth exploration of the intricate ethical considerations of research in relation to vulnerable participants and recent developments in relation to online data.

## *Part 1: Methodology*

### Philosophical underpinnings: ontological and epistemological stances

For this thesis, I have taken a constructivist ontological position in order to understand CSWs' citizenship journeys. Within the constructivist approach, constructions, as defined by Lincoln and Guba (2013), consist of a group of interrelated constructs ("mental realization") which a person or a group have tried to make sense of. Constructions are characteristically subjective to the individual but often reflect the views and beliefs of others (such as religious, class, gender) (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). Lincoln and Guba's (2013, p.37) updated 'constructivist credo' outlines the constructivist approach taken towards research; which is based on four key questions:

1. The *ontological* question: "what is there that can be known?"
2. The *epistemological* question: "What is the nature of the relationship between the knower and the knowable?"
3. The *methodological* question: "How does one go about acquiring knowledge?" .
4. The *axiological* question: Of all the knowledge available to me, which is the most valuable, which is the most truthful?

The first three of Lincoln and Guba's (2013) questions are explored in the next three components of this part of the methodology and the *axiological* question is considered where appropriate throughout and in particular within the personal reflexivity section of this chapter in terms of my values and the subjective nature of the research conducted. The first component of this section considers the

*ontological* question and the nature of reality. Ontology concerns the researcher's beliefs about the social world and how it can be understood (or known) (Snape & Spencer, 2004) and considers 'being'; that is "what is, what exists, what it means for something—or somebody—to be" (Packer & Goicoeche, 2000, p.227). That is, the 'real world' is perceived through a particular lens or interpretation which is influenced by culturally and socially subjective beliefs, which according to Neuman (2013) are impossible to totally eradicate. Accordingly, for Lincoln and Guba (2013, p.38) a relativist approach is necessary to account for how "reality...as not being real in the usual sense" is intangible due to the relativity of the 'definer's' (or researcher's) understandings of entities in the social world such as gender or citizenship.

The constructionist view can facilitate an exploration of the fluid nature of identity creation which is essential in this research on CSWs and citizenship (Wendt, 2003). The constructionist approach was taken towards the policy and law analysis in chapter 3, in which it was evident that the historical and contemporary discourses had constructed a fluid yet negative citizenship identity for CSWs who conform (victims or those who exit) and those who do not (nuisances or criminals). Also, whilst it is not suggested here that objectivity is impossible, it is difficult to achieve as it is necessary to suspend values. Thus relativists do not assume that the researcher has the ability to fully scrutinise research in order to perceive values or assumptions as some of these may have been suppressed (Letherby, 2003). In relation to the current thesis, it would be difficult to suspend perceptions about the nature of commercial-sexwork due to my previous knowledge of the conflicting legal and policy discourses and the considerable research literature (as was discussed in chapters 1 of this thesis) which have led to the social construction of the categories and discourses associated with commercial-sexwork and CSWs identity. Thus the constructionist approach taken towards the analysis of the policy and legal discourses is supported and allowed for the acknowledgement in relation to the analysis and discussion chapters which follow, that making claims to objectivity would be incongruous.

Whereas the constructivist ontology assists the researcher to acknowledge that what can be learnt from the conclusion of this thesis only reflects one social reality from several possible others (Bryman, 2016); and that the “‘truth’ exists independently of the knower” (Letherby, 2003, p.45; Lincoln & Guba, 2013). Further, the constructivist ontology allows for the acknowledgment that the CSWs in this research have constructed their reality based on their own interpretative lens. Consequently, for this research reality is constructed within the social world and how this can be known is developed via the lenses of the researcher and those being researched (Koivu & Damman, 2015); reality is dependent on the notions of those who experience it (Jackson & Sorensen, 2006).

Within the constructivist ontology individuals are understood to have agency and are purposeful in their actions. Further, actions are moderated by shared culturally defined ideas (Wendt, 2003) and these actions facilitate changes within culture (Risse, 2000). Therefore, a key component of constructivism is a “mutual constitutiveness” between people and structures “that cannot be reduced to or collapsed into each other” (Risse, 2000, p.5). Similarly, agency and autonomy are key concepts within the mainstream (Marshall, 1950/1992) and feminist (Lister, 2003a) conceptualisations of citizenship and in terms of challenges to the mainstream concept of citizenship a level of ‘mutual constitutiveness’ is evident (see for example in chapter 2 part 2 the discussion with regards to the pursuit of citizenship rights from the LGBT community).

This is not to suggest that the constructivist ontology is perfect; in fact, a caution to note has been highlighted by Flockhart (2016, p.801) which relates to the premise of the social world “consisting of structure and agency”. That is, focussing on mutual constitutiveness leads to an issue in terms of “codetermination” and an underdeveloped concept of change; “that constructivist research identified norms, rules, identity, and practice as both elements of stability and as essential for bringing

about change” (Flockhart, 2016, p.801). Thus in terms of this thesis this is an important concern, especially due to the lack of success from CSW activists in achieving positive changes in the pursuit of rights claims for those who work in the commercial-sexwork arena. This suggests for this group, that there is a lack of codetermination; the actions of CSW activists have not positively changed social world perceptions of CSWs or improved their citizenship status. So, in terms of the constructivist ontology whilst overall it is the most appropriate position to take for this thesis, caution needs to be taken in that the I need to be aware that the constructivist approach has some limitations in being able to account for the lack of mutual constitutiveness within the commercial-sexwork arena.

The section which follows addresses the *epistemological* question (Lincoln & Guba, 2013), that is, an interpretivist epistemological position with its subjective approach to research is taken. According to Snape and Spencer (2004) epistemology concerns how knowledge is acquired and for Neuman (2013, p.95) this is interpreted as “how we know what we know or what are the most valid ways to reach the truth”. Important within the interpretivist epistemology is the notion that interpretations of meanings are not solely from the researcher but of those being researched too (Koivu & Damman, 2015) in this case female CSWs. Further the inductive approach within interpretivist epistemology allows for the researcher to reflect and interpret what the CSWs are saying (Neuman, 2013) about their experiences in terms of their citizenship journeys. However, in relation to the *axiological* question, according to Lincoln and Guba (2013, p.40), it is important to note that “realities” are “person- and context-specific”, and subjective to the researcher’s knowledge, experiences, social and political status, gender and social class, which in turn can lead to the researcher’s interpretation being foregrounded and valued (this discussion is extended in the personal reflexivity section that follows).

Despite this, in terms of the concept of citizenship and CSWs, the alternative positivist approach would be clearly problematic as there is already an over focus on the observable public arena within the mainstream concept of citizenship. The impact of this has been negative for females in general and has further implications for attaining a differentiated, universal concept of citizenship which would have to consider the private and personal (Lister, 2003a). Yet the extent to which this research maps onto a fully inductive approach is problematic as, in this thesis, the interpretivist epistemology is underpinned by the feminist citizenship standpoint following Lister (2003a). Utilising an underpinning theoretical approach to research is common in feminist research and can limit the ability to access nuances within research (Smart, 2009).

Nevertheless, having a theoretical stance was necessary as it was not possible in this research to take a grounded theory approach as the nature of the project with its base in citizenship concepts, particularly the feminist citizenship approach, meant that it would be incongruous to make claims or attempt to be theory-neutral. Therefore, and in line with current views within constructivism (see for example, Charmaz's (2017) constructivist approach to grounded theory and Lincoln & Guba (2013)), the approach taken goes further than induction as it is more aligned with abductive reasoning (Lincoln & Guba, 2013) due to the conjectures based on the feminist citizenship stance taken towards this project; as such the:

researcher grounds a theoretical understanding of the contexts and people he or she is studying in the language, meanings, and perspectives that form their worldview. The crucial step in abduction is that, having described and understood the world from his or her participants' perspectives, the researcher must come to a social scientific account of the social world as seen from those perspectives (Bryman, 2016, p.394).

However, this was not a limitation of the project rather it allowed for a triangulation in terms of combining the interpretivist epistemology and the feminist citizenship approach; in which the realms of citizenship [civil, social and political] provided a logical framework and 'fit' from which to gather the data; adding to the credibility of the research. Whilst this may lend to suggestions that the use of a theory so early on in the research may prejudice the research; impinging on the researcher's ability to see the views of the participants. In fact, acknowledging that this research is theory driven was liberating as it meant the research avoided critiques about the extent to which any research can be truly theory free; as is often claimed in the early stages of research (Bryman, 2000). This is important as within the interpretivist epistemology, the concept of an empathic approach to seeing the world through the eyes of those participating within the research aims to acknowledge that they may perceive their world in an entirely different way from the researcher (Bryman, 2016; Neuman, 2013). This is consistent with the feminist citizenship approach to a differentiated universal approach to citizenship taken within this research which has a focus towards the particular in relation to CSWs and citizenship status and identity (Lister, 2003a). Thus the aim is to acknowledge the subjective nature of CSWs own experiences rather than attempting an objective (positivist) approach to create a general law about them (Neuman, 2013).

Ethically, it is important to note that by researching a particular sample of CSWs, this research is to some extent replicating what has already been critiqued as problematic in other categories of women; that is by researching CSWs as if they are a homogeneous category of women there is a danger of creating a "false sense of unity" (Phillips, 2000, p.11). However, challenging the concept of the unitary woman does not mean that there can be no solidarity between women, just that it is essential to acknowledge the differences. The danger of not doing so is that there could be an underlying assumption that CSWs are alike and have the same experiences. This is not the case; this issue is addressed to some extent by focussing on women who conduct their work both on- and off-street whose lifestyles are less erratic than other street workers. The decision to opt for this level of

commercial-sexwork is that for such CSWs their associations with citizenship rights and duties maybe more apparent than those whose lifestyles are more erratic.

Importantly, this research will not be making claims to suggest that 'one size fits all' as there is a risk of giving primacy to those CSWs who are least marginalised. In line with Phillips (2000) it is important to recognise that being different is normal – we are all different, otherwise if difference is always associated with those who are marginalised this means that their citizenship status will continue to be lesser "second class". Therefore, it is important to attain some form of 'centrality' whereby CSWs concerns both on- and off-street, such as recognition for their work rights in the private sector, can be pursued. Consequently, I will endeavour to avoid creating a further hierarchy of marginalisation by noting that the categories of CSWs are interrelated in terms of stigma and the difficulties of attaining a full citizenship identity; which may provide the basis for future research into the on-street arena.

### Personal reflexivity

In order to address the *axiological* question (Lincoln & Guba, 2013), from the interpretivist epistemological subjectivist stance and for feminist researchers, personal reflexivity provides a vehicle for researchers to acknowledge how their understandings, values or beliefs may influence the research (Fade & Swift, 2010; Gordon, 2016; Neuman, 2013). Accordingly, the aim within this component of the methodology is to outline any biases which could impact on how I interpret the data. For example, I am a researcher who has a complex class status, in that I have a middle class occupation but I have had a working class upbringing due to being brought up by a father who was a coal miner. Whilst this may mean that I might have more in common with those I am researching due to their social class status, there is actually no correlation between the two. This is because I have no experience of selling sex or the lifestyles of those who do. This means that any

perceptions I have of the commercial-sexwork arena and the females working in that arena are based on the constructions from the social world including reports from the mass media and research.

Personally, because of such constructs, prior to this research I was of the opinion that CSWs were extremely marginalised with little agency in terms of choice (especially those at street level), working within a dangerous arena where abuse was normalised by those who buy sex. I was also of the opinion, that legal and policy frameworks were compounding this issue due to the confusing and often contradictory nature of the discourses which emerged from these. These views were clearly negative in nature and if they had not been discerned could have a corresponding negative impact on the outcome of this research. For example, there is a possibility that I might have only asked questions which supported my viewpoint about what it means to be a CSW. This would inevitably have some impact on how I interpret the data; recognising this as such means that I am aware of the limits of my knowledge and will ensure that as much as possible that I identify within the interview process if I am using questions to support my own viewpoint. In an attempt to address this issue, I used a personal diary to reflect on critical incidents throughout the research process with the aim of addressing any issues as they arose and to reflect on any feelings I might have during the interview process; appendix 4 has examples of extracts from that diary.

Additionally, this thesis mainly focuses on citizenship ideals and marginalisation rather than the act of selling sex. This means that the main bias is likely to come from my experiences as a female in terms of marginalisation due to not conforming to the traditional citizenship ideal of a white, middle class male. This is important as most females have experienced a level of marginalisation due to gender bias which favours males. Thus I have to ensure that I am fully aware of how my experiences and views co-construct the research findings along with those of the participants;

acknowledging that the “knower and known are interactive, inseparable” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.37). However, in order to advance the participants’ voice, which is key within the feminist citizenship approach for those who are excluded from within (Lister, 2003a), I will aim to suspend my views as much as is possible. The hope from this is to gather the highest quality data (Bryman, 2016; Letherby, 2003); ensuring that to the greatest extent the data which is extracted is based on the beliefs and views of CSWs; their voice rather than mine; which will add to the credibility of the research. This is especially important as I am somewhat suggesting that the majority of CSWs are voiceless due to their discredited identity.

Further, there will inevitably be some expectations from the participants in relation to the power of the researcher in terms of how and by whom their voice will be heard as a result of the research (Sampson, Bloor, & Fincham, 2008). For example, the extent to which their voice can be truly heard within a process whereby I select the data extracts for inclusion and also edit them to make them ‘fit’ into the thesis. So, there will always be an element of hierarchy remaining and not to acknowledge that this is the case would be naïve. Politically, this stance is important, as any research can feed into the social world or influence policy which might impact on CSWs as a whole and ethically on a personal level for those whose data is used within the research.

### Qualitative Approach

The next section relates to Lincoln and Guba’s (2013) *methodological* question. That is, in this thesis, as discussed in the previous sections of this methodology, an approach which facilitates an epistemology that allows for the interpretation of how participants view their own relationship with citizenship is essential. The qualitative approach has been defined as “the study of the social world which seeks to describe and analyse the culture and behaviour of humans and their groups from the point of

view of those being studied” (Bryman, 2000, p.46). Thus it is apparent that the qualitative approach fits closely to the interpretive epistemology rather than the alternative quantitative approach with its focus on controlling variables and deduction (Bryman, 2016) which can lead to the oversimplification of complex topics. Also the quantitative approach with its foundations in empiricism is considered a more masculine approach (as stated above) (Bryman, 2016). Because of this, a quantitative approach leads to the researcher being limited in their ability to account for the complex interplay between identities (Letherby, 2003) such as females and social class.

Further, the qualitative approach supports an abductive ontology (Lincoln & Guba, 2013) which focuses on concerns which are theoretical rather than the deductive ontology with its main focus on statistical analysis (Deem, 2002). Yet that does not mean that qualitative researchers should reject the deductive ontology outright as there is heterogeneity in the qualitative approach; ranging from those who reject causality and instead search for understandings to the direct opposite whereby a more qualitative approach to causality is suggested (Maxwell, 2012). Thus to reject causality outright would be problematic, certainly in terms of the current research within which I have the prior assumption that the mainstream concept of citizenship has a negative association with marginalisation for those who do not conform to the ideal citizenship identity. Thus the qualitative approach to causality allows for the use within this thesis of the feminist citizenship approach to underpin the interpretivist epistemology. Therefore, the choice of approach in this thesis is not entirely based upon whether one approach is better than another as there are limitations within both but rather which is the most appropriate in terms of the feminist citizenship standpoint which underpins this project.

Additionally, consistent with the constructivist ontology, qualitative research facilitates the understandings of issues which may not necessarily have been

expected (Deem, 2002). This is particularly important in the current research due to the lack of previous research in the area of commercial-sexwork and citizenship which leads to the necessity of learning how CSWs experience marginalisation from citizenship. This is crucial for meeting the research aim which is to address a paucity of research with regards to the citizenship journeys of female CSWs and the four research questions within this thesis ('How do CSWs experience citizenship?'; 'How do participants express their understandings of citizenship?'; 'To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?'; and 'How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?'). Thus a qualitative approach can facilitate the gathering of rich data which can develop understandings of the intricate relationship between citizenship and marginalisation for CSWs; as it will avoid the over simplification of what is a complex subject.

### *Part 2: Methods of data collection*

In relation to chapter 3 the "Historical and contemporary legal/policy discourses", an online search of the UK Parliamentary website, online archives, and the search engine Google was conducted using Boolean operators [AND/OR] and the terms 'prostitute\*' 'sex work\*', 'law', 'statute', 'policy'. Any criminal laws and policies pertaining to England and Wales and sex-work from the Renaissance period (1484-1620) [which arguably coincides with the beginnings of citizenship as a status] up to 2017 were included. Those earlier than the inclusion period were discounted due to the lack of citizenship status at those times. Additionally, only laws/policies with sex-work as the main focus were included rather than those which had sex-work as an incidental/minor issue or concern. The search found sixteen historical criminal laws, nine contemporary policies, two contemporary criminal laws and one bill [since prorogued]. A thematic analysis was conducted based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) principles was used as a guide to analyse the policies and laws for overarching themes (see part 3 below for their framework). The analysis found five overarching sex-work discourses: criminal, victim, nuisance abuser, and exiting. The latter

discourses were used to inform the subsequent interview and forum searches and the analysis and discussion chapters.

For the main analysis and discussion chapters (which follow) this thesis used two data collection methods; interviews which were conducted via two mediums: telephone and email, and a search of discussion threads within an online forum used by CSWs. Importantly, using different techniques allows for the triangulation of the data; that is collecting data from different contexts, at different times with a variety of participants which in turn facilitates the corroboration of the data as it is not possible to return to the interview participants or forum thread contributors to check for their agreement in relation to the treatment of the data. Thus the purpose of the data triangulation, and in particular gathering data from the online forum rather than solely relying on the interviews is to ensure credibility (Bryman, 2000, 2016; Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules, 2017), in a research area with limited access to participants. The first component of this section outlines the participant selection criteria, the participant characteristics of the research sample and the methods of data collection. This is followed by a justification for the style of interview used and the interview procedure which includes the pilot study, the sampling and interview methods for both the telephone and email interviews. The final component is a justification for the use of the online forum method of data collection which is followed by the search strategy procedure used to gather the forum data and an outline of the resulting topics.

To note, all the participants within the pilot interviews, and the main study's telephone and email interviews were offered a £20 voucher from a well-known supermarket as a thank you for taking part in the project. It was not possible to contact the forum correspondents or economically viable to offer them a voucher for using their thread contributions.

## Participant selection criteria

The first inclusion criteria was that only those selling sex commercially in the on- and off-street arenas were included. For the purpose of this research and the inclusion criteria commercial-sexwork is regarded as any activity which involves the exchange of bodily sexual services for financial gain either on-street or off-street. Consistent with Bungay, Oliffe, and Atchison (2016, p.967) off-street work is that in which “exchanges occur...in areas minimally visible to the public (e.g., escort agencies, brothels, bars, and bathhouses)” whereas on-street work is that which constitutes “the highly visible street-based marketplace where sex workers and clients make initial connections in outdoor spaces”.

Additionally, only females or individuals who identify with the female gender will be recruited or their forum thread data extracted; as is fitting with the feminist citizenship stance taken within this thesis. This is not to suggest that male CSWs do not experience marginalisation from mainstream society, as some clearly do. For example, research (Earle & Sharpe, 2008; Wilcox & Christmann, 2008) into those male CSWs who work at street level suggests that their experiences of marginalisation are very similar to those of female CSWs at street level. However, further research on male CSWs who work off-street suggests that this level of work supports hegemonic perceptions of masculinity; for example in Wilcox and Christmann’s (2008, p.124) research one participant, Frank, stated that “I’m very, very sexually minded...I’m like, say some woman walks in there now, the first thing that comes in to my head is I wonder whether she’d be a good fuck”. Further, in Earle and Sharpe’s (2008) study it was emphasised that being able to pleasure women was important. Thus, because of the focus on masculinity within male commercial-sexwork, it was decided that this was incompatible with the feminist citizenship approach thus male CSWs were excluded from the research.

Only participants and forum contributors who are over the age of 18 were included. For the telephone interviews, age was checked via the contact at the agency and for the email interviews, participants will be asked to confirm that they are over the age of 18. Within the introductory questions of both the telephone and email interviews age will be confirmed (see table 4 for the ages of these participants). However, it must be noted that age is difficult to establish in relation to the online forum but upon registering for membership there is a requirement for contributors to be over the age of 18. Whilst it cannot be assumed that all those who are members of the online forum are over 18, particular attention will be paid to the forum thread contributions for any signs that contributors are under that age.

#### Participant characteristics for all the methods of data collection

There were four telephone interview and two email interview participants, and 123 forum correspondents from twenty-six forum threads. Throughout the remainder of this thesis interview participants are denoted within the analysis by the addition of an asterisk immediately after their name for example: Susan\*. The characteristics of the interview participants are listed in table 4:

Table 4

*CSW characteristics: age, work arena, years in service and the type of interview conducted*

Name	Age	Work arena	Years Worked	Interview type
Susan*	41	Started on street now off-street	11	Email
Emma*	40	Street and off-street	20	Telephone

Mia*	53	Started on street now off-street	37	Telephone
Sofia*	40	Street and off-street	22	Telephone
Grace*	34	Street and off-street	6	Email
Vivian*	39	Street and off-street	30 **	Telephone

\*\* Correct number of years work in the commercial-sexwork arena for Vivian\*

Due to the methods of data collection, particularly the forum data, I was unable to ascertain some characteristics of the participants for example whether they identified as transgender. This is an important consideration as research which excludes certain groups of CSWs can lead to power imbalances; those underrepresented voices may be omitted (Bungay et al., 2016). Thus it is essential to consider those who are not represented when making claims towards a differentiated universalist approach to citizenship. However, as it was not possible to ascertain such particulars, it was assumed from the pseudonyms used in the forum and the names used in the interviews that they were identifying with the female gender. Thus, whilst not making claims that the data is representative of all female CSWs (Comte, 2014), the assumed gender is consistent with the feminist citizenship approach which aims to highlight the negative impact of the mainstream citizenship approach for females in general (Lister, 2003a). Also, it was not possible to elicit information about the work arenas for all the forum correspondents but it was evident that there was a balanced representation for both on and off-street work arenas; which is consistent with the interview data for credibility assurance purposes (Bryman, 2016). Details of how participants were accessed are outlined below.

## Method 1: Interviews

As discussed in the methodology component of this chapter, qualitative interviews are the most suitable technique to pursue in light of the constructivist ontological and interpretivist epistemological positions, and the underpinning feminist citizenship stance, taken within this thesis. The process of the construction of the interview topics was directed by the lack of research into the mainstream approach to citizenship and how it may compound marginalisation for CSWs. Failure to investigate the impact of this relationship has meant that an important component of marginalisation has not been explored which in turn limits understandings in relation to how the concept of citizenship may become more differentiated to account for CSWs. Accordingly, it was not possible to utilise previous research in relation to commercial-sexwork and citizenship to help build the topics for discussion as would be typical in qualitative interviews. Therefore, in order to create a framework for discussion both the mainstream and feminist citizenship concepts were used (see figure 1 and table 5 below).

Further, in order to support the ontological and epistemological positions in this project, loosely- and semi-structured interview techniques were selected to enable me to perceive CSWs lives through their eyes (Gordon, 2016). Conversely, an alternative interview technique such as a fully structured approach would be more akin to a quantitative survey, would not facilitate such perceptions and would be more suited to the positivist ontology and the realist epistemology. This is important as loosely- and semi-structured interview techniques allow the researcher to develop ways of knowing and understanding participant's lives (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). For example, according to Gordon (2016, p.26), the in-depth nature of qualitative interviewing permits the researcher to "know what it feels like in their shoes" in order to "understand the world as they do".

One implication of not taking such an in-depth approach to the data collection is that the participants and forum contributor's voices would be limited. Not only would this be contrary to the interpretivist epistemology and the feminist citizenship approach, it would mean that the CSWs in this research were not being provided with the opportunity to be "part of the solution, not part of the problem" as is often the case in legal and policy discourses (see chapter 3 of this thesis) (IUSW, 2009b, p.1). Also, what should be regarded as the 'reality' of the situation for the interview participants and forum contributors could be hidden under the assumptions of the researcher in a more structured approach.

Further, in order to develop a realistic understanding of the lives of CSWs (Lincoln & Guba, 2013), the loosely- or semi-structured techniques are particularly useful for eliciting feelings of trust towards the interviewer; which can facilitate participants to share their feelings more freely (Gordon, 2016). It was essential within this project that I quickly developed a sense of trust from the participants that they would not be judged; as I have no experience of the commercial-sexwork arena and this would be evident to the participants early on within the interviews. This was to be achieved by firstly outlining that I was interested in their views about their relationships with others (personal and community), what they thought about commercial-sexwork, and that I was not interested in hearing about the 'sexual' nature of their work. Thus, I made it clear from the start that I was interested in them not what they do when they are working. Also, because the participants could not see me, by taking the time to make it clear what the research was about, by allowing the participants to hear my voice (in terms of accent and tone) I hoped that they would realise that my interest in them as a person was genuine.

In order to develop my skills for the interviews prior to the main study, four preliminary face-to-face interviews were conducted using the loosely structured interview guide (see figure 1) with female, non-CSWs. The aim of the pilot

interviews was twofold, firstly to allow me to update my interview skills by providing the opportunity to practice different questioning styles which facilitated the second aim which was to check the logical flow of the interview (Silverman, 2013). The aims were achieved; practising interview skills was useful as it allowed me the space to revisit techniques developed at undergraduate level such as allowing for silences, developing listening skills and avoiding unnecessarily interrupting the participant. All of which are pertinent for the telephone interviews within the current thesis (Wilson, Roe, & Wright, 1998). Secondly, the flow of the topics followed a logical order in relation to the way in which people tell stories; that is, a beginning, middle and the future (Reissman, 2008). Following the success of the pilot interviews, I decided that it was appropriate to go ahead with the main data collection process via the telephone and email interviews as the pilot interviews supported the credibility of the interview framework.

#### Telephone interview data collection

##### *Sampling method*

The sampling method for this thesis was opportunistic, as I initially hoped that interviews would take place face-to-face with CSWs within the local area. In order to facilitate this, I contacted a local agency for CSWs and their children which provided support to those who wish to exit via health, wellbeing and educational development initiatives. I met with the organiser of the agency and was questioned about the aim and objectives of the research and my own views on commercial-sexwork. Following this meeting it was agreed that face-to-face interviews could be conducted and that I would volunteer within the project to build a relationship with the clients of the agency and develop understandings of working within the commercial-sexwork arena. However, I had to suspend from the research project due to major spinal surgery, which coincided with the beginning of the process of volunteering within the

aforementioned project. This suspension initially had a negative impact on the data collection process because I was unable to develop a relationship with the clients and the agency. Further, upon my return to studies after a long suspension it was not possible to re-establish the earlier contact with the local agency due to other researchers who followed leaving a negative impression on the person in charge of the agency.

In light of the previous loss of the organisation it was necessary to find an alternative sample. Thus I searched online for organisations who were working with or supporting CSWs in order to ask them for access to their clients. Organisations were selected by appropriateness to the study in that they provided support to exit commercial-sexwork, and/or to assist CSWs with health issues (associated with drug or alcohol misuse). The aim was to ensure that a balance of on- and off-street participants were found; such organisations can provide access to those who are traditionally hard to reach in both arenas. Thus a prospective email was sent out to organisations who provide support for CSWs (see appendix 5). This search elicited one reply from an organisation in South Yorkshire, after further discussions with the person in charge, it was agreed that the organisation would facilitate telephone interviews (due to my immobility).

Importantly, whilst the initial failure to re-engage with the first organisation appeared to have had a negative impact on this project, in actuality this failure led to a more appropriate organisation as it was set up by and continues to be run by former CSWs. This meant that those who were interviewed were doing so based on trust of those within the organisation, that they would understand their lives more fully than those who have not worked in the commercial-sexwork arena. Accordingly, the trust that the CSWs had for the person in charge of the agency was hoped to have a positive impact on the telephone interviews because it facilitated the relationship between the participants and me. This was important as the participants were

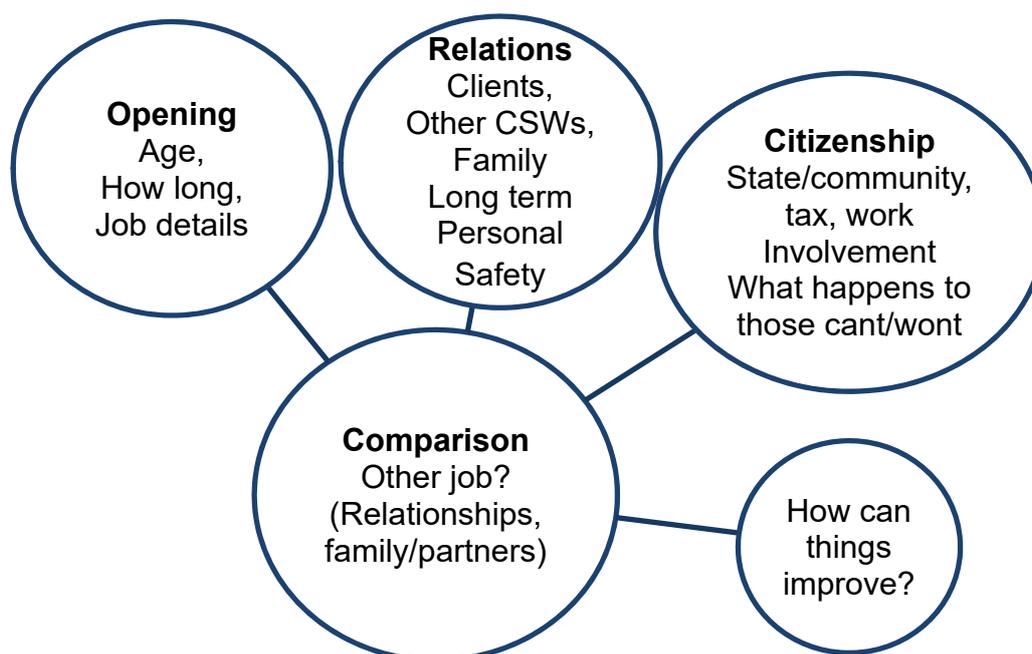
unable to see me and would have had to trust on my voice alone; which could have a negative impact on building rapport; an issue identified in other studies which have used telephone interviews to collect qualitative data (Glogowska, Young, & Lockyer, 2011; Musselwhite, Cuff, McGregor, & King, 2007; Wilson et al., 1998).

The sampling method was also purposive as it is driven by the aim of this project which is to address a paucity of research with regards to the citizenship journeys of female CSWs. Thus, although a feminist approach could also inform understandings of male CSWs, only female CSWs (or those who identify as female) were sought as is fitting with Lister's (2003a) feminist citizenship stance. This may be perceived as precluding other underrepresented groups of CSWs such as those who work within different arenas (such as same sex or trans (Ashford, 2009)), to the detriment of their voice; whilst benefitting those who have been the focus of a multitude of other research (Bungay et al., 2016). Conversely, as was highlighted in the literature review of this thesis, it is important to focus on female CSWs as their voices have been limited in terms of previous research conducted in relation to marginalisation and the mainstream citizenship identity and status. Consequently, female CSWs themselves are an under researched subgroup of female citizens and the danger of excluding their journeys is that they will remain unrepresented in citizenship policy.

Also, in order to reduce the risk of a sampling bias within the current research both off- and on-street commercial-sexwork arenas are included; as off-street workers do not generally attract the same level of research as their on-street counterparts. Other subgroups of CSWs have not actively been sought, that is not to say that they should not be researched in terms of their citizenship journey; just that it is beyond the scope of the current thesis. Accordingly, following the current research project, it may be possible in future research to extend the sampling criteria to those CSWs who may be underrepresented such as transgender or those who do not identify with the gender binary.

## *Interview process*

Lister's (2003a) concepts of citizenship and the mainstream concept (Marshall, 1950/1992) were operationalised in order to explore how CSWs relate their understanding, or not, of citizenship and what it means to them. The intention was to gain an insight into whether and/or the extent to which the participant's views challenged the mainstream citizenship identity. Accordingly, the telephone interviews included loosely structured topics which were based around citizenship ideals such as values, ethical practices and relationships with clients and family/friends (see figure 1).



*Figure 1: loosely structured interview topics*

Each interview was conducted using a telephone with a loud speaker facility and an electronic recording device to capture the data (consistent with Burke & Miller, 2001). The aim of using a loosely structured interview schedule was to allow me to converse more naturally with the participants rather than just iterating a list of questions to be answered; with the objective of facilitating a free rein for the participants to answer how they see fit (Bryman, 2000). Initially each interview began with a check that they understood the nature of the project, a check on their age and that they agreed to the interview being recorded electronically (consistent with Glogowska et al., 2011). Also, the rights to withdraw, and confidentiality were reiterated; including a reminder that if there were any issues raised which might be deemed illegal that it was my legal duty to report these to the relevant organisation.

Finally, before the interviews began, I checked that the participant had received their £20 voucher. The main interview began with structured questions which had the purpose of gathering demographical details about the participants with the aim of helping the participants feel at ease with me and the telephone interview process. Following this, and dependent on the answer to the initial questions, a question was asked about one of the topics to be discussed; for example, “how do you get on with the others who work with you?” Further, at certain points I offered personal information (although this was kept to a minimum) in order to facilitate a more natural approach that would put the participant at ease. That this was a useful approach was supported by Mia\* when she said:

*I've been able to talk to you quite openly and honestly because I'm a bit intuitive and I thought oh no she sounds, she sounds very patient...she's not a stiffer, you know what I mean because you can normally tell by people's voices and...they ask questions or whatever, but if you are a stiffer you're a very good researcher.*

During each interview, I checked that all the topics for discussion were covered (see figure 1) and ended each interview by thanking the participants and asking if there was anything that they would like to add that they thought would be important for me to know. Lastly the interviews were transcribed from the electronic recordings.

Email interview data collection

### *Sampling method*

As with the telephone interviews, the sampling method was opportunist and purposive due to the same considerations explored (see above). I conducted a search online for personal websites of CSWs and sent ten CSWs an email requesting participation (see appendix 6). From this three replies were received, of those two participants continued with the interviews; opting for email interviews rather than face-to-face or telephone.

### *Interview process*

Asynchronous email interviews were conducted using a semi-structured technique rather (see table 5) than the loosely structured technique used in the telephone interviews (figure 1) as this was not appropriate due to the delay in response time between questions. Also, this facilitated a standardised text to initiate the discussion within the email interviews.

Table 5

*Email interview initial questions*

Topic	Initial question/s
1 Demographics	<p>Age:</p> <p>Length of time working in this area:</p> <p>How would you describe your work and what does it involve?</p>
2 Comparison to other kinds of work	<p>If you have you worked in another industry/job – how would you compare this to sex work (include such things as: status, work relationships or any other thing you believe is appropriate)?</p>
3 Relationships with others	<p>How would you describe your relationship with the following groups of people and why?</p> <p>Clients (especially those who are long term)</p> <p>People who work with organisations aimed at supporting sex workers (such as outreach workers etc)</p>
4 Government policies and initiatives:	<p>Big Society:</p> <p>Recently the government have been encouraging people to become more involved in helping others in their community; working and paying tax, voting – the idea of a 'Big society'.</p> <p>What do you think about such initiatives?</p> <p>Are you involved in helping in your own community? If yes, could you give examples?</p> <p>Exiting programmes:</p> <p>What do you think about the exiting initiative and exiting programmes in general?</p> <p>To what extent are these beneficial or not?</p>

5 The future	If you were able to give the government advice on how to improve their approaches or initiatives – what would you suggest (if possible relate this advice particularly to assist sex workers)?
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Researchers (Orgad, 2005; Seale, Charteris-Black, MacFarlane, & McPherson, 2010) have pointed to the usefulness of email interviews for providing an additional source of primary research data. Whilst it might be suggested that email interviews are no more than extended surveys, this was not the case in this research and they were a vital tool allowing the busy participants to fit the correspondence around their work commitments. For example, on one occasion Grace\* took two weeks to reply stating that she had been working away abroad with a client. After the participants agreed to take part in the research, the procedure for the email interviews was as follows: an email was sent to the participant with the consent form attached, and once this was received a further email was sent with initial questions relating to demographics; consistent with the telephone interviews.

A further email was sent out in relation to the topic questions which, for consistency, were based on those used within the loosely structured telephone interviews with additional questions for clarification and to guide the participants (see table 5). At this point the interviews resembled more of a survey interview; which is a general critique of this method of data collection (Burns, 2010). To overcome this, I asked for questions to qualify what they felt, meant or understood about their earlier reply. With both participants this occurred over several correspondences until they stopped replying. In this way the participants' contributions were more abundant than a survey and whilst not as in-depth as the telephone interviews, were able to provide independent support for them ensuring credibility for both types of interviews (Bryman, 2016). This was especially important as it minimised the possible impact of the gatekeeper in the telephone interviews and increases transferability to other CSWs.

Also, being able to ask further questions over a longer time period was a particular strength of the email interviews; unlike the telephone interviews which took place at one 'sitting'. This meant that both the interviewee and I had time to consider how to reply and the participants could explore their concerns or beliefs carefully, adding to the credibility of this research. Whilst this might lend to critiques of pleasing the interviewer or disguising true thoughts, I ensured that a relationship was developed through the emails (external to the interviews) in an attempt to develop trust and present a more personal approach rather than just sending questions to be answered. This allowed both the interviewees and myself to learn more about each other than would ordinarily be possible in an interview or survey.

#### Method 2: Online forum data collection

The second method used in this thesis to gather data was the extraction of data from an online forum used by CSWs to help and support others in the commercial-sexwork arena. Using the internet to gather qualitative data has rapidly increased within a range of research disciplines and topics (see for example research by Bennett & Gough, 2012; Jowett, 2015; Veen, te Molder, Gremmen, & van Woerkum, 2010) and is perceived as a rich source to inform research in terms of identities and moralities. Further, the forum data has utility for supporting the interviews as according to Silverman (2014, p.351) it can be classed as naturally occurring data rather than being "research-provoked", as in the case of other data collection methods including interviews; as the questions on the forum are driven by the concerns (political or otherwise) of the CSWs.

However, this leads to a possible limitation of this type of data, as it is not possible to return to the data to check understandings with follow up questions; there is a

likelihood that researchers may misinterpret meanings (Seale et al., 2010). This, however, is not a particular issue from a relativist ontology; as there is always an element of subjectivity about what can be truly known (Lincoln & Guba, 2013); there is no simplistic assumption that the researcher can fully scrutinise data in order to perceive meanings as some of these may have been withheld (Letherby, 2003). Also, this method can account for any issues in relation to researcher/participant relationship such as a power imbalance (Silverman, 2014) and has the added benefit of providing a cross-reference for the findings from the interviews as such rich data adds to the rigour of this research (Bryman, 2016). Thus collecting data from the forum is aimed not only to support the interview data but to address limitations of the interviews.

Theoretically the use of the forum data supports the interpretivist epistemology and the feminist citizenship stance taken within this thesis; particularly Lister's (2003a) and Plummer's (2003) theories of intimate citizenship which outline how intimate citizenship debates are carried out in the public sphere which in contemporary society includes online forums. Further, online media plays an important role in facilitating intimacy and encouraging the disclosure of intimacies; "intimate lives are mediated lives" (Plummer, 2003, p.21). Importantly, according to, Plummer (2003) the disembodiment and anonymity offered by the new media technologies may enable marginalised groups to make claims to intimate citizenship for example, online forums can be used to discuss personal concerns thus the personal enters the public.

Such online forums can form an interactive sphere allowing those voices which are usually excluded to be heard and providing an arena for debate "where roughly "equal" voices can speak, debate, and deliberate in a fairly constructive, concerned, and public manner about what does go on, and indeed should go on, in personal life" (Plummer, 2003, p.73). Certainly there has been evidence for this claim for other

groups using new media forums for such support for example individuals who are homeless have used weblogs to promote their claims to citizenship (Schneider, 2014) and political (e)participation from those who might normally avoid such activity (Gibson & Cantijoch, 2013). Albeit, in this case, the audience aimed at is within the commercial-sexwork sphere, yet the very nature of the internet is that those in other public spheres may come across the forums and 'hear' the CSWs' voices.

However, a note of caution needs to be taken in relation to collecting data from an online forum as inequalities experienced in relation to access to traditional types of participation can be replicated online (Oser, Hooghe, & Marien, 2013). For example, not all CSWs will engage with internet forums and others may lack the economic and educational resources required to access the internet. Therefore, there is a need to assess the extent to which CSWs voices are represented within an online forum as those CSWs with erratic lifestyles are unlikely to have consistent access to online forums which can lead to further marginalisation of this group. Thus attention will be paid when gathering the forum data to ensure that there is not an over representation of one type of commercial-sexwork arena.

### *Search strategy*

Initially I searched online for a forum used by commercial-sexworkers. This search resulted in one forum being selected as it was active and had an abundance of contributors on a variety of topics. The forum is not hidden or closed to the general online public; so the comments on the threads are visible to anyone searching online and the contributors use pseudonyms. Initially, I became a member of the forum and posted an advert for interview participants. The advert did not result in any replies but was viewed by contributors to the forum. Following this, a search was conducted in order to extract data from the discussion threads which reflected the questions

asked within the interviews about citizenship ideals and behaviours (see table 5). The topics that formed the basis for the search are outlined in table 6 below:

Table 6

*Forum thread search topics*

Topic	Points to search for within forum threads
1 Comparison to other kinds of work	Evidence for working in another industry/job
2 Relationships with others	Descriptions of relationships with the following groups of people: Clients (especially those who are long term); People who work with organisations aimed at supporting sex workers (such as outreach workers etc)
3 Government policies and initiatives:	Comments about: Helping others in their community; Working and paying tax, voting; The idea of a 'Big society'; Exiting programmes or similar agencies
4 The future	How to improve: Govt approaches or initiatives, Advice particularly to assist other sex workers

The forum search was conducted at two time periods (12/5/14 and 9/6/14), and despite the data being freely accessible, when I conducted a search I ensured that I logged onto the forum to acknowledge my presence rather than just extracting the data without a trace. Morally, I thought that this was important due to my own values; that is, I did not want to extract the data without leaving a digital footprint to indicate that I had been on the website as this would have felt like I was treating the CSWs forum discussions as though they had no value. Which to me they did, so for me, logging on whilst extracting the data was a way of letting the administrators know that I had been present on the website (this point is also discussed in the ethics section).

Each search followed the same format and involved searching for the same topic areas in table 6 rather than by thread contributor as is evident in other research on internet forums (Pettinger, 2013) to ensure that the data gathered was appropriate to the research questions. Further, to reflect the interview data, attention was paid to ensure that there was a balance of CSWs from the on- and off-street work arenas. All the forum threads were searched for data that was consistent with the topics until it was evident that saturation had occurred; that further searches of the forum would not be appropriate (Bryman, 2000).

### *Search results*

The search elicited 26 forum threads with word counts ranging from 458 – 5808. Each thread began within an initial enquiry from a contributor; the topics are shown in table 7 in appendix 7.

