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***The Emotional Trajectories of Women's Desistance: A Repertory
Grid Study on Women Exiting Prostitution***

Helen Johnson
PhD in Criminology 2015

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PART 1

Introduction and Literature Review

1. Introduction

Overview

This research identifies and explores the emotions of women who are exiting (leaving) prostitution. Both prostitution and desistance have emerged as areas of academic and policy interest, with a growing understanding that women can, do and want to leave prostitution and a growing interest in how people change their lives. Similarly, emotions are an emerging area of interest for criminologists and sociologists and despite some historical neglect of emotions in sociology and criminology, there have been notable contributions to the literature that acknowledge the centrality of emotions in social life; for example, in social interaction and influencing behaviour. In both the prostitution and desistance literature, emotional factors clearly emerge as part of the process of change for exiters and desisters; however, there has been very little direct focus on their importance and impact on this process. One notable exception is the work of Farrall and Calverley (2006; 2011) who describe the 'emotional trajectories' of desisters and suggest that the internal experience of desistance and the emotional factors are key to understanding desistance. An appreciation of the importance of understanding the emotional drivers and barriers that both promote and prevent change thus informs the focus of this research. The research works on the hypothesis that the emotional journey has a direct impact on whether or not exit from prostitution is achieved and that an understanding of these emotional trajectories will make an important contribution to policy and practice through 'emotionally intelligent' service provision (Karstedt et al. 2011). The research makes a unique contribution to the desistance literature by mapping the process of change for women with particularly complex and challenging circumstances and focusing on the emotional aspects of this change.

In this research, emotions are understood as dynamic and multi-faceted and mediating the relationship between self and society. They are central to a person's identity, to interpreting experience, and to anticipating future events, thus influencing behaviour and the construction of new identities. In order to explore the emotional trajectories of women leaving the sex industry, the

research adopts the methodological tool of Repertory Grid that is aimed at exploring a research participant's repertoire of constructs – their conceptual schema – that mediates the self and society. The technique is derived from Personal Construct Theory ('PCT'), which provides a rich theoretical understanding of the interdependence of structure, agency, emotions and cognition. Repertory Grid is a powerful alternative to qualitative interviews as it allows the interviewer to move beyond surface descriptions and into meaning and interpretation. It also allows the researcher to identify the way in which a person uses their worldview to appraise their experience of the world, which will include the social structure in which a person is located. In short, repertory grid technique identifies constructs and constructs are mechanisms through which a person makes sense of the world, mechanisms through which self and society combine. Such an approach draws out and highlights both structural factors and the decision-making of the individual (agency) and the way that these shape a person's life. In the context of this research, uncovering the emotional constructs adopted by the women, mapping change in relation to these constructs, and combining this with an analysis of the narrative aspects of their interviews on emotions and exit, shed light on a number of issues: the interplay between the subjective and structural, issues of power, constraints and facilitators of exit/desistance, identity, social relationships, and the meaning and process of exit for women as they leave the industry. The research questions were as follows:

1. What are the emotional dynamics of women exiting prostitution?
2. What is the role of emotions in shaping change in behaviour?
3. What models and mechanisms can best respond to these emotional dynamics in supporting exit?

Overall, the research confirms that understanding the emotional aspects of exit offers new insights and gives rise to a new approach to service provision. The findings reveal that emotions are central to desistance and that role transition is a prerequisite for desistance. The data has shown that exit is a process of self-determination, becoming one's authentic self, and that this process is bound up with emotional drivers and barriers. The process of exit necessarily involves fostering positive emotional experiences through both

external and internal changes. The data suggests that an understanding of dominant emotional constructs at any given time will give a gateway into how best to respond to the needs and motivations of the exiter through service provision and offers an emotionally intelligent model to meet these needs. Service provision plays a key role in bridging the change in lifestyle of exiters through generating emotional energy, increasing access to alternatives, fostering hope, and enabling women to reimagine their lives.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter 2 locates exit within the wider context of desistance and how women with complex and challenging circumstances transform their lives. Within both the exiting and desistance literature emotions have been shown to be a central aspect of this change. Emotions are relevant to both agency and structure, shaping and being shaped by both, and as such it is necessary to explore the intertwining and interdependence of structure and agency in relation to emotion. Emotions are central to understanding human behaviour and decision-making and the research again adopts the notion of interdependence, this time of cognition and emotion, positing a personal construct theory of emotions that sees the relationship between cognition, emotion and experience as part of the process of construing – developing and testing conceptual schema about the external world ('a person's processes are psychologically channelled by the ways in which he anticipates events'). This has particular synergy with appraisal theories of emotions, as well as sociological theories that demonstrate the centrality of emotions to role identity and meaning. The research draws from criminological and sociological theory in a way that compliments PCT to develop a deeper understanding of the different facets of emotions and how they work. A review of the criminological and sociological literature on emotions demonstrates that emotions are: embodied, interactive and relational, meaningful and meaning-making, socially and culturally constructed and generated, related to power, social status and group dynamics, and bound up with identity.

Chapter 3 explores gaps in our current understanding of desistance and emotions, covering gender and desistance – and the theory that desistance

is more relational for women - and what we know about exiting prostitution, including drivers and barriers to exit. This chapter explores in detail the factors that are at play with regard to exit and desistance and the emotional implications of this – role transition, turning points, stages of change, trauma/numbing, phenomenological and existential approaches. This draws from both desistance and sociology of emotions (for example, numbing is linked to emotions management and a dislodgement from one's core self). The research focuses on Farrall and Calverley's (2006) theory of desistance, which introduces the concept of 'emotional trajectories' and the different aspects of these trajectories are explored within the wider literature on exit and the sociology of emotions – these aspects include the role of shame, hope, fear, self-esteem, and love in shaping desistance. This chapter argues that service provision must be emotionally intelligent and has a key role in generating emotional energy and addressing these emotional trajectories.

Chapter 4 introduces the theoretical background to the research methodology. The research takes a qualitative approach in order to move beyond mere description into meaning, interpretation and how reality is experienced. PCT is adopted as it offers a way of understanding the relationship between self, society, cognition and emotion and offers a specific technique for uncovering a person's conceptual schema of the world – their constructs - through repertory grid technique. PCT is complimentary to sociological theory on emotions and desistance. Kelly (1955) – the founder of PCT - pointed out that constructs can be socially shared. Further, the process of construing and reconstruing involves appraising one's worldview against experience of the world, which will include the social structure in which a person is located. In short, constructs are the mechanism through which a person makes sense of the world, a mechanism through which self and society combine. This theoretical underpinning also strengthens the feminist aims of this research, in giving voice to women's experiences and exploring the context of social structural inequalities that shape women's lives. Repertory Grid compliments sociological research and has been used in the following contexts: looking at values and beliefs, making the tacit explicit, change/role transition, effective service provision, identifying structural influences

Chapter 5 describes the methodology. The research adopted a qualitative

approach with in depth face-to-face interviews as the main method that combined narrative and repertory grid technique to elicit constructs, thus gaining an insight into the participants' own experiences and worldview. 30 women were interviewed, 16 who continued to be involved in the industry and 14 who had exited. Data analysis, process analysis and ethics are also considered in this chapter. Repertory grid is an alternative to semi-structured interviews that uncovers the constructs adopted by participants as they share their worldview and is an approach that does not take meaning for granted. Broadly speaking, repertory grid is a process of compare and contrast, whereby participants are asked to distinguish between three 'elements' describing two as similar and different to the third in ways that reveal their binary constructs. In this research, women compared different aspects of involvement and non-involvement in the sex industry with reference to their emotional responses to these aspects. This approach was combined with narrative, which is another way of getting at constructs, meaning and interpretation by analysing how a person presents themselves and their story. Repertory grid is a structured way of having a conversation so this narrative element is inherent to the process. Combining the techniques enabled the research to explore how these women 'do' their gender and tell stories about who they are.

Chapter 6 describes the constructs (in this research, the emotions) elicited and their relevance to the literature – i.e. what are the emotions that the women are working with as they negotiate their internal sense of identity and their relationship to the external world and their experiences? These binary constructs included shame/acceptance, guilt/pride, and fear/safety and in this chapter their meanings are elucidated and placed within their theoretical context. Personal Values are also addressed – for example, women were often able to tolerate feelings of guilt, shame, and embarrassment when determining their personal values. This reflects findings in the data that these emotions can be residual issues even after many years of exit – on some level, they appear to be the last emotions to be cleared. Some women were willing to tolerate vulnerability and doubt – in other words, to take risks, often as a result of changing their lifestyles with undetermined results. Early exiters and women still involved in street work often held fear/safety as their strongest personal value. Similarly, for those experiencing chaotic lifestyles, feeling settled would be highly valued. As such, issues of confidence and

self-determination were not as important for women until they had reached levels of stability in their lives at which point these became stronger concerns. These patterns of change over time are discussed further in Chapter 8, which examines the process of change.

Similarly, Chapter 7 explores changes in lifestyle by analysing the participants' choices of elements. These elements were used in the process of compare and contrast to ascertain the emotional constructs that women use to evaluate their experience. Elements were elicited by asking women to describe aspects of their involvement and (real or imagined) non-involvement in prostitution, as well as aspects of their ideal lifestyle. Elements analysis tells us about the values and aspects of lifestyle that engender emotional responses, what is desirable and undesirable and the structural factors that affect the process of change, for example, drug/alcohol use, social isolation and relationships.

Chapter 8 explores whether a Stages model, adopted from the desistance literature, is appropriate to understanding the process of change as women exit the industry. In summary, although there are identifiable emotional changes that do occur in women as they exit, this research could not identify clear, linear and discernable stages that women go through. Similarly, while what I have termed 'emotional turning points' were relevant to some women, others exited more gradually. In this chapter, changes in constructs and elements are analysed according to stages categories that correspond to the time the participant has been exited from the industry – including those who have not contemplated exit and those who wish to leave but continue to be involved. The chapter also reflects on identifiable patterns and themes that emerge from analysing each interview as a whole and in aggregate.

Noticeable findings include the fact that the women became more conscious of issues around fear and safety as they began to contemplate exit and that they experience immediate relief at the early stages of exit with gatekeeper services having a key role in generating a greater sense of safety. At later stages, successful desisters demonstrate a move into feelings of hope and pride, which is associated with a greater emphasis on these emotions over the more immediate needs of safety that early exiters experience. The women clearly move from less to more desirable emotions as they leave the

industry, with the positive poles of their emotional constructs becoming more available and relevant to their lives.

Chapter 9 explores the meaning and process of exit for women as they leave the industry. This chapter describes exit as a process of self-determination – becoming one's authentic self again. In the data, exit was consistently associated with a sense of self-determination and freedom, as opposed to being clear of undesirable emotions. This process of reintegrating with both oneself and society emerged as the main theme of change in people's lives as they transitioned from involvement to non-involvement in the industry. Successful exit involves recovering from the emotions management and numbing out that the industry demands, which results in a dislodgement from oneself and one's emotions. However, the positive aspect of the emotional demands the industry places on women is to foster emotional resilience that can be capitalised on with service provision. Overall, transition necessitates the ability to adopt and step into new and desirable emotional states. This process of exit is one of becoming re-embodied and actively engaged in the world and with this comes a change in their interpretive frameworks, not with regard to the emotional constructs but with regard to a shift in the emotional landscape – moving out of fear into safety for example. This results in a re-evaluation of the self and the world – and new sense of possibility.

Chapter 9 also supports the desistance literature that suggests role transition is a pre-requisite for desistance. The ability to change lifestyles is intertwined with a renegotiation of role identity, which in turn is linked to the aforementioned ability to reimagine their lives. If new roles could not be achieved or imagined this presented a barrier to being able to move on. The construction of new identities that foster pride and social cohesion emerge as key elements of desistance. As desistance is achieved, new constructs are developed as new identities become available. In other words, a person begins to try out new ways of construing their experience. For the women interviewed, this did not mean a change in their emotional constructs but instead a change in how their experience is evaluated through these constructs – a shift from being stuck in one pole of the construct to the availability of the preferred poles. This results in new ways of conceiving their identity. Adopting and maintaining these new roles depends on the availability of scripts and narrative, which for many women are limited by

gendered ideas and feelings of shame and worthlessness. Where women are more entrenched in these feelings, therapeutic intervention may be necessary although it is not a prerequisite for exit.

Chapter 10 addresses implications for policy and practice by discussing the role of service provision in supporting role transition and emotions management. Service provision plays a key role in enabling women to reimagine their lives and adopt new roles and identities and is a key site in which women can re-integrate and develop new commitments to social structures. One of the main roles where service provision can have a significant impact is in engendering positive emotions and offering new positive emotional experiences. Depending on the emotional construct that most needs attention, service provision can intervene and play a supporting and transformational role. A model for emotionally intelligent service provision is offered, which includes overarching principles, such as developing an ethos that actively promotes exit, with specific interventions according to emotional categories. These categories are defined as 1. Disconnection, 2. Instability, 3. Testing, and 4. Grounding and are linked to the stage at which they are most likely to occur. Each category focuses on moving the participant from the negative to positive poles of constructs that are most relevant to that category.

Disconnection relates to experiences of numbing and depression and can be alleviated through fostering hope. Instability relates to fear, isolation and shame and includes providing traditional harm reduction as well as promoting positive relationships. Testing relates to the vulnerability of committing to change and feeling uncertain about choice and the capacity to transition lifestyles and can be supported through engagement with meaningful activity and fostering choice. Grounding relates to a concern with being able to maintain a content and stable lifestyle and includes the need to support employment opportunities as well as working with individuals to inspire and understand their skills and interests. For women who are attempting to leave the industry, hope and possibility are crucial drivers and service provision is a vehicle through which this hope and possibility can be fostered. Overall, the role of service provision is to promote a return to an authentic sense of self that is engaged in meaningful activity and has a greater sense of integration with both self and society

2. Understanding Emotions and Exit

Linking desistance, exit, and emotions

Emotions and the process of change

This research aims to identify the emotional dynamics of the process of change as women exit prostitution. The meaning of 'exit' for these women emerges through the research, however, as a starting point it means moving from involvement to non-involvement in the sex industry – to no longer receiving money or financial reward in exchange for sex. Exit is one example of women's desistance; a change in lifestyle from criminalised, marginalised or deviant behaviour into a more conventional lifestyle. Notwithstanding the problematic labelling associated with the definition of desistance (deviance implying abnormal), at heart, this is an exploration of the emotional dynamics of how people transform their lives when faced with challenging or difficult circumstances. Fundamental to this process of change is both the decision to change and the actual change in behaviour and lifestyle, which can be affected by both internal and external factors. This research focuses on the internal aspect of emotions and their relationship to other elements of exit – both structural and cognitive.

From an academic perspective, prostitution is a category that lends itself well to developing a stronger understanding of desistance, perhaps even because of the blurred distinctions and issues around criminal/non-criminal or 'normal' behaviour, victimisation, stigma, gender, and the interplay of structure and agency. The growing literature on desistance has drawn attention to the wider issue of how people make radical changes in lifestyle over time, for example, by overcoming addictions or ceasing involvement in certain forms of behaviour (see, for example, Farrall and Calverley 2006). The complex circumstances of women involved in prostitution mean that lifestyle changes can be particularly challenging (Baker et al. 2010; Bradford 2005; Hester and Westmarland 2004; Pitcher 2006; Poland et al. 2008). A study of this process of change is likely to make an interesting contribution to the desistance literature. Not only is there a growing acknowledgement of the importance of meeting the needs of women who want to leave the industry (Melrose et al. 1999; Matthews and Easton 2011; Maruna 2001; Farrall and

Calverley 2006; 2011), there is also a wider interest in how people change their lives, the structural and internal factors that impact this and how institutions can support this change (Maruna 2001; Farrall and Calverley 2006; 2011; Sampson and Laub 2006).

In both the prostitution and desistance literature, emotional factors clearly emerge as part of this process of change for exiters and desisters. However, there has been very little direct focus on their importance and impact on the process. Farrall and Calverley (2006; 2011) describe the 'emotional trajectories' of desisters as they transition out of lives of crime. Their findings suggest that the internal experience of desistance and the emotional factors that are encountered through this process of change are key to understanding desistance. An appreciation of the importance of understanding the emotional drivers and barriers that both promote and prevent change thus informs the focus of this research. This view is supported by theorists such as Katz (1988), who famously argued that criminal behaviour could only be properly understood through an understanding of the emotional experiences that motivate the behaviour, and Hochschild (2003), who argues that emotions are central to social interaction and explores the relationship between the individual and social demands on their feelings and emotional displays. There is a growing understanding of the importance of emotions in a sociological and criminological context (Karstedt 2011), which echoes a wider inter-disciplinary interest in emotions.

Emotions, Agency and Structure

A review of the sociology of emotions and criminological literature on emotions reveals that despite their 'internal' nature, emotions have strong social dimensions. They are bound up with issues of power, identity, and the point of intersection between self and society. As such, emotions cannot be seen as merely a matter of human agency, instead they are also bound up with issues of social structure. A recurring theme in sociology and criminology is the issue of the relationship between structure and agency. For example, in the literature on desistance this debate is very much alive. On the one hand, researchers argue that external events ('turning points') alter the structural context in which a person is situated and have the most impact on change (Sampson and Laub 2006; Laub and Sampson 2001). On

the other hand, researchers argue that it is necessary to address the internal aspects of change in order to fully understand desistance (Farrall and Calverley 2006; Maruna 2001). Laub and Sampson (2001) state that structural factors, such as marriage and employment, have the most influence on desistance and that the internal changes occur as a result of this structural change. In contrast, Maruna (2001) states that a person's internal narratives shapes their ability to take charge of and change their own lives and capitalise on structural opportunity. Undeniably, any study of emotions is acknowledging the importance of these internal factors. However, this need not be at the expense of rejecting the role of social structure. In fact, theories such as Maruna's intertwine agency and structure by focussing on roles and identity that is shaped by social structural factors.

Within the desistance literature it has been pointed out that both subjective and social factors work together to create change and can influence one another (LeBel et al. 2008; Farrall and Bowling 1999a). These authors argue against privileging one aspect of desistance over another, suggesting that developing an understanding of both is essential. In particular, Farrall and Bowling (1999a) argue that an approach that combines an analysis of individual decisions and structural constraints is preferable. The exiting literature introduces the concept of 'intersectionalities' to make the point that it is necessary to understand the intersection between agency and structure O'Neill and Campbell (2011). O'Neill and Campbell argue that desistance is a process and needs to be explored in a wider frame, not just through deviancy and criminal justice but via biographical and cultural analysis at the intersections of structures, social and cultural meanings, everyday interactions, routine practices (including social networks) and individual subjectivities. According to Mansson and Hedin (1999) exiting women struggle with four main issues: working through and understanding the experience of life in prostitution; dealing with shame, living in a marginal situation, and dealing with intimate and close relationships. These factors clearly incorporate both structural and internal elements – for example, relevant issues may be internal, such as dealing with trauma, and structural, such as broken social bonds through building new social networks.

The interplay between agency and structure is particularly relevant to women who work in prostitution, as Cusick et al. (2003) point out, 'the phenomenon

of commercial sex has the sexual double standard, poverty and an unequal labour market as prerequisites' (p3). Cusick et al. point out the danger of focussing on individual circumstances as the expense of locating these problems in their wider historical, cultural and economic contexts. This has been pointed out by Buchanan (2004) in the context of drug use, who states that responses:

'may inadvertently pathologize problem drug use by narrowing the focus and attention towards individuals, their choices and motivations for change... these choices have been influenced by a range of powerful negative pressures and aggravating factors that have limited the alternatives and opportunities available to this section of society'
(p389/390)

As such, Buchanan argues that there is a risk of decontextualizing and suggesting it is about individual internal adjustments but failing to account for structure. The desistance literature has a strong focus on these internal adjustments but the interplay between self and society must form part of our understanding of the process of change.

Archer (1995) observes that sociological theory frequently attempts to privilege one or the other, or to conflate them as in Giddens's theory of structuration (Giddens 1984). In the desistance and exiting literature this is certainly the case. For example, many of the political arguments relating to prostitution policy are centred around issues of agency and structure – sex worker rights activists argue that the structural context is such that the 'choice' to be involved in prostitution should be supported, whereas the violence against women movement seeks to break down this notion of 'choice' and reveal the structural disadvantage that perpetuates the industry. In fact, both political perspectives use arguments that relate to both structure and agency and not all theorists lay out a clear understanding of each of these elements. Archer argues that this privileging of either one or the other, or the conflation of the two, happens to the detriment of understanding their *distinct* properties and the *interplay* between the two. Sociological research is strengthened by understanding the interplay between internal processes (the

subjective) and structural constraints – and facilitators – that shape a person's life.

The dynamics of emotion

The Centrality of Emotions

It has been argued that it is difficult to understand human action without an understanding of emotions (Oatley 1996). Averill (1996) points out that emotions influence the way a person thinks as well as behaves. As such, emotions motivate behaviour and are therefore essential to understanding how and why people change. In addition, in the criminological and sociological literature, Harris (2011) argues that 'emotions provide individuals with the motivation that is necessary to translate their belief into behaviour' (p8) and emotional intelligence and meeting emotional needs are seen as essential elements of any approach to influencing behaviour (Scheff 2011). Scheff argues that there is a demand for building 'emotionally intelligent' models of service provision - institutionalised mechanisms that respond to emotional needs. These institutional structures have the power to influence and shape emotions (Oselin 2009). As such, it can be shown that emotions are of central importance to understanding behaviour change. The relationship between emotions, motivation, rationality and behaviour has been explored by a number of theorists and researchers.

Emotions, Reason, and Scientific Inquiry

There has been some distrust of emotions as a subject matter by those who are concerned with 'objectively' observing and measuring their subject matter, particularly those subscribing to logical positivist and behaviourist perspectives who sought to reconcile this discomfort by measuring the external manifestations of internal states (Plutchik 1980; Bendelow and Williams 1998). Plato's ancient idea that emotions are opposed to reason (McGibbon 1964) has not lost its support amongst many modern day thinkers (Karstedt et al. 2011; Bendelow and Williams 1998). However, the Aristotelian perspective that in fact these two elements are intertwined

(Ogren 2004; Kennedy 1991), has found growing support in criminology, sociology and psychology. These theorists stress the importance of emotions to the issues explored in these fields of study and also assert that it is not possible to understand people without understanding their emotions (Bendelow and Williams 1998; Karstedt et al. 2011; Lazarus 1991). Lester (2009) argues that it is wrong to conceptualise emotions as opposite to reason and that we need to view emotions and rationality as part of a comprehensive process, working together; which is an approach shared in the sociological and psychological literature (Averill 1996; Bendelow and Williams 1998). In fact, Damasio (1994; 2003) points out that disconnection from the emotional centre of brain leads to an inability to make decisions or to making irrational decisions – as such, emotions are central to rationality. Rationality and emotions are intrinsically linked at all levels – the biological, cognitive and the behavioural – and it is not useful to separate them in analysis.

PCT supports this perspective that cognition and emotion are interdependent and offers a way of understanding the mechanisms of this relationship (Kelly 1955; McCoy 1977). Rationality and emotion are seen as part of the same process of construing, which intertwines emotions, decision-making and behaviour. PCT states that in order to understand a person and their worldview it is necessary to understand how that person construes the world around them (Kelly 1955; 1970). This view states that people place their own meanings and constructs (binary discriminations such as ‘hot as opposed to cold’) onto their experiences of the world around them and that knowledge is mediated through these constructs. These construct systems give people their conceptual parameters, a lens through which to understand the world.

PCT argues that scientists need not worry too much about the differences between cognition and emotion as the two are intertwined. In short, the cognitive elements of experience lead into higher order constructs of emotions (Bannister and Fransella 1986). As with Aristotle, PCT and social psychology incorporate an element of appraisal into experience that means that emotions are not simply a matter of intuitive response over which we have no control; instead there is an element of appraisal combined with the physiological response (Schachter 1971). This does not mean that the world can be construed any way that we choose, as there will be varying degrees

of commitment to constructs and various degrees of resistance to their change (Burr and Butt 1992). Emotions are influenced by the way that a person construes the world around them; they are also a medium through which experience is appraised. Emotional experiences are responses to constructs being supported and challenged through experience and inform the development of constructs. As such, cognition and emotion are interdependent and emotion has a central role to play in understanding and interpreting the world as it is experienced.

This theory lends itself well to understanding the interplay between emotional factors, motivation in exiting prostitution, and the ability of external support services to effectively support these women. In addition, the approach offers methodological techniques for uncovering a person's construct system and gaining insight into an individual's experience and understanding of the world that can be adopted in the research methodology (Burr and Butt 1992; Jankowicz 2004). The application of Personal Construct Theory to this research is discussed further below.

Personal Construct Theory

Personal Construct Theory as a process of Active Engagement

PCT offers an approach to understanding the relationship between experience – including structural factors – and interpretation that ties in strongly with structural, social interactionist, evolutionary, and social constructionist theories of emotions but goes further than this in offering an understanding of the process/mechanism by which structure and agency/the internal and external intertwine. The theory was developed by George Kelly (1955) in response to the largely positivist theories that dominated psychology and sociology in its time (Kelly came from a psychological perspective but intended for the principles to be adopted across academic disciplines). His approach was holistic, accounting for the person as a whole; humanistic, viewing people as capable of change and action in relation to their environment; and reflexive, accounting for the role of the person instead of viewing them as simply an object for study (Bannister and Fransella 1986). Kelly (1955) shared the perspective of many sociological theorists who noted

that our contact with reality is not passive - we actively strive to make sense of the world. Thus, Kelly argues, one way to understand people is to look at how they make sense of or interpret the world - how they construe reality. Personal constructs are dynamic, changing and responsive; an individual is seen as an active element in understanding his world through forming his own construction of the world and its occurrences. Constructs are not mere labels of particular features of the world, they are interpretive acts that both shape experience and are shaped by experience (Warran 2001). PCT states that we construct reality through our interpretations and assumptions about reality and actively engage in the world to make sense of it. We strive to assemble and order our ways of experiencing the world through constructs and each person develops their own system of constructs. If two people construe events differently, they think, feel, and act differently to the events. Similarly, if a person thinks, feels, and acts differently to a recurrence of the same event, then that person has construed those occurrences differently (Winter et al. 2007).. As such, a person's constructs are an organised system of thought – a schema – that mediates the relationship between the world and the individual experiencing it. A person is constantly testing their own hypothesis and schema through their daily lives and their assumptions will either be confirmed or challenged, which will lead to the development of new constructions or adapting existing ones ('reconstructing') (Winter and Viney 2005).

PCT, therefore, offers a perspective through which to understand the mechanisms that lead to a person developing a sense of self in relation to their experiences of the world. This concept of a meaningful sense of self is central to the desistance literature concerning role transition (Maruna 2001; Farrall and Calverley 2006; 2011). This is in line with sociological theory that views emotions as an embodied process of active engagement with the world (Lyon 1998). As such, strong links can be made between this theory and the desistance literature on role transition, for which self-identity is bound up with making sense of oneself in relation to the world (Ebaugh 1988; Maruna 2001; Farrall and Calverley 2006; 2011).

The Process of Construing

Understanding a person means understanding how they construe the world around them (Bannister and Fransella 1986) and Kelly (1955; 1970) offers us a theory of how this process works as well as how to uncover the constructs through repertory grid technique. The theory can be summarised according to Kelly's postulates and corollaries of personal construct theory (adapted from Kelly 1963).

1. *Construction Corollary* – A person anticipates events by construing their replications. In other words, constructs form the basis of attempting to predict events and understand the world on the basis of previous construals of experience.
2. *Individuality Corollary* – Persons differ from each other in their constructions of events. As a person's construct system is dictated by their own interpretations and personal experiences, each person's repertoire of constructs will be unique.
3. *Organisation Corollary* – Each person characteristically evolves for his convenience in anticipating events, a construction system embracing ordinal relationships between constructs. In other words, a person has a hierarchy of constructs. Some will be more tightly held than others. As such, when constructs are competing, higher order constructs will dominate and the other constructs will be revised to accommodate this.
4. *Dichotomy Corollary* – A person's construction system is composed of a finite number of dichotomous constructs. Constructs are binary. They are not opposite in a semantic sense but each construct will have an opposite pole that describes what it is not – either/or.
5. *Choice Corollary* – A person chooses for himself that alternative in a dichotomised construct through which he anticipates the greater possibility for the elaboration of his system. In other words, a person chooses their constructs in order to support their ability to anticipate events, therefore motivating a particular course of action and reinforcing their own position.

6. *Range Corollary* – A construct is convenient for the anticipation of a finite range of events only. They are not relevant to all situations and are therefore context dependant.
7. *Experience Corollary* – A person's construction system varies as he successively constructs the replication of events. We continuously test and revise our constructs as we experience.
8. *Modulation Corollary* – The variation in a person's construction system is limited by the permeability of the constructs within whose range of convenience the variant lies. The more tightly held a construct, the more its revision will be resisted in the face of experience.
9. *Fragmentation Corollary* – A person may successfully employ a variety of construction subsystems which are inferentially incompatible with each other. This means that our behaviour can be inconsistent because we hold constructs that are not in fact compatible with one another.
10. *Commonality Corollary* – To the extent that one person employs a construction of experience which is similar to that employed by another, his processes are psychologically similar to those of the other person.
11. *Sociality Corollary* – To the extent that one person construes the construction process of another, they may play a role in the social process involving the other person. We can both understand and interpret the constructs of others, as well as influence each other's constructs.

The fundamental postulate states that a person's processes are psychologically channelled by the ways in which he anticipates events. The process of construing and reconstruing is on-going. The cycle of construal can be described as follow (Winter 1992):

- A person holds constructs that underpin their understanding of the world and themselves
- A person anticipates and hypothesises about events in line with their worldview – their repertoire of constructs
- This repertoire of constructs is continuously tested against their actual experience
- Through appraisal of their experience, their way of construing the world is revised or supported

As such, personal constructs are dynamic, changing and responsive; an individual is seen as an active element in understanding his world through forming his own construction of the world and its occurrences.

Personal Construct Theory and Emotions

Kelly's original theory of personal constructs did not fully address emotions as they were not deemed to be distinct from cognition. However, later theorists rejected this original approach and revised their understanding to include emotions and their role in the process of construing (Cummins 2003; Katz 1984; Lester 2009; McCoy 1977; Miall 1989). For example, Miall (1989) argued that emotion plays an important role in organising a person's construct system. McCoy (1981) explained that emotions arise when constructs are validated or invalidated and also explored emotions from a personal construct perspective, identifying their core and non-core structure (McCoy 1977). In addition, Katz (1984) saw emotions as a mechanism for triggering primitive constructs. However, Cummins (2003) challenged the very concept of emotions, rejecting the duality of cognition and emotion, in line with Kelly's approach – emotions are the result of construing.

The breadth of perspectives on the role of emotions in personal construct theory demonstrates that Kelly's (1995) theory has evolved from an exclusively cognitive theory into a theory that has the potential to cover the entire spectrum of human behaviour by also including emotional constructs. As Lester (2009) points out, the full range of human emotion can be explained using the concepts of personal construct theory – for example, a person feeling anxious or sad when their construct system is challenged by

experience. Emotions come into play at every stage of the construal process – anticipation of events has an emotional character, appraisal of events leads to positive or negative emotions as constructs are validated or invalidated, emotions inform our experience and therefore influence the development of constructs, emotions guide and organise a construct system (informing our values), and the experience of emotions themselves is mediated by emotional constructs. As such, an understanding of the central role played by emotions in the construal process can also be combined with a criminological and sociological understanding of emotions, offering theoretical depth in understanding the complexity of emotions experienced by women exiting prostitution, their meaning and their influence on the women's external reality.

The binary nature of constructs is underpinned by the idea that making sense of the world involves making discriminations, and that our understanding of one concept necessarily involves an understanding of what it is not. The contrasts that we make shape this worldview – uncovering constructs therefore gives us a stronger idea of the meaning of language, concepts and experience (Kelly 1955; 1970). For emotions, the idea is that our relationship to any single emotion is also understood in the context of its perceived alternatives – for example, fear is understood as the absence of a sense of safety and vice versa. As such, by enquiring into emotional repertoires we have a better sense of how, why and what emotions are experienced. Notably in this research, the women offered a number of alternatives to feeling 'numb' – some perceiving the ability to feel as desirable – being able to engage in life and care - but others associating it with feeling pain and therefore preferring dissociation. As such, the discriminations they made and their understanding of the opposite of 'feeling numb' shaped their relationship to this emotion (or in this case the absence of feeling). The binary nature of emotions does not mean that emotions are simplistic. Many complex and/or conflicting emotions and different degrees of emotion can be experienced at one time.

The Facets of Emotion in Sociology and Criminology

Criminological and Sociological Theories of Emotion

Once emotions have been firmly placed in a relationship of interdependence with cognition and rationality and PCT has been adopted to explain the mechanism of the relationship between reason, emotion, and identity, we can come to a deeper understanding of the different facets of emotion from a criminological and sociological perspective. Within the literature, a recurring issue is the way to define and understand emotions (Karstedt 2011; Bendelow and Williams 1998; Turner and Stets 2005). In order to address this problem, Bendelow and Williams (1998) recommend moving away from attempting a final and complete definition of emotions and instead to adopt a definition that provides a 'fruitful way of viewing' emotions in a particular context. Their particular definition of emotions states that they are 'existentially embodied modes of being which involve an active engagement with the world and an intimate connection with both culture and self'. Such a definition reflects the fact that 'emotions' as a concept is complex and multi-dimensional. Von Scheve and Von Luede (2005) argue that sociological research on emotions would benefit from an interdisciplinary approach that deepens our understanding of emotions from several perspectives, enabling knowledge to develop that incorporates the several facets of emotions, such as the social, psychological and biological. In doing so, the researcher is acknowledging that emotions are both highly subjective and highly social by nature.

The sociology of emotions includes the study of how interaction is shaped by emotions, how emotions are linked to social and cultural bonds, and how society and culture constrain and shape both the experience and expression of emotions (Turner and Stets 2005). A review of the sociological literature identifies several key features of emotions; these features taken individually are neither necessary nor sufficient but viewed together provide a useful – 'fruitful' - analytical framework through which to understand the dynamics of our emotional lives:

1. *Embodied*

Nowhere is the embodied nature of our selves more apparent than in the study of emotion, which is more clearly bound up with our physical selves than the abstract notion of pure cognition. Bendelow and Williams (1998) stress that our interaction with the world is through an emotionally expressive body. This is particularly emphasised by Lyon (1998) who points out that social construction alone cannot account for our emotional and social lives, which are lived through bodies in social relations of motion and rest, animation and action. This sense of being in the world is mediated through our bodies and our relationship to other bodies, the positioning of which is shaped by social forms. In addition, Lyons stresses that emotions are felt and experienced in our bodies, in the guts.

Further, as Crossley (1998) points out, reflexivity is not necessary for emotions to be communicative – we can feel emotions and act upon them without consciously processing this information. Katz (1999) supports this, pointing out that emotions are ways of expressing something that talk cannot grasp. He therefore recommends adopting research methods that are better able to grasp the non-cognitive aspects of emotions. Similarly, in her study on affect and emotion, Wetherall (2012) concedes that the role of unconscious, embodied, affective contagion is both real and possible. Nevertheless, she argues for incorporating a cognitive, appraisal element to affect, stating that narratives and interpretive repertoires are one of the elements that make up affective practice.

2. *Interactive and relational*

Emotions arise out of our engagement with the world, and as such they are intrinsically linked to social and cultural context (Bendelow and Williams 1998). As such, Hochschild (1998) points out that a person's feelings will be located in a social context that will inform how and why they feel the way that they do – for example, family and social relationships will structure experience in a way that has emotional consequences, such as feeling pressure to live up to an idealized mother role (Ettore 2007). The appraisal theory of emotions acknowledges that emotions arise out of interaction with

the world and argues that appraisal is an intermediary between outside experience and biological arousal (Arnold 1960, Lazarus 1991, Cornelius 1996). Emotions, belief and behaviour both inform and arise out of the appraisal of objects and events. This is strongly linked to personal construct theory, which argues that we make sense of the world through the process of anticipating events. Similarly, Hallett's (2003) research grounded in interaction theory noted that interaction could have a strong effect on emotional arousal without the actors being aware of this influence – as such, the impact of interacting with the external world may not always be consciously experienced but may nevertheless be shaping the internal world.

Recent work on affect and emotion (Wetherall 2012) has explored the way that conventional socio-emotional patterns of feelings and thoughts shape emotional practice. Wetherall (2012) explores the emotional aspects of affective practice – the way that human beings are moved emotionally - through the intertwining of the body, patterns and ways of living, meaning, and social relations. This way of viewing emotions sees them as practical, communicative, organised and patterned, and ultimately arising out of a person's interaction with their world. Similarly, Ahmed (2004) argues that emotions involve a way of apprehending the world and evaluating the affect of experience. She notes that emotions are not 'things' that people 'possess', rather they are bound up with the affect of external objects and experience, thus their affective potential can shape emotional experiences, and socially and culturally generate emotions. She notes that this is bound up with bodies and social structure, so that bodies stand together or apart through emotional responses, through permissions and constraints that shape experience and therefore emotion, and through the emotional character that they are inscribed with (specifically, with women being characterised as more emotional, less rational, and inferior). This view of affect and emotions provides a useful lens through which to understand shared emotional experience. Ahmed uses the example of the consciousness-raising of early feminism, when women realised that their individual emotional experiences were in fact linked to patriarchal oppression and explored their interaction with the world and relationships to others.

3. *Meaningful and meaning-making*

Emotions are communicative both to ourselves and others and bound up with rational action (Crossley 1998), as such 'we do not just account for and organise emotions, we account for and organise things emotionally; emotion is an active force in social life'. This is a Darwinian conception of emotions as a mode of communication that had evolutionary necessity in terms of aiding survival. The false dichotomy between emotions and rationality has obscured the essential role of emotions in the transmission of knowledge. In fact, Turner and Stets (2005) point out that rationality and decision-making are in fact dependent on emotion, citing research that demonstrated that disconnection from the emotional centre of the brain leads to irrational or suboptimal decision-making. As such, emotions are viewed as an essential part of human expression (Newton 1998), with Crawley (2004) conceiving of emotions as language, thus emphasising the role of interpretation both for the self and others.

The meaningful nature of emotions is stressed by Hochschild (1998) who describes emotion as a means by which we continually learn about a constantly changing relation between self and the world, reconstructing our notion of what this world means just now to the self. She describes how this 'signalling function' can be impaired when the private management of feeling is socially engineered (Hochschild 1983; see below). This links to appraisal theories of emotion (and research on affect and emotion discussed above), which stress that emotions inform and arise from our prior expectations and subsequent apprehension of reality, thus both informing our process of making sense of experience as well as shaping this experience (Lazarus 1991). Appraisal (and perception) of events is also identified by Turner and Stets (2005) as a key aspect of emotions that interacts with social, cultural, biological, and expressive aspects (facial, voice, movement). They suggest that emotions research should be concerned with the way in which various aspects of emotions interact with one another.

4. Socially and culturally constructed and generated

Social constructionists argue that interpretation and construction are inherent to human understanding and experience (Hayward 2009; Katz 2002). This is a perspective shared by Personal Construct Theorists (Bannister and Fransella 1986). Social constructionists state that human experience is a product of society and culture and is embedded in social roles – the way in which a person appraises his circumstances is determined by society and culture. As such, societies shape and construct emotions (Cornelius 1996). This strength of the theory is in its ability to account for socio-economic influence and to take the focus from individual behaviour to socially produced behaviour (Hayward 2009). There is variation in the theory concerning the extent to which construction plays a role, however, at its purest the theory states that emotional response is nothing until it is labelled within a cultural or social frame (Schachter and Singer 1962). This links to Pollack and Thoits' (1989) finding that emotions are integral to socialisation. Turner and Stets (2005) describe emotions as the glue that binds people together and generates commitments to social and cultural structures – or else creates separation thus dismantling structural relationships.

Hochschild (1998) points out that our emotional repertoire is both socially and culturally determined. The way that we understand our emotions and the emotions of others is through a cultural lens that shapes which emotions are acknowledged, named and articulated. As such, the inner experience of emotions is matched to a cultural dictionary and made sense of through this. In her seminal work on 'The Managed Heart' (Hochschild 1983), she describes the ways in which social influences shape the expression of emotions, which can lead to tension between individual authenticity and the emotional 'labour' that must be done in a social context (in this case a work context) to express socially sanctioned or proscribed emotions and create shared emotional experience. This dissonance between authentic emotional experience and socially sanctioned displays of emotion can lead to stress and a dislodging from the self. Emotion management occurs as strategies for changing one's feelings in any given context to live up to this cultural and social conditioning (Hochschild 1983; 1998). Hochschild (1983) argues that the emotional labour demanded from individuals is socially stratified and characterised by exploitation of the bottom by the top, reflecting social

inequalities. In contrast, however, Duncombe and Marsden (1998) argue that a core identity that incorporates emotions work may mean that it becomes a way of expressing authenticity, thus emotions work does not necessarily mean a dislodgement from self depending on wider issues of identity.

5. Related to power, social status and group dynamics

In a departure from psychological theories of emotions, sociologists theorised emotions with reference to the social structures in which they occur. For example, (Marx 1983) understood certain emotions as being the inevitable product of a capitalist system – the structure in itself gives rise to these emotions. Similarly, Durkheim (1912) focussed on emotions arising out of religious institutions, analysing the emotions as constructions that affirm the morality of the group and that are essentially social, even coercive, in nature. Kemper (1978; 1979), taking a social interactionist approach, developed theories of emotion that demonstrated how structural situations evoke emotional states – a loss in status, for example, would result in sadness. These responses were viewed as being systematic, elicited by external circumstances that cause physiological responses. Taking a similar perspective, Simmel (1950) concentrated more on the microstructures of social interaction as opposed to the macro institutions, demonstrating how social interactions produces emotion, and how emotional expressions facilitate the sharing of information and foster knowledge of each other.

By extension, Goffman (1959; 1956) explored the role of emotion as a form of social control that motivates and pressured people into conforming to normative values and behaviours. Ettore (2007) explores the relationship between gender, power and the body, including its emotional aspects. She argues that social and cultural factors shape emotions through issues of restraint (shame as a result of not adequately restraining one's body and emotions), reproduction (not living up to mothering and reproductive ideals), representation (not representing oneself in a socially and culturally accepted way) and regulation (controlling external behaviours to conform to social values and expectations). She notes how female drug users, perceiving their failures in these areas, adopt the notion of being contaminated and therefore unworthy of intimacy. Interestingly, Ettore (2007) argues that cultivating

positive emotions leads to a new sense of embodiment – literally a new experience of being in their body as opposed to feeling dirty, afraid and worthless - and enables these women to move on from their drug using past. As such, the embodied experiences of these women – including their emotional experiences - are politically inscribed and shaped by society and culture. Several researchers, including Ettore (2007) and Katz (1999) particularly emphasise shame as an emotion strongly tied to social status and values. Katz notes that avoidance of shame is a powerful motivating force.

6. Bound up with our sense of identity

Social interactionists account for the relationship between constructions and reality by describing a process of making sense of the world (Hochschild 1998). As stated above, this involved an understanding of the role of social interactions in generating emotions (Simmel 1950; Kemper 1978; 1979). Stryker (1992) conceptualized the self as a set of identities, which were organised in a personal hierarchy; not dissimilar to the concept of a hierarchy of constructs in PCT. These identities are linked to a commitment to social roles – and thus form a basis for an understanding of role transition. For Stryker, emotions are strongly linked to the identity system as a form of motivation to maintaining and shifting identity. Positive and negative emotions will motivate or sustain behaviour, informing action and influencing whether a role is to be maintained or changed. As such, emotions result from successful or unsuccessful role performances and indicate whether one's social interactions are supporting a positive self-identity.

Emotions as a form of social control have been explored by affect control theory (Heise 1979). This states that emotions are responses to whether experience confirms or disconfirms identity meanings. Burke (1991) supports this by stating that individuals are motivated to maintain their identity and the meanings attached to this; emotional responses occur when this identity is threatened or maintained. Where there is a threat to one's identity, this will motivate a change in social behaviour. As such, emotions arise when individuals attempt to confirm their identity, this is what Cooley (1902; 1964) refers to as the looking glass self.

An intertwining perspective on emotions

The above review of the literature demonstrates there are diverse and intertwining perspectives from which to understand emotions. A number of these perspectives are incorporated into this research. In exploring the emotional journey women take as they leave prostitution, this research focuses on the appraisal and meaning-making aspect of emotions through exploring the emotional aspects of interpretive frameworks (combining affect theories of emotions with PCT and understanding emotions as meaningful, meaning-making and bound up with identity). These interpretive frameworks mediate the interaction of an embodied self in active engagement with the world (acknowledging the embodied nature of emotions and their interactive/social function). The research adopts the hypothesis that women involved in prostitution undertake emotional labour (Hochschild 1983) that is linked to gendered inequalities and that this risks dislodgement from self, resulting in experiences of disembodiment and reducing the ability to actively engage with the world. In addition, issues of role identity can be explored through this lens; for example, understanding the role of emotional labour and feelings of authenticity in relation to roles. Further, the emotional consequences of the social context in which these women are situated can be better understood – for example, issues related to disadvantage, gendered roles, sexuality, marginalisation and relationships/interaction.

3. Desistance and Emotions

Understanding desistance and exit

Exiting prostitution

It can be difficult to identify whether desistance has occurred in practice. For example, people may stop for certain periods of time but subsequently return to their previous behaviour (Maruna 2001). This is certainly the case for women involved in prostitution, where it has been shown that movement in and out of prostitution is a common occurrence sometimes due to financial or personal reasons (Melrose et al 1999; Sanders 2007). Although some women may cease to be actively involved in prostitution – in the literature, this is referred to as ‘stopping’ - this can be distinguished from ‘exiting’, which is more sustainable, and more akin to a transformation in lifestyle. However, it is also unrealistic to measure exit retrospectively as a permanent stepping away from the industry, as this would make it impossible to confirm that someone had exited until many years further down the line. As such, it has been suggested that exit can be measured by factors that indicate a sustainable shift such as reintegration through education, training, or work and/or rebuilding relationships (Swift 2005). On the other hand, in relation to desistance, researchers such as Maruna (2004) and Farrall and Calverley (2006) suggest that exit can be measured by both cognitive and behavioural shifts. Further research is needed to flesh out the meaning of exit for women involved in prostitution, nevertheless, the overall aim of service provision clearly seems to be to work towards supporting women to develop a sustainable lifestyle away from the sex industry.

In the context of prostitution, exit has remained relatively under-researched in comparison to research into entry into the industry or practices within the industry. Both prostitution and desistance researchers suggests that barriers to desistance are different to the factors that lead to entry into the lifestyle, notwithstanding that there are some clear similarities and connections that can be made (Sampson and Laub 2003; Matthews et al. 2014). Overall, what seems clear is that the exiting process is distinct and research is needed to gain an insight into how best to support this process. This interest in how to support women to exit has grown alongside an understanding that many

women do wish to exit and would benefit from accessing support (although many exit without this support) (Audet and Carrier 2006; Bradford 2005; Farley 2003; Hough and Rice 2008; Ng and Venticich 2006; Matthews and Easton 2011). One example of successful exit in large numbers is that of street prostitution in Glasgow, where numbers reduced from 1100 women involved in the late 1990s to approximately 150 today (Matthews and Easton 2011; McKeganey 2005). This study, along with the majority of studies on exit, focussed on street prostitution.

There is an on-going debate regarding the nature of indoor prostitution as opposed to street – about the difference between women who work outdoors, soliciting in public spaces and those who work in indoor establishments such as brothels, massage parlours, as escorts, and from flats (although in practice there may be some crossover, particularly with women who work outdoors but have regulars that visit their flat). It is important to note that this study does not focus on trafficked women due to the additional issues that arise with these women, such as displacement, immigration, organised crime, and high levels of deception and coercion linked to their involvement (Anti-Trafficking 2010). Cusick et al (2003) and Sanders (2007) suggest that indoor prostitution is distinct involving minimal levels of violence and substance abuse, whereas Raphael and Shapiro (2004) suggest that in fact there are similar levels, albeit that the nature of the violence and substance use may differ to the experiences of women working on street. There is some suggestion that many of the factors that are relevant to women exiting the indoor sex industry overlap with those of street prostitution (Matthews et al. 2014), whereas others suggest that exit for women working indoors is an entirely different process (Sanders 2007). This gap in knowledge relating to indoor prostitution calls for further research into the nature and extent of indoor prostitution in order to identify the particular needs of this group and whether, and to what extent they differ from street prostitution. It is clear, however, from previous research that both aspects of the industry have women who can and do wish to leave but who frequently face a number of barriers to doing so.

Exiting prostitution: what we know

The Barriers to Exiting

Below is a discussion of some of the most significant barriers women face when attempting to leave prostitution; problematic drug use, lack of adequate alternatives for employment, pressure and coercion, and involvement in the criminal justice system. These practical barriers have emotional implications, which will be discussed later in this chapter:

- In relation to street prostitution, a very significant barrier is dealing with drug addiction, mostly with heroin and crack cocaine (May and Hunter 2006), which has accompanying problems such as homelessness, vulnerability to violence and abuse, and financial issues (Benoit and Millar 2001; Hester and Westmarland 2004; Pitcher 2006). The industry is a means of obtaining money to obtain drugs but the drugs are also a means of coping with their involvement in the sex industry; in fact, it has been found that some start or increase their use because of involvement in prostitution (Potterat et al. 1998). Further, drug use may not always be a relevant issue (Buchanan 2004; Melrose 2007), particularly in relation to women working indoors (Cusick et al. 2003), or at least may be of a different nature (Raphael and Shapiro 2004).
- Unsurprisingly, one of the most pressing issues in relation to exit is the issue of money, the lack thereof and the perceived inability to earn money through alternative means (Hoigard and Finstad 1992; O'Neill and Campbell 2011). Financial issues will often keep people in the industry or pull them back in after an attempt to leave. This is a very significant structural issue as women in the sex industry frequently have little alternative experience and as such poor employment prospects (Hough and Rice 2008). In fact, even where women have prior work experience, the gap in their work history may be problematic for employers, which can be linked to stigma (O'Neill and Campbell 2011).
- Coercive and abusive pimps or partners are often present in women's lives and a barrier to exit, they may use control, coercion, pressure and

threats to prevent women leaving prostitution and to govern their continued involvement (Poland et al. 2008; Ward 2007); this can be the case in both street and indoor prostitution, including 'managers' and madams (Farley 2004; Raphael and Shapiro 2004). Some agencies now characterise this as a domestic violence issue and attempt to treat both women and partners simultaneously (Boynton 1998; Rice 2010).

- Barriers to exit are also strongly linked to involvement in the criminal justice system (see, for example, Pitcher 2006), which can increase vulnerability, increase financial pressure through fines, and prevent women from being able to find alternative employment due to lack of experience and stigma (O'Neill and Campbell 2011). On both sides of the debate regarding prostitution policy, there is a shared understanding of the impact of this and the need to decriminalise the sale of sex (PAAFE 2005).

What Works and Best Practice

Focussing on UK based service provision, researchers such as Hester and Westmarland (2004) and Matthews (2011) have found that ascertaining what works in relation to service provision may not always be straightforward. Barriers include the fact that there is no clear way of identifying exactly what intervention worked, there is often little recorded or collected data measuring change, and there are differences in policies, practice, ideologies, meaning, and value between different service providers. Further, there may only be minimal numbers of women who are engaged with services and have successfully exited (Rice 2010). Mayhew and Mossman (2007) and Bindel (2006) suggest supporting 'best practice' as opposed to specifically identifying what works and attempting to establish definite links of causation between specific interventions, not least because even where there are clear changes occurring their involvement with the service is likely to be combined with other outside intervention.

A number of factors can be identified as effective (Baker et al. 2010; Bindel 2006; Bradford 2005; Hester and Westmarland 2004; Matthews and Easton

2011; Mayhew and Mossman 2007; Pitcher 2006; Poland et al. 2008). A key element is the provision of holistic interventions. Effective service provision must address a number of elements, such as health and physical issues, self-esteem, drug use, relationships, and employability skills (Hester and Westmarland 2004; Bindel 2006; Matthews and Easton 2011). It is recommended that services take a multi-agency and 'joined up' approach involving inter-agency working across a whole range of relevant organisations and services (Pitcher 2006). Other factors include promoting choice and flexibility, providing a service that focuses on exit, ensuring trust and rapport with workers, and developing services that are user friendly for women. Further, outreach has been identified as extremely important as many women are isolated and do not know where to start (Bradford 2005).

In addition, there are a number of specific interventions that facilitate exit (Baker et al. 2010; Bindel 2006; Bradford 2005; Hester and Westmarland 2004; Matthews and Easton 2011; Mayhew and Mossman 2007; Pitcher 2006; Poland et al. 2008) such as drug programmes, help with employment, providing emergency accommodation, and peer support. Interestingly, in line with findings relating to gender and desistance/exit (see below), these programmes are also more effective when there is support for rebuilding relationships when integrated as a specific intervention in service provision as part of a structured programme (Swift 2005). Intervention appears to be most effective when a case management approach is taken; this generally involves developing a care plan and engaging with women on a one-to-one basis, where one person is solely responsible for working with the woman towards reaching her diverse objectives and linking her into outside support (McNeill and Weaver 2010).

Exiting programmes have been found to be most effective when they do not take involvement in the sex industry for granted, specifically aim at helping women to leave, and acknowledge the systematic structural disadvantage that leads to involvement in the industry. These programmes do not see prostitution as inevitable and do not seek to minimise the perception of harm that arises as a result of involvement in the industry. These service providers attempt to move beyond a harm minimisation approach and instead take a more proactive stance towards tackling prostitution that includes prevention, exit, and challenging the normalisation of the industry (Lawrence 2007;

Matthews and Easton 2011; MPF 2007; SE 2004; Ward 2007; Poland et al. 2008). Some theorists, such as (Cusick et al. 2011) limit their understanding of exiting through the belief that harm minimisation services, such as drug treatment services, will be sufficient for women involved in prostitution, they do not engage with the value of services aimed specifically at exiting.

Gender and desistance

Our understanding of exit is supported by the desistance literature, which explores the process of change as people transition out of criminal, or otherwise deviant or marginal, lifestyles. The circumstances of women involved in prostitution are strongly bound with their gender and structural inequality. This raises the question of whether the existing desistance literature is relevant to their circumstances. Despite the fact that the majority of the desistance literature focuses on young men, there have been a number of studies that have raised the issue of whether gender has an impact on the process of desistance. The research suggests that there are both differences and similarities in the process of desistance (Sommers et al. 1994). Whereas maturation (Giordano et al. 2002) was a factor common to both sexes, many researchers found that relationship seems to be a stronger factor for women (Giordano 2002; Rungay 2004; Graham & Bowling 1995). In these studies, the behaviour, support (or lack thereof) and influence of friends, family and partners had often influenced whether girls or women successfully desisted from crime. The findings also suggest that there is an interplay between structure and agency. For example, with relationship there are both structural and internal factors that contribute to desistance, for example the structural factors of as marriage and having children and the internal factors of finding hope and connection. This relational element has also been found to be significant in the exiting process. Mansson and Hedin (1999) found that personal relationships were key elements that lead to exit, particularly with family and partners. Not only does this reflect the literature on women and desistance (Giordano et al. 2002; Rungay 2004) but it also possibly reflects the nature of prostitution, which appears to impact on relationships. This is supported by the evaluative research on exiting programmes, which advocates for structured support for rebuilding

relationships (Swift 2005) and cites pimps/partners as barriers to exit (Poland et al. 2008; Raphael and Shapiro 2004).

This relational element also points to the importance of community and peer influence. For example, women exiting prostitution have benefited from peer support (Baker et al. 2010). In the desistance literature, Graham and Bowling (1995) found that disengaging from delinquent peers was in some cases a necessary condition of desistance for young women but not so for young men. Similarly, (McIvor et al. 2004) found that women were more focussed on the moral dimensions of deviant activity, whereas men were more utilitarian in their attitude towards desistance. In fact, McIvor et al. (2004) found that women were keener to be seen as desisting, even where their behaviour continued. This is possibly due to the fact that women who display deviant behaviour are often penalised both in terms of their criminality and for their flouting of gender norms – this is referred to as ‘double deviance’ in feminist criminological literature (Heidensohn 1985). It appears likely that societal norms and the role of stigma would therefore be relevant to women in relation to desistance. This is likely to be even more relevant to women involved in prostitution, who are particularly marginalised and, especially for women working indoors, frequently invisible.

It must be pointed out that gender is not the only factor that is likely to impact on desistance, differences in relation to race, class, and other characteristics will also have an impact on the process (Katz 1988). This is also relevant to women in prostitution, the diversity of which must be understood and acknowledged. The difference in circumstances between women working in different locations is contested (Sanders 2007; Raphael and Shapiro 2004) but there is also the issue of diversity within the indoor prostitution sector. Factors to consider include age, race, class, background etc., as well as the conditions and circumstances in which women work. This diversity is likely to give rise to significant differences in the exiting process and the meaning given to exiting amongst these women, as well as whether or not they are successful in their attempt to exit or even desire to do so.

The Emotional Dynamics of Exit/Desistance

Desistance and Emotions

Drawing from both the exiting and desistance literature, it is possible to combine this understanding of the process of change – and subsequently the emotional aspects of this process - with sociological insights on emotions. Sociological theories of emotions explore how the emotions influence the self and how social interaction shapes and is shaped by emotions. This body of work offers a number of perspectives, for example: dramaturgical and cultural theories explore how cultural performance and scripts are constructed and constrained by emotion (Goffman 1956; 1959); symbolic interactionists focus on the interplay between self, society and identity (Stryker 1992; 1980); and structural theories explore issues of power and status (Thamm 1992; 2004). Emotions touch every aspect of social life and this necessarily includes the realm of desistance with its focus on behaviour change in its structural context. In fact, sociological theory combines well with criminological theory of desistance when acknowledging the importance of the interplay between identity and socio-cultural factors and when both acknowledge the central role of emotions in shaping and being shaped by this.

Role Transition

Ebaugh (1988) demonstrates that role transition is a key element of making change and Maruna (2001) and Uggen et al. (2004) argue that role transition is a prerequisite for desistance. Social interactionists account for the relationship between the internal and reality by describing a process of *making sense* of the world (Hochschild 1998) and this is strongly linked to Maruna's work on desistance, narrative, and role transition. Stryker (1992) conceptualised the self as a set of identities that are organised in a personal hierarchy. These identities are linked to a commitment to social roles and thus form a basis for an understanding of role transition. Emotions are relevant to this role transition on a number of levels. For Stryker, emotions are strongly linked to the identity system as a form of motivation in maintaining and shifting identity. Positive and negative emotions will motivate

or sustain behaviour, informing action and influencing whether a role is to be maintained or changed. As such, emotions result from successful or unsuccessful role performances and indicate whether one's social interactions are supporting a positive self-identity. In addition, the process of *making sense* involves an understanding of the role of social interactions in generating emotions (Simmel 1950; Kemper 1978; 1979) and in Mead's (1964) symbolic interaction theory the influence of social structure and culture in providing a framework or perspective for evaluating the self. Roles are bound up with social structure and therefore this person will have an awareness of their position in the power structure, which will inform their identity and role performance. As such, being disadvantaged or marginalised is likely to produce negative emotions through their relationship to the external world. Further, Pollack and Thoits (1989) found that emotions are integral to socialisation and this suggests that the process of socialisation for marginalised women may affect their emotional landscape as well as their ability to build social bonds.

The power of identity as a motivating factor is discussed by Burke (1991) who argues that individuals are motivated to maintain their identity and the meanings attached to this; emotional responses occur when this identity is threatened or maintained. Where there is a threat to one's identity, this will motivate a change in social behaviour. This links to role transition by suggesting that one aspect of the transition is an identity shift whereby the desister no longer wishes to identify with their current role – creating dissonance between their current lifestyle and their sense of identity. McCall and Simmons (1978) suggest that identities as improvised, variable and negotiated and that a prominence hierarchy reflects a person's ideal self – what they consider to be desirable and of central importance. People will then enact this identity and finds ways of legitimating and maintaining this identity; thus, role transition involves this renegotiation of identity.

Role Transition Themes

There are four key themes in the desistance literature on role transition, each taking a different perspective on the mechanisms of this process of change. Each shall be considered below:

1. Turning points - states that key moments or events appear to divert the life course of desisters, such as getting married, having a child, or a traumatic event (Ebaugh 1988; Sampson and Laub 2006). Desistance is not defined as a single event but a process that is influenced by these factors that catalyse change.
2. Stages of change - suggests that desistance is a process that passes through a series of discernable stages (Prochaska et al. 1992).
3. Trauma – researchers suggest that dealing with trauma is an essential element for moving on from prostitution (Herman 1993; 2003; Farley 2003).
4. Phenomenological and existential approaches - Maruna (2001) argues that if offenders are to desist from crime they need to develop a coherent pro-social identity for themselves through their self-narratives. This concern with developing a new sense of self is also explored by Farrall and Calverley (2006; 2011) who argue that the role of feelings and emotions in human experience are central to the search for a meaningful identity.

Turning Points

Turning points focus on external events that shape opportunity and change – as such, the focus is on a desister’s social structural position and the way that structural factors influence their lifestyle and behaviour. As such, the turning points literature links to structural theories of emotions, which suggest that social structure and institutions shape our emotions (Marx 1983; Durkheim 1912) and that social structural situations evoke emotional states (Kemper 1978;1979). Some researchers argue that turning points have the most impact on change (Sampson and Laub 2006; Laub and Sampson 2001) and that structural factors such as marriage and employment have the most influence on desistance and precede the internal changes. A number of theorists suggest that both subjective and social factors work together to create change and can influence one another (LeBel et al. 2008; Farrall and Bowling 1999a). In relation to emotions, the suggestion would be that the

external turning points trigger the motivation to change and the accompanying emotional commitment to doing so. Further, it is possible that external events that have a high level of emotional impact could trigger the role transition.

Emotions as Social Glue

Another important social structural factor linked to the turning points literature is that of social isolation. Turner and Stets (2005) argue that emotions are the glue that binds people together and generates commitments to large-scale social and cultural structures, thus making them viable for the individual – in contrast, less desirable emotions can also create separation and even result in the dismantling of these structures. The exiting literature is replete with examples of the role of stigma as a barrier to exit (see for example, Matthews 2013) . As Goffman (1959; 1956) and (Kemper 1978;1979) argue, social structure and relative power have a role in shaping emotions by generating cultural norms that people are motivated to adhere to and by generating expectations and awareness of individual status in relation to others. Further, Thamm (1992; 2004) suggests that universal properties of groups systematically generate particular types of emotions. The subculture of the sex industry alongside stigma and marginalisation are likely to combine to generate feelings of disconnection that act as a barrier to reintegrating into society.

Trauma/Numbing

It has been suggested by a number of theorists that trauma is such a barrier to role transition that the most appropriate approach to supporting this transition is to take a psychotherapeutic focus (Herman 1993; Farley 2003) . The ability to adopt and step into new and desirable emotional states also depends somewhat on being able to imagine or reimagine them, having already experienced them at a biological level (Damasio 1994). The experience of numbing emotions has significance for the sociological perspective that emotions are communicative to both self and others. Damasio (1994; 2003) demonstrates that disconnection from the emotional centre of the brain leads to inability to make decisions or to making irrational

decisions. It is known that emotions guide decisions and many theorists argue that rationality and emotions are intrinsically linked at all levels – the biological, cognitive and the behavioural - and must be viewed as part of rational communicative action (Crossley 1998). As previously discussed, Hochschild (1983; 1998) suggests that emotions are signals and when work demands that a person distance themselves from their authentic emotion, their 'signalling function' will ultimately be impaired. Thus, their process of making sense of the world and development of their identity is also impaired. Taking a similar perspective, appraisal theories of emotion stress that emotions inform and arise from our prior expectations and subsequent apprehension of reality, thus both informing our process of making sense of experience as well as shaping this experience (Lazarus 1991). This numbing of emotions therefore leads to social isolation, loneliness and the inability to communicate with the self and others. Exit begins a process of reintegration of both the self and society

An additional impact of the experience of numbing emotions is the dislodgement from one's own body. Bendelow and Williams (1998) stress that our interaction with the world is through an emotionally expressive body and as such emotions are embodied. This is particularly emphasised by Lyon (1998) who points out that social construction alone cannot account for our emotional and social lives, which are lived through bodies in social relations of motion and rest, animation and action. This sense of being in the world is mediated through our bodies and our relationship to other bodies, the positioning of which is shaped by social forms. In addition, Lyons stresses that emotions are felt and experienced in our bodies, in the guts. Traumatic physical experiences, drug addiction, and the physical experience of having sex for money are all deeply embodied activities; through numbing out as described by Herman and others such as Matthews, women escape their ability to feel emotions and diminish their ability to be actively engaged and embodied in the world and their experience.

This ties in with Ettore's (2007) work on gender, power and the body – she describes how female drug users, perceiving their failures in these socially and culturally prescribed areas of performance, adopt the notion of being contaminated and therefore unworthy of intimacy. Her research perceived that cultivating positive emotions leads to a new sense of embodiment –

literally a new experience of being in their body as opposed to feeling dirty, afraid and worthless – enabling these women to move on from their drug using past. As such, the embodied experiences of these women – including their emotional experiences - are politically inscribed and shaped by society and culture. This links these embodied experiences to the wider social context; internalised shame can be counteracted by the cultivation of positive experience and emotion.

Further, 'feeling rules' as described by Hochschild (1998) may mean that the women feel compelled to manage the emotions that they do experience in a way that conforms to societal norms, or else to feel even more isolated and disconnected. Nevertheless, emotions management also reflects the resilience and agency of women who are able to manipulate their emotional experience to feel differently. This reflects Rosenberg's (1991; 1990) observations in relation to emotional displays, one form of which is to manage one's emotional displays as a means towards obtaining a goal – these emotional displays can signal to both the self and others that a person is moving towards a more desirable state and as such reintegrate them into society and their relationships with others. Emotions management and dramaturgical performance are discussed by a number of theorists. Summers-Effler (2004b) outlines a process of having internal conversations with different aspects of the self, where resistance to change can result in conflict within these aspects and these conversations are influenced by interaction with others. This internal conflict is emotionally costly and they develop dramaturgical strategies to deal with the negative emotions (Thoits 1990), repressing through emotion work, particularly women in subordinate positions who are subject to feeling rules – the cost of this is depression and a loss of emotional energy. Summers-Effler (2004a) discusses domestic violence as an environment in which sufferers experience this loss of emotional energy and use defence strategies such as hiding their victimization, strategies to control the severity of the abuse, adapting to the abuser's wishes, drugs and alcohol, withdrawing, and suicide. These strategies drain emotional energy and result in people becoming divorced from the reality of the situation, thus reducing the ability to make change. Her suggestions for combatting this loss of emotional energy are borne out strongly in the narratives of the women interviewed, which suggest that there is an increase in emotional energy when women:

1. have power and status
2. achieve solidarity with others
3. self-expansion – new ideas, relationships, roles

This leads to a sense of enthusiasm, strength, and a willingness to initiate change as opposed to feeling numb, lacking confidence, and experiencing depression.

Identity and narrative: scripts

The availability of new roles is also linked to the availability of narratives – essentially, the scripts that people adopt in order to construct their new roles. Maruna (2001) and Katz (1988; 2002) argue that the internal aspects of experience are essential to understanding social phenomenon. For Maruna (2001) this applies to understanding the internal process of change and for Katz (2002), this particularly applies to understanding emotions – they both take an approach that aims to understand the essence of experience. However, both also argue that this must be grounded in an understanding of the way that social structure and reality shape and construct experience. As such, it has been pointed out that narratives that can be adopted by the individual will depend on this person's social structural position (Presser 2012), thus emphasising the reciprocal relationship between self and society (Mead 1964; Giddens 1991).

Maruna (2001) suggests that a person's internal narratives shapes their ability to take charge of and change their own lives and capitalise on structural opportunity. However, he does not explore the gendered nature of these scripts, whereas research has shown that availability of narratives varies depending on gender, with some suggestion that female narratives have a stronger focus on relationships (Rumgay 2004). Influencing, shaping and determining constructs could also be viewed as an exercise of power, linking in with feminist critiques of the restricted availability of narratives for women that ultimately limit their life choices and the possibility of role transition (Rumgay 2004). This research aims to understand the essence of experience. However, it must also be grounded in an understanding of the

way that social structure and reality shape and construct experience. For example, researchers have pointed out that the availability of particular narratives that can be adopted by the individual will depend on this person's social structural position (Presser 2012). The reciprocal relationship between self and society is borne out of the data.

Affect/Emotional Practice: interpretive repertoires

Affect theorists view emotions as practical, communicative, organised and patterned, and ultimately arising out of a person's interaction with their world (Wetherall 2012; Ettore 2007). Similarly, Ahmed (2004) argues that emotions involve a way of apprehending the world and evaluating the affect of experience. PCT and social psychology incorporate an element of appraisal into experience that means that emotions are not simply a matter of intuitive response over which we have no control; instead there is an element of appraisal combined with the physiological response (Schachter 1971). PCT postulates that anticipation of events is central to our construct system, and affect theory also places great emphasis on this element of being able to anticipate experience and one's responses to it. Emotions are firmly at the centre of this process. In the desistance literature it was found that successful desisters had a lot of self knowledge around what they were realistically able to achieve; levels of hope and confidence were directly related to their levels of success with desisting (Farrall and Calverley 2006). As such, these theories suggest that hope and confidence are essential to being able to successfully exit insofar as exiting women must be able to envisage and anticipate a new future, as opposed to appraising experience through the lens of emotions that act as a barrier to change, such as being numb or in despair.

The Internal Process of Change/Stages of Change

Although emotions are frequently referred to in the exiting and desistance literature, there is very little in the way of research that addresses emotions directly and explores their role in shaping the process of change. One exception is the work of Farrall and Calverley (2006; 2011) who argue that

the internal process of change is central to understanding the process of desistance. Farrall and Calverley put forward a model that attempts to describe a process of change with discernable emotional stages and describes the features of these emotional aspects.

The literature on desistance is inconclusive with regard to whether any distinct stages of change can be identified as per Prochaska et al. (1992), whose theory developed into a five stages of change model, which are identified as follows:

- Pre-contemplation is the stage at which there is no intention to change behaviour in the foreseeable future.
- Contemplation is the stage in which people are aware that a problem exists and are seriously thinking about overcoming it but have not made a commitment to take action.
- Preparation is the stage begun to think about taking action in the near future.
- Action is the stage in which individuals modify their behaviour, experiences or environment in order to overcome their problems.
- Maintenance is the stage in which people work to prevent relapse and consolidate the gains attained during the action stage.

Although this model describes stages of change, Prochaska et al. (1992) note that movement between stages is not linear, instead they represent the process as a spiral. This supports more general observations in relation to desistance, that movement in and out of desisting behaviour is common. Similarly, in relation to addictive behaviour, these researchers found that relapse was the norm and many people (particularly smokers) will take several attempts before moving from action to maintenance, although relapse would rarely mean a regression to the beginning and over time there will be an increasing number of successes in any one group of individuals. This observation demonstrates one of strengths of a stages or structured model of service provision in relation to change/desistance insofar as it enables both practitioners and service users to better understand and

anticipate the process. For example, the Prochaska model suggests that relapse should in no way be viewed as failure – instead it is a part of the process. In the context of exiting, this can be demonstrated through the work of Hoigard and Finstad (1992) who found that relapses are common amongst the women in their study. They found that an understanding that this is a normal part of the process is important protection against the dangerous notion that all hope is lost at the first sign of relapse.

The advantage of developing a staged model of exiting is that it allows monitoring of the development or progression of service users. Such a model is also based on the assumption that exiting is rarely an event and more frequently a process, as with desistance. The more detailed and realistic such a model is, the better understanding we have of the nature of change that is taking place. A staged model also provides the service users with a framework and set of objectives to which they can aspire. Operating such a model makes it easier to monitor and evaluate progress and achievements. It also makes it possible to tailor treatment programmes that fit with the situations and development of different women.

There are, however, criticisms of the Prochaska approach, with some suggesting that the model in fact has little predictive or practical value and is instead an oversimplification of the process of change (Littell and Girvin 2002), a point that has been echoed in the exiting literature (Baker et al 2010). For example, people do not move through the stages in a clear and discernable order and the model tells us nothing about who is likely to complete all stages. Baker et al. (2010) have attempted to adopt their own six-stage model, drawing from the exiting literature. However, as this was attempted by amalgamating a range of research with different approaches and interventions at different stages of exit, it is questionable whether it is possible to integrate them in any meaningful way.

Nevertheless, it is clear that desisters do go through a process of change and that there are emotional aspects to this. Farrall and Calverley (2006) use the term 'emotional trajectories' to describe the emotional journey of desistance. They identify four key stages in the emotional trajectories (the emotional journey) of desisters from crime:

1. Hope, relief, lack of certainty
2. Regret, disquiet about the past, relapses and set-backs
3. Guilt and shame act as motivators to change and to maintaining desistance, trust (both of self and others), pride and self-esteem grow
4. Desistance 'has happened', normalcy, contentment

A question for this research is whether there are discernable stages of change in relation to emotions or whether the process has a complexity that cannot be captured through a stages model. Either way, the features of these emotional trajectories described by Farrall and Calverley can be considered as a guide to the dynamics of this process.

Emotional Trajectories

Shame/Guilt

Harris (2011) and Maruna (2001) both point out the importance of having a coherent sense of self and link this to the concept of shame. Harris defines shame as a threat to a personal's ethical identity, a definition that sheds light on a possible link between role identity and shame as the internalising of values. This is an alternative to Scheff and Retzinger's (1991) conception of shame as the emotional conjugate of alienation. This conception of shame can be linked to Braithwaite's (1989) argument that shame can be worked through using restorative justice in order to reintegrate offenders. There is debate within the literature about the utility of these reintegrative models of restorative justice (Rossner 2011). Harris' definition is preferable as it explains the relationship between identity and shame while also accounting for this sense of isolation as a person feels a sense of separation from both themselves and others when this identity is under threat. In essence, Harris argues that identity involves a commitment to values. Developing a coherent sense of self includes a sense of integrity and wholeness and being able to live up to one's own values. This sense of values will be developed through social, cultural and peer influence and internalised.

Several researchers, including Ettore (2007) and Katz (1999) particularly emphasise shame as an emotion strongly tied to social status and values.

Katz notes that avoidance of shame is a powerful motivating force. Sherman and Strang (2003) point out that people have emotional responses relative to their perception of their status in relation to others and their sense of personal power. Feeling disempowered or losing status will result in negative emotion, feeling empowered or having status will result in positive emotion. Shame is a key feature of the literature on prostitution (Cusick et al. 2003). Prostitution researchers who adopt a sex worker rights perspective argue that shame is a result of stigma and moralising from society and as such can only be addressed by a change in social attitudes (Sanders and Campbell 2001). However, other researchers suggest that shame operates at a different level, and is tied to the dehumanising character of the exchange itself (Farley 2004). Viewing shame as a threat to a person's ethical identity begs the question of how this identity is constructed and what the source of shame is for these women – whether it is borne out of the dehumanising nature of the exchange or the way they believe others perceive them. Understanding how this shame operates is essential to being able to respond to it.

Farrall and Calverley (2006) found that guilt and shame were associated with a struggle to desist. As such, the desistance literature suggests that overcoming guilt and shame is essential to being able to move on. The literature, however, is divided on how this is best responded to. Maruna (2001) argues that moving on can be achieved by simply '*knifing off the past*' and constructing a new identity. Taking into account Harris' conception of shame as a threat to ethical identity, this identity change would presumably include a shift in a person's ethical self-conception. For Maruna (2001), this change means adopting pro-social scripts, a conception of oneself as a 'good' person, and one's past as a necessary prelude to this. Farley (2004) and Herman (1993; 2003) argue, however, that a psychotherapeutic approach is necessary for women involved in prostitution to deal with their experiences, which includes feelings of guilt and shame. Perhaps the deciding factor will be the depth and entrenchment of shame (and trauma – see below), and the aspects of self that the shame attacks.

Fear/Doubt

The debate between *knifing off* the past and therapeutic approaches also apply to the issue of experiencing trauma. Farley (2004) and Herman (1993; 2003) argue that trauma is a significant factor to overcome in order to exit prostitution. The fear generated by traumatic experiences has been found to affect women's ability to make changes in their lives. As such, fear is linked to self-esteem, producing doubt and resulting in inaction. Farrall and Calverley (2006) found that doubt and fear act as a barrier to desistance. A striking feature of Maruna's (2001) work on scripts is that they provide a positive alternative self-conception that appears to *make the desister feel good about themselves and others*. As such, negative emotions such as doubt and fear are replaced by positive feelings. This is supported by Farrall and Calverley's findings. What Maruna and Herman have in common is that they provide solutions to dealing with negative emotions. Herman and Farley seem to be suggesting that some women become trapped in these negative emotions.

Hope/Trust

Hope and trust are emotions that relate to the intersection between self and society. They say something about how a person feels about themselves in relation to the world and are strongly linked to relationships. Both the exiting (Ward 2007) and desistance (Maruna 2001; Farrall and Calverley 2006; 2011; Runggay 2004) literature have identified hope and trust in the future as key components of role transition. It is in this area of hope that institutions appear to have the most influence (Baker et al. 2010; Oselin 2009). The exiting literature has demonstrated that even being given the opportunity to talk about exit creates space for women to view their choices differently and begin to hope that they could make changes in their lives (Matthews et al. 2014). There are a number of theorists who conceptualise exit as a way of forcing or coercing women to leave prostitution and even go so far as naming it an abuse of human rights (Cusick et al. 2011). However, the importance of fostering hope suggests that instead of constraining choices, women's choices are expanded by first enabling them to believe that change is possible and achievable by promoting exit.

Pride/Self-Esteem

The exiting and desistance literature suggests that successful role transition occurs with an increased belief in one's ability to maintain a new lifestyle, which is linked to increases in pride and self-esteem (Maruna 2001; Farrall and Calverley 2006; 2011; Ward 2007). Ahmed and Braithwaite (2011) understand shame as broken bonds with others and pride as a sense of cohesion; pride and self-esteem are conceptualised as necessary for social integration. As such, adopting a pro-social identity would coincide with an increase in self-esteem. They argue, however, that a certain kind of narcissistic pride can in fact mask low self-esteem and we must therefore distinguish between pride and narcissism. This phenomenon is similar to issues raised in the prostitution literature, whereby a woman constructs an identity of empowerment as a coping mechanism (Jeffreys 1997); however, it is an identity that rests on disempowering the purchaser.

A related issue in the sociological literature is that of power and status. Sherman and Strang (2003) adopt a power status theory of emotion. Their theory is valuable in demonstrating that people have emotional responses relative to their perception of their status in relation to others and their sense of personal power. Feeling disempowered or losing status will result in negative emotion, feeling empowered or having status will result in positive emotion. In addition, the way that a person impacts on other people's sense of power and status will be relevant; pride that is predicated on disempowering another would produce positive emotion if that person is disliked. However, if it is not part of a healthy conception of personal power, it will ultimately be fragile and self-defeating. Another aspect of power and self-esteem has been pointed out by Matthews (2008), who emphasises that victimisation can be a basis for mobilisation and resistance. This is supported in the emotions literature by Braithwaite (2009) who found that defiance can be motivational.

Love and relationship (implied but not explicit)

The role of love, connection and relationships is a theme in the literature, with links being made to trust and hope (Farrall and Calverley 2006; 2011;

Baker et al. 2010). The desistance literature suggests that building relationships may be more strongly linked to successful desistance for women than men (Rumgay 2004; McIvor et al. 2004). Love and connection are associated both with pleasure and support. Positive relationships foster a range and depth of positive emotion. However, for some women, relationships can be a barrier to desistance, particularly when there is a 'boyfriend' who encourages their involvement in prostitution. Pimps and procurers are skilled in developing coercive relationships that draw women into prostitution and maintain their involvement (Farley 2004; Raphael and Shapiro 2004). As such, it is essential to understand the meaning of love and connection for these women, particularly the distinction between relationships that support exit, and those that act as a barrier.

Peace/relief (implied but not explicit)

Farrall and Calverley's (2006) work reveals that in the later stages of desistance, a strong sense of peace, relief and contentment is present. However, Brewer (2011) argues that being under stress can become the focus of a person's life to the extent that they don't know what to do with themselves when it is gone. In essence, peace provokes emotions that need to be addressed and managed. This perspective may shed light on why many women return to prostitution despite the desire to leave (Sanders 2007).

Service Provision and Emotional Energy

Emotional intelligence and meeting emotional needs are seen as essential elements of any approach to influencing behaviour (Scheff 2011). This includes building 'emotionally intelligent' models of service provision - institutionalised mechanisms that respond to emotional needs. These institutional structures have the power to influence and shape emotions (Oselin 2009). Further, interaction theory suggests that on-going interaction augments emotion in a way actors are not consciously aware of (Hallett 2003). Harris (2011) argues that 'emotions provide individuals with the motivation that is necessary to translate their belief into behaviour' (p8).

Service provision is a vehicle through which emotional needs can be addressed.

For example, both the exiting (Ward 2007) and desistance (Maruna 2001; Farrall and Calverley 2006; 2011; Runggay 2004) literature have identified hope and trust in the future as key components of role transition. As discussed above, it has been shown that being given the opportunity to talk about exit is the first step in women being able to view their lives differently and consider new possibilities, thus building hope (Matthews et al. 2014). Those who are ideologically opposed to exit (Cusick et al. 2011) appear to be confusing the fostering of hope with an approach that forces or coerces exit without understanding the role that service provision plays in helping women to reimagine their lives. In fact, it is in this area of hope that institutions appear to have the most influence (Baker et al. 2010; Oselin 2009). Taken together, these ideas suggest that a key role for service provision – and an area in which they can have the most impact in terms of meeting emotional needs - is to foster hope and actively promote dialogue about exit.

Another area in which service provision has a strong impact appears to be in providing a new context in which to shape emotions that is an alternative to the existing structural context in which women involved in prostitution are situated. In particular, it has been shown above that social structure not only constrains and shapes opportunity but also generates shame through causing social isolation and marginalisation. This sense of shame can be linked to a loss of emotional energy and the role social structure plays in shaping and prescribing emotion. Thoits (1990) suggests that loss of emotional energy through emotion work that is linked to social structural feeling rules can be combated through generating new interaction rituals that resist subordination by generating new solidarities. He suggests the following:

1. new symbols must stress the injustice of the status quo – transforming negative feelings into anger
2. critical consciousness must be developed – the new (internal) voice is louder than the (internalised) voice of the status quo

3. high rates of interaction with those who share the view (as confrontation is costly)
4. structural changes need to occur

For women leaving the sex industry, it is likely that a critical conscience can enable them to reinterpret their experiences in a way that rejects their sense of internalised shame – both the sex worker rights and violence against women are based upon this approach – as well as the sense of solidarity of working with others through peer support.

A related issue is the concept of emotional energy that is generated in groups. This could be one factor in explaining why group work and developing relationships more generally is successful as a motivating factor for sustaining change. Collins (2004) states that emotional energy is generated by interaction rituals, standardised modes of social interaction that generate positive emotions and are produced and reproduced through ritual. This is echoed by Thamm (1992; 2004) who argues that universal properties of groups systematically generate particular types of emotions. Rossner (2011) argues that the success of restorative justice models rests not in the use of shame as a motivator but more in the fact that it is an interaction ritual, a way of collectively sharing and working through emotions. In the context of service provision, there is an obligation to work towards a model that generates positive emotional energy.

The reverse of positive emotional energy generated by groups and relationships is that sometimes these relationships can produce negative effects. In the context of service provision, there is a risk of transference for both the practitioner and the service user (Herman 1993). In addition, although peer support projects are recommended, it is possible that the influence of peers can actually have a negative effect; it is certainly the case that both desisters and women involved in prostitution have found it necessary to break away from peer groups that have a negative influence (Matthews and Easton 2011; McIvor et al. 2004).

Conclusion

An exploration of current criminological and sociological perspectives on emotions, their presence in the desistance literature, and their relevance to women involved in prostitution, sheds light on the importance of understanding emotions in relation to exiting prostitution. The literature gives rise to issues relating to the role of emotions in shaping behaviour and change as women exit prostitution and calls for research that maps these emotional dynamics with reference to the existing literature on desistance and role transition. Further, the literature poses questions about the role of service provision in shaping this change and calls for research relating to the provision of emotionally intelligent services that support exit.

Part 2
Theoretical Background and Methodology

4. Theoretical Background to Methodology

Research Questions

In light of the existing literature, the following questions have been chosen for this research:

1. What are the emotional dynamics of women exiting prostitution?
2. What is the role of emotions in shaping change in behaviour?
 - What is the meaning of 'exit' for these women?
 - How does this process relate to desistance from crime?
 - How does gender influence this process?
 - How does an understanding of these emotional dynamics contribute to our understanding of exit and of desistance more generally?
3. What models and mechanisms can best respond to these emotional dynamics in supporting exit?
 - What are the emotional barriers and drivers to exit?
 - How can overcoming these barriers be facilitated through service provision?
 - How can emotional drivers be fostered and supported?
 - What can be adopted from existing models of service provision? For example, to what extent does a stages of change model apply?
 - What new models and mechanisms can be developed that better respond to these women's emotional aspects of change?
 - Is this transferrable to other contexts?

Method for Understanding Experience

Qualitative Research

Katz (2002) argues that research should take as its starting point the aim of describing the nature of social phenomena as they are experienced, which frames our methods and research questions. This theoretical perspective doesn't dictate one particular method but shapes how we approach a research question. This can be contrasted to a reproduction model of research, where the aim is to describe the world as it is (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). Sayer (1992) supports the argument that it is necessary to move beyond pure descriptions of 'reality' as in doing so we lose the role of the individual in interpreting and experiencing this reality. However, he also cautions that it is important to understand the way that these experiential and interpretive elements are grounded in reality. Katz (2002) takes a phenomenological approach, focussing on the meaning of experience by attempting to understand the essence of experiences. In other words, phenomenology asks how an individual responds to and interprets the world (Creswell 1998; Moustakas 1994). Maruna (2001) adopted this approach in relation to desistance by examining the meaning people ascribe to their experiences. Maruna (2001) and Katz (1988; 2002) argue that the internal aspects of experience are essential to understanding social phenomena. For Maruna (2001) this applies to understanding the internal process of change and for Katz (2002), this particularly applies to understanding emotions.

For the purpose of this research, which addresses both emotions and change, an approach that aims to understand the essence of experience is a strong perspective from which to shape the research. However, it must also be grounded in an understanding of the way that social structure and reality shape and construct experience. For example, researchers have pointed out that the availability of particular narratives that can be adopted by the individual will depend on this person's social structural position (Presser 2012). As such, the reciprocal relationship between self and society must be emphasised (Mead 1964; Giddens 1991). Prostitution researchers, such as O'Neill and Campbell (2011), emphasise the concept of 'intersectionality' – the way in which multiple situational and structural factors combine to shape circumstances – and state that research must be able to understand the way

that these factors impact on women's lives. As such, this research aims to understand the interpretive and experiential aspects of exiting prostitution for the women as located in their particular social structural context.

Personal Construct Theory

This perspective combines well with PCT, which was explored earlier in the literature review and states that a person's processes are psychologically channelled by the ways in which he anticipates events – a person develops a conceptual schema, a system of binary constructs, in light of their experience and in order to anticipate and understand events and construct their identity. As McCoy (1981) points out, construing necessarily involves experiencing. PCT is not concerned with the events themselves but the meaning given to the events that influence people (Burr and Butt 1992). As pointed out by Patton (2002), approaches that seek to understand meaning and interpretation - such as phenomenology - use first person descriptions as the best way of understanding a phenomenon. This favouring of first person accounts is also adopted in PCT (Burr and Butt 1992). This can be contrasted to an approach that judges people from an 'expert' point of view. In PCT, the aim is find out the person's point of view from their descriptions and these can be taken as reliable so long as the interview technique is able to uncover constructs (Burr and Butt 1992). As such, PCT explores the ways in which experience is mediated by constructs, and by extension how the individual shapes his or her understanding of their world through conceptual schema that mediate experience.

Kelly (1955) approached constructs from a psychological perspective, which could be a barrier to approaches that seek to understand how experience is grounded in reality and social structure. However, PCT in fact provides a strong bridge between the individual and society. Kelly (1955) himself pointed out that constructs can be socially shared. Further, the process of construing and reconstructing involves appraising one's worldview against experience of the world, which will include the social structure in which a person is located. In short, constructs are the mechanism through which a person makes sense of the world, a mechanism through which self and society combine. The desistance literature, with its focus on role transition

and identity (Ebaugh 1988), concerns this point where self and society meet through role identity. This research takes the theoretical position that role identity is mediated by people's personal constructs. This is supported by desistance and prostitution researchers, such as Maruna (2001), Farrall and Calverley (2006) and Oselin (2009), who emphasise the importance of self-narratives and worldview in influencing behaviour.

Feminist research

This research does not simply aim to describe the way the world is understood and experienced by participants and instead aims to account for structure. The research takes a critical perspective that acknowledges the context of social inequalities – particularly gender, but also other structural factors such as race and class - in shaping constructs, and in shaping experience. Prostitution as a phenomenon is seen in the context of gender inequality and understood as both a consequence and cause of this inequality (Jeffreys 1997). The research also acknowledges the neglect of women in criminological research (Gelsthorpe 2004) and the need to more fully understand women's desistance (Giordano et al. 2002). The aims of this research are to map the emotional landscape of women who wish to exit prostitution and to develop an understanding of the process of change with a view to developing service provision. Giving voice to participants and ensuring that their perspectives are central to the findings of the research are necessary to achieving these aims. Underpinning the research is a political perspective that does not see prostitution as inevitable and acknowledges the harms of involvement in prostitution (Matthews 2008). The research acknowledges that involvement in prostitution often arises out of a lack of valid alternatives, thus limiting the scope of choices available for the women involved (Matthews et al. 2014). The research aims to open up these alternatives and develop understandings that will help to change the context in which decisions are made and thereby make alternatives more viable and accessible.

One of the major contributions made by feminist epistemologists (Longino 1990; Nelson 1990) is showing that knowing is affected by values, beliefs

and exercise of power. Our aims, assumptions, weighing up of evidence, selection of theory, representations of findings, categorisations and classification, methods, standards of proof, causation, meaning, all impact on our practice and outcomes of inquiry and are influenced by the individual as inquirer (more specifically, as a researcher). This research takes the following epistemological stance:

- Investigating the social settings in which self knowledge arises – *de se knowledge* - investigating the link between identity and power
- Undermining androcentric values, attitudes, emotions – the virgin/whore dichotomy, acceptance of male entitlement and the male ‘need’ for an ‘outlet’, the eroticization of domination, and the idea that male sexuality that is expressed through sexual objectification is given, natural and necessary
- Undermining the mind/body dichotomy characteristic of the dominant male/masculine phenomenology. Central to its concerns is the problem of dissociation of mind and body when working in prostitution.
- Giving voice to women’s experiences – using participatory values to address issues of interpretation, epistemic authority, and meaning and to produce knowledge that challenges the status quo

At its most basic, feminist research aims to give voice to women’s experiences and to produce outcomes that address gender inequality (Reinharz 2010; Stanley and Wise 1983).

Choice of Method

Research using Qualitative Methods

Previous research on both prostitution and on desistance has acknowledged that understanding internal processes is important to understanding social phenomenon (Farrall and Calverley 2006; Maruna 2001) . Further, in the field of emotions, it has been argued that it is difficult to understand human action without an understanding of emotions (Oatley 1996). Maruna (2001), in

researching desistance, argues that internal narratives guide and organise human behaviours. He states that when a person's internal self-story changes then this results in a change in behaviour. Sampson and Laub (2003; 2006) also argue that there is no way to disentangle internal and external change. The focus of this research is to understand how the participant's emotional landscape relates to the process of exit; as such the focus is on the internal and subjective.

Qualitative interviews are an appropriate research method if the aim is to understand the perspective of the individual – whether this is their experience, opinion, emotions, or understanding/construction of something (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009; Bryman 2008). This insight into the subjective perspective of the participant enables the researcher to understand how the issues are constructed by the interviewee - in other words, their 'interpretative framework' (Jenkins et al. 2010; Melia 1997). This interpretive framework gives an insight into the world as experienced by the participant (Creswell 1998); thus the aims and theoretical perspective of this approach call for this qualitative approach.

Interviews as main method

In this study, interviews have been chosen as the most appropriate qualitative technique. Firstly, this is because personal construct theory provides a method of eliciting constructs through Repertory Grid Interviews (designed to reveal the participant's repertoire of constructs through an analytic technique of compare and contrast) (Jankowicz 2004). Secondly, interviews have been used successfully in both desistance and prostitution research (Matthews et al. 2014; Maruna 2001; Farrall and Calverley 2006). Alternative qualitative approaches such as ethnography or case studies (Creswell 1998) have not been selected for this research. However, the research is consistent with Small's (2009) suggestion that we treat interviews as multiple case studies, as sources of rich in-depth data but with the benefit of multiple perspectives. Case studies are generally thought of as only a single case or few cases, with the aim of looking at a more specific issue through fewer cases (Creswell 1998). However, as very little is currently known about this subject matter, research in the area would benefit from casting a wider net before focusing in more detail on single case studies. This leaves more room for comparison and drawing parallels between cases.

Nevertheless, a small number of interviews have been selected as case studies for the purpose of representing the data through a more in-depth analysis of a number of the interviews.

It has been suggested by Creswell (1998) that ethnography is more appropriate to describing and understanding a cultural/social group by looking at shared values, behaviours, interactions, and beliefs. In their research on women involved in prostitution, O'Neill and Campbell (2011) used a mixture of interviews, participatory action research and ethnography to gather data that captured the complex intertwining of factors that affect the lives of women involved in prostitution. These 'intersectionalities' – the way different characteristics combine to make up circumstances particular to the individual – were the focus of their research. O'Neill and Campbell (2011) use ethnographic and interview techniques to gain an understanding of the point of view of the women participants in their study and develop 'thick' descriptions of the experiences and meanings attached to their involvement of prostitution. However, this research seeks to go beyond a surface description and to ascertain the constructs that underpin their experiences and point of view. As such, the ethnographic gathering of data through observation is not necessary as it would be descriptive of the group and less able to capture the interpretive and experiential worldview of the individual.

It is acknowledged that the unconscious aspects of emotion are less likely to be captured through face to face interviews and examining interpretive frameworks, as discussed by Katz (1999). In particular, talking about emotions necessarily involves an element of interpretation, and therefore possibly rationalization, that may not be a true reflection of the person's actual emotional experience. However, as Katz points out, an exploration of emotions must take into account the context and purpose of the research. An ethnographic observation of the emotions relating to experiences of involvement and non-involvement in prostitution – such as drug use, contact with punters etc. – would not be practicable in the circumstances. The use of video recording could capture the unconscious aspects of emotional experiences as these are talked about, however, the sensitive nature of the subject matter would make it unlikely that many women would agree to be filmed, and would potentially be experienced as more intrusive. In this context, focusing on reported emotions in an interview context and exploring

interpretive repertoires will shed light on which emotions are being talked about, what is being consciously experienced, what is missing, and whether this relates to the cultural and social 'dictionary' available to these women (including whether service provision influences this).

Limitations of semi-structured interviews

Several prostitution studies have used the technique of semi-structured interviews (Cusick et al. 2003; O'Neill and Campbell 2011; Sanders 2007), including studies on exit (Matthews et al. 2014). Semi-structured interviews involve the researcher developing an interview schedule that covers a number of topics and areas of questioning but does not impose a particular order for asking the questions, or dictate exactly which questions must be asked. Instead, the interview schedule acts as a guide for what should be covered in the interview. The advantage of semi-structured interviews is to allow a narrative style to unfold as opposed to imposing a rigid structure of questioning (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). This enables the researcher to keep a degree of focus on topic areas of interest at the same time as allowing freedom for expression and for new ideas and topics to emerge that are of importance to the interviewee. This approach generally uses open questions can 'stimulate the informant into talking freely about the particular area under discussion' (Arksey and Knight 1999, p92) and are particularly useful in studies which focus on people's experiences (Arksey and Knight 1999).

This semi-structured style has been found to be particularly suitable for the exploration of the complexity of decision-making and effecting change in relation to exiting prostitution, where several factors may come into play, including emotional and practical issues, and where the interviewee's thinking can be allowed to emerge in a natural style without searching for the 'right' answer (Matthews et al. 2014). Matthews et al. (2014) found that the conversation itself gave rise to greater clarity (things you didn't realise you were thinking!). This supports Roulston's (2010) perspective that interviews are co-constructed accounts and understanding emerges through the interview process. This, however, gives rise to considerations of the power

relationship between interviewer and interviewee (Bowler 1997), and the influence of the researcher on findings.

Roulston (2010) points out that the interviewer and questions asked can have a strong impact on the outcome of interviews. It is the researcher who decides which questions and categories are important and looks for the meaning in messages according to the researcher's own understanding. Many theorists have underlined the importance of the role of the researcher in constructing meaning and knowledge (Charmaz 2008). It appears that the co-constructed nature of human interaction cannot be completely designed out of the research, however, Sayer (1992) suggests that this can be a strength of social research, as its very focus is human interaction. Indeed, feminist research acknowledges this and embraces it as an important part of the research process, emphasising the importance of rapport between interviewer and interviewee (Bowler 1997), which is particularly important in prostitution research (Matthews et al. 2014; O'Neill and Campbell 2011). The strength of previous studies on prostitution has been to challenge traditional power structures by using collaborative research techniques such as ethnography and semi-structured interviewing that are participant lead, privileging the perspective of the participant over the researcher, thus producing unique and insightful perspectives into these women's experiences (O'Neill and Campbell 2011; Oselin 2009; Matthews et al. 2014).

However, there is a tendency amongst these studies to produce data that is richly descriptive but does not address the worldview that underpins the experiences of these women, thus losing an essential element of meaning and interpretation. For example, Sanders (2007) describes different ways that women exit prostitution but does not explore what the meaning of this is to these women, or what assumptions and constructions underpin their own self-reported motivations to exit. As a result, Sanders does not explore some potentially interesting aspects of her findings. For example, she describes one motivation to exit as being 'emotional and physical exhaustion' but provides no further analysis of how and why this is experienced. Similarly, O'Neill and Campbell (2011) produce 'thick' descriptions of the complexity of women's lives, needs and motivations but takes for granted several of the concepts that are uncovered. For example, they identify an underlying

conflict about the choices available to women in terms of the ability to earn money but they do not enquire into their understanding of what a meaningful 'choice' may be. Cusick et al (2011) criticise exiting programmes without addressing the underlying assumptions attached to the meaning of exit to service users and practitioners. They state that one practitioner deems 'exit' to be 'an affront to human dignity' but do not enquire into where this construction comes from and what it really means to this practitioner, accepting the label without any critical enquiry into its meaning.

These studies are centred on the critical aim of empowerment; however, 'empowerment' in these studies is limited to simply giving voice. It is unclear what is really being asked to elicit the information recorded. Interviewer style, and the development of a relationship, can have profound effects on the results of any research – for example, whether you are trusted as an 'insider' can affect the outcomes of an interview (Bowler 1997, p74). In Matthews et al's (2014) recent research, it was found that many women have never had the opportunity to really discuss the possibility of leaving prostitution and what this means to them. From a personal construct theory perspective, it seems that these studies are not getting to the bottom of the constructions underpinning the worldview of these women, nor are they addressing their internal emotional experience (Burr and Butt 1992; McCoy 1977). One possible way of addressing this would be to ensure that semi-structured interviews are prepared in a way that will ensure that a more critical and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon is elicited. This has certainly been successful in previous research on exit (Matthews et al. 2014).

Repertory grid interviews

However, using repertory grid technique as derived from personal construct theory provides an alternative tool that explicitly aims at eliciting constructs. As such, this promises to gain a deeper insight into the world as experienced by the interviewee. This technique has been chosen for this research because of its potential to gain a unique perspective on 'exit' and its meaning to women involved in prostitution through a method that limits the influence of the researcher and does not take the language used by interviewees for granted (Fransella et al. 2004). The approach shares advantages with semi-

structured interviewing, such as privileging the perspective of the interviewee and being able to address intersectionalities by eliciting the participant's unique perspective. Constructs are context dependent, and as such the multiple factors that combine to make up a person's unique experience will impact on the way that their constructs develop (Kelly 1955). Free verbal descriptions produce richness and depth of data but the emotions being expressed can be misinterpreted and misrepresented (Parkinson and Lea 1991). Repertory grid helps to explore unarticulated concepts and constructs to underlies people's responses to the world (Fransella et al 2004, p5):

'In talking to each other, we come to understand the way the other person views the world, what goes with what, what implies what, what is important and unimportant, and in what terms the person seeks to assess people, places and situations. The grid formalises this process and assigns mathematical values to the relationships between a person's constructs. It enables us to focus on particular subsystems of construing, and to note what is individual and surprising about the structure and content of a person's outlook on the world'

Reliability

When interviewing, the researcher must be aware of the possibility that the self-reported perspective is not in fact a reliable account of the internal world of the interviewee. For example, Herman (1993) reminds us that in a therapeutic context, which can also be extended to a research context that uses talking techniques, the therapist must look out for signs that the patient has experienced undisclosed harm or violence. In research on violence against women it has been found that women may not name the violence or harm they have experienced, or that they may minimise this as a way of coping with their experiences (Burman et al. 2001; Kelly 1998). PCT provides a response to these concerns by recommending a structured method for eliciting constructs and getting beneath the surface of people's self-reported experiences (Burr and Butt 1992). PCT states that an individual's relationship to the world is mediated by their way of construing

the world and that their constructs give meaning to their lives and the world around them. Constructs are used to interpret and understand their experiences, as well as anticipate the future. By eliciting constructs we thus gain an understanding of the interpretive framework that is the concern of many qualitative researchers (Jenkins et al. 2010; Melia 1997).

Life course and narratives

A strength of previous research on both desistance and prostitution has been the use of life course approaches (Matthews et al. 2014; Sampson and Laub 2006; Maruna 2001). A life course approach to interviewing invites the interviewee to narrate their life experience and tell their story as it has unfolded over time (Henderson et al. 2007). This approach is able to cover a number of issues in a holistic manner, is able to explore the factors that have led to the women's state of mind, contextualizes their current emotions and experience, and provides insight into how the participant makes sense of their own life experiences, relating this to the here and now. Laub and Sampson (2006) used this approach to successfully identify 'turning points' in the lives of people desisting from crime. Through analysing their own descriptions of their life stories, discernable events could be identified that catalysed a change in both their behaviour and attitude. Nevertheless, there is also evidence to suggest that narratives need not focus on an entire life story. Maruna (2001), for example, uses narrative story-telling techniques but does not specifically aim for a focus on the entire life course. Maruna's (2001) work aimed to elicit the contextual constructions of research participants through revealing their self-narratives. He argues that narrative interview techniques are able to capture the dynamics of the phenomenon being studied and to draw out the several strands that shape behaviour. This is not just a record of life events but also a critical part of an individual's personality and sense of self (Giddens 1991).

Combining repertory grid and narrative

Personal construct theory acknowledges narrative as a construct system that is shaped by social interaction (McAdams 1985). As such, the life course and

narrative approach recommended by desistance researchers are compatible with personal construct theory and can be used to shape the focus of the repertory grid interviews. Jankowicz (2004) states that constructs are used to interpret life events to help deal with world experience. As such, constructs are the tools through which a person makes sense of something, the roots of understanding, the way people find meaning in their experiences and the world around them. This *making sense* is a key feature of Maruna's (2001) narrative approach. As with narratives, personal constructs are dynamic, they change and evolve, and are subject to testing and retesting (Stewart and Stewart 1981, p7):

'the word 'construct' carries with it both the sense of having been constructed or developed from experience, and also the sense of being that through which we construe – or see and interpret – the world. Thus if you can understand someone's construct system you can not only understand his history, but you can also make some predictions about he is likely to behave in a given situation because you know something about what the situation is likely to mean to him.'

Similarly, Botella et al. (2005) underline the link between identity, narratives and constructs. As such, narratives are a mode through which self-constructs can be derived and linked to a person's repertoire of constructs more generally. Self-narrative is a medium through which a person constructs their identity and as such the use of narrative and personal construct theory in therapy can be a powerful tool for change. It is clear, therefore that analysing personal narratives can be used as alternative tool in eliciting constructs and developing an understanding of the participant's repertoire of constructs. As such, this research combines two methods for uncovering people's constructs – the formalised method of repertory grid technique combined with styles of questioning that encourage interview participants to tell their stories. These techniques have the same aim and are complementary and contrasting ways of understanding a participant's worldview. As such, throughout the interviews, when participants begin to tell stories relating to their experiences, where appropriate they were encouraged and facilitated through open questioning and inviting the participant to expand on their story.

This technique of combining repertory grid interviews with other techniques to elicit constructs has been used in previous repertory grid research. For example, in Marsh and Stanley's (1995) research on anorexic and non-anorexic women, researchers compared the constructs of both anorexic and non-anorexic women to clinical constructs about anorexia. They used repertory grids to elicit the women's constructs and used literature to analyse clinical constructs. In fact, Personal Construct Theory has been used in combination with narrative approaches in a number of studies. For example, both Houston (1998) and Laming (2006) used narratives in their work to support behaviour change of offenders (Houston) and male perpetrators of domestic violence (Laming). People were given the opportunity to tell their stories in order to gain an insight into what their behaviour means to them. This provided a focal point from which to challenge the underpinning constructions that could be derived from their narratives. In fact, story-telling should perhaps be viewed as a standard part of the repertory grid process, which is in essence a structured way of having a conversation – this conversational element should never be discarded as it is relevant to the overall data (Jankowicz and Cooper 1982).

Narrative analysis is underpinned by an understanding of the social world as storied (Weedon 2004). Our collective identity - shaped by our race, class, gender, nationality and other factors - is shaped by collective modes of understanding, our knowledge and the operation of power. Narrative analysis can be used to examine how narratives both reflect and shape social contexts. This includes the way that narratives are used and adopted, which are excluded, what narratives are available, which are dominant and what the impact of this is. Much has been written about how narratives can be used to privilege certain forms of knowledge, silence some and give voice to others, empower or disempower, underpin social practice, and even to construct social identity (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2008; Squire et al. 2008). For example, Presser (2005) provides an account of narrative analysis that depicts a process of 'doing gender' – where both interviewer and interviewee affirm their gender through their use of narrative. Further, narrative frameworks are shared cultural tools that offer us a repertoire of possible stories, but also set limits on what can be told (Lawler 2002). It has proved particularly useful in analysis the role that dominant narratives play in the

lives of stigmatised or marginalised people, and the counter-narratives that they may draw upon to alleviate any stigma (Andrews 2002; May 2004).

Repertory Grid Technique

The Aim of Eliciting Constructs

PCT states that in order to understand a person and their experience, you should ask them. In other words, subjective accounts are reliable as sources of information, which contradicts the behaviourist perspective that data must be 'observed'. The idea is that people are experts on their own experiences and feelings, in other words 'man is scientist' and action is guided by theories held about oneself, others and the world around them (Burr and Butt 1992). As explored above, many researchers of desistance and prostitution have shared this perspective and have chosen qualitative techniques that aim to understand the internal world of a desister or exiter (Maruna 2001; Farrall and Calverley 2006; O'Neill and Campbell 2011). However, this privileging of the perspective of the subject does not mean that their self-reported accounts are approached uncritically in PCT. Language can be both ambiguous and inadequate, and meanings and constructs may be unconscious (Burr and Butt 1992). This is a perspective shared by social scientists who recognise that personal accounts should not be taken as unproblematic descriptions (Sayer 1992). Burr and Burr (1992) state, therefore, that we need a reliable and formalised way of eliciting constructs and so personal construct theory advocates the use of repertory grid technique to do so.

The Technique

Repertory grid technique is a formalised way of enabling subjects to communicate their constructs and facilitating understanding of these (Fromm 2004). Construct elicitation enables the researcher to draw a mental map of how people interpret the world around them (Stewart and Stewart 1981). There is no one way of using repertory grid technique as it can be varied according to the specific context of the research in order to elicit the constructs of any specific phenomenon (Jankowicz 2004). However, there

are core elements that can be identified and are common to the majority of studies using repertory grid technique (Jankowicz 2004; Kelly 1955; 1970; Stewart and Stewart 1981):

- **Topic** – the researcher defines research question and chooses a topic or phenomenon that they are seeking to understand. This provides a focus for the interviews and guides the researcher in what questions to ask. Stewart and Stewart (1981) recommend the use of qualifying questions that make the construct elicitation relevant to the aims of the research – so for this research, elements could be elicited in relation to feelings or elements could be compared by stating ‘how are these two elements similar and different to the third in terms of how they make you feel?’.
- **Elements** – these are the aspects – or main features - of the topic that are identified from which constructs can be understood. These can be selected by the researcher or identified by the participant. Stewart and Stewart (1981) suggest that elements should be homogenous, the same ones used for each interview, but Wright and Lam (2002) suggest elements should be decided on by the participant as they must be relevant to that particular individual. Elements of exiting prostitution could be the decision to leave, the need for practical assistance, the effect on relationships etc.
- **Constructs** – the underlying schema the participant uses to understand the topic and its elements. When eliciting constructs, alternative constructs might be offered for the same elements, these should be recorded as separate constructs (Jankowicz 2004). A person’s construct schema may be overlapping, complex and intertwined and so it is possible to capture a variety of constructs that are applied to the elements.
- **Triadic elicitation** – the researcher presents three elements at a time and asks in what way two of these elements are similar and how they differ from the third. Stewart and Stewart (1981) state that this can be simplified by using one or two elements but that this makes it harder to

uncover the hidden constructs by minimising the need to consider similarity and difference in any depth. Triadic elicitation produces more comprehensive data with greater validity.

- **Bipolar constructs** – Constructions are dichotomous – constructs are bipolar – by saying something is X, we are also saying that what X is not, it is not Y or Z, these dichotomous concepts form constructs and shape our understanding of the world (Fransella et al. 2004). For example, by defining 'exit', we also state what it isn't – thus, in the literature it is distinguished from 'stopping' (Swift 2005). These bipolar constructs are not opposite in the semantic sense- their polarity is derived from understanding similarities and differences. The similarity is one end of the pole, the difference is the other end of the pole – thus poles of the construct are individual to that person's worldview and are opposite as understood by the worldview of the participant (Jankowicz 2004). This does not mean that there are no commonalities between constructs, people can be like-minded about things, and individuals can be influenced by shared experiences as well as social and cultural norms (Fromm 2004). Thus there may be common themes as well as individuality.
- **Ratings** – a way of understanding the relationship between elements and constructs by rating the constructs against the elements. Thus, the process involves rating the elicited constructs against the elements in order to identify how strongly or weakly the construct applies to the element. The ratings method is recommended by Jankowicz (2004) and has been selected for a number of repertory grid studies (See, for example, Marsh and Stanley 1995) because of it provides for greater discrimination between elements and constructs than other ranking methods, or indeed from choosing not to rank at all. As such, it is a useful tool for gaining a better picture of how constructs relate to one another. Jankowicz (2004) cautions against using a large rating scale as it forces finer and finer distinctions and requires precision that is not necessary. As such, a scale of 1-5 has been selected for this research as it is useful and manageable, having a middle point for neutrality and stronger and weaker degrees either side.

- **Laddering** - as there is a hierarchy of constructs, some will be more core – or more fundamental – than others, which will be on the periphery and more loosely held and thus, arguably, more subject to change (Bannister and Fransella 1986). Higher order constructs are core constructs that are central to a person and their values and beliefs. Laddering is a process whereby it is possible to drill down into these higher order constructs through the following steps:
 - Firstly, elicit constructs and identify the construct pole
 - Secondly, ask the participant which end of the pole they would prefer to be on
 - Thirdly, ask ‘why’ until the participant begins to repeat themselves, thus indicating that core constructs have been arrived at

Stewart and Stewart (1981) point out that there is a danger of causing trauma and conflict when uncovering core constructs. They recommend not going beyond one level of ‘why’ when laddering in order to avoid any risk. In light of this risk, the research contained within this thesis was conducted with an overall ethical approach of being responsive to the risk of trauma throughout the interviews by developing rapport and continuously checking that the questioning is not causing too much distress.