### *Part 3: Thematic analysis of the data*

After all the data had been collected, the next stage of the research was to thematically analyse the data. Thematic analysis is a broad term for a range of commonly used methods for analysing data in qualitative research; including research within the arena of commercial-sexwork (see for example Abel, 2011; Liddiard, 2014) and citizenship (see for example Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014; Patrick, 2017). Indeed “thematizing meanings” has long been one of the common skills within qualitative analysis approaches (Holloway & Todres, 2003, p.347). Thematic analysis is suggested to be a useful tool for early career researchers however whilst it may provide a useful framework from which to analyse the data this

does not mean that the findings will be simplistic or low quality (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013). In fact, it is quite the opposite; the reflective nature of the approach leads to the findings being considered and refined throughout the analytical process. Braun and Clarke (2006, p.78) argued for thematic analysis to be regarded as a method “in its own right” rather than being perceived as a tool within other approaches (for example grounded theory).

However unlike other approaches, such as discourse analysis, there is no pre-set theoretical framework as a requirement rather it can fit onto most theoretical frameworks (Braun & Clarke, 2006) as in this thesis and the aspects of citizenship theory (mainstream and feminist). Similarly, due to the lack of constraints it allows for a fit between the constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology as it facilitates the analysis of commercial-sexwork discourses which operate in the social world, and the CSWs’ experiences and interpretations that have arisen from these (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thus, thematic analysis is an appropriate method for this thesis which aims to explore the citizenship journeys of CSWs and would assist in addressing the four research questions below:

How do CSWs experience citizenship?

How do participants express their understandings of citizenship?

To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?

How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?

The thematic analysis approach adopted for the research is Braun and Clarke’s (2006) method for thematic analysis and the first component of this section will provide the philosophical justification for this method. This will be followed by the application to the data of Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six phases of analysis which are as below:

Phase 1: data familiarisation

Phase 2: preliminary codes

Phase 3: theme searching

Phase 4: theme refining

Phase 5: theme definitions

Phase 6: writing the report

Braun and Clarke's (2006) 15-point checklist of criteria for a good thematic analysis will be used to support this process (see table 3 in appendix 2). Prior to the analysis, I checked the forum threads for spelling errors and amended them when they were found. This was conducted in order to avoid a hierarchy between me and forum contributors, in that I had the benefit of knowing that their written work is being used for academic purposes but the forum contributors did not. Thus, as it is impossible to ask them to check their contributions to offer them the chance to make any changes I decided that I would make the changes and put the forum contributors on the same footing, in this sense, as me.

#### Philosophical approach to the thematic analysis

Due to the paucity of research in the area of commercial-sexwork and citizenship, the aim within this thematic analysis is to gain a rich description from across the dataset to ensure that all the main themes are represented (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This is important as the views of CSWs in relation to their citizenship status or identity are as yet unknown and the concept of citizenship itself is complex and contested; so it would be problematic to focus on only one theme or aspect of citizenship. Traditionally themes are identified in two ways, the first is 'bottom up' (inductive) in that the themes are developed from within the data, similar to a

grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2017). The second way themes are developed is from 'top down' (deductive) approach where the approach to the data is theory driven (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As there is a lack of previous research in the area of commercial-sexwork and citizenship there needs to be a deductive component within the thematic analysis.

Accordingly, it was necessary to create a framework for the interviews and forum data extraction from citizenship concepts (see previous section) as a guide to address the lack of research in this area but to also meet the research aim and questions. Therefore, the analysis necessarily has an underlying link to citizenship concepts; which could have led to a thin description overall (Bryman, 2016). In order to address this, I will try to curtail my previous knowledge to avoid making assumptions about CSWs thoughts and feelings towards their citizenship journey. Whilst the interpretivist approach acknowledges this is not entirely possible, the hope is to limit any influence, which, in turn, adds to the confirmability of the research as the findings and how these will be interpreted are mainly drawn from the data (Nowell et al., 2017). The aim is to provide a thicker description across the data corpus - that is all the data from interviews and forum, supporting the transferability of this research to other areas of commercial-sexwork (Nowell et al., 2017).

### Analytical process

This component of the analysis section aims to demonstrate how the analysis of the data was conducted in order to provide the reader with the level of detail required to support the credibility of the research; so as to establish the trustworthiness of the analytical process (Nowell et al., 2017). Thus below is an explanation of each of Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases, within which is described how the data corpus was treated at each phase. To note, all the data was analysed personally by me rather than by the use of a software programme.

Phase 1: becoming familiar with the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The beginnings of becoming familiar with the data began initially during the telephone and email interviews, where patterns began to emerge about concepts of practice, ethics of work/care, support for other workers and thoughts about leaving and how these were consistent or not with citizenship ideals; such patterns were also evident in the forum data. However, at this stage the patterns were considered only for the potential they might have for being more concrete themes at a later stage within the main analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I made notes of these initial patterns to ensure that this component of the process was not missed in the final analysis and to create an audit trail of the analytical process which added to the overall dependability of the analysis (Nowell et al., 2017), see figure 2 below:

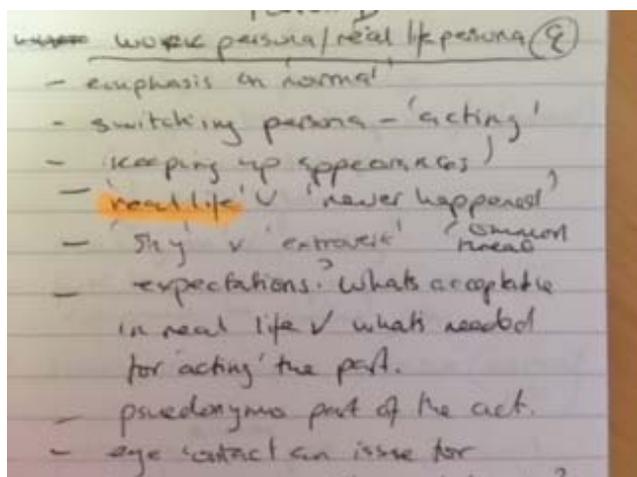


Figure 2: extract from research notes

The second, and more in depth phase of developing familiarity with the data began with the transcription stage for the telephone interviews. To note, two of the telephone interviews were transcribed by me and one by another person (due to my physical disability). The interview which was transcribed by another person was

checked against the recording for accuracy; which assisted me to develop the same level of familiarity with the data in that interview as those which I had transcribed. This phase of the analysis is essential as it facilitated early interpretations to emerge about the citizenship journeys and experiences of CSWs; which makes it a suitable approach for an interpretivist epistemology (Fade & Swift, 2010). The extracts were transcribed verbatim including punctuation for emphasis and verbal tics for example *erm* and abbreviations such as *couldn't*, in order to represent what was said in the interviews (Fade & Swift, 2010) (see appendix 3 for an example of a transcribed interview). It was not necessary to go to the level of transcription required for other types of analysis such as discourse analysis (Neale, 2016) such as including the length of pauses (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Whilst there may be issues in terms of the accurate transcription from speech to written text (Gibbs, 2007), this was somewhat addressed by using different mediums for collecting the data in that there was no need to transcribe the email interview or online forum data as it was already in a format ready for analysis. However, this may have led to problems in terms of familiarity with the data, so it was important, not just for the telephone interviews but for the other data to ensure that I was immersed in the data to develop familiarity with the “the depth and breadth” by reading the data several times to elicit “meanings, patterns” (Fade & Swift, 2010, p.87). Even though this process takes a long time it is essential and should not be avoided as this early stage of the analysis forms the base for the next stages of analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Following this, I read and re-read the data; coding the data extracts as a part of this process. At this point, I added to my initial notes about the patterns to develop codes in terms of their meanings and citizenship ideals. For example, when the participants and forum correspondents mentioned the importance of paying tax and NI these were associated with a key component of the United Nations’ (1948) Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the right to paid work. This could be

perceived as problematic as considering theory or literature earlier on in the process may limit the focus to research defined aspects leading to some important aspects being missed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, this attention to citizenship theory early in the process was aimed to enhance the analysis in terms of the subtler meanings within the data which could have been missed in an area with no prior research focusing on all aspects of citizenship and commercial-sexwork.

## Phase 2: generating initial codes

Following phase one, I created the first level of data coding from the patterns; a code is a label assigned to data and can be a “single word, group of words, complete sentence or a whole paragraph” (Fade & Swift, 2010, p.107). Coding was conducted across the dataset; notes were taken about possible codes which appeared to reflect citizenship behaviours or ideals; however, this level of coding was descriptive in nature. As there was no “pre-existing coding frame”, an inductive approach was taken to the data whereby it was read, then re/read to discover any codes consistent with citizenship ideals and behaviours (Fade & Swift, 2010, p.108). Within the coding process, the data was considered line by line to ensure that all the key concerns were identified and that any new ones could be discovered (Neale, 2016). From this a table (see figure 3 below for an extract from the table) was created to display the data systematically and facilitated interpretations across the data (Neale, 2016). At this stage the extracts for the codes consisted of verbatim quotes or forum extracts in order to create a level of authenticity to the final analysis thus “bringing ‘real lives’ into the ... text” (Smart, 2009, p.299). The coding of the data was semantic (literal) and interpretive in nature (Fade & Swift, 2010); see figures 3 & 4 below:

<p>'I am <b>not a man hater</b>, I would like to make that clear first, BUT, this job has certainly given me <b>an insight</b> and an opinion that is maybe unhealthy regarding men,</p>	<p>'not a man hater', unhealthy insight</p>	<p>Some contradiction between</p>
<p>Most of my clients are lovely, respectful, <b>normal family men</b> with wives kids etc, it has made me assume that all men are <b>capable of cheating</b>, with an escort or otherwise , I am having a bit of a wobble this week so have turned my work phone off, seen my friends gone to the gym , switched off from work entirely ' (r19. rv4)</p>	<p>capable of cheating = evidence</p>	<p>perceiving men as normal (not cheating) and clients (cheating</p>

Figure 3: Snapshot from initial coding of forum data for 'cheating' code

R: I think I am helping the community, I'm not leaving condoms around, not shouting in the street and causing a nuisance, I'm taking these people away and giving them my number and they're coming back to me, so I think I'm helping the community [I: yeah] to be honest. I know there's some girls who don't do it like that, they leave condoms on peoples doorsteps, they leave their drug items on their doorsteps and I think it's disgusting. [I: mm] but I mean if I get one down an alleyway, I make sure the condoms go in the bin because there's plenty of bins around.

I: mmm so it's just about tidying up after yourself in it?

R: yeah that's right. [It's basic that I mean my mum taught me to put rubbish in the bin – I don't know what their mums taught them]

I: do you think that's

R: I think that makes a difference

I: in what way?

R: well, I wouldn't want anyone outside my doorway shaqqing someone and leaving

Comment [A42]: **Helping community:**  
Not leaving condoms  
Not shouting in street and causing a nuisance  
[Girls who don't do it... leave condoms...drug items on their doorstep  
Think its disgusting

Comment [A43]: **Basic... mums taught them.**

Figure 4: Snapshot from coding of Sophia\*'s telephone interview

All the data was saved as a Microsoft word document. Then the data was coded by me and the codes were matched and cross referenced including those which might contradict the other codes. For example, there was a contradiction in relation to the

extent to which human beings should practice monogamy (see figure 3); to ignore this contradiction could have been problematic in the main analysis.

### Phase 3: searching for themes

Following the creation of the codes, the codes were grouped together to create initial overarching and subthemes. Braun and Clarke (2006, p.82) defined a theme as not having to be the most predominant theme over the whole dataset but one that “captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the dataset...in relation to the overall research question”. Fade and Swift (2010) highlight an issue with presenting theme creation as a process which follows phases one and two of the coding process as an artificial claim; as possible themes are generally beginning to be developed by the researcher during the coding process; this was certainly the case within the current research. However, Braun and Clarke (2006) do not suggest thematic analysis is a linear process and initial themes can be imagined in the early phases; so this criticism is unfounded. Therefore, in phase three, I made the main decisions about which themes were important which included a consideration of any those thought of in the initial stages and checked to see if any could be disregarded (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The prevalence of themes was not a particular issue in this analysis but themes were expected to be evident across the data corpus, and within the datasets. However, in terms of the interviews themes were expected to be evident in more than one data item (one forum or interview) whereas in the online forum where there were often several contributors, thus prevalence was established by the occurrence of the theme in that data item. Further, a latent (interpretative) approach was taken to the level for which the themes can be identified rather than a semantic approach which would explore meanings from what can be viewed explicitly that is “not looking *beyond* what a participant has said or...written” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.84) which

would be more consistent with a realist epistemology. Importantly, the latent approach to the themes creation is consistent with the epistemological triangulation whereby interpretivism is used in conjunction with the feminist citizenship approach within this thesis; exploring the data from a deep level to explore what citizenship ideals and behaviours underpin the semantic level of data. Using the latent approach, inductive themes and subthemes developed as the analysis progressed (Fade & Swift, 2010) and, for rigour, each theme was checked for its ability to address the research question distinctly (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

#### Phase 4: theme refining

Within phase four, the overarching- and subthemes were refined; those which were similar were checked to see if they could be combined. The data extracts in the themes were checked to ensure they formed a logical pattern (Braun & Clarke, 2006); those which did not were reworked/removed from the analysis to form initial thematic maps (see figure 5, appendix 8; figure 6, appendix 9, figure 7, appendix 10, figure 8, appendix 11) which show the results of this process. After this, the dataset was reread to check for any extracts which could be recoded and that the themes accurately reflected the data corpus. Following this, I made the decision that no more refinements to the overarching themes were required but there could be a further reduction of subthemes later if necessary.

#### Phase 5: defining and naming themes

From the thematic maps, the codes within the themes were refined and subthemes were developed in order to ensure that the themes were consistent with the research questions and to provide structure within complex overarching themes but subthemes do not reflect a hierarchy (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As the process of thematic analysis is *recursive*, I returned to the data to see if any subthemes could

be subsumed into each other (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Also, at this point I refined the titles of the themes to reflect the content, these were: 'Understanding citizenship: Civil rights and duties, and social rights', 'Enacting citizenship: active citizenship and intimate citizenship and commercial-sexwork' and 'Exiting commercial-sexwork'.

#### Phase 6: writing the report

The themes developed in phase five of the analysis formed the base for phase six (Braun & Clarke, 2006); within which the findings are discussed in chapters 5, 6: and 7 which follow. During the analysis chapters, interpretations of the data will be used to account for how citizenship as an identity, status or ideal operates within the arena of commercial-sexwork. To facilitate the latter, the analysis and discussion will be immersed within relevant citizenship theoretical concepts and research from within the commercial-sexwork arena and others if deemed appropriate. Thus, by conducting the latter in a systematic way the aim is to ensure that the research is rigorous (Nowell et al., 2017).

#### *Part 4: Ethical principles for all the data collection methods*

The ethical principles from the British Sociological Association (BSA, 2002) were used to gain ethical approval for this research (see appendix 12). According to the Association of Internet Researchers (AIR, 2012) ethical tensions should be addressed not only at the beginning of the process but as they emerge during the research. This is particularly important when research is conducted on vulnerable groups who may be at risk from harm. Accordingly, BSA (2017) guidelines were consulted in relation to general ethical and data protection issues and AIR (2012, 2016) guidelines in relation to the online data.

## Psychological and physical harm

Vitaly, research with participants such as CSWs needs clear rules/guidelines to be established prior to any contact with participants and asserted at the commencement of contact and prior to the interviews. For example, in this study the level of intrusion in the private life of the participants was considered (BSA, 2017). In particular, issues such as 'uncalled for self-knowledge' especially with regard to marginalisation and citizenship (BSA, 2017). Accordingly, as CSWs may not be aware of their hypothetical 'marginalised' status, or even feel marginalised, it is important to avoid relating this kind of information to them in order to prevent psychological damage (BSA, 2017). Also, considered in relation to the online data was the tension between the reuse of information in a form that it was not originally perceived by the contributors and the benefits to CSWs in general (Fielding, Lee, & Blank, 2016). It was decided on balance that as the research aims to enhance the mainstream concept of citizenship to include marginalised groups such as CSWs that the use of the forum data would be beneficial (AIR, 2012) and provides support for the telephone and email interview data.

The responsibility of protecting the participants' physical well-being (BSA, 2017) may also be an issue with regard to the dangerous nature of commercial-sexwork. For instance, participants may be at risk of violence for their contribution to this research if they are 'managed' by a pimp/or partner (BSA, 2017). Clearly, the interviews need to be carried out in a safe environment away from the working location; in line with this the interviews were conducted on the premises of a supporting agency. Further, in relation to the interview forum, particular attention was paid to the threads in terms of evidence of vulnerability to physical and psychological harm to the same extent as the interviews. There were no specific contributions which indicated any issues, but if there had been I would have informed the relevant authorities (AIR, 2016).

The rights to informed consent, to refuse to participate or withdraw and to see the completed research

The ethical issues of informed consent, the right to refuse participation, the right to withdraw and request to see the completed research (BSA, 2017) were addressed via the participant information sheet (see appendix 13) and confirmed verbally before the telephone interviews and in writing at the beginning of the email interviews (see appendix 14) (AIR, 2012). The issue of consent in relation to online data is a concern for researchers, with some suggesting that wherever possible, as long as trying to contact individuals to gain consent in itself would not lead to harm, then consent should be sought (Davis, et al., 2017). Others suggest that if consent cannot be obtained then as long as the data is depersonalised then it is acceptable to use the data without consent (Esomar, 2011) as was the case in this research as it was not possible to obtain consent in relation to the data forum as the thread contributors all used pseudonyms. Also, the forum webpages were checked for specific terms and conditions of use to check whether they stated that the content was not to be used for research purposes, and none were found (AIR, 2012).

Therefore, with consideration of the benefits to CSWs in general from using the forum data and that the forum is freely available online and visible without having to obtain membership or use a password; it was decided that it was ethically acceptable to use the data without consent. Yet, I was not comfortable with using the data without having a presence on the forum, so I became a member of the forum and always logged into the forum when the data was being gathered. Whilst this made me publically visible and vulnerable to abuse (Davis et al., 2017) from anyone who used the forum for those purposes rather than the positive, supportive nature it intended; I decided that the benefits of using this data outweighed any possible negatives.

## Anonymity, privacy and confidentiality

In line with affording anonymity, privacy and confidentiality (BSA, 2017) all participants were provided with a pseudonym. It was evident from some of the forum contributors that there were no allusions to privacy; they warned by other contributors to be careful about what they said as it was not a closed forum (AIR, 2012). However, this may not have been the case for all contributors therefore particular attention was afforded to the online forum data to ensure that the names they used were not similar to the pseudonyms I used (AIR, 2012). This was regarded important within the current research as recent research of online networks indicated that participants expect their contributions to be anonymised (Fielding et al., 2016; Williams, Burnap, Sloan, Jessop, & Lepps, 2017).

Due to the large number of contributors to the online forum pseudonyms were compiled using the names listed from an online source (Social Security Administration, 2017) and checked for similarity. Further, in order to ensure as far as possible that participants and forum contributors were not traceable; especially due to the often secretive nature of this line of work, any identifying details such as places of work and names of family/friends/children were omitted or changed.

In addition, the participant information sheet explains that the data from both the telephone and email interviews would be stored electronically with password protection and would be destroyed upon submission of the thesis (AIR, 2016; BSA, 2017). The email correspondence was entitled “research” or “research participation” and did not include the nature of the research to aid privacy (AIR, 2016). Also the data was deleted from my email account once the interviews had been concluded; in

order to reduce the opportunity of the data being retrieved by a third party (AIR, 2016).

### *Summary*

Within chapter 4, part 1, the philosophical underpinnings to this thesis were outlined and justified, that is, a constructivist ontology, interpretivist and feminist epistemology is taken, which in turn support the qualitative approach to the data. Following this, in part 2, the method section of the chapter provided details of the participants and contributors from the online forum. This was followed by justifications for and the process of the data collection methods; interviews (telephone and email) and online forum data. Part 3 of the chapter provided the justification for and process of the thematic analysis which was used on all the data within this thesis. Lastly, part 4 discussed the ethical concerns within this research, in general and in particular where necessary for the forum data. Chapter 5 which follows is the first analysis and discussion chapter which is entitled 'Understanding citizenship: civil rights and duties'.

Chapter 5: Understanding citizenship: Civil rights and duties, and social rights

The purpose of this analysis and discussion chapter is to elicit CSWs understandings of civil rights and duties, and social rights in order to address two research questions: 'How do CSWs experience citizenship?' and 'How do participants express their understandings of citizenship?'. As was discovered in chapter one of this thesis, there is no previous research focussing explicitly on CSWs and how they understand their citizenship rights and duties. This is an important omission as this group of citizens continues to be marginalised from the mainstream society which could have a correspondingly negative impact on how they access such rights. To explore the latter, recurrent codes from the thematic analysis of the data were used to develop themes which were consistent with civil rights and duties, and social rights and two subsequent overarching themes: 'The right to employment and the duties to pay income tax and national insurance contributions' and 'Social citizenship rights'. In part one of this chapter, 'The right to employment and the duties to pay income tax and NI contributions' are identified as key components of citizenship and the aim is to discover the extent to which CSWs are able to access such rights. This is important as under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948) everyone who has the right to live within a country also has the right to paid employment and safe, healthy working conditions. Also, since New Labour's Third Way approach (see for example Blair, 1997), paid work has been perceived as a key citizenship obligation (Lister, 2001) within the dual breadwinner model in which females are expected to work. Additionally, all worker-citizens have the duty to pay income tax and NI contributions (British Institute of International and Comparative Law, 2008; Goldsmith, 2008). Within part two 'Social citizenship rights' are explored from within the data to address a lack of explicit consideration in the commercial-sexwork literature towards the concept of social citizenship rights. It is important to establish the extent to which CSWs can attain social citizenship as within Marshall's (1950/1992) tripartite conception of citizenship, social citizenship rights such as education and access to welfare are utilised to pursue community cohesion, a common identity and full participation of all citizens within the community.

*Part 1 The right to employment and the duties to pay income tax and national insurance contributions*

Within chapter one it was found that the research on commercial-sexwork and work was often contradictory; a key contention was that whilst some might suggest that sex is work others take issue with this idea suggesting that commercial-sexwork is more akin to abuse. Importantly, from both these positions the aim is to reduce marginalisation or improve the professional status of commercial-sexwork. Yet, despite such attempts, CSWs remain marginalised from mainstream society. One of the issues which compounds CSWs marginalisation is that commercial-sexwork is problematic in terms of the extent to which it oversteps conventions for the division of labour (public-private divide) which support underlying hegemonic discourse about the separate natures of sex (for pleasure) and work (for money). Further, whilst there is an indication in relation to research which contends that commercial-sexwork is work, there is little consideration of the right to employment and the duties to pay income tax and NI contributions; and in particular how CSWs understand these rights/duties. MacKinnon (1982, p.515) defined work as “the social process of shaping and transforming the material and social worlds, creating people as social beings as they create value. It is that activity by which people become who they are.” This definition is useful as it highlights the link between social processes and the construction of identities through work; aiding the understanding of why CSWs identity discourses (such as victim or criminal) lead to the perception that commercial-sexwork is not always regarded as work.

However, within the sex-as-work discourse there is an implicit assumption that CSWs have equality with other citizens in terms of work rights (Cruz, 2013). This notion is somewhat problematic as it is argued that sex has to be regarded as work and a CSW as characteristic of all other waged labourers (Bellis et al., 2007; Leigh, 1997; Weitzer, 2007) if they are to be regarded as full citizens. Yet, as was found

within the literature review, whether or not sex work is “first and foremost work” has been long debated and polarised (Jeffreys, 2000; MacKinnon, 1989; Oerton & Phoenix, 2001, p.402; Pateman, 1988; Rickard, 2001) thus unresolved and insufficient. Thus the aim within this component is to address the paucity of research with regards to the citizenship journeys of female CSWs, with a particular view to meeting research questions 1 and 2 to establish how CSWs explain their understandings of commercial-sexwork within a broader framework of citizenship rights and duties. Specifically, it will explore the complex relationship between commercial-sexwork and the right to employment. Firstly, discussed is subtheme 1 ‘The right to safe and healthy working conditions’. Secondly within subtheme two ‘The right to choose the type of work they want to be employed in’ is discussed. Lastly, subtheme 3 discusses the extent to which CSWs understand or evidence actions which are consistent with ‘The duty to pay tax and national insurance (NI) contributions’. Figure 9 below shows the final thematic map for this overarching theme.

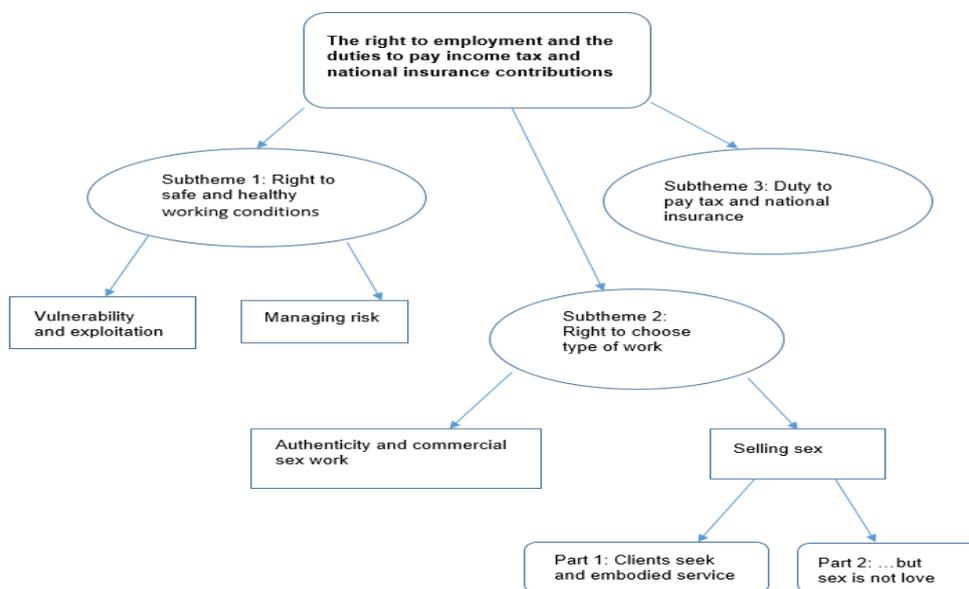


Figure 9: Final thematic map for the overarching theme ‘The right to employment and the duties to pay income tax and national insurance contributions’

## Subtheme 1: The right to safe and healthy working conditions

As is already established within chapter 1, the nature of commercial-sexwork in relation to risk (such as coercion, physical, mental health and wellbeing) is contested yet there is clearly a difference between off street and on street work - which is more dangerous (Sanders, 2007b). However, the relationship between CSWs and their right as *citizens* to safe and healthy working conditions is rarely discussed explicitly. Therefore, this subtheme addresses the question 'How do participants express their understandings of citizenship?' in order to establish their views on this contentious issue. It is to be noted that some of the data in this section is from correspondents who can be classed as self-employed and as such they do not have the same work rights as those who have an employer. However, citizens who are self-employed are still entitled to safe and healthy working conditions and protections under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948). This subtheme has two components that is, firstly an analysis and discussion of the rights to safe working conditions within the '*Vulnerability and exploitation*' part; and secondly an analysis and discussion of how CSWs '*Manage risk*'.

### *Vulnerability and exploitation*

Sanders (2005b) indicated that most CSWs, including street workers, are able to make rational decisions about their safety in relation to occupational hazards. This was exemplified in the data as some CSWs stated that they would not allow clients to use their own condoms to avoid being tricked by clients who use fake condoms (Emily) which can split (Alyssa) or clients may tamper with them (Emily, Natalie):

*Never let a client use their own condoms. There are guys out there who deliberately prick them with needles so holes aren't visible, put on Vaseline so the latex will rip during sex (Angelina).*

However, it is important to consider the experiences of those CSWs who are vulnerable and at risk from violence or exploitation; certainly the participants and forum correspondents within this thesis reflected on their own and others' safety issues. For example, within the interviews and forum threads street work was associated with vulnerability in terms of violence from clients (Emma\*, Olivia, Sophia), trafficking and chaotic lifestyles (Emma\*), and coercion by pimps (Isabella). Further within a forum thread entitled 'Death threat on text! Real or fake? Advice please!!', off-street workers Olivia, Ava, Emily and Abigail highlighted that threats to their wellbeing from clients, client's partners or relatives are problematic and can be as extreme as threatening their lives: "...you're going to wish you overdosed on some nasty shit! Ur dead" (Olivia).

Additionally, the CSWs experienced exploitation in several ways. For example, when Mia\*s landlord stated that "*I'm putting your rent up'...just wanted his rent up*", or when Emily, Elizabeth, Lilly, and Stephanie indicated that clients regularly avoided/forgot to pay or underpaid (Charlotte, Chloe), or when Ella said that she had been manipulated into providing undesirable services. All of which led some of the correspondents to "*feel used*" (Emily) or that there was "*an abuse of trust!*" (Kaitlyn). Such feelings are consistent with the victim discourse (see chapter 3 part 2 for a more in depth discussion) which creates a binary (non-citizen/citizen) and supports the actions of others who are regarded as more citizenship like (such as landlords) (Lister, 2003a). Importantly, in other professions citizens are protected against exploitation and dangerous working conditions under employment law in the UK such as the Equality Act 2010. Protections at work are thus perceived as an important component of citizenship rights and are underpinned by human rights

regimes. However, the key issue for CSWs is that they do not have (and have never had) employment rights (Cruz, 2013) so it is difficult to make claims towards safe working conditions which can lead to susceptibility to exploitation in the work place.

Thus CSWs have to rely on criminal law and policy for protection (see for example ACPO, 2004, 2011; HM Government, 2009, 2012; Home Office, 2004a, 2006b; PCA, 2009) which, as discussed in the legal chapter of this thesis, leads to contradictory statuses whereby the CSW is either a criminal or a victim. In terms of vulnerability, the ACPO (2004, 2011) stated that illicit drug usage is a precursor to commercial-sexwork which can result in impaired decisions; making selling sex appear an easy solution to making money which inadvertently increases exploitation. Those interviewees who were working both at street and indoor levels tended to support this view for example Emma\* stated that *“there’s no alternative...it becomes more about the addiction and less about the prostitution”*. Furthermore, Sofia\* stated that having to see clients who have drug addictions can mean that their own drug use is exacerbated: *“Sometimes I’ve dropped clients cos they’ve just wanted to get me to smoke crack...it makes you want more”*. Interestingly, the underlying reasons for the issue with drug addiction in commercial-sexwork between the ACPO (2004, 2011) and Mia\* are divergent; she stated the Governments’ policy on drugs is creating increased drug use amongst the CSW community and was to blame for the associated dangers of street work (including death):

*I think society’s created all this, I mean I know it’s the oldest profession in the world but...government’s allowing the drugs to come in...especially Class A...I’m really against Class A... because I’ve seen it before so many of my friends died because they’ve contracted HIV... it’s just rife now with Class A drugs, you get all these chaotic and the violence what comes with it (Mia\*).*

This is in direct contrast to Government policy (see for example *Paying the Price* (Home Office, 2004a); *Coordinated Prostitution Strategy* (Home Office, 2006a) which intimates that commercial-sexwork increases a community's exposure to illicit drug use; identifying that the community needs protection to avoid a downward 'spiral of decline'. Yet, as Susan\* highlighted, associating illicit drug use with commercial-sexwork can have an undesirable impact:

*Instead of endlessly conflating prostitution with completely separate issues and offences (exploitation, drug abuse...) and using it as a catch all explanation for these things taking place, the existing laws which serve to deal with those who are guilty of these offences should be properly enforced and those working legally, happily and responsibly left alone to get on with their jobs.*

Thus, it is evident that the state's approach appears somewhat tantamount to victim blaming and does little to support CSW's rights to the safe working conditions other citizens expect but adds to their marginalisation from mainstream society.

Additionally, there was reticence from CSWs within the forum threads and the interviews to seek support from the authorities. For example, whilst some advised those who were being harassed to go to the police for support (Abigail, Amelia, Ava, Evelyn, Rachel) and there was evidence of protection from the authorities; "*We're safe there's cameras all over the place, whoever I speak to or whatever I'm doing the cameras are seeing*" (Vivian\*).

Conversely, based on previous negative experiences, there were concerns about whether the police or the authorities (Ella, Paige) would act on complaints because "*they aren't going to help*" (Sofia\*) as "*Prostitution's always the last thing on any sort of agenda*" (Mia\*). As a result of such mistrust in the ability of the police to protect

CSWs it appears that they have to resort to protecting themselves. For example: “When they’re getting rough, mug them off and run away” (Vivian\*), and keeping “Out of sight out of mind” (Grace\*). Relying on “gut instinct” (Emily; Lily, Natalie, Sofia\*, Valentina) appears to be a common way for CSWs to protect themselves as ignoring such feelings can lead to a “really unpleasant booking” (Victoria):

*Instinct after a while seems to tell you who you can and can’t trust but it’s never fool proof, on the streets it’s always a risk, but mace in my hand bag is something I always carry even on escort jobs (Grace\*).*

It is from such experiences with the police and authorities, as pointed out by Bradford (2014, p.23), that “The included and excluded...draw important lessons about their status”. The impact of such a precarious identity can be somewhat explained by research conducted by Stewart and Atkinson (2012, p.171) who explored citizenship rights for those with disabilities who were excluded and vulnerable, and found that the protection for those who are vulnerable was underpinned by the dominant “conditional approach to citizenship”. Significantly Stewart and Atkinson (2012, p.171) found a “reinforcing cycle of exclusion” created by the conditions attached to citizenship that “exclusion from accessing citizenship rights may compromise the ability of individuals to meet the conditions”. This is somewhat consistent with CSWs for whom the neo-liberal approach has created a vulnerability framework which can mean that the ‘wrong’ citizens are disciplined. Thus it is apparent that the vulnerability framework supports the notion that CSWs are ever precarious leading to them not being thought of as authentic workers; which in turn impacts on their working conditions and their ability to claim the work rights other citizens might take for granted.

### *Managing risk: being risk managers*

As discussed above CSWs can be more vulnerable to the risks of exploitation or violence than other professions, regardless of the arena within which they work (on-street workers are more at risk). That they perceive a lack of protection from the authorities means that they are often in positions where they have to manage the risks by themselves. For Sanders (2005) the question of risk and vulnerability in terms of commercial-sexwork is not whether or not it exists but rather how it is managed. Importantly, because of the lack of trust of authority, the support and advice for addressing threats/harassment appears mostly to come from within the CSW community (Abigail, Angelina, Hannah, Lillian, and Zoey):

*Well we all tell each other about which clients/punters to avoid who seem to odd and want strange things, if we know other girls are working and don't see them around we do send a text to see if there ok (Grace\*).*

*It was always like maybe three or four girls on a shift, so anything out of the ordinary...we'll be straight up there and on it (Mia\*).*

Thus, a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) is developed in order to inform others of danger at street level (see chapter 6, part 1, subtheme one for fuller discussion on CSWs and communities of practice), or to check if others are safe (Grace\*), with some CSWs working in “*doubles*” for protection (Vivian\*) or working in saunas/brothels “*as a team*” as indicated by Mia\*:

*we worked together as a team and we watched each other...there was always somebody around you to have a cup of tea with or a drink with or whatever, the same in the flats as well.*

These findings were supported by a pilot research project conducted by Connelly (2014) in a survey of 240 UK CSWs and research by Pitcher (2015). To minimise risk, Susan\* stated that a structural response in the form of decriminalisation of commercial-sexwork is necessary:

*...so that people can share premises and work together for safety and to save money on outgoings (which means they have to work less and see fewer punters, thus reducing incidence of prostitution if that's what they want).*

Yet whilst working in brothels is perceived as a safer option by CSWs, brothel keeping offences under the SOA 1956, 2003 prohibit working in the safety of groups. Thus, for those CSWs who choose to work with others, the illicit nature of such work means that they lack the formal protection found in other occupations. This highlights a paradox within the legal system as whilst it aims to protect the vulnerable it inadvertently adds to the vulnerability of others. This suggests that CSW vulnerability and exploitation is founded in the legal system (Fraser, 1995, 2005a). This is important as equality in law is a key principle of equality in terms of citizenship status (Geary, 2004). There is some acknowledgement of the lack of equality in law between CSWs and other workers for example; the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee (2016) report, which includes the views of those working in commercial-sexwork (such as the IUSW), has acknowledged the need to decriminalise working in brothels in order to promote safer working conditions. This is an important challenge to the criminal discourse whereby exclusion from

protection has reinforced CSWs marginalised position in society and inadvertently their lesser citizenship status.

However, until such recognition is transformative rather than affirmative (Fraser, 1995) in order to assist in addressing precarious working conditions, CSWs have to be “‘risk-managers’ who must behave ‘responsibly’” (Munro & Scoular, 2012, p.189). It is important to note that managing risk is not solely a concern for commercial-sexwork for example the Health and Safety Executive’s (2017) Labour Force Survey for 2012-13 reported that police officer’s injury rates can be four times higher than all other occupations, but this does not impact on their citizenship status – quite the opposite. Also, as already mentioned, the state aims to manage dangerous or exploitative working conditions for legitimate occupations through Health and Safety laws. Conversely, according to Cruz (2013) due to a lack of work rights, commercial-sexwork remains precarious which in turn makes it difficult to claim work rights (such as discrimination under the Equality Act, 2010). Thus, the perceived lack of protection from authorities leads to self-protection being a key component of managing the risks within both on and off street services.

Subtheme 2: The right for a citizen to choose the type of work they want to be employed in.

Pitcher (2015) states that for the commercial-sexwork policy discourse to be effective in reducing the risks (in brothels and lone working conditions); it firstly needs to acknowledge that it is a legitimate form of labour. All citizens have the right to freely choose their employment (United Nations, 1948). However, the interplay between structural restrictions and the notion of agency (Lister, 2003a) impacts on the ability of CSWs to fit into the worker-citizen model. For example, that CSWs make an autonomous choice is often refuted within legal/policy discourse (ACPO, 2004, 2011; HM Government, 2009, 2012; Home Office, 2004a, 2006b; Support to Exiting Bill,

2016) and research (Bindel, Breslin, & Brown, 2013; Galilee & Lopes-Baker, 2014) which are often related to the victim discourse and coercion. Yet, if CSWs are to make claims to agency they need to be able to identify that they have some autonomy (Lorraine, 1990) and the nature of commercial-sexwork needs to be deconstructed. Therefore, within this theme firstly explored is the question *Can commercial-sexwork be regarded as an authentic work choice?* This will be followed by an exploration of commercial-sexwork in terms of *Selling sex: the act of manufacturing intimacy and embodiment* in order to establish the extent to which the act of selling sex is disembodied and whether this can facilitate a more ideal citizenship status.

*Can commercial-sexwork be regarded as an authentic work choice?*

As was established in the previous subordinate theme, the risk and victim discourses particularly in relation to coercion, vulnerability and commercial-sexwork, support the notion that an authentic choice does not exist which suggests that CSWs lack a key citizenship attribute - agency. Yet there is evidence in the data from this thesis that, for some at least, the risk is minimal and CSWs make their own decision to work in this arena free from exploitation or coercion. For example, Isabella stated in a thread reviewing a Channel 4 programme about exploitation and commercial-sexwork *"My personal opinion is that off street prossies have chosen to do this work and we don't have controlling pimps"*. Also for some, commercial-sexwork can be perceived as nothing *extraordinary* as pointed out by Mia\*:

*...what used to happen, my mum used to babysit for what they used to call the old brasses on the streets... it wasn't extraordinary, I didn't see it as alienated...and he [ex-partner] says "but everybody was doing it in them days in our culture, in our little world"...it wasn't out the ordinary for him.*

Whilst it could be questioned as to whether the above extract suggests indirect coercion, it also suggests a level of autonomy, which requires the individual to be able to understand not only themselves but cultural expectations (Gough, 2014). Autonomy is a key attribute of a citizen, thus the denial based on the victim discourse that CSWs are making an autonomous decision and utilising the right to choose is problematic. That is, denying that some CSWs have choice discounts that there are legitimate reasons for choosing this line of work and those denied voices need to be heard (Plummer, 2003). This is especially the case for CSWs as the underlying reasons for entering commercial-sexwork appear, superficially at least, to support the state's discourse but within this data they differ in terms of intention. For example, it is apparent that, in line with the ACPO (2004, 2011), "*The financial aspect of what we do is without a doubt the biggest incentive*" (Lily, Samantha), in order to achieve "*a bit more financial stability*" (Layla).

However, the reasons for requiring financial stability do not entirely correspond to legal discourses (see for example ACPO, 2004, 2011) which suggest that the earnings from commercial-sexwork predominantly support drug use. Rather via the use of the language of work rather than 'prostitution', CSWs have shifted the discussion from "a social problem to questions of economic practice" (Weeks, 2011, p.67). For example, within the data choosing to stay in commercial-sexwork was associated with lower wages in other occupations which impact on the ability to pay for current debts (Leah, Zoe), daily living costs (Anna), supporting educational courses or to save for the future (Allison). Such associations were exemplified in the threads "Working and being a mum, organising your time?" and "Planning to start "normal career", but worried..." within which Audrey, Savannah and Hailey suggested that off street working arenas can be more financially beneficial than "normal" occupations:

*Money is the main factor I suppose I've got a day job which pays the bills, but doesn't leave me with much more in terms of savings or actually being able to enjoy life (Hailey).*

*I've been looking into going straight the past few weeks and have decided that I would like to stick with my chosen profession of the last few years for a few more until a certain amount has been saved and I have finished my qualifications (Savannah).*

The latter point is supported by research into female undergraduate students who have utilised commercial-sexwork temporarily as a way to fund their studies in order to pursue qualifications with the long-term aim of achieving a higher paying more socially acceptable occupation (Roberts et al., 2007a; Roberts et al., 2007b; Roberts et al., 2010; Sanders & Hardy, 2015). Within this research, the relationship between more positive societal attitudes towards selling sex and the increasing marketplace positioning of commercial-sexwork is identified as key to accepting commercial-sexwork as an alternative to lesser paying occupations. However, within Sanders and Hardy's discussion (2015, p.762) a possible issue was highlighted in relation to whether the aim to achieve a higher earning graduate position and leave commercial-sexwork is realistic due to "prolonged poor graduate employment prospects for the foreseeable future". Also, it remains yet speculative as to whether, despite the increased mainstreaming of commercial-sexwork, the student CSW status will have any benefit (Brents & Sanders, 2010) including support towards a full citizenship status.

Alongside this, and consistent with other research focussing on CSWs (see for example Bellhouse, Crebbin, Fairley, & Bilardi, 2015; Pitcher, 2015), achieving life goals or ambitions was a clear motivation for choosing commercial-sexwork rather

than other occupations. For example, forum correspondents were forward planning for retirement (Gabriella); “*shove the rest into a pension plan for retirement*” (Sarah), saving to own their homes (Anna, Camila Gabriella, Kaylee, Scarlett) or “*plan on being property tycoons lol*” (Elise, Gabriella). Such objectives map onto aspirations of females in more mainstream occupations in terms of addressing financial vulnerability in retirement (for example lawyers (Duberley & Carmichael, 2016)). As such, there is evidence towards the neo-liberal principles of reducing the welfare burden as the CSWs in this research desire to be self-supporting; which in other occupations would be regarded as citizenship like (Blair, 1997).