In their research on the use of repertory grids in counselling, Jankowicz and Cooper (1982) recommend a number of techniques to make the use of repertory grid technique more effective. They underline the importance of laddering in order to gain deeper insights into a person’s most tightly held constructs and values. Another technique for exploring constructs in more depth that they recommend is to elicit further elements based on the constructs, or combination of constructs, provided. For example:

‘Next, John was asked to name an activity which would be at the left-hand pole of the construct ‘Emotional/Intellectual’ and at the right-hand pole of the construct ‘Does Not Involve Other People/Involves Other People’. He became quite preoccupied, and concentrated hard on the grid.... John had begun to reflect seriously upon this whole cluster of constructs’ (p146)

This technique can be adapted by using the elements that have already been elicited and by giving an opportunity for the interview participant to explore the relationship between clusters of constructs and the elements.

The overall approach adopted for this research can be summarised as follows:

- Choose a topic to be understood
- Identify the elements of this topic
- State how these elements are similar or different
- Identify bipolar constructs
- Identify which constructs are more strongly or weakly held and which are higher order constructs

Personal Construct Theory as a compliment to Sociological Theory

Personal Construct Theory, The Self and Society

As previously discussed (Chapter 2), PCT offers a perspective through which to understand the mechanisms that lead to a person developing a sense of self in relation to their experiences of the world. Strong links can be made between this theory and the desistance literature on role transition, for which self-identity is bound up with making sense of oneself in relation to the world (Ebaugh 1988; Maruna 2001; Farrall and Calverley 2006; 2011), as well as sociological theory that views emotions as an embodied process of active engagement with the world (Lyon 1998)..

Kelly places great emphasis on the individuality of experiences (Burr and Butt 1992). However, the influence of culture and society on emotions can be accounted for by Kelly's commonality and sociality corollaries, which state that a person's social structural situation and relationships to others will influence both their experience and they way that this experience is appraised – thus ultimately influencing the development of constructs. People will adopt or reject socially sanctioned constructs. Influencing, shaping and determining constructs could also be viewed as an exercise of

power, linking in with feminist critiques of the restricted availability of narratives for women that ultimately limit their life choices and the possibility of role transition (Rumgay 2004). In fact, the strength of PCT is to account for the interplay between self and society (Mead 1964) and the relationship between social norms and individuality. A person's construct or beliefs may have been formed due to social and cultural norms but the person is not imprisoned by these norms, their constructs are individually held and subject to change. Sociologists emphasise that emotions derive out of interaction and engagement with others - their 'deep sociality' (Wentworth and Ryan 1994)– and with experience (Lyon 1998). As such, personal construct theory is able to address both of these aspects of emotions, thus deepening this sociological understanding.

PCT was developed for therapeutic purposes in order to help people to understand the way that they were making sense of the world and to use this as a path to transformation (Winter and Viney 2005). By examining constructs it is possible to identify how constructs are related, how we are appraising and perceiving the external world, if our modes and ways of thinking are serving us appropriately, what thoughts, feelings and experiences might have led to the development of these constructs, and what might alter them. Elicitation of constructs and their analysis are context-dependent and must draw from wider theory. As such, PCT and repertory grid technique are tools that can be used in research to gain a deeper understanding of how someone perceives a certain subject and of their meaning making; theory must then be drawn upon in order to elucidate on the implications of this.

Previous PCT research and its sociological relevance

PCT has been particularly influential in the field of psychology into which it was born, for example, in exploring perception of self and others and in using repertory grid technique as a focal point for effective therapy (Gale and Barker 1987; Jankowicz and Cooper 1982). However, its use is not limited to this field and was never intended to be so. Exploring examples of previous PCT research from a number of fields, demonstrates that it has already been used to explore subject matter that is of interest to sociologists:

Values and beliefs

Horley (1991; 2000) argues that values and beliefs are best understood through a PCT lens. He points out that values, beliefs and attitudes are widely used analytic units in the social sciences but that their conceptual underpinning is not always made explicit. PCT provides a framework within which to understand values, beliefs and attitudes – essentially, they are ways of evaluating experience - modes of appraisal that are part of the construal process. Values, he states, are core constructs (Horley 1991). As such, Horley advocates the use of repertory grid technique as a key tool in attitude research in order to effectively understand a person's core and peripheral constructs.

Making the tacit explicit

Another area in which PCT and repertory grid has proved effective is in research on decision-making, in a business context (as well as a breadth of PCT research relating to business and knowledge management, for example Gaines and Shaw 1993). Jankowicz (2001) describes the effectiveness of PCT tools in exploring the use of intuition and judgement in the strategic decision-making of senior managers in the financial sector. He argues that the repertory grid is an effective tool for making the tacit explicit, which can be effectively adopted in the context of sociological research. This can be effectively adopted in the context of this research to explore aspects of decision-making in relation to exit.

Change/role transition

In Catina et al's (1992) repertory grid study of defence mechanisms, they demonstrated the link between defence mechanisms and resistance to change, explaining this through the lens of personal constructs. The research addresses a number of issues that are relevant to sociological theory of role identity and role transition. They showed that the mechanisms of denial, rationalisation and turning against the object are associated in PCT with constriction (excluding information), tight construing (fitting experience into a limited repertoire of constructs) and distance between real self and social self (construing these as dissimilar). They found that denial limits a person's repertoire of constructs – and in turn their sense of self - which may account

for resistance to change. This study also explores the 'creative, elaborate role' that PCT affords emotions (p250) and the role emotions play in a person's defence of their self-construction. They argue that defence mechanisms are a way of preserving self-image and avoiding negative emotions arising from transitions in construing – an in turn, transitions in identity.

Both Houston (1998) and Laming (2006) have used Personal Construct Theory and construct elicitation through narrative in their work to challenge offending behaviour (Houston) and male violence against women (Laming). In order to effect change, both Laming and Houston used Winter's (1992) concept of constructive alternativism to support change by facilitating a reconstrual of the world on the part of the offender – in essence, the offenders are invited to reframe their understanding of the world and their experiences, which leads to behaviour change. Houston (1998, p26-27, as cited in Laming 2006) argues that:

- i) PCT offers a framework for understanding the world as offenders see it
- ii) It enables the possibility of better understanding of the reasons why offenders fail to learn from their past
- iii) PCT gives an insight into offenders' resistance to change
- iv) PCT offers a more collaborative means of working with people, in which some responsibility for the change process is taken by them
- v) It creates space for offenders to change
- vi) It provides the tools for understanding better how offenders view and construct their world, and also provides a means for measuring changes in that construction

PCT and repertory grid technique has been used in several disciplines to effectively study processes of change. Burke et al (1992) successfully adopted a PCT approach in their study of the transition from being a practitioner in a field to being an educator in a field. They argue that because PCT regards people as '*always being in a process of movement and continually trying to predict their behaviour and that of others in an effort to understand events that happen to them, it provides an ideal theoretical basis for the study of transition*' (p159). They point out that during a time of transition, 'an individuals construct system is subject to constant revision,

which may or may not be a time of disturbance for the individual' (p161). In Burke et al's (1992) study, the tool of repertory grid was used to map change in people's constructs as they transitioned in their careers, thus providing a rich source from which to understand this process of change. Repertory grids were administered at five intervals over two years each one 6 months apart. They found that constructs changed from being more general, to being concerned with practical issues such as organisation and time management, to emphasising the aspects of being qualified. This underlines the important relationship between constructs and change, which indicates that understanding a person's constructs is essential to being able to respond to the needs of a person during this process of change.

Service provision and its effectiveness

One reason that sociological researchers explore role transition is to understand the ways in which external intervention impacts upon the process of change. For example, the criminological and sociological research on desistance has explored this in several contexts, including, notably, Prochaska's (1992) research on addiction services. In PCT research, Marsh and Stanley (1995) used repertory grids to explore treatment for anorexia nervosa and its effectiveness in healing the women that were being clinically treated. They showed that the way anorexic women see themselves through their constructs differs from clinical constructs and thus suggested that this could account for resistance to change in anorexic patients. In essence, there was a tension between their internally defined constructs and external interpretations of the construct meanings. This research demonstrates the potential of personal construct theory in contributing to our understanding of personal change. The research indicates that one factor affecting whether change is successfully facilitated is whether there is a shared understanding of constructs.

Similarly, Burke et al (1992) cite O'Connor's (1983) study of social work training, where it was found that students gradually adopt the construction patterns of social work systems. This is reminiscent of Oselin's (2009) finding that as women went through the various stages of a specialist service that facilitated their exit from street prostitution, they adopted the language and

behaviour of the institution. She also found that during the earlier stages there would be a struggle between the individual's language and behaviour and the behaviour and language that was expected of them. When viewed through a lens of PCT, it is possible to interpret this as a process of reconstrual that is facilitated by service providers. The success or failure of service provision may depend on whether constructs can be shared and understood by service users and providers. The success or failure of service provision may depend on whether constructs can be shared and understood by service users and providers. It may also explain why ideology is such an important factor in whether exiting services are successful (Lawrence 2007; Matthews and Easton 2011; MPF 2007; SE 2004; Ward 2007), as certain ideologies may lead to reconstruals that are more conducive to successful exit.

Identifying structural influences

Finally, PCT has proven fruitful by exploring constructions that are borne out of structural influences. For example, Dick and Jankowicz (2001) explored police culture and its influence on the career progression of female officers. They found gender was not a relevant factor in constructs relating to effective performance. However, constructs adopted by members of the police force had the indirect effect of impeding upon the progression of women due to wider socio-cultural factors. In other words, structure was a more important factor than outright sexism. Another example is Laming's (2006) research in which he used PCT to unveil the constructs of male perpetrators of violence, which he found to be linked to patriarchal notions of power and gender. This finding is particularly relevant to this research because structural inequality is a major underlying cause of prostitution, a fact that is acknowledged on both sides of the political debate on prostitution (O'Neill and Campbell 2011).

Repertory Grid as a Sociological Tool

These studies underline the effectiveness of repertory grid in obtaining insights in how and why people think and act the way they do. The benefits of such an approach are not limited to psychology. In any situation where

individual perception is relevant to a phenomenon, repertory grid technique provides a useful tool for fully understanding this perspective and thus addressing it in relation to their experiences and their relationship to others. Although its range of use, both potential and previous, is not limited to these examples, they serve to demonstrate the ways in which PCT and repertory grid are potential tools for researchers in the field of sociology.

A consideration of the contribution of repertory grid technique in contrast to the frequently used techniques of semi-structured interviews or ethnographic observation, underlines the potential of the technique in allowing a researcher to explore beneath the surface of what is said by research participants. The technique was chosen for this research in order to gain an insight into the emotional dynamics for women as they transition out of the industry in a way that offered deeper insight into their emotions and experiences as understood by them. Underpinning this is the assumption that the way these women make sense of the world, and the relationship of this to their identity, directly impacts on their ability to make and sustain change.

5. Methodology

Introduction

The research adopted a qualitative approach with in depth face-to-face interviews as the main method. The interviews combined narrative (Maruna 2001) and repertory grid technique to elicit constructs, thus gaining an insight into the participants' own experiences and worldviews (Burr and Butt 1992; Kelly 1955). An international literature and policy review relating to exiting prostitution, desistance and emotions was undertaken. Previous research has used emotions scales to collect quantitative data on emotions (Izard 1977; Izard et al. 1994). However, for this research no additional quantitative data on emotions will be collected in order to avoid using predefined notions and concepts, to avoid imposing a meaning that does not resonate with the research participant, and to avoid the risk that the questionnaires would influence the repertory grid interview content.

The Research Participants

Details of Each Participant

The table below depicts basic demographic details for each participant and background details to their life, experiences, and involvement in the industry. Detailed case studies can be found in Appendix 2.

Table 1

Participant	Age	Race/Nationality	Location	Time exited
1. Laura	37	White British	Street	Not actively trying to exit
Working most days. 1 year of involvement in order to finance her and her boyfriend's drug habit. Trauma through controlled relationship and had just left partner that morning. No mention of other experiences of trauma. Children removed.				
2. Kate	31	White British	Both indoor and street	Exited 18 months ago

<p>Worked first in sauna then street (reports not wanting to give other people her money but also reports acquiring crack habit while working in sauna). Started indoor age 13 after running away from home, started on streets age 15. Currently in a relationship. Children removed. Trauma through family situation she ran away from.</p>				
3. Charlotte	35	White British	Both indoor and street	Exited 5 months ago
<p>Worked both street and saunas. Involved since 16 when a girl took her down as a way of financing her crack habit, which she had picked up through peers. Currently in a relationship. Does not describe previous experiences of trauma prior to acquiring drug habit. Children removed.</p>				
4. Olivia	43	Black British	Both indoor and street	Still currently involved
<p>Involved in street prostitution, previously saunas but she felt too fat to continue working there even though she prefers the clients. Involved since age 17. Entered to earn more money as benefits wasn't enough (living in care). Not a drug user. Single. Trauma through being kicked out of her gran's house and living in care. Children removed</p>				
5. Elle	47	Black British	Street	Exited for 1 year
<p>Exited for 1 year but has gone on the beat twice in that time (two months ago). Entered prostitution after developing heroin addiction in 2005. Family are well known drug dealers and she sold drugs before taking them. Trauma through firstly growing up in a drug dealing family and secondly her partner being murdered. Children removed.</p>				
6. Freya	41	White British	Both street and indoors	Exited for 11 years
<p>Entered due to drug addicted and abusive partner. Involved for 5 years (late twenties), No previous experience of trauma but a lot of trauma once involved in the industry (violence/rape). Son removed but since returned</p>				
7. Nicky	35	White British	Street	Exited for 2 years
<p>Entered due to poverty and grief. Was not using drugs when entered (but had previous habit). Ended up in an abusive relationship where she was controlled</p>				

and severely abused by a gang.				
8. Holly	32	White Eastern European	Indoors	Wishes to exit
Childhood physical and emotional abuse from mother, entered after running away from home. Was involved in the industry before coming to the UK with an agency who promised her more work than she received.				
9. Imogen	38	White British	Street	Wishes to exit
Entered age 18, suffered childhood abuse that caused PTSD. Still working on streets to fund crack and heroin habit, wants to leave but trying to get on drug treatment programme. Has a daughter who has her own place.				
10. Julie	36	White British	Street	Still currently involved
Currently working streets but only on weekends. Used to work more regularly. Works to earn money and does not have job whereas previously worked to fund drug habit. Entered due to drug use about 10 years ago - drug use linked to her partner. No history of abuse. Has children.				
11. Bekki	32	White British	Street	Exited 3 years
Entered prostitution at the age of 12 being pimped after running away from home. Exited because she got HIV. Claims to never have had an addiction (contrary to what was said by other women who stated that she is using drugs while pregnant). Currently pregnant and also has a 4 year old. Is in a relationship with the father who has been abusive.				
12. Gemma	53	White British	Street	Still currently involved
Entered age 13 to make money and after a violent argument with her mother (but lived with her until age 21). Her mother knew of her involvement. Had a controlling partner age 15. Uses speed but used harder drugs when younger. Suffered bereavement when her partner died. Has children.				
13. Melody	33	White British	Street	Wishes to exit
Still involved but has cut down as no longer a heroin user so answers 'yes and no' to whether still involved - now just does for extra money. Entered 8 years				

ago due to drug use and not wanting to work or shoplift (too vulnerable to criminal charges). Homeless at 13, got addicted through a much older man when she was 13 he was 34. Originally she financed this by shoplifting. Two children removed a year ago because of violent partner.				
14. Louise	61	White British	Street	Still currently involved
Has been involved since 19. Was raped and subsequently ran away from home at 16. Was homeless when entered prostitution. No drug habit. Unable to have children. Previously worked in care work.				
15. Dani	44	White British	Both street and indoor	Exited for 2 years
Exited from street prostitution and drug addiction 2 years ago. Involved on street since 1989 but in sex industry for a paedophile ring since age 13. Experience of sexual abuse from brother, father heavy drinker, mother mental health issues. Had very violent relationship. Entered due to poverty and being introduced by a friend				
16. Pauline	49	White British	Indoors	Exited two months ago
Entered through an abusive/grooming partner in 2010. Previous history of abuse as a child plus very abusive relationship in 30s. Cocaine use during her involvement, partner also cocaine user and she was paying for it. Broke up with partner in 2011 due to threatening behaviour as he and his associates wanted her to become a drug mule. Subsequently worked for an agency and had threatening experiences while involved				
17. Rachel	26	White British	Both indoor and street	Still currently involved
Son got adopted as she had a drink problem. Not a drug user. Involved since the age of 15 when she was drunk and a man made her an offer and she thought it was an easy way to make money. Says her childhood was disturbed and never knew her dad. Stopped being heavily involved a few months ago - exited because she was getting ill with the drinking and finding things hard.				
18. Steph	30	White British	Both indoor and street	Wishes to exit
Entered prostitution 2 years ago when she came out of prison having developed a heroin habit in prison. She was in prison for shoplifting. Currently				

works street, tried saunas but didn't want to pay feels and felt less safe as less choice over clients. Wants to exit. History of rape and violence, became very violent herself when involved in drugs and prostitution.				
19. Tina	20	White British	Street	Wishes to exit
Involved in street prostitution irregularly, looking for alternative work. Entered as a way of making money and through boredom. Difficult relationship with her mum and lived in a hostel at one time.				
20. Una	25	White British	Both indoor and street	Wishes to exit
Entered at age 17 escorting, stopped five years ago at the request of her partner but entered street prostitution recently as broke up with partner and has lost her methadone prescription. Describes having had a bad upbringing, having been left by her mother at age 11 who didn't seek custody of her, only her sisters. Her mum punched her. Smoking weed from age 11. Went to prison for 18 months before meeting her partner who asked her to stop escorting. Raped at age 15 when still a virgin.				
21. Val	28	Brazilian	Indoors	Wishes to exit
Involved since 2005, had a period of non-involvement while with husband but returned to the industry when relationship broke down in 2012. Wants to leave when earned enough money.				
22. Anna	27	Black British	Both indoor and street	Exited 1 year ago
Reduced involvement 2 years ago due to a romantic relationship, immediately prior to this she had shifted into escorting and enjoyed this. Describes herself as 'dabbling in and out of it'. Crack user. Entered aged 13 but became more involved at 15 in order to fund drugs. Mum moved away when she was 15.				
23. Gina	41	White British	Both indoor and street	Exited 4 years ago
Entered aged 24 (with 5 year old daughter) through escorting for the money but around the same time developed a crack habit and after 4 years ended up working on the streets. Exited when pregnant with her son aged 37. Dad heroin addict and mother alcoholic and was in a children's home.				

24. Rose	34	Black British	Street	Exited for 3 years
Entered 12 years ago having been involved for 8/9 years. Became involved due to crack cocaine addiction and had just lost her children. Grew up in a crack house.				
25. Christina	53	Black British/ West Indian	Street	Exited for 2 years
Became involved in 2006 due to being homeless and found a way in through women she knew. Started using drugs to numb involvement in the industry. Homelessness was a result of domestic violence that was so bad that she had the side of her face replaced, she was in this relationship for ten years. Last time she was involved was one month ago to use drugs but she has been mainly out of street work since leaving prison two years ago, has been getting support from gatekeeper service since this time and has got to a stage of the structured programme where she is ready to disengage and move on.				
26. Natalie	37	Black British	Street	Exited for 3 years
Exited but has been up and down with relapses - about 4 of them - and the last time was 18 months prior to the interview. Drug use lead to involvement in the industry about 12 years ago. Became involved in drugs through the people she was around in the area she lived in. Never stood on the street instead would identify and approach punters. Was raped in 1993 as a result of her drug use by housing a crack dealer.				
27. Amy	25	Black British	Street	Exited for 3 years
Entered aged 13 through a family friend who was 36 and paid her for sex. Raped age 15 and became his girlfriend. Started smoking crack aged 15 and this accelerated her involvement in the industry. Unstable home life – mother had mental health issues – abused by foster brother at age 9. Street but wouldn't stand on corners would patrol and approach people. Exited a few years ago but has still been in and out. Feels it is not part of her life anymore. She is not earning but is involved in volunteer projects.				
28. Jane	45	White British	Street	Wishes to exit
Entered aged 28 to support her addiction to heroin. She started heroin use aged 14 after running away from home due to parental separation and emotional				

fallout with mother. Started using heroin when living in a squat, her sister was also living there and started using independently as her boyfriend was keeping them apart as sisters. Dad was very violent to her mum. Ended up in an abusive relationship herself at age 17. Split with husband aged 19 and was celibate for 9 years and then got raped six months before entering the sex industry.				
29. Emily	29	Black British	Street	Wishes to exit
Heavily drug addicted but with plans to leave the industry. Became involved two years ago through crack addiction and relationship breakdown meaning she had to fund her habit herself. Someone forced her into her crack addiction. Prior to crack addiction had a normal life. Has been raped				
30. Lucy	37	Mixed Race Cameroon	Street	Still currently involved
Only does blow jobs on street. Became involved 5 or 6 years ago through an abusive relationship and she became homeless then started taking crack. Has been raped long before involvement in the sex industry and tried going to the police but he was not convicted. Did not have problematic home life. Has been in and out of the criminal justice system and was on probation, would leave but can't because she says she needs the money.				

Sample size

Interviews were conducted on secure premises at the gatekeeper services or in public locations mutually agreed between the participant and researcher. The research involved repertory grid interviews of 30 women. 16 of these women continued to be involved in the industry and 14 were exited (for further discussion of this categorisation see subsequent chapter on stages of exit):

Table 2

	Frequency
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Not actively trying to exit	7
Wish to exit but continued or sporadic involvement	9
0-6 months exited	4
6 months - 2 years exited	6
More than 2 years exited	4
Total	30

This sample size ensured that there is a modest base from which to make empirical observations, while limiting numbers so that interviews can take place within the time constraints of the research (Patton 2002) and to make analysis manageable (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). Interviewing to saturation is thought of as proper practice in qualitative interviewing methods, meaning that the interviewer continues to interview until they are not gathering any new information (Mason 2010), within practical constraints. The diversity of the prostitution industry means that there were a range of experiences that could have been gathered if practical constraints and issues of access hadn't been of concern. Nevertheless, over the course of 30 interviews, there was substantial repetition in the constructs and elements elicited and some clear patterns emerging. As such, the decision was made to limit the number of interviews to 30. The number was selected with a view to gathering multiple perspectives, at that same time as avoiding falling into the trap of thinking that the more interviews, the more scientific the research (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). As Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) point out, larger sample sizes can actually hinder analysis as the researcher gets lost in the sheer quantity of data. This can lead to generalising too much or missing out bits of data. The aim of this research is to produce information rich samples (Patton 2002) as opposed to quantity of data. On the other hand, because of the diversity of circumstances of women working in the industry (Cusick et al. 2003), a moderate sample size was appropriate in order to capture this diversity.

Participants were selected through existing services in consultation with key workers who already have a relationship of trust and who can take a view as to the person's suitability and readiness to participate, with a particular focus

on preventing harm or revictimisation. However, it was made clear that participation is not a prerequisite for receiving support and that information would not be shared with the support services (see ethical considerations below). In addition, as this research aimed to produce information-rich data, selection and participation was based on identifying information-rich cases through criterion sampling, which identifies those who have experienced or are experiencing the phenomenon being researched (Patton 2002). Attempts at snowball sampling, where participants provide links to other potential interviewees in order to exploit the emerging fieldwork situation (Patton 2002), was not made use of during the research due to the practical and ethical reasons for accessing through gatekeeper services.

Selection and Participation

Bryman (2008) points out that sample selection can have a strong impact on results as it focuses in on the people that the researcher deems most important, potentially meaning that other important voices remain unheard. The choice of who to interview must therefore be justified in the research process. As this research is focussing mainly on women who want to exit prostitution and would benefit from effective service provision, recruiting through services was appropriate because these women already has some need of assistance and they are the women who have experience relevant to the research. However, it must be acknowledged that selecting participants through services could bias the results because the circumstances of these women may be very different from women who do not currently have access to services or who are not interested in engaging with services. Future research is called for that specifically aims at accessing harder to reach women, with a view to understanding whether their needs can be better met in relation to service provision.

Women were selected who are or have been involved in either street or indoor prostitution and who are at any stage of the exiting process – they may not yet have considered exit, be considering exiting, be in the process of exiting or have already exited prostitution. The research aimed to interview women across this spectrum of circumstances but did not specify a preference for being at any particular stage. It is the contrasting

circumstances that were the main criterion for the sample selection overall. For example, women who hadn't considered exit provided a useful contrast to those who were motivated to leave. The sample also aimed to include women from a range of environments, such as working on the street, independently from flats, and from saunas in order to understand the similarities and differences between different kinds of involvement in prostitution, particularly the relationship between indoors and off street.

Access

Barriers to access were twofold: firstly, a financial climate that had recently seen the closure of many services that would previously have been willing gatekeeper services and for the remaining services, scarcity and pressures on staff so that they did not have the resources to engage with my research. Secondly, a lack of services that attempted to access or came into contact with women working indoors. As such, it was difficult to gain access to any women, and even harder to find participants who had worked indoors as opposed to street. I attempted to access these women directly through brothels; however, I found that women working at these institutions did not have the opportunity or willingness to be interviewed and that managers would not give permission for me to speak to them. As such, the participants in this research represent the small number of women who are willing and able to access sources of support. One possible explanation for this is that outreach services are better able to access women working on street. Another reason is that women working indoors appeared likely to only consider working with services on sexual health issues and did not seek out other forms of support. Further, very little is known about indoor prostitution in comparison to street prostitution and subsequently service provision has not learned to access and respond to the needs of these women in the same way.

Politics and Ethos

A number of the gatekeeper services did not have dedicated exiting services, focussing more on a harm minimisation approach. In these services, it was harder to access women who were going through the process of exit. The

women interviewed frequently stated that they had not had a discussion about leaving the industry with the service provider. In contrast, where women going through the exiting process, or having exited, were interviewed, these were mainly concentrated in programmes that specifically aimed to help women to do so.

The gathering of the interview data took place in a highly charged political climate in relation to prostitution policy and practice. Many services and practitioners are heavily influenced by a 'sex worker rights' rhetoric that is hostile to any discussion of 'exit' and prefers to limit service provision to 'harm minimisation' (see literature review for a discussion of the politics of prostitution policy). As such, several services that I got in touch with were hostile to the very idea of researching 'exit' and I encountered many outright refusals. In addition, early on I changed my language to be as politically neutral as possible, stating that I was researching 'leaving the sex industry' so as not to encounter the political bias that is associated with use of either the term 'prostitution' or 'sex work'. I also incorporated this into my interview practice, asking the women I interviewed what language they would prefer me to use. The women themselves were frequently less politically motivated and neutral on what language they preferred.

The politics of the gatekeeper service providers also impacted the participants insofar as 'exit' (or 'leaving the industry') were not always topics that were openly discussed or encouraged at the services. Hence, the focus of my interview was not one that they had ever been invited to seriously consider. In one particular organisation, for example, although help would be offered if requested, the general belief was that no one could even think about leaving before other issues (drug use, accommodation) had been addressed. The majority of the women interviewed at these services also embodied a sense of inevitability about their continued involvement.

In addition to political barriers, there were also variations in the participation of the gatekeeper services in helping to set up interviews. The number of women participating would be in direct correlation to firstly, the number of women through their doors, and secondly, the active engagement of staff in facilitating introductions and opportunities for interview. Many interviews were arranged that did not in fact occur because of the circumstances of the

women, some of whom could not be relied upon to keep appointments. This was to be expected as part of the process. However, the services who were most committed to the research (finding it interesting or potentially informative) were the ones who were more successful in arranging interviews. Without the support of gatekeepers, it was very difficult to ensure that any interviews would actually occur. In addition, conducting interviews in a safe and familiar environment was more likely to encourage participation.

The context of the interviews varied across the organisations, some were drop-in centres, some were interviews that had been specifically scheduled, and some took place on residential premises. The below outlines the context in which each interview was conducted:

Table 3

Service	Number of Participants (interview number)	Context of interview
1	6 (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7)	At drop-in centre in a house away from red light district
1	1 (5)	In home, arranged by service who provided transport to and from the address
2	1 (8)	Appointment arranged by service, held at service in town centre, also picked up condoms
3	12 (9,10,11,12,13 , 14,15,16,17,18, 19,20)	Held at drop-in service in red light district frequented by a number of kerb crawlers, with women working directly outside of the service and many attendees at drop-in coming in during a period of work
3	1 (21)	Held in back room of brothel (organised by service that has a relationship with the brothel through providing health information)

4	1 (22)	Interview at drop-in centre close to red light district but appointment arranged. Most women attending drop-in centre have continued involvement in the industry and may drop-in during a period of work
4	2 (23,24)	Initial introduction through service, followed up by telephone due to logistical problems, interviewees were at home
5	2 (25,26)	At residential premises at service for women who are ready to move into more independent living
5	4 (27,28,29,30)	At residential premises at service for women who are in early stages of change or urgently need accommodation

Diversity balanced with commonalities

The interview process included gathering general background information, such as basic demographic information and histories of involvement in prostitution, involvement with the criminal justice system and other factors such as family relationships, drug use, length of involvement etc. However, aside from some preliminary questions on age, length of involvement, and circumstances of entry into prostitution, this was lead by participants as they discussed aspects of their involvement and non-involvement in the industry – and as such the information gathered largely focussed on the aspects of their life that were relevant to their own particular narrative. This information was gathered in order to address the diversity of circumstances and intertwining factors that impact on these women’s life as called for by O’Neill and Campbell (2011) who argue that it is necessary to illuminate ‘the structural and relational interconnections of gender, class, sexuality, and space/place found in women’s narratives of desistance’ (p1). However, this research also aimed to draw out commonalities between the experiences of these women in recognition of the fact that services should be able to respond through service provision to both commonalities and individual factors (Baker et al. 2010; Matthews and Easton 2011). As stated above, the idea that individuals each have a unique set of circumstances does not preclude a researcher

from identifying the mechanisms that impact on outcomes in any contingent set of circumstances (Sayer 1992) and thus develop generalizable findings.

Generalizability

Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that representative sampling is not necessary in qualitative research as it does not reflect the aim of the research. It is nevertheless important to sample in a way that enhances generalizability. Sayer (1992) supports the idea that being generalizable and being representative are not the same concerns. He argues that the validity of qualitative research rests in understanding how a person relates to their environment and the way different contingencies influence this relationship. The aim is to understand the causal mechanisms that produce effects depending on context; it is then possible to identify practical solutions and respond to the needs of groups or individuals. This echoes Patton's (2002) argument that validity and meaningfulness in qualitative research are determined by information-richness and Silverman's (1993) assertion that the validity of qualitative data rests in its authenticity in capturing the nature of its subjects. For personal construct theory, the aim is to understand the repertoire of constructs and methods of construal that ultimately determine how a person relates to the world and shape behaviour (Burr and Butt 1992). In the case of this research, eliciting personal constructs will enable the researcher to identify the way that these constructs influence and shape emotions and behaviour, as well as the emotional factors that lead to different ways of construing.

As little is known about the emotions of exit, and about the diverse circumstances of women working in different aspects of the industry, it is difficult to ascertain how representative this sample of women will be (Cusick and Hickman 2005) and it cannot be claimed that any one set of circumstances is more 'typical' of women involved in prostitution (O'Neill and Campbell 2011). This research works on the hypothesis that many women can and do wish to exit and aims to understand how this process works and how they can be helped. It is hoped that once dialogue about the possibility of exiting has been opened up, more people will be comfortable in exploring their needs and their possibilities for the future. The purpose of this research

is not to make assertions about the numbers of women in need of exiting services. However, by demonstrating that there is a need for these services and understanding their perspective, we can confidently say that there are likely to be other women with similar needs, concerns and motivations and to whom the mechanisms relevant to exit can be applied (Sayer 1992).

Ethical guidelines

Researching women involved in prostitution gives rise to a number of ethical issues, which have been well-documented in previous evaluative research and are explored below (Melrose et al. 1999; Matthews and Easton 2011). I drew from my own experience of interviewing women in the criminal justice system and working in the field of violence against women and with women only services. I also drew on the experience and expertise of the gatekeeping organisations to ensure that ethical considerations are covered. Approval of the ESRC ethics committee was sought and granted, however I continued to be reflexive in terms of ethical issues in acknowledgment of the fact that ethical issues will emerge and change throughout the research process, particularly when working with vulnerable populations (Boden et al. 2009). For example, in this research it was necessary to reflect on the length of the interviewing process as the unique approach demanded a certain level of concentration and engagement from participants. It was possible to note when participants began to lose concentration and it was necessary to ensure that the grid was effectively administered but within a reasonable timeframe so that participants were actively engaged and comfortable. The research aimed to achieve standards set by the University of Kent, the ESRC ethical review standards, and the guidelines of the British Sociological Association, including avoiding harm, treating with respect, and recognising vulnerabilities.

This reflexive process including constant consideration of how best to administer the technique, taking into account the woman's ability to concentrate and/or emotional vulnerability, and checking with the gatekeeper service on whether any circumstances had changed since making the appointment with a participant and the actual time of the interview.

Preventing harm

Potential participants were recruited through their involvement in services that support women involved in prostitution. Women were only invited to participate where the researcher and key worker at the service did not feel that involvement in the research may be in any way damaging. Women were offered emotional support during the research process as a direct function of their involvement in the project itself. The only exception to this was one woman who worked in a brothel and chose not to engage with the service save for sexual health advice

As women involved in prostitution could be considered a 'vulnerable person' under the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act (1975), I undertook a basic course in counselling prior to commencing interviews because of the psychotherapeutic nature of the interviews.

Protecting the physical safety of researchers and participants

In terms of physical safety, both participants and researchers can be open to threats of violence and intimidation when dealing with this topic as women involved in prostitution report experiencing violence and abuse from traffickers, pimps, customers, and partners. To ensure the physical safety of participants and the researcher, all fieldwork was conducted on the premises of services that specifically cater to issues such as these or in a public space mutually agreed between participant and researcher.

Protecting the emotional well-being of participants

In terms of emotional well-being there are a number of potential risks to these women including intrusion, dependency, distortion of life experiences through repeated intervention, emotional involvement, feelings of anxiety and distress and problems of closure. I was vigilant in anticipating problems, offering appropriate support and therapeutic intervention, debriefing each participant after the interview, and offering rest breaks and pacing the interview. Each of these measures was fully supported through the services available at the gatekeeper service.

While the abovementioned risks were possible, there were also possible positive impacts for the women involved in the research. The interview may have a therapeutic aspect through its employing principles such as empathic listening and witnessing thus prompting participants to develop new self-understanding. Several women expressed the view that their involvement in the research had been therapeutic. For example, one woman stated 'I needed that' and others said that they had found the interview enjoyable as it was more interesting than the interviews they 'usually do'. On the other hand, some women found it difficult to concentrate on the technique, which demands active engagement. It was frequently necessary to adjust the pace of the interview to reflect this, including developing more precision in identifying constructs (getting to core constructs) so that fewer were recorded and subsequently rated.

On-going support

Women were offered support by the gatekeeping organisations throughout and subsequent to their involvement in the research. Women were contacted by their key workers after the interview to check on their wellbeing. Women were also verbally encouraged to engage with the gatekeeper service at the end of the interview and it was explained that nothing mentioned in the interview would be relayed to the service, nor would their involvement affect their ability to access the service.

Preventing harm of the researcher

I undertook training in therapeutic techniques and in methods to release and cope with emotions that may arise through the interviews. I was also be supported throughout by colleagues with experience and knowledge of the issues covered in the interviews. I shared any concerns or experiences with these colleagues, while being careful to ensure that anonymity of participants was preserved. If any situation arose that caused considerable distress, I was free to pause or stop the interview. However, I made use of debriefing as the main tool for coping with distressing content as well as taking private measures to ensure my emotional wellbeing – such as looking after my physical health and taking breaks from the research process.

Anonymity / Confidentiality

Data was anonymised where possible with women involved in the study and the names of all women, friends, family and acquaintances were changed. Specific details that may result in the identification of research participants (e.g. physical traits, health concerns, addresses, etc.) were also changed or omitted. Full transcripts have only been seen by myself – the researcher – and my supervisors. Sections of transcripts incorporated into this thesis, and any subsequent publications, have been/ will be anonymised sufficiently in order that the identity of the participant is secure. Pseudonyms for each woman have been adopted (see Appendix 3).

Regarding the physical security of the data, any transcripts and recordings, monitoring data or electronic files have been kept securely in locked filing cabinets or in password protected files on computers.

Personal data was collected only to the extent that it was necessary and data will be stored only for so long as necessary.

Informed Consent

I obtained written informed consent from each woman prior to each interview. Consent forms and research information supplied to participants can be found in Appendix 3. According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), when providing information about a study, there must be a careful balance between giving too much information and giving adequate detail concerning aspects that may be significant to the participants. In this context, the consent form provided all the necessary information in a succinct manner, however participants were also invited to request further information if required. Please see the consent form at Appendix 3. Information included details of: the research aims and objectives; the purpose for which personal data is being collected; how personal data will be stored and used; who will have access to the data (the researcher and their direct supervisors only);

the voluntary nature of participation and about their right to withdraw from the research or any part of it, or to later withdraw any information which they uncomfortable in disclosing; the right to refuse the digital recording; and that only data relevant to the study will be collected.

Participants were offered information about the research and evaluation process from the outset of their involvement in the project. Workers who have routine contact with the women explained the research to the women and encouraged them to participate at an appropriate time. Each woman was only approached to participate at a point where the worker feels it is appropriate, with the exception of one woman who was not actively engaged in the service aside from sexual health advice. Consent and suitability for the research was negotiated between the participant and myself as researcher.

Interviewees chose either to read through the participant information sheet themselves or to have it read and explained by the researcher. Each woman was invited to ask any questions and seek clarity. Many women simply asked for the purpose of the research to be contextualised and it was explained that the research aimed to be able to better provide services for those wishing to leave or else to understand the circumstances of those not wishing to leave. Many also enquired about the background of the researcher and this was shared – experience of working in the women’s sector and now conducting a research project under the supervision of the University with links to service providers and experts in the area of prostitution/sex work (depending on the preferred terminology).

Overall Interview Procedure and Content

In order to ensure that participants are able to effectively participate in the repertory grid interviews, Fromm (2004) recommends that the following principles are adhered to. These were adopted for the research in combination with the ethical procedures that are discussed more fully below:

- The participants are fully informed about how the interviews will be conducted and the difference with other interview procedures
- They are able to practice the procedure or given time to get

comfortable with it.

- Refraining from making judgements about the content
- Refraining from formulating on behalf of the participant – i.e. Not putting words into their mouths.
- Being open for corrections
- Adjusting to the subject's pace
- Adjusting to the subject's general wellbeing

During the interviews, rapport was established by introducing the research and discussing informed consent, which meant that interviewees were comfortable before the substantive interview began. Relationships were established with gatekeepers so that they could confidently recommend participation in the research as a safe interview and to ensure that the women were interviewed through the introduction of a trusted key worker, which helped to establish rapport and to keep the women safe. In addition, I undertook training in therapeutic techniques in order to develop skills that were useful for the interviews as they focus on personal and emotional issues and I was able to draw from considerable past experience working with vulnerable women, including conducting interviews.

Topic

The main focus of the interviews was the emotional dynamics of exit for women leaving prostitution. The interview schedule and tools can be found at Appendix 3. The women could be at any stage of the process, whether considering exit, not even contemplating exit, being in the process of exit or having successfully exited. Overall, 16 women were interviewed who were not yet exiting and 14 who were in the process of, or had exited. The interviews explored their emotions in relation to their motives to exit, the barriers they face in attempts to exit and what solutions there may be to facilitating exit. The aim was to identify the emotional needs of these women and how services can be responsive to this. Other factors included what 'exiting' means to these women, routes into prostitution and experiences of their involvement. This ensured a coherent understanding of their experiences and the meaning they give to this. This understanding is

essential to understanding the relationship between their beliefs, emotions and behaviour, which are informed by cognition (Oatley 1996).

Elements

A number of repertory grid studies use people as their elements as this is a useful focal point from which to gain an understanding of their perception of self and others. However, Jankowicz (2004) makes it clear that the choice of elements should be tailored to the specific requirements of the research. For example, in the context of counselling, Jankowicz and Cooper (1982) cite the example of using aspects of an individual's personality as elements to explore the self-perception and issues of concern to the patient. Another example given in their research is the use of different mediums in which a woman works artistically, in order to explore her relationship to her creativity and her recent 'block'. For example, in Burke et al's (1992) study on career transition, they used elements relating both to various roles and to aspects of the self relevant to transition - these elements related to specific roles, such as 'myself as a teacher' as opposed to the actual aspects of the role itself. For the purpose of this research, the elements pertained to the aspects of involvement and non-involvement in prostitution and to their ideal lifestyle because the aim was to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of exit for the women involved, as well as their motivations and desires. The specific focus of the research calls for an understanding of their constructs in relation to involvement and non-involvement in prostitution and not simply their identity.

The following elements were therefore elicited:

- Key features or aspects of involvement in prostitution
- Key features or aspects of non-involvement in prostitution
- Features or aspects of ideal lifestyle

In accordance with the recommendation of Jankowicz (2004), a maximum of 12 elements were elicited. A detailed table of elements elicited can be found in Appendix 1.

Triadic Construct Elicitation

As outlined by Jankowicz (2004), the elements were selected in groups of three and the interview participant was asked to state in what way two are similar to each other and dissimilar to the third. Jankowicz (2004) also recommends using a qualifying phrase in order to orientate the participant's answer towards the focus of the research. As such, this research used the qualifying phrase '*in terms of how they make you feel*'. As such, triadic elicitation used the following statement:

'In what way are two of these elements similar to each other and different to the third in terms of how they make you feel'

Eliciting constructs also made use of:

- Laddering to gain deeper insights into more tightly held constructs
- Providing an opportunity for the participant to explore the relationship between constructs and elements
- Rating the constructs

Details of the constructs elicited for each participant can be found at Appendix 1.

Grid Expansion and Narrative

As the repertory grid interviews were being combined with narrative approaches, participants were given the opportunity to discuss the key events and stories that came up during grid elicitation. This was then followed by a semi-structured interview that explored the participant's emotional experience of exiting prostitution. This included an exploration of whether exiting had ever been attempted or considered, how the participant felt about the possibility of exit, their experiences if they had attempted exit, and their experiences if they had successfully exited.

Personal Values

Although not part of the basic repertory grid procedure, Jankowicz (2004) also outlines a technique for ascertaining people's personal values. These tables can be found in Appendix 1 under 'Interview Outputs'. Ascertaining personal values involves laddering constructs by asking which end of the construct pole a person prefers and why in order to elicit constructs that pertain to personal values. During the interviews, this was done during the construct elicitation process itself as focussing on emotions meant that personal values – what is desirable and undesirable to the interviewee - were already being elicited and it kept the interview focussed on emotions. In other forms of research, constructs may be elicited through triadic elicitation and then these constructs would be revisited to ascertain personal values – so, for example, if the focus is on brands of chocolate bar and the constructs are 'soft/hard', 'sweet/tangy' there would clearly be a need to ask about preferences and why. In the context of this research, it was extremely rare that a participant was not already clearly expressing their preferred and non-preferred emotions but if this were unclear the laddering took place during the triadic elicitation. As such, the constructs that were elicited during triadic elicitation formed the basis for the next stage of ascertaining a values hierarchy.

In order to ascertain a value hierarchy, the interviewer uses a resistance to change technique whereby each value is systematically compared to the others. Taking the following constructs as an example:

Construct A: (preferred pole) feeling safe as opposed to (non-preferred pole) feeling threatened

Construct B: (preferred pole) feeling exciting as opposed to (non-preferred pole) always the same

The participant is asked, which they would prefer:

Preferred A (feeling safe) but with Non-Preferred B (always the same)

Or

Preferred B (exciting) but with Non-Preferred B (feeling threatened)

“Would you rather feel safe but things are always the same OR excited but you feel threatened”

On each occasion that a value is preferred, a point is given. These are then added up so that the hierarchy of values can be ascertained – the value with the highest number of points will be the most tightly held.

This technique was adopted in the interview procedure to make quick-fire choices between constructs in order to ascertain which emotional states are most desirable and which are most avoided.

Process Analysis

Process analysis in repertory grid involves doing a detailed analysis of the process of the interview and grid administration. This provides background and context to the data in order to enrich interpretation (Jankowicz and Cooper 1982; Fromm 2004). This stage of the analysis is in keeping with qualitative techniques of reflexivity (Bryman 2008) and focuses on contextualizing the subsequent interpretation of the data as well as identifying issues that may have implications. Matters for consideration include issues of access to interviewees, the location and circumstances of the interviews, and how the technique was received by interviewees. For example, were there aspects of the process that interviewees found difficult, enjoyable, interesting or confusing? Was it easy or difficult to elicit elements or constructs? In particular, it has been suggested that higher order constructs – such as emotions – may have a narrower range, thus it may be more difficult to elicit these constructs and there may be fewer of them (Jankowicz 2004).

The purpose of the process analysis is to contextualise the data in preparation for subsequent analysis, providing background and context, as well as to identify any issues that may have implications. The process

analysis relating to access and politics has been addressed earlier in the methodology as part of a discussion on interview planning and procedure. This analysis followed the suggested approach of considering access to interviews and the location and circumstances of the interview.

Administering the grid and interview

Reaction to the technique

The majority of participants were challenged by the technique but found it enjoyable or insightful. Some even found it helpful, whereas a minority found it difficult as they were being asked to think about things in a way they had not previously. Many participants found the prolonged concentration difficult and at times I would have to offer them a cigarette break or else try to speed up the interview before they disengaged. A few participants were extremely fragile and I therefore took a light touch with their interviews, ensuring that I did not ask them to step into traumatic memories and feelings. When eliciting constructs, negative emotions would be named but I would not seek unnecessary elaboration or descriptive storytelling around the circumstances that gave rise to these emotions. On the whole, this kept participants safe without compromising the grid. One of the strengths of the grid was that it did not necessitate detailed descriptions of experiences.

Each participant was unfamiliar with repertory grid technique. When first using the triadic elicitation method the participants would frequently be unsure how to answer the question. However, after the first round they would then grasp the process and the interview would flow. In addition, I would make it very clear that there was no right or wrong answer and that the elicitation method was being used as a tool for understanding how they think about things in order to gain a different perspective from more common interview techniques. Many of the women only had experience of semi-structured interviews, or alternatively no experience of being interviewed at all. On a few occasions, it became clear that they were used to offering a specific script to interviewers and they would be surprised at being asked new questions. Many participants said that the technique was revealing and more interesting than an ordinary interview. However, some found it harder –

or more demanding - because it made more demands on them to think about their understanding of the world (rather than offer their life story).

There were a number of practical challenges about maintaining concentration. Some of the participants were active drug users or actively involved in the industry. In certain locations, the women would be on a break between punters. In addition, women in the early stages of leaving prostitution could be dealing with personal issues such as having recently left an abusive partner, or facing an uncertainty about their living arrangements. Further, many women were suffering from experiences of trauma and dissociation. There may be a number of other issues that affected attention span, such as being a recovering drug addict or alcoholic. All of these factors could impact on the ability to engage in the interview process and the depth and length of the interview had to be adjusted accordingly. During interviews, I made it a priority to respond to the emotional and physical state of the participant. I also reassured each participant that they could stop the interview or take a break at any time.

Elements

Eliciting elements involved asking each participant to identify aspects of their involvement and non-involvement in prostitution/sex work (depending on their preferred term) in addition to aspects of their ideal lifestyle. In earlier interviews, I would explicitly ask them to identify and list different aspects. However, I found that the participants could become uncertain about what an 'aspect' of their life means. In addition, this section would involve a lot of storytelling that could be constrained by focussing only on eliciting elements. I therefore modified my approach. I would explain that the first part of the interview was about getting an idea about different aspects of their life in order to compare and contrast them later. I then proceeded to question the participant using a semi-structured life course approach, during which the elements would emerge as part of their narrative. I would then review with them the different aspects that I had recorded and complete this by eliciting any missing elements relating to non-involvement and ideal lifestyle in order to make sure that the elements were balanced across these three categories.

I did not set a fixed number across these categories but usually half of the elements would relate to involvement in the industry and at least two would be ideal lifestyle elements. I elicited 12 elements for each grid for ease of triadic elicitation of constructs (at least 4 combinations of 3).

Constructs

Eliciting constructs meant challenging the interview participants to a new way of thinking about their involvement in the sex industry. I did not encounter one woman who had ever done a similar exercise and many commented that the unique approach gave them new insight. However, as suggested by Jankowicz (2004), I found that eliciting emotional constructs was particularly challenging, firstly because these are concepts that are not always easy to articulate and secondly, because as emotions are arguably more 'core' – more related to values and fundamental constructs – there is a narrower range of constructs. In particular, for a number of women, particularly those who had not contemplated leaving, or who were still in the process of leaving, they had almost no language for positive emotions and found it hard to provide contrasting poles to their negative emotions. Although this could make the interview challenging, it did not detract from the data as this phenomenon is interesting in itself. Another notable feature of the constructs was that they were invariably expressed as contrasting negative/positive poles – there were very few occasions where the constructs were contrasting but neutral or both negative/both positive, aside from where a contrasting pole was to feel nothing. This is likely because people generally conceptualise emotions as either negative or positive and their opposites likewise. This polarisation was also reflected in the ratings, where generally the elements were considered overwhelmingly positive or overwhelmingly negative.

The rating of the constructs was the most difficult part of the interview to administer. If I did ratings as the constructs arose, I found it hindered the flow of conversation and also meant I missed out on later opportunities to refine this construct (even if I had laddered, something new could come up later that would shed further light on the construct). Therefore, it was most

effective to do the ratings at the end of the interview. However, at this stage the women were often tired and could be finding it difficult to concentrate. Many women were still active drug users or had mental health issues and found long periods of concentration difficult. This could be true of any interview participant but was more pronounced in this group of women. I found that it was sometimes necessary to limit the number of constructs in the grid. For most women, rating any more than 8 constructs became too frustrating and I would experience hostility or weariness. I had to work with participants to ensure that they did not disengage or become too tired. In the end, I found limiting the constructs did not adversely affect my findings as it ensured that I was more precise and focussed and that I laddered more effectively. Each participant's grid, inclusive of ratings can be found in Appendix 1 under 'Interview Outputs'.

Interview Planning and Procedure

Preparation

Three pilot interviews were conducted with women accessed through the gatekeepers in order to assess and evaluate the design tools (Creswell 1998; Patton 2002). The pilot interviews were used to test the chosen repertory grid method and interview guide for its effectiveness in eliciting information relevant to the research questions. The interview guide was then reviewed for use of language and content to determine what worked and what didn't. Pilot interviews are part of a reflexive process, where it is important to review the relevance of research findings, to review whether the research design is effective, and for the researcher to review and adapt their approach as the data gathering unfolds (Bryman 2008). It is particularly important to assess the design tools at this early stage when the tools are first used in order to identify any problems, issues, or barriers to obtaining the data, before these are multiplied throughout the study (Patton 2002; Creswell 1998).

The pilot interviews demonstrated that the technique was effective and elicited valuable data. It was evident that participants would be unsure of the technique when first asked to use it but quickly became familiar and

comfortable with the process. The most effective way of introducing the women to the technique was to begin the process, with the anticipation that initial elicitation would be slower than later in the interview but without confusing women by attempting to explain the technique in detail verbally. Further, it was evident that rating each element against the constructs as the construct was elicited stilted the flow of the interviews so that all ratings were moved to the end of the interview (also allowing for further elaboration on constructs). In terms of both the interview overall and the ratings process more specifically, it was evident that women became tired and disinterested if a large number of constructs were elicited. The researcher therefore attempted to be more precise with construct elicitation and to limit the constructs to a maximum of 8 insofar as it were possible to do so and remain faithful to the process.

Data gathered in pilot interviews was subsequently used in the research.

Recording

Verbal consent was given and interviews recorded on an MP3 player. Notes were also taken throughout the interview with the aid of the interview guide. The choice to record interviews was made as it enables the researcher to more fully engage with the participant in a conversational style without the pace of the interview being affected by note taking. In addition, as note taking is more overt, participants could actually be more self-conscious. On the other hand, some interviewees may find it uncomfortable to be recorded and this may impact on their answers, or even their willingness to participate (Bryman 2008). Participants were therefore the opportunity to refuse recording in favour of handwritten notes. However, in this research the interviewees readily agreed to the recording once assured that it was only for the researcher's own personal use and not to be heard by others. One potential interviewee raised concerns about being recorded as she was fearful that she would end up hearing her voice on the radio, however, this issue did not need to be further addressed as she refused participation in the research on other grounds (feeling unwell as she was pregnant). One recording was lost due to a technical fault with the recording device, in this case, the handwritten notes and completed repertory grid tools were made

use of. Further, any remembered quotes or significant data were recorded within two hours of the interview; it was fortunate that the technical fault came to light at this early stage.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim, save for the ratings and personal values hierarchy, where the selections were not transcribed, only any additional comments made. Aside from the practicalities of possessing a transcript, this also enabled the researcher to be immersed in the collected data and revisit it, enabling more opportunity for fruitful analysis.

Incentives

Incentives were used in this research in order to generate a sense of reciprocity but avoiding any sense that this was payment and a form of work. This reciprocity, the act of saying thank you and giving something back, is in line with feminist research principles that view feminist research as a collaboration with the participants (Stanley and Wise 1983). There is debate about the use of incentives in research, with some suggestion that it should be viewed as undue influence and can adversely affect the relationship of the participant to the research (Head 2009). As such incentivising involvement in the project to any significant degree could risk drawing people to the research who would otherwise not be willing to be involved. However, as people involved in this research were accessed through gatekeeper services and their suitability for participation was being monitored by a person in a position of trust, this reduced the risk of coercion. Further, the amount offered was nominal – a £10 Boots Voucher - but represented some compensation for their time for women who may be leading complex lives.

Follow-up interviews

The research leaves open the possibility of follow up interviews with a number of the women, some of whom specifically suggested that they would like to be interviewed again. Sampson and Laub (2003; 2006) used this approach in their turning points research in order to identify any change in circumstances over time and measure the impact of this. In addition, Farrall and Calverley (2006) found a longitudinal approach to be particularly

effective in focusing on emotions and how these change, not least because of the on-going contact with the research participants and the relationship built up over time. The longitudinal approach is particularly interesting in a PCT and repertory grid context as it enables the researcher to effectively map change in constructs over time. For example, this longitudinal approach was used by Burke et al (1992) in the context of career transitions as people went through education and training. Grids were administered at 6-month intervals over the course of two years. However, as this study was piloting innovative research techniques and being undertaken in a climate where access to women was becoming increasingly difficult, there were practical and time constraints to conducting longitudinal research at this stage. Future research would benefit from a longitudinal approach that is able to map the specific emotional journey that each individual woman takes as she moves through the exiting process, offering a richer perspective from which to understand this change.

Quantitative Scales

Emotion scales have been used in previous research (Izard 1977; Izard et al. 1994) and can be informative as ways of measuring and identifying change in emotion. The self-reported emotions of participants will provide a useful perspective on the women's initial view of their emotional states before going into more depth. However, although emotion scales have been shown to be valid and reliable (Izard 1977), they are constrained by pre-defined emotions and unable to fully express the range of emotions that are experienced (Parkinson and Lea 1991). They are also unable to explore the participant's interpretation and understanding of the emotions they are feeling. Patton (2002) suggests that it is more appropriate to gather descriptive information than quantitative data that has questionable relevance within a particular context. Construct elicitation enables a deeper and more considered approach to thinking about a topic while minimising researcher influence (Burr and Butt 1992).

Data Analysis

Repertory Grid Technique offers a number of analysis techniques, which allow for both individual and aggregate analysis of grid data and the interviews that shape this data. These methods can be combined with narrative analysis. As has been discussed previously, narrative and repertory grid are compatible and complimentary techniques that uncover constructs and explore identity, meaning and interpretation. Narrative analysis ensures that the story-telling and interactive nature of the interview context is given consideration. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) argue in favour of using a range of analytic techniques in order to ensure a robust and reliable interpretation of the data. In this study, analysis was done through triangulation in order to develop a multi-layered and rich analysis. The data was analysed in a series of stages, each providing a new perspective, so that each method offers both its own stand-alone contribution to interpretation and understanding, and at the same time complements and strengthens understanding in the subsequent stages of analysis. The stages are as follows:

- Process analysis – reflexivity through analysing the way that the data was gathered in order to contextualise the interview data
- Individual Grid Analysis: Eyeball Analysis, Personal Narratives, Statistical Mapping – gaining an overview of each interview and repertory grid individually, including analysing each interview as a personal narrative and visually mapping and identifying correlations and patterns in individual grids through the use of statistical software
- Generic Content and Differential Analysis/Narrative Analysis – thematic analysis of the content of both the grids and interviews in aggregate

Process Analysis

As stated above, process analysis in repertory grid involves doing a detailed analysis of the process of the interview and grid administration. This provides background and context to the data in order to enrich interpretation (Jankowicz and Cooper 1982; Fromm 2004). This stage of the analysis is in keeping with qualitative techniques of reflexivity (Bryman 2008) and focuses

on contextualizing the subsequent interpretation of the data as well as identifying issues that may have implications. Matters for consideration include issues of access to interviewees, the location and circumstances of the interviews, and how the technique was received by interviewees. For example, were there aspects of the process that interviewees found difficult, enjoyable, interesting or confusing? Was it easy or difficult to elicit elements or constructs? In particular, it has been suggested that higher order constructs – such as emotions – may have a narrower range, thus it may be more difficult to elicit these constructs and there may be fewer of them (Jankowicz 2004).

Eyeball Analysis/Characterising Constructs

‘Eyeball Analysis’ involves becoming familiar with the individual grids and their content in order to get an overview of the elements, constructs and ratings. At this stage, is not about looking for themes and meanings but about understanding each one as an individual grid. Jankowicz (2004) advises that it is important to do this eyeball analysis before moving into content analysis (amalgamating the data); it is a crucial stage of stepping back from the research process and really getting to know each individual grid. Later interpretation will be derived from this knowledge of each individual grid, thus ensuring that aggregate analysis is better informed (Jankowicz 2004; Fromm 2004). This process of ‘eyeballing’ the data is common in qualitative analysis more generally; it involves literally sifting through the data. For example, in her ethnography of women in the drugs world, Maher (1997) describes analysing her data through a process of immersion by fully familiarising herself with, and reflecting on, the raw data that has been gathered.

For eyeball analysis, Jankowicz (2004) offers a 6 step procedure:

1. What is the participant thinking about?
2. How does the participant represent the topic?
3. How does the participant think?
4. What does the participant think?
5. Look at the supplied elements and/or constructs and ratings – consider

the relationships between these and characterise the elements and constructs

6. Draw conclusions

Narrative Analysis

In conjunction with the eyeball analysis, principles were drawn from narrative analysis. The interview was viewed as a process of story telling and interaction. For example, when asking how the participant represents the topic, consideration was also be given to what is not said (Hallsworth and Young 2008), how and why things are said, and the overall narrative arc of the interview as a whole. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) recommend asking questions about why a story is told in a certain way (how it is told) in relation to its content (what is said). However, narratives are not just about content; the use of silence or deception may in fact reveal more than the words themselves.

Narrative analysis seeks to interpret what people are doing with their narrative accounts through this focus on both content and purpose, including the holistic, categorical and performative aspects of the narrative (Lieblich et al. 1998; Reissman 2008). For example, in the desistance literature, Maruna (2001) demonstrates how narratives are used to construct identity. Other functions of narrative include narrative using narrative as a form of persuasion, making sense of an event, or to establish a certain kind of relationship between interviewer and interviewee (or storyteller and its recipient). The structural context of the narrative (Weedon 2004) is foregrounded in Holstein and Gubrium's approach; there is a focus on the way individual stories are structured and presented and this is contextualized through an awareness of the structural conditions that shape their stories. This is based on the notion that the storyteller artfully shapes the substance of their experience (structure) into a coherent story that has a particular purpose or aim (agency).

Additionally, it was important to characterise the constructs, attempting to identify core constructs, the extent to which these core constructs are given prominence, and to consider the significance of this in terms of their narrative

function. Relationships between the elements and constructs were considered and placed in their narrative context.

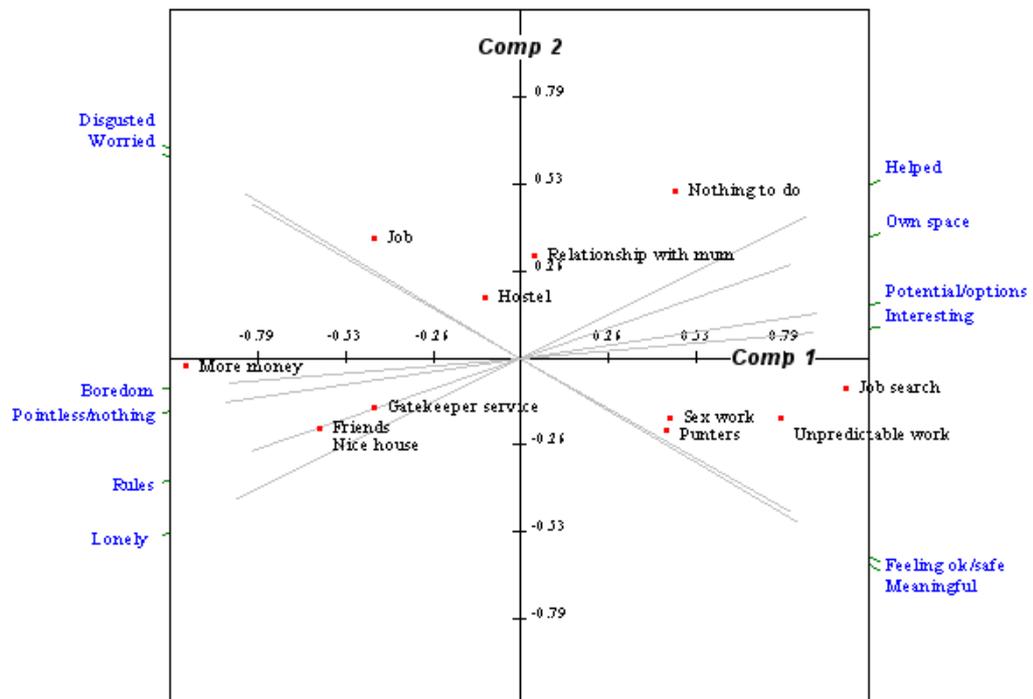
Statistical Analysis Procedure

A considerable amount of information has also been gathered from the ratings procedure; as such, the individual values assigned to each construct (emotion) in relation to elements (aspects of their involvement, non-involvement, and ideal lifestyle) have been captured. In order to utilize this data, individual statistical tests were used. Statistical analyses on individual grids was performed to identify the patterns of variability across constructs and elements and to visually map how they are grouped together and relate to one another (Jankowicz 2004). There is a wide variety of software available to statistically analyse repertory grids. The software chosen to analyse both individual is called 'Idiogrid' (Grice 2002), software that is recommended in leading guides on the technique, and by researchers that offer courses in repertory grid technique (Reed 2013; Jankowicz 2004). This software is specifically designed to analyse both multiple and individual grids, offering range and flexibility. However, its use in this context was limited to individual grids. The key tool of analysis used was a Principal Component Analysis. This analyses the variability and patterns in the ratings. The software is used to identify patterns in the data through identifying the extent to which the ratings in each row of the table are similar to each other and can measure the distance between elements in terms of ratings and correlations between constructs. The two patterns that are responsible for the most variance are used as the axes in the diagram and the constructs and elements are plotted in relation to these two axes.

In terms of analysis, the most important features of a principle components analysis are the following:

1. The dots on the plots relate to the elements (these are labelled)
2. The lines relate to the construct poles, which are labelled at either end outside of the borders of the plot

A Principle Components Analysis takes the following form (*Tina*):



Analysing the graph involves considering the patterns of elements in relation to the constructs. Firstly, it is important to analyse where the constructs are clustered together, indicating a strong relationship between those constructs. For example, above there is a very clear relationship between 'disgusted/meaningful' and 'worried/safe'. Secondly, we can analyse clusters of elements in the same way – for example, having 'friends', a 'nice house' and the 'gatekeeper service' are strongly linked. Thirdly, we can then analyse the way that elements and constructs cluster together. Elements will be closer to the construct poles that they have stronger relationships with. Using the narrative data from the repertory grid interview in combination with the graph enables us to begin to analyse and hypothesise about the meaning of these clusters to the individual. Unsurprisingly, therefore, we find that 'sex work' and 'punters' are close to the constructs 'disgusted/meaningful' and 'worried/safe' – which is also borne out in the narrative, which shows that sex work and punters make this participant feel very unsafe and that she finds the work disgusting. In contrast, the cluster of friends, nice house and gatekeeper service are close to the constructs 'helped/lonely' and 'own space/rules' and support the narrative data, which demonstrates that these elements are strongly associated with feeling helped and having space. Interestingly, money is closest to the construct 'boredom/interesting', demonstrating that financial need is linked to the ability to be engaged in life.

Generic Content and Differential Analysis Procedure (GCDA)

The analysis of repertory grids includes subjecting data to coding and analysis through Generic Content and Differential Analysis ('GDCA') (Jankowicz 2004), which resembles qualitative content analysis (Krippendorf 2003). This technique develops theory inductively from the gathered data – an approach that can be linked to the values and procedures of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Using the technique of eliciting both elements and constructs in multiple grids generates a considerable number of both elements and bipolar constructs, with different meanings and ratings. For any repertory grid study where such diversity exists, there is a need to aggregate, categorize, identify themes, and group meanings present in the data. Jankowicz's (2004) outlines the procedure for GCDA, which involves sorting the collective constructs of all participants into categories of meaning. This is called bootstrapping, which involves the identification and categorization of the various emergent themes, deriving from the constructs themselves. When categorising the constructs, less than 5% should be miscellaneous. Categories should be developed both from the data and by drawing from existing theory. This ensures that, as suggested by Dey (1993), the categories are meaningful not only in relation to the data but also in relation to other categories. It is recommended to reliability test the categories by using a colleague to do the same categorising procedure and comparing the results (Jankowicz 2004), however, for the purpose of this research, familiarity with the interview content was essential for categorising the constructs as they related to nuanced emotions whose meaning was reflected in the narratives. As such, the categorisation was conducted by the researcher and reliability checked by discussing with supervisors in the context of the interviews as a whole.

The identification of these categories is based on the theoretical background provided by the literature review and guided by the purpose of the research, as expressed by the research question. Although the GCDA is intended to be used for the constructs, the procedure was also adopted as a useful way of analysing the elements. Both elements and constructs were elicited in interview and this enabled the researcher to explore the themes that emerged out of the elements as well as the constructs. The choice of

elements related to aspects of involvement and non-involvement in the sex industry and therefore categorising the themes across the elements enables a better understanding of how each participant views her lifestyle in relation to the sex industry.

The GCDA can be found at Appendix 1. Jankowicz's (2004) GCDA procedure was deployed, using his recommended five stages:

1. the identification of the categories
2. the allocation of the constructs to corresponding category headings
3. the tabulation of the frequency of constructs under each category heading
4. the summarization of the table in terms of meaning of the category heading
5. the calculation of the frequency of constructs under each category by subgroup (gender, age groups), thereby conducting a differential analysis.

The GCDA therefore describes the different meanings that emerge out of each individual grid in a way that takes into account every individual construct – as each is pooled, each is accounted for. As such, the individual meanings are used to enable us to make statements about the sample as a whole. The identification of these categories is based on the theoretical background provided by the literature review and guided by the purpose of the research, as expressed by the research question.

The differential analysis – calculating the frequency of constructs according to subcategories - is able to explore how different groups make use of the different categories, not just on the basis of the group as a whole. The subcategories explored in the GCDA were the location that the interviewee had worked and the length of time that they had been exited. These categories were broken down as follows:

Location:

- Indoor
- Street
- Both Indoor and Street

Time since exit:

- Not actively trying to exit
- Wish to exit but continued or sporadic involvement
- 0-6 months exit
- 6 months – 2 years exit
- More than 2 years exit

The data was also entered into SPSS in order to visually represent the frequencies of constructs and elements by bar chart. The following categories were included in the SPSS database:

- Location
- Time since exited
- Age of entry into prostitution
- Age now
- Length of involvement in the industry
- Whether their individual grid mentions each numbered construct category – yes/no (12 constructs plus subcategories were recorded) – for Example: Construct 1, ‘Shame – Cared For’, would either be within their grid (‘yes’) or not mentioned by this participant (‘no’)
- Whether their individual grid mentions each numbered element category – yes/no (13 elements plus subcategories were recorded)

Narrative Analysis of Interviews in Aggregate

Narrative analysis will also be adopted in order to identify common themes when analysing the interviews in aggregate – this will be drawn from the first stage of analysing individual interviews. Narrative analysis will be used to identify aggregate themes using Presser’s (2005) approach in combination with the existing repertory grid analysis:

1. Code data according to sociologically interesting themes – for this stage of the process, the narrative approach was blended with the repertory grid approach of coding through GCDA and then analysed for its sociological relevance

2. Focus on specific aspects of the narratives, such as how the interviewer talks about themselves over time and social patterns and relationships
3. Further develop the themes focusing on constructions of their identity

Presser's analysis firmly places the emphasis on the interaction between researcher and participant, thus the analysis is located in its interview context. This analysis of how the accounts unfolded compliments the repertory grid technique of eyeballing each interview but allows for a broader understanding of the storytelling aspects of the interview. This kind of content and narrative analysis can be carried out with or without the help of computer software. For this study, computer software was not used because using computer software for content analysis risks decontextualizing and losing a sense of its narrative character. The content analysis was based instead upon the GCDA, which offered its own standardised procedure. As stated earlier, many researchers, such as Lisa Maher (1997), have preferred to manually sift through their data and identify relevant themes. This ensured that the process of coding did not interfere with the procedures for repertory grid analysis and instead could serve as a tool to contextualize the GCDA with a narrative approach that identified sociologically relevant themes emerging from the interview as a whole.

Coding is the construction of concepts through the analysis of data, and hence through the observation of the research subjects. Through identifying themes, ideas and concepts that emerge out of the data, the relationships between these begin to emerge and can be developed into theory (Bryman 2008). The ideas, concepts and, ultimately, theories, are born out of the data that is collected. In terms of understanding the social world, this allows meaning and understanding to in fact be *derived* from this social world and observing its realities. Flick (1998) and Bryman (2008) advocate a reflexive approach, suggesting that coding should be located theoretically and data should be compared with this theoretical framework. This can be contrasted to grounded theory, where theory is developed solely from the data collected (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Grounded theorists advocate this approach because it means that theory is borne solely out of the empirical data without researcher influence or preconceived ideas. However, theoretical grounding allows the researcher to focus the research on what is theoretically

significant (Bryman 2008); as such, for the purpose of this research, the data will be located in a theoretical framework through the literature and policy review in order to more efficiently conduct interviews and guide the research.

Narrative analysis will also be used to examine each woman's individual experience in more detail. Particular focus will be given to the themes that have emerged from desistance and exiting literature, such as emotional mapping, turning points, pathways and experiences of exiting. This analysis will also be informed by psychosocial understanding of emotions and change and understanding of trauma and traumatic stress.

Case Studies

The prospect of statistically analysing the grids in aggregate was considered. In order to use repertory grid software to analyse groups of grids there must be some form of standardization. As this study elicited both elements and constructs, this standardization was not present in the elicited grids. As such, analysing in aggregate would involve converting each grid into a new grid using the themes identified in later stages of the analysis by sorting the individual inputs into their categories and replacing the original constructs and elements with their corresponding category – as such, grids would be standardised according to themes. However, this was rejected as unnecessary in the current context. This would have produced the same result in terms of losing the specificity of individual grids in favour of categorisation. As an alternative, therefore, interviews were analysed individually both as narratives and using statistical analysis software. Further, case studies were selected to provide information-rich examples of a cross-section of women in order to avoid losing the richness of the data. Stake (2000) advocates using case studies to explore the particular complexities of an individual case in order to understand the phenomenon studied in its context. The case studies provide this understanding of individual complexity as a basis for understanding the subsequent themes that are identified through GCDA and narrative analysis and thus contextualising the data to improve overall understanding (Maxwell 1992).

Interpretation

Qualitative analysis necessarily relies heavily on the role of *interpretation* (Flick 1998, p374):

'Sooner or later in qualitative research texts become the basis of interpretive work and of inferences made from the empirical material as a whole.'

This subjectivity is particularly relevant where the researcher is analysing latent content, in which case a more interpretive approach will be necessary (Krippendorf 2003). For this research, the role of interpretation is significant as the researcher is attempting to identify underlying values, attitudes and emotions. The role of interpretation cannot be designed out of the analysis process. However, using the repertory grid technique guards against this as it has been specifically designed to elicit the construct of the participant and limit the influence of the researcher on the data gathered (Burr and Butt 1992).

Part 3
Findings

6. The Emotions of Exit

Emotional Constructs

A process of making sense of the world

Adopting the Personal Construct Theory of emotions in this research (Kelly 1955; 1970) entailed a process of uncovering the emotional constructs that were being made use of by women at different stages of exit. In doing so, a number of themes were uncovered that demonstrated the lens through which women were interpreting their experiences, making appraisals and anticipating the future. PCT stresses the interdependence of cognition and emotion (Kelly 1955; McCoy 1977), conceptualising rationality and emotion as part of the same process, and therefore intertwining emotions, decision-making and behaviour. This interdependence is acknowledged in the criminological literature. For example, Harris (2011) argues that 'emotions provide individuals with the motivation that is necessary to translate their belief into behaviour' (p8). Uncovering emotional constructs has led to a greater understanding of the interplay between emotional factors, motivation in exiting prostitution, and the ability of external support services to effectively support these women.

The GCDA procedure (see Methodology, p114) was blended with narrative principles to produce a set of emotional themes relating to the dynamics of exit. As per both GCDA and narrative procedure, the themes were developed through reference to the sociological and criminological literature relevant to the interview topic. Constructs were grouped into thematic groups, with further sub-groups within this category that more finely defined the nuances of this emotional theme. Overall, 12 emotional themes emerged; these emotional dynamics shaped the experience and process of exit for the women interviewed through influencing perception, identity, and behaviour and by serving as drivers or barriers to exit.

These emotional constructs were related to their emotional experiences and, typically, the process of exit involved the desire to move from one end of the construct pole to the other, from one undesirable emotional state to a preferred emotional state. The emotional constructs were all characterised

by this polarity. It is possible when eliciting constructs that the preferred and non-preferred ends may not be so polarised or self-evident – for example, an emotional construct could be ‘excited as opposed to peaceful’ and people may vary on which they prefer. However, for the women interviewed, the contrasting poles were almost always clearly contrasting desirable and undesirable emotions in the mind of the participant. The only exception to this was the construct ‘pain as opposed to numb’, whereby being numb was preferred but not necessarily strived for in an ideal lifestyle. This polarity in emotions is not surprising. As the emotions literature has already identified, emotions are central to human experience. As such, exploring emotions means exploring a part of experience that is already at the core of our humanity. Whereas some constructs, such as more descriptive/sensory constructs like ‘light/dark’, ‘hot/cold’, would need to be laddered in order to uncover their significance to the participant, with emotions their significance is already on the surface, their importance already apparent. When these kinds of core constructs are uncovered, they reflect personal values, and where personal values are uncovered, there will clearly be a preferred and non-preferred pole.

This chapter combined with the subsequent chapter outlines the thematic constructs and elements that emerged from the repertory grid interviews. It will be noted whilst reading these chapters that women at different stages of the process of exit have different relationships to these constructs and elements. These changes over time – and the possibility of constructing a staged model of exit based on the patterns that emerge – will be discussed in further detail in subsequent chapters (in particular, Chapter 8 ‘*The Process of Change*’ p179).

1. Shame – Cared For

This constructs category relates to the desire to avoid a feeling of being judged, excluded and abused by society or individuals – to avoid feeling rejected - as opposed to feeling accepted and cared for. Although shame was rarely explicitly mentioned by participants, a sense of shame came across in the constructs expressed in this category, not only through feeling excluded from society but also through their own direct experiences of abuse and degradation. As such, shame was frequently indirectly referred to, for

example, the following participant describes feeling worried about how she is viewed by her family, as well as having directly experienced their attempts to shame her:

Freya: You know I used to think, oh god, does such and do they know that my mum's got a daughter that does this. You know my mum used to say you've brought shame on the family name you're a disgrace you know what I mean. But yet she still helped me.

There were two aspects to the constructs in this category:

Judged – Accepted

This sub-category relates more specifically to the participant's sense of self in relation to society – whether they feel accepted or rejected. Feeling stigmatised or not included had a strong impact on the women's ability to feel content and their own ability to accept themselves, as well as their sense of personal power. This indicates that feelings of shame can be a barrier to moving forward both on a practical level and in relation to other emotions. For example, for the following participant, feeling excluded meant never being able to achieve a desired sense of 'normality' (with implications of hope and contentment):

Pauline: I think I feel rejected by society. (I: What would you rather feel?) Included. Fully included, and be normal... I don't want to be judged, that is what it is. I don't want to be judged... Things that I've been feeling of being a bit rejected from society, and it makes you feel like you have got limited choices.

Abused – Cared For

This category relates to experiences of abuse or degradation that have lead to a sense of isolation as opposed to feeling cared for. These experiences were often internalised and affected their overall sense of inclusion, as opposed to being limited to their relationship to the specific abuser:

Nicky: I'm angry at myself when it happens (when emotion comes up). I don't get angry at who did it...

The following participant describes how being free from direct experiences of verbal abuse and harassment helps her to have a better sense of pride and dignity. Instead of describing anger or shame in relation to these abusive individuals, it has implications for her overall sense of self. Again, this indicates that shame is a barrier to other desirable emotions:

Anna: To me, if I am going to have to do it, I think escorting is better... It felt better than to stand up on a street corner and everyone is looking at you and throwing names or saying stuff at people and police chasing you every 5 seconds, you have a bit of self dignity and pride within yourself because no-one really knows what is going on behind the door until you let them know.

Shame as a barrier to exit

Several researchers, including Ettore (2007) and Katz (1999) particularly emphasise shame as an emotion strongly tied to social status and values. Katz notes that avoidance of shame is a powerful motivating force, whereas Farrall and Calverley (2006) describe it as a strong barrier to change. The women interviewed had a strong sense of social isolation, guilt and shame that they related to their involvement in the industry as well as, for many women, their drug use. This is apparent in for the above participants, particularly Pauline who directly states '*I think I feel rejected by society*'. Shame as a barrier to change is particularly apparent within this group of participants. In some cases the shame is so embedded that it becomes part of their identity:

Elle: 'I thought I'm never going to change this is me now, I've ended up bad, this is how I'm going to be for ever'

In the data, shame shows up both as external stigma – for example, describing being subject to verbal abuse from the public and even family members - and as a consequence of the dehumanising nature of the work

itself. It is linked to a sense of isolation and emptiness. Many women mentioned that their involvement overall gave them a sense of worthlessness, regardless of whether the punter was 'nice' or 'dodgy':

Julie: Even if a person's really nice whose car you get into you don't enjoy it, you feel dirty, you know, worthless, things like that

Although some women describe being able to *knife off* their *past*, others need more intervention, they are stuck and this leads to relapses. A major departure from Maruna's theory is that his desisters were able to capitalise on their criminal past and draw from it to rewrite their script and new role. Although some women described capitalising on the skills that were required to survive in the industry or using their experiences to help their peers, for many women interviewed their involvement in the industry was grounded in a sense of shame and social stigma and they wished instead to completely reject that aspect of their lives as opposed to capitalising on it. For example, the following woman describes being degraded by her involvement in the industry and preferring any alternative. This sense of degradation did not emerge in Maruna's work and experiences of shame were not embodied in the same sense:

Rachel: I'd be earning money without having to do something disgusting and it is disgusting really. It is. You're selling your soul, you're selling your body. Your body is too special and important to be doing things like that. But obviously in the situation I can't help it... Yeah because you're working in a proper cleaning job or a call centre job, I'm earning my money. I'm not doing anything disgusting. I could think of a better word for disgusting but you know what I'm getting at.

In Personal Values Hierarchies, the women were often able to tolerate feelings of guilt, shame, and embarrassment when determining their personal values. This is linked to that fact that these emotions can be residual issues even after many years of exit – on some level they appear to be the last emotions to be cleared. Women interviewed who had been exited for over 2 years, even more than 10, would continue to describe feelings of both guilt and shame. It may also be connected to a sense of possibility,

whereby these emotions seem inevitable and are therefore in some sense accepted. Further, it reflects the fact that clearing guilt and shame does not appear to be a prerequisite for exit in the same way that feeling emotions such as hope does.

Social Glue

As pointed out by theorists such as Goffman (1959; 1956) and Kemper (1978; 1979) power and social structure can generate emotions and emotions can be manipulated to shape power and structure. In particular, relative expectations in relation to power and status can shape emotions and this can be linked to a macro context, whereby particular groups can consistently generate different kinds of emotions Thamm (1992; 2004). In the data, the women's awareness of their social structural position is frequently referred to as a practical barrier to exit but also an emotional barrier that generates feelings of shame and stigmatisation. This sense of stigmatisation is an emotion that appears to be culturally embedded amongst those working in the industry by virtue of their being part of this industry:

Pauline: Things that I've been feeling of being a bit rejected from society, and it makes you feel like you have got limited choices.

Nevertheless, these feelings of stigma and shame cannot be attributed solely to socio-structural factors. Many women report experiencing trauma and abuse that have had a great impact on their ability to trust and engage in the outside world. Further, when discussing the act of having sex for money, many women reported feeling a personal sense of disgust and degradation at the exchange itself and found their involvement in the industry personally distressing regardless of any perceived sense of their social position.

2. Guilt – Pride

Guilt and shame are closely connected in the participants' constructs. However, where shame focuses more on the women's feelings in relationship to others, this theme focuses more on their relationship to themselves, their own self worth and sense of pride – how they measure up

according to their own internal standards (this is in line with Harris' (2011) distinction between guilt and shame). Feeling guilty could lead to feeling worthless – extrapolating from guilt about specific choices or actions to an overall sense of feeling dirty or wrong. For example, this woman describes her involvement in the industry as self-abuse, describing the action of 'doing business' as something that affected her overall sense of self:

Natalie: And, it's not easy to forget about it as well, because it's abuse, you're abusing yourself, you know, and it's not nice.

When I was sex working I had to be high and have a drink in me, definitely, I couldn't just go out there and do it with no narcotics in my system, or no alcohol. The number of times I've gone out, I've done business, and I've come back and I've been crying, and I've felt like shit.

Only one interviewee took pride in her work in the sex industry, the remainder saw this as a barrier to their self-esteem, or they had internalised traumatic experiences as a result of their involvement, for example, the following participant describes the way she both experiences anger and blames herself:

Freya: If I get up in a negative point and somebody said something like that to me I might go up to them and punch them in the face, kick their heads in something like that... I've got a lot of anger inside me I suppose... I suppose I'm angry with myself for letting myself be treated by certain people for as long as I did.

There are two subcategories for this construct, which differ insofar as one is more concerned with self-value and the other with self-love.

Worthless – Confident

This category relates to the participant's confidence and sense of value – how good they feel about themselves, which was often expressed as feeling worthless as opposed to having a sense of dignity and pride. For example, for Elle, in relation to finding a job she had a strong sense of her own capacity and frequently referred to the fact that she would make a good

nurse. Nevertheless, she was also preoccupied with a sense of 'feeling like nothing' associated with many experiences from her past. This construct – 'I can do it/feeling like nothing' – came high on her personal values hierarchy and reflects a sense of struggle between these construct poles throughout the interview as she discusses maintaining her non-involvement in the industry. Her sense of guilt is also reflected in the construct 'kissing the floor grateful/God's punishing me':

Elle: (the opposite of grateful) it's God punishing me... I get locked up... I thought I've never hurt an old person and I've never hurt a child but I've hurt me kids by being what I was all these years and do you know how (her child) would feel when they say your mum is a two penny whore

Disgusted with self – Looking after self

This category relates to whether a person harbours guilt over their past actions or feels like they are getting things right. It is related to their ability to hold their self in esteem and with love. Interviewees contrasted a sense of disappointment in themselves with feeling more at peace with who they are:

Amy: I would just like to be content with the things I've done. I don't want to be regretting, oh I wish I never sold my body, it is just horrible. It is really horrible and I'm just trying to find some acceptance within myself.

For many women, part of the exiting process seemed to be a growing sense of pride and dignity and the ability to no longer identify with their past lifestyle and choices, distancing themselves from a previous sense of guilt and shame. For example, this woman talks confidently about disowning the parts of her life that did not make her feel good about herself:

Christina: (on why she wanted to leave) I did it because it's not me. It's not the way I started my life out. This is what my Mum wanted or my Dad wanted for me. This is something my children would be ashamed of.

As stated above, Farrall and Calverley (2006) found that guilt and shame are barriers to change, which is supported in the findings of this study, which suggests that feeling guilty can lead to relapse. For example, a sense of guilt can be so emotionally exhausting that it is one factor that leads to them returning to their previous lifestyle:

Melody: I've got a lot of guilt... Because I've got six kids and they're not living with me. I had my chance with my last two... (on barriers to leaving the industry completely) I have a lot of guilt there like I said and...(I: and does it make you give up on yourself?) Yeh. A lot. A very lot... You go back to what you know don't you.

The above quote demonstrates how disempowering guilty feelings can be. Sherman and Strang (2003) point out that people have emotional responses relative to their perception of their status in relation to others and their sense of personal power. Feeling disempowered or losing status will result in negative emotion, feeling empowered or having status will result in positive emotion. This sense of empowerment is extremely important to exiters. Pride developed through meaningful activity and relationships emerged as a strong facilitator of change:

Freya: 'I feel great now because all I get now is praise off people, you know for how well I'm doing... I will have achieved it, I'll have done it and it was all from my ideas, thinking how I can achieve my own business. It'll make me feel empowered. I'll feel powerful and I've set my own business up... I suppose so I don't feel bad and guilty these days because I'm doing things right.'

Some women, did, however, find reasons to feel pride within the industry and in their work. For example, a sense of empowerment could come through working in the industry as a *contrast* to a less desirable set of circumstances such as being controlled by someone else. For some women, there was a sense of pride in being financially independent and in the way they ran their business. However, empowerment can be felt relative to their circumstances and what once seemed empowering may seem less so when circumstances

or self-perception changes. For example, it has been shown that pride can be used as a mask for low self-esteem (Ahmed and Braithwaite 2011). A person's perspective on their sense of empowerment could change once they had built up stronger self-esteem. One woman reflected on the sense of empowerment she had once felt while involved in escorting, which made her feel less 'needy' but which she no longer sees as empowering:

Gina: (escorting as empowering as opposed to a dependent relationship) So when I went into escort work I suddenly found myself like turning into a bitch, do you know what I mean? And I felt full of control with it, a form of power, yeah. So I think that kind of sealed that neediness in me; it kind of switched me... I wouldn't go back for any of it because I know for me to be able to cope with it I would have to take drugs or drink or something, do you know what I mean? It wouldn't actually be me who I am today, it would be somebody else inside me, do you know what I mean?

As such, a sense of empowerment in and of itself may not indicate that a person has developed a strong sense of self-esteem. Instead, the women described acting in a way that reflects a true sense of self-worth and overcoming the guilt that can derail this.

3. Fear – Safe

For the participants there were two types of fear that were albeit closely related, one being awareness of immediate danger and the other being a lack of trust that emerges out of experiences of danger and trauma.

Fear – Safe

This subcategory relates to awareness of immediate threat as opposed to being able to feel relaxed and safe. This subcategory was prevalent in those who worked on street. It was clear that this kind of fear was not necessarily linked to actual experiences of violence but to the threat of it:

Rose: Being, working on the street, you're constantly in fear, now that I have stopped working on the street I don't have that feeling no more, of being of fear and I've changed my life around. There is a lot of difference of being out there and not being out there.

Suspicious – Complete Trust

On the other hand, for many women there was a sense of vulnerability and lack of trust in the world and people around them. This was the feeling that they would be hurt, disappointed or let down as opposed to being able to connect, to trust and to believe that good things will happen for them. This lack of trust was often linked to experiences of abuse or trauma:

Imogen: (on relationships) In terms of my relationships with other people I'm always very suspicious and if somebody you know, I'm always aware you know that somebody's got ulterior motives and all kinds of shite like that. I don't trust anybody

Early exiters and women still involved in street work often held fear/safety as their strongest personal value. For these women, issues of confidence and self-determination were not as important, which suggests that being in fear overrides any other concerns. However, fear was sometimes a price women were willing to pay. For example, one woman still involved in the industry stated that she would rather avoid boredom than be safe. This reflects her commitment to working in the industry despite the dangers of working on the streets in order to earn money to fund her lifestyle. Nevertheless, for many women, the decision to exit the industry was simply a matter of physical survival and driven by a fear that tapped into their instinct for self-preservation:

Nicky: I was too scared, I was too scared to think of the worst because it were gang as well. Luckily a lot of them got locked up for something else.... I went to (gatekeeper service) and I broke down and I told her.... So I didn't really think much about. I had

to, to live and there was no way I would have let him kill me for my baby's sake....

The debate between *knifing off* the past (Maruna 2001) and therapeutic approaches (Herman 2003) also applies to the issue of experiencing trauma. The fear generated by traumatic experiences has been found to affect women's ability to make changes in their lives. As such, fear is linked to self-esteem, producing doubt and resulting in inaction. This links to Farrall and Calverley's (2006) findings that doubt and fear act as a barrier to desistance and that the process of desistance involves releasing these feelings and developing a greater sense of trust and hope. Maruna's redemption scripts provide a positive alternative self-conception that appears to *make the desister feel good about themselves and others* – thus, also reducing fear and distrust.

For the women interviewed physical safety is the easier to achieve, whereas fewer women experienced emotional safety. Of those women that talked about emotional safety this was often drawn from relationships with family, children, and partners and did not extend to other aspects of their lives, such as being able to find work. In relation to personal values hierarchies, trust/suspicious was regarded with ambiguity. Trust was often thought of as non-essential; similarly, some women valued emotional attachment less highly. On the other hand, developing trust could also be highly valued as being linked to a desire to connect with others and wanting to feel optimistic in relation to the world and people around them. For late exiters, the ability to connect with others and have relationships came out strongly as a motivator for change that also helped sustain a new lifestyle. This indicates that at some point in exit it would be beneficial to begin repairing trust and relationships.

4. Vulnerable – Empowered

This differs from fear/safety as it has less to do with danger and traumatic experiences and more to do with a sense of powerlessness and lack of stability. As such, the positive pole of this construct focuses on independence, capacity and control whereas for fear/safety the positive pole

relates more to feelings of relief and trust. This woman describes a new sense of strength:

Freya: I'm bigger than that. I've learned, I've found my voice now... I was scared of letting my voice be heard. Scared of sticking up for myself or my son... yeah I'd have to stick up for myself. It didn't get me nowhere, those years that I didn't stick up for myself, it didn't.

Vulnerability – Strength/Power

This construct centres very much on the issue of personal power, the ability to feel protected, safe and capable as opposed to vulnerable. A major contributor to feeling vulnerable is often the environment (including place and people) that women find themselves situated in. The process of exit involves moving away from this, which offers a sense of empowerment:

Natalie: (on the people she smokes crack with) It's undermining, it's belittling... I don't feel like a mother, I don't feel very womanly, and I don't feel empowered, and I don't feel strong... (the opposite) Standing tall.... (NA meetings) It makes me feel like I've got a little bit more power, because I've taken myself out of a situation and gone to a situation that makes me feel better about myself.

Despite moving beyond some vulnerabilities as they exit, the women were often willing to tolerate vulnerability and doubt in their personal values hierarchies – in other words, they were willing to take risks, often as a result of changing their lifestyles with undetermined results. On the other hand, some women were more highly committed to a desire to feel independent and strong, without vulnerability or being 'needy'. As such, overall there is an ambiguous relationship to vulnerability, at times it is necessary but it can conflict with building a better sense of security.

Turmoil – Settled

This construct focuses more on a sense of chaos, risk, and destitution – things being out of control and in turmoil – as opposed to feeling settled, secure, and controlled. It differs from vulnerable/safe insofar in that it relates to chaos as opposed to a lack of personal power:

Imogen: Well I've got a few things that I need to take care of and including going for detox and that... until I've done a few things that need to be done first; then I can think about the next few because that's when my head gets fucked, more full of magic because I'm trying to think of too many things, trying to do too many of those things and getting frustrated because I've got no control.

This sense of turmoil is used to describe an overwhelming medley of emotions and a state of confusion:

Natalie: I wouldn't say I've got a different sense of who I am now, I'm still lost and I'm still hurt, and I still don't actually know myself as yet... I'm angry, I'm hurt, I'm confused, I'm depressed and I'm sad... I think it's been a bit up and down, I've never really had a healthy balance it's just always been up and down, the scales have never been, you know, it's always been up and down... I've had enough of myself, I really have, seriously.

In a similar way to fear/safety, in personal values hierarchies the positive pole of the construct turmoil/settled feeling was highly valued by those women experiencing chaotic lifestyles. There was a sense that calm was needed before other aspects of change could occur, just as safety is needed when women are experiencing an enormous amount of fear. However, in relation to feeling settled, Brewer's (2011) observation that finding peace can in fact be stressful must be borne in mind. This chaotic lifestyle can in fact become addictive in and of itself and women may not know what to do with their time when no longer living under stress. Therefore despite a desire to move out of turmoil, it is essential that structure is in place to support this

change and introduce meaningful activity (to be discussed in Chapter 9 p216).

Supporting vulnerability

Overall, this construct is more strongly linked to fear and doubt in Farrall and Calverley's (2006) work than the fear/safety construct. In line with Farrall and Calverley, the findings of this study suggest that vulnerability is an essential part of the process of change as people begin to imagine and test their change in lifestyle. The more extreme end of this construct – chaos – and certain forms of vulnerability are not constructive; these kinds of doubts and lack of faith in the future can act as a strong barrier to change. The findings suggest that intervention in relation to vulnerability can be an essential and effective form of support both to manage the kinds of vulnerability that are barriers and to support the vulnerability that comes with change. This is dealt with further in later chapters.

5. Numb – Empowered

Many women described feeling numb as opposed to being able to experience emotion. Numbing out was often a coping strategy or way of avoiding certain emotions. This was often linked to drug use. The following women describe this numbing as essential to survival:

Nicky: 'How did they make me feel? They didn't. I couldn't feel. I wouldn't want to... I don't know it would have been painful to even try and consider... (the opposite to pain) being able to live... I'm angry at myself when it happens (when emotion comes up). I don't get angry at who did it...'

Imogen: (without drugs) My anxiety, my PTSD, everything else would be a lot more apparent. I wouldn't be able to even leave the house or get out of bed in the morning.

However, the pay-off for this is not being able to experience positive emotions either. Many exited women described part of the process of exit as

a return to feeling. However, others still saw being numb as beneficial over feeling painful emotions. Unsurprisingly, in personal values hierarchies, being numb was often a tolerated negative pole, dependent on their commitment to being able to feel. Exiters were aware of the effects that numbing their emotions had had on their lives. This numbing was described as a response to experiences of trauma or to the daily realities of having sex for money. Many women described their decision to leave the industry as a conscious decision to re-enter a life where they are able to feel and care about things:

Charlotte: 'I feel so much better in myself as well, and it's not that, when you're on drugs and working... you're not bothered... you're like a zombie you don't have no conscience, I can't think of... you just don't have a conscience, you don't feel any emotions, but now I do I feel'

Not Feeling – Pain

A small number of women specifically discussed the benefits of feeling numb as opposed to pain, anger or a 'head full of magic' (anger/chaos).

Christina: (on why she started using drugs) Just to blank it out really and to numb me; to make me an ice-maiden that I needed to be, to give me Dutch courage to do it.

Don't Care – Loving Feeling

Women who used this construct discussed the tunnel vision that their drug use and involvement in the industry gave rise to. They were unable to care about anything else. By contrast, they described the attraction and importance of being able to care about things, people, and themselves, to be able to love:

Elle: nothing else matters, nothing else mattered in your head and I know I needed to get somewhere to live and get away from all these people... the drugs, that came first... you, you know me

mum's sick and I couldn't sit with my mum... you can't sit and even look after your own mother

Numb – Alive and Active

Another alternative to feeling numb that was offered in the constructs was to have a sense of 'being' and a presence in the world. As such, numbing out in this construct means to stop being part of life, to stop truly living. The contrast is to be alive, active and able to enjoy life:

Christina: It makes me feel alive again. It makes me feel normal. It makes me feel like how was when I was bringing up my children. When I was living at home with my children and they were going to school and coming in, and me helping them with their homework and things like that.

Emotions work

These experiences of numbing their emotions have significance for the sociology of emotions and the perspective that emotions are communicative to both self and others. Hochschild's (1983; 1998) work on emotions management reflects this notion that emotions are signals and that work which demands that a person distance themselves from their authentic emotions and their 'signalling function' will ultimately damage that people's relationship to themselves. Many women described the experience of working in prostitution as involving a huge amount of emotions management – a masking and dislodgement of one's true self and feelings (discussed further in later chapters). For example, many women described no longer being able to experience intimacy due to having to block out their sexual experiences while working and/or negative experiences with punters:

Freya: 'I'd just blank it out... I think of how, what a good time I'm going to spend my money on. I just think hurry up, hurry up ... now it's put me off sexual relationships. I'm not at all sexually motivated at all....'

The following participant, who works indoors, describes the emotional impact of her involvement in the industry and the ways in which she must hide her authentic emotions in order to provide clients with the desired experience:

Val: This is not right life for others ...physically tired all the time actually. This is like mental, on the mentality, this it's fuck to your head... because you don't ... you don't just work with normal people in here. There's kind of like weirdo guys comes in here. Sometimes you just like what am I doing?... sometimes you just want to punch them but you can't, this is your job. You just need to just shut up and just do whatever they want to do.

6. Hurt – Content

In contrast to feeling numb, this construct concerns the experience of pain and anger, with the contrasting pole of satisfaction and wellbeing. There are two subcategories, the first relating the process of becoming new and the second to feeling whole.

Destruction – Rejuvenated

This construct contrasts darkness, destruction, and feeling hurt with a sense of joy and relief that comes with healing and nurturing oneself. The contrast pole 'rejuvenated' was very much associated with aspiring to or achieving exit and getting out of a destructive energy:

Gina: ...well for me empowered means feeling strong and like strong in where I'm going you know, like, I don't know it just feels like I'm standing on something and I'm getting there. It's like I've been at the bottom and now I'm standing on where I've been and I'm feeling yeah, I've come through all that and now I'm feeling empowered... I feel like I've been scooped from the gutter do you know what I mean? Because I tell you what I would never

have come out of that situation I was in off my own back; I didn't love myself enough, do you know what I mean?

Erratic – Whole

This subcategory addresses the pain that is related very specifically to anger and feeling on the verge of losing control. This anger was described as very real, often having resulted in violent or aggressive behaviour. Interestingly, the contrast to this sense of anger is to feel a *satisfaction with self*, suggesting that anger is closely linked to a person's internal relationship to themselves and their identity, as opposed to simply being reaction to external events:

Anna: (I: This kind of angry, erratic feeling, what's the opposite of that?) P: Calm... I'd feel whole actually.

Farrall and Calverley's work reveals that in the later stages of desistance, a strong sense of peace, relief and contentment is present. This feeling of contentment and rejuvenation was described by the exited women:

Rose: I don't feel that weight no more, I don't feel the pressure no more, I don't feel that pressure in my heart no more that I was feeling for all these years, I don't feel it no more. I feel a bit relieved right now.

However, as noted earlier, Brewer (2011) points out that being under stress can become the focus of a person's life to the extent that they don't know what to do with themselves when it is gone and points out that this needs to be addressed and managed. This is supported by the current research, whereby many women spoke of the draw of the environment and the industry's subculture as a source of temptation:

Freya: 'There's no temptations (in the countryside), apart from the ones that ... anything that is tempting out there is good for you. There's nothing that's a risk to your health out there ...

Alcohol and just people, in general... Always people trying to drag you back down...'

The data suggests that an indicator of maintaining exit was whether the woman sought contentment or, alternatively, became bored and went back to what she knew:

Melody: I went back to what I knew. Cos it started getting hard on my own... Everything, financially, emotionally... I haven't really got friends

Julie: You come down here cos sometimes you get into conversations about street workers and it sort of like fulfils your day cos you're not sat around twiddling your thumbs, you're in conversation with someone, you're meeting someone, you know what I mean

7. Isolated – Supported

The desire to feel supported as opposed to isolated was strong amongst interviewees. Many felt a strong sense of isolation that was alleviated somewhat by service provision, and for a small number by relationships and family members. A sense of being helped gave the women hope.

Alone – Supported

This construct relates specifically to the practical reality of having people to help and support you as opposed to being alone:

Rose: I didn't have my children in my life, you know I didn't have no support, I had networks that I was going to, but you know I was finding it hard to trust people, and then I got into trouble anyway, you know I had a lot of shit going on in my life.

Disconnected – Feeling Loved and Loving

By contrast, this relates more to an internal state of disconnection and an absence of love. This strongly relates to a sense of being alone but is not the same – ‘that loving feeling’ being different in character than simply being supported as it includes a stronger emotional connection:

Charlotte: it makes me happier doesn't it having my family around me and that make me a lot stronger as well when my family's around I feel a lot stronger with them and when I ain't got them around me I I feel really just, I don't know, they help me a lot they're really good my family...

For the women interviewed, love and intimacy were essential elements of an imagined ideal lifestyle. They are strong drivers, enabling a new life to be imagined and anchoring women in their lives once these transitions have been made. One woman described previously having a partner and family life as everything she wanted, and this is the lifestyle to which she wishes to return:

Steph (now back on the streets): (life after escorting) Brilliant... Nice house, money, well my partner had money, and my partner had a little girl... (having a partner) but that's where I had everything... everything I wanted

On the other hand, many women acknowledged that the ‘ideal’ family lifestyle may not be achievable, although something approximating it may be:

Rachel: I just got a chance for a happy life... I can't have my kids with me and I'll never get the proper family live with my mum. So yeah, a proper life in a sense but not completely.

Further, any wounding experiences in relation to love and intimacy can also have devastating consequences for women who would otherwise wish to exit:

Jane: And he says, "So, if I give you the money you need every week. You won't go out?" And I said, "Of course I won't! I don't

do it because I want to! I don't want to". You know?... So, that's why I stopped.... And I was with him for 12 years but he died of cancer.... And as a result of that I ended up back on the street, homeless.

For some women, relationships can be a barrier to desistance, particularly when there is a 'boyfriend' who encourages their involvement in prostitution. Pimps and procurers are skilled in developing coercive relationships that draw women into prostitution and maintain their involvement (Farley 2004; Raphael and Shapiro 2004). For example, one woman who had left her abusive partner that day clearly showed signs of ambivalence with regard to her relationship to him and consequently her ability to move on. Another woman described the role that violent relationships had played in her life. This can be contrasted to the pleasurable emotions that are/would be aroused by strong and fulfilling relationships:

Melody: (ideal lifestyle) A normal life, a house, the kids, a partner who doesn't beat the fuck out of you, excuse my language... (previous relationship) it weren't the best, but it weren't...some relationships are bad like they beat me every day... all I ever wanted to have was that family life... contented, whole, happy, happy in myself... I crave that family

One enormous barrier for the women that was frequently discussed is the emotional trauma resulting from having their children removed and taken into care. Although this may not facilitate entry into the industry, it nevertheless could lead to a downward spiral in which the women have no emotional energy to make the changes needed to exit. The women described having no support after the deeply distressing and often traumatising experience of losing their children to the social care system:

Natalie: Because, when you get your children taken away and you're just left to your own devices, you go off the rails, there's nothing worse than having your kids ripped away from you, snatched. That's what's happened basically, you've had your children snatched away from you, put into care, and now you've been left to your own devices.

The role of love, connection and relationships is a major theme in the literature (Farrall and Calverley 2006; 2011; Baker et al. 2010), which suggests that building relationships may be more strongly linked to successful desistance for women than men (Rumgay 2004; Mclvor et al. 2004). The women interviewed were concerned with the need to move out of isolation. Acceptance, integration and being supported were often highly valued in Personal Values Hierarchies, though some women felt that depending on others should not be the focus of change and they desired to go it alone and take charge of their own lives. For those women who had been able to develop relationships with peers, family, a romantic partner, and/or children, this was a strong source of motivation in maintaining a new lifestyle. Love and connection were strongly linked to issues of trust as well as experiences of pleasure, connection and support. As such, these relationships foster a range and depth of positive emotion, tapping into the deeply held values of the women interviewed.

8. Dread – Enjoyment

This construct relates to whether something is enjoyed, welcomed and anticipated with pleasure or whether it brings negative feelings, often felt in the pit of the stomach, be that a sense of dread, disgust, or the feeling of being dragged down by depression.

Disgust – Enjoyment

This construct describes a contrast between pleasure and revulsion. It was often elicited in triadic elicitation where one of the elements related to the act of prostitution. Whereas some women described feeling numb, others described a feeling of disgust. The contrasting pole, love/pleasure/meaningful was reserved for partners (either real or aspirational).

Rachel: I'd be earning money without having to do something disgusting and it is disgusting really. It is. You're selling your soul, you're selling your body. Your body is too special and

important to be doing things like that. But obviously in the situation I can't help it...

As discussed above, the experience of revulsion while doing the act of prostitution meant that involvement in the industry demands a large amount of emotions work (Hochschild 1983), which clearly lead to this feeling of exhaustion and depression, as described by Hochschild herself who argues that this dislodgement from one's authentic emotions leads to dislodgement from one's authentic self.

Dread – Excitement

The contrasting pole to excitement is described as a non-responsiveness – a feeling of depression or boredom, with a sense of being in a fog or dragged down (this is in contrast to feeling numb, which is more a lack of feeling). This construct relates to the contrast between a depressive state and the feeling of being to engage in the world and feel enthusiastic about life. Although for some this excitement could be fostered by using drugs, many women related this sense of dread directly to their involvement in the industry and the process of exit involved the desire to once again become excited about life and the future:

Nicky: It was wicked. I felt free. Like I could be.... Excited.

Happy. It's like I've been in jail for 8 years but not real jail.

Freedom

9. Struggle – Happy

Overall, this construct relates to the ease and contentment with which a woman is experiencing her life as opposed to things being a struggle, whether practically or emotionally:

Kate: I laugh all the time, I'm really happy and always joking about... I feel strong inside... I've got willpower... (on her feelings before leaving) , it was like weakening on your heart, I

don't know how to explain it to you it was horrible, a bit like a heavy feeling on your heart...

Hard Work – Easy

This construct relates to a sense of worries and stress, particularly in relation to practical matters but maybe also to emotional issues. This struggle leads to a sense of frustration or vulnerability. The contrast to this is having a sense of strength and acceptance so that there is faith in the ability to get things accomplished. When experiencing the negative pole of this construct, life seems like hard work:

Julie:... you just wish the way you feel about yourself, the way that street work gets you, drugs, make you feel, you just wish that things could be different, do you know what I mean. It seems like whatever you do to try and change that because you've lived that life style you allow yourself to feel like that, it never goes, you know what I mean.

Pain – Happy

What is interesting about this construct is that the opposite of happiness means to be in pain. This ties in strongly with the theme of struggle but with more emphasis on emotional difficulties. Happiness came out of the data as a very generalised concept, with many mentioning it as a goal. However, this construct helps to flesh out exactly what this means to the women – comfort, enjoyment and absence of emotional distress.

Emily: You're whole like there's nothing I'm worrying about, nothing. Even if there are problems it doesn't make you unhappy. Changing me, I'm still happy.

In the personal values hierarchies, women were willing to tolerate stress, struggle, anxiety, and lack of enjoyment. These are acknowledged as a necessary part of life, even feeling sad or unhappy was thought of as something that comes with 'normal' life. In contrast, one woman chose not feeling as opposed to pain as her most tightly held value – anything else

could be tolerated so long as she could avoid pain (thus her continuing drug addiction). Further, although many women were aiming for happiness, this was not a prerequisite for exit and not part of the meaning of exit for these women – many women described a continued emotional struggle:

*Freya: now and then depending on how I'm feeling in my head
and then some days I have and probably still will spend days in
bed with my bedroom door locked...*

Their tolerance of pain reflects the resilience of these women and the fact that desistance can be achieved without resolving all painful emotions – and therefore not necessarily with the need of therapeutic intervention as per the Maruna/Herman debate. This perspective that women have the resilience to leave the industry even with residual emotional issues is supported in some of the exiting literature (Matthews et al. 2014).

10. Controlled – Freedom

The thematic construct of control as opposed freedom occurred frequently in the interviews. In particular, woman who were considering exit or recently exited were more likely to hold this construct at the forefront of their minds. Freedom was a strongly held personal value for all participants. This was often linked to freedom from control by others but also freedom of self-determination and lifestyle. Similarly, avoiding harm and abuse from others was of high priority in their Personal Values Hierarchies, which is strongly linked to the idea of freedom in addition to being related to issues of shame and social isolation.

Controlled – Freedom

Overall, the concern underpinning this construct is that of having choice and freedom of self-determination as opposed to living in a way that is determined by circumstance or other people:

Christina: It's about feeling in control again. You take the reins, don't let somebody else take the reins for you because their direction is a different direction from yours...

Suffocated – Freedom

For some women, the opposite of freedom was a feeling of being suffocated due to the presence of rules and boundaries. This meant that some women felt ambivalent towards the construct suffocated/freedom in recognition that boundaries were in fact important. On the other hand, resistance to being suffocated had lead some women to detach from their family or resist 'normal' work. For example, one woman describes avoiding relationships because emotional attachment feels too constricting (but also, tellingly, involves vulnerability):

Dani: Yeah but it don't feel alone... It's alright man, love it [laughter]... I like to choose when I have company; I don't want a man in my life, I don't want the emotional pull of children where they're going to hurt me - I know it's dead selfish ain't it?

This is relevant to the emotions literature on the link between social structural factors and emotions, which includes the observation that relationships can shape emotions. This is a clear example of where family and social relationships create pressure to live up to idealized roles (Ettore 2007) – in this case, the woman experiences this as suffocating.

Dependent – Strong

Other women were more focussed on a sense of freedom not in opposition to direct forms of coercion and control but more in opposition to being dependent or needy – being at the mercy of others in order to have needs met. This freedom is borne out of a sense of independence:

Julie: I don't have anyone else I can go to and I wouldn't do anyway cos I'm quite independent and that, and I prefer to stand on my own two feet

This constructs enriches our understanding of the juxtaposition of control/freedom in the minds of exiting women. In the exiting literature, notions of 'choice' are contested depending on the political perspective – very much feeding into the agency/structure debate within criminology and sociology more widely. What is clear from the elicited constructs in this category is that 'choice' can be relevant in the context of involvement in prostitution – many women preferred to be able to control their work practices – however, its meaning is more reflected in a sense of self-determination and strength that was rarely associated with elements of involvement in the industry.

11. Disheartened – Hopeful

Hope and despair were frequently referred to in the interviews – the opposite of hope ranging from simply feeling passive to having a sense that there is nothing to live for. Hope meant to have options, potential and a sense of purpose. This was closely linked with the interviewees' sense of selves.

Wayward – Hopeful

This construct related to how much hope an element offered the interviewee, whether it gave a sense of potential or a sense of pointlessness that one woman described as a wrenching feeling. For many, the gatekeeper service offered them this sense of potential:

Anna: When I see people here it makes me feel like when you come somewhere to a service and there is a community there is hope for people.... I have come to see someone, I've come to express myself or I've come for something and they're here and they've opened a door. When you open a door for me that's fine, that's just the start.

Purpose – No Direction

Although very similar to pointless/potential, this construct was more directly related to having sense of purpose in a person's daily life – feeling like they are on a path that sets them in the right direction or else completely lost and doing nothing of value. This is closely related to pride, the overall concern being whether their life path has value and importance:

Freya: 'I feel great now because all I get now is praise off people, you know for how well I'm doing... (on her goals) I will have achieved it, I'll have done it and it was all from my ideas, thinking how I can achieve my own business. It'll make me feel empowered.