Further, some CSWs in the forums and interviews (Sofia\*) indicated that being able to build savings allowed for freedom of choice in relation to working conditions or services provided:

*...save, save, save...is a good tip, I would hate to have to do bookings because I had a bill to pay and had no choice but to accept a booking I didn't want to do (Abigail).*

*Put money aside in the good times or have another income source so you can afford to be picky about who you see. The worst thing is feeling pressured to having to take bookings just to pay the rent (Natalie).*

Importantly, having a sense of control was a concern for several of the interview respondents and forum correspondents in terms of how many clients they saw during a week so that they “*can do it at my own leisure*” (Mia\*), withholding their labour from undesirable clients (Alexis) or during school holidays for those who have children (Claire). Also, due to the sexual division of labour and norms for gender

roles in relation to childcare, being able to manage working hours is a key concern for CSWs, which incidentally are the same work issues reported by mothers in more socially acceptable occupations (Ciccio & Bleijenbergh, 2014; Hobson, 2011). For example, issues with finding appropriate childcare were identified by (Alexa, Savannah) such as fitting work around childcare/nurseries hours:

*I'm a mum to a 4 year old and work when my son is at nursery so weekday afternoon's maybe 3 or 4 times a week for a couple of hours as this is all I can currently fit in atm. I'm looking forward to working more hours when my son goes to school (Arianna).*

Also important was being able to say “*The word No*” (Alyssa) in order to protect their wellbeing (Chloe, Taylor) and “*Put other commitments first*” (Kaylee). Further, it is evident that the CSWs were able to negotiate specific services (Ella); such as ones they found *rewarding* or conditions that suited them:

*I deal with disabled persons also which I find rewarding as I'm helping them do normal things what are taken for granted at times (Grace\*).*

*Everyone has a different way of working, if it works for you then why not :)*  
(Cora).

From this, it is possible to perceive how commercial-sexwork is to some extent consistent with the general work contract in that they are claiming the right to property in their person whereby they have the sole right to their bodily labour (Locke, 1690) and are exchanging a specific service for money (consistent with the

work contract (Marx, 1894/1974; McClintock, 1992). Conversely, whilst this area has been extensively debated (see for example Jeffreys, 1997, 2009; McClintock, 1992) it remains unresolved as to whether commercial-sexwork can be perceived as a work contract. This is problematic as being able to conceive commercial-sexwork as an authentic choice that maps onto the work contract is crucial if CSWs are to fit the worker-citizen model and pursue work rights.

A further issue according to research conducted by Cruz (2013, p.467) is that within indoor commercial-sexwork arenas employee-employer relations do not reflect those of other more legitimate forms of work: “club owners have not suddenly become compassionate capitalists and begun to offer contracts of service, workers are not organising for such contracts, and neither bosses nor workers appear to see this relation as desirable”. Importantly, it appears from this that their poor citizen-worker status is compounded by their own lack of engagement with the work contract in terms of employee-employer relations (O’Connell Davidson, 2014) which means that they are inadvertently excluding themselves.

The latter impacts negatively on the ability to perceive commercial-sexwork as an authentic choice as whilst it might appear that CSWs are exhibiting agency by rejecting more traditional working arrangements, there is a lack of an equitable exchange (Weeks, 2011). This is important as a lack of equity in terms of the work contract supports legal and policy discourses (ACPO, 2011; Support to Exiting Bill, 2016; PCA 2009,) which have focussed mainly on reducing risks (see chapter 3). The outcome of this is that all CSWs are subsumed into the same vulnerable category. Such objectification means that the diversity of experiences within commercial-sexwork is ignored and CSWs are unlikely to be perceived as subjects (as are male citizens) and “their citizenship is likely to remain marginalised” (Lister, 2003a, p.194).

According to Plummer (2003) where there is a conflict in relation to the views of a particular group of citizens and others within the social world, as well as within legal and political discourse, this provides an opportunity for alternative (conflicting) dialogues to develop. It is via conflict dialogue and the acknowledgement that “argumentative stances” do not take place in isolation; such as in the case of CSWs – choice or victim (Plummer, 2003) that rights can be pursued. For instance, discussions about commercial-sexwork also reflect the nature of how women and sexuality or criminality is currently perceived. Such arguments often have a moral base developed by prejudice, stigma or fear; whether individuals are aware of these or not, they impact on dialogue with others (Plummer, 2003). This is possibly why it is so difficult to address the issue of commercial-sexwork. Yet Plummer (2003) suggested that it should still be possible to find some common ground.

However, in relation to commercial-sexwork, this somewhat conceals the issue that some polarised views have such longevity that it is difficult to find common ground. For CSWs this is complicated because either the opposition is the state or contesting voices (such as the IUSW) lack momentum because they are not perceived as major enough or valued due to commercial-sexwork being perceived as illegal (Pitcher, 2015). Further, it could be argued that CSWs are too sexual; the social mores which define acceptable sexual behaviour are transgressed through commercial-sexwork suggesting that attempts towards normalisation for CSWs has not followed the same progression as other sexual citizens (such as the LGBT community). Consequently, this has to some extent led to victim blaming and masks the underlying issues which relate more to views about women in general and the lack of breadth within the work contract.

Further the discourse of choice is problematic for CSWs as it leads to a disciplined citizenship status. For example, when choice is acknowledged by the legal system it is utilised to discipline individual CSWs for example the Crown Prosecution Service

(2016, p.1) only recommend prosecution where “there is a persistent and voluntary return to prostitution and where there is a genuine choice”; although the details of what constitutes a ‘genuine’ choice are omitted. Such vagueness somewhat mirrors the lack of direction with regards to the sex-buyer establishing whether coercion has taken place within the PCA 2009. Yet it is clear that in some cases ‘genuine’ choice is established as was exemplified by Sofia\* who was prosecuted after previous warnings from the police about working on the streets:

*The courts gave me an ASBO, I'm not allowed in that area...they haven't stopped it, far from it, in fact I probably make more but I just walk a bit further...*

This highlights a contradiction in the discourse from the ACPO (2011) in terms of choice for CSWs who refuse assistance to exit. Also, it supports the notion that choice has become increasingly more individualised and related to self-awareness (Plummer, 2003) and likewise the disciplining of CSWs who choose to work in this arena. Yet, authenticity of choice is unsupported within the political and legal discourses surrounding commercial-sexwork. Despite such hypocrisy, it is clear within the discussion above that some on-street workers are able to manage their vulnerability and exhibit agency of choice with regards to their employment. This would broadly seem to support the idea that they are successfully pursuing the right to choose their occupation. Conversely whether commercial-sexwork is work remains contested. Whilst this is the case claims that CSWs are exhibiting true agency in terms of choosing commercial-sexwork or not will be equivocal; impacting negatively on this key citizenship right.

### *Selling sex: the act of manufacturing intimacy and embodiment*

From those who support the idea that commercial-sexwork is a form of work and that some CSWs are freely choosing this work, there is an extensive research and theoretical base (see for example Earle & Sharpe, 2008; Pettinger, 2014; Sanders, 2008) exploring the nature of commercial-sexwork in terms of emotion work or emotional labour (following the work of Hochschild, 2003). Yet this research fails to deconstruct why such labour is not recognised as citizenship like and how the lack of recognition further marginalises CSWs to the boundaries. For example, it fails to account for how CSWs, and females in general, paid work in the private sphere such as emotion work has negative implications for participation in the public (male) sphere and developing self-esteem (Lister, 2003a); both of which are necessary for fulfilling citizenship potential. This theme will draw on that work in order to establish the extent to which the “fleshy reality does not adequately challenge disembodied rationality in the public sphere” (Grabham, 2007, p.42) and includes two discussions from the data analysis. That is, firstly how clients expect an embodied service yet, as is found in the second discussion, CSWs provide a disembodied enactment within which they do not sell themselves but a manufactured version of intimacy.

### *Clients seek an embodied service where the CSW acts like a lover or girlfriend*

Within the data and previous literature (see for example Earle & Sharpe, 2008; Pettinger, 2014) it is evident that clients seek an embodied service where the CSW acts like a lover or girlfriend; alluding to the notion that they perceive they are buying intimacy (Sanders, 2008). This was exemplified by Aria when she said that “...every other bloke *“professes this love”* and by Ella when she posted details on the forum from an outcall request where the prospective client stated:

*From the moment we reach "our room" my heart will belong to you completely and would so appreciate if you could appear to love me in return as my lover.*

Further, and supporting the notion that intimacy via an embodied act is key, Kaylee found that some of her clients not only wanted the intimacy which is found in partner relations but that sex was more of an afterthought:

*I had one guy who just wanted to be hugged and kissed for 50 mins...then was like "Well I guess we might as well have a quick bonk before I go", which made me think all they want is a cuddle. I've had the best feedback off the ones who got the most cuddles, it's definitely been thought provoking.*

Furthermore, some CSWs found it difficult or confusing if clients did not want an embodied service:

*I had a client last week who barely spoke, at one point I was going to pull the plug because it was like pulling teeth! I soldiered on though (Abigail).*

*Yep got one like this too - who booked several times and I can't work him out but he keeps coming back (Ashley).*

One reason that some CSWs find such interactions difficult is that for those it is not an act (Sofia\*, Victoria) but rather that *"my service is all about feelings and a sexual nature towards them"* (Grace\*), they do not adopt a different persona (Brianna), enjoy the sex (Bella, Mia\*) and take pleasure in their work:

*I love most parts...I like what I'm doing more than I ever did with my corporate cog in wheel existence. When I'm with clients, I'm mostly myself so it's not an act/a different persona that I'm putting on (Stella).*

*I get on well with my clients and tend not to take appointments from those with whom I don't believe I'll enjoy spending time with at all, as it doesn't make for pleasant appointments. My long term clients I value especially, and I have many I always look forward to seeing (Susan\*).*

From the above extracts it is apparent that, as with many other occupations within the care and service industries, that CSWs are managing their emotions within their commercial-sexwork transactions with clients; thus this work is a form of emotion work (consistent with Hochschild, 2003). Further, from the above extracts it might be suggested that this is evidence of emotion work in the form of deep acting; which is related to “inner feelings, where one attempts to “actually feel” the emotions one wishes to display” (Blau et al., 2010, p.191). Rather than surface acting which is a false display of emotion, deep acting permits the CSWs to avoid feeling phony (Hochschild, 2003) and is utile for managing emotions (Abel, 2011) but it also serves to facilitate the embodied service which clients expect. The latter requires the CSW (and the client) to have a level of understanding about what is expected in terms of intimacy and body contact within the transaction (Cohen & Wolkowitz, 2018). This is supported in research conducted by Earle and Sharpe (2008) and Pettinger (2013) on the website PunterNet (where clients rate the performance of CSWs) which highlighted the complexity of practices within commercial-sexwork and how CSWs are evaluated in terms of whether experiences were good (embodied) or bad (disembodied). This outlines the extent to which commercial-sexwork is similar to other types of work, within the service and care industries, as a form of both emotion

and body work and the extent to which physical intimacy is a valued within the work performance (Cohen & Wolkowitz, 2018).

However, for this thesis, what is important is the extent to which such discourses around an embodied service are commoditised and grounded within both the client and commercial-sexwork communities. Commercial-sexwork has previously been described as unique in terms of commodification because it is “an economic exchange, one that describes the line in a society between what must be given as a gift and what may be exchanged as a commodity” (Prasad 1999, p.182). According to Marx (1867/1999, p.1), in order for something to be transformed into a commodity there must be an exchange wherein the “product must be transferred to another, whom it will serve as a use value”. It is important to note that sexual intercourse is not normally a commodity; when people partake in sexual intercourse for pleasure and procreation without monetary exchange there are no commodities produced; things created by people can be utile without them being regarded as a commodity (Marx, 1867/1999). However, as Marx (1844/2000) indicated human labour can be regarded as a commodity; thus according to Denham (2004) it follows that commercial-sex can be regarded as a commodity.

Conversely, reducing the value of CSWs to that of a commodity could lead to a “discourse of disposability” and the legitimisation of the marginalisation of CSWs as undesirable ‘others’ (Hubbard, 1998a; Lowman, 2000, p.987). This is particularly problematic for street level CSWs who experience even greater levels of marginalisation as exemplified in research conducted in Manchester by Ellison and Weitzer (2017) which relates to the preclusion of street workers from managed indoor settings (such as massage parlours). Yet the pursuit to reduce commodification of labour power within the worker-citizen model and through work protection rights has been problematic. For example, according to O’Connell

Davidson (2014) work protections have not been fully evidenced in most occupations.

Therefore, there are degrees of commodification, some who work within the service industry do not experience the same level of commodification; for example, therapists who work in massage parlours, as a result of the role of the qualifications required to work in those occupations which have had positive impact on attaining a 'professional' status. Such professional status' have traditionally led to the protection of workers, for example Marx (1867/1999) outlined the role of guilds and societies in protecting skilled workers but these protections have been eroded by capitalism. This is further problematic for CSWs as they have never truly had the work relations or opportunities to gain work specific qualifications available to other more socially accepted occupations (Cruz, 2013; O'Connell Davidson, 2014).

Conversely, then, whilst it might appear that the hierarchy affords indoor workers more value in terms of selling sex, it does very little, if anything at all, for their citizenship status. Therefore, it would be difficult to perceive how claims to rights would be acknowledged as the CSW's bodies are socially marked as subordinate. Subordinate bodies are regarded as "different bodies, deemed to be belonging to 'other' places are situated as being 'out of place'" (Puwar, 2004, p.68). Further evident is a complex and contested moral code by which clients utilise their own moral claims to make judgements about the worth of the service provided by CSWs (Pettinger, 2013), the type of conditions (preferring indoors to street work) and intolerance to coercion or trafficking (Earle & Sharpe, 2008). Such moral arguments support clients somewhat in addressing negative social and political stigma (such as being perceived as perverts (Cohen & Wolkowitz, 2018)) and allow for the construction of a more positive collective identity (Hammond, 2015).

Furthermore, by pursuing an embodied service from CSWs, clients are perpetuating the boundary between their own disembodied citizenship identity and those of embodied lesser citizens (Bacchi & Beasley, 2002). Conversely, such moral communities can mask hegemonic views (Hekman, 1995; Puwar, 2004) about masculinity and disembodiment which can further marginalise females in general (Beasley & Bacchi, 2000; Bordo, 1993) and in this particular case - CSWs. That females in general are embodied equates to un-citizen like behaviour and suggests that they are unable to survey their own behaviour. This can result in marginalisation and demarcates levels of government surveillance whereby control over those who exhibit a lack of control is exercised by other and more in control individuals (Bacchi & Beasley, 2002). This is clearly the case for CSWs who fall into the category of embodied, lesser citizens and are the subject of government regulation for example the SOA 2003; PCA 2009 in the case of exiting (see chapters 3 and 7 for more detailed discussions).

To some extent being controlled is perceived as necessary (Hubbard, 2001, 2004) in order to lessen the negative effects of marginalisation linked to non- or lesser citizenship. For example, Hubbard (2001, p.63) stated that lesser citizens “must surrender a certain level of control over their bodies, feelings and identities to the wider community of which they are claiming to be a part”. Nevertheless, differentiating between disembodied full-citizens and lesser citizens who are embodied, can amount to ‘geographicalization’ and lead to mistreatment (Bacchi & Beasley, 2002, p.332). Geographicalization is understood in this case to account for the relative experience of government surveillance related to citizenship status – the more in control a citizen is over their body the less surveillance they experience and vice versa. Thus those who are perceived as embodied often experience ways of regulation that would not be tolerated by those who are regarded as full citizens (Bacchi & Beasley, 2002).

*But sex is not love; manufacturing intimacy and embodiment*

It is important to deconstruct hegemonic notions about the embodied nature of commercial-sex; particularly as within the data and previous research/theory there is support for a disembodied act (Bacchi & Beasley, 2002; Browne & Minichiello, 1995; O'Neill, 1996; Scoular, 2004). For example, Pateman (1988, p.184) asserted that between the male client and female CSW the contract is sexual in nature and it ensures that males can access female bodies as a component of "the law of male sex-right". However for CSWs sex as work is generally not associated with hegemonic perceptions of the partnership relationship "*I am not a free girlfriend-chat service ::*" (Ella):

*Men will say anything to try and get into your head ....it all leads to one place ....I've had and still have several clients that say to me , oh you're the only one I see ...I think we're a perfect match ...we're so tuned into one another...I wish we could spend every day together...Yeah and the rest ....all the while I'm just smiling and thinking...I'm just not gullible, I just want your cash (Kylie).*

From this it is apparent that they are selling "a *male fantasy* of "male sex-right," one that implies its precariousness in actuality...The fantasy of mastery that is sold through prostitution is undermined even as it is enacted" (Fraser, 1997, p.233). For example, it is evident that there is a need to create physical barriers between CSWs and their client. A common way to create a physical barrier is to use a condom and this was explored in a forum thread created by Emily about 'Clients own condoms!' The consensus in this thread was not to allow clients to use their own condoms in order to promote CSWs sexual health wellbeing (Alyssa, Bella, Nicole, Lucy, and Serenity).

Whilst some CSWs offer an unprotected service they are generally those whose prices are low compared to others (Eccles & Clarke, 2013), which would suggest that there are other underlying reasons for this such as addiction, or limited choice. Also, previous research mainly supports the notion that the emotional attachment linked to unprotected sex with clients is undesirable (Sanders, 2004; Wardlow, 2004). Thus, those CSWs who use condoms are creating a physical barrier between their body and the clients; asserting that this is 'work' not an intimate sexual exchange (Abel, 2011; Sanders, 2002, 2005b; Smith, 2017).

Also, CSWs manufacture intimacy (Smith, 2017) in order to psychologically distance themselves from the act. For example, Madelyn emphasised that there is a difference between the levels of intimacy in love and sex, which was supported by Maya who explained "...*but sex is not love!*". In this way CSWs are not selling a component of self but an act which is "understood as 'not real' or 'other' sex" (Browne & Minichiello, 1995, p.603). Such understandings are divergent from that of clients' and are thus important to investigate (Plummer, 2003). This is especially so in relation to long term clients as they can confuse the act with reality (consistent with Sanders (2008)) which can be challenging as highlighted in the interviews with participants:

*I've got one I've known for 20 years...you've got to set boundaries (Emma\*).*

*I've got some from 20 years...he thinks it is [more than just business] but I don't, I can't afford it to (Sofia\*).*

*there's a couple who think because I've been seeing them for that long that I'm more like a mistress than a business deal... I'm not your girlfriend, your bit on the side (Mia\*).*

Also crossing boundaries was perceived as a particular issue for several forum correspondents (Anna, Ellie, Khloe, Paige and Penelope); as intruding on personal or emotional lives (Caroline) and impacting on the professional and disembodied nature of commercial-sexwork (consistent with Pitcher, 2015):

*Draw the line of professionalism and never ever cross it. Don't trust a client, and, be friendly but not friends. Don't ever make them believe you could be real life friends or lovers (Valentina).*

*He wants me to act like I am in love with him! That set the alarm bells off (Ella).*

It is clear that CSWs do not associate the relationships they have with their clients with those they would have with an emotional partner and that CSWs are conducting emotion work (as discussed above) (Hochschild, 2003) and body work (Cohen & Wolkowitz, 2018). However, in contrast to the deep acting which was evidenced in some of the data, it is evident in the research literature on this topic that surface acting (Hochschild, 2003) is more prominent; whereby the CSWs provide a deliberate act of the embodied service which clients expect (Sanders, 2005a; Wellington & Bryson, 2001). This is exemplified in this thesis when the CSWs indicate that they have the ability to psychologically detach from the transaction via being “*experienced with just switching off*” (Bella):

*Personally, I look but don't see, I somehow manage to switch off the "me" part of my brain so even though I'm looking them straight in the eyes and full in the face, the minute they walk out that door they're gone from my head and I highly doubt I could pick them off the street! (Kaylee).*

Additionally, in a thread about 'Work persona / real life persona' contributors for example Kaylee, Kayla and others discussed how they manufactured a work identity which is different from their normal persona:

*I'm very shy in my personal life and because of this I tend to become standoffish when men try to approach me in real life. But on-the-clock XXX is a flirtatious temptress seducing men into paying for my time (Autumn).*

*I couldn't be more different in RL than I am when in escort mode. The escort me is a well spoken, well educated, butter wouldn't melt, mind your P's and Q's sort of girl. Whilst the real me couldn't be further from middle class if I tried - and I swear like a builder lol, they seem to believe my persona though, apparently I'm a good actress (Samantha).*

One tactic for creating a manufactured identity was presenting themselves as "sweet, innocent" (Cora, Ivy) using pleasing techniques such as "Smile and nod, smile and nod" (Alyssa). Manufactured identities facilitate CSWs in the creation of a corresponding manufactured intimacy (Coy, 2016a; Smith, 2017) which means they are not selling an intimate part of themselves rather they are selling an act of intimacy. Thus it is apparent that by *switching off* CSWs are alienating themselves from what is happening to their bodies to manage their psychological health (Coy,

2016a; McVerry & Lindop, 2007; Scott, 2001); which is consistent with the general work contract in terms of alienable labour.

Although not universal (see prohibitionist arguments for example Jeffrey 1997, 2009), it is generally accepted within research (Browne & Minichiello, 1995; Oerton & Phoenix, 2001; Wardlow, 2004) that CSWs engage in emotion work in order to provide the act of an embodied service expected by clients. Emotional labour is the act whereby workers 'manage' their feelings during the transaction (Hochschild, 2003; Wellington & Bryson, 2001). This is not a new concept but it is unclear whether commercial-sexwork maps onto the work contract because of its' similarity to emotion work or whether it does not because it is more akin to the slave contract (Pateman, 1988). Despite this, it has been argued that there are similarities between commercial-sexwork and other occupations within service industries where emotions are managed within the work contract (Browne & Minichiello, 1995; Cohen & Wolkowitz, 2018; Oerton & Phoenix, 2001; Wardlow, 2004). This is especially the case in service occupations where there is a tension between profitability and providing services which "enchant" (see for example research in other occupations by Yeadon-Lee, 2012; Yeadon-Lee, Jewson, Felstead, Fuller, & Unwin, 2011, p.4).

However, what previous research regarding commercial-sexwork and emotional labour omits to do is to consider how the polarised perceptions of clients and CSWs about whether or not the act of selling sex is embodied or disembodied may impact on citizenship status. This is a significant omission as "bodies give substance to citizenship and... citizenship matters for bodies" (Beasley & Bacchi, 2000, p.337). Thus establishing whether the former or the latter is the case is essential for CSWs as disembodiment is a key component of citizenship whereby active (and male) citizens in the public arena observe and maintain boundaries between themselves and other citizens (Bacchi & Beasley, 2002; Turner, 1990).

Conversely, embodiment is perceived as “the (dangerous) pulls of emotion and bodily ties” within the private, female arena and is thus at odds with the ideals of citizen identity (Bacchi & Beasley, 2002, p.328). Also, notions of the performance of commercial-sex as embodied support the idea that CSWs engage in a sexual contract rather than the traditional work contract. The sexual contract concerns “(hetero)sexual’ affairs and females as ‘embodied sexual beings’” (Pateman, 1988, p.17). It is suggested that via the sexual contract men are able to assert their (natural) rights to sexual use and ownership of female’s bodies. So, it is necessary to take the relationship between the body and citizenship as a serious concern.

For example, whilst the service provided by CSWs leads to perceptions of an embodied female, lesser citizen (Bacchi & Beasley, 2002) it may be argued that they are disembodied as they ‘switch off’ within the transaction. This is an interesting inversion because historically only males can be disembodied as females rely on their bodies to produce offspring which suggests that they cannot fulfil the requirements of the ideal citizen. But CSWs are not embodied in this sense in relation to their work as they are not having sexual intercourse for reproductive purposes but as an economic pursuit (as discussed earlier in this theme). Also, CSWs are taking the sex act out of the private arena where it is regarded as an intimate act and into the public; thus in this sense it could be perceived that such actions are disembodied. Importantly alternative concepts of citizenship (such as sexual citizenship (Evans, 1993; Langdridge, 2006) have evolved to facilitate citizenship status for some of those who were previously perceived as embodied (Bacchi & Beasley, 2002), such as the LGBT community. The experiences of sexual citizens to some extent reflects the experience of CSWs in that selling sex is not consistent with the notion of sex for procreation within the heteronormative ideal.

However, the concept of sexual citizenship does not fully account for the continued exclusion of CSWs as commercial-sexwork disturbs traditional views of sexual

intercourse as the original and natural division of labour which reflect predispositions which are regarded as natural (Marx & Engels, 1846/1976). Puwar's (2004, p.65) research into gender and race in relation to members of parliament exemplified how in what are regarded as masculine workplaces, females in general are perceived as "space invaders". Accordingly, whilst citizenship values and rights should be applied to relations in both the private and public arenas (Faulks, 2000), bringing the private into the public does not afford citizenship rights rather it impacts negatively on citizenship identity. The implication from this is that women in general and CSWs in particular will continue to be excluded from within (Lister, 2003a).

Further, an important consideration here is that any conception of disembodiment for female workers will be different from that of males due to social perceptions about sexuality and acceptable female behaviours which relate more to an ethic of care rather than independence (Lister, 2003a). Thus for Lister (2003a, p.114) there would need to be a uniting of opposing citizenship ethics in order to "...defuse the tension...for emotional independence is hardly incompatible with an ethic of care; indeed, most proponents of the latter emphasise its importance, if care is not to denigrate into self-sacrifice." Yet if such unity were possible it would have to be able to account for the poor status of emotion work in general, which according to Bolton (2005, p.155) is regarded as a "non-skill", and it compounds the marginalisation for those who conduct such work.

In summary, there is evidence that commercial-sexwork maps onto the work contract in terms of property in the person and the right to withhold labour which support the notion of agency. Further, some CSWs choose commercial-sexwork as they believe it is providing them with a way to achieve personal life goals and save for the future. Conversely, whether there is an authentic choice is likely to remain contested and controversial as the political, social and legal discourses that support the victim discourse are stronger than that of CSWs. Thus, unlike other formerly marginalised

citizens, for example gay men and the replacement of the criminal discourse by the victim discourse which somewhat mirrors the CSW discourses. However, whilst conflict dialogues have supported a fuller citizenship status for gay men (Plummer, 2003) this has not been the case for CSWs. Consequently, it is difficult to perceive commercial-sexwork as a viable choice to more mainstream professions. Thus it is apparent that the dominant concept of citizenship is unable or unwilling to accommodate CSWs.

### Subtheme 3: The duties to pay tax and national insurance contributions

Estimates of household expenditure from the ONS (2014) are that on average £4.3 billion every year (between 1997 and 2013) is spent on commercial-sexwork. As these are somewhat 'guesstimates' such statistics should be taken with caution, but are useful in terms of highlighting the impact of commercial-sexwork on the UK economy. Whether income is earned legally or by other means citizens have the duty to pay tax and NI contributions (Goldsmith, 2008; Marshall, 1963; United Nations, 1948). Further research by Lister, Smith, Middleton, and Cox (2003, p.242) found that "The extent to which...young people identified themselves as citizens reflected...whether or not they had achieved waged employment and paid tax"; which suggests that working and paying tax is socially established as a component of 'good' citizenship.

CSWs are legally permitted and expected to register as independent workers for income tax and NI purposes (Pitcher, 2015) and there is evidence in research (Pitcher & Wijers, 2014) and this thesis that some CSWs are registered and contribute formally. This is consistent with mainstream occupations and, as will be shown in the discussion which follows, indicates that CSWs understand their citizenship duty to pay income tax and NI contributions. For example, there are explicit references in the forum threads entitled 'Channel 4~Mon 23rd~ SEX A VERY

BRITISH JOB', 'how often do you put cash in bank?', 'Banking Money - Tax Related' and the interviews from several of the correspondents to paying tax and NI (for example Isabella, Mia\*):

*Yes, of course I want to pay tax after all the money I earned.:(Julia).*

*I do all of those things already [working and paying tax], and always have (Susan\*).*

Yet not all the correspondents appreciated the benefits of contributing or perceived it as necessary:

*I've done other stuff... I've worked at Tesco's - I hated the tax. I've done all sorts, I hated the fact that you had to pay tax and didn't get much money (Sofia\*).*

*Is it worth paying tax if I don't know if I'm going to settle in this country? (Lyla).*

*I can't imagine people who aren't interested will have their views or behaviour changed because they've been told they should by people they're unlikely to respect, support or even recognise (Susan\*).*

This approach is unsurprising considering the quasi-legal status of commercial-sexwork and the lack of support from authorities already outlined above in terms of

vulnerability and exploitation which impacts negatively on trust in the system and a corresponding reticence to contribute (Kogler, Muehlbacher, & Kirchler, 2015). However, for other CSWs not contributing is perceived illegal (Audrey, Allison) and unfair to other citizens:

*paying tax isn't optional according to whether you think it's 'worth it', **it is the law**...you've certainly taken more from the system than you've put in and it isn't fair to expect other people to subsidise you ...to say nothing of what will happen when you get caught (Victoria).*

*Do you use the NHS, roads, schools etc? I'm guessing the answer is yes so then you should pay tax! Don't want to get all political but think you get my point (Abigail).*

In terms of compulsory contributions (rather than voluntary), this shows compliance with social norms; expecting that citizens will contribute (Kogler et al., 2015). This is important as tax avoidance is perceived as a key issue in contemporary society (Birks & Downey, 2015). In order to facilitate CSWs to pay contributions, advice is provided by forum contributors on declaring earnings (Kennedy, Margaret), taxpaying thresholds (Allison, Sophie), what to record (Violet) “*You don't have to record anything except the amounts you've made and the amounts you've spent*” (Victoria), banking their earnings (Audrey, Sadie, Victoria) and the importance of accurately recording their expenses and earnings:

*The only person who loses out if you don't get proper receipts for expenses is you, because you're reducing the amount you can deduct from your (taxable) profit (Victoria).*

*My worry is that being Outcalls only and not being in a busy city there are months were I haven't made anything, literally page upon page of my tax relief diary that is empty, I worry that if HMRC did a check they would think I had been lying about how much I have made (Nora).*

Such advice reflects that from support agencies; see for example Support and Advice for Escorts (2010, p.1) who stated that "Tax is a fact of life I'm afraid and the Inland Revenue will catch up with you eventually so get yourself registered as soon as you go into business". Therefore, it is evident that some CSWs are partaking in typical citizenship like behaviour. Further it could be suggested that informing those who are trying to avoid contributing on how to go about running a small business is evidence of conformity to mainstream conceptions of citizenship behaviours (Lister, 2003a). However, conformity in this case is clearly directed to the common good rather than individual/group interest. Thus in the case of CSWs it is important to focus on the particular components of citizenship behaviour. For example, by taking a differentiated and feminist citizenship approach (Lister, 2003a) rather than a universal approach in order to explore how the actions taken by some CSWs are building a sense of community.

Evidencing such small scale actions in the private arena might be one way for CSWs to claim political citizenship as they are generally excluded from the political arena (public) and would assist in developing more positive social identities; which in turn would develop their sense of self-esteem (Lister, 2003a, 2003). Sustained self-esteem is key to a sense of personal and political agency and autonomy (Lister, 2003a) and is reliant on the perceptions of others in the social world (Anderson & Honneth, 2005). Also, and similar to other more legitimate small businesses (Steingold, 2015), some CSWs employ tax advisors to assist with completing their tax returns and avoiding getting into trouble with the HMRC:

*After getting advice from a tax adviser in regards to my own tax affairs he advised me that the HMRC don't expect everyone to bank their cash, but as long as you keep records of what you have earned i.e. booking diaries, then it shouldn't be a problem (Skylar).*

Further, the necessity of being self-employed and declaring earnings was outlined in terms of future property purchases:

*I registered as self-employed last year. I want to bank my money now, cos I want to save deposit for a flat, too (Julia).*

*Slightly off topic but when going for a loan/ mortgage the bank will want to see cash banked so it may be worth getting into a habit of banking the cash (Katherine).*

*Having a company means I can print out wage slips for myself which means easier to rent, etc (Allison).*

Therefore, it is clear that some CSWs are striving to achieve the aspirations of others in more formal occupations (Forrest & Hirayama, 2015). Further, by employing others and purchasing or renting properties they are adding to the local economy. Yet such contributions to the local economy are rarely recognised by other fuller citizens or the media due to the over focus on the victim and criminal discourses

(Telegraph Reporters, 2017; Weitzer, 2011); as highlighted by Isabella when she asked the question “*Why don't they [media] ever show this side*”.

Further, whilst there is some acknowledgment of CSWs as economic citizens (Weitzer, 2011), in general commercial-sexwork is not regarded as legitimate way to claim the duties to pay tax and NI. Thus that commercial-sexwork has a criminal context means that although CSWs who work independently may appear to be similar to other self-employed individuals, they are unlikely to gain recognition for their contributions. A further barrier to gaining recognition could be that cash basis accounting is designed to make contributing to HM Revenue & Customs (2017) easier for self-employed businesses with a turnover of £150,000 or under, permits the particular details of transactions to be hidden or disguised:

*You don't have to record anything except the amounts you've made and the amounts you've spent, but it's useful to do it booking by booking or at least day by day. It isn't necessary to list details...but you need to record the total earned (Victoria).*

However, hiding the intimate details of how CSWs earn their wage may be inadvertently adding to the issue of developing a fuller citizenship status and worker-citizen identity. That is, it may be argued cash basis accounting is one reason why the general public and the media are not aware of how much CSWs are contributing to the economy which in turn supports their stigmatised identity. The implication from this is that to raise public awareness that CSWs are contributing they would have to declare fully their commercial-sexwork interactions. However, they are unlikely to do so due to the quasi-legal status of their occupation. Consequently, as with the other components within this overarching theme, it appears that in relation to commercial-sexwork and those who work in this arena, they will continue to

experience a lesser citizenship status due to the complex nature of their relationship with the state. Alongside this there would need to be an increased focus towards the aforementioned from activists and researchers within the commercial-sexwork arena to address the lack of conflict dialogues which according to Plummer (2003) are necessary to pursue citizenship rights.

### *Conclusion*

Consequently, the contested nature of commercial-sexwork (whether it is work or what kind of work it is) remains problematic for CSWs in terms of claiming work rights. Yet there is evidence that to some extent commercial-sexwork maps onto the work contract with regards to commodities, property in the person and the ability to negotiate specific services and withhold their labour if they so desire. Also, CSWs have similar experiences to workers in other occupations in terms of emotion work and acting to manage emotions is evident. Conversely, outwardly the disembodied person is the buyer and the embodied service is provided by the CSW, however the CSWs in previous and this research generally relate to being disembodied from the transaction. This could be likened to disembodiment required of public service workers such as politicians who are often held up as ideal citizens. Paradoxically unless the mainstream concept of citizenship can be extended to recognise different forms of disembodiment then CSWs are unlikely to be able to make claims to a full citizenship status.

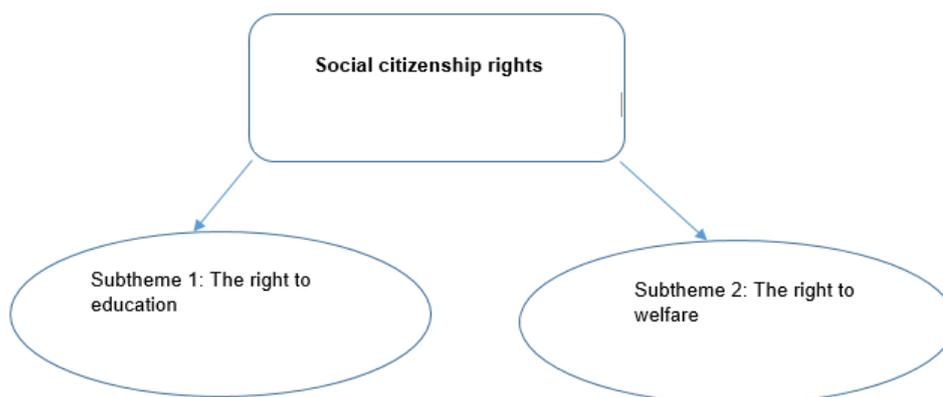
Further CSWs are not enabled to claim the same worker rights as other citizens in more legitimate work. Cruz's (2013) work on CSWs indicates that the focus needs to shift from the sex-as-work discourse to the CSW-as-worker discourse. This is an important and under researched distinction which would be necessary in terms of citizenship identity for CSWs. It is clear within this chapter that the participants/contributors in this research express their understandings of citizenship

(question 2) in terms of employment rights and duties in complementary ways to mainstream views. This was explicitly exemplified in relation to the duties to pay tax and NI and meets question 3 of this research in that it shows that citizenship values are a component of commercial-sexwork; yet these actions remain unacknowledged. Thus it appears that the dialogues of conflict (Plummer, 2003) need to shift focus towards perceiving CSWs as workers in their own right and allow for transformative recognition of their tax and NI contributions because this can have further negative implications for claiming social citizenship rights such as the right to welfare which is discussed in part two of this chapter.

### *Part 2: Social citizenship rights*

There is a lack of explicit consideration in the commercial-sexwork research towards the concept of social citizenship rights. Within Marshall's (1950/1992) tripartite conception of citizenship, social citizenship rights such as education and access to welfare are utilised to pursue community cohesion, a common identity and full participation of all citizens within the community. Thus social rights were identified as key resources to facilitate citizenship participation and equality of opportunity (Marshall, 1950/1992). Yet within chapter 2, part 1 of this thesis the ability of such rights to facilitate access to key resources for some groups of citizens was problematised. To some extent this can be related to the state's increasing paternalistic focus on punitive measures in terms of welfare for those who do not conform to behaviours which are linked to civility (Rodger, 2006). For example, the increasing focus on those who are out of work has resulted in a benefit cap, based on the amount of hours worked, which is waived if people work enough hours to claim working tax credit (Welfare Reform Act, 2012 amended by the Universal Credit 2017 benefits cap). Thus some groups, females in particular, are marginalised due to a lack of equality based on the state's terms for civility. As a result, according to Lister (2003a, p.108) "women are generally caught in a vicious circle in which a discourse of economic dependence is fuelled by their economic marginalisation"; in

this way gender equality is unsupported both in the work and home environments. Therefore, a lack of access to social rights for females in general, which includes the female CSWs in this research, is a barrier to achieving full participation within the community and thus remains an area of contention. Consequently, the aim within this overarching theme is to establish the extent to which the CSWs in this research pursue social rights and will include the subthemes: 'The right to welfare' and 'The right to education' (see figure 10 below) in order to meet the following research questions: 'How do CSWs experience citizenship?', 'How do participants express their understandings of citizenship?' and 'How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?'



*Figure 10:* Final thematic map for the overarching theme 'Social citizenship rights'

#### Subtheme 1: The right to education

Under the Human Rights Act 1998 all citizens have the right to an education. Further providing an education for all citizens is part of the state's wider participation

agenda (Dearing, 1997; Department for Education, 2016). Accessing the right to an education can provide a vehicle for participation, community cohesion and equal opportunity to resources (Marshall, 1950/1992). Therefore, it is important to establish the extent to which CSWs are able to access this right and whether or not they perceive that this has a positive impact on their citizenship identity and marginalisation.

Within the forum discussions there was an indication that some CSWs found it difficult to access formal education. For example, Brianna indicated that she experienced physical and sexual abuse in childhood which led to her having an erratic lifestyle. As a result, she had not fully attended formal education and commercial-sexwork was seen as an opportunity. Further, when Emma\* was asked about her experiences of the education system she stated that she, and other CSWs she worked with, had a very similar experience to Brianna:

*a lot of the girls had been abused, a lot of them had not gone to school regularly, not been in regular education...ended up like me in prostitution. As an adult who'd been abused...it's down to the education I got when I was younger...and I didn't have a job and it was my life to be lived, it was my journey, my life on the streets, it gave me an opportunity because I was damaged (Emma\*).*

The extant research on commercial-sexwork considers the implications for those CSWs who have been exposed to abuse at an early age; such as a lack of mainstream work opportunities (Dodsworth, 2014b). From Emma\*'s statement it appears that the state's education policy (Dearing, 1997) has not afforded all CSWs the right to an education. It is suggested that the latter impacts negatively on CSWs autonomy of agency, in terms of the pursuit of social citizenship rights and in turn the

optimisation of needs satisfaction (Gough, 2014). For example, it is difficult for those who are abused or have erratic lifestyles to make claims to the right to education and this has negative connotations in terms of future life choices and alternative occupations (Bindel et al., 2012; Cusick, Brooks-Gordon, Campbell, & Edgar, 2011). In this case the victim discourse is supported, it is clear that some CWS are vulnerable and such vulnerability leads to marginalisation from the right to education. This somewhat justifies one of the aims within exiting programmes (Andrews, 2008; Bindel et al., 2012) which is to improve the educational status of CSWs. However, it would be problematic to suggest that a lack of education means that they lack agency of choice although this is a contentious point (Coy, 2016b). For example, some CSWs have opted to choose to work in the commercial-sexwork arena (although from a somewhat limited choice) (Dodsworth, 2014b; Sagar & Jones, 2014) rather than be subjected to forced welfarism.

Yet, several of the CSWs have accessed their right to a formal education for example Arianna, Audrey, Emma\*, Eva, Kayla, and Sofia\* have continued on to attain further education qualifications, and Gianna, Grace\* and Layla have higher education qualifications. Further, some of the forum correspondents see higher education qualifications as a way to provide a comfortable lifestyle or future:

*...retraining as I don't want to return to my previous profession (social worker) so want to go back to uni, mainly as I'm not sure I really want to do this 'til retirement lol xx) (Gianna).*

*I have been on the game for 5 years. My accomplishments so far include putting myself through uni and paying outright for my master's degree and living very comfortably (Layla).*

From this it is clear that some CSWs are able to exercise their social right to education (consistent with Connelly, 2014; Sagar & Jones, 2014) which should be perceived as a way to facilitate more legitimate occupations (Marshall, 1950/1992) and access to social citizenship resources such as achieving full participation within the community or social cohesion. On the surface this would seem to support the notion that the state's wider participation agenda (Dearing, 1997; Department for Education, 2016) has been successful as higher education is accessible to CSWs. In fact, the Department for Education (2016) reported that of those from the less advantaged groups who graduated from universities with a first degree in 2014/15, 72% had occupations classed as the most advantaged.

However, as is already established, CSWs remain excluded from the mainstream; so it appears that, for some at least, the right to an education does not fulfil its' social citizenship potential despite academic success. This was exemplified in this research as all of the correspondents (both on and off street workers) were still working in the commercial-sexwork arena; even if as Gianna said "*I'm not sure I really want to do this 'til retirement*". Similarly, Sagar and Jones (2014) found that there was no correlation between educational qualifications and decisions as to whether to work in the commercial-sexwork arena. This issue is compounded by commercial-sexwork research as there are contradictions in how it reports the impact of educational achievement. For example, Bindel et al. (2012) found that 39% of 114 respondents suggested that their lack of formal qualifications was a barrier to exiting as this meant that they lacked the ability to access alternative more socially acceptable occupations; leading to them returning to commercial-sexwork. However, Bindel et al.'s (2012) study failed to comment on the other 61% of those with qualifications and what these meant in terms of their ability to access other occupations and whether there was a corresponding positive effect on their ability to participate in their community or having an equal opportunity to resources.