Amy: I think purpose has been important in my life, I've got to find a purpose for something. Just doing things meaninglessly makes no sense.

The desirable emotions of hope and possibility are strongly contrasted to those of fear and shame. Hope is linked to the ability to conceive of a new identity, as suggested by Maruna and Farrall & Calverley. Many women who make the decision to exit do so because firstly, they have had enough, but also because they are able to recognise the possibility of being something else; by contrast without that ability to conceive of something new there is no sense of possibility:

Laura: (On the possibility of exit) 'I've been in a controlled relationship that's why, the only time I've managed to get away is today so I've never thought about it until today... I've got to build my confidence up before I even think about that, I have yet it's not a close thought in my mind put it that way'

12. Conscious Self – Persona

Although this construct was only explicitly expressed by three women, it represents a key theme running throughout the interviews. Further, it was

mentioned only by successfully exited women. The construct relates to a sense of authenticity and is linked to identity. These women expressed the desire to be who they truly feel themselves to be and to feel whole, as opposed to shutting down parts of themselves:

Dani: My abusive relationship and the cocaine use was almost like a persona that I put on. I feel as if I have a persona inside me that is my work person that is living, and I was very risk taking, I was very vulnerable at the same time. I was very irresponsible. And it is different from, with my children I was a very good parent. Two of my children have gone onto university, one of them went to Cambridge, and they are successful. It was totally different behaviour from how I was with my children... More like my conscious self. Me, who I am.

Val: You don't want people to know about your life so you're more closed, yourself, outside. That's what I'm feeling outside because... I'm very closed now, I don't talk too much with people no more because I don't want them to know... this is like something in a couple of years I want to get rid in my mind, you know like

In personal values hierarchies, women in later stages of exit are more committed to consciousness, engagement in life, awareness, and wholeness. Confidence and self-acceptance become increasingly important. This clearly supports Hochschild's (1983) work on the managed heart, where she suggests that *authenticity* is essential to emotional wellbeing – and the demand to be inauthentic has the reverse effect of damaging emotional wellbeing. Further, it demonstrates the strong link between emotions and identity and indicates that identity transformation goes hand in hand with emotional transformation.

Personal Values

As demonstrated in the discussion above, the personal values hierarchies elicited from the participants are effective in gaining a greater depth of understanding of the values that each participant holds. It tells us what is of most important to the individual woman, what can be sacrificed or tolerated and what cannot be dispensed with. Each personal values hierarchy depends on individual constructs. However, a number of themes can be identified, which have been referred to above but which can be summarised below:

- Unsurprisingly, being numb was often a tolerated negative pole. This was not the case for all participants as many were committed to being able to feel. However, it was still frequently thought of as preferable to feeling more painful emotions.
- Early exiters and women still involved in street work often held fear/safety as their strongest personal value. Similarly, for those experiencing chaotic lifestyles, feeling settled would be highly valued. As such, issues of confidence and self-determination were not as important until feeling safe and settled had been more fully achieved. However, one woman still involved showed that she would rather be stimulated and avoid boredom than be safe – this reflects her commitment to working in the industry, despite the dangers of working on the streets, in order to earn money to fund her lifestyle.
- Freedom is a strongly held value for all participants. This is often linked to freedom from control by others but also freedom of self-determination and lifestyle. Similarly, freedom from harm and abuse at the hands of others is of high priority.
- The women were often able to tolerate feelings of guilt, shame, and embarrassment when determining their personal values. This reflects findings in the data that these emotions can be residual issues even after many years of exit – on some level, they appear to be the last emotions to be cleared.

- Some women were willing to tolerate vulnerability and doubt – in other words, to take risks, often as a result of changing their lifestyles with undetermined results. On the other hand, some women held strong values related to a desire to feel independent and strong. As such, overall there is an ambiguous relationship to vulnerability, at times it is necessary but it can conflict with building a better sense of security.
- In general, women were willing to tolerate stress/struggle/anxiety/lack of enjoyment. These are acknowledged as a necessary part of life, even feeling sad or unhappy was thought of as something that comes with 'normal' life. In contrast, one woman chose not feeling as opposed to pain as her most tightly held value – anything else could be tolerated so long as she could avoid pain (thus her continuing drug addiction)
- Acceptance, integration and being supported are important, though some women felt that depending on others should not be the focus of change; they desired to go it alone and take charge of their own lives. For many women developing a sense of self worth and pride and a desire to feel capable were highly valued.
- Trust/suspicious was regarded with ambiguity. It was often thought of as not essential. Some women also valued emotional attachment less highly. On the other hand, developing trust could also be highly valued as being linked to a desire to connect with others and wanting to feel optimistic in relation to the world and people around them.
- In later stages of exit, consciousness, engagement in life, awareness, wholeness, and confidence/self-acceptance, become increasingly important.

Personal Values Hierarchies show us how these emotional constructs are tied to values and also to a sense of what is possible and available.

Emotional constructs in themselves say something about the parameters of a person's emotional landscape – the conscious way that they respond to the world around them and interpret their feelings (notwithstanding unconscious

emotions and what remains unarticulated, such as the frequent absence of anger or shame that nevertheless emerges through their narrative). These constructs tell us something about the way women actively engage with the world and their values tells us something about what motivates these women on a deep emotional level, what they are moving towards and what they are moving away from. Values hierarchies in particular tell us what is of most concern to the woman at this particular point in time. As such, by understanding each construct individually and exploring the relationship between constructs through narrative and personal values hierarchies, it is possible to move away from a simplistic view that perhaps focuses only on one value— such as, freedom or safety – and instead to see that they work together as a system, with each construct and value as only part of the picture. The implications of this are discussed in the following chapters. However, prior to this, the elements must also be analysed in order to gain an understanding of how these emotional constructs are used in relation to their external world – in appraising different aspects of their lifestyle.

7. Changes in Lifestyle: Involvement and Non-Involvement in Prostitution

Elicited Elements

Participants were asked to describe aspects of their lifestyle when involved and not involved in the sex industry, as well as their ideal lifestyle – these elements were elicited through both semi-structured questioning and through direct elicitation of the elements. These aspects of their lifestyle were then listed as elements and compared and contrasted through triadic elicitation in order to elicit the emotional constructs previously discussed. Therefore, the elements chosen are the aspects of their external experience that are being appraised through the emotional constructs. Elements analysis tells us about the values and aspects of lifestyle that engender emotional responses, what is desirable and undesirable for the women interviewed, the structural factors that affect the process of change, and the differences in lifestyle between being involved or not in prostitution. The following themes emerged, which enable us to map these changes in women's lives and give us a picture of what women are moving away from and what they are moving towards as they exit (and what may in fact stay the same!).

Although in subsequent chapters there will be a detailed analysis of the process of change, Table 5 is reproduced below (and analysed in context in 8 '*The Process of Change*' p179). This table gives examples of the elements relevant to the participant at the time of interview at different stages of the exiting process. It has been produced here to contextualise the descriptions of the elements elicited, as there are clear transitions as women leave the industry:

Table 5

Participant number	Time exited	Elements relevant to current lifestyle
10	Not actively trying to exit	Extra money, Flat, Bills, Having sex for money, Flexible Hours,

		Gatekeeper Service
19	Wish to exit but continued or sporadic involvement	Unpredictable work, Punters, Job search, Sex work, Relationship with mum, Gatekeeper Service
7	0-6 months exited	Sober periods, Gatekeeper service, Friend/relationship, Doing Courses
2	6 months – 2 years	Partner/Family, Stable Home, Benefits, Children, Domestic Role
23	More than 2 years exited	Money, Son, Religion (Christianity), Community – new friends, College

1. Drug/ Alcohol Use

The majority of participants cited drug and alcohol use as an aspect of their lifestyle while involved in the sex industry. Drug and alcohol use was a factor that threatened to pull them back into the industry, with movement in and out of the industry sometimes being associated with whether or not the interviewee needed to fund a drug habit. However, there were a number of women who continued to use drugs or alcohol but had exited the industry. Some interviewees escalated drug and alcohol use as a way of coping with their involvement in the industry, whereas others became involved because of their habit. As such, the relationship between drug and alcohol use was complex, used both as a way of coping with their lives and their feelings, including the impact of their involvement in the industry, but also as a factor that keeps them involved. Many women stated that their exit from the industry came alongside the realisation that their lives had become too chaotic, with drug and alcohol use a major factor in this. One woman

describes the contrast between what she considers a 'normal' life and the life she used to lead:

Gina: I didn't understand how life was meant to be anyway; I was brought up in craziness, do you know what I mean? Like parties and drugs and drugs and all the rest of it, violence, so I didn't really understand that normal life is like a quiet, peaceful, you know, going somewhere having goals and I didn't get that at that age.

Drug and alcohol use was consistently rated negatively by interviewees. However, it also had an attraction as a way of numbing out feelings or relieving boredom.

2. Types and Ways of Working

A broad category of elements chosen relates to the specific details of the women's involvement in the industry – where they operate, what they do, and how they manage their days, as well as the way these daily activities change once they leave the industry. There was a strong distinction made between indoor and street work; however, movement between the two was common and some women had moved between them more than once.

Lifestyle Aspects

Several aspects of the women's lifestyles in the industry were chosen as elements. These included maintaining a sense of standards in the acts that they were willing to perform and taking pride in personal hygiene and appearance. Some noted the positive aspects of the lifestyle, such as flexible hours and working independently. One noted that when not involved in the industry she feels that there is nothing to do. Others noted the drawbacks of involvement in the lifestyle – lack of sleep, unpredictable work, being out in the freezing cold and missing daytime.

Having Sex for Money

Five women mentioned having sex for money as a specific element. This was distinguished from the wider elements of working the streets or indoors.

The actual act of having sex with punters was associated with negative poles of the emotional constructs by all of these women; in particular, it was associated with feeling 'numb' or 'nothing'.

Working the Streets/Indoor Work

Many of the interviewees have worked both indoors and on the street. In general, street work was rated more negatively than indoor work, being associated with fear, danger, disgust, and depression. However, indoor work was also rated negatively the majority of the time, save for one interviewee who stated that she found it enjoyable in contrast to her subsequent descent into serious drug use and street prostitution and because she had a lot of control over her choices while working as an escort. The remainder of the interviewees rated it as safer – less violent and chaotic - but also noted that it was still unpleasant work and not desirable in itself. In fact, some mentioned that they found it to be more restrictive and that they felt more controlled (due to the physical restriction of being on a premises and due to the rules and being managed). These women felt they had more independence working on the streets. The following woman works indoors and discusses the emotional impact of the act of having sex for money:

Holly: (on having sex for money) 'Sometimes disgusted. If I can blank out I think of the money, think of holidays whatever but you are doing on a daily basis you are blocking out the real issue. Because if you didn't block it out for most parts of the day you wouldn't be able to do it because I would just sit and cry and break down in tears.'

3. Criminal Justice System

A number of women chose aspects of being involved in the criminal justice system as elements. For the main part these represented negative emotions associated with an unsettled lifestyle. However, for some women prison represented some respite from their chaotic lifestyle and an opportunity to make change, as well as a place where they felt relatively safe:

Elle: 'I'd rather be in jail than being attacked by them because when you're in jail... because if I'm in jail I'm getting better... whereas when I'm out here when I'm out I've experienced this as well I've been out and I've got better but has only got better because I've just come out of jail'

4. Social Isolation

A large proportion of the elements chosen related to aspects of their lifestyles that separated the women from social networks – these elements were external factors that kept them separate, which would lead to the internal sense of isolation. The aspects did not always relate to their involvement in the sex industry, for example, homelessness, being in care and living in a hostel were frequently precursors to becoming involved. Homelessness was a very common element of the women's lifestyles and was contrasted to their dream of having their own home. Two of the women were isolated from their social networks by virtue of living in a foreign country. One participant, who works indoors, named a number of elements that left her feeling unable to relate to others, including lying about what she does and avoiding male attention. Police attention and harassment were mentioned on three occasions and were associated with a sense of stigma, as well as abuse from the public, which was mentioned by one participant whose grid demonstrated a strong sense of isolation. This woman describes a sense of isolation that is associated with a number of external factors:

Melody. That side of it's pretty good, not really using, on methadone. But my life's crap (I: Is that different to when you were on the streets?) No, about the same actually, just that I'm clean now... I've got nowhere to live, didn't have my kids, people use me... I had my two little kids taken off me May last year.

5. Money

Money was a strong concern for the majority of interviewees. Even where this was not specifically defined as an element, each interviewee made it

clear that financial concerns were the main motivator for their involvement in the industry and a source of concern when contemplating leaving the industry or already having left:

Julie: it was a big shock when I got my flat and all these bills coming in and things like that, I thought 'how am I gonna manage if I don't go back on it' so , I don't have anyone else I can go to and I wouldn't do anyway cos I'm quite independent and that, and I prefer to stand on my own two feet

Interestingly, many interviewees felt extremely ambivalent about money, recognising that it did not have any intrinsic value in and of itself, stating that the way the money had been earned and how it was being spent affected their feelings towards it. Many exited women did not feel positive about money earned through the sex industry, whereas those who were not contemplating leaving or had not yet left, were more likely to rate money itself as positive and desirable and some were attracted to the independence it offered:

Louise: Because I like working for myself and like the other girls are working for drugs and are giving it to their partners. I feel great keeping the money for myself....

For exited women, other concerns had begun to override the desire to make money:

Pauline: I'm really struggling financially. I still get requests to work from apartments, but I say no. It is a big temptation but it is not easy money, people think it is easy money and it isn't. Because I drink when I work, and then I get a drink problem... To cope with the work.

6. Punters

Many of the women specifically mentioned punters as an aspect of their involvement in the industry. There was a strong tendency to distinguish

between 'normal' punters and 'dodgy' punters. These dodgy punters were consistently rated as extremely negative, invoking fear and disgust, and being strongly associated with a risk of violence. This 'dodgy' quality could also relate to incidents where violence was not involved but that were nevertheless disturbing; this was particularly the case for women who had experience indoors:

Val: This is not right life for others ...physically tired all the time actually. This is like mental, on the mentality, this it's fuck to your head... because you don't ... you don't just work with normal people in here. There's kind of like weirdo guys comes in here... like someone who comes here and want me to be like a 10/12 years old girl,.. I have an 11 years old girl, so that for me, it's just like sometimes you just want to punch them but you can't, this is your job. You just need to just shut up and just do whatever they want to do.

On the other hand, there was more ambivalence towards normal punters, who were frequently rated as neutral, sometimes rated as negative but less so than dodgy punters, and possibly even being rated as positive. Some women shared stories of punters who had treated them well, or who they even liked. However, overall in relation to punters – both normal and dodgy - there was an element of dislike, even disgust, and most definitely mistrust. The overall impact of this engagement with punters was seen as negative and extended to their relationships with men more generally:

Freya: 'I'd just blank it out... I think of how, what a good time I'm going to spend my money on. I just think hurry up, hurry up... I ended up with a few clients that became really good regulars and I'm still in touch with them to this day... now it's put me off sexual relationships. I'm not at all sexually motivated at all.... Mainly I hate them and I let them know as well, yeah.... (on men) Not got much time for them. I don't know I'm not that bothered about guys. My son and my dad, that's about it.

7. Threatening Environment

Many of the chosen elements related to an overwhelming sense of threat from other drug users, the women they worked alongside, their peers, and of course from punters. One woman who had worked indoors described a number of threatening or disturbing experiences she had had with clients. The threat of violence or assault was clearly not limited to street prostitution. However, street prostitution was overwhelmingly described as the more threatening and violent of the two locations of working. Many interviewees evoked a strong sense of aggression and violence. This may not translate into actual violent incidents (though many women described such incidents) but is stressful by virtue of a constant need to be alert and a constant awareness of danger:

Kate: it was just getting beyond a joke out there, girls beating girls and that, girls robbing girls, oh it was just too much, they were not only looking out for the punters, it would just, no, I would rather be out than in... it's a terrible environment

Threat as a specific element was more likely to be named by women who were not yet out of the industry or recently out. The element of threat was less likely to come to the mind of women who had exited a long time before, however, it would frequently be mentioned later in the interview.

8. Traumatic Experiences

One of the most common elements chosen by interviewees related to histories of abuse or other traumatic experiences, with many women describing more than one source of trauma. The source of this trauma was overwhelmingly from the men in these women's lives, whether partners, parents, siblings, or friends. In addition, many described difficult relationships with their mothers, including having been verbally or physically abused or abandoned. Other traumatic incidents that served as turning points, both as precursors to involvement in the industry and as precursors to exiting the industry, included experiences of illness, separation, or family death.

9. Recovery and Support

Services

In addition to mentioning the gatekeeper services that women accessed, many of which were not specifically offering exiting services and relied instead on a harm reduction model, a number of women mentioned alternative sources of support, such as their religious group or rehab and detox services. There were ambivalent feelings in relation to these services. Some found them extremely helpful:

Dani: Fortunate. I'm grateful. Really grateful. I don't know where I'd be ... well, I do know where I'd be - I know exactly where I'd be, I'd be on some punters settee beholding to him for what I want – to get me through a day. It doesn't happen these days. I can't rate them enough, don't go telling them out there

However, many others mentioned that they did not like being around other women who were still involved in the industry, or that the services in some sense kept them involved by not supporting them to move on completely and be independent:

Rose: R: No, I didn't get no support with leaving.

I: And so, no one endeavoured to talk to you about it, or anything like that?

R: No, I never had any conversation with nobody talking about leaving the streets.

I: And do you think that would have been helpful to you?

R: Yes.

I: In what way?

R: It would have given a bit of guidance about leaving something that is not good for you and is not right for you, and that would have been very helpful. Sitting down and wanting to hear stories, that wasn't helpful, wasn't helpful to me at all.

Some exited women stated a preference for alternative sources of support, such as church, where they could assume their new identity and separate themselves from the subculture of the sex industry.

Detox

Many women specifically mentioned a change in lifestyle relating to becoming clean from drugs or alcohol. This was acknowledged to involve actual or possible relapse. Being free from alcohol and drugs was strongly associated with the ability to exit from the sex industry.

9. Children

The biggest source of positive emotions (emotions found at the preferred pole of the emotional constructs), such as love, happiness and contentment were elicited from the element 'children' – either children that the interviewees had already had or those that they hoped to have. For some women, their relationship with their children was a strong motivator for changing their lives. It was rare for the financial considerations relating to their children to be cited as a force keeping them in the industry.

Additionally, one of the most traumatic and negative events mentioned by the interviewees was having lost their children as a result of drug use or their involvement in the criminal justice system. Many women who had exited had also gone through the process of accepting that they would never have their children returned to them. All of the women who had their children taken away mentioned the lack of support when this happened and how utterly wrenching it had been. Reuniting with their children or having them in their lives was seen as a source of joy. However, many women were struggling with issues of shame and guilt with regard to their relationship with their children. One woman saw her attachment to them as negative, making her vulnerable, and another saw the responsibility of children as undesirable.

10. Relationships and Connection

Each participant mentioned relationships as an element of their lives, whether abusive (above) or otherwise. Positive and healthy relationships were viewed as extremely desirable and a possible source of happiness. However, there was a large amount of ambivalence towards the possibility of connection.

Prospective Partners

Many women mentioned the prospect of meeting a life partner and/or getting married. This was viewed as desirable but there were also doubts expressed about the possibility of this actually being realised, with many women stating they found it difficult to trust men or feeling that they were too damaged to have a good relationship or that they simply couldn't imagine what it would be like:

Laura: 'P: yeah, at the minute it makes me feel isolated when I talk about having relationships

I: but if you think about your ideal relationship?

P: I'd still put it in the middle because I'm wary... (later) it can either be a safe environment or a nasty environment, that's got two sides to it that has... I don't trust men, no trust'

Only one participant was LGBT, stating that although bisexual she preferred to avoid men and pursued lesbian relationships.

Current relationship

The majority of women were single, however, among the six women that mentioned their current relationship as an element of their lifestyle, this was seen as a positive and stabilising aspect of their life. These relationships helped to keep women out of the sex industry. However, these relationships were acknowledged as being hard work and complicated and so were not always rated as wholly positive.

Social and Family Connections

A romantic relationship was in no way seen as the only source of stability of contentment. In fact, women were more likely to cite other forms of relationship as desirable in their lives, associating family and social connections as potential sources of support and love. This desire for a home and family life grounded in a sense of community was associated with strength and support as opposed to a sense of isolation that was frequently associated with working in the sex industry.

Social isolation is an important social structural factor, a fact that is drawn out strongly in the turning points literature, which suggests that forming social

bonds – particularly marriage – can act as key catalysts for change. This is borne out in the data, which found that a lack of emotional bonds acts as a social isolator, and inversely that relationships and marriage are desirable and strong anchors in maintaining a new lifestyle, as well as catalysts for change (discussed further in later chapters), for example this exited woman describes the security her relationships provide:

Anna: They make you feel good because you've got a partner, well you obviously have to have a partner to have kids, but it's a family, community, your wholeness

11. Work and Activities

Many of the elements chosen related to ways of spending their time and of making money as an alternative to involvement in the sex industry. Both of these factors were a concern, with boredom being mentioned as a factor that made leaving the industry unattractive, and of course, with having no idea how to make money in other ways.

Benefits

For many women leaving the industry they were forced to rely on benefits and there were mixed feelings about this, some seeing it as a positive thing as it meant they were able to leave the industry, some seeing it as not desirable but a necessity, and others stating they would rather work in the industry and earn their own money than rely on benefits.

Training/Activities

As an interim to finding a 'proper' job, many women engaged in voluntary or training activities. These were generally thought of positively, being engaging and fun and engendering a sense of hope. Women who were in the process of exiting the industry generally saw these as steps on a path to something else, normally to finding work, whereas those who were not considering exit were more likely to view them as a pleasant distraction in themselves. Some women who expressed the desire to exit or who had already exited appeared to be stuck in a state of uncertainty where they were unsure how to occupy their time and did not cite any activities as elements.

Finding Work

The single most important element women cited as a way of leaving the industry and as the most important element of their 'ideal lifestyle' was to simply find 'normal' work. Finding a job was associated with feeling settled, happy and hopeful. However, the women varied in their perceptions of their ability to actually find work. Some women had no conception of their own abilities. Others felt that there were simply too many structural barriers to actually being able to get into work. A number felt that they would be forced to remain on benefits forever as they would never recover enough emotionally to be able to work:

Kate: 'P: I'm on benefits, I don't think I'm, I'm not that stable enough to get a job and I don't know if I ever will be... I'm not the kind of person that can be told what to do (laughs)

I: with working, you don't feel confident? (P: yeah) and have you ever had that sense of confidence? (P: not really) and when you are involved in prostitution...?

P: it's just easy to do

I: whereas getting a job is just –

P: more pressure'

Some women felt that they had the capacity to do other things but they were unsure how to move forward, or they were simply not taking these steps due to financial barriers. A small number mentioned concrete plans for the future. These tended to be women who had experience of working before entering the industry.

12. Settled Living

Elements of the women's ideal lifestyle included those aspects of life that would make them feel settled and secure, in contrast to their feelings about involvement in the sex industry. The majority of women mentioned their ideal

life as simple and 'normal', which seemed to mean being connected to others socially and grounded in their home.

Own Place

For many women, having a secure home of their own was a very important aspect of not being involved in the sex industry. This can be contrasted to the associations made between entering the industry and being homeless and the financial insecurity associated with entering and remaining in the industry. Some women who had exited felt extreme gratitude at simply having a place to live, for others this was a dream they hoped to realise.

Normal routines

Many women expressed the desire to simply live a 'normal' life and to have a sense of stability. Normal day to day things might mean driving, taking walks with the dog, fulfilling a domestic role, being part of a community, and being able to go on holiday.

Dream lifestyles

Only a small number of women expressed dreams that were in some sense idyllic, such as living in a mansion or in the countryside. These were often associated with a strong sense of peace and contentment as opposed to excitement or adventure.

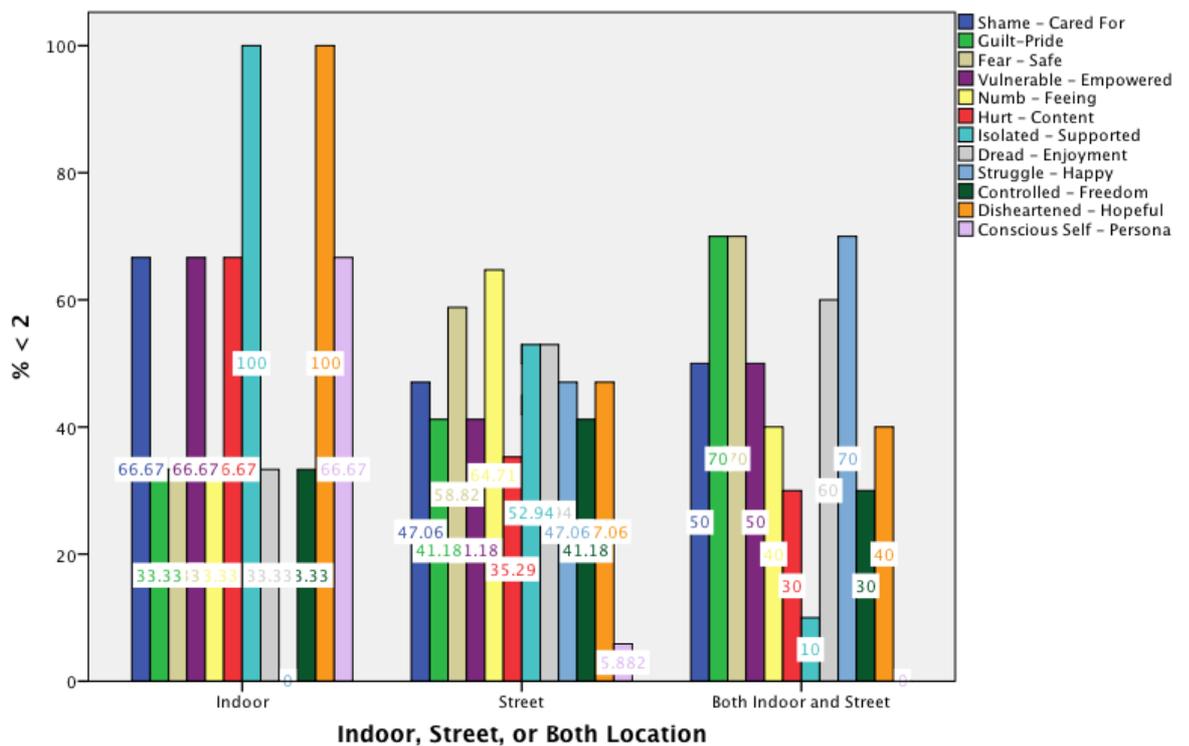
Distinction between Indoor and Street

The elements analysis above gives a stronger picture of how the emotional constructs elicited relate to the external elements of their lifestyle. One element that was drawn out as relevant was the location of their involvement in the industry. Within the prostitution literature there is debate about the extent of the difference between women working indoors and women working on the streets. In this research, access to women who had worked only on the streets was limited. However, many of the women had worked in both locations and some described moving between the two. Reasons given for moving from one to the other were that indoor is a safer environment, there is more independence on the streets, not being in the right physical condition to work indoors, not wanting people to take a cut of their money

working indoors, and moving from indoors to street due to a deterioration in lifestyle and becoming more chaotic. What emerges from the data is that there is no clear cut distinction between the two locations and that a number of women working indoors wish to exit and face emotional barriers when trying to do so.

Graphs 1 and 2 below depict the percentage of women from each location category for whom the individual construct/element arose in their interview. For example, all the women in the 'indoor' category mentioned isolation/support and disheartened/hopeful so their bar is marked as 100% for these constructs:

Graph 1



Graph 2

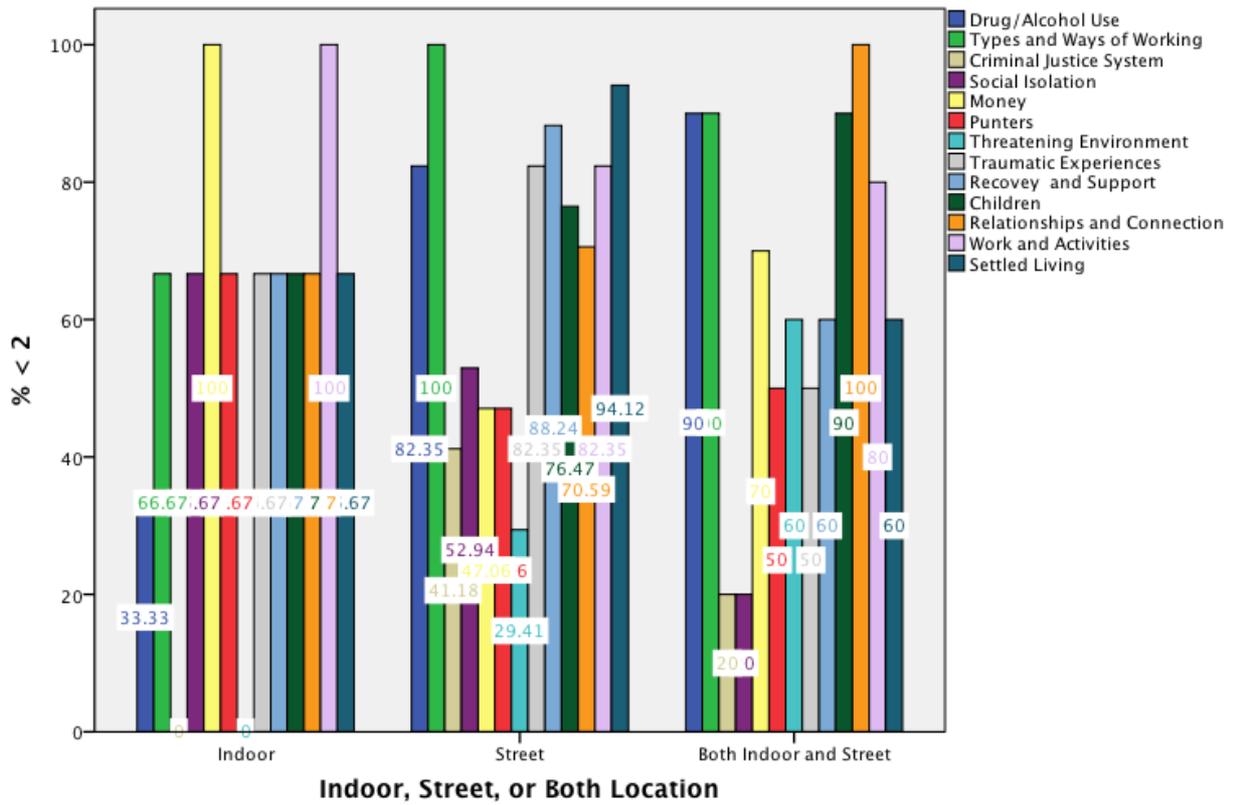


Table 4

Depicts the number of women interviewed for each location category. It will be noted, and is discussed in the methodology, that indoor women are underrepresented in this sample due to problems with access.

Indoor, Street, or Both Location

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Indoor	3	10.0	10.0	10.0
	Street	17	56.7	56.7	66.7
	Both Indoor and Street	10	33.3	33.3	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Constructs:

- Conscious self only came up for three participants and two of these worked indoors, which was an underrepresented group in the data. This reflects the narratives of the indoor women, who described not feeling able to present their true self to the outside world. This is also linked to the very dominant construct of social isolation – which for indoor women means isolation with regard to social relationships as opposed to homelessness and physical displacement.
- For the few indoor participants, the construct struggle/happy was absent, perhaps reflecting less of the turmoil and struggle that women involved in street work experience but more a sense of underlying depression, of not knowing how to step into another life or of not being able to make this happen (waiting for the right amount of money). Their interviews were dominated by a sense of hopelessness and isolation. There is also an absence of the construct ‘freedom/control’ and more of a focus on ‘dependent/needy’ i.e. not overtly controlled but desire to be independent. Similarly, there is an absence of the constructs ‘dread/enjoyment’ and ‘fear/control’ as their environment is thought of as less threatening. Women who had worked in both locations confirmed that they felt less fear working indoors.
- For women working on the streets, ‘numb/feeling’ and ‘fear/safe’ are the most common constructs and overall the frequencies of their constructs are more balanced and with more strands, whereas women working indoors demonstrate fewer and more marked constructs most concerned with isolation and hope. Working the streets is associated with a much stronger sense of turmoil and many in the ‘both’ category describe this turmoil as being absent when working indoors - these periods indoors are described more in relation to unhappiness and less independence than working on the streets.
- Guilt and shame are present throughout in each category. However, for indoors there was no mention of the constructs ‘abused/cared for’ and ‘disgusted with self/looking after self’. Again, this reflects the fact that the women are less likely to experience overt abuse. Nevertheless,

women in both the 'indoors' and 'both' categories describe working indoors as personally and emotionally destructive.

Elements:

- 'Traumatic experiences' and 'social isolation' are present in all categories but sometimes differ in their specific nature as the women were less likely to describe violent incidents that arose in the course of their indoor work. Many other elements were universal– money, children, relationships, settled living, need for support and recovery.
- Drug and alcohol abuse was mentioned as more prevalent with women in relation to working on the streets. However, many who had worked in both locations described using both to numb their feelings regardless of the location of their work. However, street work was often associated with a descent into a more chaotic lifestyle and heavier drug use.
- The most striking difference in elements is the absence of the 'criminal justice system' and 'threatening environment' with women working indoors. This involvement in the criminal justice system was also related to the removal of children into care and the dramatic emotional fallout that this could cause, ultimately impacting on their ability to change their lives.

Changes in Lifestyle

The elements analysis suggests that aspects of involvement in the sex industry are overwhelmingly associated with the negative poles of the emotional constructs elicited. Aspects of non-involvement were generally rated at the positive ends of the poles. It was rare for any participant to describe an element of non-involvement that was wholly negative. This, of course, was theoretically possible and left open in the questioning style – it would have been possible to describe involvement as enjoyable and positive and non-involvement as undesirable and to explain the different aspects of their lives that would make this so. Even in the case of financial issues, there was more of a sense of ambiguity in relation to finances than an assertion

that non-involvement lead to a loss of money in a way that was wholly negative. Another key feature of non-involvement was the inability or uncertainty in relation to finding work but the actual imagined alternatives were not rated as undesirable – many women expressed positive feelings about doing ‘normal’ work. As such, exit does appear to be involve a move from one lifestyle that engenders mainly undesirable emotions to one where the lifestyles offers the possibility for positive/desirable emotions. This is discussed further in the next chapter.

Part 4
Analysis

8. The Process of Change

There is a debate within the exiting and desistance literature regarding whether a stages model of service provision is appropriate and regarding how and why this process of change occurs. This chapter explores both the initial decision to exit and the subsequent process of change over time in order to identify firstly, whether change can be gradual or spontaneous – shedding more light on the ‘turning points’ literature – and secondly, whether a stages model of service provision fits with the observable changes over time in personal constructs, elements and personal narratives as exit is achieved.

In summary, although there are identifiable emotional changes that do occur in women as they exit, this research could not identify clear, linear and discernable stages that women go through. Similarly, while what I have termed ‘emotional turning points’ were relevant to some women, others exited more gradually. This lack of a discernable pattern of change is reflected in the analysis of emotional constructs and elements, which identified a number of themes and some changes over time but could not identify distinct changes in interpretive repertoires that fit into a stages model. Nevertheless, clear distinctions were made between involvement and non-involvement in the sex industry in terms of the emotions experienced and which end of the construct pole these elements were related to. As such, the process of exit for these women could perhaps be better understood as a process of moving towards their personal values and desired emotional states with a number of identifiable themes and shifts that emerge as aspects of this journey. The specific path taken, however, cannot best be understood by use of a stages model.

Deciding to Exit

Intertwining Factors

In terms of the decision to exit and the process of change, there was a lot of variety amongst the women interviewed. Some exiters described a single

emotional turning point – sometimes linked to a traumatic event – that resulted in their leaving the industry and never returning. For others, exit was more drawn out, with reduced involvement or many relapses (often but not always related to drug use). As such, there were variations in relation to whether the change was spontaneous or gradual and the extent to which the concept of ‘turning points’ was relevant. However, it was clear overall that both structural and internal factors intertwined to make the decision to exit possible. The difference between being ambivalent about exit and committed to exit was exactly that, an internal act of will that many people struggled to expand on. It was made clear that this could not be manufactured or forced and required a strong personal commitment to change. These intertwining external and internal factors can be linked to the elements (external) and constructs (internal) elicited in the repertory grid interviews, thus further supporting the contribution of repertory grid in exploring these sociological issues by enabling the researcher to better understand the interplay between them.

Turning points

Turning points focus on external events that shape opportunity and change (Sampson and Laub 2006; Laub and Sampson 2001). The focus is on a desister’s social structural position and the way that structural factors influence their lifestyle and behaviour. In the context of this research, these structural factors were clearly relevant. Opportunity and external events emerged as key factors that motivated change in the women interviewed; these were external anchors that fostered and maintained their commitment to exit:

Anna: No because once you get into it it's kind of impossible, you've got to have something to live for. No, tell a lie, I always thought one day I'd change, one day, but you had to have something strong enough or something worthy enough for you to say "ok, time to change" or slow down.

Some researchers argue that turning points have the most impact on change (Sampson and Laub 2006; Laub and Sampson 2001) and that structural

factors such as marriage and employment have the most influence on desistance and precede any internal changes. Although it is certainly the case that the elements of relationship, family, and children were extremely important to the women interviewed, it is nevertheless unclear whether changes in their structural position motivate this change or whether there is a change in values that shift focus onto these aspects of their lives. For example, many of the women interviewed have children who are, or have been, in care – the loss of their children often had a devastating impact, marking a descent into a more chaotic lifestyle (thus, the external event and loss of this role lead to deeper entrenchment), but these women did not describe their role as mother as a motivating factor to transform their lifestyle. On the other hand, pregnancy was often seen as a strong driver for change and it was clear that family roles in general anchored the women in their new lifestyles, giving them the opportunity to perform desirable gendered roles (discussed in the next chapter).

Despite it being somewhat unclear whether it is external or internal factors that actually motivate change, the women's narratives often described a 'turning point' in the sense of a single moment in time when the woman came to realise that she had had enough of her current lifestyle. These moments can be defined as *emotional turning points* – traumatic experiences or reaching rock bottom – where the participant describes waking up one day and deciding enough is enough with a strong desire to re-enter what they consider to be a 'normal' life:

Kate: 'I just stopped doing it, I just stopped taking drugs and if I didn't have no money I just went without... it was just getting beyond a joke out there... I'd just had enough like hitting rock bottom... it's just draining on ya it's like a weight on your shoulders and when I stopped it's like this weight was lifted, so that's how it made me feel... I just went to work one day, came back home, and thought I'm not doing this any more'

Rose: I was attacked on the street, I was heavily pregnant, and I was raped and I had a knife up at my throat, and I had

a knife cut me across my stomach, so that told me it was time to get off the street, before I lose my life.

What is clear from the data is that, as suggested by a number of theorists (LeBel et al. 2008; Farrall and Bowling 1999a), both subjective and social factors work together to create change and can influence one another. For example, social structural lack of opportunity may be deeply entwined with a lack of confidence:

Kate: 'P: I'm on benefits, I don't think I'm, I'm not that stable enough to get a job and I don't know if I ever will be... I'm not the kind of person that can be told what to do (laughs)

I: with working, you don't feel confident? (P: yeah) and have you ever had that sense of confidence? (P: not really) and when you are involved in prostitution...?

P: it's just easy to do

I: whereas getting a job is just –

P: more pressure'

As such, the evidence makes clear that the structural context in which the women were situated made it very difficult to imagine alternatives and so they remained in their existing circumstances. On the other hand, where their structural situation either offered them something new (family, children, relationships) or became so untenable (violence, trauma) that they could no longer imagine sustaining it, then this shift in lifestyles would become possible. The internal commitment or resignation to their structural situation would shift as new possibilities became available or absolutely necessary. The data supports this notion of the intertwining of both internal and external factors, calling for a response to both when providing exiting services.

Gradual or Spontaneous Change

Participants varied in their description of exit, for those who experienced these emotional turning points, the process appeared to be spontaneous and final. For the following woman, this was also accompanied by a very clear

sense of how she wanted her life to change. This sense of direction seems to have motivated her to make those changes:

Gina: And it came from nowhere. The clock had just gone 12 and I checked in my little mirror, and I didn't know I was about to do this, I didn't cry but with all the energy I had in my body I said, "God please, this time next year don't let me be in this situation any more. I've had enough of it. " You know because I was imagining everybody partying New Year's Eve, the whole world's having a party, and here I am again on drugs on my own, do you know what I mean, isolated? And I said, "Please let me get pregnant." I don't know where that came from. I think because my daughter was pregnant at the time I felt kind of broody as well. So March 24th that year I found out I was pregnant with my son and then the following New Year I was in a rehab clean with a two-week-old baby in my arms.

On the other hand, many women described a slower process of change, whereby transitioning lifestyles may not feel complete even after having reduced or eliminated involvement in the industry. These women may experience the constant threat of relapse, with many women describing a return to the industry and others acknowledging that it always feels like a possibility:

Pauline: I can never say it is completely over... How can I say this?... I've got loads of debts... I would feel like a bit of a failure, but at the same time I would feel like I was doing it for me as a choice, not for someone else.

Even for participants who describe these emotional turning points, there is an acknowledgement that this does not mean that the transition into a new role and lifestyle is immediate; leaving behind the old self is something they feel may never be completely achieved:

Gina: No you know I just think that it's a process in leaving and it's not something that you walk out of an exit door and that's it, you're out of it. You know basically the thoughts still pop in your mind, you still think, "Oh, you know, I could do this and get the money and blah, blah, blah" but and then on the other side of it is, right, you look at people, I look at men differently, you know. Yeah, I'm just a little more responsible about where I'm going these days in my life, do you know what I mean? I'm just a little bit more responsible about...

On the other hand, feeling like these experiences are still carried with them did not necessarily act as a barrier to exit. For some, adopting new lifestyles and roles was enough to mask and move beyond their prior experiences:

Amy: When you remove that out of the equation, say that never happened, then definitely. I feel valued, and I feel really good about these things (her projects). When you have got this equation, I feel like this is somehow still there, but these cover it a little bit, but don't make it better. It is there, if this was the only thing I'd done, and I'd never done anything else, then I think I'd feel a lot worse in myself. Because I've done some new things in terms of things which can help to build my self-esteem and stuff, I think that is why the feelings around that are not really intense. They are not really as heightened as they could be.

As such, the women varied with regard to the timing of the decision to exit, whether this was a single event or a series of relapses, and the extent to which they carried the past with them or were able to sever the past from their current sense of self. This links to Maruna's (2001) work on desistance and the extent to which a person is able to 'knife off' the past. The ability to do so appears to have a strong impact on the process of change itself. In essence, gradual desisters appear to be those who struggle to transition fully into new roles due to the residual impact of their involvement in the industry. On the other hand, other women describe being able to make that decision in a single moment, simply deciding to leave behind their old roles and lifestyle.

As such, the decision and motivation to exit are strongly linked to role transition, which shall be discussed in the next chapter.

Exploring a Stages Approach

Changes in Constructs and Elements as Women Exit

Despite these variations in the overall process of exit, some common themes can be identified over the passage of time as women transition out of the sex industry. Changes can be identified in the constructs used, their ability to access and experience the emotions at the positive poles of the constructs, their focus or emphasis in relation to constructs, the elements chosen and the way they are rated, the elements that are relevant to their current lifestyle, and their personal narratives and identities at different stages. As such, exploring the stages approach involves analysing the following:

- **Constructs:** possible changes in constructs and interpretive repertoires over time
- **Elements:** changes in the elements chosen, the way these are evaluated using the constructs, and their construct ratings
- **Stages Models:** reflections on the interview/narrative data as a whole and its significance to the stages literature

In order to fully explore whether a stages approach to exit would provide fruitful analysis, the data was categorised according to the passage of time and desire to exit and analysed accordingly through inputting the data into SPSS, as well as drawing from the individual interviews, the principle components analyses, and the repertory grids.

Stages Categories

Of the women interviewed, 16 out of 30 were not actively trying to exit or had continued involvement in the industry, 14 out of 30 were exited. For analysis purposes, the following categories were chosen:

- not actively trying to exit
- wish to exit but continued or sporadic involvement
- 0-6 months exited
- 6 months – 2 years
- more than 2 years exited

These 'stages' categories were derived from the stages literature and reinforced by initial observations from the data itself. The categories relating to non-exiters were developed with Prochaska's (1992) notion of 'contemplation' and 'pre-contemplation' in mind, discerning between those still involved but not thinking of leaving and those who were contemplating leaving. The exiting categories attempt to capture the difference between the very early stages of exit, during which time Farrall and Calverley (2006) suggest there will be setbacks and disquiet, the later stages where relapse and setbacks are less likely to occur, and the final stages where women had been exited for a long time and could possibly be in a stage of 'maintenance' (Prochaska) or 'normalcy' (Farrall and Calverley). These time distinctions were drawn from Farrall and Calverley who suggest that after 2 years, normalcy occurs. These categories are depicted in Table 5 below:

Time that the participant has been exited

Table 5

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not actively trying to exit	7	23.3	23.3	23.3
Wish to exit but continued or sporadic involvement	9	30.0	30.0	53.3
0-6 months exited	4	13.3	13.3	66.7
6 months - 2 years exited	6	20.0	20.0	86.7
More than 2 years exited	4	13.3	13.3	100.0

Total	30	100.0	100.0	
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There were two aspects of the stages model to be considered. Firstly, whether there are any differences in relation to constructs, elements and narrative between exiters and non-exiters and secondly, whether there are clear and discernable stages in line with these sub-categories. If these stages could be identified then this would have supported the literature on stages models (Prochaska/Farrall and Calverley), suggesting service provision could be structured to support movement through these stages. On the other hand, if stages could not be identified then this would not preclude fruitful analysis of the difference between exiters and non-exiters and the identifiable changes that do occur over time, which would engender consideration of the implications for service provision.

Stages of Change: Constructs

Graphs 3 and 4 depict the frequency of constructs over the passage of time as a percentage of the number of women within each stages category. The use of these graphs is intended to visually represent the patterns in the data as a way of representing this data in a different format. These patterns are not statistically significant and they do not take into account the ratings for each element, which changed in relation to involvement and non-involvement in the industry and varied between each sub-group. Both narrative and frequencies are considered in the analysis below as these patterns were also borne out in the narratives of the women interviewed. The graphs do not give an indication of which conceptual ideas were more relevant in the narratives of the women in each subgroup, nor which corresponded to their most tightly held values. However, the changes in the elements and constructs that emerge through the repertory grid technique indicate changes in the underlying values, emotional concerns, and ways of looking at the world.

Overall, it must be noted when analysing the constructs data in this research there is no clear pattern of change over time and many constructs appear consistently no matter which stage of exit. For example, 'isolation/support' is a constant, the women being universally aware of need for connection –as

are many other constructs such as 'dread/enjoyment', 'struggle/happy', 'control/freedom', 'disheartened/hopeful'. These constructs are better understood in the context of their relationship to the elements and the construct ratings against these elements (appendix 1 and 2). Both exited and non-exited women consistently correlated the more desirable pole of the constructs with non-involvement in the industry and the less desirable poles with aspects of their involvement in the industry. The major distinction between the two groups is that the realities of women's lives are different so that non-exited women are experiencing more undesirable emotions in the present and many exited women were experiencing a better sense of emotional wellbeing, which becomes stronger the longer they have been exited (although there were a number of residual emotional issues as discussed earlier).

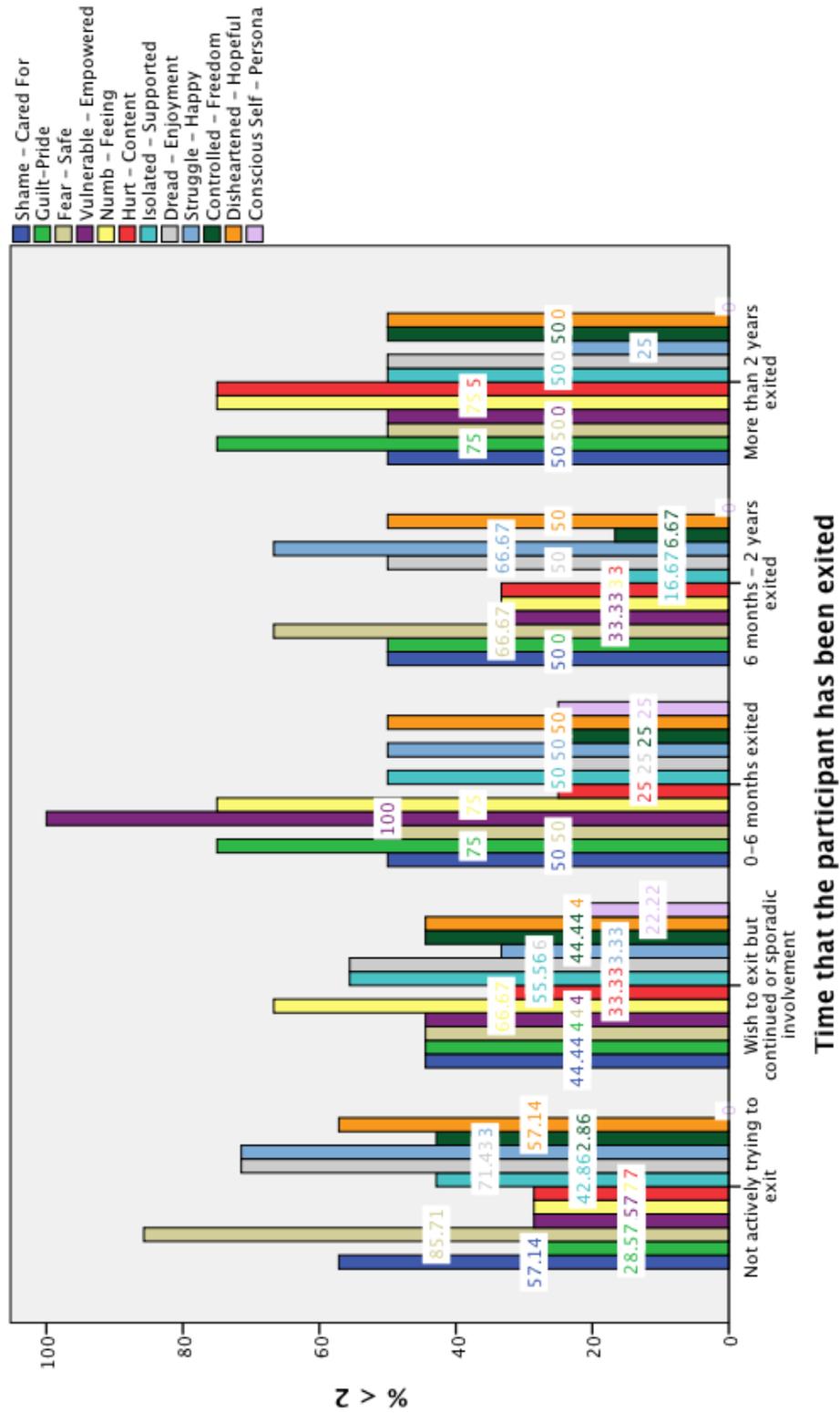
As a technique, there is no one fixed approach to using repertory grid. As discussed in the methodology, at its most basic it is a structured and revealing way of having a conversation and not taking for granted the meaning of what people say. It is a way of gaining greater insight into how a person engages with their world. A particularly useful way of conducting repertory grid research has been to compare the differences in constructs at different stages of change in order to identify if these differences can be correlated to their interpretive repertoires and as such opening up new ways of understanding. For example, Burke et al (1992) used repertory grid to map change in people's constructs as they transitioned in their careers and this enabled them to understand how this change occurred – mapping a shift from more generalised constructs to practical issues and finally to aspects of being qualified (suggesting that a new role identity had been adopted). In the context of this research, the difference in identity constructs between exited and non-exited women may give some indication of how to firstly, identify those women who wish to engage with the process of exit and secondly, to measure and understand the change as it occurs. There are some very real shifts in the way these women construct their roles and identity (discussed in the next chapter), and it is likely that further repertory grid research could map these construct changes.

However, when focussing on emotions it was necessary to use repertory grid to explore the women's emotional dynamics through their constructs. What is

interesting about this research is that despite some variation in the constructs over time, as will be discussed below, the emotional repertoires of the women at all stages of exit are strikingly similar. This perhaps points to the universality of emotions, or at least the universality of emotional experiences of women involved in the sex industry that subsequently shape their values even after exiting. Instead of demonstrating a shift in the emotional repertoires of the women, instead there is a shift in the availability of the positive poles of their emotional constructs, greater complexity in how they appraise the elements, changes in their current emotional experiences and therefore their sense of wellbeing, and changes in focus regarding which emotions motivate or sustain them. As such, the emotional changes that occur cannot be limited to an analysis of the constructs alone and must be viewed in the wider context of the repertory grid technique as a whole. Nevertheless, themes that do emerge in relation to changes over time do make a contribution to this overall picture.

The following graph depicts for each construct the percentage of women in each category for 'time that the participant has exited' who mentioned this construct in their interview. The value %<2 refers to the percentage of constructs with a value of '1' in SPSS meaning this construct was present in their interview (with '2' meaning it was not). As such, the bars demonstrate the prevalence of each construct at each stage of exit. For example, in the 0-6 months category every participant (100%) mentioned 'Vulnerable – Empowered', demonstrating that at this early stage of exit 'vulnerability' – capacity and power - is a dominant concern for the women. On the other hand, 'Fear – Safe' is the most prevalent construct for those who are not actively exiting (this is the tallest bar in this category). These findings are reproduced below when constructs are looked at more closely in clusters of three (and thus it is possible to view the bar charts more clearly).

Graph 3 depicting frequency of constructs at different stages of exit



Changes in Construct Ratings over Time

In addition to measuring the frequency of constructs – which depicts whether there is any change in the repertoire of constructs that women use as they exit – it is necessary to establish where women place themselves on the construct poles as they exit. In other words, to understand what their emotions are and whether any emotional shifts occur as they exit. This can be ascertained by measuring the change in construct ratings for different aspects of their lives. In order to measure this change, participants' interview was analysed to determine which chosen elements were relevant to their current lifestyle at the time of interview. These elements were then isolated and the average rating under each construct was determined and recorded in SPSS. Graphs were then produced to show changes in the mean construct rating for the elements that relate to their current lifestyle. As such, this gives an indicator of the way the participant currently feels in their present circumstances. This was then analysed with reference to the time that the participant has been exited to determine if their position on the construct poles – and therefore their current emotional experiences – change as they move through the process of exit.

By way of reminder, each element (aspect of lifestyle) is given a rating along the construct poles (emotion). The ratings were recorded on a scale of 1-5 with '1' relating to the non-preferred end of the construct pole (for example, 'guilt' on the 'guilt-pride' construct) and '5' relating to the preferred end ('pride'). The only exception was for 'numb/feeling' where not every participant rated 'numb' as non-preferred (some would rather not feel) but for the purpose of analysis it was still rated as a '1' and '5' as 'feeling'. Broadly speaking, a lower rating indicates an undesirable emotion and a higher number a desirable emotion.