Conversely, a survey conducted by Connelly (2014) of 240 CSWs found that 60% of respondents had a GCSE/O level qualification, 35% had qualifications at A level, 38% had a degree and 17% reported having completed a postgraduate qualification. But, as with Bindel et al.'s (2012), Connelly's (2014) participants were still employed in the commercial-sexwork arena. This is interesting as although it is clear that some CSWs have accessed the right to an education, they appear to be choosing to remain in a less socially acceptable occupation. Therefore, whilst there is a focus on the impact of a lack of access to education within the victim discourse; why those who are educated continue to work in this arena remains unaccounted for except in terms of the desire for higher earnings (Sagar & Jones, 2014). Yet from this there is an implication that whilst the right to education is available to those CSWs who are able or wish to pursue it, this does not necessarily equate to the social citizenship rights assumed to be attained via this right. Therefore, the extent to which they had the agency to choose to remain or whether there were other factors which influenced this decision such as their discredited citizenship identity needs to be established.

Consequently, attaining the right to education for CSWs is complex; it is evident from this research that having erratic lifestyles has a negative impact on accessing social citizenship rights and the equal opportunity to resources. That commercial-sexwork research is inconclusive in terms of the implications of having qualifications and the lack of access to alternative employment is an issue; it is not clear whether or not CSWs are benefitting from being able to access this social citizenship right. This is problematic as those in this research with qualifications chose to remain in commercial-sexwork rather than accessing higher status occupations. The implication for CSWs' citizenship status is that the extent to which some CSWs are fulfilling expectations with regards to the right to education is having a minimal impact on their ability to claim the citizenship rights afforded to others citizens with similar qualifications. Thus, in practice, the mainstream concept of citizenship and claims to universality are challenged in relation to CSWs in that again it is unable to address the particular issues of marginalised groups with discredited identities

(Lister, 2003a). This has further implications for their ability to attain the right to welfare as is discussed in subtheme 2 below.

## Subtheme 2: The right to welfare; public and private dependence versus economic independence

From a feminist citizenship perspective, the nature of female poverty both in terms of "the actuality" and the accompanying "discourse of women's economic dependence" ensures that they are more susceptible to poverty than male citizens (Lister, 2003a, p.112). This continues to be an issue in contemporary society as the gender pay gap for those citizens who were continuously employed in 2015 was 20.6% in favour of males (ONS, 2015c). Further, in 2016 after the deduction of taxes and the addition of work related benefits, those within the lowest 5<sup>th</sup> households had a disposable income of £13,100 per annum as opposed to the richest 5<sup>th</sup> household's disposable income of £67,500 (ONS, 2016b). Importantly, the low pay and poor living conditions that are still evident for some women in contemporary society tend to lead to dependence on either welfare or men for support (or both). According to Lister (2003a) such dependence is always skewed in favour of male citizens. Within this subtheme firstly explored is CSWs dependence on the state or others in the private domain. Secondly, the extent to which CSWs are evidencing economic independence and the implications of this for their citizenship status will be discussed.

Within both the interviews and forum threads there are no direct statements which indicated that any of them were currently claiming welfare benefits. Further a search of the research literature on commercial-sexwork found references to welfare, but no research that focuses explicitly on welfare, commercial-sexwork and the association between welfare rights and access to social citizenship. However, it is not assumed within this thesis that CSWs do not claim work benefits nor is it understood that

CSWs would not be willing to claim if they felt it necessary to do so. For example, when Mia\* was asked what she thought about volunteering in the community, she stated that there would be a negative impact on her income because she would not be able to support herself independently:

*if I did that on a full-time thing because I believed in the Big Society and that they shouldn't pay any people from the community, I'll be burnt out, then I'd have to start saying to the dole as well, you know, come on, you've got to give me some money towards some food and some electric.*

Also, in a forum thread which considered issues about 'Working and being a mum, organising your time?' Kayla reminded other correspondents about childcare benefits:

*Remember you can still claim childcare up to 70% from tax credits if you are on a lowish income. As long as you are registered self-employed and use a registered childcare provider.*

This is an interesting comment from Kayla as it illustrates that the work rights discussed within the civil rights section of this thesis are intricately linked with welfare rights and citizenship identity (consistent with Cruz, 2013). However, what is alluded to in Kayla's comment is that it would be difficult for CSWs with erratic lifestyles (such as street workers) to claim benefits because they are unlikely to be registered as self-employed. Similarly, according to Carline and Scoular (2015, p.108), participants in their study were unhappy with the "politics of austerity" claiming that this "increased a woman's need to engage in sex work". This issue can be explained by Stewart and Atkinson's (2012, p.171) notion of a "reinforcing cycle of exclusion";

as some CSWs cannot meet the conditions of citizenship necessary to access social citizenship rights. For example, due to the criminal discourse some CSWs are excluded from public support and other CSWs are excluded because of a lack of private support.

Thus, it appears that the over focus on the criminal discourse by the state is at the expense of prioritising social rights to address issues such as poverty (Graham, 2017). In general, females are in lower paid occupations than males (ONS, 2015c) this can lead to dependence; either public (welfare) or private (from a man) (Weeks, 2011). According to Lister (2003a) public dependence is seen as more favourable for autonomy than having to depend on one male in private. Yet that is not to say that public dependence will enhance CSWs standing within the social world; there is stigma attached to being unemployed (Edmiston, 2017a) which can compound the marginalisation and the discredited citizenship status of CSWs and access to social citizenship resources (Marshall, 1950/1992). For example, Edmiston (2017a, p.322) found that people (not CSWs) who were unemployed and claiming welfare benefit experienced exclusion “from the material and figurative promises of citizenship. Some felt unable or unwilling to conform to prescribed forms of responsible citizenship centring on paid employment”. From this it would not be difficult to perceive why some CSWs would prefer to be independent from both public and private support.

According to Edmiston (2017) the notion of economic independence from the state or others in the private sphere is positively associated with claims to social citizenship. Yet, within the feminist citizenship concept, economic independence is a masculine attribute and capacity, and is key to citizenship status and avoiding exploitation or economic marginalisation (Lister, 2003a). In fact, it is evident from the ONS’s (2015c, 2016b) datasets that males generally exhibit economic independence through paid work. However, in contemporary society with female employment

increasing, despite being perceived as a masculine quality, economic independence from both the public and private is strived for by females in general and is evident in the forum data:

*I grew up in one of the roughest council estates in London if not the UK, in a single parent family and I have done my best to educate myself and not rely on benefits...Right now I pay my rent, bills everything (Brianna).*

*Basically, I do bits of cleaning and, you know, stuff on the side like, I've still got my regular punters and that keeps me afloat (Mia\*).*

*when I worked...I made sure I did have enough to take my son abroad every year, I kept a nice house basically I...didn't have a husband to care, I was just trying to do things properly for the kid...If you're working and have a mortgage you know children have everything, I wanted to make things better (Emma\*).*

From this it is evident for CSWs that being employed in the commercial-sexwork arena allows them to put financial resources to good use (Jensen & Tyler, 2012), and develop a sense of autonomy associated with being in control and is evidence of reflexive citizenship behaviour (Beck et al., 2003). This is similar to feelings expressed by others in mainstream occupations with employment affording a level of “personal control” (autonomy) (Edmiston, 2017, p.321). Also, in terms of dignity, respect and responsibility some of the CSWs in this thesis indicate that self-employment involves a level of professionalism:

*I work independently as a prostitute, which involves advertising and providing sexual services to others to earn money. I am responsible for arranging my own hotels/places to work, security, travel, photography and do all my own admin and bookkeeping as well as keeping stocked up with all the necessary supplies (condoms, lube, hosiery and so on) and communicating with clients (Susan\*).*

*At the moment I see it as a full time profession which is how I approach it xx (Gianna).*

*Overall aim: To have freedom to do what I want to do, working as my own boss*

*Money aim: To save for a "respected" business while paying off my debt. (I respect my little open legs business) (Charlotte).*

Such statements are consistent with the increased professionalism that has been evidenced within the commercial-sexwork arena (Abel, 2011; Cruz, 2013) and the sex-as-work discourse which has emerged to mirror mainstream occupations in terms of entrepreneurship (Bernstein, 2007). From this, it appears that the CSWs in this and former research are challenging the notion of dependence on men via commercial-sexwork by pursuing what were previously perceived as more masculine attributes associated with work. Thus, it is apparent that some CSWs are reflecting neo-liberal ideals for citizens by supporting themselves rather than relying on the welfare system; in this sense CSWs are emulating the concept of the citizen-worker. For example, the conservative welfare agenda ensures that "work always pays" (UK Parliament, 2015, p.1) and has been moving towards changing the behaviour of those who are out of work or those in low paid work in relation to claiming benefits.

From this view, labour that is seen as formal and paid is perceived as a necessity for dignity (Patrick, 2012):

It means never writing off people who can work and consigning them to a life on benefits, but giving them the chance to go out and earn a living and to enjoy the dignity that comes with a job well done (May, 2016, p.1).

In this way it is apparent that the CSWs in this thesis are evidencing the citizenship attribute of economic independence, thus avoiding economic marginalisation. This point was evidenced earlier in this thesis in the right to paid work section whereby it was evident that economic motives prevail. Therefore, it appears that the lack of equality in relation to the economic dependence on welfare and/or males is less skewed within the commercial-sexwork, particularly the off-street arena, for those who are successfully supporting themselves than in the general female population. This somewhat contradicts the abolitionist feminist perception of female CSWs dependence on males; that growth in the commercial-sexwork industry has been deliberately created in order to address the contemporary gains in female equality in order to maintain male power (economic and sexual) (Jeffreys, 2009).

However, it is questionable as to whether CSWs are deliberately avoiding the exploitation associated with dependence or being pushed towards this because of the lack of access to social rights. For example, the state's benefit cap in terms of working hours (Welfare Reform Act, 2012 amended by the Universal Credit benefits cap, 2017) maybe problematic for CSWs; the lack of acknowledgment of the sex-as-work discourse within policy and legal discourses means that they are unlikely to pursue work related benefits associated with low pay. Thus it needs to be considered whether they have little choice but to be independent; especially when

this is coupled with a lack of private support as was mentioned by Mia\* when she was talking about the father of her children:

*I said how do you think I've paid for my mortgage and everything? I said it wasn't through you was it, fucking helping me.*

Accordingly, whilst some CSWs are evidencing that they are independent from welfare benefits, it is important to assess whether this is more as a result of CSWs being excluded from within (Lister, 2003a) rather than by choice because of a lack of access to welfare rights or private support. Further, as with the lack of recognition by the state, media and social world in terms of paying tax, there is no recognition that CSWs are exhibiting key citizenship attributes in relation to supporting themselves through employment which means their citizenship status is unlikely to be transformed. This is important as increasing austerity measures are deemed as important for addressing economic prosperity and reforming the behaviours and decisions of those who rely on the welfare system (Edmiston, 2017a) to make them more aligned with the concept of the citizen-worker.

### *Conclusion*

The aim within this overarching theme was to understand 'How do CSWs experience citizenship'; 'How do participants express their understandings of citizenship'; and 'How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity'. In relation to understanding how CSWs workers experience citizenship it is evident that attaining the status of social citizen is problematic for CSWs which in turn affects their pursuit of the associated resources which this status facilitates such as a common identity and full participation of all citizens within the community.

Importantly, for some CSWs there is a paradox between commercial-sexwork and citizenship status as in order to reduce their marginalisation CSWs are required to work in socially accepted jobs and professions yet they find it difficult to leave this line of work due to perceptions in the social world about their character, identities or a lack of social citizenship rights such as an adequate education. However, for other CSWs in this research who have attained an education, including studying towards Masters level qualifications, this has not addressed the issues of attaining access to social citizenship resources. Thus it is apparent that despite fulfilling their academic potential the CSW identity remains incompatible with the mainstream citizenship identity.

Further, this overarching theme challenges the social citizenship ideals of a welfare state for all. That is, as a result of the state's paternalistic and punitive approach to social welfare benefits, the extent to which access to welfare is attainable is an issue for CSWs. Yet it is evident that they have an implicit understanding of the state's citizenship ideals in relation to welfare benefits as they express the desire for both public and private independence. However, whether or not this is through choice or due to the increasingly punitive measures in terms of benefits allocation and hours worked in mainstream occupations is not established. This is an important omission as there is no recognition by the state or within the social world in relation to the social citizenship attributes exhibited by CSWs. The latter has meant that CSWs lack access to the mainstream in terms of community cohesion, a common identity and full participation is not achieved. This is suggested to be the result of governmentality; as the state designs its welfare policy to create a particular type of citizen (Reeves & Loopstra, 2017) which is not consistent with the CSW identity. Consequently, CSWs' citizenship status is unlikely to change unless the mainstream concept of citizenship can facilitate the recognition for how non-mainstream occupations reflect the ideals of the citizen-worker.

Chapter 6: Enacting citizenship: active citizenship and intimate  
citizenship and commercial-sexwork

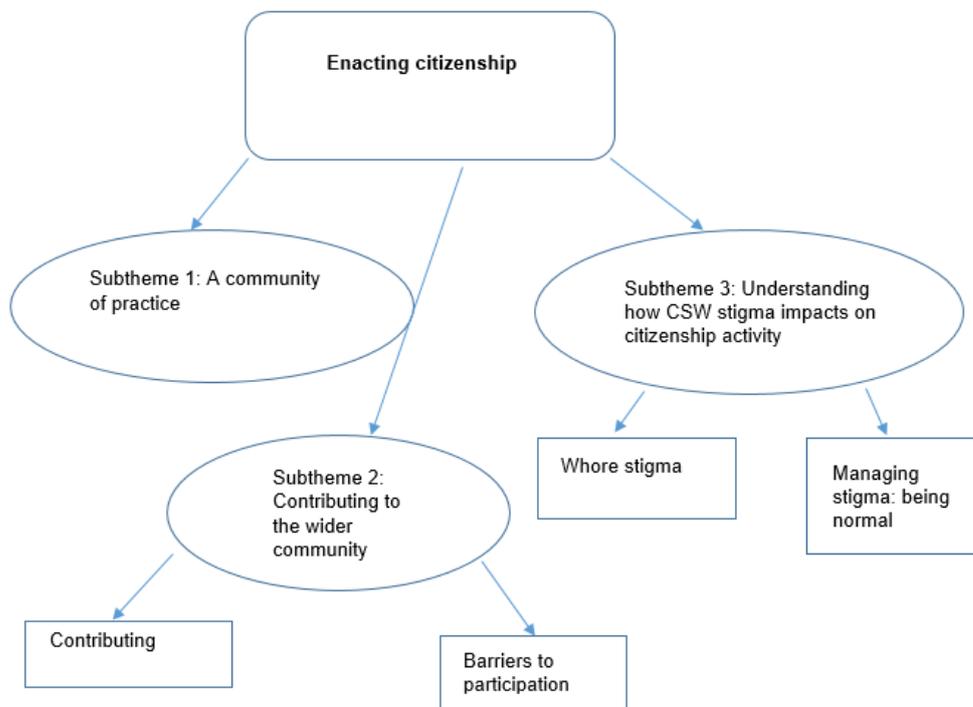
It is evident within the previous chapter that although the right to an education and the right to welfare are purported to support the attainment of social citizenship resources such as full participation for all citizens within their community, in reality this has not been the case for CSWs. One possible reason for this is because citizenship status is associated with participation within the mainstream citizen-community (Lister, 2003a) from which CSWs are marginalized due to their lesser citizenship status. Therefore, the next chapter will discuss the extent to which this is the case in actuality with the aim of meeting the following research questions: 'To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?' and 'How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?'. In this discussion there are two overarching themes which recurred within the data analysis, that is in part 1 the overarching theme is 'Active citizenship and informal politics', which discusses subthemes about CSWs community of practice, contributing to the wider community (facilitators and barriers) and understanding the particular in relation to CSWs (stigma and identity) (see figure 11). That these subthemes were recurring in the data is interesting as superficially they appear to be consistent with the state's focus on active citizenship whereby citizens give their time, and money to what are perceived as deserving causes within their community (Cameron, 2010). Part 2 of this overarching theme focuses on 'intimate citizenship and moral storytelling', and includes the subthemes about having insight into the issues of relationships with men, tainted love and the extent to which CSWs evidence an ethic of care (see figure 12). The concept of intimate citizenship was developed by Plummer (2003) and is considered by Lister (2003a) as a key component of a differentiated universal approach to citizenship. Intimate citizenship is a useful tool to explore how the private and public arenas relate to each other and thus useful in terms of the commercial-sexwork arena which straddles both.

## *Part 1 Active citizenship and informal politics.*

Active citizenship has been key on the political agenda since the late 2000s; good citizenship has been equated with active involvement in the development of a citizen's community (British Institute of International and Comparative Law, 2008; Goldsmith, 2008) and is "the expression of healthy citizenship" (Lister, 2003a, p.32; Putnam, 1993). More recently, the coalition government supported the expansion of opportunities for active citizenship within Cameron's (2010) BS concept. The concept focused on action within the social world; that is "the daily decisions of millions of people – on them giving their time, effort, even money, to causes around them" (Cameron, 2010, p.1) alongside encouraging the development of a social investment market to provide funding for this vision (Maude & Hurd, 2011). Here, the coalition government explicitly defined which activities were citizenship-like; as solutions were sought to provide alternatives to state care provisions due to expenditure cutbacks resulting from austerity measures. Such notions of active citizenship are evident within May's (2016) spirit of citizenship discourse.

However, the historic and contemporary concept of active citizenship has been particularly male centric; in order to perceive females as truly active citizens would necessitate a challenge to patriarchal assumptions about females (Manjoo, 2016) and the nature of the public-private divide which creates the boundaries for citizenship activity (Lister, 2003a). This overarching theme includes the following: 'Subtheme 1: A community of practice', 'Subtheme 2: Contributing to the wider community' and 'Subtheme 3: Understanding how CSWs' stigmatised identity impacts on citizenship activity (see figure 11 below which includes the subordinate themes for subthemes 2 and 3), within which the extent to which CSWs behaviours are aligned with those of the contemporary active citizen discourse. The aim is to address the questions 'To what extent are values and ethics a component of

commercial-sexwork?’ and ‘How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?’.



*Figure 11:* Final thematic map for the overarching theme ‘Active citizenship and informal politics’

Subtheme 1: A community of practice: evidence of ethical relationships and practice with other workers

A community of practice can “consist of and depend on a membership, including its characteristic biographies/trajectories, relationships, and practices” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p.55). A key component of being accepted within a citizen community is evidence of compassionate and empathetic relationships (personal and working) via engagement with others (Stewart et al., 2017). Lister (2003a) pointed to the fluid

nature of citizen communities, whereby citizen communities are created formally and informally as a result of citizens taking an interest in issues that concern themselves and other citizens. For example, Pitcher's (2015) research on CSWs found that participants commented on the importance of online interactions for networking. From this it may be suggested that the online forum from which some of the data from this thesis was elicited is a site of citizenship practice and a place to develop a sense of community for CSWs who are excluded from mainstream citizenship and work practices.

Pitcher's (2015) observation also extends to offline CSW networks, indeed Sofia\* highlighted that the sense of camaraderie developed in the commercial-sexwork arena is an element which she found difficult to replicate in mainstream occupations. For example, when Sofia\* discussed her previous work in a well-known supermarket she said "*I met lots of people but not in the same context...couldn't talk about anything you wanted*". Alongside a sense of camaraderie, it is evident within the data from both the interviews and the forums that CSWs at street and indoor level consider the safety and wellbeing of other workers a *responsibility*:

*The girls that work the street have responsibilities like if I am accused then what can I do? Who can I pass my prescription onto? If you think about it someone needs that heroin if they're locked up (Emma\*).*

*I am a really caring person... because I've had loads a girls staying at my house, like when they've been attacked or battered or they're trying to get away from a bloke. If one of my mates knocked on the door going...get me fucking out of here because he's after me or whatever...come on in, no problem, and they can stay there for a few days 'til they've sorted him out or whatever (Mia\*).*

There is also a concern for the emotional wellbeing of others as several of the contributors to the forum have offered one-to-one support for other contributors in the form of “*big internet hugs from me :)*” (Alyssa) or support to “*vent*” (Ava) their anger, worries or frustration with clients including via “*private messages*” in order to protect privacy (Trinity). Also, ways “*to reinvigorate*” (Angelina) were suggested such as doing an activity which makes them “*happy*” (Paige), or taking “*a break from men for a couple of days*” (Abigail) and “*never cancelling*” a social event with friends or family (Maria, Taylor) or as pointed out by Alyssa and Katherine finding time to *relax* is important:

*something that makes you laugh... see friends, go out, have a hobby, go for a walk. Whatever it is that makes you happy. Happiness is worth more to me than money* (Alyssa).

*truly... switch off and relax* (Katherine).

Further the importance of managing time effectively was emphasised, being in control was of particular importance. For example, Chloe stated that she would “*try to fit clients into my schedule, not my schedule after them*”, Samantha suggested limiting bookings and Abigail, Cora, Michelle and others made a point of avoiding making comparisons with the way in which others work:

*if that is what suits them and the lifestyle they lead that is far more important than what I or anybody else thinks* (Paige).

*I'm here to stay so I take it slowly, after my own rhythm :)* (Chloe).

It would appear from the above that commercial-sexwork can be compared to other work arenas where workers support each other, especially in relation to emotional wellbeing, to ensure that other CSWs are “*back and ready for action soon*” (Ava); such as social workers when they use small group discussions to help support each other (Antonopoulou, Killian, & Forrester, 2017). Thus, it is apparent that some CSWs are exhibiting ethical behaviour in terms of compassion and empathy for their colleagues. Such ethical considerations are a key requirement for belonging to a particular community (Stewart et al., 2017). Further, it is clear within the data that support is both wanted and valued; thanking others for advice is evident in several threads (such as “Attitudes to men in general”, “3 Tips for staying sane in this job”, “Forgot to get money - regular client!”, “Getting closure on leaving the job”, “Death threat on text! Real or fake? Advice please!!”, “Sugar Daddy and saying thanks”). For example, Mya stated that “*It's so helpful to have shared these thoughts and feelings xx*” and suggestions can lead to ideas “*that I've not considered before, so thank you!*” (Molly), reassurance was provided (Olivia) or hope offered that the situation can be resolved in “*one way or another*” (Alyssa).

However, it is important to note that, as with any type of work, not all relationships between CSWs are supportive or friendly as pointed out by Vivian\* when she was asked about how she got on with other CSWs. This can be especially so at street level work when drugs are involved or CSWs are being controlled as Mia\* and Emma\* indicate below they do not develop a relationship but more of a rivalry:

*If the girl had a pimp...there was always that sort of bitter rivalry there anyway, do you know what I mean if your girl took your regulars... she's trying to get as much out as she could (Mia\*).*

*when I worked on the streets I never spoke to the other girls because of where the girls worked the streets, a lot of the girls used to mix together, take drugs together something I never did. I was a heroin injector when I was walking the streets, I was pretty desperate... I didn't want really to mix with the other girls because their lives were so chaotic (Emma\*).*

However, this does not mean that there is no support at street level as there is still the possibility of support on some levels as identified by Sofia\*

*they might come to me for condoms and stuff like that, I don't get any bother with anybody but I don't get any problems with many people because I'm not like in your face but if you want to say hello, I will say hello, but if you don't, I don't.*

Alongside this there is evidence of reciprocity as explained by Brianna in a forum discussion about "Work persona / real life persona"; a key component for her was providing assistance that is not discriminatory in relation to other's lifestyles:

*As people helped me when I was in need, I then share that light. I have helped many people in need, not all of them were angels, some were innocents but I don't judge especially as a whore.*

Avoiding the discrimination of other CSWs is imperative within the commercial-sexwork community and for a community of practice, as discrimination could amount to yet another form of stigma (Bowen & Bungay, 2016) from within a work arena which already experiences stigma from without. Stigmatisation was highlighted

within the literature review and is discussed in other parts of the thesis (particularly subtheme 3 below). That is, due to 'whore stigma' (Goffman, 1963; Pheterson, 1993) or negative associations in relation to social perceptions of CSWs as drug addicts, there is hesitancy in relation to seeking support from agencies; often leading to a negative impact on wellbeing (Voices Heard Group, 2008). Clearly, it is important for accessing support (in whatever form) for CSWs to avoid the level of discrimination that they experience within the wider community.

Importantly, on the whole, it is evident within this data that support from other CSWs is effective and important for mental wellbeing for example Isabelle was thankful for the support she received from another CSW on the forum:

*My last post was on being bored waiting around for bookings and feeling very lonely indeed. Life has certainly changed since then. I met a fantastic lady who is on this forum after posting aforementioned subject, who pretty much changed my life (Isabelle).*

Additionally, it appears that social media is providing another way to develop an ethical community and an arena to develop relationships. This is consistent with research which highlights the effectiveness of interactive internet forums for building communities (Bowen & Bungay, 2016; Pitcher, 2015). Further, according to Plummer (2003) social media is one arena where intimate citizenship is developed; where novel ways of communication and relationships are created and the disclosing of intimacies is encouraged. In this way, moralities for "everyday life" issues (including ethical issues) become "grounded and concrete" in the pursuit of commonalities (Plummer, 2003, p.141). Further, it is within online communities where knowledge and skills are produced, and individual and community transformations take place (Stewart et al., 2017) and in this way they mirror traditional offline communities of practice identified by Lave and Wenger (1991).

Accordingly, it is evident that within the commercial-sexwork arena there is a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) where more knowledgeable CSWs are providing advice on how to practice commercial-sexwork in a way that does not impact on CSWs wellbeing. Importantly, it appears that in this way CSWs are fulfilling the spirit of citizenship (May, 2016) as they evidence an arena of collective support rather than solely individual concerns. However, such support is informal and unrecognised as consistent with formal citizenship ideals (Lister, 2003a). Also, according to Stewart, Black, Benedict, and Benson (2017) to develop understandings of marginalised citizens, such contributions from those communities who lack resources should be recognised; yet for CSWs there is little to no affirmative recognition. This is problematic on two levels firstly affirmative recognition is important but does little on its own in terms of change because recognition needs to be transformative to be effective (Fraser, 1995). Secondly, that the CSWs in this research are exhibiting informal support for other CSWs is not enough to gain full recognition as it is subsumed as unequal to formal support in the public arena (such as volunteering) (Lister, 2003a) which is acknowledged as meeting the spirit of citizenship. Therefore, it is important to establish if the extent to which CSWs are evidencing the spirit of citizenship in relation to contributing to the wider community.

## Subtheme 2: Contributing to the wider community

According to Dominelli (2016, p.385) the state has persuaded its' citizens of the "feel good" benefits that can be derived from volunteering with their community; which inadvertently marginalises further those groups who need assistance thus negatively impacting on their citizenship rights. This is important as CSWs are often the target of volunteers who can use the CSWs marginalisation to support their own claims to citizenship; regardless of whether such support is effective or indeed wanted. The

tools utilised to persuade contemporary citizens of such benefits have been Cameron's (2010) BS concept and May's (2016) spirit of citizenship. Thus it was important within the interviews and the forum data to explore the extent to which these values had been imbued within the commercial-sexwork community and the extent to which a 'felt' citizenship was evidenced or not. This subtheme has two parts; 'Contributing' and 'barriers to participation' and aims to meet the question 'To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?'

### *Contributing*

Within the interviews when participants were asked about their thoughts on the concept of a Big Society, community participation and within a forum thread which discussed "What's your goal doing this job?"; it was evident that there is understanding of the ethical principles of supporting other citizens within their local community and wider local issues such as caring for their local environment:

*I think everyone should want to care, keep communities clean and tidy, if everybody was to look out for their neighbours to the left and the right...at that point everybody will be looked after (Emma\*).*

*I think I am helping the community, I'm not leaving condoms around, not shouting in the street and causing a nuisance, I'm taking these people away and giving them my number and they're coming back to me, so I think I'm helping the community. It's basic that...my mum taught me to put rubbish in the bin...I wouldn't want anyone outside my doorway shagging someone and leaving condoms there – would you?... or crack pipes, or needles...I think*

*that's an attitude, it's not something that comes with what you are doing*  
(Sofia\*).

*My other goals...volunteering* (Audrey).

Here the CSWs are exhibiting the spirit of citizenship described by May (2016) and Cameron's (2010, p.1) BS sense of community in which citizens come together to "shape the world around them". Although not all the correspondents agreed that support should come from within the commercial-sexwork community, as pointed out by Mia\* when she was asked whether she thought it was a good idea she said that it should not be left to those within the community, such as pimps because they would:

*have fucking field day...because nobody in the community is going to come  
and do what power [the state] does.*

Despite this, in relation to contributing to the community, it is evident that some CSWs are acting as citizens, which would suggest that they are fulfilling the status (consistent with Lister, 2003a) as such evidence of self-reliance and community participation are key components of good citizenship (van Steenbergen, 1994). However, their actions remain unrecognised within the social and political worlds. It is important to acknowledge that CSWs good citizenship practices within the community are not recognised as this stands out vividly against a background of the recognition of increased participation from those within the mainstream community. For example, the recent push for a revival of active citizenship has been suggested to have led to 71% of adults in England completing some form of voluntary work in 2012 (Webber & Payne, 2016). Further, in 2014 there were 1.97billion hours recorded for regular volunteering (more than once a month) (Webber & Payne, 2016)

which is deemed consistent with developing a 'sense' of community (Cabinet Office & Hurd, 2013).

Conversely, whether or not volunteering is an effective tool for helping other citizens is in itself problematic; as the inconsistent nature of contributions which rely on the goodwill of individuals impacts negatively on those who it is purporting to assist (generally marginalised individuals) (Dominelli, 2016); a point raised by Mia\*:

*you'll get like what I call the 'do-gooders' come round to talk to you, you know what I mean, now they haven't got no idea, all they've want to do is save you.*

Yet the revival of the active citizen ideal is suggested to overcome the issue of entitlement to resources and social citizenship rights for all who are marginalised from a full citizenship status (Turner, 2009). Clearly this has not been the case to any great extent within the commercial-sexwork arena. Further, Marshall (1950/1992) suggested that volunteering would not truly equate to equality of status as it contradicts the association of unpaid labour with the traditional patriarchal view of that conducted within the private and female spheres. That is, from the dominant perspective, unpaid work is unconnected with entitlement to citizenship status as paid work in the public arena alone is perceived "as making human beings worthy of citizenship" (Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012, p.10). To overcome this, working voluntarily would need to be seen as equating to the right to paid work (Lister, 1997); which was somewhat supported by Emma\* when she said:

*If people was less bothered about intelligence and help people get into employment even if its voluntary for people on job seekers.*

However, it would be too simplistic to expect that all non-paid work would equate to paid work; it is important to consider the context of non-paid work to establish the lived experience of citizenship (Molyneux, 2000). For example, there was an emphasis in the data about the notion of being “*badgered*” or forced into active citizenship by those who are perceived as figures of authority, especially noted by the interview participants was the futility of trying to do so when there is a lack of interest:

*I do all of those things already, and always have without needing to be badgered by the government. I can't imagine people who aren't interested will have their views or behaviour changed because they've been told they should by people they're unlikely to respect, support or even recognise (Susan\*).*

*But if it was insisted on me by authority no because they're rude, they're just taking the piss out of people because they're expecting people to do it. Now you imagine, say like me if I, if I did that sort of like on a full-time thing because I believed that they shouldn't pay any people from the community, I'll be burnt out, then I'd have to start saying to the dole as well, you know, come on, you've got to give me some money towards some food and some electric and that, then I'd be as bad as the pimps (Mia\*).*

*... it's the way they need to present it no one likes to be told what to do and encourage them because it feels right and it's the right thing to do. At least tempt them and not discourage it (Emma\*).*

Thus it is apparent that being able to choose how and when to be active is important for developing May's (2016) spirit of community for CSWs in order for them to consider active citizenship as a serious concern. This is important because according to Gough (2014) in order to be autonomous in relation to agency, citizens

need to be able to take part in activities that are regarded as important in the social world. Clearly there is evidence in the data to support the notion that CSWs are able to exercise the choice to be active thus exhibiting freedom of agency. However, as Gough (2014) suggests, for those who are oppressed, such agency is often minimal; this is especially the case for CSWs.

Further, and in terms of transformative recognition of contributions to civility, gender status is problematic, as the notion of the model citizen (male) who is active as a key marker for citizenship supports hegemonic notions and men's dominance over women. Similarly, according to Turner (2009), it is doubtful that the revival of active citizenship has achieved a great deal for women's claims to equality of status. Yet current data from the UK Civil Society's (2016) almanac indicates that women account for approximately two thirds (547,000 females/279,000 males) of the voluntary sector workforce. Thus it is important to understand how the female gender overrepresentation within the volunteering arena undermines entitlement to full citizenship status.

It may be suggested that one possible reason for this is the unequal spread of part-time labour freeing up females to volunteer (41% women and 11% men work in the part-time labour sector (ONS, 2015b)). Thus, there is a gender inequity as a result of the entrenched male breadwinner model, which provides females with the time to voluntarily contribute but inadvertently impacts on females' worker-citizen status (Fraser, 1997). Further, volunteering is generally conducted in the social care sector (Keen, 2015; UK Civil Society, 2016), consistent with the traditionally high ratio of female paid workers in that arena (83% in 2012, Department for Education, 2013). This reinforces neoliberal values of the male citizen's economic contribution within the public-private divide; "obfuscating care as a valuable and essential activity in human life" (Bozalek & Carolissen, 2012, p.12) but this does not equate to or fulfil the potential of citizenship status. Thus, for females in general, voluntary work in the

community would need to be perceived as equating to men's paid work in the public arena for them to be recognised as worker-citizens (Lister, 2003a). Also, according to Plummer (2003, p.56) there needs to be recognition that the concepts of "community, citizenship, and identity" are not fixed and new concepts can emerge.

Consequently, despite explicit evidence to support some CSWs claims to a citizenship identity in relation to the spirit of citizenship, it is clear that the mainstream concept is not able to account for their contributions. This is the case even though they mirror those within the mainstream society. Importantly, this is likely to remain so as it is suggested that the state's push towards voluntary contributions within a citizen community is more about assisting the country financially and compensating for public sector cuts during this period of austerity; volunteering is thus a false conduit to enhancing citizenship status. This will remain the case unless the mainstream concept of citizenship is able to incorporate care work as transcending the public-private divide (ethic of care Lister, 2003a).

For this to be possible, the mainstream concept of political citizenship would have to be opened up to females in a manner that recognises their political contributions will be different yet equal to those of males. For example, informal politics in the private arena such as those perceived within the ethic of care would need to be acknowledged as equating to formal politics in the public arena. According to Lister (2003a) this would mean that politicians involved in formal politics would need to recognise the informal contributions from females in order for the latter to be conceived as a legitimate form of the former. This is important as a key aspect of females' citizenship is the ability to contribute to decision making to ensure their right to justice. Also, it is necessary to acknowledge that some females would prefer to engage in the informal political arena due to the sexual division of labour which means that females are generally more aligned with working within the private sphere. Yet, this does not mean that female priorities should subsume males, as

this would be particularist in nature, rather it means equal rights for all as underpinned by the universalist argument.

However, it is clear within this thesis that CSWs are following the state's ideal active citizenship model; there is evidence of networking informally, and the acknowledgement of the importance of the impact of their behaviour on the wider community. Also, although not evident within the data of this thesis, CSWs activists have taken part in protests at an international level (IUSW, 2009) and there are conferences where those from the commercial-sexwork communities come together with other interested parties to push for rights. In this way, CSWs are making public the oppression which surrounds their work; using intimate citizenship to give expression to their rights claims for justice. This is suggested to be evidence of informal politics "from below" (Lister, 2003a, p.163). Further, as highlighted in part 2 of this chapter, the CSWs in this thesis are taking part in everyday dialogue; showing that they are involved in informal politics and are concerned about commonplace issues within their local community. Conversely, whilst these might enhance recognition, there is little evidence of any transformation in citizenship status as those from marginalised groups are underrepresented in the formal political arena; yet it is those voices which need to be heard (Lister, 2003a). Additionally, one key issue for recognising CSWs' formal and informal political contributions is whether such contributions benefit the mainstream society.

### *Barriers to participation*

Despite the notion suggested that volunteering will not enhance citizenship status, individuals within the social world still experience the force of the spirit of citizenship ethos. This can be problematic for those who, because they are on a low income, are not able to contribute. For example, Mia\* highlighted that for those working on the streets, contributing to the local community without receiving any remuneration is

problematic when an individual is familiar with listing prices for services; particularly when they will miss out on earnings whilst volunteering:

*I would if I got paid for it, yeah because everybody's got to live...especially in the world of prostitution, because I'm used to saying right well I want so much for a 'a, b or c'... I've got a niece and she's chaotic on Class A drugs,...now imagine if she was after some business... her time's precious to her because she wants to know where her next fix is coming from...I could be in the flats for the day earning some money...that's not me being spiteful towards society or the world.*

The barriers mentioned by Mia\* are similar in nature with those expressed in data from The National Council for Voluntary Organisations/The Institute for Volunteering Research (2016) from within the general population; such as work commitments. Whilst this provides some insight into the reasons for non-participation, the nature of such data leads to broad categories rather than any in-depth analysis of the reasons for a lack of participation. Further the data from The National Council for Voluntary Organisations/The Institute for Volunteering Research (2016) cannot account for individual agency versus structural constraints (such as the legal system) as barriers to participation.

For example, due to structural barriers such as the criminal discourse, for some CSWs it is difficult to take part in voluntary activities as they have an offence under the SOA 2003 and volunteering often requires a Disclosure and Barring Service and Home Office (DBS, 2016) check as the majority of work is within the social work sector with vulnerable individuals. Thus, one impact of the CSWs criminal discourse is that their voluntary activities are often hidden in order to protect their identity; they are unable to support claims to a full citizenship status. For example, when Susan\* was asked if she contributed within her local community she stated that she did “*but*

*mainly via anonymous donations (both financially and to local charity shops, food banks etc.) as I can't really afford to be visible in case I'm recognised by neighbours"* and Sara pointed to the dangers if "*an undesirable person got hold of your personal details*".

A further barrier to volunteering is social class status, as in the lower social classes there is generally lack of activity, knowledge of and opportunities to volunteer (UK Civil Society, 2016). This was evidenced by Sofia\* when she struggled to suggest how she could contribute but managed to propose that she could inform teenage girls or boys about safe sexual practices:

*well I suppose you could do talks in schools to teenage girls or teenage boys about safe sex...I don't think I'd like to do it in front of a load of teenage girls because I know, you'd feel a bit frightened wouldn't you?*

Sofia\*'s experience reflects that of the mainstream population where individuals from the lower social classes lack the knowledge of volunteering opportunities as the 'civic core' of individuals taking part in voluntary activities consists of working professionals who are highly educated (Mohan & Bulloch, 2012; UK Civil Society, 2016). This is important in relation to this thesis because it highlights another hierarchy within the commercial-sexwork arena as it may be argued that high class, male and student CSWs who have a higher or in flux social class status, may not feel as acutely marginalised as those from the lower class (Bernstein, 2007; Sanders & Hardy, 2015) and able to exhibit the spirit of citizenship more effectively. For example, Susan\* who is educated to degree level stated:

*I believe people in a more fortunate position should take some responsibility for those around them who are less so having been in both situations myself,*

*even if this goes no further than paying their share of tax and NI and avoiding draining public services where possible. I also abhor waste and prefer to reuse, recycle and give things I don't need away so others can get some benefit from them.*

Whilst this, alongside the state's push towards greater involvement, highlights the civic value attached to active citizenship in contemporary society (Bartels, Cozzi, & Mantovan, 2012), it is apparent that social class barriers are persistent. Importantly, the extent to which CSWs feel marginalised from active citizenship has not been considered in the literature. Yet, such inactivity may be as a result of *moral economies* ("popularly shared moral assumptions underlying certain societal practices" (Plummer, 2003, p.99)) which are generally associated with social class status and are utilised to establish entitlement and thus who can choose to partake in active citizenship pursuits.

Consequently, the notion of contributing within one's local community is paradoxical. For example, it is clear that despite the questionable notion of volunteering within a citizen's community being a tool for addressing a lesser citizenship status, the state's emphasis on the spirit of citizenship has an impact, even within those groups of citizens who are marginalised. This is problematic as it is clear that for those who would supposedly benefit from being able to act as a citizen, barriers to participation such as social class status and legal status seem insurmountable. Accordingly, barriers impact further on the citizenship status of those with a lesser citizenship status; as a lack of opportunity to act means that they appear less civil than those who are able despite the fact that contributing is not advancing their citizenship status either. Therefore, it is important to develop an understanding of how to achieve an active citizenship status when controversial citizenship ideals promoted by the state appear normative; as for those who cannot meet these ideals awaits a stigmatised identity. Yet, CSWs are mostly absent in the hierarchy of political power

and this is evidenced in this thesis by a lack of involvement in formal politics. There are also issues with their informal contributions being recognised due to their discredited identity; that their efforts would be dismissed as they are regarded as too sexual, victims or criminals.

### Subtheme 3: Understanding how CSWs stigmatised identity impacts on citizenship activity

Lister (1997, 2003a) stated that in order to develop a differentiated form of universalism within the mainstream concept of citizenship, there is a need to synthesise difference (the particular) with the universal. In this subtheme, the particular that is discussed is the relationship between stigma and the enactment of citizenship. It is important to discuss this relationship as, according to McQueen (2014), the identification of how citizenship identities are produced by the normative assumptions which underpin them and the extent to which these are overseen by the state can develop understandings for how citizenship ideals are promoted and how citizenship is enacted. Activists have campaigned for the right to be CSWs without stigma (IUSW, 2009) with the aim of reducing social exclusion. Also, earlier research by Andrews (2008, p.13) found that a combination of stereotypical myths in the social world and the legal discourse (such as using the term “common prostitute” in statute) need to be challenged in order to overcome stigma. There are suggestions that this can be achieved by educating society to the issues of commercial-sexwork alongside the exiting process (Mayhew & Mossman, 2007).

Importantly, even females regarded as ‘normal’ experience a level of marginalisation from citizenship status because their gender identity does not reflect the ideal (male). Therefore, this is a significant omission, as there is a lack of consideration of how the particular (in this case CSW stigma) impacts negatively on attaining a full citizenship status and rights (Lister, 1997, 2003a). Within this subtheme of the analysis two

components: “*Whore stigma*” and “*Managing stigma: being normal*” will consider the impact of their stigmatised social identity and the CSWs citizenship status.