Table 6 gives examples of the elements relevant to the participant at the time of interview at different stages of the exiting process:

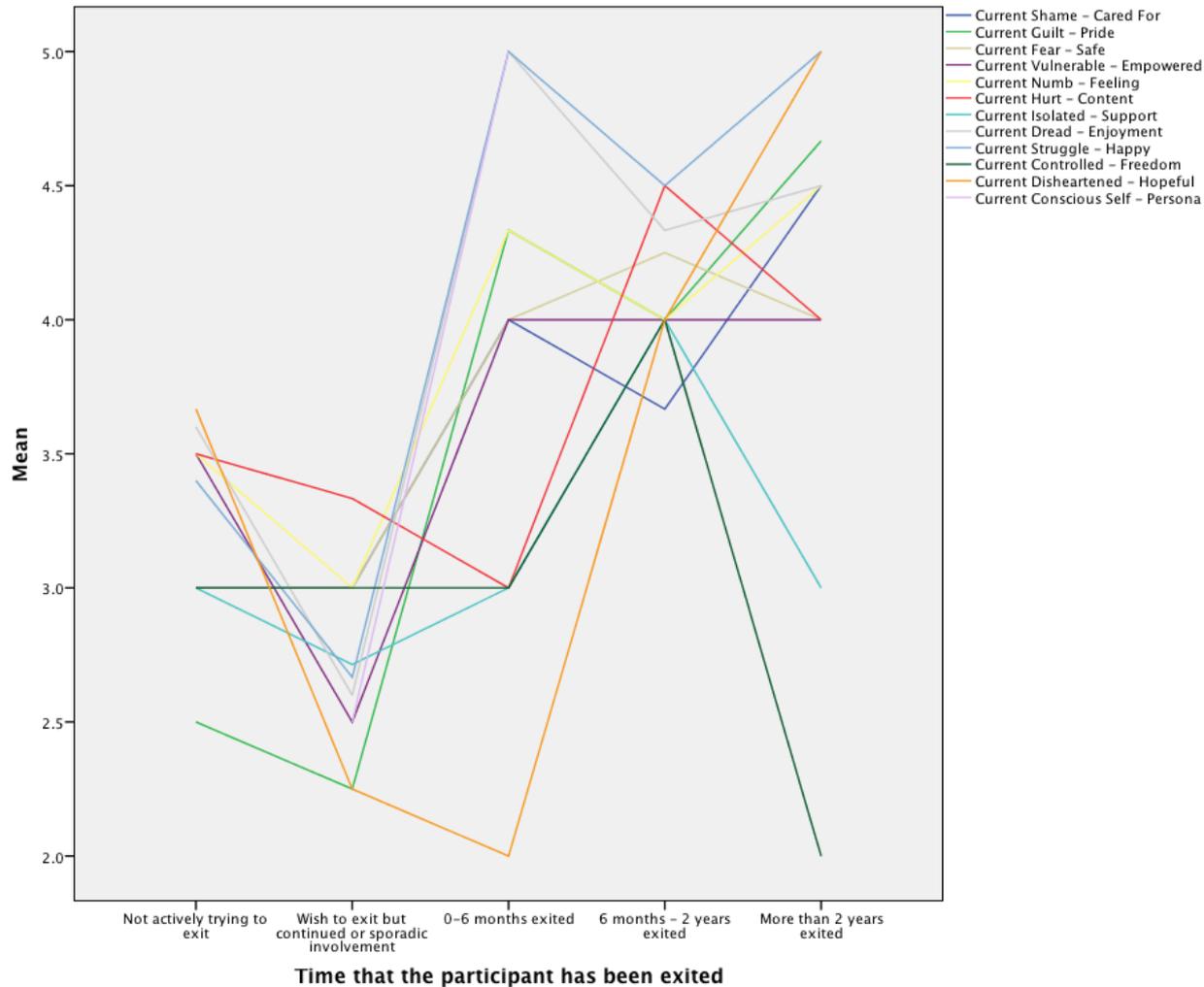
Table 6

Participant number	Time exited	Elements relevant to current lifestyle
10	Not actively trying to exit	Extra money, Flat, Bills, Having sex for money, Flexible Hours, Gatekeeper Service
19	Wish to exit but continued or sporadic involvement	Unpredictable work, Punters, Job search, Sex work, Relationship with mum, Gatekeeper Service
7	0-6 months exited	Sober periods, Gatekeeper service, Friend/relationship, Doing Courses
2	6 months – 2 years	Partner/Family, Stable Home, Benefits, Children, Domestic Role
23	More than 2 years exited	Money, Son, Religion (Christianity), Community – new friends, College

Graph 4 depicts the results for each construct category. Overall, a general move from the non-preferred to the preferred pole can be observed. It is also notable that the average rating does not fall below a '2' and rarely falls below the neutral rating of a '3'. This can be explained by the fact that the majority of women had elements of their lives that engendered desirable emotions – for example their engagement with gatekeeper services, the fact they are earning money (when still involved in the sex industry), or their children/family. Another interesting immediate observation is that the most significant change in ratings appears to occur in the 0-6 month bracket, indicating that this is a period when women most experience emotional

shifts. This does not necessarily mean that these changes are sustainable as can be seen from the dips that appear to occur at later stages. One conclusion to draw is that this indicates a need for greater emotional support at the early stages of exit while these significant changes occur

Graph 4

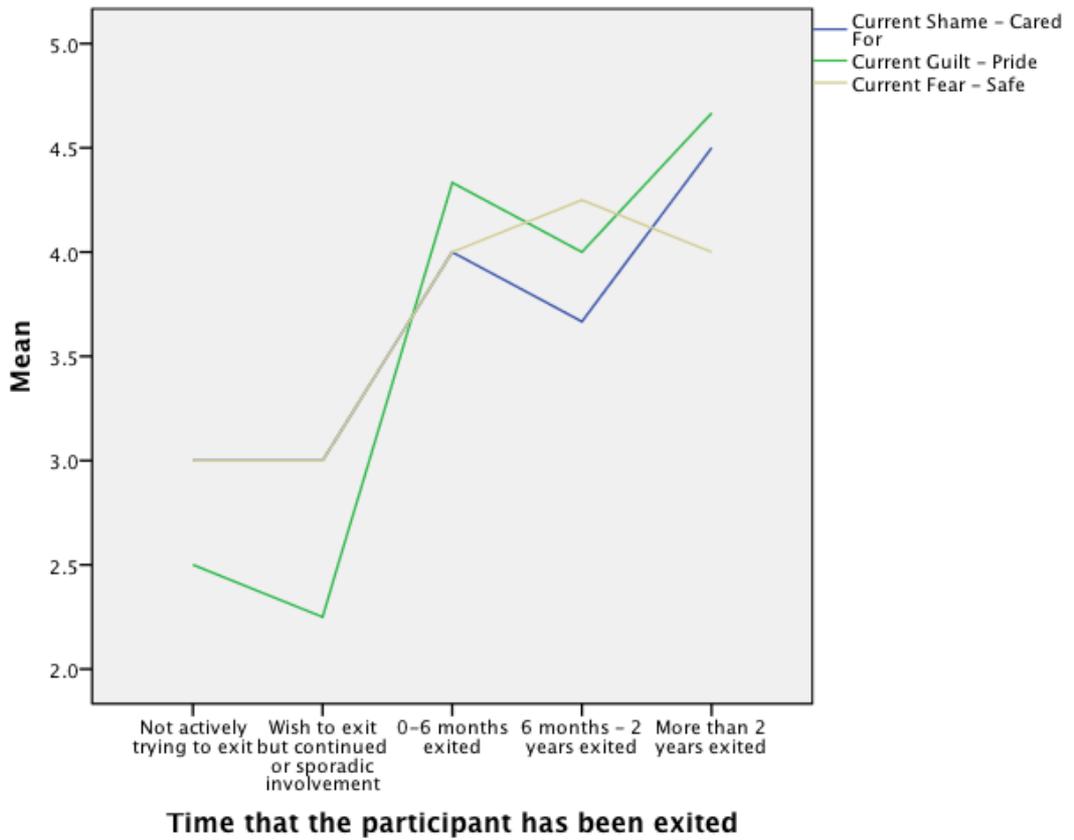


Individual Constructs and the Process of Change

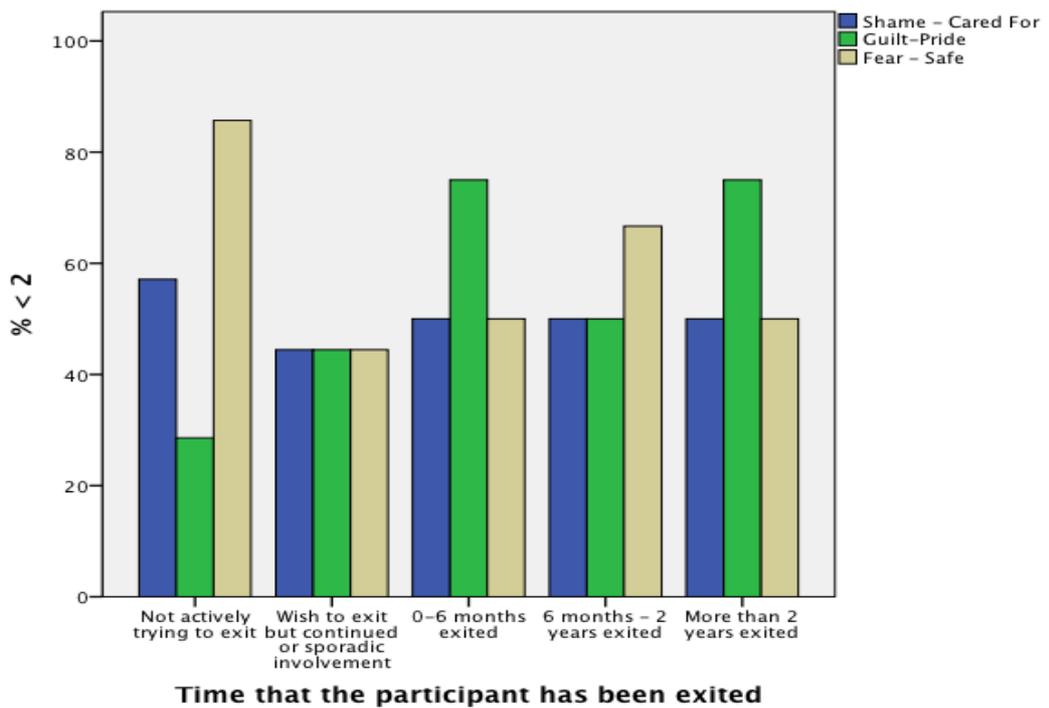
By combining an analysis in the relative frequency of the constructs at each categorised stage of exit, the changes in construct ratings, and the repertory grid data as a whole, it is possible to gain an understanding of the change in constructs and the way that they are used and impact on women as they exit the industry. Below is an analysis of this change.

Moving towards feeling Cared For, Pride and Safety

Graph 5



Graph 6



Shame – Cared For

The construct '*Shame-Cared for*' contrasts feeling excluded, abused and judged with feeling loved and accepted. Shame/cared for is mentioned by women at each stage of exit, indicating that the women are consistently aware of, and operating through, the lens of social isolation and marginalisation, as well as their described experiences of degradation. It is clear that women may still struggle with residual shame even when they have been exited for some time and even late exiters place emphasis on this construct. However, they no longer mention the more specific sub-construct of 'abused/cared for', suggesting that their shame is no longer correlated with specific experiences of degradation and more related to their concerns about being fully accepted and avoiding stigma - focussing on the construct 'judged/accepted'. This in turn suggests that there is some recovery from experiences of abuse so that connection and social integration become more achievable and important:

Charlotte: it makes me happier doesn't it having my family around me and that make me a lot stronger as well when my family's around I feel a lot stronger with them and when I ain't got them around me I I feel really just, I don't know, they help me a lot...

In terms of changes in construct ratings, as women move out of the sex industry there is a clear move from a neutral position towards feeling cared for (note - this line overlaps with the line for 'Fear – Safety'). However, as they build relationships and move into a new lifestyle and as they move away from their experiences of having sex for money (which is consistently associated with feelings of shame), their lifestyle offers more opportunity for feelings of acceptance. This shift can also be attributed to the support services themselves, which offer the kind of non-judgemental and caring atmosphere that is needed to counteract feelings of shame. This is supported by the fact that there is a significant rise at 0-6 months, where the women are most likely to be engaging more heavily with support services and benefiting from a change in environment.

Guilt – Pride

Some change in the presence of 'guilt/pride' can be observed, insofar as its relative frequency increases in the later stages. Perhaps, as suggested by Farrall and Calverley (2006), this is due to an element of reflection as people desist and evaluate their past experiences. For example, many exiters expressed guilt at the impact of drug addiction on their family. On the other hand, this increase in frequency of the construct could also be due to an increasing availability of the positive pole - 'pride' -which becomes relevant even in the earlier stages of exit as women begin to achieve new things. Further, for those exiting, there is more emphasis on the guilt sub-construct 'worthless/confident', which is associated with women beginning to question their capacity for change.

In relation to change in construct ratings, it is striking that women who are in the process of exit experience a significant shift in feelings of self worth and pride – moving from feelings of guilt and worthlessness to feelings of confidence and valuing the self. For example, this woman set up a support group in prison:

Christina: Yeah, and they're quite amazed and then when I went and got the certificate, and I brought it down and I showed it them; wow, we didn't know (the prison) did that. No, they didn't. I instigated it.

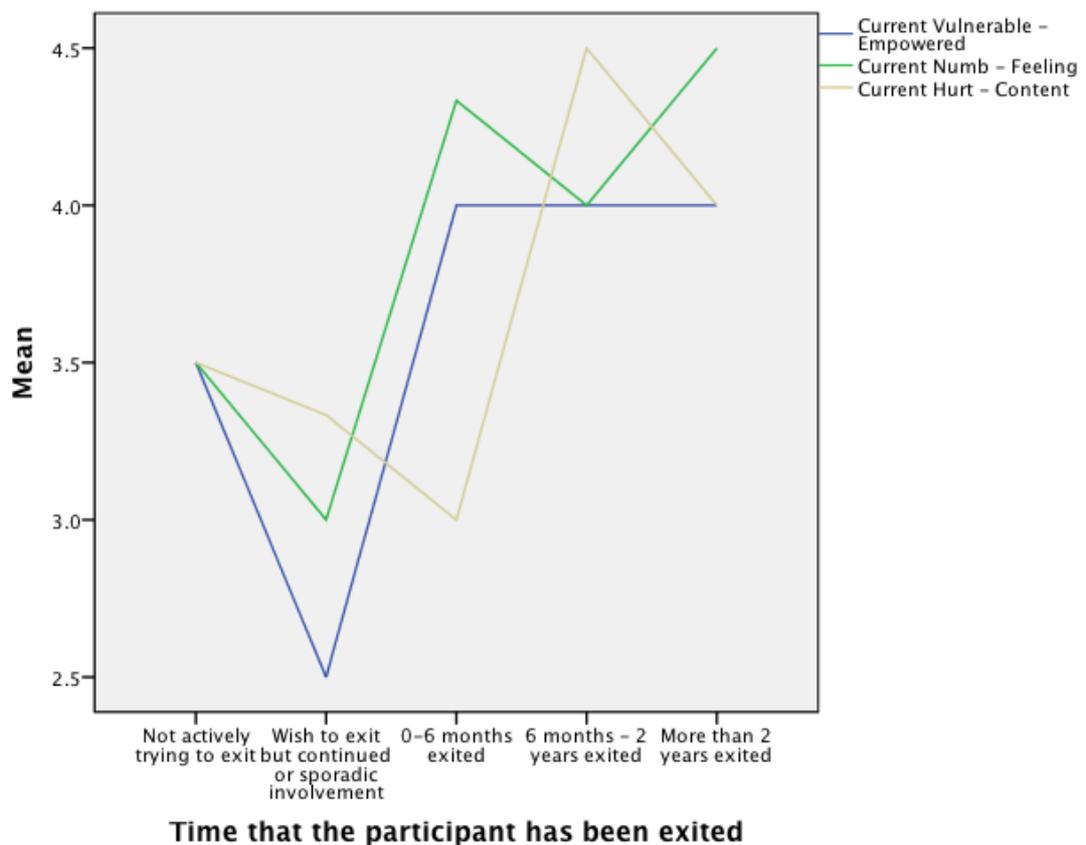
As with 'Shame-Cared For' the narratives reveal that this does not mean that these feelings are completely cleared. Women may still experience guilty feelings even after ten years of exit. However, it does mean that their new lifestyles foster a greater sense of pride. Even the fact that they have been able to change their lives gives rise to a greater sense of capacity. In addition, becoming involved in meaningful activity and repairing relationships all help to foster this. Further, being free from the unpleasant experiences that were associated with involvement in the industry means that the women feel less like 'God's punishing me' (as stated by Participant 5). This emergence of confidence and pride suggests that even where guilt is not being articulated by the non-exiters, it may be blocking their ability to move forward as guilt appears to block their overall sense of capacity and worth.

Fear – Safe

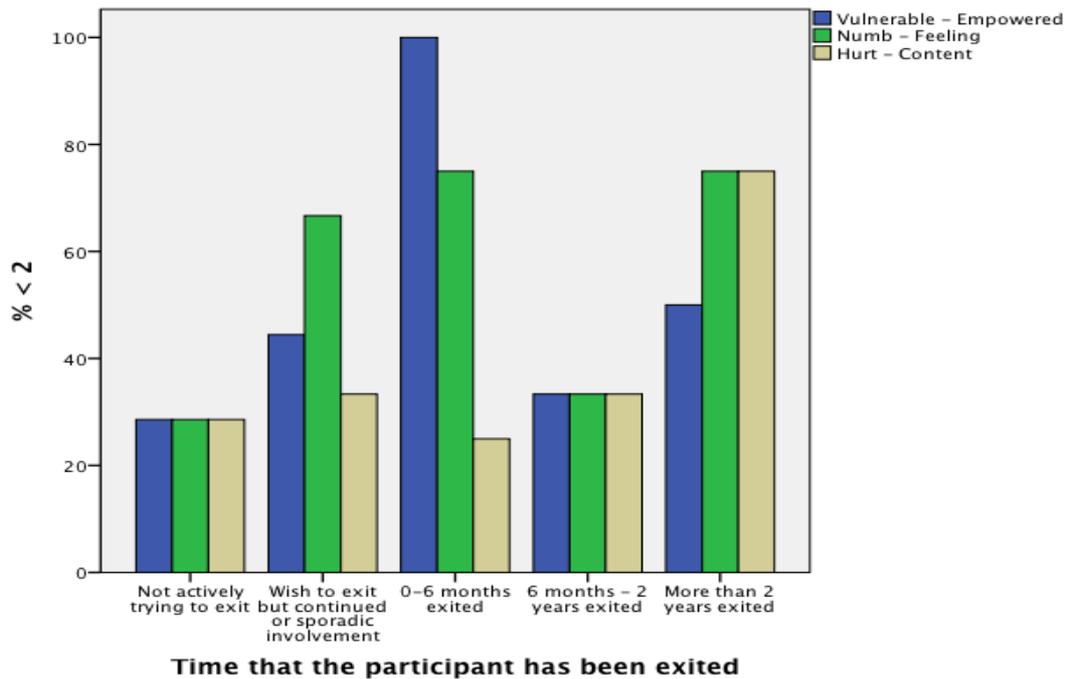
Fear is most frequently mentioned by women who are not contemplating exit. This indicates that although the women are not contemplating exit, they are nevertheless aware of issues around safety in a way that subsides as the process of exit begins. In terms of where women are placed on the construct pole, there is a clear shift into feeling safer as women leave the industry. Elements relating to the actual work in the sex industry are consistently associated with fear and moving away from this lifestyles gives relief from this. At every stage of exit, involvement with the gatekeeper service helps women to feel safer. However, as they move out of the industry, the new elements of their lifestyle are more generally associated with safety

Moving towards feeling Empowered, no longer Numb, and Content

Graph 7



Graph 8



Vulnerable – Empowered

‘Vulnerable/empowered’ is markedly more present in the early stages of exit. This is not surprising as this is a period of unknown where there is a mixture of deep vulnerability and a sense of being empowered to make changes – as such, it is a period where the extent of vulnerability and empowerment is being questioned. This vulnerability suggests a need for support and direction, which can be fostered by service provision:

Freya: I suppose sometimes, (they’re) just there to remind me, that we’re here for a reason, if you need help, we’re not going to judge you or anything else. I can come (to the gatekeeper service) when I’m feeling vulnerable and I don’t want people to judge me

Relatedly, ‘fear/safe’ is much higher for non-exited women – indicating a move from focussing on fear to vulnerability as the exiting process begins. In the narratives of these women, it is certainly the case that non-exited and non-contemplating women are more aware of direct threat as this is a daily reality of their lives (for those working on the streets), whereas vulnerability

and empowerment are more questions for women who are beginning to consider alternatives and their capacity to make change.

In terms of current emotional experience and as with a number of constructs, those contemplating exit appear to be experiencing more strongly negative emotions than those who are not contemplating exit. This is more marked for this particular construct. This phenomenon is perhaps unsurprising as contemplation of exit is likely to mean that the participant is more reflective and aware of the negative aspects of their current lifestyle. As women then make moves to exit there is a significant spike in feelings of empowerment. This is associated with both a feeling of being able to take control of their lives and with their lives becoming more settled and less chaotic.

Numb – Feeling

Awareness of the contrast between numb/feeling is more present in those wishing to exit and those who have exited. Numbing out is used a coping tool but for those still involved and they are not necessarily aware of its impact while still relying heavily on it as a tool. The construct numb/in pain only arose from the not actively trying to exit group, some of whom were aware of this phenomenon of numbing out but saw it as an essential survival tool. Early exiters make remarkably more use of the numb/alive and active construct, which possibly reflects this sense of wishing to become more alive.

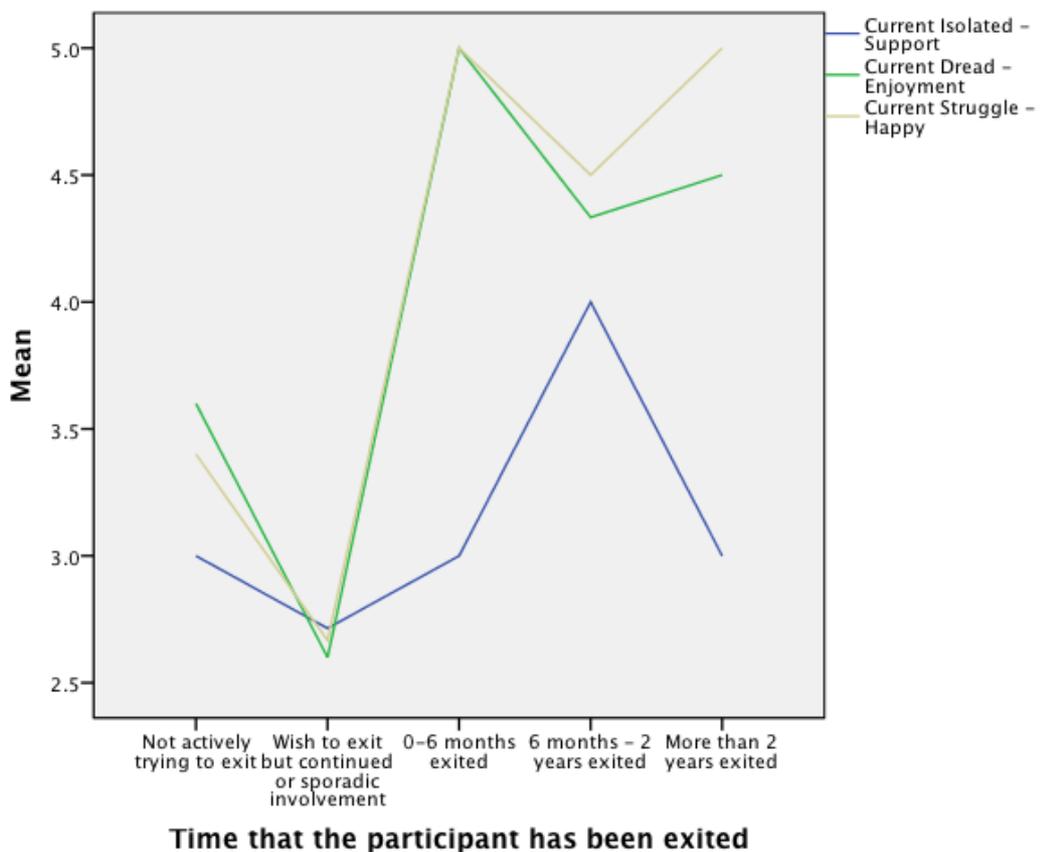
As participants exit the sex industry their lifestyle becomes more strongly associated with being able to feel as opposed to numbing out their feelings. One factor that contributes to this is the fact that the women often enter treatment for drug and alcohol abuse. In addition, they are no longer having sex for money, which women consistently associate with experiences of disembodiment and feeling numb. It must be remembered that this return to feeling may give rise to experiencing negative as well as positive emotions and that emotional support may be needed.

Hurt – Content

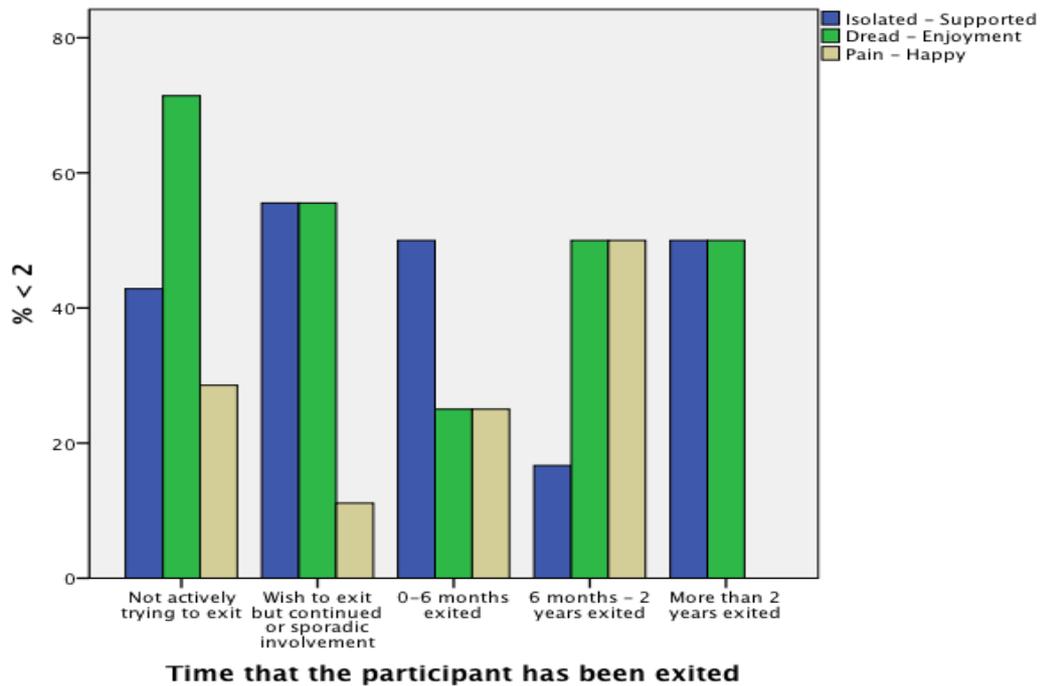
Interestingly, feeling more of a sense of satisfaction and wellbeing as opposed to hurt – pain and anger – seem to occur at later stages of exit, from 6 months onwards. This is perhaps associated with the fact that a feeling of contentment takes longer to foster than, for example, more immediate feelings of safety. For all women, the average rating on this construct never goes below a neutral '3'. Strong feelings of pain, anger and hurt tend to be clustered around the specifics of involvement in the sex industry, such as having sex for money and punters, or with using drugs and alcohol. When the women are settled in their new lifestyles and have moved away from these aspects of involvement in the industry, strong feelings of contentment emerge. This can be associated with a more sustainable sense of calm and satisfaction as opposed to simply feelings of safety or reduced isolation.

Moving towards feeling Supported, Enjoyment and Happiness

Graph 9



Graph 10



Isolated – Supported

Interestingly, the average ratings for women not contemplating exit and those having been exited for longer than 2 years remain the same despite an overall move from feelings of isolation to being more supported. This can perhaps be attributed to engagement with service provision, with early exiters being more likely to engage with supportive services whereas late exiters had developed a more independent way of living, possibly with less community than at gatekeeper services. Another possible explanation is that of relationships – many women described their ability to find a partner as a continued barrier to achieving their ideal lifestyle and described feelings of distrust and therefore isolation.

Dread – Enjoyment

There is a strong difference between those who are contemplating exit and those who have recently exited the industry. This can be attributed to the fact that many elements of involvement in the industry give rise to feelings of dread – in particular, the actual act of having sex for money. Leaving the industry means finding relief from these realities of daily work in the sex

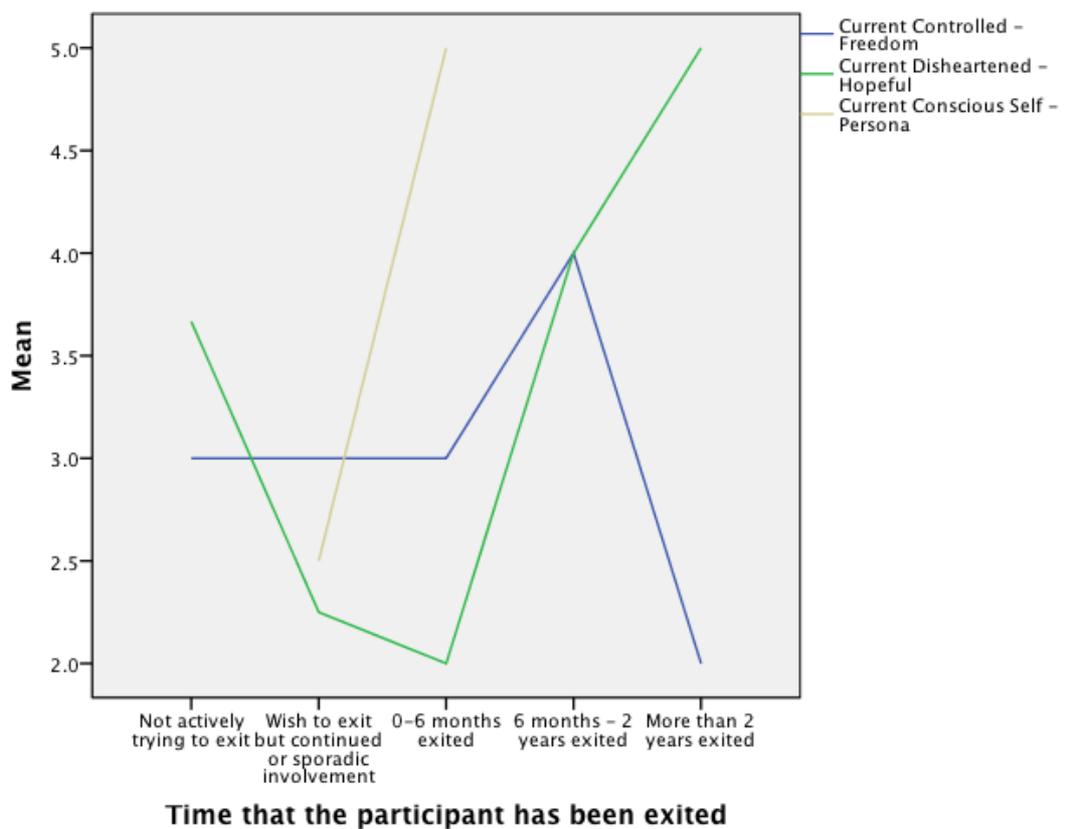
industry. In addition, as women engage in meaningful activity they find more opportunities for enjoyment.

Struggle – Happy

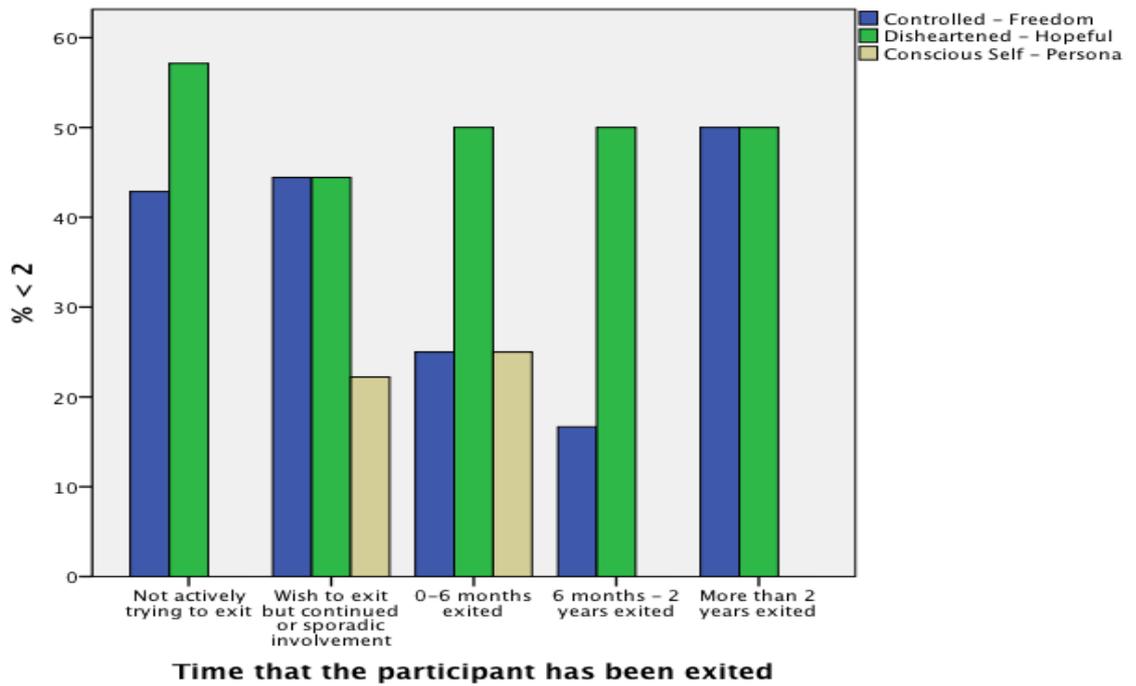
Similar to 'dread/enjoyment', this construct shows a strong change when transitioning from involvement to non-involvement. Again, this can be associated with the struggles of working in the sex industry itself, from which immediate relief can be found. Further, gatekeeper services help with the practical issues that enable women to find relief. At later stages of exit, there is an acknowledgement that life can never be without struggle but an overall move towards happiness.

Moving towards Conscious Self, feeling Hopeful and new Responsibilities

Graph 11



Graph 12



Freedom – Controlled

Interestingly, this is the only construct where there appears to be a move into a less desirable emotion – ‘controlled’. However, looking more closely at the data reveals that there is a change in the kinds of control being experienced. Instead of abusive relationships, women are entering training, recovery programmes, and engaging with religious and community activities, all of which offer structure and ‘control’. This is very different from being in controlled or abusive relationships, which are more frequently associated with entry into, or actual involvement in, the industry. Further, one of the major attractions of working in the sex industry for those who were still involved was the fact that the work is flexible and independent, which must be sacrificed when leaving the industry. Some women expressed resistance at entering the job market for unsuitable and restrictive jobs or else being dependent on benefits.

Disheartened – Hopeful

Those wishing to leave the industry and in the early stages of leaving express the most doubt about their future. Although hope appears to be a prerequisite for desistance, the data seems to suggest that this may take

longer to foster as women exit than, for example, feelings of safety. This sense of hope is strongly associated with the ability to transition into new roles and can be hindered by doubts about being able to enter the job market or achieve elements of their ideal lifestyle, such as forming new relationships.

In terms of sub-constructs, the construct 'purpose/no direction' is much more likely to be mentioned by 2 years plus exiters – this reflects a sense of looking towards future roles and a concern with developing a sense of direction. The lack of this construct in earlier stages betrays a sense of feeling stuck. In addition, 'hopeful/wayward' as a construct reduces in frequency, indicating that more specific notions of possibility and purpose arise as being more important, rather than more vague notions of hope or feeling lost and hopeless. Therefore, there appears to be a move from contemplating the possibility of change and having a desirable lifestyle to one of concern for how to construct this lifestyle in practice and develop a sense of purpose:

Amy: I am in a catch 22 situation right now. I was meant to be starting my level 5 in Health and Social Care next month... it is now based on the area manager, and the project manager's decision whether or not they are going to accept me. I am really nervous, I don't know what is going to happen. I really want to do it so much... (later in interview) I think purpose has been important in my life, I've got to find a purpose for something. Just doing things meaninglessly makes no sense.

Conscious Self – Persona

'Conscious self/persona' is a construct that only emerged for three women but interestingly all three were in the early stages of exit, either considering exit with continued or sporadic involvement or 0-6 months exited. It appears in the category of those wishing to exit as most closely related to 'persona' and then in the early exiter category as 'conscious self'. As such, and as supported in the narratives, this indicates that involvement in the industry hinders a person's ability to feel like their true self – not least because of the

emotional and psychological demands of the industry as well as the fact that women often numb themselves through drugs or as a coping mechanism. It is clear that becoming one's conscious or 'true' self is a driver for change – in effect, the women discussed wanting to become oneself again. This was particularly relevant when the women talked of the distorting power of drugs. Relatedly, 'destruction/rejuvenated' is relevant to women at all stages of exit, who describe the destruction associated with their involvement in the industry (linked to drug use) and with many exiters describing a process of becoming new as they leave the industry:

Christina: 'It makes me feel myself again. It makes me feel alive again. It makes me feel normal'

Changes in Values

As such, it is clear that although there are no linear and clearly discernable changes in their emotional repertoires, the elicitation of constructs nevertheless tells a story. This process of self-determination is discussed in more detail in the next chapter. To compliment this analysis of constructs, it is necessary to also consider the relationship between the constructs for the women. This can be determined by their personal values hierarchies. The values hierarchy process involved the women choosing between different variations of the negative and positive poles of the constructs to reveal which positive poles are most valued and which negative poles are most avoided. As such, it tells us something about the emotional motivations and key concerns of the women interviewed.

There is a transition from a preoccupation with the construct 'fear/safety' moving right through into a focus on self-determination and confidence in the future combined with a sense of being more in control. For example, for Participant 5 the constructs 'safe/fear' and 'aware/nothing else matters' came low on her personal values hierarchy, which can be associated with the fact that her current situation of living in her own home and no longer being addicted or involved in the industry means that she has achieved some sense of safety and awareness. In addition, the construct 'control/chaotic' was high on her personal values hierarchy, indicating that a sense of control

is essential for maintaining a positive emotional landscape (a loss of control leading directly to involvement in drugs and prostitution). In the women's narratives, exit was often characterised by a level of certainty that had not been previously experienced:

Charlotte: 'I wouldn't go back to that life, I don't even come into my head I don't even think about things like that... it's never been in my head that I thought I'm not going to do it but this time it is I just don't think about it that in the past I've always said oh I'm clean I'm doing all right but it's always been in the back of my head that I know that I'm going to use again'

There are some observable themes in relation to personal values hierarchies that change over time. While some values remain fairly constant, such as freedom and avoiding harm or abuse, others come more into focus as exit is achieved. Being able as women leave the sex industry, their fear/safety becomes less of an immediate concern and vulnerability/doubt become more tolerated as they are willing to step into the new and unknown. On the other hand feelings of guilt, shame and embarrassment were tolerated even by late exiters, reflecting the fact that these emotions appear to be the hardest to move beyond but that moving beyond them is non-essential to making change. Another indication of the biggest challenges that women face in relation to moving beyond the impact of their involvement in the industry is the fact that constructs that relate to isolation/acceptance and trust - or its lack - tend to elicit ambiguous responses in the personal values hierarchies. There is an underlying sense that connection is difficult to achieve no matter what stage of exit they are at. Most notably, consciousness, engagement in life, awareness, wholeness, and confidence/self-acceptance, become increasingly important. This lends more weight to the theme of self-determination that shall be explored in the next chapter.

Stages of Change: Elements

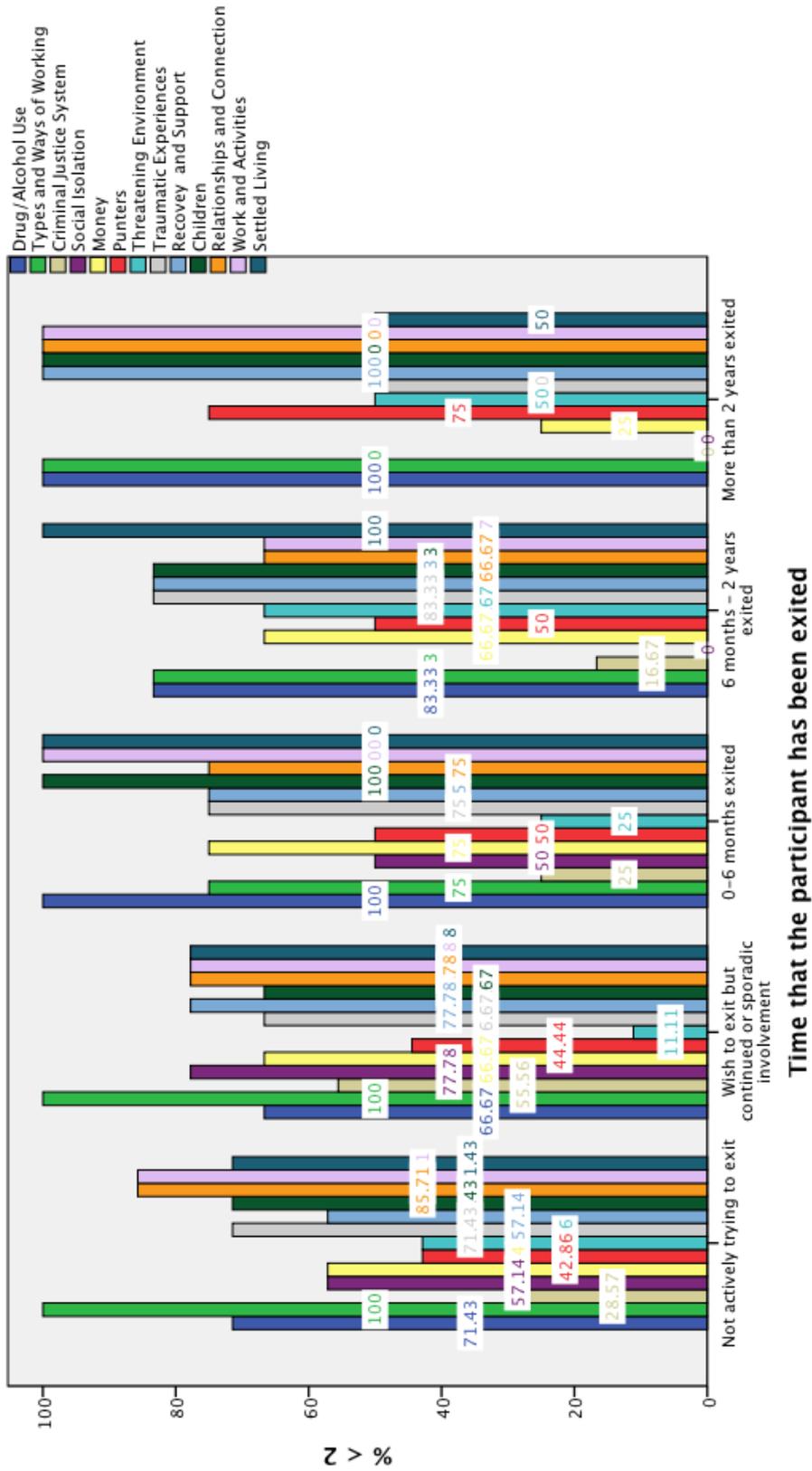
Another aspect of the grids to be considered is whether there are any changes in relation to the elements chosen at different stages of exit. The elements elicited related to aspects of non-involvement and involvement in the industry and to ideal lifestyles. Graph 13 depicts the frequency of each element at each stage as a percentage of the women within each stages category. Again, the graph is intended simply to be used as a visual tool and not to represent statistically significant data. As the women were interviewed at different stages of exit, the elements chosen will represent either existing or remembered aspects of involvement in the industry, existing or imagined aspects of non-involvement, and imagined ideal lifestyles – as such they are a reflection of what is currently in their world at different stages and what is in their imagination as remembered or anticipated. This could impact on which elements are chosen or discussed – for example, someone experiencing involvement in the industry may focus at the time on financial issues but at a later stage may look back and reflect more on some other aspect of their involvement like the impact on their relationships. Most importantly, these elements represent the factors that are at the forefront of the participants' minds at each stage.

It can be seen from the graph below and a review of each individual interview and grid that many elements emerge consistently no matter what stage of exit – children, relationships, support and recovery, trauma, settled living, work and activities. Overall, it is clear that desirable and non-desirable elements of one's lifestyle are universal amongst the women, reflecting simple, basic, human concerns and moving away from the idea that the needs and wants of women in the sex industry are any different from other human beings. These very human wants, needs and desires are in no way mysterious or complex, notwithstanding that they may be complex to achieve. This has important implications for service provision, in that it demonstrates that the desires of these women are not particularly distinct or specialist and that there should therefore be little difficulty in shaping the goals and outcomes for women who desire to exit. It should also act as a comfort that the ideal lifestyles for these women are achievable and easy to conceptualise and understand.

What does change for these women is that over time and as exit becomes achieved, elements are rated with more complexity – in essence, the aspects of a person's life become less black and white in terms of negative or positive emotion and a person's appraisal of the different aspects of their world reflects this. Their world becomes richer and more nuanced. This more nuanced way of appraising experience is also reflected in their desires and ambitions. Exit does not necessarily mean achieving all the elements that are desired and associated with an ideal lifestyle. However, this is accepted and does not affect their motivation to exit, neither does it lead to a sense of hopelessness. Instead it reflects a sense of being able to more accurately evaluate what is achievable and having a realistic sense of how a new lifestyle will be experienced. This reflects Farrall and Calverley's (2006) observation that successful desisters begin to develop realistic and achievable notions of change:

Rachel: I just got a chance for a happy life... I can't have my kids with me and I'll never get the proper family live with my mum. So yeah, a proper life in a sense but not completely.

Graph 13 depicting frequency of elements at different stages of exit



Relationship and Connection

Within the stages categories it is notable that family and community dramatically increases for women who are more than 2 years exited. This reflects a stronger sense of reintegration, both a side effect of exit but also a key element to achieving exit. This is supported by the literature on exit, which consistently shows that rebuilding relationships is a key element of change (Baker et al. 2010).

Money

As discussed earlier, another key theme for late exiters of more than 2 years is that money is less frequently mentioned. This is very much evident in the women's narratives. Money, in and of itself, becomes less important and their focus shifts to their lifestyle and developing a sense of being able to cope financially and lead a good life regardless of money issues. As women move through the stages of exit, the way that they rate money according to their constructs changes. An ambivalence towards its inherent positive or negative connotations can be observed, accompanied by a sense that money can only be evaluated in the context in which it is obtained. Money becomes something that, though essential, cannot be sought in isolation of the rest of one's lifestyle and it is suggested that solely focussing on money can lead to negative consequences. Many women describe having to be comfortable with financial insecurity in order to move out of the industry. They also describe never really feeling financially secure within the industry because of the uncertainty about where the money would next be coming from.

Criminal Justice System

Another key feature of change over time is that after 6 months, the criminal justice system and aspects of social isolation such as homelessness drop out of the picture for exited women. These are not things that are remembered or referred to in contrast to aspects such as drug addiction and punters, which stand out in their memory of involvement in the industry. There is also a drop in talking about a threatening environment when women

are early exited, with evidence in the women's narratives of a shift in focus to thinking about what they are moving towards and a greater sense of safety. This pattern is further evidence that women move beyond issues of safety in the early stages of exit at which point other concerns will become their focus.

Service Provision

Of those not actively trying to exit, the women only mentioned their gatekeeper service provision and no other forms of support, although they may mention some forms of meaningful activity such as volunteering. Typically, these women were in contact with harm reduction services, which focussed on their immediate needs in terms of health and safety but were not talking to them about their wider needs, or even engaging in discussion about the realistic prospect of exit. This is alarming in face of the evidence from the exiting literature that holistic support that addresses a range of needs is most effective in supporting women to make changes in their lifestyle (Baker et al. 2010). In fact, it supports the findings of the exiting literature that harm reduction services can leave women trapped by failing to engage with their needs beyond harm reduction and that approaches which support prevention, exit, and challenging the normalisation of the industry are most effective (Lawrence 2007; Matthews and Easton 2011; MPF 2007; SE 2004; Ward 2007; Poland et al. 2008).

Use of a Stages Model

The Stages of Change Literature

With regard to desistance, supporters of Prochaska's (1992) stages model claim that distinct stages of change can be identified and attempts have been made to build service provision onto a stages model (Baker et al. 2010). However, overall in both the exiting and desistance literature, there is doubt about the realistic contribution that a stages model can make, with many pointing out that once these stages are interrogated further, it is clear that there are in fact no linear and distinct changes, no one clear path of change (Littell and Girvin 2002). The above analysis of changes to elements and constructs demonstrates that these linear stages are difficult to define.

However, it is clear that desisters do go through a process of change and that there are emotional aspects to this. Farrall and Calverley (2006) use the term 'emotional trajectories' to describe the emotional journey of desistance, identifying four stages of this journey and providing an alternative model to Prochaska's that specifically focuses on emotions.

The findings support some of the themes found within the stages literature, albeit that these changes cannot be attributed to a distinct and identifiable pattern of linear stages. For example, the mind-set of the women could frequently be attributed to one of the five stages in Prochaska's model. However, categorising women this way has little descriptive or practical value when compared to the rich information gleaned from the repertory grid interviews. The contribution of both the Prochaska and Farrall and Calverley models is considered below:

- *Precontemplation is the stage at which there is no intention to change behaviour in the foreseeable future.*
A number of women who were still involved in the industry had not considered, or were not seriously considering, the possibility of exit. Many had considered the possibility of exit but were unwilling or unable to change their external behaviour or circumstances. Often this was attributed to an attachment to money or continued drug use.
- *Contemplation is the stage in which people are aware that a problem exists and are seriously thinking about overcoming it but have not made a commitment to take action.*
Of the women who were not yet exiting, some expressed a desire to leave but were unable to find routes out that they believed were workable. These women would not state that involvement was inevitable but had no current practical ideas of how to change. It is hard to distinguish between contemplation and precontemplation as most women expressed problems with being involved in the industry – the distinguishing factor was the degree to which they felt their involvement was inevitable.
- *Preparation is the stage begun to think about taking action in the near future.*

Some women were hoping to leave the industry but waiting for a precursor to change such as detoxing from drugs or finding a job.

- *Action is the stage in which individuals modify their behaviour, experiences or environment in order to overcome their problems.*
Exit involved the act of stopping the involvement in the industry and engaging in alternative activity and/or receiving benefits. Other acts accompanied this such as rebuilding relationships, rehousing, and detoxing from alcohol and drugs.
- *Maintenance is the stage in which people work to prevent relapse and consolidate the gains attained during the action stage.*
Women who had been exited for longer periods described having support networks and daily activities that supported them in their new lifestyles.

The emotional trajectories of Farrall and Calverley's (2006) model can be mapped onto the findings but there are some key differences:

1. *Hope, relief, lack of certainty*
Women who were just leaving the industry were more likely to be preoccupied with issues relating to safety and as such feeling a strong sense of relief.
2. *Regret, disquiet about the past, relapses and set-backs*
Vulnerability/Empowered as a construct becomes more important for women who are further down the timeline of exit, indicating that there is some doubt about the ability to move forward and an awareness of the possibility of setbacks. However, the possibility of relapse was not limited to a particular stage of exit, nor was the issue of disquiet about the past. Nevertheless, it is true that to successfully exit this disquiet and regret was often disowned in favour of a new identity.
3. *Guilt and shame act as motivators to change and to maintaining desistance, trust (both of self and others), pride and self-esteem grow*

There is little to suggest that guilt and shame are motivating. In fact, these emotions appear to endure even where women have been out of the industry for long periods of time.

4. *Desistance 'has happened', normalcy, contentment*

It is certainly the case that successful desisters described living 'normal' lives and feeling more content.

The observation that these models can be mapped onto the findings demonstrates that they can provide a valuable function to those who wish to simplify their approach to exit. In other words, it provides a very abstract map of the process and can be made to fit the circumstances of desisters in a way that is compatible with the model. However, Littell and Girvin (2002) may be correct that it is an oversimplification, suggesting that a stages model distorts the findings to fit expectations as opposed to providing a tool to understand the complexities of the process. Ultimately, there is no suggestion that relying on a stages model will have practical value and indeed it may obscure the particular emotional and practical needs of the participant. Overall, the stages model does not provide a basis upon which to make sense of the interplay of emotional factors that are described by the women in their repertory grid interviews. In a practical context, should there be no alternative, it may be necessary to rely on simplification.

Although no clearly discernable 'stages' can be identified, there are nevertheless clear emotional and practical transformations. Significantly, over time, money becomes less important and meaningful activity more important. This relies on structural opportunity and many women felt stuck, having exited but not being able to adopt more meaningful activity, most notably getting a job. In addition, some sort of meaningful activity – or internally, having a sense of meaning and purpose - appears to be a prerequisite for exit – such as forming relationships, taking a mothering role, volunteering, finding hobbies, or engaging in peer support. Meaningful activity fosters a range of desirable emotions – enabling women to feel more connected, valued and engaged in their lives.

Overall, the changes that do occur over time are perhaps better understood in relation to shifts in focus and concerns as women engage with one or

several of their emotional constructs and values in ways that are meaningful to them and at different stages of the process of change. When viewed as a whole, the overall arc of these changes appears to be a shift from survival mode to a state of self-determination and authenticity. How this is achieved may vary from woman to woman but each emotional construct and its relationship to the elements offers a window for service providers to gain a greater understanding of their particular needs in the context of a rich map of their emotional repertoires. In order to develop a more stronger and responsive model of service provision, there must be a move away from a simplified stages model into a more flexible model that responds to personal values and emotional. This study call for an approach that is emotionally intelligent, responding to the particular construct that is dominating the participant's worldview. This approach is mapped out in Chapter 10 but must be preceded by an analysis of this process of self-determination and its relationship to role transition.

9. The Meaning and Process of Exit

The Meaning of 'Exit': A Process of Self-Determination

It is difficult to define the exact meaning of exit for the women involved. For most women, any act of having sex for financial reward indicated that they had not completely left the industry behind (for example, only having one client or reducing involvement was more desirable but not complete exit). However, even where the women could say that they no longer participated in the act of having sex for money, some women felt that their lives or their identity had not really changed, often because of residual emotional issues. In reality, exit may never really be complete until negative emotions are cleared – for example, low self-esteem, fear, lack of trust in self and others, and disgust. On the other hand, although many women were exhausted and numb from the emotions work that the industry demands, this capacity to do emotions work could be a strong factor in being able to transform their lives, having developed an enormous amount of resilience and the capacity to manage their internal worlds and be their own agents of change.

It is also clear from the data that complete emotional recovery is not a prerequisite for exit, as a transformation of both lifestyle and identity can be successful without the need for therapeutic intervention. This will be dependent on the individual, as some women were so stuck in experiences of trauma, shame, or low self-esteem that they were unable to make any changes in their lives. In addition, the fact that transformation can occur without the need for therapeutic intervention does not preclude the women from reaching out for emotional support at any stage. This emotional recovery was described as an on-going process for *all* the women interviewed and something that late exiters remained committed to.

Overall, a more reliable measure of exit for the women is to feel like one's conscious self again. In the data, exit was consistently associated with a sense of self-determination and freedom, as opposed to being clear of undesirable emotions. This process of reintegrating with both oneself and society emerged as the main theme of change in people's lives as they transitioned from involvement to non-involvement in the industry. This

process involved being able to be one's authentic self and connected to others and the world around them as this authentic self:

Pauline: I feel as if I have a persona inside me that is my work person that is living... And it is different from, with my children I was a very good parent... More like my conscious self. Me, who I am.

The process of self-determination as women leave the sex industry can only be understood in the context of the emotions management work that involvement in the industry demands and the resulting dislodgement from both self and society. In addition, various aspects of, and strategies for, reintegration must be considered – such as the possibility of therapeutic intervention, becoming re-embodied and internal transformations of identity and meaning, including transitioning into new role identities that must be negotiated in a gendered context. These factors combine to facilitate the emergence of one's conscious self. This approach contrasts with a redemptive model of desistance as proposed by Maruna (2001) – the fall/redemption narrative is one that does not sit well in the context of the sex industry, which has historically stigmatised women involved in the industry as 'fallen' (Self 2003), and the research suggests that this focus on self-determination is both more desirable and in line with the process of desistance for exiting women.

Self-Determination as Active and Embodied Engagement

Emotions Management

The research findings support the notion that emotions are part of rational communicative action (Crossley 1998) and an essential part of human expression (Newton 1998). The path to becoming one's conscious self was a process of reintegration of both self and society and central to this was healing and transformation of their emotional landscape. The women's emotional aims were to feel connected, safe, and excited about life. Their experiences of numbing were clearly barriers to being able to engage in their lives, leading to social isolation, loneliness and the inability to communicate

with the self and others. This links to appraisal theories of emotion, which stress that emotions inform and arise from our prior expectations and subsequent apprehension of reality, thus both informing our process of making sense of experience as well as shaping this experience (Lazarus 1991). This numbing out, through drugs, involvement in the industry, and as a response to traumatic experiences and depression, leads to an inability to relate to the world in the most authentic way, to make sense of experience and to take action. Numbing means being disconnected from the communicative function of emotions:

Rose: No I wasn't aware, I was aware but I was willing to take the risk.... I didn't care, I didn't care

The women described the necessity of having strategies to cope with various aspects of their experience while in the industry and numbing was one such strategy for managing and coping with emotions:

Holly: (on having sex for money) 'Sometimes disgusted. If I can blank out I think of the money, think of holidays whatever but you are doing on a daily basis you are blocking out the real issue. Because if you didn't block it out for most parts of the day you wouldn't be able to do it because I would just sit and cry and break down in tears.

The emotional demands on these women may not even be experienced consciously. Crossley (1998) points out that reflexivity is not necessary for emotions to be communicative – we can feel emotions and act upon them without consciously processing this information. Similarly, Wetherall (2012) concedes that the role of unconscious, embodied, affective contagion is both real and possible. Many women described a pervading sense of danger that was never fully brought to their consciousness or actively ignored. The process of exit was frequently described as stepping away from a sub-culture and way of being that had an emotional impact. In addition, others talked of the 'feel' of being on the streets without being able to fully articulate the way this acted upon them emotionally:

Kate: it were horrible, it were horrible, if you walk through there just walk through the area you can feel how horrible it is even if you just took a stroll through or drove through and looked it looks depressing and miserable there is it's horrible... it's like, I don't know how to explain it, you might just have to drive through and then you'll see

The experiences of managing both conscious and unconscious emotions echoes the findings of Hochschild (1983) who described the emotional demands of working with the public in ways that required the actor to generate a positive emotional experience for the other person and as such disregard or manage their own emotions. This could lead to extreme stress, even resulting in dislodgement from their sense of self. This emotional fallout was apparent in the women interviewed:

Val: This is not right life for others... This is like mental, on the mentality, this it's fuck to your head... it's just like sometimes you just want to punch them but you can't, this is your job. You just need to just shut up and just do whatever they want to do.

Coping with the emotional demands and consequences of involvement in the industry is exhausting and debilitating. This emotions management work evokes Summers-Effler (2004; 2004b) and Thoits (1990) who discuss the sociological impact of internal emotional conflicts and the development of strategies for coping with these conflicts. For example, the women describe negotiating different aspects of their identity, managing their emotions while working, and being aware of their desire for change or competing needs. Their responses to these conflicts evoke Summers-Effler's (2004a) discussion of domestic violence and her description of the various defence strategies used such as hiding their victimization (for example, one woman proclaimed to love her job but later in the interview expressed the desire to do something else), strategies to control the severity of the abuse (for example, choosing punters and controlling what they will and won't do), adapting to the abuser's wishes (having to meet the punter's wishes), drugs and alcohol, withdrawing (disconnection from self and others was a strong theme), and suicide (none of the women interviewed were suicidal but many expressed a sense of despair). The strategies adopted for managing these internal

conflicts are dramaturgical performances that result in feelings of depression and loss of emotional energy and as such directly affect the ability to take action.

This notion of dramaturgical performance is also relevant to another aspect of emotions management discussed by Hochschild - that of socially prescribed emotions or 'feeling rules' (Hochschild 1998). The theory relating to dramaturgical performance (Goffman 1959) focuses on expression of emotion that is shaped by social norms and values. The women interviewed appeared to be aware of certain socially sanctioned rules around acceptable emotions, in particular there was a sense of discomfort in relation to their anger and an awareness that this could be expressed in socially unacceptable ways. In addition, feelings of shame were often not overtly expressed, instead reverting to alternative – and perhaps more commonly understood/discussed – emotions, such as sadness, frustration, resentment, or feelings of personal power:

Olivia: I don't like it, you get idiots in cars who drive around quite a few times and think it's funny, at the end of the day I don't have to be out there but they don't either, it's not nice having people shout at you, sometimes I just ignore it but if they keep coming around about how many times it gets annoying...

Where these emotions remain unarticulated, there is a risk that women with numb out or adopt increasingly demanding coping strategies for coping with these unconscious but destructive emotions. For example, the woman interviewed above was preoccupied with a sense of resentment that left her feeling powerless.

Nevertheless, emotions management also reflects the resilience and agency of women who are able to manipulate their emotional experience to feel differently. This reflects Rosenberg's (1990; 1991) observations in relation to emotional displays, one form of which is to manage one's emotional displays as a means towards obtaining a goal – these emotional displays can signal to both the self and others that a person is moving towards a more desirable state and as such reintegrate them into society and their relationships with

others. Many women discussed their ability to draw on this emotional resilience:

Gina: one thing I'm learning is I get through; I get through it, do you know what I mean?

The ability to adopt and step into new and desirable emotional states also depends somewhat on being able to imagine or reimagine them, having already experienced them at a biological level (Damasio 1994). This is reflected in the interviews where some women were simply unable to access the idea of more desirable emotions not having had experience of feeling 'ok', whereas others were able to imagine their lives as different and draw from prior personal experience and positive feelings:

Jane: I can't actually remember what it feels like, but I just remember it was good... I remember... having feelings and you know being able to feel good.

Therapeutic Intervention

Therapeutic intervention and religion are mentioned as useful tools for coping with the emotional impact of involvement in the industry (as well as the impact of addiction, which is frequently intertwined with this involvement):

Natalie: (NA meetings) It makes me feel like I've got a little bit more power, because I've taken myself out of a situation and gone to a situation that makes me feel better about myself.

However, within the exiting and desistance literature there is a debate about the necessity of such intervention. In contrast to the notion of emotional resilience as a driver for change, it has been suggested by certain theorists that helping women to exit must be addressed through a psychotherapeutic focus because of the role of trauma (Herman 1993; Farley 2003). The data supports this insofar as it demonstrates that the emotional state of fear can be dominant in the women interviewed, especially for women recently exited. These women were frequently preoccupied by the construct of fear/safety,

continuously evaluating experience through this lens, and constantly experiencing the 'fear' end of the pole or other undesirable emotions. As a result, these women found it hard to articulate positive emotions and frequently struggled to find contrasts to the negative emotions they described:

Olivia: (I: it's just unpleasant... how would you rather feel?)

P: just not having to put up with that

... (I: what is the opposite for you to struggling?)

P: well it's just a way of getting extra money... if I wasn't struggling then I wouldn't be worrying'

Interestingly, very few women specifically referred to counselling as an aspect of their experience of exit. In fact, it never emerged as a specific element in itself, although it could be linked to service provision. This does not necessarily indicate that therapy is not needed. It is clear that for a number of women intervention would be helpful to enable them to clear and manage the emotions that they are experiencing as a result of trauma. However, this did not emerge as something that was a prerequisite for the exiting process. As such, it supports Maruna's contribution to the debate, by indicating that desistance can be achieved by choosing to psychologically 'knife-off' the past. A tactic that was described by many of the women interviewed:

Kate: as soon as I stopped I built a wall up and I don't think about it any more... you have to split yourselves into two people... I'm me now I'm not two different people... the other me is like a loose cannon...

Nevertheless, as discussed above, a number of difficult emotions, such as guilt and shame could have a lasting impact, even for late exiters. Therefore, the fact that therapy is not a prerequisite for exit, and that women use emotional resilience to move forward, does not mean that there is no emotional fallout from their involvement in the industry that affects their daily lives. Therapeutic intervention could therefore play an important role in transforming their daily emotional experiences and facilitating the process of reintegration of self and society.

Embodiment and Active Engagement

Reintegration was very much an embodied process for the interview participants. The practice of numbing emotions involves becoming estranged from one's own body. As stated earlier, Bendelow and Williams (1998) and Lyon (1998) stress that our interaction with the world is through an emotionally expressive body and as such emotions are embodied and our experiences are mediated through our bodies in relation to other's bodies. Traumatic physical experiences, drug addiction, and the physical experience of having sex for money are all deeply embodied activities and many women described the experience of needing to escape their bodies. However, in doing so they escape their ability to feel emotions and diminish their ability to be actively engaged and embodied in the world and their experience.

This ties in with Ettore's (2007) work on gender, power and the body – she describes how female drug users, perceiving their failures in these socially and culturally prescribed areas of performance, adopt the notion of being contaminated and therefore unworthy of intimacy. This is borne out in the narratives of the women interviewed, where words such as 'shabby' and 'dirty' were used to describe both their physical experiences with punters and their experiences of drug use. Ettore's research perceived that cultivating positive emotions leads to a new sense of embodiment – literally a new experience of being in their body as opposed to feeling dirty, afraid and worthless, which are all themes that emerged in the repertory grid interviews - and enables these women to move on from their drug using past. As such, the embodied experiences of these women – including their emotional experiences - are politically inscribed and shaped by society and culture. This links these embodied experiences to the wider social context; internalised shame can be counteracted by the cultivation of positive experience and emotion.

As women transition out of their involvement in the industry, they describe a process of once again being able to feel and of becoming embodied:

Charlotte: I feel so much better in myself as well, and it's not that, when you're on drugs and working... you're not bothered... you're like a zombie you don't have no conscience, I can't think

of... you just don't have a conscience, you don't feel any emotions, but now I do I feel

This is accompanied by more of a sense of being actively engaged in the world around them, this may be through physical activity such as dog walking, being able to be physically connected and affectionate with others, taking better care of one's own body, and experiencing social and environmental situations differently, including having a sense of physical safety and comfort. Each of these elements has an embodied aspect. The desire to be more actively engaged emerges, with many women wishing to be involved in meaningful activity. Unsurprisingly, the emotions associated with these activities are those that enable them to experience positive emotion. As such, the process of self-determination involves a return to one's body and the ability to be actively engaged in the world through this embodied self.

Interpretive Repertoires and Appraisal

An additional aspect of this process of becoming one's conscious, embodied self, is a shift in mind-set relating to the meaning and interpretation of experience and self which is accompanied by a shift in one's emotional landscape. This represents an internal shift in how a person engages with their experience and the world around them. Affect and PCT theorists would argue that the process of reintegration of both self and society – and becoming one's conscious self – has this process of appraisal at its core. Affect and PCT theory state that emotions are part of the process of apprehending the world and evaluating experience (Wetherall 2012; Ettore 2007; Schacter 1971); this includes giving meaning to embodied experience and emotions and in turn using these experiences to develop understanding and interpretation. In the women's narratives, this link between appraisal and emotion is made clear through a change in the way that exited women reflect on their experiences, which denotes a change in their interpretive and emotional responses – although exiters and non-exiters use many of the same emotional constructs, there is a shift in focus and a change in the relationship between constructs and elements, overall there is a shift in the

way their experience is appraised (this is linked to role identity as discussed further below):

Gina: Escorting made me feel at the beginning it made me feel like, I felt nice, and then it feels shabby because I remember, I've just had a flashback of coming back with a whole lot of money and the girls saying, "Look how much money you've got" and I was crying just saying, "Yeah, but you know it's dirty money." Yeah, shabby.

On the other hand, there are instances where the women are unable to shift the lens through which they interpret their experience. In the following example, although there may have been a shift in behaviour, the woman still feels stuck in her 'prostitute' role. Her framework for relationships leaves her stuck in unwanted behaviour, and in turn the unwanted behaviour leaves her with the same construct system for relationships:

Elle: 'it would be nice to have a man in your life to sit on the settee and have a hot chocolate while we watch Britain's Got Talent or something like that instead of going to meet a man and watching it with him because he's paying me the money to watch it and you know, do you know what I mean?... you know K is paying for my phone, what kind of man's going to do that so I'm going to go and see K and sit with him for the weekend and come back because he really means for me to give this up... and look after me but what's the point of doing all this and then going to live with K?... I've still got K so I'm still a prostitute and I don't want to be... I need to get a job'

Further, for some women there is an inability to fully reflect on their experience, which results in a confused narrative. For example, the following woman claimed to enjoy her experiences but also describes making herself numb and later in the narrative talks of feeling a lot of fear. She is unable to really make sense of her experiences and therefore states that she is 'not ready' to exit:

Gemma: (on having sex with punters) I don't feel nothing...

Numb

I: And is that the opposite of enjoyment, to feel numb?... I've got my regulars, don't get me wrong (I: Do you enjoy having sex with them or is it still numb?) I enjoy having sex with one of them...

He's like a boyfriend... But he still pays me...

I love it... I don't know. I don't think I'll, I'm not ready to give up yet. If I was ready to give up I'd give up (I: What do you most love about it?) My nice punters...

I like coming here during the day... If it wasn't for them, if it wasn't for this day centre I don't know where I'd be... You can come in, if you get in any trouble out there you can come in and talk to staff about it... I feel safe when I come in here. You know what I mean by that.... you feel scared when you get in a car'

Another aspect of affect and appraisal is the element of being able to anticipate experience and one's responses to it. In essence, a person's interpretive repertoire becomes more reliable for them. One way that this is expressed in the repertory grid interviews is that the elements are rated with more complexity, whereas when involved in the industry elements are often rated as wholly on the negative construct poles or wholly on the positive. This ability to have a more nuanced system of interpretation enables the exited women to better anticipate and engage with the world around them. In the desistance literature it was found that successful desisters had a lot of self knowledge around what they were realistically able to achieve and this in turn was directly related to levels of hope and confidence, which also had a direct correlation to successful desistance (Farrall and Calverley 2006). As such, being better able to engage with experience also leads to hope and the ability to take action. This emotional experience of hope and confidence in relation to an anticipated future is strongly linked to successful exit. For example, this successfully exited woman describes the change in her mind-set to a feeling of confidence and certainty about the future:

Charlotte: 'I wouldn't go back to that life, I don't even come into my head I don't even think about things like that... it's never been in my head that I thought I'm not going to do it but this time it is I just don't think about it that in the past I've always said oh I'm

clean I'm doing all right but it's always been in the back of my head that I know that I'm going to use again'

Self-Determination as Role Transition

Role transition as a prerequisite for desistance

It has been shown that women faced emotional barriers that consistently emerged no matter what stage of the exiting process they were in. Often these emotional factors were linked to gender, for example, issues of internalised shame through having not performed their gendered roles in relation to sex and their bodies, socially prescribed feeling rules, and the impact of dislodgement from self due to the emotions management demanded by their involvement in the sex industry. All of these factors are strongly linked to issues of role identity and the intersection of self and society (Mead 1964) – how a person constructs their internal sense of self in relation to their social structural position. Stryker (1992) conceptualised the self as a set of identities that are linked to social roles. Role transition involves the shifting of these roles and Ebaugh (1988) argues that role transition is a key element of making change. In fact, desistance theorists suggest that this shift in identity is a prerequisite for desistance (Maruna et al. 2004; Uggen et al. 2004). The data supports these perspectives on role transition by demonstrating that *identity* is a key concern for the participants. Although only three participants explicitly identified '*persona/conscious self*' as a construct, their narratives demonstrate a negotiation of their identity as they transition out of the sex industry, with the majority of women actively disowning the self that they need to be in order to manage their work in the industry – their constructed sense of self:

Christina: (on why she wanted to leave) I did it because it's not me. It's not the way I started my life out. This is not what my Mum wanted or my Dad wanted for me. This is something my children would be ashamed of.

However, although Burke (1981) suggests that individuals are motivated to make change when their identity is threatened this does not appear to be the

overriding motivation for the women involved. Instead, the motivation is to distance their identities from their negative emotional and external experiences – they are motivated to transform their identities and this involves making change. They are not, as Burke suggests, motivated by a commitment to their identity that is under threat. On the other hand, as many women describe a return to their ‘real’ self, then perhaps this does lend support to Burke’s theory – eventually, they are motivated to preserve this underlying sense of self. Overall it is clear that identity is a key factor in precipitating change and their desire to construct and maintain a positive sense of identity is a strong motivating factor:

Freya: I feel great now because all I get now is praise off people, you know for how well I’m doing... I suppose so I don’t feel bad and guilty these days because I’m doing things right. Yeah and I know it sounds a bit sad to say it at 41, but I’m still learning

Role Identity and Emotions

This desire to enact a new identity that reflects a positive sense of self is linked to emotional drivers. The construction of new identities that foster pride and social cohesion emerge as key elements of desistance. This is perhaps better explained through a PCT lens; in PCT, identity is formed of tightly held constructs that are resistant to, but not invulnerable to change. As desistance is achieved, new constructs are developed as new identities become available. In other words, a person begins to try out new ways of construing their experience. As stated earlier, for the women interviewed, this did not mean a change in their emotional constructs but instead a change in how their experience is evaluated through these constructs – a shift from being stuck in one pole of the construct to the availability of the preferred poles and a more varied way of rating the elements against the constructs. This results in new ways of conceiving their identity. As such, this supports McCall and Simmons (1978) idea that identities are improvised, variable and negotiated and that a prominence hierarchy reflects a person’s ideal self – what they consider to be desirable and of central importance. People will then enact this identity and finds ways of legitimating and maintaining this identity.

The women interviewed often described their family and mothering roles in this way, adopting an idealised, gendered, domestic role as a desirable alternative to their involvement in the sex industry. For those women whose family lives had broken down to a state that was irreparable – for example, having had their children removed with little chance of them being returned – there was a lack of opportunity to adopt this new desirable identity and this could leave them with no desirable alternative to adopt from both an internal (values) and external (socially acceptable roles) perspective. These identities were bound up with a number of the emotional constructs, such as *guilt/pride, numb/feeling, struggle/happy* – the inability to adopt new roles could lead to negative emotions on these construct poles, whereas successfully transitioning into these roles would give rise to the emotions at the desired ends of the poles. This woman describes how her mothering role makes her feel:

Emily: Confidant like humanity, like a human being, not the odd one out. Strong. Knowing that there's more to life than how I've been, how I was feeling and...

The development of these new, positive identities, involves adopting new frameworks or perspectives for evaluating the self, which PCT describes as the construct system. This ties into Mead's (1964) symbolic-interactionism, which argues that structure and culture inform this framework. Indeed, the data supports the suggestion that society and culture play an essential role. The women's identities are strongly bound up with their sense of social isolation and their lack of confidence in relation to taking on what they consider 'normal' roles. Past experiences of trauma, disappointment, hurt, and shame combine to generate an internal threat to one's identity – a nagging sense of doubt in one's own abilities and position in relation to others:

Amy: I just feel like there has always been mixed views about who I am, because I started using as a child, so I didn't get to know who I was and I went through puberty on drugs, so that I didn't experience the whole transition from girl to woman, and

just not having a lot of guidance, I think that is where everything got lost

This relationship between self and society is often characterised by a lack of trust and hopelessness, this can endure even in those who have been exited for a long period of time but is very prevalent in those who have not yet contemplated or are in the early stages of exit. Many women describe relapse as a process whereby their attempt at exit and adopting a new identity is disconfirmed – women who have not yet been able to exit but have attempted to describe a strong sense of self-doubt. On the other hand, successful exit will be characterised by the opposite. As stated above, this often takes a very gendered focus, drawing from the role identities that are available in the current social context. This may not always be the case, however, as one woman's identity was linked to her ability to build a successful business in antiques. Nevertheless, starting this business was seen as empowering and as such was another way of repositioning herself in society, giving her internal satisfaction by improving her social position, thus being a point where self and society intersect:

Freya: I will have achieved it, I'll have done it and it was all from my ideas, thinking how I can achieve my own business. It'll make me feel empowered. I'll feel powerful and I've set my own business up...

Emotions play a key role in this process of transitioning roles – generating a commitment to an available and socially sanctioned role identity and motivating exiting women to distance themselves from an identity that fosters negative emotional experiences and disengagement.

Identity and Narrative: Scripts

This renegotiation of role identity is linked to an ability to reimagine their lives. If new roles could not be achieved or imagined this presented a barrier to being able to move on. The adoption of new roles involves developing a new self-story and knowing how to enact this – adopting a pro-social narrative or 'script' as described by Maruna (2001). There is evidence in the

data of women wishing to rewrite their past and transform their negative experiences as per Maruna's findings. As such, these women begin to transform their personal narratives and it is possible to perceive their reaching out to new and available roles:

Gina: ...well for me empowered means feeling strong and like strong in where I'm going you know, like, I don't know it just feels like I'm standing on something and I'm getting there. It's like I've been at the bottom and now I'm standing on where I've been and I'm feeling yeah, I've come through all that and now I'm feeling empowered.... In an ideal world I would have a career, do you know what I mean? That is what I would have. And I think everything I have been through I would use it, like all the negative stuff I've been through I would turn it around in a positive way...

This woman expressed the desire to capitalise on her past, which supports Maruna's findings that many desisters use their past to rewrite a script that capitalises on their capacities and experiences from their previous lifestyles. However, this was not common amongst the women interviewed. In fact, many exiters 'knife-off' the past by separating themselves completely from this and severing the two identities, completely disowning the prostitute identity – there is a complete divide that is described by some as a 'wall'. The ability to do so depends on a sense of self-determination and personal power/pride:

Kate: 'it were in my life for so long I seem to have just built a wall up because as soon as I stopped I built a wall up and I don't think about it any more... you have to split yourselves into two people... I'm me now I'm not two different people... the other me is like a loose cannon...'

Although change over time does not fit neatly into a stages model, the changes in narrative and script are also essentially changes in constructs and there were some observable differences between women who had been exited for longer periods and those who had not. Over time, alongside a development of new narratives, personal constructs shift and new

perspectives emerge. For example, one woman begins to develop the notion of finding her voice, which was not something that she had previously been aware of. It is possible to observe both her change in perspective and interpretive repertoire and the way she has constructed a new narrative around this, one that appeals to a sense of empowerment:

Freya: I'm bigger than that. I've learned, I've found my voice now... I was scared of letting my voice be heard. Scared of sticking up for myself or my son... yeah I'd have to stick up for myself. It didn't get me nowhere, those years that I didn't stick up for myself, it didn't.

However, the research demonstrates that for the women interviewed, there is a very limited repertoire of narratives from which they are able to choose – which can be seen by the idealised, gendered, roles that they often appeal to as their ideal lifestyle. In relation to finding 'normal' work, many women wish to do so but have no conception of what this would entail. There is literally no script for them to adopt and it was not unusual to hear women talking of not knowing what else they would be able to do. Where women did offer alternatives, these were very rarely based on personal experience – with a few notable exceptions - and doubts were expressed about the ability to maintain such roles. In their narratives, this came across clearly as the women would be able to describe in detail their experiences in the sex industry but could only appeal to vague notions of what it might be like to work in a bar, as a hairdresser, or in any other suggested alternative. Relatedly, many women could not imagine how this might feel aside from an imagined escape from the undesired emotions they experienced in their involvement in the industry. The most familiar script is that of partner and mother and by contrast, the women were very familiar with the emotional realities of this role and able to easily evoke the related scripts.

Narrative, Power and Social Structure

Narrative and construct repertoires are linked to the exercise of power, as pointed out by Rumgay (2004) and Presser (2012) in the context of narrative/scripts and Kelly (1963) himself who acknowledges the role of

social structure. Influencing, shaping and determining these repertoires can be viewed as an exercise of power and as such being stuck in these repertoires can be linked to disempowerment at a social structural level that has also been internalised. This woman feels unable to escape her experiences and feels trapped in her social structural position so that even when her external circumstances change her self-narrative remains the same – she has internalised her experiences and her new circumstances feel alien to her:

Julie: It's be ok I suppose but like with working the streets and that you get that used the feeling the way you do that even if you had all of the nice things that you deserve and want you still have a bit of doubt at the back of your mind, you know what I mean. Like, you still feel a little bit worthless, you question yourself, why are you doing this, why are you doing this nice job, what does this job give you, you know what I mean... you just wish the way you feel about yourself, the way that street work gets you, drugs, make you feel, you just wish that things could be different, do you know what I mean. It seems like whatever you do to try and change that because you've lived that life style you allow yourself to feel like that, it never goes, you know what I mean.

Maruna (2001; 2004) suggests that a person's internal narratives shapes their ability to take charge of and change their own lives and capitalise on structural opportunity. However, he does not explore the gendered nature of these scripts, whereas research has shown that availability of narratives varies depending on gender, with some suggestion that female narratives have a stronger focus on relationships (Rumgay 2004). In the data, new and imagined roles were clearly gendered:

Kate: 'I'd have a partner that went out to work, I'd have my children, you know a proper home, his tea on the table when he comes home from work (laughs) things like that, I grew up old-fashioned'

Elle: 'I would have been a nurse, because everyone said I would have been a nurse... (on what she needs) something to do like a job you know like what you're doing... someone like me I could really do it because I know ... but I'd love to do something, I like cleaning, I know I could do cleaning if I can't do nowt else and looking after people, squeezing blackheads and you know (laughs) weird things, I do, I, you know I need to do something now'

However, this script may not always be borne out in practice, representing more of an ideal than a reality:

*Bekki: He's got charisma, he's got ambition in life, proud to be a mother... He's got career prospects, he's an engineer... He makes me feel beautiful... More loving, comforting...
... (later) He hit me, I had him reprimanded. I was willing to press charges against him. He took it to court and said he wasn't even in the country.'*

This can be compared to one successful exited woman whose alternative identity was very much grounded in achievable and personal goals. She was not relying heavily on gendered ideals:

Freya: 'I've got a business plan that I've got to fill out and stuff and I'm starting college as well in the next couple of months ... Yeah to have my own business which is just dealing in collectibles and antiques which I've grown up all my life with my parents doing that as kind of a hobby but an income as well... I'd love to be an auctioneer one day... I'm also doing some outdoor work as well, horticultural. I've always been interested in how to grow my own plants and veg and herbs. I'd like, one day, I'd like my own sustainable house. So it would be a really serious eco house'

Many women rely on past narratives to reimagine their sense of self and adopt new scripts. As mentioned earlier, women who entered at a young age or had traumatic or chaotic upbringings are therefore at a disadvantage when

trying to transform their narrative. An availability of positive emotions and an awareness of how things could *feel* different appear to be essential to moving on. This links strongly to an understanding of *self* and *identity*:

Amy: I just feel like there has always been mixed views about who I am, because I started using as a child, so I didn't get to know who I was and I went through puberty on drugs, so that I didn't experience the whole transition from girl to woman, and just not having a lot of guidance, I think that is where everything got lost.

This woman was trapped in undesirable emotions, with no sense of how it might be to feel differently:

Olivia: 'I: it's just unpleasant... how would you rather feel?

P: just not having to put up with that

...

P: with these who you're like struggling, you're doing it is to survive aren't you

I: what is the opposite view to struggling?

P: well it's just a way of getting extra money... if I wasn't struggling then I wouldn't be worrying'

Hope emerged as essential to envisioning a new role/story; it is not sufficient to simply make changes in behaviour or lifestyle:

Melody: That side of it's pretty good, not really using, on methadone. But my life's crap (I: Is that different to when you were on the streets?) No, about the same actually, just that I'm clean now... I've got nowhere to live, didn't have my kids, people use me... I had my two little kids taken off me May last year.

This sense of hope may be harder to foster in women who are aware of their structural disadvantage and have a sense of powerlessness. Its key role in being able to construct a new identity points to the intersection of self and society – identities must be negotiated within their structural context but

structural opportunity must also be fostered alongside the internal changes in identity that occur.

Maintenance of New Roles

It is clear that role identity must be renegotiated in the context of available narratives and scripts. However, a related issue is the ability to maintain these scripts and therefore the new role identity (Rumgay 2004). This struggle to maintain roles is evident in the women interviewed. Not only was it necessary to find and conceive of an alternative, it was also necessary to have the tools to maintain these new roles. Even for some women seeking to adopt the familiar gendered roles, there could be a struggle to fully adopt the role, questioning the ability to be a good parent or to have intimacy. This capacity to maintain a new role was strongly linked to issues of self-esteem and hope. The envisioning of these gendered roles often fostered these emotions, however, these emotions were also prerequisites for successfully adopting the scripts associated with these new roles. As such, there is an intertwining relationship between the rewards of adopting a new role and the positive emotional experiences that create the emotional energy to maintain it, in line with Summers-Effler's (2004a; 2004b) work on emotional energy and the ability to act. The capacity for intimacy was particularly relevant to exit being achieved as it is so strongly linked to desirable alternative roles of wife and mother.

Summers-Effler (2004a) points out that service provision is an opportunity for intervention in generating the emotional energy necessary for making change and can be a mediator between the old lifestyle and being able to successfully maintain a new lifestyle. Adopting and maintaining new roles as women exit the industry depends on a number of emotional factors such as confidence, hope, connection, and purpose. As such, service provision must be able to support this process of change with a view to enabling a transition into a new and sustainable lifestyle by negotiating both the structural opportunities and the necessary internal transformations. The role of service provision in supporting this process of self-determination and becoming one's conscious self must therefore be considered in the context of enabling active, embodied engagement in the world and successful role transition.

Part 5

Implications and Conclusion

10. Implications For Policy and Practice

This research has been conducted on the hypothesis that role identity will be a key mechanism through which to understand the process of desistance, and that emotions will be linked to this role identity and process of change (Harris 2011; Ebaugh 1988; Maruna 2001). The research used qualitative research techniques that were designed to map the emotional aspects of change as women leave the sex industry and to test the following assumptions:

1. The emotional aspects of desistance have a direct impact on whether or not desistance is achieved
2. Role transition is a prerequisite for desistance and this role transition is tightly bound with emotional factors
3. An understanding of these emotional aspects will make an important contribution to policy and practice
4. There is a need/demand for emotionally intelligent service provision

The data confirms that understanding the emotional aspects of exit offers new insights and gives rise to a new approach to service provision. This chapter explores each of these hypotheses in the following ways:

- Hypotheses 1 and 2: the findings reveal that emotions are central to desistance and that role transition is a prerequisite for desistance. The data has shown that exit is a process of self-determination, becoming one's authentic self, and that this process is bound up with emotional drivers and barriers. The emotional transformations that occur as women move from negative to positive poles on the emotional constructs are part of the process of role transition – transforming emotions means transforming lives and identity. Further, a model of self-determination can be contrasted to a redemptive model of desistance, which adopts a fall/redemptive narrative and is particularly unsuitable for marginalised and stigmatised women. This contrast highlights the importance of making alternative narratives available to women so that they are able to successfully transition roles.

- Hypotheses 3 and 4: the process of exit necessarily involves fostering positive emotional experiences through both external and internal changes. The data suggests that an understanding of dominant emotional constructs at any given time will give a gateway into how best to respond to the needs and motivations of the exiter through service provision. Service provision plays a key role in bridging the change in lifestyle of exiters through generating emotional energy and increasing access to alternatives. No clear and linear stages can be identified, which means that any approach to service provision must start with addressing the individual's emotional needs and respond accordingly. Nevertheless, a model of emotionally intelligent service provision that uses emotional stages as a guide for intervention can be developed.

Overall, it is suggested that an emotionally intelligent response to the needs of exiting women will involve an understanding of the values and emotional constructs that are most dominant for each individual woman at any particular time. This research offers insight into the meaning of these emotional constructs, the relationship this has to different aspects of their lives, and opens the gate to exploring effective ways of helping women to move from one end of the pole to the preferred end of the pole, transforming their relationship to themselves and the world around them. In addition to targeting these specific emotional needs, service provision must also understand the context in which this change occurs – a process of role transition that sees a person move from a sense of detachment and disengagement to a stronger sense of identity, purpose and comfort – to living a lifestyle that is in line with their core values and sense of self and adopting a role identity that enables them to reintegrate with both self and society.

The research develops an emotionally intelligent model of service provision based on these insights, which includes both overarching emotional interventions and interventions that are targeted at specific emotional states, which are more likely to occur at different stages of the exiting process. The four main emotional categories that have been developed in this research and can be used to guide service provision are:

1. Disconnection: (linked to those who are not yet exiting)
2. Instability (linked to those who wish to exit and in early stages)
3. Testing (linked to those actively exiting)
4. Grounding (linked to those who have been exited for longer periods)

Overarching factors that must be adopted through service provision in order to meet emotional needs are:

- The availability and provision of therapeutic intervention where a woman is emotionally 'stuck'
- Generating emotional energy through solidarity, support and positive peer relationships
- Fostering hope and possibility through dialogue and an ideology that does not see involvement in the industry as inevitable and actively promotes exit
- Providing opportunity for self-expansion and meaningful activity in order to offer viable and emotionally accessible roles to transition into (spanning work, relationships, and other aspects of their lifestyles)
- A commitment to identifying the emotional needs of each service user and a flexible approach to responding to these individual needs

The centrality of emotions to desistance and role transition

Desistance and Role Transition

In contrast to political perspectives that focus solely on agency as the exercise of 'choice' (see for example, Sanders (2007))- and setting aside the issue of how meaningful this choice is in context - the data suggests that identity and authenticity are more pressing concerns for women in relation to exit. The constructs and emotional responses blend with issues of identity and there is an overall desire to be one's conscious self, which is blocked by their involvement in the sex industry, and motivates the desire to exit. In this context, not only is role transition a prerequisite for desistance, but it is also a transition into a more authentic sense of self and a lifestyle more in alignment with the individual's core values. In turn, this transition in roles offers the kind of emotional experiences that are sought after and sharply

contrasted to the emotional experiences associated with involvement in the industry. These findings have strong implications for policy and practice as it demonstrates on the one hand, the universality of the emotional needs of women involved in the sex industry who generally adopt similar emotional constructs but differ in emphasis and availability of the preferred poles of these constructs, and on the other hand, the complexity of moving beyond a one-dimensional conversation about choice into a more nuanced understanding of authenticity, self-determination and identity.

For those women who are able to transition, or can imagine doing so, the roles are gendered and generally relational, thus supporting Rumgay (2004). The data demonstrated that there was a limited repertoire of roles aside from that of partner/mother. Even where alternative work was imagined, it was frequently gendered work linked to caring roles such as nursing. One notable exception was a woman who discussed wanting to collect antiques and restore furniture. This role was available to her as she had experience of this industry prior to her involvement in the sex industry. What is striking in the data is the fact that the women share such a commonality of values no matter what their particular circumstances - as such, the desired emotional experiences were universal but there was doubt about how to adopt new roles that would offer these emotional experiences.

Women who described dislodgement from their emotions were also essentially experiencing dislodgement from their sense of self, resulting in an erosion of identity, which made it harder to transition into new roles. Shifts in identity depend upon being able to conceptualise an alternative, which includes having access to alternative emotions – being able to experience or imagine experiencing feeling different, which leads to then being different. For many women interviewed, the undesirable emotional experiences they have had became part of their identity, particularly for those experiencing trauma or shame. For many others, they struggled to imagine the alternative self they could step into precisely because they could not imagine experiencing new emotions.

The data suggests that a key element of service provision is to support this transition into a new role identity through both external and internal change, combining access to opportunity and to new ways of thinking and feeling

about the world. Core to this is a commitment to offering a safe space in which to foster alternatives. Many women mentioned that the possibility of exit had not been discussed with them through the services they accessed. This was particularly the case in organisations that took a harm minimisation approach. For women who are attempting to leave the industry, hope and possibility are crucial drivers; Harris (2011) argues that *'emotions provide individuals with the motivation that is necessary to translate their belief into behaviour'* (p8). Service provision is a vehicle through which this hope and possibility can be fostered. Both the exiting (Ward 2007) and desistance (Maruna 2001; Farrall and Calverley 2006; 2011; Rungay 2004) literature have identified hope and trust in the future as key components of role transition. It is in this area of hope that institutions appear to have the most influence (Baker et al. 2010; Oselin 2009). The exiting literature has demonstrated that even being given the opportunity to talk about exit creates space for women to view their choices differently and begin to hope that they could make changes in their lives (Matthews et al. 2014). Those who are ideologically opposed to exit (Cusick et al. 2011) appear to be confusing the fostering of hope with an approach that forces or coerces exit. This links directly to role transition, as it is the first step in being able to conceive of change and possible new roles.

Fostering hope is only one aspect of addressing the internal changes necessary for service provision, which involves understanding the other emotional dynamics at play (see below). Further, this commitment to supporting role transition must also be considered in light of the gendered issues regarding availability of new roles. There are practical implications relating to the possibility of alternative work but also emotional issues relating to gendered roles. Firstly, roles such as wife and mother may only become possible with a focus on trust and rebuilding relationships. Secondly, focussing solely on gendered roles may limit the possibility of developing a desirable alternative lifestyle. Service provision has a responsibility to both open up the possibility of adopting familiar roles such as wife/mother and to expand the repertoire available to the women they support through developing practical solutions to finding meaningful work and activity. These practical solutions, such as getting women into work, indicate the need for further research and testing of new approaches. The emotional dynamics of desistance and role transition are explored further below and considered in

relation to the possibility of offering more emotionally intelligent service provision.

Emotional aspects of desistance

Emotions can and must be viewed as part of communicative rational action. It is clear that emotional factors were both barriers and drivers for the women during their exiting process. Emotions were intertwined with both the interpretation of their experience and their decision-making. This supports PCT, appraisal, and emotions management literature that acknowledges the key communicative, interpretive, and appraisal function of emotions (Hochschild 1983; McCoy 1977; Lazarus 1991). These internal factors were shaped by and shaped their external and structural factors; thus, also supporting Archer's (1995) notion that agency and structure are interdependent. Most notably, a lack of structural opportunity was frequently internalised as a lack of confidence and sense of vulnerability. Similarly, experiences of trauma could be internalised as an underlying sense of fear, dissociation, or a sense of worthlessness and shame. On the other hand, these emotions could lead people to be blind to, or to reject, the structural opportunities available – for example, by connecting with support networks, managing money, or searching for alternative work. Most notably, the *embodied* aspects of this work are particularly relevant, with experiences of numbing out having devastating consequences for the ability to actively engage in the world (Lyon 1998) and the process of exit involving a new experience of being in one's body.

Some key emotional barriers and drivers in relation to exit could be identified:

- The relationship to shame and anger was often complex and unresolved. Many women would not articulate these emotions, however, these emotions could also frequently threatened to derail them from any new or potential path.
- Many women reported feeling nothing/numb – this was frequently associated with drug or alcohol use but not limited to this. Some

women continued to see this numbness as having a protective function, however, it was clear – and supported by the literature - that numbing out made it impossible for these women to be engaged in life.

- Intimacy emerged as a very strong driver to change. Feeling connection was thought of as essential. For one woman who felt unable to find connection, she remained attached to the subculture of the sex industry even when trying to find new work.
- It is clear that some level of emotional clearing and healing is necessary in order to be able to successfully exit, however, there is no emotional standard that is a prerequisite for exit. Many women can and do leave the industry with residual emotional (and practical!) challenges that can later be addressed.
- The ability to conceptualise positive emotions is essential to successful exit
- Emotions are linked to a commitment to both one's own identity and to social structures. Exit means negotiating identity and participating in a process of reintegration. In order to drive forward change there must be a sense of emotional energy and emotional glue that binds women to themselves, the process and to others.

It is clear, therefore, that emotions have a central role in the process of desistance/exit. These themes are demonstrative of the call for emotionally intelligent service provision – responsiveness to the needs of these women and an awareness of these drivers and barriers. If the overall process is one of transition into a new role that aligns with a person's authentic sense of self then these emotional dynamics are clues as to how this process can be responded to and supported.

Emotionally Intelligent Service Provision

The Role of Service Provision: Social Glue

Stigma and social isolation emerge as a key theme in terms of what must be overcome to successfully desist. Turner and Stets (2005) argue that emotions are the glue that bind people together and generate commitments to large-scale social and cultural structures, thus making these social structures viable for the individual – in contrast, less desirable emotions can also create separation and even result in the dismantling of these structures. This sense of separation for the women interviewed was often accompanied by a sense of feeling numb. The ability to feel loved, connected and supported was seen as desirable and strongly linked to successful exit. For many women, the role of service provision was the first step in being able to feel less isolated:

Elle: I just can't believe that there is someone like that what can help me... it makes me feel good that there's women like, like you, you want to know about my crappy um, you know it's good, yeah, it's it's nice because if I knew that there were something like this I could turn to, all I needed was for someone to take me to (get a methadone prescription)

As such, social and institutional contexts have the power to shape the emotions and thus facilitate re-entry into society and reduce feelings of social isolation. In turn, as this sense of isolation diminishes, the women are better able to take further steps in developing social structural bonds.

The example of meaningful activity demonstrates the way that structural context has a strong impact on desistance and is intertwined with internal factors. Service provision can be viewed as a mediator between social structure and the self. For many women, accessing specialist services will be their first opportunity to connect with a supportive community and to access practical support. Although harm reduction agencies provide essential services for addressing the day to day issues that are relevant to these women in the course of their work, such as safety and trauma, by reducing

immediate harm and unpleasant experiences – exiting services take on the additional responsibility of fostering an environment in which the desirable emotions that are essential for exit are able to grow and flourish. As such, exiting services crucially address issues of hope and identity, offering support that enables women both to make changes and sustain those changes. This is achieved by being aware of this role as mediator between social structure and self.

The Impact of Service Provision

There were mixed views in the data about the overall effect of service provision:

Rose: There are a lot of organisations, I have been to quite a few organisations and I've realised that there is a lot of organisations that can't meet some people's needs. I have dyslexic very bad and I find that organisations are not very helpful when I go there

...

And sitting in organisations where staff are talking about as a client about what happened in their past, and things like that you know, cause I've sat in (gatekeeper service) and I've heard the story a little while ago in (gatekeeper service) about these working women that have kidnapped a women and stuck a broken bottle up her vagina. I shouldn't have sat in (gatekeeper service) and heard that by a staff member, that was wrong.

Natalie: These two are similar because sometimes, even though I'm here, I feel like I would have gotten more support at (earlier stage of the service). It's like they've put me here and they've forgotten about me, they're in the office, I'm in my room locked away and no one does remember about me. And, that's the same with the people that I smoke with, I'm only there for their convenience, so I feel like I'm only here for you to be paid.... Because, it's quite unhealthy all of us in

the same house, you know, we smoke together, we share punters... I will run up and knock so and so's door and say, do you know what this man wants two women, it's too seedy, there's no way out, because you're all in the shit pit together. There's no yellow brick road to say, let me go up that road because it looks pretty, do you know what I mean, there's none.

Freya: I'm one of these people I don't usually, I don't like to bother people, I like to try and sort it out myself rather than asking for help but. I suppose sometimes, (they're) just there to remind me, that we're here for a reason, if you need help, we're not going to judge you or anything else. I can come (to the gatekeeper service) when I'm feeling vulnerable and I don't want people to judge me

In light of the findings of this research, it is necessary to revisit sociological and criminological ideas about service provision. Central to this is that emotional intelligence and meeting emotional needs are seen as essential elements of any approach to influencing behaviour and that there is therefore a need to build 'emotionally intelligent' service provision (Scheff 2011). The power of both peers and institutions to influence and shape emotions has been acknowledged (Oselin 2009; Hallett 2003), particularly in generating emotional energy. This echoes Rossner (2011) who observes the power of collectively sharing and working through emotions. Institutional structures have the power to generate both positive and negative emotional energy. Thoits (1990) advocates building new solidarities in order to combat a loss of emotional energy through the demands of emotions management, as stated earlier he suggests the following:

1. new symbols must stress the injustice of the status quo – transforming negative feelings into anger
2. critical consciousness must be developed – the new (internal) voice is louder than the (internalised) voice of the status quo
3. high rates of interaction with those who share the view (as confrontation is costly)
4. structural changes need to occur

For women leaving the sex industry, it is clear that a critical conscience can enable them to reinterpret their experiences in a way that rejects their sense of internalised shame by offering a safe and non-judgemental space – both the sex worker rights and violence against women approaches are based on this – and to develop a sense of solidarity through peer support. Many women mentioned the positive impact that service provision had on rebuilding their self-esteem and making them feel unconditionally accepted. However, for women leaving the industry, peer relationships can be problematic as many women discussed the sub-culture of the industry being a something that can pull them back into their involvement. Relationships with their peers can be difficult and unhelpful and may in fact have a negative emotional impact. An awareness of these social dynamics is therefore necessary and can be influenced by generating a positive ethos that fosters positive emotional energy, lifting the emotional energy of the group in its entirety.

For exiting women, the presence of an environment that has a strong commitment to facilitating transformation is of great benefit. Unfortunately, many women described accessing support that did not even raise the possibility of leaving the industry. This failure to open up dialogue about options leaves these women feeling as if they have no other option. Far from avoiding stigmatisation, instead it leaves these women feeling stuck in only one possible role, thus marginalising them further. The institutional environment in which support can be found can play a strong role in changing the social context in which these women are situated:

Rose:

P: No, I didn't get no support with leaving.

I: And so, no one endeavoured to talk to you about it, or anything like that?

P: No, I never had any conversation with nobody talking about leaving the streets.

I: And do you think that would have been helpful to you?

P: Yes.

I: In what way?

P: It would have given a bit of guidance about leaving something that is not good for you and is not right for you, and that would

have been very helpful. Sitting down and wanting to hear stories, that wasn't helpful, wasn't helpful to me at all.

Further, as has been made clear in the findings, the decision to exit depends on the interplay between internal and structural factors. Exit will not be seriously contemplated unless the women can reimagine their lives in a way that make sense, including being able to access structural opportunity. Some women discussed the fact that even when accessing service provision, no one discussed the possibility of exit and they felt that this conversation would have been helpful. Many others described only being able to exit once they understood that they were supported and could access help. On the other hand, many women were accessing services but did not feel ready or willing to consider the alternatives.

The role of service provision in supporting the decision to exit, therefore, can be viewed as providing a context and environment in which women can land once their decision to exit has been made. This environment should then offer both emotional and practical support. It is necessary too to be aware of the existence of this context and when offering service provision, the women would benefit from being made aware of the support available and invited to consider all their options and alternatives. The environment in which support is accessed must speak of opportunity that the women are invited to make use of. If a service fails in this respect, often by focusing on the women's choice to be involved in the industry and not wanting to challenge this, they essentially keep women entrenched in one idea of how their lives can be, thus limiting choice in the name of respecting choice.

Emotions management: an opportunity for intervention

A key finding of this study is the huge amount of emotions work that women describe as part of their daily lives both within the industry and having exited. The women described daily lives that drain emotional energy and result in people becoming divorced from the reality, thus reducing their ability to make change. They also described a number of strategies for coping with this. These combined to result in a loss of emotional energy that gave rise to the relevance of Summer's Effler's (2004a; 2004b) work on combatting this and facilitating change. Her suggestions are strongly supported by the narratives

of the women interviewed, which suggest that there is an increase in emotional energy when women:

1. *have power and status*: the women's social structural position was a barrier to exit and the process of exit involved developing a sense of strength and pride, this sense of empowerment can be aided by service provision through providing respite from social structural lack of opportunity or stigma)
2. *achieve solidarity with others*: relationships were a key theme that supported exit, including accessing service provision where there is a supportive network. Service provision must offer a supportive environment. Many women describe tension with other women who access services, describing the subculture of the sex industry as a barrier to change. As such, this sense of solidarity can be difficult to foster and depends on a conscious awareness of the culture of an organisation allowing room for change and a sense of hope while at the same time supporting women with differing circumstances and perspectives.)
3. *have the opportunity for self-expansion – new ideas, relationships, roles*: meaningful activity and relationships were essential elements of being able to move on and this process of self-expansion can be supported by service provision through offering new perspectives and new experiences, and believing in and developing the skills of the women who access the services

This leads to a sense of enthusiasm, strength, and a willingness to initiate change as opposed to feeling numb, lacking confidence, and experiencing depression. As such, service provision provides an opportunity for intervention by combatting the negative effects of emotions management in this way. In addition, service providers can also capitalise on the emotional resilience of the women who, having previously been subject to the emotional demands of the sex industry, have developed skills in influencing and manipulating their emotional experiences that can be adopted to aid transformation (Rosenburg 1990; 1991).

Emotionally Intelligent Services: Engendering Positive Emotions

The research makes it clear that one of the main factors in successful exit is the ability to transform both internal and external circumstances. Crucially, undesirable emotional experiences and their residual effects are major barriers to being able to move on and access any structural opportunity available. For example:

- Guilt, shame and anger as strong themes but rarely explicitly named. These emotions can lead to destructive behaviour through attempts to avoid them or through internalising these emotions to the extent that they become part of a person's identity – such as feelings of worthlessness or the belief that they are simply an aggressive person
- Feeling nothing/numb is often the negative pole in the emotional construct, demonstrating that for many women the problem becomes not feeling at all as opposed to experiencing painful emotions. This numbing then leads to a dislodgement from their sense of self and the world around them
- Many who are still involved struggle to conceptualise positive emotions. This is then strongly linked to an inability to imagine an alternative lifestyle and a sense of hopelessness. In order to be able to re-envision their lives, the women must capitalize on new experiences that offer these alternative internal experiences or capitalize on previous experiences

Further, the personal values hierarchies elicited from the interview participants demonstrate that many women will hold one or two values that are of central importance. Fostering the preferred emotions and healing the undesired emotions will be prerequisites to desistance/exit as they go hand in hand with the ability to desist and transition roles – acting as either drivers or barriers and facilitating the necessary internal shifts as well as transforming their relationship to the external world. Many women could not imagine being ok and able to exit if they did not achieve certain aspects of

their emotional wellbeing. As these personal values vary, service provision must be able to respond to these varying emotional needs.

One of the main roles where service provision can have a significant impact is in engendering positive emotions and offering new positive emotional experiences. As discussed above, the overall ethos of an organisation can help to develop positive emotional energy. Where the goal of service provision is to generate emotional wellbeing, this ethos and overall approach must be matched with a model that is responsive to individual needs. Depending on the emotional construct that most needs attention, service provision can intervene and play a supporting and transformational role. Through an understanding of the dynamics of each construct, service providers can be aware of the kind of emotional dynamics at play – which construct is dominating their thinking and the kinds of emotional needs they are expressing. By assessing each individual on an on-going basis, it will be possible to identify which of the construct categories needs attention.

The Emotionally Intelligent Model of Service Provision

The above analysis of the emotional dynamics of exit points to a number of overarching principles that could be effectively adopted by service provision to ensure that it is emotionally intelligent and responsive. Combined with targeted responses that address specific emotional needs, this paves the way for the development of an emotionally intelligent model of service provision. The targeted responses are developed below with reference to four emotional categories. Although no stages model can be identified, there are nevertheless some themes in the data relating to change over time. As such, the following categories have been ordered in a way that reflects what is likely to come up in the pre, early, middle and later stages of exit. This is intended merely as a guide and should not be viewed as a fixed process – it is recommended that the needs of each woman be determined on an individual basis and as they unfold. Responding to these emotional categories involves facilitating women to move from one end of the construct poles relevant to this category to the other, desirable, end of the poles. The suggested model indicates both how to recognise and to respond to a woman in this category.

This is a two-part model, the first being a set of overarching or basic principles and the second being flexible provision based on emotional categories.

Overarching Principles

- The availability and provision of therapeutic intervention where a woman is emotionally 'stuck'

The research suggests that therapeutic intervention is not a prerequisite for desistance but nevertheless can be a necessary part of exit when a woman is unable to move beyond certain emotions, leaving her incapable of transitioning roles. This can occur at any stage of exit, whether it is feeling numb or afraid and being unable to contemplate exit, or having exiting but still identifying with guilt or shame.

- Generating emotional energy through solidarity, support and positive peer relationships

The environment and ethos in which services are provided are extremely important, not least ensuring that peer relationships are promoting positive change and easing isolation in addition to workers who maintain appropriate professional boundaries at the same time as creating a culture that facilitates change and nurtures vulnerability.

- Fostering hope and possibility through dialogue and an ideology that does not see involvement in the industry as inevitable and actively promotes exit

It is clear that many women are missing out on the opportunity to discuss exit or are unable to access comprehensive exiting programmes. An approach that sees exit as achievable and something to be openly discussed is essential.

- Providing opportunity for self-expansion and meaningful activity in order to offer viable and emotionally accessible roles to transition into (spanning work, relationships, and other aspects of their lifestyles):

Meaningful activity at all stages of exit is a particularly effective way of offering new emotional experiences and facilitating transition into new roles and lifestyles.

- A commitment to identifying the emotional needs of each service user and a flexible approach to responding to these individual needs

The research found that there are no clear and linear stages and that women will have different emotional emphases at different times. It is important to work with women to identify their individual emotional needs in light of the constructs that have emerged from this research and respond accordingly. Four emotional categories have been identified to simplify this process and to allow for a blueprint for working with women, indicating which category is most likely to occur at different stages of exit but it should be checked against these individual needs and adapted accordingly.

- The ability to provide both urgent and open-ended support

The data reveals that the decision and overall process of exit differs from woman to woman. For some, there is an *emotional turning point* that marks a sudden and permanent commitment to change. For others, the process is more gradual with periods of relapse. For those who have had emotional turning points there may be immediate needs in relation to a specific traumatic incident or urgent practical concerns. For gradual exiters, there may be the need to provide open-ended support so that the exiters feel able to reach out for support regardless of having encountered set-backs.

Category 1: Disconnection

Most likely to occur: prior to contemplating exit

Recognising someone in this emotional category

A woman who is experiencing disconnection will display signs of depression and a lack of emotional range or expression. This woman is out of touch with her feelings and although she may display a tolerance for negative emotions or experiences, she will not have access to positive emotions and so find little enjoyment or engagement with life. She is likely to not be considering exit as she has a sense of hopelessness, which makes her believe that change is impossible. She may also mask her feelings and operate through a persona. Often, women who are disconnected will be numbing their emotions through drugs and/or alcohol.

Case Study: Olivia

Participant 4 is still currently involved in street prostitution and does not enjoy her day-to-day life. She believes that the sex industry is the only way that she can make money and finds several aspects of the work unpleasant, such as her treatment from the police and members of the public and standing outside in the cold. She struggles to articulate any positive emotions and cannot imagine what an alternative lifestyle would look like. She is isolated and has lost custody of her children. She is not reflexive about her experiences and does not directly articulate shame or anger although they are present in her narrative. She is shut off from her emotions and although she cannot conceive of a desirable alternative, she does not feel like her involvement in the industry represents her true self.

Responding through service provision

Numb/Feeling

- Possible therapeutic intervention to respond to depression, feeling numb, and trauma

Disconnection is a category that is highly likely to occur in people who feel unable to exit and who are actively involved in the industry, however, it is also something that can be experienced by women at any stage of exit. The inability to feel and engage actively in life will derail any possibility of exit. For women who are experiencing depression, feeling numb or reliving trauma, there may be a need for psychotherapeutic intervention. Turner and Stets (2005) point out that unacknowledged, denied, and repressed shame/anger can be disruptive to social bonds. Acknowledging these emotions can be reconstructive.

- Alcohol and drug treatment

Further, numbing out can be as a direct result of drug and alcohol use and many women who access services are known to be in need of drug and alcohol treatment, this can be a crucial element in fostering enough stability to be able to make change:

*Elle: 'it's nice because if I knew that there were something like this I could turn to, all I needed was for someone to take me to ****(support), it was so easy to do once I got myself on a methadone script...'*

Disheartened/Hopeful

- Open dialogue about the possibility of exit
- Dedicated exiting programmes
- Outreach

As discussed above, hope and possibility are crucial drivers to change. Whereas harm reduction services traditionally focus on *fear/safety*, exiting services go one step further by not only addressing these immediate needs of addressing harm but also introducing the possibility of adopting a new role and lifestyle. Effective exiting services must address hope and identity and help in the construction of new roles that engender positive emotions. This involves beginning a dialogue with women who access services about their

choices and the possibility of exit and an ethos that does not see prostitution as inevitable.

Category 2: Instability

Most likely to occur: in those who wish to exit and in early stages

Recognising someone in this emotional category

The most dominant constructs for this woman are likely to be fear/safety, isolation/support and shame/cared for. She will likely be struggling with the immediate needs that are the traditional realm of harm reduction services and seeking solace from immediate harm on the streets or unpleasant experiences. In addition, she will have a sense of isolation, be distrustful of others and be seeking the companionship and support offered at the services. Further, she may be struggling with feelings of shame and degradation and benefit from the non-judgemental environment of support services.