### *Whore stigma*

The literature in relation to stigma and commercial-sexwork reflects the complexity of the issue of stigma and focuses on diverse topics ranging from public health issues such as substance use (Benoit, McCarthy, & Jansson, 2015); migrant CSWs (Scambler, 2007), trafficking (Bettio, Della Giusta & Di Tommaso, 2017), the effect on community relations (Cooper, 2016), or the impact on agency (Pitcher, 2015). However, only a few studies make the link between the CSW stigmatised identity and a lack of access to citizenship rights such as labour rights (Cruz, 2013; Sanders & Campbell, 2014) or welfare rights (Graham, 2017) but none were found which explicitly consider the impact on citizenship status. It is thought that certain personal attributes lead to a spoiled identity and marginalisation from society in general (Goffman, 1963; Phelan, Link, Moore, & Stueve, 1997). For example, persistently not conforming to the norms for a particular category have a corresponding negative impact on citizenship status which means that CSWs are excluded from within (Lister, 2003a). It is recognised within the data of this thesis that commercial-sexwork is not regarded as ‘normal’ female behaviour and that the stigma attached to CSWs is persistent:

*We ALL know there's NO WAY a lady would have sex in exchange for money and be perfectly ok with it (Melanie).*

*That old "once a whore, always a whore" motto is rife and I don't want to quit because then I'd be hard up but called a whore regardless, lol (Samantha).*

*People think we are perverts and we want to fuck everyone and if a single bloke amongst a friendship group gets told they often make a 'b' line to me as they think I might be an easy lay! (Alyssa).*

*My friend's bf decided to txt me inappropriate things (Daisy).*

It is evident from the extracts above that the CSW identity is not consistent with the mainstream social identity; which is itself complex due to the interplay between both personal and structural attributes (such as work) (Goffman, 1963; MacKinnon, 1982). For example, people are categorised in society and attributes that are regarded as natural and normal are assigned to the people in those categories (Goffman, 1963). Further, social settings are aligned with categories and assumptions about what people ought to be like are made unconsciously until assumptions are not met. Females who comply with societal expectations and fit closely to the category for female are regarded as “normals...those who do not depart negatively from the particular expectations” (Goffman, 1963, p.15).

Conversely, females who have an attribute which makes them different in a negative way from the norm for a certain category are perceived as “reduced...from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one” (Goffman, 1963, p.12). This is certainly the case for CSWs as the attributes for the normal female category are incongruent with sex-for-sale (Dodsworth, 2014a). Therefore, a CSW is stigmatised because of attributes associated with their work meaning that “she is bad for who she is” (Pheterson, 1993, p.48) and their identity is ‘spoilt’ (Goffman, 1963). Thus, it is evident that CSW stigma is attributed to the person rather than just a label attached to someone who works in this arena (consistent with Link & Phelan, 2001). As a result, Vanessa said that they are often perceived as an object of ridicule,

Abigail feared “*having the piss taken out of me*” and there are negative implications for pursuing other careers as identified by Sofia\*:

*I'm actually looking for somewhere just to work from but I find it really hard because no-one trusts a prostitute.*

Such stigmatised perceptions as evidenced above can generate a discourse of disposability (Lowman, 1992) with negative outcomes for CSWs such as violence. Thus exploring the basis for stigma is important; unlike Goffman (1963), Link and Phelan (2001) suggested that stigma is constructed within the structures of society and then reproduced during face-to-face interactions. From Link and Phelan’s (2001) view, it can be suggested the state’s legal and policy framework for CSWs enables the recognition of other more appropriate citizenship-like behaviours which are necessary for identifying ‘normal’ citizens (see for example Home Office, 2004a; PCA, 2009; SOA 1956, 2003; Street Offences Act 1959; and citizenship initiatives such the Goldsmith (2008) report). Research by Sanders and Campbell (2014, p.539) supported Link and Phelan’s (2001) conception with the notion that the focus of the legal framework towards the criminalisation agenda for commercial-sexwork “without doubt...increases stigma”. However, according to Weitzer (2010), CSW stigma cannot be solely reduced to the legal framework as stigma still exists in those countries where the work is legalised; thus other factors must be considered.

For example, it is evident within the data of this thesis that media portrayals can compound the CSW stigmatised identity. Notably, within a forum thread discussion created by Aubree about an undercover TV programme which exposed exploitation and vulnerability of CSWs, several of the forum correspondents supported the notion that it was “*perpetuating the stereotypical myths that surround prostitution*” (Melanie, Jasmine, Naomi, Isabella, Mila) relating to the “*Seedier side*” (Lilly, Faith).

Importantly, some correspondents found the programme content '*misleading*' (Naomi), leading to them feeling '*angry and depressed*' (Aria, Paisley, Gabrielle) because there was a lack of focus on the "*'better' side of prossies*" which would help "*to stamp out the myths*" (Isabella) which was summed up by Melanie:

*"Prozzies: The truth". That sounds like a great documentary. I doubt BBC would be interested in "My documentary". There's no glamour, no drama no, no pimps, no drugs, nothing. The weather channel is more exciting than "my documentary".*

Conversely, even if the programme makers had reported the stories of CSWs who have a more positive experience, the suggestion in this forum discussion is that this would not fit in with media and political agendas. For example, Melanie was suspicious that they would instead use "*porn stars*", whose own financial agenda Lilly thought would benefit from such portrayals. According to Plummer (2003, p.104) such stories told in the media become "*public identity narratives*" which tell the story of the morals of peoples' lives. Public identity narratives are utilised to point towards issues where there is a "moral/political tension" around a particular problem (Plummer, 2003, p.104). From such tensions Plummer (2003) suggests that ethical concerns are able to be considered from several alternative media interpretations, such as those which surrounded the rights based claims for sexual citizenship from activists in the LGBT community against heteronormal bias (see theoretical chapter (2) for fuller discussion on this topic). Yet for CSWs, whilst there is evidence of activist claims to rights (IUSW, 2009) there has been a lack of mainstream support for citizenship rights for this group.

Further, the public commercial-sexwork identity narratives are generally about a few individuals (such as the issues of those CSWs who have been trafficked) thus whilst

the story is told only certain negative aspects (usually moral or political) are narrated. Further, such stories are individualistic in nature; according to Plummer (2003), this is problematic as for the concept of intimate citizenship moralities need to be grounded (perceived as issues others face) so that they can be learnt from rather than being thought of as personal to the public personality. Therefore, it is difficult in terms of the need to recognise how the CSW public identity narratives connect to wider social issues (Plummer, 2003).

Consequently, as is apparent from the data in this thesis, the CSWs public identity narratives have not supported their claims to a fuller citizenship status. Rather the impact of television programmes, such as the one discussed in the forum, is that they can lead to feelings of “*shame*” and being “*labelled yet again*” (Isabella). The experience of shame for female CSWs is longstanding, extensive and often internalised (Bellhouse et al., 2015; Scambler & Paoli, 2008). Importantly, such internalised shame is not solely the experience of those in the commercial-sexwork industry but in others regarded as “dirty work” (physically, socially and morally) as suggested in a study by Hansen Löfstrand, Loftus, and Loader (2015, p.298) which found similar issues in the private security industry. Whilst not suggesting that all CSWs experience stigma, labelling or the associated shame, the impact of these in relation to developing a full citizenship identity for CSWs is problematic. For example, for Lister (2003a) one consequence of a stigmatised identity and social exclusion is the negative impact it has on self-esteem, which in turn constrains personal and political agency and autonomy (Lister, 2003a).

Accordingly, due to esteem issues, there is an issue for CSWs in relation to the obligation of citizens to exercise their political agency as their stigmatised identity, which originates from structural constraints and discourses (Link & Phelan, 2001) means that it is often difficult to pursue agency at any level. Therefore, it is important to gain an understanding of how the interplay between agency and structural

constraints are mediated as this can account for the difference between this group of females and others (a key component of Lister's (2003a) feminist citizenship approach). As with other female activists (again see the right pursuits from the LGBT communities), there are examples of when CSWs have been active in pursuit of policy/law change for the good of all; activists have campaigned for the right to be CSWs without stigma (IUSW, 2009) with the aim of reducing social exclusion. However, such campaigns have not been transformative in relation to citizenship identity and even their capability to advocate for themselves is often brought into question (Showden & Majic, 2014). Consequently, the CSW stigmatised identity continues to impact negatively on their citizenship identity. However, this does not mean that all CSWs are unable to negotiate stigma (Murphy, Dunk-West, & Chonody, 2015) or that they perceive themselves as lesser persons than others in the social world (Sallman, 2010); some are able to manage their stigmatised identity.

#### *Managing stigma: being normal*

For example, in a forum thread about 'Work persona / real life persona' some of the contributors such as Alexandra, Lauren and Lily, indicated that they were completing the same mundane daily tasks that are expected patriarchal behaviour norms for females such as "*Washing, ironing, shopping, housework etc*" (Paige). The emphasis in the aforementioned thread was on being normal (Makayla, Serenity) and "*Not glamorous*" (Ava, Madeline) so as not to be perceived as being different as identified by the forum correspondents below:

*We all live normal lives, there's nothing glam about what we do x* (Gabriella).

*I just go in to Granny mode* (Ava).

*we're generally all normal, non-trafficked, drug-free ladies going about our daily lives (Lilly).*

Also emphasised was the taking part in *normal life* activities such as meeting family or friends for lunch (Paige), taking part in physical exercise (Madeline), going on holiday or to the cinema (Emily) and looking after their children (Madeline) as described by Lauren:

*My off work days are...dealing with teenagers, haranguing teenagers into doing stuff they should be doing that I'm sick of doing.*

Also touched upon in the interviews and the forum thread about “Work persona / real life persona” were the expectations about appearances when working (Josephine) and how these are different from their normal appearances. For example, when working, “*you’ve got to be quite presentable*” (Emma\*) to keep up appearances (Lily, Mia\*) which generally involves a personal care/beauty routine (Alexandra, Autumn, Lauren) as exemplified by several correspondents:

*I get laser hair removal after 6-8 weeks (best money ever spent), a rigorous skincare regime including chemical exfoliates and natural oils in my hair each week. Mani/pedi I tend to do myself at home just a file and polish as I keep my nails short due to wearing contact lenses (Kaylee).*

These are in contrast to appearances when not at work and "off-duty" (Kayla):

*I am happiest in my jogging bottoms/jeans/trainers, no makeup, unwashed hair and if not doing chores my delight is watching some mindless boring soap on tv as my form of escapism! (Lydia).*

*Other times I am just relaxing in the house with a nice bubble bath and in my pyjamas all day with my hair tied up watching movies (Emily).*

According to Plummer (2003, p.99) ideas about normalcy are constructed within the social world "and we use these to locate ourselves and our sense of the deviant or the aberrant". Thus it is apparent that the CSWs in this thesis are locating themselves within the social expectations for females in general in terms of work and appearances, and social or private activities in order to support the notion that they are perfectly normal (Pitcher, 2015). In this way it may be suggested that they are resisting stigmatised portrayals of CSWs by emphasising how in private they are the same as any other females (Sallman, 2010). Further, some of the CWS in this thesis challenged and negotiated stereotypical notions and the impact that these have on their identity:

*I think to myself...bank managers and all that, they just don't floor me at all because I just look at them... I think oh yeah he could be a punter...and then that takes away that sort of oh well he's better than me type thing because he isn't (Mia\*).*

*I think it becomes a part of your identity...it's probably good to remember that we were a whole, complete person before this job, and we are still a whole, complete person afterward and perhaps have developed due to the experience (Clara).*

*It's been part of your life, part of your identity; it's defined you as a person to a certain extent for a long time...it'll always be a part of your life and of who you are as a person! :-\* (Elena).*

This provides support for the notion that some CSWs do not acknowledge that they are “less than” others” (Sallman, 2010, p.155). This somewhat allows them to negotiate their stigmatised identity (Murphy et al., 2015); especially as non-conformity with norms for female sexual behaviour has led to CSWs becoming devalued within the social world (Comte, 2014). Thus, as identified within research by Bellhouse et al. (2015), it is suggested that CSWs create distinctions between their working and private lives to facilitate the management of stigma in both the private and public spheres in order to support wellbeing. Conversely, emphasising that they are able to conduct gender roles as effectively as other females does not mean that they will be regarded as “good girls” (Mavin & Grandy, 2013, p.232). Further, by asserting that in private they conform to the normal category for females they may be in fact reifying the very gender categorises which support patriarchal power (Collins & Rothe, 2017) and the false sense of universalism for females within the concept of citizenship (Lister, 2003a).

## *Conclusion*

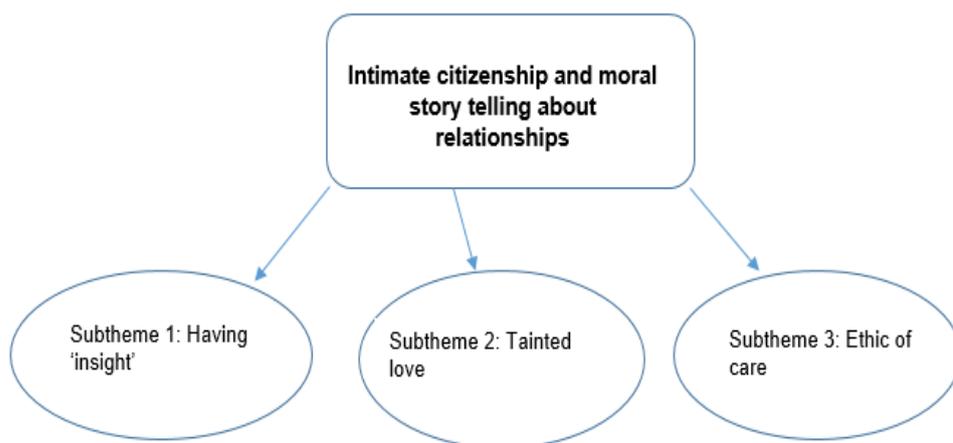
Part 1 of chapter 6 was based around the recurrent themes within the data about active citizenship. Within the first subtheme, there is evidence of active citizenship behaviours such as volunteering or donating to charities; which support notions of a Big Society and the spirit of citizenship – addressing the research question ‘To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?’ Within a female version of citizenship such actions are regarded as equating to informal politics; according to Lister (2003a) these would need to be recognised as equating to male formal political citizenship in order for females to attain justice. Yet it is suggested that such behaviours are unlikely to be recognised as supporting claims to a full citizenship status for females in general, due to the perceived female nature of this work for historical and cultural reasons, and the underrepresentation of working class women in the formal political arena. It is problematic that universalism cannot account for CSWs due to their discredited identity. Further compounding this issue is the often hidden nature of CSWs informal contributions; these actions are not useful to support claims to active citizenship or the ability to act as a political citizen; which impacts on the ability to claim rights and optimise needs satisfaction (Gough, 2014). A further consequence of this is that their participation is not acknowledged either in research or the public arena where they are not accepted as a part of the citizen-community and have instead a stigmatised citizenship identity. According to (Lister, 2007a) such recognition would be necessary in order for their informal participation to be acknowledged as such. However, even if such recognition was achieved, there is still the issue of the public-private divide and women in general are excluded from the male and public arena where contributions are recognised as exemplifying the citizenship ideal. Therefore, despite CSWs attempts to align their behaviour with the norms for female behaviour, and evidence that they can to some extent manage their stigmatised identity, the general norms for females are incongruent with a fuller citizenship status. In relation to the research question ‘How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?’; the implication for CSWs is that they will continue to be regarded as objects rather than subjects.

This in turn supports the notion that the universal concept of citizenship needs to be more interactive and differentiated (Lister, 2003a) in order to be able to incorporate the experiences of everyday lives of marginalised citizens such as CSWs (Purvis & Hunt, 1999). Thus for CSWs, as their everyday work life is inherently intimate in nature, it is logical to consider the extent to which they might be intimate citizens; part 2 of this chapter will discuss this.

*Part 2: Intimate citizenship and moral story telling about relationships (with clients and men in general)*

Within chapter 2, part 2 of this thesis, alternative approaches to the mainstream concept of citizenship were discussed in terms of their usefulness for developing a more universal concept of citizenship. Within that chapter, alongside the notion of sexual citizenship, the concept of intimate citizenship was noted for its ability to incorporate contemporary non-traditional citizens. The intimate citizenship concept was developed by Plummer (2003) from the sexual citizenship concept and has been developed further by Lister (2003a) within her feminist citizenship approach. Highlighted within the concept is the extent to which the private and public overlap in contemporary society, for example in relation to commercial-sexwork private decisions such as whether to sell sex are tied into legal and structural processes. Thus, according to Plummer (2003, p.68) the public-private divide can no longer be separated and regarded as independent spheres as “the personal invades the public and the public invades the personal”. Intimate citizenship then is a tool to explore how individuals conduct the personal (such as relations, feelings and gender), how moral conflicts are positioned and challenge mainstream citizenship approaches in terms of fixed boundaries (Lister, 2003a; Plummer, 2003). Further, for Plummer (2003) and key to this research, is that intimacies are entrenched in social inequalities (such as gender or social class) which lead to exclusion from mainstream society. Within the data from both the interviews and the forum, it is evident that relations between clients in terms of intimacy are complex and often

emotionally confusing. Previous research suggests that to some extent this is related to the arenas in which sex is sold; for example, indoor workers with longer-term clients are more likely to have interactions with clients that are regarded as intimate (for example being caressed by a client) than those who work on the streets (Weitzer, 2010). However, this is not the experience of all CSWs. This component of the analysis and discussion reflects such intimate contradictions and discusses the following subthemes “Having *insight*”, “Tainted love: navigating moral stances within emotional and caring relationships” and “Ethic of care” (see figure 12 below). The aim is to meet two research questions: ‘To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?’ and ‘How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?’.



*Figure 12:* Final thematic map for the overarching theme ‘Intimate citizenship and moral story telling about relationships’

Subtheme 1: Having 'insight' (the outcome of sexual harassment and work rights contraventions).

Emerging from chapters 1 and 5 of this thesis is the notion that commercial-sexwork is a complex work arena, where danger and exploitation can be experienced; although this is not ubiquitous (Sanders, 2007b) and how this is managed was a key issue identified by Sanders (2005). In this subtheme an outcome of having to manage risk on a personal/intimate level was discussed in forums concerning "Attitudes to men in general", "Falling for a client" and a Channel 4 TV programme about "SEX A VERY BRITISH JOB", is the need to develop "*insight*" (Abigail; Kaylee) about men in general and clients in particular. This "*insight*" has led to some CSWs, for example Bella, Gracie and Valerie, thinking about men from an often negative viewpoint such as hating or disliking. There is *insight* within the forum data from correspondents such as Bailey, Gracie and Rebecca into how such a negative view is not desirable for clients, men in general or for the CSWs; as is explained within the following extracts:

*not all men are like that, you can't tarnish all with the same brush so it's all down to luck I suppose (Emily).*

*There is a huge element of sample bias though - escorts only see the men who are clients, not (professionally) the ones who are not. If every man cheated then, even considering the ones doing it for free, the 'is it quiet or just me' thread wouldn't exist, because everyone would be too busy to post there (Jocelyn).*

*I do have some lovely clients who do restore my faith in men a little at a time... It's pretty difficult to actually come to a conclusion to how escorting has*

*changed my attitude towards men, but I would say that even though I started off bitter and still am bitter, I would say I am bitter in a positive and less 'helpless' way. And all of the many kind and considerate clients I've had the pleasure to meet in the past couple of years have really had a hand in helping me to become a strong and sexually confident young woman, and for that I am really grateful (Bella).*

Yet the behaviour of some clients would be seen as sexual harassment or 'rude...disrespectful' (Emily, Penelope) in other professions and could contravene the Equality Act, 2010. There is clearly an issue for some CSWs with managing client expectations and behaviour, however there is a suggestion that this would be somewhat expected in an occupation where there are no rules or regulations for how clients should behave (Pitcher, 2015). For CSWs such issues are not reserved for commercial-sexwork as Rachel stated "*I've had a comparable thing happen to me in civvy life*" and other contributors to a thread about 'Attitudes to men in general' supported Rachel's point:

*Funnily enough, in general, I have come across more negativity and abuse in my personal life than I have in two years of escorting (Bella).*

*I've had far more negative experiences with men in my personal life than I have in my escorting life (Bailey).*

From this it is evident due to sexual, psychological and physical harassment some CSWs lack bodily integrity in both their professional and private lives; impeding their right to equality in both those realms. Importantly, because binaries such as the public and private realms are presented in the social world as if they are fixed, this lends to them appearing rigid; masking any interaction with each other and that there

is the possibility for change (Lister, 2003a). According to Plummer (2003, p.68) this public-private binary is false as "...the personal invades the public and the public invades the personal". Thus for Lister (2003a, p.142) the public-private divide needs rearticulating to acknowledge both its fluidity in order to recognise "the advantages of men's claims and the disadvantage of women's" and a consideration of the interaction between the spheres. One example for how this could be achieved would be to consider how the public sphere intervenes in the private (Plummer, 2003).

In this case, the extent to which sexual harassment in either arena impacts on equality and in turn affects access to citizenship rights (Manjoo, 2016). This is important as a lack of bodily integrity has a negative impact on the ability to claim citizenship rights (Manjoo, 2016) and compromises autonomy in both realms (Lister, 2003a). Additionally, sexual harassment in the workplace contravenes the civil right to safe working conditions (Office of the High Commissioner, 2014; United Nations, 1948). Yet for CSWs acknowledgement of such issues has been accounted for previously within the state's intervention within private sexual transactions (Plummer, 2003) via legal discourses aimed at protecting CSWs. Conversely, the use of legal discourses by the state has inadvertently supported their lesser citizenship status (victim and criminal, see chapter 3 of this thesis). In order to address this issue it is suggested here that commercial-sexwork rights would need to be pursued in the same manner as more mainstream occupations; that is through workplace law and civil rights claims which would increase autonomy and support social citizenship rights claims.

Subtheme 2: Tainted love: navigating moral stances within private and work emotional and caring relationships

It is evident above that some CSWs personal experiences of commercial-sexwork have led them to believe that clients cannot be trusted. Ironically the "*perfect client*"

is by the nature of the commercial-sexwork contract untrustworthy within their personal intimate relationships:

*99% of my clients (who are married or attached) are the perfect client but yes of course their partners would think they are a pure bastard for cheating if they knew (Emily).*

*Most of my clients are lovely, respectful, normal family men with wives kids etc; it has made me assume that all men are capable of cheating, with an escort or otherwise (Abigail).*

Other CSWs acknowledged that it is necessary for men to cheat on their own intimate partners to support their commercial-sexwork business (Adriana, Emily, Kylie). Yet for Alyssa and Brianna there was a level of emotion work necessary to be able to accept that being a CSW meant that they had to ignore normative principles consistent with gender stereotyping and intimate relationships (Hochschild, 2003) which, conversely, they expected in their own private lives; as is exemplified below by Hannah:

*In my private life, I would never get with someone I know is attached but as an escort, it comes with the job.....I just try not to think about it.*

Other CSWs (for example Aria, Ava, Ruby and Grace\*) were cynical when clients professed emotional feelings for the CSW:

*"My wife doesn't understand me." Or variations thereof... classic bullshit*  
(Allison).

*This is exactly right! I fell for it at first (shameful I know!!) I can't even imagine falling for it now, it's just ridiculous isn't it, every other bloke "professes this love" it's cringey now to me* (Aria).

Further, others were matter of fact in accepting this was a component of their work; Morgan suggested "*Business is business... more the merrier of cheaters*" and Juliana said that "*you attract the same quims whatever*". For Jessica this is an expected outcome of commercial-sexwork thus there is a need to take some responsibility for their own expectations of clients' behaviours. Additionally, those CSWs in this thesis who attempted to make sense of clients' behaviours used opposing biological determinist or social construct discourses to account for the cheating behaviour of their clients. For example, the belief that men are "programmed" into wanting more than one sexual partner was common within the data (Abigail, Brianna, Morgan):

*Men are programmed in a certain way since day dot, them having as many sexual partners as possible is one thing that hasn't evolved for the better and we just need to accept that, I think* (Emily).

Such a view is useful to support the concept that there is a scientific explanation to account for clients' behaviour (Vidal, 2012). Alternatively, being monogamous was perceived as a social construct (Bailey) developed from the "*pressure in society*" (Alyssa) and akin to Victorian values (Kaylee):

*Monogamy is just a social construct. If there wasn't the pressure to be monogamous, far more people would be open about not being mono. Similarly, if ethical non-monogamy were considered as an option by more, the resulting negotiations would very probably make a lot more people happier with their lives (Jocelyn).*

It is interesting that the views of CSWs in relation to being faithful in a relationship challenge those of the general population whereby monogamy is often upheld as normative and the ideal (Conley, Ziegler, Moors, Matsick, & Valentine, 2012) and being unfaithful can mean “death to the relationship” (Clarke, Braun, & Wooles, 2015, p.162). However, they somewhat reflect the reality of relationships as approximately 42% of marriages in the UK end in divorce with unreasonable behaviour, which includes adultery, accounting for 52% of wife and 37% of husband petitions for divorce in 2015 (ONS, 2017b).

Conversely in their personal intimate relationships, CSWs often pursue the normative ideal of monogamy (consistent with Murphy et al., 2015) because intimate relationships are perceived as different from the relationships they have with their clients; even if intimate partners have been clients previously. For those correspondents who mentioned that they either have had, or were considering having, romantic relationship with former clients (Alice, Kimberly) in some cases it was difficult to see the relationship as purely professional and “switch off” feelings (Aria):

*Trying my hardest not to fall for my client ! We're both the same age get on very well we both have issues with our bf/gfs at home ... We speak every day an meet up very frequently and now I'm genuinely falling for him :FF I find*

*him sooo attractive which doesn't help, I spend my day thinking about him lol !  
Oh god this isn't good need to snap out if it asap !! X ??? (Annabelle).*

*I have had a few friends who've actually...gone on to marry the punter and  
one of them's got two kids together and they're really happy. ...lot of them  
would've said oh how can she marry a punter, that's disgusting, because a  
punter is just...next up from a piece of shit, somebody you just get money  
off...we're not going to the wedding because he's a punter (Mia\*).*

*I had a 2year relationship with a client...But I don't think it's a good place to  
meet someone, maybe I'm tainted but I just feel usually no good comes from a  
hooker client relationship. I'm sure the odd time it works out, we're all only  
human (Aria).*

From this it is evident that there are some instances where the notion that commercial-sexwork is an act is contradicted, although some might suggest that this exemplifies deep acting (Hochschild, 2003). Nevertheless, the nature of the commercial-sexwork contract taints intimate relationships with those who have been clients (Bowen & Bungay, 2016). This is even the case when CSWs get on well with clients (Susan\*); so falling in love with clients is generally thought to be undesirable:

*... it's not a film it's a job...A great heart in terms of controlling myself and  
don't get to pretty woman stage as in the film...there have been guys who I  
thought oh my god nice I want to see him, but I just do what I'm paid to do and  
go...why is he paying you? (Grace\*).*

*I wouldn't want to go out with a guy who punts! (Gianna).*

Therefore, the consensus from within the data of this thesis is that due to the pervasive taint resulting from stigma (consistent with Bowen & Bungay, 2016) and the economic contractual nature of CWS/client relationships, romantic relationships with clients might work on rare occasions but they should be avoided. Those CSWs who had intimate partners who were not ex clients such as Abigail, Grace\* and Savannah, stated that their partners knew what they did for a living and, even if they did not like it, they were willing to accept the situation:

*I met a gem of a man last year - not through work but we were friends for several months when he said he liked me and he knew what I do for a living. He has only ever had sex in relationships and I KNOW - 100% he would never sleep with anyone else and we are getting married. I am not naive - I'm 37 and he's my second love and relationship in my whole life. He doesn't 'like' what I do for work but he manages it and doesn't make it my problem. I feel very, very lucky :) (Gianna).*

However, others (Emma\*, Kaylee) indicated that working in the commercial-sexwork arena had a negative impact on private relationship:

*I've had relationships and I've got three children to one bloke. At first, he didn't know what I was doing; because I did keep it really sort of hush, hush...and he used to say I just can't stand the thought of you having sex with other men. Years later I said to him...how could you have really cared about me, I mean we had three kids together and I was laying on me back most of the time and ten men sucking on me tits and twiddling with them and trying to get Radio 3 (Mia\*).*

*My boyfriend gives me no affection whatsoever! I'm not talking about sex, I get that, no kissing, cuddling nothing! I get more affection from clients, think that's why I'm feeling like this, he tells me he loves me, I believe him but actions speak louder than words, I am craving affection, x (Abigail).*

Such doubts about the intent of intimate partners was found in research by Abel (2011) for example there were concerns about whether partners were only interested in a relationship with a CSW on the same terms as a client's (sexual interest only) thus there were doubts about their real intentions. Bowen and Bungay (2016) suggested that such instances of being devalued by intimate partners were due to their involvement in commercial-sexwork. It is clearly important, as with others in the social world, for CSWs to feel valued for who they are (Jackson et al., 2009). Interestingly, some of CSWs indicated that if their intimate partner was to cheat on them that they would prefer them to have intercourse with another CSW rather than have an affair:

*Sex and love are definitely two different ball games that's why I said if I had to choose between my partner having sex with an escort or having an affair, I'd choose seeing escorts because having an affair has an emotional attachment...I would hope that when I am settled with someone that they won't ever cheat on me but if I had to choose then I would rather they were getting their jollies off with an escort rather than an emotionally attached affair (Emily)*

Ava and Abigail stated that they prefer to be single rather than manage the complications in a relationship that emerge due to their occupation (consistent with Abel, 2011) and Brianna stated:

*If he cannot accept me...flaws and all...he can jog on.*

Thus it would seem that there is a disconnect between the norms of sex for procreation and for intimacy, and the CSW population, due to associations with sex-as-work and the threat the latter poses to intercourse within a loving relationship. Previous research (Abel, 2011; Dodsworth, 2014a; Murphy et al., 2015) suggests CSWs developed strategies to manage their opposing CSW and partner/girlfriend identities to account for the different roles. For example, CSWs attempt to minimise this impact within their intimate relationships by sometimes taking a more passive role than they would in their work (Abel, 2011). The successful management of opposed identities is equated with improved self-worth and improved relationship choices compared to those whose overarching identity was consistent with being a CSW (Dodsworth, 2014a).

In terms of intimate citizenship, it is evident within the data that CSWs are navigating their own moral stances by outlining stories from their life experiences (Plummer, 2003). In this way, via the online forum in particular, features that are recurring in the lives of CSWs are outlined and serve as lessons or warnings (Plummer, 2003) and provide rules for how to feel (Hochschild, 2003) for other CSWs who may be considering having an intimate relationship with a client or a non-client. Conversely, whilst these stories are evidence of intimate citizenship within the CSW community they do little to support a fuller citizenship identity as they inadvertently reify the tainted nature of commercial-sexwork thus perpetuate the stigma associated with working in this arena.

### Subtheme 3: Ethic of care

The importance for female citizens of developing the mainstream concept of citizenship to integrate an ethic of care and commercial-sexwork was previously discussed above in chapter 5, subtheme 2 of this thesis. Further, whilst not explicitly relating the caring element of their work to citizenship, some of the CSWs outlined the importance of care and ethics in general; supporting the development of intimate citizenship. For example, the forum correspondents and interview participants discussed that they have navigated their moral stances in relation to ethical conduct in terms of obligations and a responsibility:

*discretion and respect for their privacy. The most fundamental part of my job is that I'm only involved with a client during the time in which they have paid me to be, whether that's a little or a lot (Susan\*).*

*It's not just about the sex, and it's not just about taking money, for me it's about building relationships with them and getting them to come back (Sofia\*).*

Further support was provided within the data that some CSWs have an ethic of care towards their clients, particularly for those who might need relationship advice (Brianna), have confidence issues in relation to sexual intercourse (Alyssa, Abigail, Ashley, Catherine, Eleanor, and Kaylee), or for whom sexual intercourse is difficult due to health reasons or disability:

*sometimes you get them were they can't get an erection and so I try and tell them what might help them...I've got a few that go to the doctors that need to*

*get Viagra because they couldn't, because they were worried about it, you know and that solved their problem (Sofia\*).*

*I deal with disabled persons also which I find rewarding as I'm helping them do normal things that are taken for granted at times...my service is all about feelings and a sexual nature towards them, in some cases a carer or family member has made contact with me to organise the job and most time waits in another room (Grace\*).*

Working with clients who have disabilities is perceived as a specialism within the commercial-sexwork arena and is often termed 'tender loving care' (TLC). The TLC Trust (2008, p.1) claimed that CSWs provided services which are similar to those of health professionals for example, some "Sex workers become sexual physiotherapists for people who have had hip replacements, teaching them ways to enjoy sex without pushing the new hip out of joint." Thus it could be argued that in this way CSWs are supporting clients with disabilities in claiming their own sexual citizenship rights; addressing the absence of these rights within previous agendas (Liddiard, 2014). Sanders (2007a, p.452) suggested that this is an example of "where the disability movement and the sex worker rights movement share common ground" in that they are pursuing the right to citizenship in terms of sexuality. However, whilst hinting at sexual citizenship rights for CSWs Sanders' (2007a) research is heavily weighted to the sexual citizenship rights of people with a disability and the agenda on entitlement for people with a disability to buy sex rather than CSWs.

This is important as according Oriel (2005, p.392) the impact of the "sexual pleasure as a human right" discourse has been to further reinforce male dominance and the subjugation of females, and in this case CSWs; impacting on claims to justice. The

latter supports Lister's (2003a) notion that the pursuit of an ethic of justice has been somewhat ineffective for women due to the nature of their care work in the private sphere and has led to the creation of the idea of an opposing ethic of care. Yet, the binary polarisation of this debate masks that they may be able to underpin each other. For example, justice is enhanced if an ethic of care is considered alongside it to create a dual ethic, as care in isolation could lend to altruism and serve to maintain exploitive gendering of care relationships without some form of framework to ensure equality (Lister, 2003a). However, it is important to note that this does not equate to an ethic of care relating only to private and justice to the public sphere (Lister, 2003a). Consequently, care needs to be recognised as a citizenship responsibility, and care and justice perceived as complementary, supportive and transformative.

### *Conclusion*

In relation to the question 'To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?' within subtheme one of this theme, it was found that because the intimate relationships between CSWs and their clients are contractual in nature, these interactions can mean their opinions of men in general are affected negatively. For example, it is evident from their moral stances outlined by stories about their work and personal relationship experiences, that some CSWs do not want to appear as though they 'hate' all men. However, the nature of this profession leads to stances about men which are ambiguous and cautious in relation to which behaviours are acceptable or not in relation to commercial-sexwork and in general. This is important as intimate stories serve as a warning or lessons to other CSWs about intimate relationships within the commercial-sexwork arena; yet their moral stories are confusing and reify the idea of tainted love within their partner relationships (subtheme two). Consequently, although such story telling is evidence for intimate citizenship within the CSW community, it does little to support a fuller citizenship identity as they inadvertently reify the stigma associated with working in

the commercial-sexwork arena. Further, it was suggested that this situation compounded by the way the state intervenes into the private sexual transactions within commercial-sexwork; using legal and criminal discourses to deal with them rather than mainstream work laws and regulations. One possible outcome of this is that for CSWs a key citizenship attribute – autonomy, is diminished which impacts negatively on several citizenship rights including social citizenship. In subtheme three, another issue for CSWs relates to the intimate nature of their work and the support it shows for an ethic of care within commercial-sexwork. Thus in relation to the research question ‘How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?’; the issue in terms of citizenship status and caring is that care is not considered as a citizenship ethic rather it is generally associated with altruistic behaviour and inconsistent with other citizenship ethics such as justice. This is problematic as it supports the exploitive nature of gender and care work and impacts negatively on equality for those who work in caring arenas. Lister (2003a) suggested that to overcome this and for an ethic of care to become a key citizenship attribute for females in general, the opposing ethic of justice and the ethic of care need to be perceived as complementing, supporting and mutually transforming. For CSWs, then, it appears that intimate citizenship, active citizenship behaviours and evidence to support other rights and duties such as discussed in chapter 5 (employment and social citizenship rights) have not realised transformation in terms of their citizenship status. Thus it is important to question the ways in which the state has attempted to address this previously within the exiting ethos which aims to facilitate CSWs to return to mainstream society.

## Chapter 7: Exiting commercial-sexwork: becoming 'normal' citizens?

The current UK government agenda and associated policies in relation to commercial-sexwork (see for example: ACPO, 2011; Home Office, 2006a; Home Office, 2008) focus extensively on the notion that commercial-sexwork is not inevitable and CSWs can be helped to leave commercial-sexwork and be rehabilitated (Home Office, 2008) via the process of exiting. The state's contemporary exiting process is based around saving CSWs who persistently offend (defined as two or more occasions in a three-month period under PCA 2009) via ESOs which are upheld as an alternative to a fine. The requirement under such orders (PCA, 2009) is the attendance of three meetings, over a six-month period with a person deemed 'suitable' in order to address their offending behaviour and pursue ways to exiting. The Home Office (2010, p.3) recognised the complex nature of the exiting process and suggested that three meetings might not be sufficient to facilitate exiting and that there may be repeat offences; so they should be regarded as "initial engagement" leading to longer term intervention. The state's approach somewhat reflects the research literature on commercial-sexwork which points to the complex nature of the exiting process particularly at street level (Baker, Dalla, & Williamson, 2010; Sanders, 2007c) due to various longstanding underlying structural and personal barriers (Balfour & Allen, 2014; Hester & Westmarland, 2004; Jeal & Salisbury, 2004; Munro & Scoular, 2012). Whereas, indoor workers were more likely to be concerned about being prepared financially to leave or retire; for example considering the implications for pensions (Sanders, 2007c). According to Bindel et al. (2012, p.12) there are nine overlapping barriers to exiting and the ways in which these interact are personal to the individual thus requiring a complex response from agencies or programmes which provide assistance to exit; these are:

- 1) problematic drug use;
- 2) problems with housing;
- 3) physical and mental health problems;
- 4) having had experiences of violence as a child;
- 5) criminalisation;
- 6) the role of money – managing debts or high levels of disposable income;
- 7) experiencing coercion from others to remain in prostitution;
- 8) a lack of qualifications or training;
- and 9) entering prostitution at a young age.

The aim within exiting programmes is to help CSWs work towards an acceptance of the negative components of their occupation so that they can identify that these outweigh any benefits (see for example MASH Manchester Action on Street Health (n.d.). However, although it is not in doubt that there should be an outlet for those who would like to exit, as was established in chapter 3 of this thesis, there is no statistical indication that such provision is successful. Whilst this somewhat reflects the nature of inconsistent data for commercial-sexwork in general, it brings into question the effectiveness of such provision as for those who 'bounce back' after attempts to exit often awaits a disciplined citizenship status (created at a structural level by the ACPO, 2004, 2011; SOA 2003). Simultaneously, there is lack of recognition regarding the impact of exiting alongside contemporary mainstream citizenship discourses in isolating CSWs to the margins (Scoular & O'Neill, 2007).

Therefore, the aim of this section of the analysis is to examine themes which were developed within the data; *Subtheme 1: Moving onto mainstream occupations, consideration of the issues of skills transferability and bridging occupations;* *Subtheme 2: Looking back to commercial-sexwork "with a bit of melancholy";* *Subtheme 3: Bouncing back;* and *Subtheme 4: Leaving commercial-sexwork: exiting or retiring?* (see figure 13 below for the final thematic map for this overarching theme). These subthemes are useful for identifying how CSWs express the complexity of leaving and exiting and their problematic citizenship journeys and for meeting two questions within this research: 'How do CSWs experience citizenship?' and 'How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?'

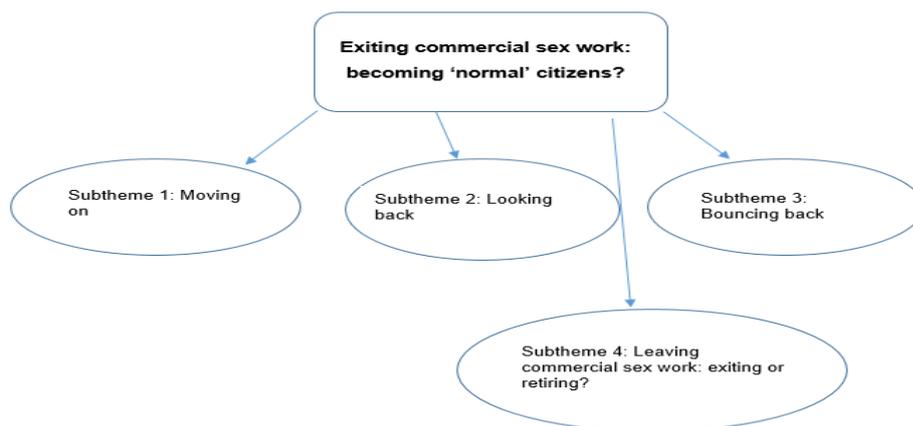


Figure 13: Final thematic map for the overarching theme 'Exiting commercial-sexwork: becoming 'normal' citizens?'

Subtheme 1: Moving onto mainstream occupations, consideration of the issues of skills transferability and bridging occupations.

There are no explicit instances within the forum threads of the term exiting rather there is the tendency to discuss moving on or leaving. It is important to note that the process of leaving can be empowering but there can be a level of trepidation as to the extent leaving is possible which is a common theme in this arena (Pitcher, 2015) and was highlighted by Brooke when she stated "*I want to start a normal job, even found one but not sure I am able to stop with escorting*". Nonetheless, there is evidence to suggest that exiting projects can provide an effective service for CSWs who want to leave. For example, in a thread about "sex worker projects" Natalia stated that they provide an arena where CSWs "*could share your thoughts on moving on from escorting ie re training etc x*" and more specific benefits were highlighted by Kayla in the same thread:

*Re job training, some of the sex work projects...help you with this - when I had a huge gap in my CV and wanted to get other employment I did volunteering for 8 months and it was good on my CV. The sex work project helped me with doing my CV, interview stuff, and also applications, and got me funding for a course I wanted to do.*

Thus, the data supports the notion that in some cases exiting provision is adequately focused to issues which can create barriers to exiting for example gaps in CVs and/or a lack of experience in other occupations. These findings are consistent with the literature regarding exiting which highlights “a lack of qualifications or training” (Bindel et al., 2012, p.7) and an earlier review of provision by Andrews (2008) which suggests that in some cases such issues may be more problematic than the impact of convictions under the SOA 2003. Also, transferrable skills which were suitable for more mainstream occupations were identified in the data (without the help from an exiting project):

*...escorting experience changed me a lot, for better, and many of the skills I mastered are very transferable to my "normal" life and business but at this stage of my life I don't want to carry on sex work (Mya).*

*... high school as an admin assistant for a few years and then I worked for XXX Airways at XXX airport and then in flight connections at ... I'd say it makes me more patient perhaps (Grace\*).*

However, whilst this is support for the notion of transferable skills for a few CSWs, it is somewhat unrealistic as the behaviours which developed those skills are deemed

as unlawful or immoral (Weitzer, 2007) and thus un-citizenship like and are unlikely to be presented as supporting evidence when applying for a mainstream occupation.

Consequently, it is not surprising that advice from other CSWs within the threads regarding realistic alternatives focuses on occupations within the sex industry where stigma or judgemental attitudes are likely to be less evident. For example, within a thread where Natalia asked for advice about what type of work she could consider as she wanted *“to move away from escorting eventually and maybe set up a small online business. Preferably in the sex industry but I'm not sure what to do. Has anybody got any ideas?”*, the advice offered from other correspondents such as Jocelyn, and others below, related to work within the sex industry:

*Webcamming is a whole lot of fun. You can make almost as much as escorting on it. Xx deffo try it. I adore the adultwork webcamming. More payers than freeloaders (Mary).*

*I tried webcamming - maybe this would be an option for you? I know some do really well from it, but my sanity couldn't take the constant "hi bb" and "twirl bb" and getting undressed and cold for like 20 sec private shows ;D Some nights I spent more on heating !! But again, I know some ladies love it and do well. An adult shop? (Kayla).*

Yet even within other threads (*Planning to start "normal career", but worried..* and *Getting closure on leaving the job*) where a "normal career" is considered as an alternative trepidation was apparent. In order to address such worries some CSWs prefer to keep on working in the commercial-sexwork arena and recommend this method to other CSWs until they are certain that they have made the right decision

to leave. For example, some of the CSWs (such as Ava) offered advice or personal experiences on how to manage this time of uncertainty:

*I have a regular client base...which I still do time to time and I average in a good week around 2-3 clients but more if I do street work (Grace\*).*

*Could you escort part-time until you decided whether you enjoyed the new job and wanted to stick at it? Providing your schedule would permit it of course, I'm in no way suggesting you run yourself ragged :) (Samantha).*

Whilst it could be questioned whether those who claim to have stopped working in the commercial-sexwork arena but continue to work part time have exited, it has been long recognised within the exiting projects (see for example UKNSWP, 2008) that the transition to a normal job is problematic. Accordingly, CSWs may return to their previous work on several occasions, or 'phase out' (Baker et al., 2010) before exiting entirely. For those CSWs who work on the street, exiting can be difficult because of their chaotic lifestyles associated with addiction and abuse, alongside feelings of isolation from the CSW community after exiting (MASH, n.d.; UKNSWP, 2008). Baker et al. (2010) found in their research that CSWs who were having difficulties exiting could benefit from being educated about the exiting process; allowing them to identify the specific stages of exiting (such as the stage when they are preparing deliberately to leave). Conversely, despite the overall aims of organisations to support exiting, the experience of some of the correspondents in this thesis of exiting projects has been problematic, and is possibly related to the spoiled CSW identity. For example, in a thread about "Moving away from escorting but staying in the sex industry" Kayla stated that staff appeared judgemental and that "Not all of the workers were as friendly or understanding as I'd have liked" and earlier research by Andrews (2008) supported this view. This is interesting as according to

Goffman (1963) helpers have a need to victimise those they are supporting in order to create 'false cures' but in this case they are discrediting them in a way which is not conducive to a 'cure'. One implication from this is that some CSWs are experiencing stigma from those who are employed to help with their transition towards exiting rather than having their transferable skills recognised; which may account for why off-street CSWs rarely approach exiting projects for support to leave commercial-sexwork (Cusick et al., 2011).

Nevertheless, the transitional experiences expressed within this data reflects those in other occupations where it is difficult to find alternative positions which can encapsulate the work conditions and alternative 'bridging' work is sought as a precursor to retirement (Hill, Snell, & Sterns, 2015). For example, when police officers are preparing to retire and find part-time employment in similar industries such as security work this is suggested to make the process of retiring from the police force easier (Hill et al., 2015). That is, in order to facilitate the transition to retirement working part-time in the bridge occupation at the same time as being a police officer allowed for skills to be refined for the new occupation; ensuring that the process was less challenging than for those who did not work part-time (Hill et al., 2015). Conversely, where the two occupations differ is that unlike those who retire from the police force, the transferability of skills from bridging occupations in the commercial-sexwork industry arena to mainstream occupations is difficult due to social and structural stigma.

Subtheme 2: Looking back to commercial-sexwork "with a bit of melancholy" (Mya)

A further reason that makes 'moving on' difficult which was explored in the forum threads was *looking back*. For example, whilst finding a new job was perceived as a 'new exciting phase' with opportunities, there was a sense of 'sadness to be leaving' commercial-sexwork as indicated by Clara within the tread "Getting closure on

leaving the job”. Further, such feelings have been found within the previous research literature on exiting (Baker et al., 2010). Interestingly, this seems to be an unexpected feeling amongst the CSWs:

*I do keep looking at my escort photos and feeling sad that they are now useless, checking this forum, checking my email (kind of necessary to let my clients know I've retired), and I look at the website of the agency (I was independent and on an agency at the time I left) and feel gutted that my profile is gone and that my good regulars will have moved on. I will really miss a lot of them. I feel just generally a bit down rather unexpectedly (Clara).*

*I look backward with a bit of melancholy that "these days" are over forever (Mya).*

*At the risk of being too simplistic, I think being a WG has been fun and with anything fun, it's hard not to feel down when it ends (Stella).*

Research by Ng, Allore, Monin, and Levy (2016), regarding retiring in general, points to opposing stereotypical notions of retirement either as an opportunity to enhance an individual's life because they have the freedom to explore and have new experiences or a time of developing ill health and social isolation; both approaches are suggested to impact on the process of retirement. Such notions are no different for CSWs in this research and may explain the feelings of sadness or melancholy at the prospect of leaving. Importantly, for some CSWs retiring means the loss of 'a significant part of...life' (Stella) which can impact on the motivation to remain retired or move on and find 'closure' (Clara). Other forum contributors in the thread about "Getting closure on leaving the job" relate to how feelings of power as a CSW can be

'intoxicating' (Mya) and ultimately lead to 'our egos stroked' (Ava) and how the loss of this power is greatly missed:

*Just like you I have no longing of coming back to the business, yet when I think of some of my bookings and how I felt afterwards walking back home with my purse full of \$\$ how I felt empowered, adored, sexy, adventurous... The adrenalin rush was absolutely enormous. As you say - intoxicating... For me this is probably what I miss most..the adoration that I've received from almost most of my regulars (I know I sound really vain, but this count too); the surprise of who I am going to see (Mya).*

It is possible that a new career would not be able to replace the 'positive effect' or be at the same intensity of ego stroking as commercial-sexwork:

*I think it is maybe to do with the positive effect that you have on the client... so maybe a feeling of power and impact? I definitely got a huge boost from the fact that highly successful and influential and a lot of the time, very charming gents wanted to pay me for my time, and quite superficially I liked floating in and out of glamorous hotels. The thing is, I know that power and impact are things that I will also get out my career now too, and building relationships is what my job is about, so there are parallels with escorting, so I just don't understand why I am finding it so difficult to let go (Clara).*

In any work arena there can be an issue with finding a replacement employment that is meaningful or replicates positive effects (Ng et al., 2016) for example psychoanalyst therapists in research by Shatsky (2016) experienced similar issues. Thus, it is evident that workers (including CSWs) can be left with a sense that something essential is not being met in alternative occupations (Ng et al., 2016) but

for the CSWs in this research it appears that there is some difficulty in defining what that element is:

*We talked in another thread about stroking guys egos during a booking but at the same time we, in return, even if it is subconsciously, get our egos stroked in return. If it's not the sex or the money anyone is missing, perhaps it is the ego stroking that is being missed. It may be obtained from other avenues we go down but is it as intense as escorting. I don't know the answer to that question, I'm just putting it out there. With many girls it is the sex they miss, with many girls it is the money they miss and that is why they return but if things are fulfilled in both these departments, it must be something else that is missing. Just my thoughts ladies (Ava).*

It is evident that one of the components they are missing within normal occupations is their relationships with clients, *"I miss the clients and I miss the flexibility and the fun"* (Jade) and the *fulfilment* that comes from providing a valued service; all of which can be associated with job satisfaction (Pitcher, 2015) and a sense of achievement, that are clearly important for their self-esteem (Fisher, 2008). Similar experiences are expressed in other occupations (for example counsellors (Shatsky, 2016) where work has helped to develop a sense of self-worth and identity (Wheatley, 2013). Interestingly, this seems to be an important rejoinder to the stereotypical perceptions of fuller citizens towards commercial-sexwork. Further, some CSWs expressed having a *'Big Secret'* and being powerful:

*If you enjoyed doing it, it can be a difficult game to walk totally away from because of some of the things you mention. Some people also like the sense of power from having a Big Secret or the 'I don't care what the rest of the world thinks, I'm doing this' aspects....I am also trying to figure out what I am*

*missing, and it is def, not the shagging bit ;) I think I miss the adrenaline rush, after especially glamorous booking; the feeling of having my own secret (in my private life nobody knew that I am escorting) (Mya).*

Here Mya is indicating that it is possible to ignore negative stigmatising discourses (Sallman, 2010) and do what they want to do. This somewhat contradicts Pitcher's (2015) findings which suggested that the secret nature of commercial-sexwork contributed to isolation from the social world; however, such contradictions would be expected within such a diverse work force. Importantly, the '*Big Secret*' is one component which may be difficult to replicate in a normal job. Consequently, whilst other careers may provide the opportunity to provide similar feelings they seem unable to provide the intensity of power or ego stroking found in commercial-sexwork. The hidden nature of this work may account for some of the excitement; the sense of power of doing something that others may not approve of but they are '*doing this*' regardless may be difficult to find in other occupations; such as was highlighted in Hill et al.'s (2015) study in relation to police work and bridging occupations.

One of the implications from this is that the stigmatised elements of commercial-sexwork are supporting the *big secret*, particularly the over focus on both the victim and criminal discourses; which is inadvertently creating a barrier to leaving this arena; even for those who wish to do so. Yet the agenda within most exiting projects is to focus on those CSWs who are working at street level (Cusick et al., 2011) whose experiences often reflect the negative aspects of commercial-sexwork and are distinctly different from off-street workers (see managing risk theme in chapter 5 of this thesis). Nevertheless, some off-street workers in the forum about "Getting closure on leaving the job" also emphasised the negative side of life as a CSW and Mya was adamant about not returning because of these "*downfalls*":

*What helps is that I also remember all the downfalls, the stress when the days were quiet, regulars I couldn't stand yet I was keeping on seeing them for the money, the very bad sex, bad competition between some of the working ladies I have met and how unpleasant it can be... Juggling around of incall places. And many more. I am focusing on my private life, and I know that I want to be with my boyfriend only. Can't imagine any sexual encounter with anybody else than him.*

Importantly, whilst Mya focused on the negative components of commercial-sexwork and the usefulness of this approach for exiting, this was not in isolation from a consideration of the positive aspects:

*I guess the difference with this job is that the highs are so intoxicating and you do feel very 'adored' I think I will try to make a list of the the ways in which the job has developed me as a person so I can take stock of the positive impact that it has had on my life, and close the chapter with some sort conclusion.*

Mya's point about developing as a person was supported by Clara who commented on how the positives had been instrumental in developing the person she had become. Thus recalling the positives was helpful to overcome her "nostalgic" feeling about leaving commercial-sexwork behind; which Hazel considered a "very intelligent way of approaching things" and further commented that it was important to:

*consider what it was you were getting from being a wg as well as just the monetary gains and then you can address those areas you feel you are lacking in when not being a wg anymore! I never thought about it in such a*

*logical way... when I stopped doing sw I did miss some aspects very much! I would have been smart to think like u!*

From this it would seem remiss to not consider the impact of the positive components of commercial-sexwork and the extent to which these will facilitate attempts to leave the arena; as further pointed out by Mya:

*I do owe it to my current career to give 100% and the more I live in the moment in my life and career as it currently is, the less I will be sad for a life that I am no longer living. It definitely helped me, making a list of the things I miss and the things that were difficult...escorting experience changed me a lot, for better, and many of the skills I mastered are very transferable to my "normal" life and business.*

Vergnés (2015) agreed with the notion that some off-street CSWs found it difficult to leave because they were focussing on the positives of commercial-sexwork in contrast to the exiting agenda within which the focus is on the negative barriers (see for example MASH Manchester Action on Street Health (n.d.). That is not to say that the positives are overlooked as they are considered by some exiting provisions (Bindel et al., 2012) such as Eaves (n.d.) who provide support for those who are looking to exit commercial-sexwork. Importantly, in contrast to the participants and forum contributors in this research, the positive aspects are often perceived as a barrier to overcome within the first stages of exiting rather than a useful component of the leaving process as described above. Thus, the process of *helping* CSWs to realise that the negatives outweigh the positives (Bindel et al., 2012) could be problematic from its' earliest stages as it diverges from CSWs' perceptions of the positive factors of commercial-sexwork and provides one reason why they find it difficult to make the transition with assistance.

Further, in more mainstream professions it would seem illogical to suggest to workers that they leave a position they find fulfilling and would lend to the notion that those in this area of work lack agency (Lister, 2003a; Lorraine, 1990; Weeks, 2011); consistent with the victim discourse. This is important, as it is evident in this research that the experiences in mainstream occupations do not equate to some of the more positive experiences in commercial-sexwork. Yet the pessimistic view within the exiting process is necessary as it would be difficult to rescue those who have made a free choice to engage in commercial-sexwork and who clearly enjoy the benefits of this work.

### Subtheme 3: Bouncing back

There is no doubt that leaving commercial-sexwork is a difficult process for some CSWs both at street and indoor levels; bouncing back (alternatively termed yo-yoing or revolving door) behaviour is common within this arena particularly when there is a need to pay for fines (Carline & Scoular, 2015; Cusick et al., 2014; Sanders, 2007c). This is particularly the case as highlighted in the previous theme, as socially accepted professions are not able to replicate the components of commercial-sexwork that are fulfilling. An additional factor that can lead to bouncing back relates to the lack of economic parity between commercial-sexwork and normal occupations as was indicated in a thread entitled "Would love some advice":

*I am working two jobs in excess of 50+ hours a week and still earning absolutely rubbish money. I spend all day thinking about how my full time wage is only 10 hours work in escorting world. Not to mention my lack of life. I'm going to study again in September and basically I miss escorting. Would like some spare money for then...Leaving my job isn't an option yet...I was*

*thinking of maybe working for a couple of weeks during my annual leave and then to go full time September time (Jade).*

Also, returning or leaving 'the door open' was expressed by Clara in the "Getting closure on leaving the job" thread:

*I have recently retired from the business just before Christmas and I'm having some trouble moving on which I didn't really expect to experience. Although I have left the business once or twice before in the past and left the door open for myself and subsequently returned part time, it really is permanent now due to things progressing in my personal life and in my career.*

That the exiting agenda negates such positive aspects is problematic not only because it supports an essentialist view of commercial-sexwork (Oselin & Weitzer, 2013) but because not addressing these can lead to bouncing back even after several years: "*I had that job for 2 years and then decided to go back to escorting part time*" (Kayla). Further, the outcome of returning to commercial-sexwork after exiting often leads to further marginalisation from a full citizenship status (see ACPO 2011 agenda with regards to those who return) and from the social world in general. Yet the positives are often exemplars of good citizenship behaviour and principles; either from the CSWs or their clients as was identified by Susan\* in an email interview when she was asked if she had worked in other arenas and how these compared to each other:

*I have worked in plenty of other industries including retail, manufacturing and hospitality, but became sick of long hours and pitiful wages. I not only earn a decent living now, but am treated far better than I ever was in any other job by*

*the people I come into contact with – I receive kindness, courtesy and respect from my clients rather than having to tolerate patronising and sexist treatment, and general ignorant and rude behaviour from both customers, colleagues and management in virtually every other job I've ever had.*

Further, as highlighted in Susan\*'s quote above, CSWs are taking the opportunity to exercise the right to work and earn a wage (United Nations, 1948) as with waged workers in mainstream occupations. Furthermore, as the mainstream occupations available to CSWs who wish to leave are generally low paid, mundane with long working hours (Tomlinson, Walker, & Foster, 2016); it is difficult to perceive how they could meet the financial gains from commercial-sexwork. Interestingly, this point highlights the equality of status issues found in mainstream occupations (Foster, 2015), "*patronising and sexist treatment*" is addressed to some extent by the 'respect' shown by some clients. Yet such benefits are not explored in relation to CSWs' citizenship status but they clearly draw attention to exclusionary processes within mainstream society. Under such circumstances it is not impossible to understand why CSWs would seek to return.

#### Subtheme 4: Leaving commercial-sexwork: exiting or retiring?

Within the online forum there were no incidences of the term exiting being used yet there are threads which discuss the issue for example 'Moving away from escorting but staying in the sex industry', and 'Getting closure on leaving the job'. Also when questioned about the exiting process interviewees were suspicious of both the terminology used and the underlying ethos of the agenda. For example, during an email interview Susan\* challenged my use of the term exiting and the notions behind that terminology:

*Well 'exiting' is the word which shot up the red flag as it really is the language of the anti prostitution/pro Nordic model types, so it's really best avoided if you want to avoid people assuming you have a similar agenda (just plain 'leaving' would make a huge difference). 'Retiring' is the word we would use.*

Retiring has been the terminology typically used by indoor CSWs to describe leaving commercial-sexwork (Sanders, 2007c). One implication of using the term exiting, as identified by Susan\*, is the association between the anti-prostitution agenda within for example the Swedish sex-buyer law (Penal Code, 2014) and the corresponding CSW victim discourse which, as already highlighted in the literature review, disrupts any notions of choice or agency. The EU Parliament (2014) recommended the Swedish male sex-buyer law for all European countries, regardless of whether within individual countries there was an acknowledgement of agency from the CSWs in terms of making a choice to work in this arena or whether all CSWs are regarded as victims. Further, the European Women's Lobby (2012) demanded a Europe that was free of commercial-sexwork. Conversely, the Home Office's (2008) review claimed the focus was to avoid an outright ban on commercial-sexwork in favour of disrupting the market. Yet when this is coupled with the aims of PCA 2009 in terms of punishing the male sex-buyers for not establishing vulnerability or coercion, it is not difficult to perceive how contemporary law does quite the opposite of what it aims to achieve; amounting to backdoor legislation whereby CSWs must agree to "be helped or else" (Phoenix, 2008, p.45).

Thus, despite legal and policy claims, for some CSWs the discourse of abolition is still associated with the exiting process and it is at odds with how they perceive the process as leaving or retiring. One outcome of perceiving the exiting provision agenda as disciplinary in nature is that it can impact on whether support is sought from exiting programmes as indicated by Susan\* when asked what she thought of such programmes:

*I don't really know any people from support services or outreach projects as a service user, but there are plenty of projects (those who don't have any sort of anti-sex work agenda to push specifically) which I wouldn't hesitate to contact should I need their help.*

Whilst such issues remain unresolved, some CSWs will be suspicious of claims that exiting programmes aim to address marginalisation when they continue to utilise terminology that supports abolition. Further, Susan\* problematised the notion of being 'rescued' by those with a suspicious agenda: *"the term is usually used by those determined to 'rescue' us whether we want them to or not, and most other sex workers I know would be immediately suspicious of the term"*. The rescuer discourse is not new (see for example the Magdalen Charity (Dodd, 1776) and is closely related to the victim discourse on which it relies, as is discussed in the literature review. Importantly, for the rescuer discourse to be effective the characteristics assigned to CSWs are necessarily negative (lacking morals, drug addict) and consistent with a spoiled identity (Goffman, 1963). The impact of a spoiled identity is that whilst it has utility for justifying the continuation of exiting programmes in rescuing those who *"want them to or not"* it inadvertently leads to increased stigmatisation and differential treatment within the general work arena for CSWs:

Other people are not automatically and collectively treated as if they must be odd or damaged in some way, and nor should we be – appropriated help, support and information should be available to all who are unhappy and wish to make life changes whether they have been raising children, engaging in prostitution or working in a factory. (Vergnés, 2015, p.1)

Thus, the lack of recognition within legal, policy and exiting programme agendas for those who wish to remain discounts the notion that the right to work and choice applies to CSWs. The latter points are important as according to Cusick et al. (2011, p.47) within the exiting process there is an element of “persuasion, pressure and presentation of opportunity” which are disguised as supporting “freedom of choice” from those organisations which are state sponsored; which would be perceived as coercive in mainstream occupations. Additionally, that the exiting discourse creates the supposition that commercial-sexwork is negatively different from other work is problematic as it inverts the concept of the transformative nature of work in the formation of people who create value (MacKinnon, 1982). Yet value can be created within the commercial-sexwork transaction as identified by Grace\* when she was asked about the work she conducts with people who have disabilities (TLC):

*Working with the disabled gives me a special feeling as for many it's their first time so you're a big part of their life which they look back on and also I do gain a nice feeling myself.*

From this it is apparent that commercial-sexwork is firmly situated within the equality/difference divide explored by feminist theorists such as Lister (2003a); whereby those who aim to support females in the pursuit of citizenship rights either opt to focus on claims to equality or difference. In this case exiting organisations focus on difference whereas the CSWs in this research are striving for equality. Thus, the term exiting reifies that CSWs are victims who have a spoilt identity which in turn justifies New Labour's reintegration agenda (Hansard, 2011; Matthews, 2008; UKNSWP, 2008). Conversely, for those who are not successful in being able to exit awaits further stigmatisation or criminalisation under the SOA 2003 with further negative implications for their citizenship status (see chapter 3 of this thesis for the discussion on the criminal discourse). Thus, according to Carline and Scoular (2015, p.110), the exiting agenda fails to account for the state's part in the maintenance of

the “structural, social and material inequalities” that leads to some CSWs feeling that commercial-sexwork is their only option.

In contrast, the connotation of using the term retiring rather than exiting by CSWs, as suggested by Susan\*, is that leaving commercial-sexwork is the same as leaving any other type of work and should not be treated as a special case. This would appear to be an attempt at normalisation from those in the sex work industry in order to address the division between commercial-sexwork and other more legitimate forms of work. One outcome of perceiving commercial-sexwork as the same as other work (discussed in chapter 1 of the literature review and chapter 5 subtheme 2 of this thesis) is that when a CSW decides to stop selling sex they could still remain in the industry, as was explored in a thread relating to ‘Moving away from escorting but staying in the sex industry’, Kayla indicated that *‘I’d like to do the same’*. In this way staying in the sex industry is perceived as an alternative to commercial-sexwork; providing CSWs with a supplementary income in retirement (Pitcher, 2015). Such an alternative could also be aligned with the process of retirement experienced by females who have worked in more socially acceptable work arenas and find that they wish to continue work albeit on a lesser/part-time basis as explored in research by Durberley and Carmichael (2016). On the other hand, for CSWs whilst this is likely to address the trepidation felt by those who worry about being prejudged and alleviate the need for assistance from exiting projects. Importantly this does not necessarily equate to an improved citizenship status for those CSWs who have retired as the mainstream concept of citizenship lacks the universality it purports, and would need to include them.

Consequently, whilst the utilisation of the term retiring is the choice of CSWs which implies greater ownership, in reality it is too simplistic to suggest that utilising a different term for exiting will lead to the profession being regarded as acceptable, that CSWs will be perceived as having agency or that there will be an improvement

in their citizenship status. Further in contradiction to Susan\*, this situation is often compounded by CSWs themselves. For example, whilst CSWs use the terms retiring or leaving they do not always make the association for themselves that commercial-sexwork can be regarded in the same way as other forms of work. This was exemplified in thread discussions which identify a desire not just to leave but to begin a 'normal job' when they have left escorting. This is compounded by some forum contributors who show optimism for the future of working in an acceptable occupation. For example, when responding to a thread about 'Getting closure on leaving the job' Clara stated that she was '*looking forward*' to a '*new exciting phase in life*' and the possibility of leading '*normal lives*' after retiring was considered by Samantha in a discussion about 'Planning to start "normal career", but worried'. This contradictory position would be expected within any work arena which is outside the norm and highlights the difficulty for CSWs in negotiating their citizenship identity and status. Additionally, this contradictory position is problematic for improving citizenship rights of CSWs who opt to remain in this area.

In order to address this, as suggested by Lister (2003a), there should be a focus on shared exclusion from citizenship status instead of on individual interest towards a "normal career". The danger of not focussing on CSWs shared exclusion from citizenship status is that they are subsumed by the category of woman. Yet it is important to be alert to a priori assumptions relating to similarities between all women whether this is in the work arena or other areas of their lives, as the voices that are generally heard are rarely those of marginalised individuals. A more effective approach is suggested by Phillips (1991) of ensuring that there are mechanisms in place to deal with particular characteristics when they become an issue whereby the focus is on timely access to limited resources and the transferability of resources to other issues.

## *Conclusion*

The aim within this section was to establish the extent to which the process of exiting can facilitate CSWs in attaining a fuller citizenship status in order to address the question 'How do CSWs experience citizenship?' It is clear from the themes that leaving or retiring from commercial-sexwork is complex and the process of helping CSWs to exit in some instances adds to the complexity by not being able to discriminate the extent to which CSWs citizenship journeys are interrelated with leaving. For example, the focus on the negative elements of commercial-sexwork leads to a reification of their lesser citizenship status as it isolates this type of work from 'normal' work creating a good/bad dichotomy. Further, that exiting programmes *help* CSWs to exit suggests that they have a lack of agency thus supporting the victim discourse. The danger of focusing on negative components within commercial-sexwork in order to facilitate exiting is that the intensity of feelings that some participants suggest as reasons for finding it difficult to leave, such as the power of working within an illicit work arena, can be discounted. This is problematic as mainstream occupations are often unable to provide positive experiences at such intensity. Rather CSWs often find themselves stigmatised when they take up mainstream work as a result of negative perceptions about their previous occupation.

Also, expressed within the data is the lack of equality of status between CSWs and females in the mainstream work arena and how this may not be an issue within the commercial-sexwork arena. This is interesting as it reflects a key issue that is not addressed within the universal approach to citizenship and supports the need for a feminist and differentiated approach to citizenship. It is clear from the data that focusing on shared exclusion of females within the universal approach has led to CSWs being subsumed under the broad category of women rather than being perceived as a group of females with similar and yet different concerns from other women. One of the outcomes of this is that the concept is not discerning enough to

focus on how CSWs exclusively experience marginalisation. This is particularly an issue for those who return to commercial-sexwork after a period of working in mainstream work as for them generally awaits a disciplined citizenship status. Further, disciplining CSWs for returning to commercial-sexwork suggests that they are lesser citizens as they lack agency of choice; a key requirement of citizenship. Conversely, this could be considered as quite the opposite, that instead this is evidence of them choosing to resist the state's dominant citizenship agenda supported by the exiting process. Thus, returning to the commercial-sexwork arena for those who have not been coerced could be perceived as an example of agency of choice; providing support again for the notion that CSWs are able to negotiate the boundaries of citizenship. Yet, it is unlikely that any elements which might facilitate an improved citizenship identity for CSWs such as the ethic of care expressed within TLC work will be recognised as citizenship like within the social world.

In terms of the question 'How do participants express their understanding of citizenship?'; there is also a tension between the terminology which is used to describe the process of leaving, it is clear that those who are thinking of leaving do not utilise the term exiting; preferring instead to use retiring or leaving. From this it is apparent that CSWs are striving for equality of status yet exiting programmes are focussing on the negative differences between CSWs and other women who leave an occupation. The outcomes of this were expressed by the CSWs in this research as they seek alternative occupations within the sex work arena where they are less likely to experience stereotypical views in relation to themselves or their previous occupation or bounce back to commercial-sexwork.

## Chapter 8: Thesis conclusion

The overall aim of this project is to address a paucity of research with regards to the citizenship journeys of female CSWs. In order to achieve this aim there were four research questions:

How do CSWs experience citizenship?

How do participants express their understandings of citizenship?

To what extent are values and ethics a component of commercial-sexwork?

How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial-sexwork identity?

This conclusion outlines how the four research questions have been addressed. It is clear that CSWs experience marginalisation in much the same way as other females in terms of access to full citizenship. However, there are particular issues that relate solely to CSWs so collapsing the equality-difference binary with a pluralisation of difference can account for their similarities with other females and account for their diversity. For example, their informal political contributions in the private arena are discounted as not equating to formal politics in the same way as other females; supporting the need for a universal element to female citizenship to pursue equality with males. Further, CSWs experience of attaining social citizenship rights such as the right to an education is paradoxical; some are educated to a high level but this does not equate to improved work prospects or an improved citizenship status.

Additionally, it was apparent that some CSWs understand the increasing obligation for females to meet the male citizen-worker ideal, as they aim to be financially independent from state welfare and assistance from others in the public arena. What was not clear was whether this was through choice or as a result of punitive measures towards welfare and the difficulty of aligning the sex-as-work discourse with the mainstream work. The outcome is that for CSWs social citizenship rights do not lead to equality of experience with others in the mainstream society which leads

to a negative experience of citizenship in the civil and political realms; in which CSWs are underrepresented or their contributions lack the ability to transform their status.

Further, it was found that the process of leaving commercial-sexwork may compound the experience citizenship for CSWs who are *helped* to leave in that it supports the victim discourse. The victim discourse has long been evidenced in law and policy for CSWs (see chapter 3) and whilst *helping* victims may enhance the citizenship status of the helper, it suggests a lack of agency from the CSW which in turn has negative implications for their citizenship status. Additionally, this focus on the negative components of commercial-sexwork inadvertently reifies the good/bad dichotomy between mainstream occupations and commercial-sexwork. Such an approach disregards the positive benefits expressed by the CSWs in this thesis which cannot always be found in female mainstream occupations; for example the intense feelings of power.

Further, those CSWs who return to working in the commercial-sexwork arena after a period of working in a mainstream occupation, awaits a disciplined citizenship status due to policy from ACPO (2011) and the PCA, 2009. However, it is suggested that there could be an alternative approach to viewing a return to working to the commercial-sexwork arena, in that it could be regarded as evidence for agentic, thus civil behaviour. Thus, for those who have not been coerced, this could be evidence of the ability to resist the states exiting agenda and its associated disciplined citizen properties; it could support the idea that CSWs are able to negotiate the states boundaries for citizenship. Consequently, for equality of status and justice, commercial-sexwork conflict dialogues need to move towards the notion of CSWs as citizens in their own right rather than subsuming them to the mainstream female category; in order to facilitate the transformative recognition of their citizenship behaviours. Additionally, it was found that the way in which CSWs tell their stories

about the intimate relationships between themselves, male clients and intimate partners, has led to mostly negative moral stances or confusing insights in terms of what behaviours are acceptable in the commercial-sexwork arena. Whilst such story telling is evidence of intimate citizenship values; their moral story telling reifies the notion that intimate and personal relationships for them can often be tainted. In this way CSWs are inadvertently supporting their discredited identity.

Within this thesis it is evident that some citizenship values and ethics are a core component in commercial-sexwork but these do not support equality of status. For example, CSWs evidence claims to the right to work, the duties to pay tax and NI contributions, and the disembodied nature of commercial-sexwork; behaviours which are expected of the ideal male citizen. Consequently, that contributions are unrecognised amounts to exploitation as the state and other citizens are appropriating some of the profits from CSWs labour.

Further it was evident that CSWs understand the values of Big Society and the spirit of citizenship by actively volunteering or donating to charities in the same way as other citizens. However, CSWs contributions are often hidden so as not to reveal their identity; for fear of their occupation being discovered; impacting negatively on their claims to active citizenship. Conversely, as with all females, even if they were able to freely exhibit such behaviours they will not be recognised as equating to male citizenship rather they are perceived as more aligned with an ethic of care thus impacting on justice claims. Therefore, for justice, a female version of citizenship is required to perceive actions within the private sphere as evidence of informal politics which in turn would need to be perceived as equal to formal (and male) political citizenship action within the public sphere.

This situation is compounded further as their active citizenship contributions lack acknowledgment in research, the social world and policy discussions; thus they remain marginalised from the citizen-community. Thus, it is apparent that the CSW identity does not map on to the mainstream citizenship identity. Clearly the mainstream and neo-liberal concepts of citizenship lack universality; they are contractual, moral and conditional meaning that equality of status and justice is uncertain and difficult to achieve. This is problematic for women in general due to perceptions with regards to what behaviours are accepted as citizenship like or not (such as domestic labour). In relation to the mainstream citizenship identity, it was found that there are issues which make it difficult for CSWs to fulfil the ideal which in turn impacts on their ability to meet needs satisfaction and attain transformative recognition for their citizenship like contributions. For example, active citizenship contributions such as caring for their local community were evident; however as with other females, CSWs are unable to utilise these contributions as claims towards a fuller citizenship identity.

Further, whilst it was evident that some CSWs have taken the opportunity to access their social citizenship right to education by studying successfully for higher level qualifications, arguably they have not been able to achieve access to the accompanying social citizenship resources such as a common identity. Rather, they can be perceived as bringing the institution they study at into disrepute. This is problematic for CSWs due to the quasi-legal status of commercial-sexwork; this is likely to remain the case unless the state recognises the extent to which the CSW identity maps onto the citizen-worker identity. Thus despite CSWs attempts to manage their stigmatised identity, a fuller citizenship identity remains elusive and they will continue to be regarded as objects rather than subjects. This supports Lister's (2003a) notion that the mainstream concept lacks the ability to interact with and incorporate the experiences of marginalised citizens.

### *Original contribution to knowledge and significance of the study*

It is clear that despite the volume and variety of extant research, CSWs remain *excluded from within*; they are marginalised from mainstream society which in turn impacts on their ability to access citizenship rights. Thus, for CSWs in particular, the mainstream concept of citizenship claims to universality are false and the conditional, contractual, and moral nature of the neo-liberal concept exclude CSWs. Thus the original theoretical contribution to knowledge within this thesis is that it addresses the limited attention in both citizenship and commercial-sexwork research to how the CSW identity maps onto the mainstream citizenship concepts' ideals for citizenship. This was achieved by exploring the citizenship journeys of CSWs using a unique theoretical framework which consisted of utilising Lister's (2003a) differentiated universal concept of citizenship along with components of Plummer's (2003) intimate citizenship concept.

Alternative conceptualisations were considered, for example the concept of sexual citizenship which has been used in other research, such as that by Sanders (2009) which found that CSWs were considered *too sexual* for sexual citizenship; thus the concept has done little to advance their sexual citizenship identity. Whereas, Plummer's (2003) concept of intimate citizenship was considered more useful because of his focus on grounded moralities and conflict dialogue; both are important for exploring CSWs' citizenship journeys. Therefore, the latter components from Plummer's (2003) concept were synthesised with Lister's (2003a) feminist differentiated, universal approach to citizenship and gender exclusiveness. Lister's (2003a) attention to policy and legal discourse was of particular importance, especially as, for those who cannot meet the conditions of neo-liberal citizenship, the state uses law and policy as punitive measures to exclude them from within. Consequently, this thesis aids the development and differentiation of the mainstream

universal conceptualisation of citizenship and provides a novel theoretical framework to researching the commercial-sexwork arena and those who work within it.

Further, chapter 3 is unique in its consideration of historical and contemporary legal/policy discourses and citizenship. In terms of the historical legal discourses, it was found that the opposing and contradictory CSW discourses were related to how citizenship was enacted within historical periods. For example, when citizens were more active this led to more attention to CSWs either by activists or law makers pushing for them to be constructed as victims, criminals or a nuisance with corresponding changes to legislation. The outcome for CSWs was that they were excluded to the margins of society for rehabilitation purposes and generally isolated from other more ideal citizens. Thus, historically, CSWs had a disciplined citizenship status which was incompatible with a full citizenship status; making claims to rights difficult for this group.

Importantly, it was found that CSW marginalisation has not been addressed in contemporary law or policy; rather there has been a continuation of the latter discourses (nuisance, victim and criminal) with contemporary constructions (abuser and exiting) which continue to have negative implications for citizenship status. For example, the state's exiting discourse, which was intended to provide a vehicle to full citizenship status, was found lacking as it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which programmes were successful or not. This is problematic as the process is intended to support access to social citizenship rights via educational courses with a view to attaining a more socially acceptable occupation; yet legal barriers and stigma prevent access to social citizenship (also evident in chapter 7). Consequently, it is apparent that legal and policy discourse for CSWs were and are ineffective in reducing marginalisation, which impacts on their citizenship status. It was concluded that this will continue to be the case until those constructing law and policy attend to how citizenship status and its conditions are defined and how the latter impact

negatively on the citizenship status of those who conform (victims or those who exit) and those who do not (nuisances or criminals).

The methodology and subsequent analysis/discussion chapters offer a further unique empirical component from which to explore the citizenship journeys of CSWs. In the methodology chapter the exploration of CSWs citizenship journeys was facilitated by utilising the constructivist ontology and taking a relativist view to exploring the fluid nature of citizenship identity creation. Additionally, the Interpretivist epistemology underpinned by the feminist citizenship approach, led to an inductive reflection and interpretation of the CSWs previously unheard stories in relation to their citizenship journeys. Key to this unique approach, and in order to avoid false universalism, was the operationalisation of the concept of citizenship within the interview schedules and the online forum thread searches. That is the topics were based around the mainstream concept of citizenship for example: active citizenship (BS, helping others); civil citizenship (working and paying tax duties) and questions on exiting within the interviews. This provided a unique empirical approach for exploring the citizenship journeys of CSWs and considering the exclusionary aspects of the state's mainstream and neo-liberal agendas.

### *Limitations*

Within this thesis, the interview participants had all worked on-street, some still worked occasionally on the street but the majority off-street. However, there was overrepresentation of off-street workers within the forum data and it was impossible to establish if any of them still worked on street. This is an issue for the representativeness of the findings to on-street workers. Accordingly, any claims made from this research can only be transferable to off-street arenas. However, it useful to include the views of the interview participants who worked in both arenas as this highlighted that they too are contributing to citizenship rights and duties, and

exhibit citizenship behaviours. Thus the views from the interview participants provided support for the findings of the forum data.

A further limitation in relation to the telephone interview data was that there was a gatekeeper who decided which individuals would be appropriate to interview. This is problematic for two reasons, as those selected may have seemed appropriate to the gatekeeper but there may have been others whose experiences could have been useful but they were not asked to contribute; which could have impacted on the dependability of this research. However, it was difficult to avoid this situation as in general those who work in the on-street arena are difficult to reach. Further, it was important to include some CSWs who worked at on-street as their voices are less likely to be heard in research.

Additionally, those who agreed to take part in both the telephone and email interviews were provided with an incentive to do so, thus it might be said that their interest in contributing could have been influenced; leading to bias. However, it was decided at the outset that the gift to participants would be kept to a minimum (£20) so as not to influence the decision too much yet this would acknowledge their participation. Interestingly, one of the email participants asked me to send their contribution to a CSW charity, which reduced the bias in terms of their contribution. Also, for balance, the forum contributors were not contacted directly by me to contribute to the research and did not receive a gift; alleviating this bias in the interview data.

Alongside the theoretical and empirical approaches, this thesis has a normative element as one of the aims is to utilise the findings to advance CSWs' citizenship status and access to rights via social policy. This is important as it is suggested in this thesis that the state has appropriated CSWs citizenship contributions (financial, civil, social, intimate and active (voluntary and informal politics)) without the corresponding benefits of the status or identity. For example, it was evident within the analysis and discussion chapters that CSWs contribute to the civil duties to pay tax and NI contributions. In addition, the proceedings from CSW criminal behaviour are appropriated through the legal system (via fines or illicit earnings being seized) under the PCA 2009, in this way it is evident that CSWs are 'paying' into the system. Yet such contributions are not acknowledged within policy directed towards CSWs; it might be suggested that this is the case as they contradict the purposes of the discourses within (for example nuisance or victim).

For example, within chapter 3, which reviewed the legal and policy discourses (victim, nuisance, criminal, abuser and exiting), it was clear that such discourses support the state's legal agenda to reduce the demand by creating confusion in order to dissuade sex buyers which has led to a confusing and discredited identity for CSWs. Simultaneously, key citizenship attributes such as agency in terms of CSWs right to choose to work in this arena have been ignored or misrecognised; such omissions amount to an injustice. Therefore, it is sensible to suggest that the confusion in terms of the legal and policy discourses supports [whether intentional or not] CSWs continued exploitation and isolation from citizenship status and negating that they are evidencing key citizenship attributes. Thus, unless CSWs citizenship contributions and views about their work are formally recognised in policy and practice, they are unlikely to transform their citizenship status; achieving justice is unlikely.

Yet recognition needs to be transformative to lead to changes in practices for *helping* CSWs. This is particularly important in relation to the policy for the exiting process, which is designed to facilitate CSWs back into mainstream society in order for them to become normal citizens but serves to isolate further those CSWs who do not exit and in turn leads to a disciplined citizenship status. Conversely, this would suggest that CSWs are able to negotiate the boundaries of citizenship by resisting the states neo-liberal reintegration agenda and are in fact exhibiting agentic behaviour – which is a key citizenship attribute; yet is not recognised in the extant research on exiting. Additionally, it was suggested that exiting organisations need to adapt their practice to address the over focus on the negative components of this work. This is important as the CSWs in this thesis were focussing on the positive elements such as the intensity of feelings within commercial-sexwork such as the power of working in an illicit arena – the Big Secret; which mainstream work is unable to replicate and provides one reason that CSWs find it difficult to leave.

Thus exiting provision could be enhanced by considering how to navigate such issues within the process of leaving more closely rather than dismissing them as negative barriers to quickly overcome. Additionally, the state should consider how the term exiting has negative connotations for CSWs as it is associated with the anti-prostitution agenda and at odds with the terminology that they would use; such as leaving or retiring. Utilising the latter terminology would mean that CSWs could access similar provisions which are provided for women in general rather than being perceived as ‘damaged’ which leads to stigma and differential treatment.

### *Areas for Further Research*

An area of research that could be considered is exploring how those CSWs who contribute to the system view the continued erosion of their citizenship rights such as safe working conditions. Further, research could investigate the appropriation of CSWs contributions to the system to establish how these could be utilised to advance transformative recognition for CSWs. The purpose of such research areas would be to feed into policy and citizenship research/theory in order to pursue a fuller citizenship status/identity, improved social identity, transformative recognition and justice for CSWs. The overall long-term aim would be to ensure that the universal concept of citizenship is differentiated adequately to benefit CSWs.

Additionally, Cruz (2013) suggested an alternative approach to the sex-as-work discourse; that is the CSW-as-a-worker discourse – which may help to change perceptions of this work. This is an area which is under researched in terms of citizenship identity and status and thus would require further investigation to discover if the latter can effect a transformation in citizenship identity for CSWs.

### *Overall summary*

The relationship between CSWs and the state is complex and problematic. That is the contractual, moral and conditional nature of the neo-liberal concept of citizenship means that CSWs are excluded from within. For example, despite evidence to suggest that commercial-sexwork can map onto the traditional work contract in terms of its disembodied nature, this is not recognised by the state or in the social world. Also, the state collects CSWs income tax and NI contributions but excludes them from work rights, such as the right to safe working conditions within indoor arenas, under the guise of the victim and criminal discourses. Further, it is important to

question the way in which the state has attempted to facilitate CSWs to gain a 'normal' citizenship identity within the exiting ethos which aims to ease CSWs to return to mainstream society but lacks the ability to do this consistently. This is the case despite a lack of evidence to support the success of such programmes but the state continues to push this agenda regardless of the extent to which it marginalises further those who cannot or do not wish to conform to the state's agenda. For CSWs then it appears that the traditional routes to citizenship such as claiming intimate citizenship, evidence of active citizenship behaviours and evidence to support other rights and duties have not realised transformation, their contributions are ignored or misrecognised and do not facilitate a fuller citizenship identify. Addressing the particular for this group needs to be achieved via public and social policy which recognises their citizenship contributions in all the realms of citizenship not just their criminal/victim identities.

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## Appendices

*Appendix 1: Support to Exit Prostitution HL Bill (2016-17) strategies (prorogued)*

Table 2

*Support to Exit Prostitution HL Bill (2016-17) [54] strategies*

	Issue
(a)	substance misuse
(b)	housing and homelessness
(c)	healthcare including mental health care services
(d)	welfare benefits and social security benefits;
(e)	employment, education and training
(f)	legal advice
(g)	probation services and strategies to prevent re-offending
(h)	abuse in childhood
(i)	domestic abuse
(j)	sexual violence
(k)	child sexual exploitation
(l)	counselling
(m)	safeguarding and promotion of the welfare of children.

*Appendix 2: Braun and Clarke's (2006) 15-point checklist of criteria for a good thematic analysis*

Table 3

*Braun and Clarke's (2006, p.96) 15-point checklist of criteria for a good thematic analysis*

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Process	No.	Criteria
Transcription	1	The data have been transcribed to an appropriate level of detail, and the transcripts have been checked against the tapes for 'accuracy'.
Coding	2	Each data item has been given equal attention in the coding process.
	3	Themes have not been generated from a few vivid examples (an anecdotal approach), but instead the coding process has been thorough, inclusive and comprehensive.
	4	All relevant extracts for all each theme have been collated.
	5	Themes have been checked against each other and back to the original dataset.
	6	Themes are internally coherent, consistent, and distinctive.

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Analysis	7	Data have been analysed - interpreted, made sense of - rather than just paraphrased or described.
	8	Analysis and data match each other - the extracts illustrate the analytic claims.  Analysis tells a convincing and well-organized story about the data and topic.
	9	A good balance between analytic narrative and illustrative extracts is provided.
	10	

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Overall	11	Enough time has been allocated to complete all phases of the analysis adequately, without rushing a phase or giving it a once-over-lightly.
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Written report	12	The assumptions about, and specific approach to, thematic analysis are clearly explicated.
	13	There is a good fit between what you claim you do, and what you show you have done - ie, described method and reported analysis are consistent.
	14	The language and concepts used in the report are consistent with the epistemological position of the analysis.
	15	The researcher is positioned as active in the research process; themes do not just 'emerge'.

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### Appendix 3: Transcribed interview

- 1 A: Speaking to you generally about, about the recording and everything...
- 2 I: Yeah, yeah.
- 3 A: ...Okay. I just want to check and see if you've signed the consent form...
- 4 I: Yeah.
- 5 A: ...You have. Right, before we get started I just want to give you a few details  
6 about what I'm actually interested in if that's alright...
- 7 I: Yes. I wanted to ask you if it's gonna be, it's not gonna be splashed over the  
8 papers or...
- 9 A: Oh my God, no. Right, I just want to confirm right, everything that you tell me's  
10 confidential...
- 11 I: Right.
- 12 A: ...right. And if, if, if you say any names or say any places I'll change 'em...
- 13 I: Oh you'll change them, right.
- 14 A: Yeah...
- 15 I: Yeah.
- 16 A: ...there'll be nothing that comes back to you. I don't even know your name. Do I?
- 17 I: Okay, right.
- 18 A: Right. 'Cos you know that, you'll, you'll sign the consent form right but I don't  
19 know which interview that's for, 'cos I've been interviewing, so I've no idea who  
20 you are...
- 21 I: Yeah.
- 22 A: ...right, so I, I will be doing like erm, a bit of a report thing, that I'm doing, I'm  
23 doing some writing about it right, but I'll just take little bits out er, of each  
24 interview...
- 25 I: Right, yeah.
- 26 A: ...so there's no way on earth that anything can be traced back to you. There  
27 really, really isn't. I wouldn't do that.
- 28 I: Yeah, yeah. It's just, because I'm a bit older now you see and I've got grandkids  
29 that are still doing...
- 30 A: Yeah I've got relatives as well and, and I know, do you know what I mean,  
31 there's, there's things in everybody's past that they don't wanna...
- 32 I: No.
- 33 A: ...er, you really don't wanna going into, I know.
- 34 I: My kids know about it but I don't want my grandkids to know...
- 35 A: No. I'm, I'm a granny as well, I understand entirely, I really, really do, so like I  
36 say, any question that I ask you, you don't wanna answer, right, you just say to  
37 me I don't wanna answer that, that's fine as well...
- 38 I: Oh okay.

39 A: ...yeah. So, like I say, it's confidential, I promise you that. The only people that  
40 will hear this full tape at end of it is me...

41 I: Right.

42 A: ...so nobody's gonna even hear it. So if you're okay to continue, right, that's...

43 I: Right. I've got no problem ?? [1:50], no, I'm quite open with things, I just didn't  
44 want it sort of over the papers...

45 A: I don't have nowt to do wi't papers anyway. I'm doing a, it's a research project  
46 here, there's nothing, and what I'm interested in actually is kinda like, well I'll tell  
47 you, I'll tell you what, what, what I'm looking for, I'm looking for, yes about, I don't  
48 wanna know about your sex particularly, I mean if you say things like that, that's  
49 fine and I'm not gonna say to you I don't wanna hear about it...

50 I: Oh.

51 A: ...so I'm, I'm not particularly interested in the sex, but I'm interested in like  
52 relationships, I'm interested about involvement in communities and stuff like  
53 that...

54 I: Yeah, yeah.

55 A: ...so like I say, I'm not even gonna be ask, I will ask about clients but I don't  
56 wanna know who they are, do you know what I mean...

57 I: Yes, yes.

58 A: ...so...

59 I: Oh no, come on, I think we'll get along fine.

60 A: Oh right then, oh that's good, I'm not bothered about that. In fact that'd be  
61 brilliant. So just, the first things I wanna ask are just some like questions for, I do  
62 need to know your age, but the reason I'm asking that is for, to make sure you're  
63 over eighteen...

64 I: Oh yeah, I'm 53.

65 A: ...Yeah, I can't interview anybody under 18 so...

66 I: Yeah.

67 A: ...you're 53 that's fine. I'm just wanting to know how long you've actually been  
68 working?

69 I: Since the age of 16.

70 A: Okay. And just, if you can give me now some details about what you do in the  
71 job now?

72 I: Right. I keep jumping to the past and the future if you want to.

73 A: Yeah, yeah, I probably, I will do that as we go along. So, in fact, you could tell  
74 me how you got to where you are now with it, what you do with the job, if it  
75 started off on the street and if they're different now, I suppose that'd be the...

76 I: Well I, ?? [3:19] now is, is basically what I do, I just like do bits of cleaning and,  
77 you know, stuff on the side like, I've still got my regular punters so...

78 A: Yeah.

79 I: ...and that keeps me afloat.

80 A: Right so er, so, people you've been with a long time are they?

81 I: Oh yes, yes, yes.

82 A: So, you, you know when you started, were, were you just, was it just street  
83 based?

84 I: Yes, started on the erm, like, what used to 'happen, my mum used to babysit for  
85 what, they used to call like the brasses then, the old brasses on the...

86 A: Yeah, yeah.

87 I: ...on the streets, they was like, not, not seen as the norm but it wan't like the  
88 extraordinary, you know...

89 A: Yeah.

90 I: ...it was a deprived area, somebody'd get us from off the next street just to put  
91 on the game and ?? [4:11], but honestly I didn't see it as alienated...

92 A: Yeah. You didn't see it as anything to be ashamed of.

93 I: Yeah. Yeah. Even though my mum never did it. And then when she found out I  
94 was doing it she was 'orrified but, you know, so, you know, I didn't see it totally  
95 like, you know, as a, as a, as a lot of people would do.

96 A: Right. I know what you mean, there's a lot a people think differently don't they.  
97 So, do you know now, do you still, you know you said you, you erm, you do  
98 some cleaning but er, are you, the work you do with the regulars is that at home  
99 or is it street?

100 I: It's at home now.

101 A: It's at home.

102 I: Yeah. Well, they're always ?? [4:55].

103 A: So you, you bring them, bring them back. Do, do you find that better?

104 I: Yes, yes. I do for myself yeah.

105 A: Right. Why's that?

106 I: Er, because I feel more comfortable and er, most of 'em I, I know them, I mean  
107 it's not every day, I've got about five what I see a week...

108 A: Hmm.

109 I: ...so I can do it at my own leisure erm, you know, I, I suppose if I went out and  
110 sort of picked up any new customers I'd probably, you know what I mean, I'd, I'd  
111 make sure I'd got somebody there with me...

112 A: Yeah.

113 I: ...you know what I mean, like if I, you know, like if I was getting erm, sort of new  
114 customers 'cos I'm gonna be advertising again soon er, occasionally I'll go and  
115 work in some of the flats that's only there for the mature ladies, 'cos some people  
116 like the mature...

117 A: Yeah, oh yeah.

118 I: ...and even I'm still very, you know, say so myself, good looking and voluptuous  
119 and, and whatever, so I mean I'll, again I'll go and work in these flats.

120 A: So that [5:57]. ... particular type o' lady.

121 I: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

122 A: Yeah. So, you know, these clients, the regulars...

123 I: Yeah.

124 A: ...yeah, so how long would you, say, say, how long would, would you, would you

125 say you've known them?

126 I: Oh I've known some of 'em, oh over 15 years or more.

127 A: And what I'm interested in, especially in the long-term clients, that's why I find it  
128 interesting actually that most the ladies I've interviewed have been, you know,  
129 middle-aged and above, that it, it's them relationships as well...

130 I: Oh.

131 A: ...where it's actually, what that's like.

132 I: Yeah well, well, on, on some of 'em, yeah, I have to bite me tongue 'cos there's a  
133 couple who think because I've been seeing 'em for that long that I'm a, that like,  
134 that I'm more like a mistress than a business deal...

135 A: Hmm.

136 I: ...Does that make sense...

137 A: Yeah it does, yeah.

138 I: ...'cos they try to come across every now and again with like this controlling sort  
139 of thing like, say for instance I'll give you one example, erm, one who I've been  
140 ?? [7:05]...

141 A: Oh right.

142 I: ...now, now he's, he, because I took the answering machine off the telephone...

143 A: Yeah.

144 I: ...'cos I couldn't be, couldn't be arsed and he turns up with a new telephone with  
145 an answering machine and says I can never get hold of you when I want to. And  
146 proceeded to put this answering machine in so...

147 A: Hmm.

148 I: ...I thought okay, now, you know, he's married even though we've been seeing  
149 each other for ages and whatever, he comes around to what we're doing and ??  
150 [7:35]...

151 A: Yeah.

152 I: ...and I thought now he's really overstepping the mark, you know, because he  
153 couldn't get hold of me by me mobile, so I just, I waited till he'd gone and  
154 unplugged it and went and sold it to the next-door neighbour. And he says what  
155 happened to the answering machine, I says well gentleman, I says, you know, I  
156 says it, it's a, it's a, you know, it's a business arrangement, it's not, I'm, I'm not  
157 your girlfriend, your bit on the side...

158 A: Hmm.

159 I: ...you know what I mean, I says it, you know, it's sex for money. And that's what  
160 you get and you was intruding in my personal space.

161 A: And what, how did he react to that?

162 I: Well I, well we don't see each other anymore [laughs].

163 A: But he, he sort of, like taking a step back and looking at it now were that the right  
164 thing to do?

165 I: Yeah.

166 A: Yeah.

167 I: Yeah.

168 A: So that's about boundaries init.

169 I: Yeah, yeah.

170 A: Yeah.

171 I: I mean even, even if the normal boyfriend did that to you you'd think...

172 A: A control freak.

173 I: ...yeah, yeah. And I thought, no I'm not having that.

174 A: Yeah. What's he really interested in. Because I was gonna say, do you know if  
175 one of 'em was getting too friendly, which you obviously thought he was, that he,  
176 he, he'd misread things hadn't he?

177 I: Yeah, yeah...

178 A: Yeah.

179 I: ...but that is how you keep your regulars anyway, you know what I mean, like it,  
180 it's a very fine balance because you sort of make a, well I do, I sort of make out  
181 like, I'm like their friend as well and I really enjoy seeing 'em and enjoy going out  
182 for meals, I enjoy the sex and things like that, so I suppose it's sort of 'half and  
183 'half, do you know, but when they do things like that, and you think to yourself,  
184 hang on a minute what, what's he fucking playing at, so he can phone me 24  
185 hours a day and leave messages, I don't think so.

186 A: No. No. But that's a, there's a, seems like there's a really fine line isn't there  
187 between...

188 I: Yeah, yeah.

189 A: ...that, that, that he, that they should actually know they shouldn't be crossing  
190 over it.

191 I: Yeah, yeah, exactly. I mean like my other regular punters, fine, er, they'll just  
192 phone up, [name omitted] I'm coming down from London next week are you  
193 available...

194 A: Yeah.

195 I: ...such and such a date, yeah, no problem. You know, see you in the afternoon,  
196 I'll 'ave the kettle on ready or...

197 A: Uh huh.

198 I: ...he's bringing a bottle of wine or whatever, even though I don't drink...

199 A: Yeah.

200 I: ...do you know what I mean, so he, so he, so as you do build up, do you know  
201 what I mean, and he, and that's how you maintain your regulars. Do you know  
202 what I mean, but once you over, start stepping that line, to then, to like with the  
203 tape, answering machine, so, so like you've got to be on call for them 24 hours a  
204 day then, you know, 'cos you...

205 A: You'd want to be paying a bit more to be getting that wouldn't you.

206 I: Yeah, exactly.

207 A: Hmm. Hmm. You want to turn into a sugar daddy that way.

208 I: Yeah. But can you imagine if I come in and one of my grandkids put the  
209 answering machine on...

210 A: Yeah, it's out of order.

211 I: Yeah...

212 A: Hmm.

213 I: ...I mean so I thought, no, you've overstepped the mark, you've gotta go duck.

214 A: Yeah. What're you really interested in. 'Cos the long term relationships I think  
215 the, the ones where it, it seems to me that, you know, talking to quite a few, like I  
216 say the maturer girls...

217 I: Yeah.

218 A: ...is, is that, that is a difficult balancing act...

219 I: It is, it is a very difficult balancing act.

220 A: Would there be any occasion, say, say if you decided one of 'em, you wanted  
221 'em to, be your proper relationship, could you do that?

222 I: Erm ... yes, I think so, if, if he was old enough and mature enough, because I  
223 'have 'ad a few friends who've actually done that and actually gone on to marry  
224 the punter...

225 A: Yeah, yeah.

226 I: ...yeah. And one of 'em's got two kids together and they're really happy, and  
227 whatever, so, in some cases you can overcome that boundary and, and, and I  
228 think it all depends what lifestyle you lead in prostitution as well, 'cos I mean,  
229 they've, they are, they've been 'happily married now for years, they've got two  
230 kids together so, you know, back at, you know, sort of back in the day a lot of  
231 'em would've said oh how can she marry a punter, that's disgusting, you know  
232 what I mean, but...

233 A: Hmm.

234 I: ...you know, they just...

235 A: So the girls are actually disgusted?

236 I: Oh yeah, the girls are disgusted.

237 A: Why, why, could you explain why they would be? I, I know these ques, questions  
238 might seem a bit silly...

239 I: No, no, they'd be, you know, 'cos a punter is just erm, er, [sighs], well, next up  
240 from a piece of shit, somebody you just get money off...

241 A: Yeah, yeah.

242 I: ...you know what I mean and...

243 A: He's not somebody that you care about or get attached to...

244 I: No. No, yeah, yeah.

245 A: Yeah. So to them it's like picking up dirt.

246 I: Yeah. Yeah. And I can remember I, you know, 'cos I was actually defending her  
247 and saying no he's nice, no if she's happy, leave her, what, what you all ganging  
248 up on her for?

249 A: Yeah.

250 I: Well we're not going to the wedding 'cos he's a punter and blah-blah-blah and  
251 I've even heard some girls who erm, er, [sighs], you know, are sort of in the black  
252 community, you know, go with black men whatever, I mean I've, I 'have, I've got  
253 mixed race children and actually saying, you know, about the white punters oh I  
254 can't stand it, I can't stand it, he's a blah-blah-blah, so I always say to 'em, but  
255 hang on a minute, your dad, your brother, he's white, you know, well, well I've  
256 got, why have you got this, I would never go with a white man type thing and yet

257 you go with 'em for money, you know what I mean, because I, I often, you know  
258 it flounders me sometimes.

259 A: Yeah. The, the kind of decisions they make. Yeah. I suppose it's different people  
260 in't it I suppose...

261 I: Yeah, yeah.

262 A: ...and maybe age.

263 I: Yeah.

264 A: Maybe an age issue, I don't know. It's interesting that though, that they, not, I  
265 don't know it's interesting ?? [13:27] either.

266 I: But how come ?? [13:29] why not? Do you know what I mean?

267 A: Hmm, hmm.

268 I: Although it, my son says ?? [13:34] punters aren't white, black, African,  
269 politicians, dustbin men, you know, they're all...

270 A: They're everybody aren't they, policemen...

271 I: Yeah.

272 A: ...yeah. From any kind of society I suppose.

273 I: Yeah.

274 A: Yeah. Do you get a, a, a different kind of mix as well, do you get some, you  
275 know, like businessmen and things like that?

276 I: Yeah, yeah, yeah. I've got a large, a large sort of mix. Erm, now me regulars  
277 erm, one's a banker from London...

278 A: Yeah.

279 I: ...he's totally wacky but I, I do like him...

280 A: What do you mean wacky, funny?

281 I: ...yeah, yeah, well he turns up and he'll, with his posh voice and everything,  
282 [name omitted], I'm coming up next month and I want a fantasy creating [laughs].

283 A: [Laughs].

284 I: And then he'll tell me what the fantasy is...

285 A: Yeah.

286 I: ...and then I'll organise the fantasy for him. Like sometimes I might have to get  
287 another girl in...

288 A: Yeah, yeah.

289 I: ...he wants two girls, one to be the lady of the manor and one to be the maid and  
290 he gets caught shagging the maid...

291 A: By the lady of the manor.

292 I: Yeah, and then I have to give him hell and slap him and things like that I do. Oh  
293 he's bizarre. But, but it's fun. It's fun.

294 A: [Laughs] I bet it is. It sounds it.

295 I: You know, take your aggression out on his behind.

296 A: Yeah, yeah. He's paying for it in't he.

297 I: Yeah. Yeah. Yeah and then, you know, I've, I've, I've got one who just, I think, I

298 can't, who just, I think he works for the council actually...

299 A: Yeah.

300 I: ...you know, he just, you know, like as a general sort of handyman and I...

301 A: Yeah, like round estates and that.

302 I: Yeah. And he comes quite regular. And sometimes he'll say to me oh will you  
303 come to the pub for a drink with me, you know, some, somewhere in town or  
304 wherever and I say to him, no, no I won't, we'll just keep it as it is.

305 A: Hmm. Do you find some of 'em want to, want you to be like more of an ear, if you  
306 know what I mean, to...

307 I: To listen to, yeah.

308 A: ...yeah, and advise and stuff.

309 I: Yeah, yeah. I, yeah, I often used to get that, especially like in the flats and the  
310 saunas. 'Cos I've worked in every area of prostitution...

311 A: Yeah.

312 I: ...and erm, ?? [15:46] with some of 'em, some of these so-called ?? [15:50] as  
313 well and end up spending like three days in Amsterdam or Belgium while they  
314 was at conferences and whatever. I used to think for fuck's sake, shut up. And  
315 then you had to sort of lay there and smile...

316 A: Yeah, put the act back on again.

317 I: ...Yeah. And then pretend to be asleep if they try to want to have sex with you  
318 again in the middle of the night and...

319 A: Hmm.

320 I: ...elbow 'em and pretend you was at home and they're being aggressive, get off  
321 me! [Laughs].

322 A: [Laughs]. Must think you're a machine.

323 I: Well some of 'em want their money's worth, they think they can just have sex  
324 with you for all three days in between meetings.

325 A: Yeah. Like you...

326 I: I mean, and then, you know, obviously as I said I've worked in all areas of  
327 prostitution.

328 A: Yeah. Which do you think's the most easiest to do?

329 I: Erm, I think the flats and the saunas are the easiest to do, to be honest.

330 A: Why?

331 I: The reason, 'cos I used to enjoy working in the saunas 'cos like there was a  
332 team there, and we worked together like as a team and we watched each  
333 other...

334 A: Hmm.

335 I: ...obviously you used to get the odd girl erm, sort of ?? [17:05], you know,  
336 because like if they was on class A drugs, you know, everybody is, is, you  
337 wouldn't let 'em in 'cos they'd be undercutting us...

338 A: Yeah.

339 I: ...like we all stuck to the same prices. If a girl did a speciality obviously we all  
340 knew about it so she charged a bit more for her speciality, you know, and then,

341 then there was always somebody around you to 'have a cup o' tea with or a drink  
342 with or whatever, the same in the flats erm, as well. But there was still, in the  
343 flats there was a, always a more feeling of er, danger element, you know what I  
344 mean, because, if there was any, there always used to be two of us in a flat...

345 A: Why would it be more dangerous?

346 I: ...I don't know but, but, but, but what we used to do, we used to have a, I don't  
347 know, you couldn't really tell by just spying on somebody out the window but we  
348 used to spy out the window 'cos we used to advertise coffee and cream when we  
349 was in the flats, me and me friend...

350 A: Hmm.

351 I: ...you know, you've tried the best now try the rest and that sort of thing...

352 A: Yeah.

353 I: ...and then we used to direct 'em and pull 'em up, but I don't know, I always felt  
354 there was a more danger element of actually working in the flats 'cos a few  
355 punters ?? [18:19]...

356 A: Hmm.

357 I: ...and one flat I was working in in London he actually beat me and, and this other  
358 girl up, do you know what I mean, he just flipped...

359 A: Yeah.

360 I: ...you know, and I mean and it was quite hard to get out of that flat...

361 A: And he would've probably known that as well.

362 I: ...and, yeah, where, where like in the saunas it was always like maybe three or  
363 four girls on a shift, do you know what I mean, so anything out of the ordinary  
364 we'll, you know, we'll be straight up there and on it.

365 A: Yeah. And sorting it out.

366 I: Yeah. You know, but if a, if, if there was a, I don't, you know, the punters who I  
367 'have at home now, because I basically know 'em...

368 A: Yeah.

369 I: ...I've known 'em for that long so that's not bad but if you ever say like when I do  
370 them estates, then I go and work back in the flats...

371 A: Hmm.

372 I: ...at weekends, there's always that sort of, ooh, who's coming through the  
373 door...

374 A: Hmm.

375 I: ...do you know what I mean and you, and you just have to be on your toes.

376 A: And be kind of like ready.

377 I: Yeah, yeah.

378 A: Hmm. Er, you, you said something quite er, in, interesting there as well, you  
379 know, when you said about the saunas...

380 I: Yeah.

381 A: ...about girls being around, do you think your relationships with them were more  
382 friends or was it just a job with them again, if you know what I mean...

383 I: Yeah. Some of 'em is, some of it is but, and some of it was just jobs because

384 again it all depends what personality's the girl's got, now if the girl had a pimp or  
385 whatever...

386 A: Hmm.

387 I: ...she was always on, you, 'cos you could always tell because they was always  
388 on the glass [??-19:51]...

389 A: 'Cos they've got pain n'all.

390 I: Yeah. Yeah, they was always on the glass [??-19:55]. Erm, as I say, you know,  
391 sort of flaunting where, where, you know, erm, I've worked in loads a saunas, in  
392 fact I even run one, and just, like ?? [20:07] girl texted him to say each girl gets,  
393 you know, gets, gets a punter, 'cos some days you could have 30 in, on a slow  
394 day you might only 'ave three in so one girl might be going 'ome with no  
395 money...

396 A: Yeah.

397 I: ...you know what I mean, so as I said there was always that sort of bitter rivalry  
398 there anyway, do you know what I mean...

399 A: Hmm.

400 I: ...if your girl took your regulars, and all because then your regulars 'll come in  
401 and...

402 A: And ask for you.

403 I: ...yeah, and you'll be at it more, and then some of the other girls, you know,  
404 used to text numbers to it...

405 A: Hmm.

406 I: ...know what I mean, so and you, and again it was actually getting the, the sort  
407 of balance right as well there.

408 A: With, with a friend er...

409 I: With a friend, yeah, because then you'd say, I'll use to go with them, well wha,  
410 what, what we used to do is try and encourage the punter to 'ave the two girls,  
411 you know...

412 A: Yeah.

413 I: ...and one she was lovely, high quality, ?? [21:02] why don't you treat yourself  
414 and 'ave a two-girl, I've got a friend...

415 A: Hmm.

416 I: ...working here as well, then your friend's outside ?? [21:10] sort of help each  
417 other how to get more money.

418 A: Yes. Yeah, yeah.

419 I: You know what I mean, whereas a girl, again, would say like just from a,  
420 although you're in a relationship where she'll most probably being controlled or  
421 pimped or whatever...

422 A: Uh huh.

423 I: ...that'd never ever 'happen, 'cos she'd, trynna get as much out as she could...

424 A: For herself.

425 I: Yeah.

426 A: Yeah. Yeah. Yeah. I suppose it makes a big difference dun't it...

427 I: Yeah.

428 A: ...to 'em...

429 I: Yeah.

430 A: ...I mean, you know, you've got somebody who's waiting to take it off you.

431 I: Yeah.

432 A: Hmm. Have you ever done any other kind of work?

433 I: Yes, street work, I used to work on the street...

434 A: Yeah.

435 I: ...that's where I started, on the street.

436 A: I was thinking more along erm, not sex work, you know like, you're doing  
437 cleaning now aren't you...

438 I: Yeah, only little bits and bobs.

439 A: But over the time have you done other things as well?

440 I: Yeah, well yeah, I've worked in like er, I always used to work in nursing homes...

441 A: Did you.

442 I: ...as well, yeah. 'Cos that, that was like me cover for erm, the family, so to  
443 speak.

444 A: Right.

445 I: So I used to work like in nursing homes, things are all, and I used to rent,  
446 [laughs], you're making me laugh now, taking me down memory lane...

447 A: Am I. I hope it's not bad [laughs]. Go on.

448 I: But like a café in town, 'cos me mum never really used to go into town...

449 A: Yeah.

450 I: ...and so, you know what I mean, she wasn't, just wasn't one o' them people,  
451 and I'd been working in this café in [omitted] for about ooh, eight months...

452 A: Yeah.

453 I: ...and erm, apparently this particular day she went into the café where I was  
454 supposed to be working and said oh is it alright me duck if I 'have a word with  
455 our [name omitted], and so he said, no [name omitted] works here.

456 A: Oh no.

457 I: She said are you sure, she's been working, working 'ere for ages. Ages and  
458 ages. No nobody, there's no Sue working here. But at that time I was renting a  
459 room off this African guy just off the red light area...

460 A: Yeah, yeah.

461 I: ...and I used to say to him ?? [23:08] I'm going to college, and he says to me,  
462 [name omitted], you no go college, you sneak men round the back. I'm putting  
463 your rent up [laughs].

464 A: [Laughs].

465 I: So he...

466 A: So he didn't wanna get rid of you, he just wanted to, he wanted to pinch some of  
467 your.

468 I: Yes. Yes just wanted his rent up. I still see him now, we have a laugh now...

469 A: Do you?

470 I: ...yeah. And erm, you know, so I was paying me mother board obviously...

471 A: Yeah.

472 I: ...and...

473 A: From your café job...

474 I: Yeah...

475 A: ...yeah, yeah.

476 I: ...yeah. That was a particular night I went home and erm, she said to me, you  
477 look knackered [omitted], 'have you 'ad a busy day. I says oh, I tell you summat,  
478 I says I've been rushed off my feet. Well she gave me one slap, I went flying  
479 [laughs], she says you lying little bastard, she says, she says I know what you've  
480 been doing, I've 'ad people, people coming telling me that they've seen you up  
481 [omitted] Road, 'cos me mum used to walk in ?? [23:57], if I see a ?? [24:00] I  
482 don't like that, then she used to say about that my girl, blah-blah-blah, and she  
483 used to get into quite a few arguments with her local community and erm, you  
484 know, that's when I 'ad to come clean...

485 A: Yeah.

486 I: ...and say to her yeah. She said did you, am I, 'ow long did you work at the bingo  
487 for? I said 2 to 5. So, you know, I says, as I say, I 'ad to tell, tell 'er the truth and  
488 she was just ?? [24:23]. She says it's all my fault, I says no mam, it's not your  
489 fault, it's not hereditary. You know what I mean, I says there's nobody else in the  
490 family's done it. You know. I mean there, there has been people in the family do  
491 it since, you know, but I was the first. I never encouraged them, you know what I  
492 mean, they made their own decision but...

493 A: Yeah. Well it is your own decision isn't it.

494 I: Of course.

495 A: Yeah.

496 I: Yeah, unless you get forced into it.

497 A: Oh yeah, unless you're, you're coerced into it and...

498 I: Hmm.

499 A: ...yeah. But if you...

500 I: I was coerced into it 'cos I wanted a sheepskin coat with a fur collar.

501 A: Did you.

502 I: Yes. And I got it 'cos I thought to myself oh god how many hour, ?? [25:02]  
503 making factory at that time, and I thought, god it's gonna take me weeks and  
504 weeks to get this coat and these shoes I wanted. And I know, [name omitted]  
505 was the supervisor, I knew she was the boss' mistress and she used to get loads  
506 a money off him and, and I think she just used to give 'im sex in the office  
507 basically...

508 A: Yeah. Called it mistress but she wasn't really.

509 I: Yeah. And then I used to work in the Wimpy bar. And some of the girls within  
510 [omitted], I don't know if you know [omitted at all...

511 A: I, I've been but I don't know it very well 'cos I'm, I, I'm quite an home bird do you  
512 know what I mean, I don't venture out of Huddersfield.

513 I: No. Well then erm, in the centre o' [omitted they used to 'have Wimpy bars  
514 dotted all about...

515 A: Yeah. A bit like up, well here in, yeah, yeah.

516 I: Yes, yes. And then there was a load a the women and then they always used to  
517 work in this pub around the corner...

518 A: Yeah.

519 I: ...called the Exchange. Well I used to let some of the girls who, who I'd got to  
520 know when they kept nipping into the Wimpy for whatever, they actually come in  
521 and use downstairs in the winter...

522 A: Yeah.

523 I: ...to take the punters and they used to give me five bob or ten bob, and I said I  
524 thought oh I'll 'have some of that meself, so when I used to lock up at night-time I  
525 used to nip up the pub and that's how it started and then I went up [omitted Road  
526 and what have you...

527 A: I suppose if, if you see others doing it like you say, and you've seen 'em all along  
528 'aven't you.

529 I: Yeah, yeah.

530 A: So it, it wasn't anything...

531 I: Yeah.

532 A: ...you know, anything. Did you get your coat?

533 I: Oh I did, yes love, yeah, yeah. And many other things as well 'cos I've never  
534 been daft with me money...

535 A: No.

536 I: ...I mean obviously I've 'ad relationships. Erm, and then I've got three children to  
537 one bloke.

538 A: What did he think about what you did?

539 I: Erm, at first, because I'd been doing it for a while erm, at first he, he didn't know  
540 what I was doing, 'cos I did keep it really sort of hush hush. And he did attack me  
541 'cos I'd pissed off to London, 'cos I often did use to nip to London in them days  
542 'cos it was ?? [27:10]...

543 A: Yeah.

544 I: ...I use to go down [omitted] Lane and things like that. And then er, [sighs] we  
545 just decided he does his thing and I do mine and we 'ad like a little commun,  
546 communal pot what we used to put some money in...

547 A: For, for't bills and stuff.

548 I: ...yeah, 'cos he used to sell weed...

549 A: Hmm.

550 I: ...as his ?? [27:29]. And he used to say I just can't stand the thought of you  
551 having sex with other men and I used to say just shut up and stop pretending.  
552 You know what I mean, I says, you know, years and years later I said to him, I  
553 says how could you have really care, really cared about me, I mean we 'ad three  
554 kids together, I says, and I mean I was laying on me back most of the time and  
555 ten men sucking on me tits and twiddling with 'em and trying to get Radio 3...

556 A: Hmm.

557 I: ...I says, and you know what I mean, and he says yeah but everybody was doing  
558 it in them days wasn't they in our culture, you know, in our little world and...

559 A: So it, it wasn't outta ordinary like for him either.

560 I: No. No it wasn't out the ordinary for him but I ?? [28:10] only one day when  
561 thinking, it was when we had the first grandkid, 'cos I mean we get to see the lad  
562 now...

563 A: Yeah.

564 I: ...you know what I mean, 'cos obviously he's growing old and he's, and he keeps  
565 saying to me when're you going to pack it in. And I said to him I'm not. You know  
566 what I mean, I says that's how, I says how do you think I've paid for my  
567 mortgage and everything. I said it wasn't through you was it, fucking 'elping me  
568 with on, I tell you now. That's why I can't ?? [28:36] him.

569 A: No. No, no you don't you.

570 I: Yeah. So erm, yeah, it, you know, and I just said to him, you know, I, I, I don't  
571 give a toss and it's none o' your business now anyway.

572 A: No ?? [28:50].

573 I: ?? [28:52].

574 A: Hmm. That's an interesting thought. Wa, I, I just want you to just change tack,  
575 back, try if you can...

576 I: Yeah, go on, no you're alright.

577 A: ...yeah, and what I want to talk about is about the government right...

578 I: Yeah.

579 A: ...and what they're doing erm, you know, this, David Cameron and this Big  
580 Society, I don't know if you've heard about it or read about it...

581 I: Yeah, yeah.

582 A: ...yeah, and, and basically it's a way of taking money ?? [29:21]...

583 I: Yeah.

584 A: ...and, and saying that actually it should be communities that are doing it ??  
585 [29:30] rather than the government...

586 I: Yeah, well I totally disagree and especially being in the world of prostitution as  
587 long as I have...

588 A: Yeah.

589 I: ...I know for a fact, I mean, ?? [29:43] changed, now I would not, even if, in the  
590 worst scenario, if I didn't have a client inventory I would not go up [omitted]  
591 Road, which is like our red light area...

592 A: Yeah.

593 I: ...because it's just rife now with Class A drugs, you get all these chaotic and the  
594 violence what comes wi' it...

595 A: Hmm.

596 I: ...Now when I started out on the street, yeah you looked out for each other, yeah  
597 you went out and got pissed and smoked your 'ead off with weed and  
598 whatever...

599 A: Hmm.

600 I: ...you know, so if Cameron's Big Society, all that would happen is the pimps, the  
601 drug dealers, everybody, they'll just 'ave a fucking field day, you'd 'ave  
602 everybody, 'cos nobody in the community is gonna come and do what places like  
603 what power does...

604 A: Yeah.

605 I: ...you know, advises you, your general health checks, you know, GU...

606 A: Hmm.

607 I: ...hepatitis B, you know, and, and actually talk, you know, actually talking to him,  
608 methadone, do you want to stay on drugs, if you do for the time being that's fine,  
609 you know what I mean, but, you know, you know, just...

610 A: Give you options.

611 I: Yeah, yeah, do you want to, 'cos you've been doing this forever and if Cameron  
612 gets his way, and there was no places like this for us to come to, you know what  
613 I mean...

614 A: I don't think he'll get away with it personally, I think ?? [31:01] but I, I don't think  
615 he wants to get rid of the places, I think he wants to, it, it's change who's paying  
616 for it in a way, do you know what I mean, and make it so it's like local people  
617 getting involved but I, I get, do, do you think that local people wouldn't be  
618 interested?

619 I: No, no I don't because, right, like because again, you know, say like till I, when  
620 I've been working...

621 A: Yeah.

622 I: ...like in saunas and, and especially on the streets, and especially in London...

623 A: Yeah.

624 I: ...is you'll get like what I call the 'do-gooders' come round to talk to you, you  
625 know what I mean, now they ain't got no id, idea, all they've want to do is save  
626 yer...

627 A: Yeah, yeah.

628 I: ...so, now, my answers to them was even to probation, when I've been on  
629 probation, or did some stuff for some ?? [31:56] or whatever, I use, I used to  
630 refuse to, got, placed on probation more times than I 'ad hot dinners, but I used  
631 to say look, you don't understand, it's alright you saying to me, oh there, there,  
632 you'll be a good girl if you stop, right, it's, it's, it's part o' me now, you know what I  
633 mean, and, and it, and a lot of it is...

634 A: It's what you do.;

635 I: ...yeah, and a lot of it is my social network. Most o' my friends are prostitutes or  
636 people who work in a saunas or whatever...

637 A: Yeah.

638 I: ...do you know what I mean. So I don't think the normal Joe Bloggs from the  
639 community would 'ave any idea, you know what I mean, and then they'll say like  
640 me I, I've just travelled for months, ?? [32:37], I, I just say to 'em look, thanks for  
641 your advice but, you know...

642 A: What, what do you know.

643 I: ...Yeah. You know what I mean, where, there are places like this as you can  
644 come down and you can speak to people who's either been through it, you know,  
645 and come out the other end if you wanted to, you know what I mean, it, it, and,  
646 and, and you just feel more comfortable, so, you know, having a load a 'do-

647 gooders' is, you know what I mean, and especially as the climate is out there  
648 now, up [omitted] Road, you know what I mean, they'd 'ave the pimp to deal with,  
649 the drug pimps, the dealers...

650 A: They'd have no chance would they.

651 I: ...Yeah, no, they'd 'ave no chance.

652 A: So, what, what would it be like if, right, 'cos he, he's, he, he's wanting, I, I don't  
653 wanna keep harping on about it but...

654 I: Yeah, no, go on.

655 A: ...he, he, he's, he's wanting like, so like people from the local communities to  
656 help, so if, if people I suppose, and that's, I don't, I don't ?? [33:34] I'm not, but a  
657 bit like yourself, or other workers would you be able to help out? And I'm not  
658 saying you have to.

659 I: I would if I got paid for it.

660 A: Right, so, it comes, but the voluntary stuff is the wrong idea then?

661 I: Yeah because, yeah because as, as erm, everybody's got to live and then like if,  
662 if, if you think about it, especially in the world of prostitution, 'cos I'm used to  
663 saying right well I want so much for a 'a, b or c'...

664 A: Yeah.

665 I: ...you know what I mean...

666 A: Yeah.

667 I: ...you...

668 A: It's not gonna be any different.

669 I: No, it's not gonna be any different, you know what I mean. He'll take his  
670 business, I mean I, I mean I've got a niece who's, and she's chaotic on Class A  
671 drugs, you know, and she was ?? [34:20], now imagine if, if she was after some  
672 and through Cameron's Big Society business...

673 A: Yeah, yeah.

674 I: ...she's gonna change the cost because, you know, her, her time's precious to  
675 'er because she wants to know where her next fix is coming from, you know what  
676 I mean, but, but I, I have managed to actually get her er, round here now and  
677 she's on methadone and that now, you know what I mean...

678 A: ?? [34:50] in't it, yeah, so I'm not, I'm not a very ?? [34:52].

679 I: ...yeah, know, yeah, you know, so yeah, I, I, I would ?? [34:56] but I wouldn't  
680 come up, I wouldn't get up at 9 o'clock in a morning to think well, I'm going to do  
681 a, a day's, a, a day's voluntary work without getting paid for it.

682 A: Hmm, hmm, hmm.

683 I: You know what I mean, so I could be, I, I could be in the flats for the day.

684 A: Yeah, earning.

685 I: Earning some money. And, and, and that's not me being spiteful towards Society  
686 or the World, you know what I mean, because I think society's created all this, I  
687 mean I know it's the oldest profession in the world but I mean like government's  
688 allowing the drugs to come in and, and, you know, and, especially Class A, 'cos  
689 I'm really against Class A...

690 A: ?? [35:35].

691 I: ...yeah, 'cos I've seen it before so ma, so many of me friends, so many of me  
692 friends died ?? [35:42] 'cos they've contracted HIV. There's a few still alive but  
693 I've seen a few, a few's died too living that lifestyle and I think to myself well, you  
694 know, nobody's, you know, nobody's erm, David Cameron's idea, he wants to  
695 wake up and come and live, live with a prostitute for a few weeks in the real  
696 world.

697 A: ?? [36:03].

698 I: Yeah.

699 A: Yeah. And this, this is what really interests me about all these big ideas and that  
700 they're trynna put it onto everybody...

701 I: Yeah.

702 A: ...and it, it can't can it?

703 I: No, it...

704 A: From, from listening to what you're saying it can't.

705 I: Yeah, yeah, and, and I am a really caring person...

706 A: Yeah.

707 I: ...you know what I mean, 'cos I've 'ad loads a girls staying at my house, you  
708 know, like when they've been attacked or battered or, or they're trynna get away  
709 from a bloke, I've 'ad loads a women stay at my house, you know what I mean,  
710 but I wouldn't, I wouldn't fucking stay with Cameron's things.

711 A: No that's really interesting 'cos in a way you're doing it...

712 I: Yeah, yeah but...

713 A: ...you are doing it, you've just told me you're doing it...

714 I: Yeah.

715 A: ...do you know what I mean, you're just ?? [36:43] girls and then ?? [36:44]. That  
716 is the Big Society isn't it?

717 I: Yeah, yeah. But, but how do I, I come up ?? [36:51] I don't see it, because it's  
718 sticking to what Cameron's saying right, but if one o' my mates knocked on the  
719 door going, twelve o'clock at night ?? [37:02] get me fucking outta here because  
720 he's after me blah-blah-blah or whatever...

721 A: Yeah.

722 I: ...come on in, no problem, and they can stay there for a few days till they've  
723 sorted 'im out or whatever. But if it was insisted on me by authority or David  
724 Cameron then I mean, and Nick Clegg, I think she's got, no because they're  
725 rude, there, there's, they're just, just taking the piss outta people because they're  
726 expecting people to do it. Now you imagine, say like me if I, if I did that sort of  
727 like on a full-time thing because I believed in the Big Society and that they  
728 shouldn't pay any people from the community, I'll, I'll be burnt er, you know, I'll,  
729 I'll be burnt out, then I'd 'ave to start saying to the dole as well, you know, come  
730 on, you've got to give me some money towards some food and some electric  
731 and that, then I'd be as bad as the pimps.

732 A: Yeah, just ?? [37:55].

733 I: Yeah, you know what I mean, so it's er, ?? [37:58] people in, in the, in the  
734 community into thinking that they're not gonna have to bother into actually saying  
735 to people, yeah, yeah, you know, if you've got nowhere to live you can stay 'ere  
736 but then you've got to take all the expense into consideration and it's, it, you  
737 know what I mean, and you're just gonna turn people...

738 A: Knowing exactly what they want in the first place.

739 I: Exac, yes.

740 A: ?? [38:21], and that's, that, as I say, that's what I'm interested in...

741 I: Yes, yes.

742 A: ...you know the idea that it's, it's everybody and it's clear...

743 I: No because ev, everybody's got to share things on an individual ?? [38:34], I  
744 mean if they have those loans obviously, you know, from when I was a nipper,  
745 you know what I mean, I'd...

746 A: What you've watched ?? [38:43] kid.

747 I: Yeah, yeah, up, up until now. And the ?? [38:46] it all.

748 A: No, 'cos they don't anyway do they.

749 I: No. No. So if you're doing a report for Cameron and Clegg...

750 A: Well I'm not but I'd like to [laughs].

751 I: Well go on, do one.

752 A: I'm tempted.

753 I: Well, well, well do it, do it. I would ,if I was you.

754 A: I'm tempted.

755 I: And just explain that, you know, like, like some of the things what I've said,  
756 that...

757 A: Yeah.

758 I: ...it's not one time but it's all of the, you know, and, and it's just, it'd just make  
759 such a mess of the prostitution industry but then people always put prostitution at  
760 the bottom of the agenda.

761 A: They do and, and that's, that's, that is something else that...

762 I: Yeah.

763 A: ...you know that, that's, that gets me. Yeah.

764 I: Yeah but, but, but if, if somebody actually sat down and thought about it and  
765 thought like taking like this from people saying, like meself who's been in the  
766 industry forever, you know what I mean, I actually listened to reports because  
767 right well if they actually did it right and it, it, not actually on the safe one so  
768 you're probably spending more money on arrests and rehabs if they need to go  
769 in rehab or force 'em into rehab...

770 A: Yeah.

771 I: ...you know what I mean, whereas if it, oh, as well as, I don't know but I'd put  
772 summat on paper and say to 'em, speak to a few older prostitutes and you just  
773 need...

774 A: Well I might write, I might actually, you're, you're encouraging me 'ere to write a  
775 paper on it anyway and get it published and, and...

776 I: I would.

777 A: ...yeah, I, I might. I think I owe it to you.

778 I: I would. I mean I'm, I'm all, I mean there's, there's, there's why I'm a bit more ??  
779 [40:23] I think...

780 A: Well to tell you't truth a, a lot of the ones I've spoke to since now 'ave all been,  
781 are like you really...

782 I: Yeah, yeah.

783 A: ...they really, really 'ave, it's been really, really brilliant.

784 I: Yes, yes, yeah, it, you know, I mean, because they do empower you but I think  
785 the reason I'm certainly a bit more knowledgeable, knowledgeable on the bigger  
786 picture 'cos I've worked in all areas of prostitution, even from when I was a kid,  
787 there was a older prostitute's kids come into our house while their mam went on  
788 the game...

789 A: Hmm.

790 I: ...so, you know what I mean, I, I, I can, you know, if I sat down meself and if, you  
791 know, it's like I know about life and changes and whatever and things like that,  
792 so I would, you know what I mean and, I've, I'd really encourage you to do that  
793 and get that message across to Nick and Cameron 'cos I 'aven't got much time  
794 for them anyway...

795 A: No.

796 I: ...because I think they just...

797 A: Well it, it's all of them anyway in't it that need to listen...

798 I: Well, yeah...

799 A: ...in whatever Party because I ca, Labour really think of it differently but still that  
800 much, I mean they're supposed to be for us lot , aren't they, but looking past that  
801 I don't think...

802 I: Yes.

803 A: ...I think they, they change as well but they're nowhere near what this lotta like,  
804 you know, it's, I mean I'm not supposed to 'ave an opinion but...

805 I: Yeah.

806 A: ...I, I can't, I'm, I'm too ?? [41:41], you know what I mean...

807 I: And, yeah, and it ?? [41:42] Nick and Cameron so they're just coming out, they  
808 ?? [41:46] and want everyone to do any, anything to stop him and it's just not  
809 gonna 'appen, as I said, prostitution's always the last thing on any sort of agenda  
810 but then when it starts leaking into like the dealers and the suburbs and things  
811 like that then that's when they start to get panicky.

812 A: Yes, not in our er, back yard a little bit. Yeah. ?? [42:07].

813 I: Yeah. You know, and erm, and it's, it's an whole different ball game out there  
814 now for the street girls.

815 A: Hmm.

816 I: You know what I mean, where, you know, it's same as I've worked in all areas  
817 and, I mean like if I wanted to, I'd just, you know, I'd just set up me own flat and  
818 do it very discreetly so there wan't those sort of anti-social behaviour things and  
819 that, you know, because, 'cos I've slowed down a little bit and I'm not sort of  
820 doing it 24 hours a day, like...

821 A: It's the finance in't it ?? [42:39].

822 I: Yeah, yeah.

823 A: Hmm.

824 I: You know what I mean so the, a ?? [42:43].

825                    Hmm, well I, well I think if you've got some and you really, really ?? [42:50]. ...  
826                    really, really interesting and like I say I, I will be, I will write a paper I think on this,  
827                    for definite. I mean I, obviously I'm putting the research and project anyway but I  
828                    will do summat about this.

829                    I:                    Yeah. And tell 'em there needs to be places like ?? [43:10] to encourage women  
830                    even as old as me, you know what I mean, and you can come down and, I know  
831                    it sounds daft, mix wi' your own kind and, and, you know, because like if you're  
832                    living like a sort of a double-life and you can't really talk to your family, now I  
833                    couldn't sit down and talk to my sisters about it, they've known but they don't  
834                    think I still do it, you know what I mean, now I couldn't sit down wi' her and say  
835                    oh, come on [name omitted] let's sit down and 'ave a cup o' tea, I wan, I want to  
836                    tell you every ?? [43:41] punch in the face, when I went working in the flats, you  
837                    know, 'cos, 'cos they'll be horrified. I can't talk to me kids...

838                    A:                    Right.

839                    I:                    ...can't, you know, so you sort of lead this double sort of life and I come down  
840                    'ere for encouragement, I've been doing erm, I've been doing a bit on the  
841                    computer and...

842                    A:                    Hmm.

843                    I:                    ...know and I'll, you know, I'll sort of tinker around the project and 'elp, 'elp and  
844                    then I give some of the younger girls, you know what I mean, I might sit down wi'  
845                    them and 'ave a cuppa tea and sort, give my bit of advice or whatever...

846                    A:                    Hmm.

847                    I:                    ...you know, just a general chit-chat, but I'm, I wouldn't be able to go and sit  
848                    information or any o' these, what, you know, what we see as erm, info services,  
849                    because they're just...

850                    A:                    I was going to ask you about them, the, the other kind of my exiting...

851                    I:                    Yeah.

852                    A:                    ...programmes and, and what, what do you think o' them?

853                    I:                    [Sighs]. I think they're a waste o' time to be honest. 'Cos I've just spoke to a few  
854                    of the workers like from there and I just look at 'em and I just think, you ain't got a  
855                    clue. You, you, you, you know, they just 'aven't got a clue, they just think you can  
856                    come into this programme as a nice little clean soldier, you, well, you know, and  
857                    then you come out six month later as a ?? [44:54] and some of the issues around  
858                    prostitution are so complex, it's so secret from your family, could be drug use, it  
859                    could be social circumstances what's forcing you into it 'cos you ain't got enough  
860                    money, you know what I mean, include, you know, or you want to save up to go  
861                    on 'oliday, you know what I mean, it could be anything. And they just, you know,  
862                    they, they, I think they ?? [45:17] just to see everybody as, as a victim, you know,  
863                    from erm, you know what I mean, and you just look at 'em and even, even their  
864                    persona, they don't even, you know...

865                    A:                    I bet they don't know what to do wi' you, do they.

866                    I:                    ...Yeah, I mean they just want, you know, with some prostitutes they've just got  
867                    this persona over how to, you know what I mean, and you think, god you think,  
868                    you don't look like you need another ?? [45:40] never mind ?? [45:42]. You know  
869                    what I mean, and you, so, so then I just mentally switch off anyway.

870                    A:                    Yeah. They've gone in your head.

871                    I:                    You know what I mean, I mean like, like, like, I've, I've, I've been able to talk to  
872                    you quite openly and honestly 'cos I'm a bit intuitive and I thought oh no she  
873                    sounds, she sounds very patient...

874 A: I am yeah. Honest am.

875 I: ...you know what I mean, she's not a stiffo, you know what I mean because you  
876 can normally tell by people's voices and...

877 A: Yeah, ooh no I'm not.

878 I: ...and the way they ask questions or whatever, but, but if you're a stiffo you're a  
879 very good researcher.

880 A: I'm not. I'm not. I'm just a normal person.

881 I: Yeah, yeah.

882 A: Yeah. I'm really, I, well I mean my background I've, I, I really really shouldn't be  
883 at university really 'cos I didn't even get any qualifications when I was at school.

884 I: Are you a good girl ?? [46:27].

885 A: I, I, I were, last year I didn't even go in. You know what I mean. I came back to  
886 education late...

887 I: Yeah.

888 A: ...so I, I've lived...

889 I: Yeah.

890 A: ...you know what I mean, you can tell that in me by the way I talk...

891 I: Yeah.

892 A: ...you know, I'm not, you know, I've seen life meself.

893 I: Yeah. And it's, er, it's like I was saying, same as me like what I call the men in  
894 suits...

895 A: Hmm.

896 I: ...you know what I mean, they don't floor me in the slightest because I think well  
897 'cos I know what 'alf of 'em's like...

898 A: Yeah.

899 I: ...you know what I mean, 'cos I've been with half of 'em...

900 A: Hmm.

901 I: ...do you know what I mean, like, travelled 'ere or met 'em in hotels and...

902 A: You've spoke to 'em and, yeah.

903 I: ...yeah, and I think to meself, yeah, so, you know like, ?? [47:08], bank  
904 managers and all that, they just don't floor me at all 'cos I just look at 'em, 'cos as  
905 I like get like and I look at 'em and I think oh yeah he could be a punter...

906 A: Yeah.

907 I: ...and then that takes away that sort of oh well he's, he's better than me type  
908 thing 'cos he in't.

909 A: Yeah, yeah ?? [47:26].

910 I: Yeah.

911 A: ?? [47:29]. I just think these are people and that's it. These are people...

912 I: Yeah.

913 A: ...no matter 'ow they're dressed up so, that's my kind of thoughts on it.

914 I: Yeah.

915 A: But I can see the people that don't, yeah.

916 I: Yeah. Yeah.

917 A: Yeah. How it must be difficult I suppose to do it with a, people trying to hide 'cos  
918 they don't know what to do.

919 I: Yeah. 'Cos I went to the bank for a loan, oh years ago...

920 A: Hmm.

921 I: ...and erm, they sez what's your occupation, I sez prostitute [laughs].

922 A: Did you. What did they say?

923 I: They said well we cannot give you a loan on that, on that occupation. I sez look, I  
924 sez I work in a flat, and I sez I'm paying me taxes at the moment...

925 A: Yeah.

926 I: ...and so I am quite eligible, I sez I'd be able to pay you back as well as  
927 somebody else who works in the cab office. But I never got it. I was cheeky  
928 enough to try. [Laughs].

929 A: You didn't get it. It is, it is, that's interesting as well because you were actually  
930 paying tax.

931 I: Yeah, yeah.

932 A: And national insurance.

933 I: Yeah.

934 A: So really you should've been eligible.

935 I: Yeah. Oh no, no it was, wasn't a flat, I was lying, it was the sauna, because,  
936 because they was clamping down on the saunas and so we all sort of went legal  
937 for a bit.

938 A: Yeah, yeah.

939 I: Yeah. No it wan't a flat it was one of the saunas.

940 A: Yeah, yeah. Hmm. It's interesting. Right well, I think I'd better let you go. Is there  
941 anything right, I mean you've told me some really in, interesting stuff anyway,  
942 you've been really brilliant, but right, so, if you could tell me something to leave  
943 me with, knowing that I'm gonna write about it...

944 I: Yeah.

945 A: ...what would you tell me?

946 I: Er, like the Government?

947 A: Anything.

948 I: Yeah, Government needs to keep places like this going because it saves 'em  
949 money in the long-term. And not put too many restrictions on us.

950 A: Right.

951 I: You know, same as like I say yesterday when we took ?? [49:27] home and, and  
952 ?? [49:30] where you can't talk about this and you can't talk about that and...

953 A: Hmm.

954 I: ...you know what I mean because like in here there's lots a swearing goes off  
955 and then we get oh he's a professional punter so try not to swear.

956 A: They don't do they?

957 I: Yeah. You know what I mean because he was a professional come there.

958 A: Yeah.

959 I: And say like, 'cos one of the girl's, like, like, 'cos I'm, I'm quite funny, voluptuous  
960 and like one of the girl's said, right then you fat bastard come over here and talk  
961 to me [laughs]. Now I don't see that as an insult, that's a term of endearment  
962 between us...

963 A: Yeah, yeah.

964 I: ...you know what I mean, so, I mean, I mean that's not gonna be very 'elpful but,  
965 yeah, but I mean it definitely needs places like these...

966 A: No, it is helpful actually. It is because it's, it's saying that there's a, there's like a,  
967 a mismatch between what they think's needed...

968 I: Yeah.

969 A: ...and 'ow to be with people and what they're actually doing, what they should be  
970 doing...

971 I: Yeah.

972 A: ...so, no, it is useful.

973 I: Yeah. I, I, you, you know, because when [name omitted] said that to me...

974 A: Yeah.

975 I: ...I mean and it, but it's a term of endearment, it wan't...

976 A: It were a recognition, come over 'ere and sit wi' me.

977 I: Yeah, yeah. It wan't like, you know, meant in any horrible way.

978 A: No it were I want your company, come sit...

979 I: Yeah.

980 A: ...down and let's have a chat.

981 I: Yeah, yeah, one o' them.

982 A: Yeah. Hmm. Which people talk like anyway.

983 I: Yeah, exactly.

984 A: Yeah, so I, I don't particularly that would be't situation, I've seen people I know  
985 do stuff like that...

986 I: Yeah, yeah.

987 A: ...so it's not, it, it's, but they do need to, I think you're right, it's got to be people  
988 that know...

989 I: Yeah. Yeah, it's got to be people that know, 'cos people won't know though, they  
990 don't get the true picture outta the clientele because you, because you just clam  
991 up, ?? [51:17].

992 A: Hmm.

993 I: Or just sit there and just think well, well, you know, I'll just say ?? [51:24] so I can  
994 tell 'er what she wants to 'ear and go 'ome ?? [51:28] and I've been doing really  
995 well...

996 A: Hmm.

997 I: ...and then you get ten brownie points and then you get ticked off the, ticked off  
998 erm, the thing for good behaviour so you ask for your probation order, you know,

999 but then some of the more chaotic girls who actually do that, they're still facing  
1000 loads a dangers be, because they're not coming outta the closet saying...

1001 A: I'm in danger.

1002 I: ...hitching, I'm sleeping rough, you know, I'm in, you know, I'm sleeping at this  
1003 flat ?? [51:58] et cetera and, you know and then, but on, on the tick boxes, you  
1004 know, for...

1005 A: Everything's hunky-dory.

1006 I: ...yeah, for like probation and that, oh no they're doing fine, they've ticked off the  
1007 boxes. Do you know what I mean, so again it's putting it underground, it's putting  
1008 it undercover because they're not having the real people doing the real jobs.

1009 A: Hmm. Yeah. And that's summat then they're really gonna take away from this.

1010 I: Yeah, yeah.

1011 A: And learn.

1012 I: Right you go for it girl.

1013 A: I will. And I'd like to say to you thank you very much, you've been brilliant.

1014 I: Okay. It's okay, thank you...

1015 A: And take care of yourself.

1016 I: ...you 'ave a nice day.

1017 A: Alright then. Bye.

1018 I: Right, bye.

1019

1020 End of transcription

#### *Appendix 4: Extract from Research diary in relation to the interviews*

24<sup>th</sup> June 2011 -

Have sent several spec e-mails to different organisations and individual; hoping to gain participants. Received a reply from a contact I found on the TLC website who agreed to take part in my research. Excited and pleased – mild statements about how I feel – I've felt like this project was going nowhere for so long that this almost felt like a bolt from the blue. Also, I know that if I conduct this interview then this means that I will have to continue with my research as I feel a duty to the participants to finish – if they provide me with information about their life then I can't just decide to put it on one side and say I can't be bothered. So this is a massive commitment for me and I am pleased.

Conducting this interview via e-mail has thrown up several issues:

How to find a balance between professionalism and a friendly rapport with the participant.

It's difficult to know how to build a rapport with someone when we cannot see each other – all non verbal cues are hidden; we can't hear each other's voices (especially intonation). Text type language has helped with overcoming this to some extent. To explain – the actual interview is being conducted through attachments – I send a question/s (highlighted in green) and the participant answers and returns the attachment. The language on my part within the interview itself is deliberately not 'academic' speak – although this participant has been to university so I can ask questions at more than just descriptive code level as with Braun and Clarke (2006). But, it is strictly business – professional – however, the e-mail correspondences that accompany the attachments have been friendly and chatty and sometimes funny. For example, on one occasion the participant called me a 'slave driver' – I replied that she hadn't heard about my reputation then?; but added that if she did want to

slow the pace then it was up to her. She replied with a 'lol' and that no everything was ok. So, I guess, letting the participant 'see' that I am approachable and willing to engage in some banter with them has helped to build a certain level of rapport.

### Keeping participant engaged without bombarding them

I get the sense that the participant is maybe losing interest as the return questions are becoming shorter. I don't want to keep asking the same question in different ways as becomes obvious (participant has been to UCE and I can't make assumptions that they won't be able to see through this). Rang the participant today to suggest that (see technical issues section) we finish the interview by telephone but didn't manage to get through to her.

### Overcoming technical issues

Technical issues with regards to both the participant and myself – the University is taking advantage of this quiet period to make some changes to the computer system (ones I don't understand but which mean that the e-mail and internet are subject to outages). This is a problem for contacting the participant – don't want to confuse matters with a new e-mail address. But the main issue is the participants own computer – is breaking down (15<sup>th</sup> July 11) so need to conduct the interview in another manner. As the participant has forwarded their mobile number – going to contact them and suggest that we conduct the rest of it via telephone. Wanted to contact them today (18<sup>th</sup>) but I am supposed to be interviewing other participants (having difficulties with gatekeeper) so don't want to do this too early (just in case I do get through...) but don't want to waste the day.

**Received an e-mail last night (18<sup>th</sup> July)** – the e-mail participant has been attacked. I don't know how badly or have any details of how she is. This has left me feeling shocked and worried. I am surprised that I am shocked because previous reading (Sanders?) has indicated that the nature of interviewing sex workers is in itself fraught with such incidences – so it wasn't unexpected. I think it's because this attack is 'real' – other examples of attacks that I've read about have concerned me but they seem abstract now in comparison to this participant. This is someone who has been emailing me with intimate details of their life – a 'real' person – we've had a bit of a laugh via e-mail. But it's not a true relationship – I'm paying her to send me information for my PhD. Also, even though 'danger' has cropped up in the interview – in hindsight – it perhaps was still abstract.

There are several issues here that I personally need to deal with – how to remain detached and whether I should do so? How to respond? I replied with an e-mail stating that I was sorry to hear about the attack but did that seem patronising? (I don't really know this person). I did mean it but would the participant think that I am only interested in the research interview – I am but not entirely. It's now the 20<sup>th</sup> July and I haven't heard anything else. It's difficult to know how long to leave them before I check if they are ok and if/when they would like to recommence the research. It might be that this is not the right time...

29<sup>th</sup> June 2011

...and then someone else who's interested – I've received a reply asking for more information from the Development Manager – XXX - of a charity called XXX! based in XX. This again was due to spec e-mails sent out after a Google search for organisations or people who are connected to sex workers. The main point of interest for this charity is that it was established approx 20yrs ago by current/ex sex workers (in fact the Project Director is a founder member and from the sex work community). This is interesting as I have been conducting a thematic analysis of online documents to establish any differences in how organisations that promote

exiting and sex workers narrate their aims/objectives in relation to exiting. Preliminary themes and codes indicate that whilst there is a common aim were exiting is concerned, the focus of how this should be carried out – especially in relation to voice/power- lacks concordance. So, because the ethos for this charity is developed from the sex work community rather than those without primary knowledge somehow makes this more appropriate for this project.

Several e-mails and telephone conversations have been conducted between XXX and me and she has agreed to allow me to interview clients. She explained that in most cases, the lifestyles of XXX's clients is chaotic (something that the interviews later reflect (interestingly using the same word)) therefore I would not be able to conduct the interviews via e-mail as with the first interview. I had two options available to me – either travel to XXX (to an area that I'm unfamiliar with) or conduct telephone interviews. I decided that, as I am still having some difficulties in relation to nerve damage on my left leg, I would carry out the interviews by telephone. This in itself has thrown up some issues:

#### Overcoming technical issues

I am the first to admit that I am not a 'technical' person and think that I find it difficult to use equipment that I am unfamiliar with – make a right song and dance out of it. this was certainly the case with the recording device that I have borrowed to record the telephone interviews. Firstly, I thought that this device had a piece that could be inserted between the phone and the handset – it didn't. I took the device to a more 'technical' colleague and eventually – between us – we worked out that if I used their office instead of mine I could use their phone which has the option to play the call out loud and then I could record both my voice and theirs. We also went through the instructions and had a practice. This was very useful and meant that when I reread the instructions and practiced on my own – I had to some extent overcome some of my earlier nerves in relation to recording (and would I over record previous interviews).

18<sup>th</sup> July 2011

Have arranged to conduct interviews today but since Wednesday have not been able to talk to the gatekeeper. I have managed to get through on mobile on some occasions but this has been inconvenient – gatekeeper offered to ring back.

Probably the worst part of this is that I have sent £180 worth of Sainsbury's vouchers (luckily I had the foresight to do this by special delivery) to the gatekeeper for the interviews. I've arranged to carry out the interviews in another colleague's office as they are via telephone and my own office phone does not have the facility to play on loud speaker – so although they are being good about it – I have put them out also. I feel quite gullible and just a little stupid for getting carried away and excited about this but as I previously 'lost' my participants due to my spine op (suspended studies) – this was the restarting of my PhD. Ringing and ringing.....

The interviews were due to start at 11.15 – I received a call to my mobile at 10.50 – everything was sorted. The charity had been having the same technical issues as the uni had been having. I had to rush to the other building (because I'd hadn't want to miss a return call to my uni landline) – I already felt like I'd been through the 'wringer' even before I start to do the interviews. I really didn't know what to expect – about my reception or what they would be saying.

*Appendix 5: Email to Sex worker organisations*

I am a PhD researcher at the University of Huddersfield conducting research about sex workers and citizenship. My main aim is to explore the extent to which sex workers relate to citizenship ideals particularly those related to community relations. The study has ethical approval and I am conducting interviews by telephone, skype, e-mail or face-to-face. All interviewees receive a £20 Sainsbury voucher. I have attached an information sheet about the project and would be grateful if you could pass this onto any members of your charity who may be interested in taking part in this research.

*Appendix 6: Email to prospective participants*

I am a researcher at the University of Huddersfield and I would like to ask you or anyone you know may be interested, to consider taking part in a research project that I am carrying out about commercial sex workers and community involvement. Participants in this research are given a £20 Sainsbury's voucher for taking part. I have attached an information sheet which explains what the research is about and how you would be involved and what would happen to any information that is given by you. If you would like to take part or would like some further information, please contact me on this e-mail address. If you prefer, you can contact me direct on the number below.

I look forward to hearing from you,

*Appendix 7: Forum discussion search results*

Table 7

*Results from forum thread search and thread titles*

Thread number	Thread title
1	Channel 4~Mon 23rd~ SEX A VERY BRITISH JOB
2	Newbie in need of help and guidance
3	Work persona / real life persona
4	Attitudes to men in general
5	Nightmare which ladies who work from home dread
6	Planning to start "normal career", but worried..
7	3 Tips for staying sane in this job
8	What's your goal doing this job?
9	Forgot to get money - regular client!
10	Getting closure on leaving the job
11	Moving away from escorting but staying in the sex industry
12	Would love some advice
13	how often do you put cash in bank ?

14	Tax expenses question?
15	Banking Money - Tax Related
16	Working and being a mum, organising your time?
17	Falling for a client [was: Oh no it's happening !!]
18	Death threat on text! Real or fake? Advice please!!
19	Creepy ex mother in law stalking my Adultwork
20	Clients own condoms!
21	Asking if you know any other girls in the business
22	Deceptively quiet clients
23	Sound dodgy?
24	Sugar Daddy and saying thanks
25	That horrid feeling - Last minute cancellation on my part!
26	Married and attached clients & iPhones/iPads!



Appendix 9: Initial thematic map for the Civil and social citizenship rights and duties, being a citizen theme

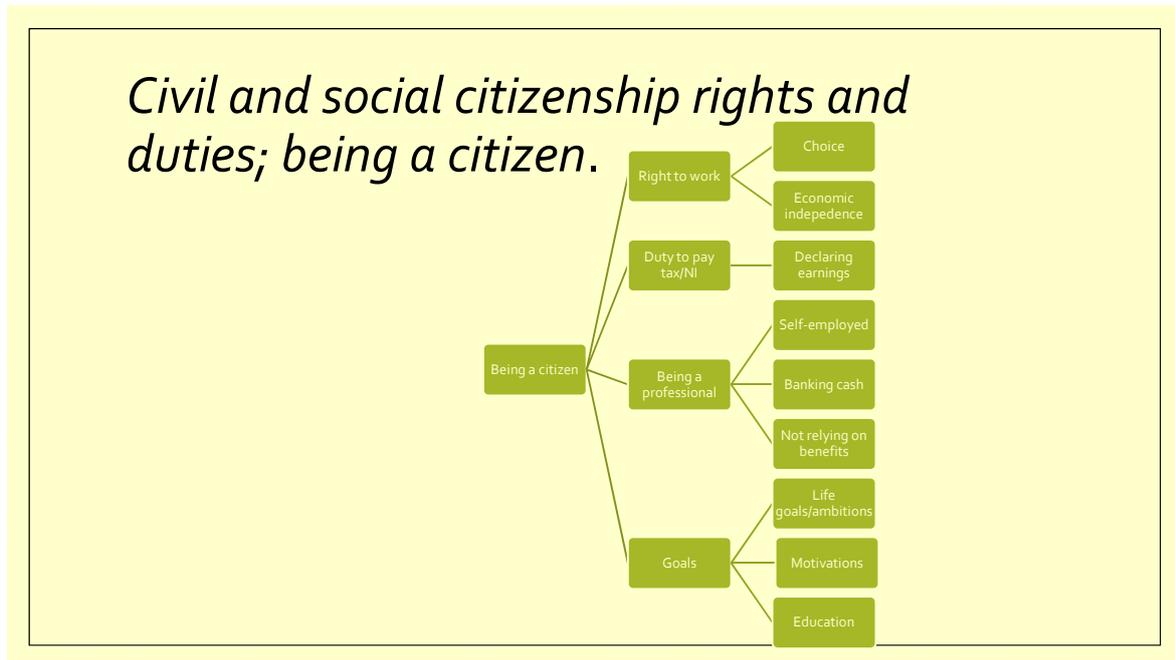


Figure 6: Initial thematic map for the Civil and social citizenship rights and duties, being a citizen theme

Appendix 10: Initial thematic map for How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial sex work identity theme

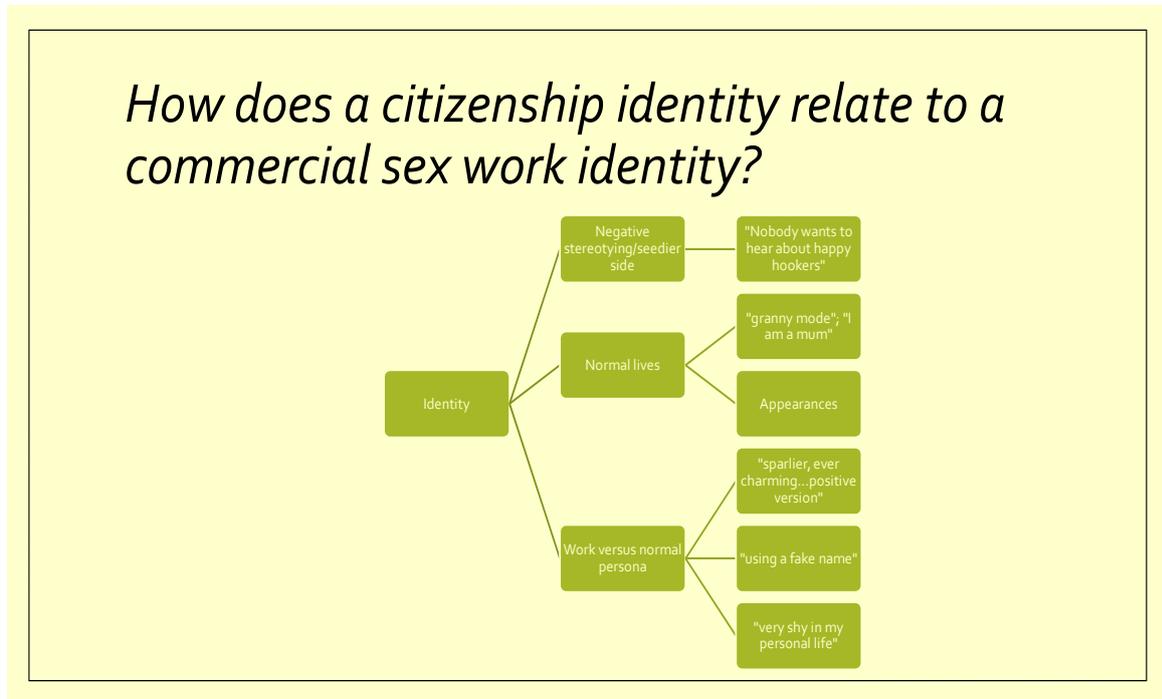


Figure7: Initial thematic map for How does a citizenship identity relate to a commercial sex work identity theme

Appendix 11: Initial thematic map for the exiting theme

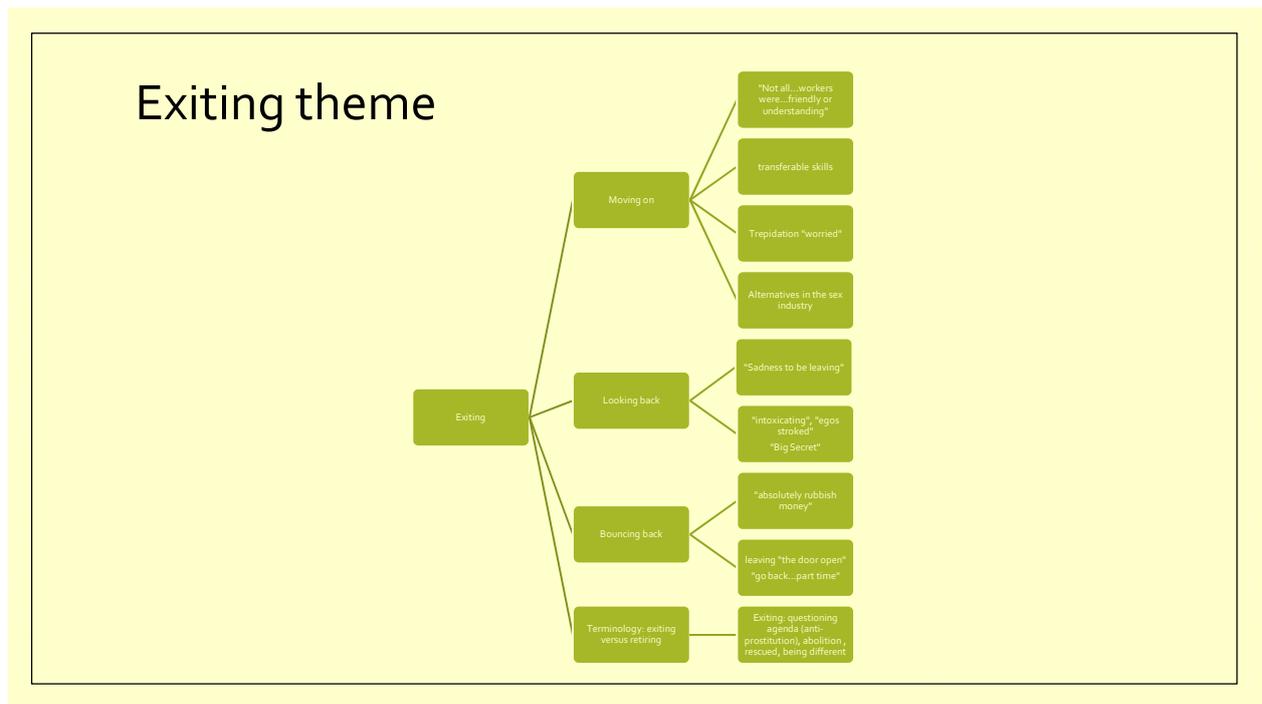


Figure 8: Initial thematic map for the exiting theme

*Appendix 12: Ethics proposal*

THE UNIVERSITY OF HUDDERSFIELD

School of Human and Health Sciences – School Research Ethics Panel

OUTLINE OF PROPOSAL

Please complete and return via email to:

Kirsty Thomson SREP Administrator: [hhs\\_srep@hud.ac.uk](mailto:hhs_srep@hud.ac.uk)

Name of applicant: Andrea Gaynor

Title of study: A qualitative study of the relationship between Commercial Sex Workers and Citizenship.

Department: Behavioural Sciences

Date sent: 19/09/08

Issue	Please provide sufficient detail for SREP to assess strategies used to address ethical issues in the research proposal
Researcher(s) details	Mrs Andrea Gaynor BSc (Hons) Behavioural Sciences, PGCE (pcet) 68 Cow Heys, Dalton, Huddersfield, HD5 9RG 01484 317350

Supervisor details	Dr Chris Gifford (Director of Studies), Graham Gibbs, Dr Tracey Lee, Dr Dave Robinson.
Aim / objectives	The aim is to explore commercial sex workers' relationship with citizenship. The objective is to address a paucity of research in relation to commercial sex workers and citizenship status; adding to the momentum of the concept of citizenship in order to reduce marginalisation.
Brief overview of research methodology	A qualitative approach will be utilised to explore how commercial sex workers relate their connection, or not to citizenship. Face-to-face, semi-structured and tape recorded interviews will be conducted over an eighteen month period. Initially, approximately fifteen participants will be interviewed, from these interviews certain participants will be contacted for a further interview. The interview data will be analysed using a narrative analytical approach (Reissman, 1993, 2008; Langdridge, 2007).
Permissions for study	Permission from the Sex Worker Education, Empowerment and Training Project's (SWEET) to interview their clients. Permission from each participant.
Access to participants	Access to participants has approved by the coordinator of the SWEET project. See flow chart 1 at the end of application for the process of accessing participants.
Confidentiality	The information sheet and consent form will include explicit details of how confidentiality will be respected (see accompanying documents). In line with the University of Huddersfield's (2006) data protection guidelines, paper based records containing participant details and electronic/paper based data will be stored securely at the University and destroyed after 10 years. Documents/recordings that are not required will be irretrievably destroyed. Participants will be informed of how the data/results will be disseminated (PhD, seminars, academic papers). The participants will also be told that others (my supervision team) may on occasion listen to the audio tapes.

Anonymity	<p>The information sheet and consent form will include explicit details of how anonymity will be respected or not. In line with the University of Huddersfield's (2006) data protection guidelines all names and pseudonyms will be altered and securely coded to ascertain confidentiality (BSA, 2002, items 34; 36). Geographical locations, 'walks', which are used regularly by participants for the purpose of commercial sex work will also be given pseudonyms. To avoid the risk of others being able to discover the identity of participants; there will be no electronic data storage of the links between data and coded identities of participants (BSA, 2002, items 36).</p> <p>It may be possible to identify participants from interview extracts (particularly direct quotes) or events for example, where combinations of data and/or attributes make the participant identifiable. In such cases participant identities will be protected as far as possible – for example changing details. However, they will be informed that in some cases it may be complicated to disguise their identity if it involves altering the data/information to an unacceptable degree (BSA, 2002, item 36). Innovation in the research area does not give the researcher the right to ignore the rights of the individual (BSA, 2002, item 11). If such information is likely to place the participant at risk in any way, in some cases, it will be necessary to decide whether to remove details of a sensitive nature (BSA, 2002, item 34). Any such instances will be discussed thoroughly with the participant. In line with this issue, participants will be informed that they can reject the use of a tape recorder within the interview (BSA, 2002, item 18). Participants will also be informed of their right to withdraw statements (BSA, 2002, item 23).</p> <p>It will be made clear at the outset of the interview process that although the anonymity of the participant is paramount it will be overridden with regard to revelations of abuse to children – not just those related to commercial sex work (BSA, 2002, items 37). Similarly, any details of workers/others who are forced to work in this area (including victims of 'trafficking') will be forwarded to the relevant authority (BSA, 2002, items 37). Participants will be</p>
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	<p>clearly informed at the outset (on the information sheet and verbally) that this will be the case; understanding will be checked.</p>
<p>Psychological support for participants</p>	<p>The researcher has a duty alleviate any emotional distress from the dissemination of results to the participants and other commercial sex workers who are not able to/do not wish to take part in such services (BSA, 2002, item 28). This research will be mainly conducted with participants who have accepted the 'assistance' of an outreach service; and who are receiving some form of in-house health promotion or educational programme promoting 'exiting' from commercial sex. The individualistic nature of such services and solely utilising research from clients of such a service can lead to further marginalisation for those who do not conform.</p> <p>There is a possibility that taking part in this research may affect the participants standing within the commercial sex work community (BSA, 2002, item 28) for instance they may be under suspicion of revealing information that could affect others in the profession or people who use their services. There may be some resistance from associates of the participants (family, other workers, pimps, boyfriends, and clients) to the participant taking part. Clearly the psychological (and physical) well-being of participants is of utmost importance – any issues narrated to the researcher will be discussed and the participant will be reminded that they are protected by anonymity and confidentiality and the right to withdraw.</p> <p>The research process itself may be disturbing to the participants (BSA, 2002, item 28) the researcher could be perceived in the same light as a 'pimp' by using the sex worker to fulfil own career objectives; taking information from them without having to experience the hardships of commercial sex and deserting the sex worker when the researcher has what they want. Clearly, the usual format for empirical research, however this may damage the participant psychologically; by reiterating their role as a person to be used for the benefit of others (financial or otherwise). It is the responsibility of the researcher to protect the psychological well-being of the participant (BSA, 2002, item 13).</p>

	<p>Further, the narration of violent/abusive stories, may confirm their status as marginalised and othered. It will be made explicit that the research will follow this pattern, by way of informed consent (BSA, 2002, item 16), and reiterated that the participant has the right to withdraw from the research at any point up to publication (BSA, 2002, item 23).</p> <p>Also, in anticipation of the possible recollections that may have caused distress to the participant - for example disclosures of abuse – the researcher will provide each participant with details of agencies to contact for advice. It is intended that the listed agencies will be those already supporting the SWEET project; therefore, there will be no need to warn those agencies in advance.</p>
<p>Researcher safety / support</p> <p>(attach complete University Risk Analysis and Management form)</p>	<p>Risk Analysis and Management form accompanying this document.</p>
<p>Identify any potential conflicts of interest</p>	<p>None</p>
<p>Please supply copies of all relevant supporting documentation electronically. If this is not available electronically, please provide explanation and supply hard copy</p>	
<p>Information sheet</p>	<p>An information sheet, approved by the Director of studies, will be read out and then given to each participant prior to the interview. Further, the participant will be asked at the beginning of the interviews whether they have been made aware of and also understand the contents of the information sheet. The information included will be:</p> <p>Purpose/aims of study</p> <p>How the interviews will assist the research</p>

	<p>Right to withdrawal from the research</p> <p>Level of anonymity</p> <p>Storage of materials (tape recordings etc)</p> <p>Contact details for researcher</p> <p>Details of what the researcher intends to do with the completed research</p> <p>Electronic copy accompanying this document.</p>
Consent form	Electronic copy accompanying this document.
Letters	Electronic copy accompanying this document.
Questionnaire	N/A
Interview schedule	<p>The aim is to reduce marginalisation and empower its participants - including that as a result of stigma and commercial sex work - in relation to citizenship. Also, this research will not add to the negative labels already attached to people who work within this sector. This is particularly important with regard to the term used to identify this group. The expression 'commercial sex worker' will be used throughout to categorize people who sell sexual intercourse in exchange for money. A further influence on the decision to use the term 'sex worker' is that it was constructed by sex workers in an attempt to emphasise that they should be perceived as being engaged in economic activity - rather than focusing on their social/and or psychological characteristics.</p> <p>The interviews will semi-structured around the following overarching questions:</p> <p>How do participants compare commercial sex work to other jobs?</p> <p>Values, ethics and commercial sex work</p> <p>How do participants narrate their understandings of citizenship</p>

	Citizenship in relation to commercial sex work  The future
Dissemination of results	In accordance with the Research Governance Framework (DOH 2001, 2003) the findings of this research will be made available to all participants upon request. Participants will be informed of this via the information sheet. Participants will also be informed that the results will be stored in the University of Huddersfield's library and may be included in conference presentations and journal publications.
Other issues	
Where application is to be made to NHS Research Ethics Committee	n/a
All documentation has been read by supervisor (where applicable)	Supervisor Report accompanying this document

All documentation must be submitted to the SREP administrator. All proposals will be reviewed by two members of SREP. If it is considered necessary to discuss the proposal with the full SREP, the applicant (and their supervisor if the applicant is a student) will be invited to attend the next SREP meeting.

If you have any queries relating to the completion of this form or any other queries relating to SREP's consideration of this proposal, please do not hesitate to contact either of the co-chairs of SREP:

## *Appendix 13: Participant information sheet*

### INFORMATION SHEET

Dear participant,

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. This information sheet is yours to keep and refer to at any point during the research. Below are details about the study itself and information of how you will take part, what will happen to the interview recordings and what will be done with the results of this research.

The purpose of this study is to deal with a lack of research about commercial sex workers and community involvement. Please note that you can withdraw from this research at any time – you do not have to provide a reason for doing so and this will not jeopardise you in any way. Your participation will involve being interviewed about your thoughts and feelings with regard to this area. With your permission, the interview will be recorded using a tape recording device. To make sure that any information that you give remains confidential, the recordings will be stored safely at the University of Huddersfield and destroyed after 10 years.

The next section of this sheet will inform you of how your details will be kept anonymous/secret. The only people who will have access to the taped interview are the researcher, from time to time, members of the team who are supervising this research and a person who will transcribe the interviews. However, your name and any other identifying details will be changed so that the researcher is the only person who will know your true identity.

Also, there will be no electronic data storage of the links between the interview material and your coded identity. In cases where details of the interview, such as details of events, may make it possible to identify yourself - your identity will be protected as far as possible – for example changing details. The results from this study will be published in the researchers PhD thesis, academic papers and may also be presented at academic conferences. If you have any concerns about any information that you have given you right to withdraw statements.

Although your anonymity is of great importance, it will be overridden with regard to information that suggests that young children are being abused or harmed in any way. Similarly, any details of workers/others who are forced to work in this area will be forwarded to the relevant authority.

Although your participation is voluntary, you will receive a £20 gift voucher for giving up your time to this research. Please note that you may also be asked to take part in another interview at a later date; for which a further £20 gift voucher would be given to you.

If you have any concerns about any of the details in this information sheet, the research in general or would like to see the findings of this research, you can contact me using the details at the bottom of this sheet.

Andrea Gaynor BSc (Hons), PGCE (pcet)

University of Huddersfield

School of Human and Health Sciences

Department of Behavioural Sciences

Queensgate

Huddersfield

HD1 3DH

Tel: 01484 471888



Date

Name of researcher

Signature

Date