Case Study: Laura

The participant had just escaped from a controlling boyfriend that morning. Her primary motivation was to escape this relationship and be in a safe space. The service had arranged her accommodation and supported her to leave. She was wary about the possibilities, did not know whether she could realistically survive without involvement in the sex industry, but aware that she wants to make changes. She is experiencing a strong sense of isolation through her involvement in the industry and this feeds into some anxiety around completely separating from her partner. She desires a 'normal' life – a renewed relationship with her children, a nice house, holidays – but is not confident that these things are available to her.

Responding through service provision

Fear/safety

- Harm reduction services
- Secure premises
- Local and accessible support services

- Provision of emergency accommodation

This construct is the traditional realm of harm reduction – the priority for women whose primary concern is to feel safe as opposed to afraid will be to meet their needs in respect of day-to-day threats of immediate harm and to reduce unpleasant experiences. Services are frequently a place of sanctuary and safety for women involved in the sex industry and responding to the immediate needs of women's safety is an essential element of service provision.

- Building trusting relationships with a key worker
- Providing respite and protection from toxic relationships and environments, such as with boyfriends and pimps

Further, fear/safety also includes suspicious/complete trust. The presence of a supportive environment in and of itself gives women the opportunity to build trust. Building relationships with key workers is a fundamental aspect of this. However, healing in this area is likely to also mean supporting women to rebuild and transform their relationships. On a practical level, as is borne out from the elements analysis, this may include developing measures to combat the impact of relationships with 'boyfriends' and pimps and an awareness of the potential pressure from peers. Being able to feel safe in this sense is likely to involve a change in social networks.

Struggle/Happy

- Possible therapeutic intervention to address issues of emotional safety
- Holistic and joined up interventions – responding to complex needs

The construct fear/safety also encompasses the idea of emotional safety and this is linked to the pain and emotional distress that women describe in the construct struggle/happy. Support services play a key role in providing relief from the stress and worry of their daily lives and opening up the possibility of change by increasing emotional energy. The residual effects of involvement

in the industry may call for therapeutic support in order to address trauma. Although not a prerequisite for desistance, it is a tool that can be used for women who are stuck in any of the negative construct poles – such as shame, grief, fear, and feeling numb.

Isolated/Supported

- Rebuilding relationships

Playing a key role in helping to form bonds and to rebuild relationships also helps to address needs in relation to isolation, support and intimacy. A related theme is that of relationships with children – women underlined the devastating impact that having their children removed could have on their emotional wellbeing, which could lead to deeper entrenchment in the industry. There is a gap in service provision for appropriately supporting women whose children are taken into care.

Shame/Cared For

- Providing a supportive and non-judgemental environment with an open doors policy

In addition, in the relation to a sense of isolation that is sometimes crippling, the very existence of a supportive environment can help to alleviate this. This also links to the construct *shame/cared for*. Women involved in the industry have both specific experiences of feeling degraded in the context of the work itself and an awareness of structural stigma and marginalisation. For many women, support services are the only place where they feel accepted and cared for. For example, the only current element that elicited a positive rating for participant 4 (still involved in the industry) was her involvement in volunteering through the gatekeeper service. As such, the gatekeeper service appears to play an important contrasting role in her life. Her overall sense of isolation is reflected in her personal values hierarchy where being accepted and treated well are at the top of her concerns. This participant describes the role that the gatekeeper service has in her life:

Anna: When I see people here it makes me feel like when you come somewhere to a service and there is a community there is hope for people.... They are here when I need them. They can't do no more than what I allow them to do. Me coming here today, they were talking to me and listening to me and smiling and that is enough in itself because obviously I have come to see someone, I've come to express myself or I've come for something and they're here and they've opened a door. When you open a door for me that's fine, that's just the start.

As such, the open door of services has a profound impact on the ability of women to make changes in their life by providing on-going support and building a relationship with service users. The most important aspect of ensuring this is offered is to ensure sustainable funding of exiting services.

Category 3: Testing

Most likely to occur: in women who are actively exiting

Recognising someone in this emotional category

Women in this category are predominantly grappling with both practical and identity issues related to adopting new roles – they are likely to display uncertainty around what is possible, to feel vulnerable in relation to their future, and struggling with low self-esteem and a lack of confidence. They are testing and trying to develop or reach out to new possibilities. These women may be vulnerable to returning to the industry if no desirable alternatives emerge.

Case Study: Pauline

Pauline has exited the industry but feels that money is a constant draw to becoming involved again because of debt. She is strongly concerned with developing a sense of independence and being able to manage her own life. The gatekeeper service has helped to give her a sense of direction and routine. She wishes to return to participating in activities, such as completing

her degree and pursuing her career, that give her a strong sense of self and strength. She feels that she needs more protection and to be cared for and feels limited by experiences of stigma so that she is unsure of what she will be able to achieve and feels vulnerable.

Responding through service provision

Vulnerable/Empowered

- Provision of support with finances, housing, and training or education
- Meaningful activity and alleviation of boredom – focussing on self-expansion

An awareness of the tension between being vulnerable and empowered while transitioning out of the industry is essential. Service provision provides a safe space in which women can be vulnerable in ways that lead to change. In fact, a willingness to be vulnerable appears to be a prerequisite for being able to make change. For example, in the financial realm it may involve financial uncertainty and taking on financial responsibilities. The elements analysis has demonstrated that as women move out of the industry their relationship to money changes and they are more committed to making changes in lifestyle than to having the ‘easy’ money from the industry (many underline that it is far from easy!). As such, responding to this vulnerability involves practical support in developing a more stable lifestyle – such as support with finances, housing, and training or education.

An essential factor to consider is also the issue of boredom – chaotic lifestyles can become habitual and once this stress is lifted a person may not know how to adapt to this change in pace. The elements analysis suggests that finding meaningful activity can combat this. Service provision must therefore develop creative opportunities for meaningful alternatives.

Dread/Enjoyment

- Opportunities for alternative, enjoyable experiences and things to do

While developing opportunities for meaningful activity is in itself important, so too is developing opportunities for enjoyment and distraction, so that Even before finding alternative work is possible, the women interviewed described the positive affect of having simply having opportunity and things to do:

Elle: (when I go to gatekeeper service) it feels like I've learned something that day, I've gained a bit of knowledge in my head... I feel good that day that I've been

Control/Freedom

- Possible therapeutic intervention focussed on choice and empowerment
- Support developing financial awareness and solutions
- Support transitioning into independent living – paying bills, managing a household etc.
- Fostering choice

This construct not only concerns the obvious effects of moving away from control within the sex industry but also to finding the balance between a sense of freedom and being able to cope with new responsibilities. In addition, freedom for many women necessarily involves financial security and many women described needing to transform their relationship to money, which can be well supported by service provision.

Category 4: Grounding

Most likely to occur: in women who have been exited for longer periods

Recognising someone in this emotional category

Women in this category may not be grappling with issues of safety, harm, or instability but instead with issues of identity and how to maintain a new lifestyle. They are women who are experiencing emotional relief and wishing to construct a way of life that brings contentment and is sustainable. They may suffer from residual emotional issues of fear, shame and a lack of trust in others. Further, they may feel held back in relation to work and sustainable employment. In essence, they are seeking to ensure that they have strong roots and looking to ensure that they have a sense of purpose, direction and stability. As such, the realities of daily life – its ups and downs, its responsibilities are embraced as necessary but sometimes challenging. In contrast to the category ‘testing’, these women are unlikely to be seeking excitement and struggling with issues of boredom, and instead focussed on feeling empowered.

Case study: Gina

The participant has been exited for 4 years having become pregnant with her son, which she saw as an opportunity for change and rejuvenation. She wishes to be in control of her life and not dependent on others and would like to find work in order to increase this sense of stability. She describes developing her self-esteem and confidence as something that she has had to work on and still works on daily. She has developed a new set of friends and engages in the community surrounding her church and religion, which is important to her. She has a strong sense of resilience and purpose, even though she continues to meet challenges. She describes feeling new and being at peace with herself and no longer identifies with her involvement in the industry, having left it all behind.

Responding through service provision

Guilt/Pride

- Possible psychotherapeutic intervention focussing on guilt and shame
- On-going support for maintaining relationships and rebuilding families
- Working with individuals to develop skills and interests - promoting creative opportunities to adopt new roles
- Support for finding sustainable employment opportunities

Closely linked to above, is the aim of helping to build a stronger sense of pride and self esteem. Guilt was found to be an emotion, along with shame, that had a strong presence even in late exiters, some feeling unable to complete shift out of these feelings and completely move on. From a practical perspective, service provision can help to engage women in meaningful activity and to find alternative work – particularly noting that many women remain stuck relying on benefits and cannot envisage getting a job despite a desire to do so. It is clear in the data that opportunities for feelings of pride – particularly through work or volunteer achievements and through relationships – supports the maintenance of new roles and lifestyles, making change sustainable:

Christina: (on being a pillar of the community and her recent projects such as setting up a sex group that supports women in the industry) Yeah, it makes me feel myself again. It makes me feel alive again. It makes me feel normal. It makes me feel like how was when I was bringing up my children. When I was living at home with my children and they were going to school and coming in, and me helping them with their homework and things like that.

A key element of creating opportunity that develops self-esteem and pride is to ensure that women have a range of options in relation to the roles they could transition into. At present, the research suggests that there is a narrow, gendered, list of roles that the women are able to conceptualise, some of which are problematic due to associated guilt (such as the mothering role) or underdeveloped. When women have genuine opportunities to understand their skills and interests this widens their possibilities and promotes pride. Building a sense of self-worth and confidence is essential to facilitate internal changes and to capitalise on any structural opportunity available.

Hurt/Content

- Opportunities for inspiration
- Continued support that responds to a range of needs

Women in this emotional category are concerned with achieving a sense of contentment, rejuvenation and feeling whole again. This means that they will be seeking a well-rounded and settled lifestyle and may need continued support to ensure that this is achievable. As such, these women require a flexible and responsive approach from services who are able to offer both inspiration and support in carving out a lifestyle that works for them.

Conscious self/persona

- Supporting women to become independent and find new communities to engage with
- Opportunities to access support away from peer groups or the environment of the sex industry

Although this construct emerged in the earlier stages of exit, it represents the overall arc or women's journeys as they exit the industry – a process of self-determination. For a woman whose emotional needs relate to cementing a stronger sense of identity and moving completely away from their identity as a prostitute or sex worker (depending on their own language), it is essential that service provision provides a space in which there is no danger of being dragged back into the industry by an entrenched culture and instead enables a woman to move on more fully. One woman describes the confusion that can be experienced as issues of identity are addressed:

Amy. I just feel like there has always been mixed views about who I am, because I started using as a child, so I didn't get to know who I was and I went through puberty on drugs, so that I didn't experience the whole transition from girl to woman, and just not having a lot of guidance, I think that is where everything got lost.

Service provision must be responsive to the fact that issues of identity will arise and that support will be needed to develop and maintain new roles. A combination of the ethos of the organisation that fosters a sense of hope,

the creative opportunities available and the emotional support offered will combine to support this process.

Summary of the Emotionally Intelligent Model

The emotionally intelligent model is based on both overarching principles and specific interventions according to emotional categories.

Overarching Principles

- The availability and provision of therapeutic intervention where a woman is emotionally 'stuck'
- Generating emotional energy through solidarity, support and positive peer relationships
- Fostering hope and possibility through dialogue and an ideology that does not see involvement in the industry as inevitable and actively promotes exit
- Providing opportunity for self-expansion and meaningful activity in order to offer viable and emotionally accessible roles to transition into (spanning work, relationships and other aspects of their lifestyles)
- A commitment to identifying the emotional needs of each service user and responding to these individual needs
- The ability to provide both urgent and open-ended support

Specific Interventions

1. Disconnection

- Possible therapeutic intervention to respond to depression, feeling numb and trauma
- Alcohol and drug treatment
- Open dialogue about the possibility of exit

- Dedicated exiting programmes
- Outreach

2. Instability

- Harm reduction services
- Secure premises
- Local and accessible support services
- Provision of emergency accommodation
- Building trusting relationships with a key worker
- Providing respite and protection from toxic relationships and environments, such as with boyfriends and pimps
- Possible therapeutic intervention to address issues of emotional safety
- Holistic and joined-up interventions – responding to complex needs
- Rebuilding relationships
- Providing a supportive and non-judgemental environment with an open doors policy

3. Testing

- Support with finances, housing and training or education
- Meaningful activity, alleviation of boredom and opportunities for alternative, enjoyable, things to do – focussing on self-expansion
- Possible therapeutic intervention focussed on choice and empowerment
- Support developing financial awareness and solutions
- Support transitioning into independent living – paying bills, managing a household etc.
- Fostering choice

4. Grounding

- Possible psychotherapeutic intervention focussing on guilt and shame
- On-going support for maintaining relationships and rebuilding families

- Working with individuals to develop skills and interests – promoting creative opportunities to adopt new roles
- Support for finding sustainable employment opportunities
- Opportunities for inspiration
- Continued support that responds to a range of needs
- Supporting women to become independent and find new communities to engage with
- Opportunities to access support away from peer groups or the environment of the sex industry

11. Conclusion

Although PCT was derived from psychology and has been used most extensively in this field, its application was never intended to be limited. In fact, it was offered as a way of complimenting and extending existing theory in a number of fields. Its potential in the field of sociological and criminological research has been demonstrated through this study of women exiting the sex industry, whereby the technique of repertory grid has enabled a nuanced understanding of the emotional dynamics of change in relation to women's desistance. PCT offers a technique for uncovering the 'repertoire of constructs' that people use. The technique of Repertory Grid is a powerful alternative to qualitative interviews as it allows the interviewer to move beyond surface descriptions and into meaning and interpretation. It also allows the researcher to identify the way in which a person uses their worldview to appraise their experience of the world, which includes the social structure in which a person is located. In the context of this research, it enabled an in-depth understanding of the changes in lifestyle that occur as women leave the industry and the interplay between lifestyle, emotions and the capacity to transition and subsequently maintain roles and adopt new identities. Opportunities for further research would include evaluative research that seeks to implement the emotionally intelligent model, identity research using PCT to further interrogate the meaning of 'conscious self', and narrative research into alternatives to the redemption/fall model of desistance.

Emotions have been placed at the core of this research because of their ability to shape thought, values, behaviour and identity. Emotions are acknowledged as central to identity and social life. An exploration of the literature on both exiting and desistance revealed that emotional factors were an underlying but as yet not fully explored aspect of the process of change. Emotions were seen as both informing and being informed by experience, and as shaping and being shaped by identity. Emotions are conceptualised as embodied, interactive and relational, meaningful and meaning-making, socially and culturally constructed and generated, related to power, social status and group dynamics, and bound up with identity.

Using repertory grid technique to uncover the emotional repertoires that women adopt to make sense of their world and combining this with narrative revealed that emotional transformations occur as women leave the industry and that these emotional dynamics shape the process of change. The women displayed commonalities in the emotional constructs that they used, regardless of their stage of exit or the location in which they worked or had worked. The notable difference between the women was the availability of the positive pole of their emotional constructs and the complexity with which they rated different aspects of their lives. Women who continued to be involved in the industry but were contemplating exit were the most likely to rate their current lifestyle at the undesirable end of the construct poles, whereas women who had exited for a long time demonstrated a more nuanced use of their constructs and had greater current experience of the positive poles. Although it wasn't possible to develop a stages model due to there being no clear and linear stages in terms of emotional change, there was nevertheless a clear move from undesirable to desirable emotions on the construct poles and themes emerged at different stages. Those who had not yet exited or were contemplating exit were more likely to rate their current lifestyles negatively, although interestingly, those who were contemplating exit appeared to be consciously experiencing negative emotions than those who were not. As women move into the early stages of exit, a sense of vulnerability emerges, as well as relief from isolation, which appears to be strongly associated with engaging with services and rebuilding relationships. Women who had moved on from the sex industry for some time still struggled with issues of trust but were more likely to report feelings of contentment and pride, which was often aligned with their relationships or meaningful activity.

From here, it was possible to reflect on the implications for developing emotionally intelligent service provision that is better able to support these emotional aspects of change. One of the most striking emotional consequences of involvement in the industry was the emotions work and resultant numbing out that involvement in the industry entailed. This resulted in a sense of dislodgement from oneself and an inability to engage fully in life and the world around them – also strongly associated with drug and alcohol use. Exit can be seen as a process of re-embodiment and a return to feeling like one's authentic self – this can be contrasted to redemption models of

desistance that are not available to women in the sex industry because of the issue of stigma and shame. This return to one's conscious or authentic self fosters the ability to reintegrate into society and fully participate in life, in an active, engaged and embodied way, thus experiencing a new sense of being in one's body and the world and having new emotional experiences available. In order to transition, it is necessary for women to be able to imagine and adopt new roles.

Service provision has a key role in enabling women to experience hope and to open up opportunities for new experiences and to engage in meaningful activity. Complete emotional recovery is by no means a prerequisite for exit. However, service provision can also play a key role in offering support in relation to trauma where therapeutic intervention is needed. Overall, services are a site upon which women are able to explore and test new roles and lifestyles. Emotionally intelligent service provision entails engaging with the women in a holistic way according to their current emotional needs. By being able to identify the emotional construct that most needs attention, support can be tailored in a targeted way. Removing women from harm – and thus allowing a feeling of safety to become available to them – is only one aspect of meeting emotional needs. As women contemplate and begin the process of exit, issues of hope, connection, empowerment, and contentment will arise. Exit is a process of self-determination, whereby a person steps into an identity and lifestyle that offers them a chance to express their identity in an authentic way and experience a wider repertoire of emotions, becoming more engaged in life. When understood in this way, service provision can respond creatively to fostering and supporting this change. Overall, the research supports the hypothesis that emotions are key to the desistance process as women transition into new roles and offers a model for providing emotionally intelligent service provision that offers both overarching principles and ideas for specific interventions according to four emotional categories of disconnection, instability, testing and grounding. There is a need for services that support this process of transformation from an emotionally intelligent perspective by fostering positive emotional experiences, creating choice and opportunity, and enabling women to reimagine their lives.

Part 6

Bibliography and Appendices

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Appendix 1

Generic Content Differential Analysis: Constructs

Construct	Number	%	Indoor/ Street/ Both % Yes	No/0/0- 6m/6m- 2y/ 2y+ % Yes
NB: % = percentage of women overall/women in that category with this construct in their grid				

1. Category of Emotion: Shame – Cared For				
The avoidance of being judged, excluded or abused by society or individuals in favour of being accepted and cared for. Subcategories of 1. Judged – Accepted, relating to sense of self in relation to society and social networks and 2. Abused – Cared For, in relation to interpersonal relationships and direct experiences of abuse.				
Judged-Accepted	4.4	6.5		1: 67%
Degraded/Sick – Positive/Good About Things	6.4	%	11.5	2: 47%
Embarrassed – Not Judged	6.8			3: 50%
Nothing Wrong – Stigma/Judged	8.1	13		4: 50%
Chastised – Optimism	11.8		21	5: 50%
Accepted/Included – Judged	16.8			
Happy – Degraded/Worthless	18.2			
Cared For – Judged/Guilty	18.6			
Strong/Empowered – Belittled	26.4			
Fresh/Content – Ashamed/Tainted	26.5			
Comfort/Self-Acceptance – Degrading	27.1			
Valued – Degraded	30.4			
Normal – Not Part of Society	28.2			
Degraded/Abused – Treated Well	4.1			
Hurt/Abused – Helped	7.4	4%		
Beautiful/ Needed – Nasty/Unwanted	11.2			
Cared For – Abused	12.5			
Looked After – Disturbed	17.7	8		
Treated Properly – Treated Like Dirt	20.4			
Loved/Cherished – Used/Abused	22.5			
Womanly - Used	26.3			

2. Category of Emotion: Guilt – Pride				
Relates to own self worth and personal pride. Subcategories are 1. Worthless – Confident, relating to confidence and sense of value and 2. Disgusted with Self – Looking after Self, relating to a sense of disappointment in self or being at peace with who they are.				
Shame/Feeling Like Nothing – I Can Do	5.4	6%		1:33%
				1: 29%

It Feeling Crap – Feeling Good About Self Worthless – Ecstatic Embarrassed – Confident Worthless – Confidence Confident – No Worth Self Worth – Empty/No Value Good About Myself – Worthless Pride – Nothing Dignity/Pride – Dirty/Disgraced Pride/Dignity – Shabby/Dirty Scum/Dirty – Like a Human Being	3.6 6.2 8.3 10.6 15.4 23.6 25.4 15.8 22.6 23.4 24.2	12	10%	2: 41% 3: 70%	2: 44% 3: 75% 4: 50% 5: 75%
God's Punishing Me – Kissing Floor Grateful Guilty – Done Something Right Disappointment with Self – Confidence Looking After Self – Disgusted With Self Self-Hatred – Worthy Being Yourself - Guilty Genuine – Disappointed/Guilty Regret/Angry at Self – Not Bothered	5.1 6.6 7.5 20.1 9.3 17.4 13.3 10.8	4% 8			

3. Category of Emotion: Fear – Safe					
For the participants there were two types of fear, which were closely related, 1. Fear – Safe, being awareness of immediate danger and 2. Suspicious – Complete Trust, being a lack of trust that emerges out of experiences of danger and trauma.					
Safe – Danger Calm/Relaxed – Looking Over Shoulder/Anxious Scared – Safe Having to be Alert – Relaxed Rattling – Needs Met/Normal Fear – Safe Threatened – Powerful/In Control Anxiety – Secure Nervous – Calm and Collected Panic – Safe Nervous/Unsure – Safe/Protected Security – At Risk Relief – Anxiety Scared – Safe At Risk – Secure Safe – Nervous Safe – Relief Feeling OK/Safe – Worried Afraid – Comfort Safe - Fear	1.2 2.3 4.2 4.3 5.2 5.6 6.3 6.7 8.9 9.4 10.10 11.1 11.9 12.3 14.4 17.6 18.4 19.1 24.3 25.2	10 %	13%	1: 33% 2: 59% 3: 70%	1: 86% 2: 44% 3: 50% 4: 67% 5: 50%
No Trust – Safe	3.5				

Suspicious – Complete Trust	9.8	3%			
Emotional Attachment – Wall, No Trust	10.7				
Trust/Faith - Fear	15.5	6			
Grateful – Being Let Down	15.6				
False Dreams – Trust	24.1				

4. Category of Emotion: Vulnerable – Empowered					
Closely linked to fear is the construct of being vulnerable as opposed to comfortable – related to powerlessness and a lack of stability. It has two dimensions, 1. Vulnerability – Strength/Power, related to a sense of personal strength and 2. Turmoil – Settled, related to lifestyle.					
Safe/Comfortable – Vulnerable	3.3				
Scared – Stick Up for Myself	6.1	3%	6.5	1: 67%	1: 29%
Vulnerable – Safe	7.3		%	2: 41%	2: 44%
Safe – Powerless	15.3	6		3: 50%	3: 100%
Strength/Power – Vulnerability	15.7		13		4: 33%
Protected – Vulnerable/Risk-Taking	16.3				5: 50%
Safe – Dependent/Problems	30.2				
Independence - Unsafe	28.5				
Stability – Scared	8.7				
Destitute – Security	9.6	3.5			
Chaotic – Control	5.7	%			
Too Much/Not Enough – Settled	14.2				
Content/Comfortable – Chaotic/Low	20.2				
Peace – Catastrophising/At Risk	23.3	7			
Settled – Dazed/Turmoil (no control)	25.3				

5. Category of Emotion: Numb – Feeling					
Relating to the ability to feel as opposed to becoming numb. 1. Not Feeling – Pain, the avoidance of pain through numbing. 2. Don't Care – Loving Feeling, the ability to feel concern and love for self and others. 3. Numb – Alive and Active, being able to be engaged in life.					
Not Feeling - Pain	30.1				
Numb – Angry	13.2	1.5		1: 33%	1: 29%
Numb – Head Full of Magic	9.2	%		2: 65%	2: 67%
		3	9%	3:40%	3: 75%
					4: 33%
					5: 75%
Nothing Else Matters – Aware	5.3				
Unaffected – Emotional Attachment	15.2	3.5	18		
Love – Stop Caring/Barrier	20.3	%			
Love – Nothing	21.6				
Don't Care – Opened Eyes	24.4				
Loving Feeling – Don't Care	25.6	7			
Care About – Careless	27.5				

Sense of Self – Not Conscious	27.3	8			
Not Feeling – Being	7.1				
No Interest/ Not Bothered – Can Do Anything/Free	6.5				
Happy – Not Bothered	3.1				
Enjoyment – No Feelings	29.6				
Feeling Able – Numb	28.3				
Alive and Active – Numb	25.1				
Numb - Enjoyment	12.4				

6. Category of Emotion: Hurt – Content					
In contrast to feeling numb, this construct concerns the experience of pain and anger as opposed to a sense of satisfaction and wellbeing. The subcategories relate to different kinds of pain. 1. Destruction – Rejuvenated, feeling hurt and in darkness as opposed to joyful and light. 2. Erratic – Whole, relating to anger, contrasted to a sense of satisfaction with self.					
Nurturing – Self-Destructive	16.5			1: 67%	1: 29%
Feeling Good – Hurting Mind/Body	21.4	2.5		2: 35%	2: 44%
Rejuvenated – Destruction	27.6	%	6%	3: 30%	3: 100%
New/Refreshed – Dark/Messy	23.7				4: 33%
Weight/Heavy With Regret – Relieved/Joy	24.5	5	12		5: 50%
Ticking Bomb – At Ease	10.2				
Fabulous – Angry	11.3	3.5			
Content – Anxious/Frustrated	13.4	%			
Annoyed- Better In Myself	14.3				
Satisfaction With Self/Calm – I Don't Care/Angry	18.5	7			
Whole – Erratic/Angry	22.3				
Relaxed – Angry	21.3				

7. Category of Emotion: Isolated – Supported					
The desire to feel supported as opposed to isolated. Subcategories related to external and internal isolation. 1. Alone – Supported, not having people to help and support. 2. Disconnected – Feeling Loved and Loving, relating to the ability to emotionally connect with others.					
Depression – Emotional Support	8.4			1:100%	1: 43%
Looked After – No Attention	14.7	6.5		2: 53%	2: 56%
Supported – Lonely	16.1	%		3: 10%	3: 50%
Help – No-one To Talk To	17.3		9%		4: 17%
Helped – Lonely	19.4				5: 50%
Helped – Alone	21.5	13	18		
Alone – Supported	24.6				
Supported – Unwanted	25.5				

Helped – Forgotten	26.2				
Supported – Hopeless	27.8				
Backed Up – Unwelcome	28.6				
Helped – Left To Do Whatever	29.5				
Helped – Alone	30.3				
Loved/Protected – Nothing	4.5				
Disconnected – Feeling Loved and Loving	5.8	2.5 %			
Isolation – Happy, Bubbly, Outgoing	8.2				
Lonely – Content	9.7	5			
Connection/Love – Lonely	13.6				

8. Category of Emotion: Dread – Enjoyment					
Relating to experiences of pleasure and anticipation of the same. 1. Disgust – Enjoyment, the contrast between pleasure and revulsion. 2. Dread – Excitement, anticipation of pleasure, which is opposed to a depressive sense of non-responsiveness.					
Enjoyment – Repulsed	27.7			1: 33%	1: 71%
Disgust – Good	12.6			2: 53%	2: 56%
Sick – Wanted	4.8	5.5 %		3: 60%	3: 25%
Disgust – Pleasure	8.6		11%		4: 50%
Despise – Love	9.1				5: 50%
Disgust – Enjoyment	9.5	11			
Disgusted – Nice	10.5				
Cringe (Disgusted) – Love	11.5		22		
Special/Important – Disgusted	17.5				
Meaningful – Disgusted	19.6				
Love – Revulsion	28.4				
Butterflies/Excitement – Dread	2.2				
Depression – Excited	7.6				
Boredom – Fulfilled/Excitement	10.1	5.5 %			
Excitement (big city lights) – Boredom	11.4				
Happy – Disappointed	17.1				
Depressed – Happy/Fun	14.1				
Interesting – Sad	14.6	11			
Interesting – Bored	19.2				
Fun – Depressed	20.5				
Excitement – Boredom	22.4				
Enjoyment – Disappointed	22.7				
Excitement – Not Being Noticed/Bored	23.2				

9. Category of Emotion: Struggle – Happy					
Overall, this construct relates to the ease and contentment with which a woman is experiencing her life as opposed to things being a struggle whether practically or emotionally. 1. Hard Work – Easy, relating to levels of stress. 2. Pain – Happy, the ability to feel comfortable as opposed to in distress.					

Stress – Happy	2.1			1: 0%	1: 71%
Strong – Stressed	3.2			2: 47%	2: 33%
Struggling – Not Worrying	4.6	4.5	8%	3: 70%	3: 50%
Vulnerable – Achievement	6.9	%			4: 67%
Easy – On a Downer (No Confidence)	17.2				5: 25%
Frustrated – Accomplishment	9.9				
Easy – Hard Work	18.1	9	16		
Dragged Down –Determination	10.4				
Denial – Managing/Accepting	11.7				
Comfortable – Distressed	22.2				
Happy – Pain	13.1				
Upset/Pain – Brilliant/Happy	12.1	3.5			
Pain – Enjoyment	7.2	%			
Low – Happy	5.5				
Sick – Ecstatic	2.4	7			
Content - Sad	1.3				

10. Category of Emotion: Controlled – Freedom

The desire for self-determination and freedom for coercive influences, also relating to independence. 1. Controlled – Freedom, relating to being free from the influence of others and having choice. 2. Suffocated – Freedom, relating to the pressure of responsibilities and relationships. 3. Dependent – Strong, having a sense of independence, not being needy.

Freedom – Controlled	1.4			1: 33%	1: 43%
Choice – Chained/Necessity	28.1	3.5		2: 41%	2: 44%
Just Happening – Choice	10.3	%	7%	3: 30%	3: 25%
Strong – Controlled By Something	29.4				4: 17%
Choice – Controlled	15.1				5: 50%
Capable – Cornered	15.9	7	14		
Freedom – Controlled	18.3				
Freedom – Boundaries	27.4	1.5			
Own Space – Rules/Told What to Do	19.3	%			
Suffocated – Freedom	10.9	3			
Independent – Degraded/Embarrassed	14.5				
Strong – Dependent	16.6	2%			
In Control – Needy	23.1				
Independent – Lacking Confidence	1.5	4			

11. Category of Emotion: Disheartened – Hopeful

Hope and despair, the opposite of despair ranging from feeling passive to having a deeper sense that there is nothing to live for. Subcategories related to hope and purpose. 1. Wayward – Hopeful, whether something gives a sense of potential. 2.

Purpose – No Direction, whether on a valued life path.					
No Worries/Whole – Disheartened	29.3			1:100%	1: 57%
Positive – Brought Down	29.1			2: 47%	2: 44%
Escape/No Burdens–Wrenching/Nothing to Live For	26.1	5.5 %		3: 40%	3: 50%
Hopeful – Wayward	22.1				4: 50%
Possibility/Being Someone – Hard	21.1		8.5 %		5: 50%
Potential/Options – Pointless/Left With Nothing	19.5	11			
Positive – Passive/Scared	16.7		17		
Keeps Alive/Going – Don't Want to Live	12.2				
Jumping off the Pier – Hope	8.5				
Wary – Sense of Possibility	1.6				
Freedom – Isolation	1.1				
Purpose/Empowered – Numb/No Direction	23.5	3%			
Direction – Unknown	16.2				
Valuable/Purpose – Regret	27.2	6			
Fulfilling Potential – Worthless	29.2				
Just Existing – Purpose	11.6				
Useful – Not Doing Anything	4.7				
Pride/Importance – Not Feeling/Nothing Matters	3.4				

12. Conscious Self – Persona					
Feeling like one's authentic self as opposed to performing.					
Whole – Something Missing	13.5			1: 67%	1: 0%
Conscious Self – Persona	16.4	1.5 %	1.5 %	2: 6%	2: 22%
Real Self – Closed	21.2			3: 0%	3: 25%
					4: 0%
		3	3		5: 0%

Elements Analysis

Element	Number	%	Indoor/ Street/ Both	No/ 0-6m/ 6m-2y/ 2y-0y/ 10y+
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1. Aspect of Lifestyle: Drug/Alcohol Use					
Drugs	10.1, 9.1, 7.1, 6.1, 5.1, 3.5, 2.1, 1.6, 15.5, 13.4, 12.3, 12.4, 20.5, 18.8, 16.4, 25.7, 24.1, 23.3, 22.2, 30.4, 29.2, 28.2, 27.3, 26.3	6.7% (24)	7% (25)	1: 33%	1: 71%
				2: 82%	2: 67%
				3: 90%	3: 100%
					4: 83%
					5: 100%
Drink Problem	17.4	0.3% (1)			

2. Aspect of Lifestyle: Types and Ways of Working					
Flexible hours	10.10	2.5% (9)	11.8% (42)	1: 67%	1: 100%
Lack of Sleep	9.6			2: 100%	2: 100%
Standards	6.5			3: 90%	3: 75%
Personal Hygiene/Appearance	6.6				4: 83%
Working Independently	14.8				5: 100%
Nothing to do	19.5				
Unpredictable work	19.2				
Being out in freezing cold	4.8				
Missing daytime	1.2				
Having Sex For Money	10.7, 6.4, 3.2, 8.7, 4.5			1.4% (5)	
Working the Beat/Streets	9.3, 7.5, 5.9, 15.7, 14.10, 12.2, 13.6, 20.3, 19.7, 18.12, 24.3, 17.8, 25.4, 23.4, 22.6, 30.1	6.2% (22)			
Soliciting/Sex work	29.1, 28.1, 27.5, 26.2, 11.6				
Sauna	3.4, 17.7	1.7% (6)			
Escorting	20.2, 23.1, 22.1				
Indoor work	21.10				

3. Aspect of Lifestyle: Criminal Justice System					
Being in prison	5.8, 14.6, 20.6, 18.9, 25.1	2.5% (9)	2.5% (9)	1: 0%	1: 29%
Shoplifting	13.1			2: 41%	2: 56%
Probation	30.9			3: 20%	3: 25%
Drug Dealing	28.6				4: 17%

Probation Worker	9.2				5: 0%
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4. Aspect of Lifestyle: Social Isolation					
Homeless	10.4, 7.4, 14.4, 13.2, 25.3, 30.3, 29.6, 26.7	2.8% (10)		1: 67% 2: 53% 3: 20%	1: 57% 2: 78% 3: 50% 4: 0% 5: 0%
Hostel	19.6				
Being in Care	18.10				
Lying	8.5		5.1%		
Abuse from public	4.6	2.2% (8)	18		
Police harassment	4.7				
Police Attention	30.7				
Avoiding Male Attention	28.8				
Living Foreign Country	8.6				
Moving to England	8.11				
	21.1				

5. Aspect of Lifestyle: Money					
Extra/More Money	10.2, 19.1	5.9% (21)		1:100% 2: 47% 3: 70%	1: 57% 2: 67% 3: 75% 4: 67% 5: 25%
No Money/Struggles	7.2, 17.3, 16.2, 21.5				
Having Income	8.8				
Having Expenses	8.10		5.9% (21)		
Getting money (for drugs)	5.5				
Money – cash in hand	3.1				
Needing certain amount	2.2				
Money in pocket	1.1, 15.1, 13.7, 20.4, 23.2, 21.7, 30.5, 28.7				
Bills	22.11, 10.5				

6. Aspect of Lifestyle: Punters					
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Regulars Punters	9.4, 28.10 4.2, 19.3, 16.10, 25.6, 24.5, 23.7, 21.9	2.8% (10)	5.3% (19)	1: 67% 2: 47% 3: 50%	1: 43% 2: 44% 3: 50% 4: 50% 5: 75%
Meeting nice men	1.4				
Weirdos/ Arseholes Violent Clients Dodgy People/Punters Dirty Bastards Pimp Threats (Associates) Abusive roleplay punters	9.7 6.3 2.3, 12.9 11.2 11.5, 22.5 16.5 16.9	2.5% (9)			

7. Aspect of Lifestyle: Threatening Environment

Other women (working) Seeing drug addicts Fighting Aggressive women People to smoke with	6.2 5.4 15.8 14.11 26.9	1.4% (5)	3.4% (12)	1: 0% 2: 30% 3: 60%	1: 57% 2: 11% 3: 25% 4: 67% 5: 50%
Danger Risk of violence Violent incidents	4.9, 3.3 2.3, 1.3 14.9, 18.11, 24.4	2.0% (7)			

8. Aspect of Lifestyle: Traumatic Experiences

Abusive Relationship Being attacked by family Family abuse Past boyfriends Paedophile ring Older man Controlling relationship	7.6, 13.11, 16.3, 25.5, 30.2, 29.3, 28.4 5.7 15.2, 13.3 15.6, 14.7 15.9	6.2% (22)	9.3% (33)	1: 67% 2: 82% 3: 50%	1: 71% 2: 67% 3: 75% 4: 83% 5: 50%

Family problems	13.5				
Fighting with partner	12.5				
Upbringing	11.9, 19.8				
Boyfriends	20.11				
Young Sex	17.9, 23.5				
Rape (15)	23.8; 27.4 20.7				
Death of partner	12.8	3.1% (11)			
STI	11.1				
Mum leaving	20.1, 22.8				
Dad having cancer	16.1				
Separation	21.6				
Parents Split	28.3				
Mum Dying	26.1				
Break-Up	10.8				
Autoimmune Disease	16.11				

9. Aspect of Lifestyle: Recovery and Support					
Gatekeeper service	10.11, 8.1, 7.8, 6.8, 5.3, 15.10, 12.1, 11.3, 19.12, 17.2, 18.5, 25.10, 24.9, 22.4, 30.6, 29.4, 28.9, 27.6	5.9% (21)	10.4% (37)	1: 67%	1: 57%
Group Work	27.9			2: 88%	2: 78%
Outreach	11.4, 29.5			3: 60%	3: 75%
Women's group	18.4	3.1% (11)			4: 83%
Women's Refuge	16.6				5: 100%
NA Meetings	26.5				
Support	26.6				
Rehab/Detox	29.10, 27.10, 9.5				
Counselling	18.2				
Christianity	18.3, 23.9				
Church	29.9				
Sober Periods	7.7	1.4% (5)			
Free of alcohol/drugs	6.9				
Being clean	13.8				
Relapse	29.12				
Putting on weight	5.11				

10. Aspect of Lifestyle: Children					
Kids/Children	10.9, 7.11, 9.11, 4.11, 15.3, 2.10, 12.7, 20.10, 17.10, 25.8, 16.7, 23.6, 22.3, 21.11, 27.10, 29.7, 28.5, 26.4	5.6% (20)	9.0% (32)	1: 67%	1: 71%
More kids	3.11			2: 76%	2: 67%
Pregnant	11.7			3: 90%	3: 100%
Losing Kids/Adopted/ Care	7.3, 5.2, 13.9, 17.6, 24.2, 26.11 3.7, 13.10	3.4% (12)			4: 83%
Kids staying/ living with	6.10				5: 100%
Having son with me	15.4				
Access to kids	1.8				
Reuniting	24.7				

11. Aspect of Lifestyle: Relationships and Connection					
Relationships	9.8, 4.10, 17.5	2.5% (9)	8.7% (31)	1: 67%	1: 86%
Getting married/ husband	3.12, 1.10			2: 71%	2: 78%
Partner/family	2.5, 20.8, 18.1			3:100%	3: 75%
Good relationship	12.6			4: 67%	5:100%
Current Relationship	7.9, 15.11, 14.3, 11.8, 22.1	1.7% (6)			
Husband	21.4				
Dinner with Family	9.10	4.5% (16)			
Family/Friends	8.4, 6.7, 19.11, 24.12, 30.8, 27.12				
Normal Banter	8.12				
Stronger family connections	3.6				
Family home	25.11				
Community	24.8, 23.10, 22.9				
Brazil	21.3				
Positive People	29.11				
Home Life	27.1				

12. Aspect of Lifestyle: Work and Activities					

Being on benefits	8.2, 5.6, 4.1, 2.7, 24.10	1.4% (5)		1:100% 2: 82% 3:80%	1: 86% 2: 78% 3: 100% 4: 83% 5: 100%
Doing Courses College/learning things Volunteering Music video Dog walking Sex Group – accredited Working Park Training Trying new things	7.10, 3.9 6.12, 17.1, 23.10 4.3 14.1 14.2 25.2 27.7 27.11 10.6	3.4% (12)	12.4% (44)		
9-5 'Normal' work Own business Job Looking for a job Care work Other job/Cleaning Career Retail University Restaurant Work Modelling	9.9 8.9, 12.12 6.11 19.10, 18.7, 24.11, 22.4 5.12, 4.4, 3.10, 19.4, 29.8, 28.12, 26.12 1.7, 8.3, 30.11 14.5, 17.11 16.8, 23.12 25.9 21.2 21.8 26.8 10.12	7.6% (27)			

13. Aspect of Lifestyle: Settled Living

Flat Roof over head Nice Gaff Own Place Nice house/flat	10.3 5.10 15.12 9.12, 2.8, 30.12, 28.11 1.9, 12.11, 20.9, 19.9, 24.6	3.1% (11)		1: 67% 2: 94% 3: 60%	1: 71% 2: 78% 3: 100% 4: 100% 5: 50%
Normal day to day things Stable/secure home Partner that is working	3.8 2.6, 11.12 2.9	5.1% (18)	9.3% (33)		

Domestic Role Stability/settled Holidays Driving Normal life Pillar of community Housewife Home/Work area	2.11 1.5, 14.12, 27.8 1.11, 16.12, 22.6 1.12 13.12, 18.6 25.12 21.12 27.2				
Living on Beach Isle of Skye Mansion Countryside	7.12 11.10 11.11 26.10	1.1% (4)			

356 --- 100.1%

Table 1

Participant	Age	Race/Nationality	Location	Time exited
1. Laura	37	White British	Street	Not actively trying to exit
Working most days. 1 year of involvement in order to finance her and her boyfriend's drug habit. Trauma through controlled relationship and had just left partner that morning. No mention of other experiences of trauma. Children removed.				
2. Kate	31	White British	Both indoor and street	Exited 18 months ago
Worked first in sauna then street (reports not wanting to give other people her money but also reports acquiring crack habit while working in sauna). Started indoor age 13 after running away from home, started on streets age 15. Currently in a relationship. Children removed. Trauma through family situation she ran away from.				
3. Charlotte	35	White British	Both indoor and street	Exited 5 months ago
Worked both street and saunas. Involved since 16 when a girl took her down as a way of financing her crack habit, which she had picked up through peers. Currently in a relationship. Does not describe previous experiences of trauma prior to acquiring drug habit. Children removed.				

4. Olivia	43	Black British	Both indoor and street	Still currently involved
Involved in street prostitution, previously saunas but she felt too fat to continue working there even though she prefers the clients. Involved since age 17. Entered to earn more money as benefits wasn't enough (living in care). Not a drug user. Single. Trauma through being kicked out of her gran's house and living in care. Children removed				
5. Elle	47	Black British	Street	Exited for 1 year
Exited for 1 year but has gone on the beat twice in that time (two months ago). Entered prostitution after developing heroin addiction in 2005. Family are well known drug dealers and she sold drugs before taking them. Trauma through firstly growing up in a drug dealing family and secondly her partner being murdered. Children removed.				
6. Freya	41	White British	Both street and indoors	Exited for 11 years
Entered due to drug addicted and abusive partner. Involved for 5 years (late twenties), No previous experience of trauma but a lot of trauma once involved in the industry (violence/rape). Son removed but since returned				
7. Nicky	35	White British	Street	Exited for 2 years
Entered due to poverty and grief. Was not using drugs when entered (but had previous habit). Ended up in an abusive relationship where she was controlled and severely abused by a gang.				
8. Holly	32	White Eastern European	Indoors	Wishes to exit
Childhood physical and emotional abuse from mother, entered after running away from home. Was involved in the industry before coming to the UK with an agency who promised her more work than she received.				
9. Imogen	38	White British	Street	Wishes to exit
Entered age 18, suffered childhood abuse that caused PTSD. Still working on streets to fund crack and heroin habit, wants to leave but trying to get on drug treatment programme. Has a daughter who has her own place.				

10. Julie	36	White British	Street	Still currently involved
<p>Currently working streets but only on weekends. Used to work more regularly. Works to earn money and does not have job whereas previously worked to fund drug habit. Entered due to drug use about 10 years ago - drug use linked to her partner. No history of abuse. Has children.</p>				
11. Bekki	32	White British	Street	Exited 3 years
<p>Entered prostitution at the age of 12 being pimped after running away from home. Exited because she got HIV. Claims to never have had an addiction (contrary to what was said by other women who stated that she is using drugs while pregnant). Currently pregnant and also has a 4 year old. Is in a relationship with the father who has been abusive.</p>				
12. Gemma	53	White British	Street	Still currently involved
<p>Entered age 13 as a way of making money and after a violent argument with her mother who she lived with until age 21. Her mother had knowledge of her involvement. She had a controlling partner age 15. Uses speed but used harder drugs when she was younger. Suffered bereavement when her partner died. Has children.</p>				
13. Melody	33	White British	Street	Wishes to exit
<p>Still involved but has cut down as no longer a heroin user so answers 'yes and no' to whether still involved - now just does for extra money. Entered 8 years ago due to drug use and not wanting to work or shoplift (too vulnerable to criminal charges). Homeless at 13, got addicted through a much older man when she was 13 he was 34. Originally she financed this by shoplifting. Two children removed a year ago because of violent partner.</p>				
14. Louise	61	White British	Street	Still currently involved
<p>Has been involved since 19. Was raped and subsequently ran away from home at 16. Was homeless when entered prostitution. No drug habit. Unable to have children. Previously worked in care work.</p>				

15. Dani	44	White British	Both street and indoor	Exited for 2 years
<p>Exited from street prostitution and drug addiction 2 years ago. Involved on street since 1989 but in sex industry for a paedophile ring since age 13. Experience of sexual abuse from brother, father heavy drinker, mother mental health issues. Had very violent relationship. Entered due to poverty and being introduced by a friend</p>				
16. Pauline	49	White British	Indoors	Exited two months ago
<p>Entered through an abusive/grooming partner in 2010. Previous history of abuse as a child plus very abusive relationship in 30s. Cocaine use during her involvement, partner also cocaine user and she was paying for it. Broke up with partner in 2011 due to threatening behaviour as he and his associates wanted her to become a drug mule. Subsequently worked for an agency and had threatening experiences while involved</p>				
17. Rachel	26	White British	Both indoor and street	Still currently involved
<p>Son got adopted as she had a drink problem. Not a drug user. Involved since the age of 15 when she was drunk and a man made her an offer and she thought it was an easy way to make money. Says her childhood was disturbed and never knew her dad. Stopped being heavily involved a few months ago - exited because she was getting ill with the drinking and finding things hard.</p>				
18. Steph	30	White British	Both indoor and street	Wishes to exit
<p>Entered prostitution 2 years ago when she came out of prison having developed a heroin habit in prison. She was in prison for shoplifting. Currently works street, tried saunas but didn't want to pay feels and felt less safe as less choice over clients. Wants to exit. History of rape and violence, became very violent herself when involved in drugs and prostitution.</p>				
19. Tina	20	White British	Street	Wishes to exit
<p>Involved in street prostitution irregularly, looking for alternative work. Entered as a way of making money and through boredom. Difficult relationship with her mum and lived in a hostel at one time.</p>				
20. Una	25	White British	Both indoor and street	Wishes to exit

Entered at age 17 escorting, stopped five years ago at the request of her partner but entered street prostitution recently as broke up with partner and has lost her methadone prescription. Describes having had a bad upbringing, having been left by her mother at age 11 who didn't seek custody of her, only her sisters. Her mum punched her. Smoking weed from age 11. Went to prison for 18 months before meeting her partner who asked her to stop escorting. Raped at age 15 when still a virgin.				
21. Val	28	Brazilian	Indoors	Wishes to exit
Involved since 2005, had a period of non-involvement while with husband but returned to the industry when relationship broke down in 2012. Wants to leave when earned enough money.				
22. Anna	27	Black British	Both indoor and street	Exited 1 year ago
Reduced involvement 2 years ago due to a romantic relationship, immediately prior to this she had shifted into escorting and enjoyed this. Describes herself as 'dabbling in and out of it'. Crack user. Entered aged 13 but became more involved at 15 in order to fund drugs. Mum moved away when she was 15.				
23. Gina	41	White British	Both indoor and street	Exited 4 years ago
Entered aged 24 (with 5 year old daughter) through escorting for the money but around the same time developed a crack habit and after 4 years ended up working on the streets. Exited when pregnant with her son aged 37. Dad heroin addict and mother alcoholic and was in a children's home.				
24. Rose	34	Black British	Street	Exited for 3 years
Entered 12 years ago having been involved for 8/9 years. Became involved due to crack cocaine addiction and had just lost her children. Grew up in a crack house.				
25. Christina	53	Black British/West Indian	Street	Exited for 2 years
Became involved in 2006 due to being homeless and found a way in through women she knew. Started using drugs to numb involvement in the industry. Homelessness was a result of domestic violence that was so bad that she had				

<p>the side of her face replaced, she was in this relationship for ten years. Last time she was involved was one month ago to use drugs but she has been mainly out of street work since leaving prison two years ago, has been getting support from gatekeeper service since this time and has got to a stage of the structured programme where she is ready to disengage and move on.</p>				
26. Natalie	37	Black British	Street	Exited for 3 years
<p>Exited but has been up and down with relapses - about 4 of them - and the last time was 18 months prior to the interview. Drug use lead to involvement in the industry about 12 years ago. Became involved in drugs through the people she was around in the area she lived in. Never stood on the street instead would identify and approach punters. Was raped in 1993 as a result of her drug use by housing a crack dealer.</p>				
27. Amy	25	Black British	Street	Exited for 3 years
<p>Entered aged 13 through a family friend who was 36 and paid her for sex. Raped age 15 and became his girlfriend. Started smoking crack aged 15 and this accelerated her involvement in the industry. Unstable home life – mother had mental health issues – abused by foster brother at age 9. Street but wouldn't stand on corners would patrol and approach people. Exited a few years ago but has still been in and out. Feels it is not part of her life anymore. She is not earning but is involved in volunteer projects.</p>				
28. Jane	45	White British	Street	Wishes to exit
<p>Entered aged 28 to support her addiction to heroin. She started heroin use aged 14 after running away from home due to parental separation and emotional fallout with mother. Started using heroin when living in a squat, her sister was also living there and started using independently as her boyfriend was keeping them apart as sisters. Dad was very violent to her mum. Ended up in an abusive relationship herself at age 17. Split with husband aged 19 and was celibate for 9 years and then got raped six months before entering the sex industry.</p>				
29. Emily	29	Black British	Street	Wishes to exit
<p>Heavily drug addicted but with plans to leave the industry. Became involved two years ago through crack addiction and relationship breakdown meaning she had to fund her habit herself. Someone forced her into her crack addiction. Prior to</p>				

crack addiction had a normal life. Has been raped				
30. Lucy	37	Mixed Race Cameroon	Street	Still currently involved
Only does blow jobs on street. Became involved 5 or 6 years ago through an abusive relationship and she became homeless then started taking crack. Has been raped long before involvement in the sex industry and tried going to the police but he was not convicted. Did not have problematic home life. Has been in and out of the criminal justice system and was on probation, would leave but can't because she says she needs the money.				

Table 2

	Frequency
Not actively trying to exit	7
Wish to exit but continued or sporadic involvement	9
0-6 months exited	4
6 months - 2 years exited	6
More than 2 years exited	4
Total	30

Table 3

Service	Participants (interview number)	Context of interview
1	6 (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7)	At drop-in centre in a house away from red light district
1	1 (5)	In home, arranged by service who provided transport to and from the address
2	1 (8)	Appointment arranged by service, held at service in town centre, also picked up condoms

3	12 (9,10,11,12,13, 14,15,16,17,18, 19,20)	Held at drop-in service in red light district frequented by a number of kerb crawlers, with women working directly outside of the service and many attendees at drop-in coming in during a period of work
3	1 (21)	Held in back room of brothel (organised by service that has a relationship with the brothel through providing health information)
4	1 (22)	Interview at drop-in centre close to red light district but appointment arranged. Most women attending drop-in centre have continued involvement in the industry and may drop-in during a period of work
4	2 (23,24)	Initial introduction through service, followed up by telephone due to logistical problems, interviewees were at home
5	2 (25,26)	At residential premises at service for women who are ready to move into more independent living
5	4 (27,28,29,30)	At residential premises at service for women who are in early stages of change or urgently need accommodation

Table 4

Indoor, Street, or Both Location

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Indoor	3	10.0	10.0	10.0
	Street	17	56.7	56.7	66.7
	Both Indoor and Street	10	33.3	33.3	100.0

Total	30	100.0 0	100.0
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Table 5

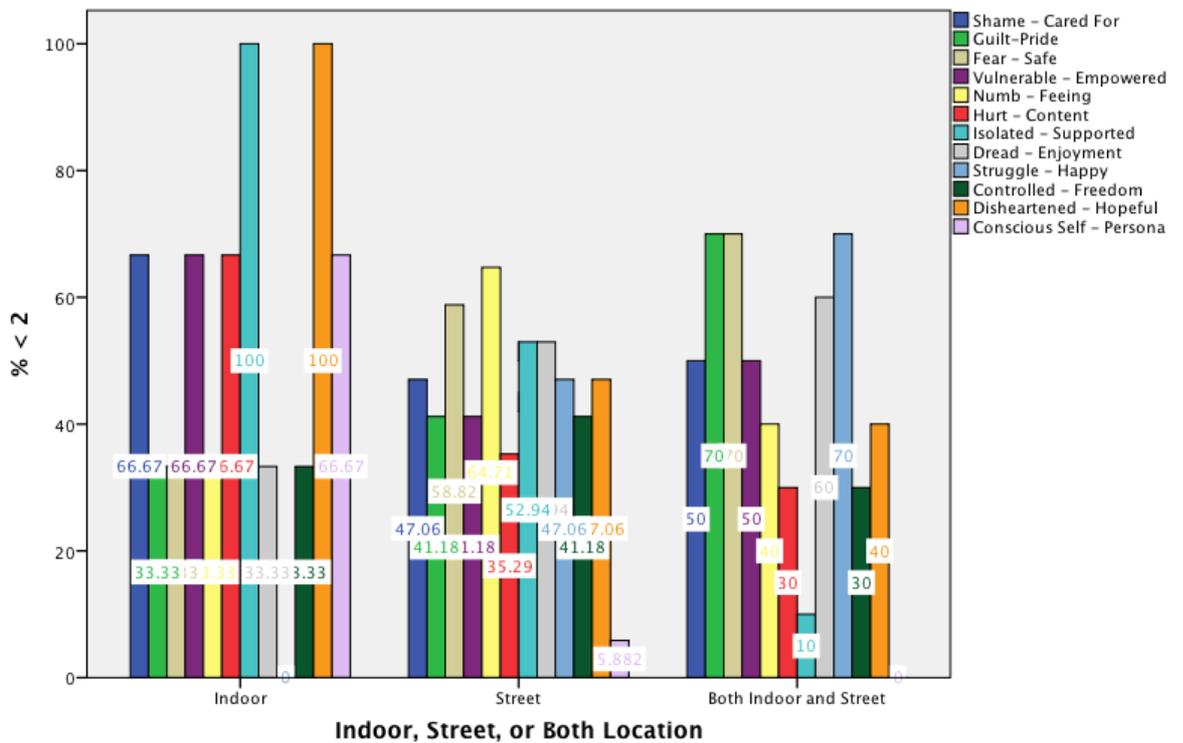
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not actively trying to exit	7	23.3	23.3	23.3
Wish to exit but continued or sporadic involvement	9	30.0	30.0	53.3
0-6 months exited	4	13.3	13.3	66.7
6 months - 2 years exited	6	20.0	20.0	86.7
More than 2 years exited	4	13.3	13.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0 0	100.0	

Table 6

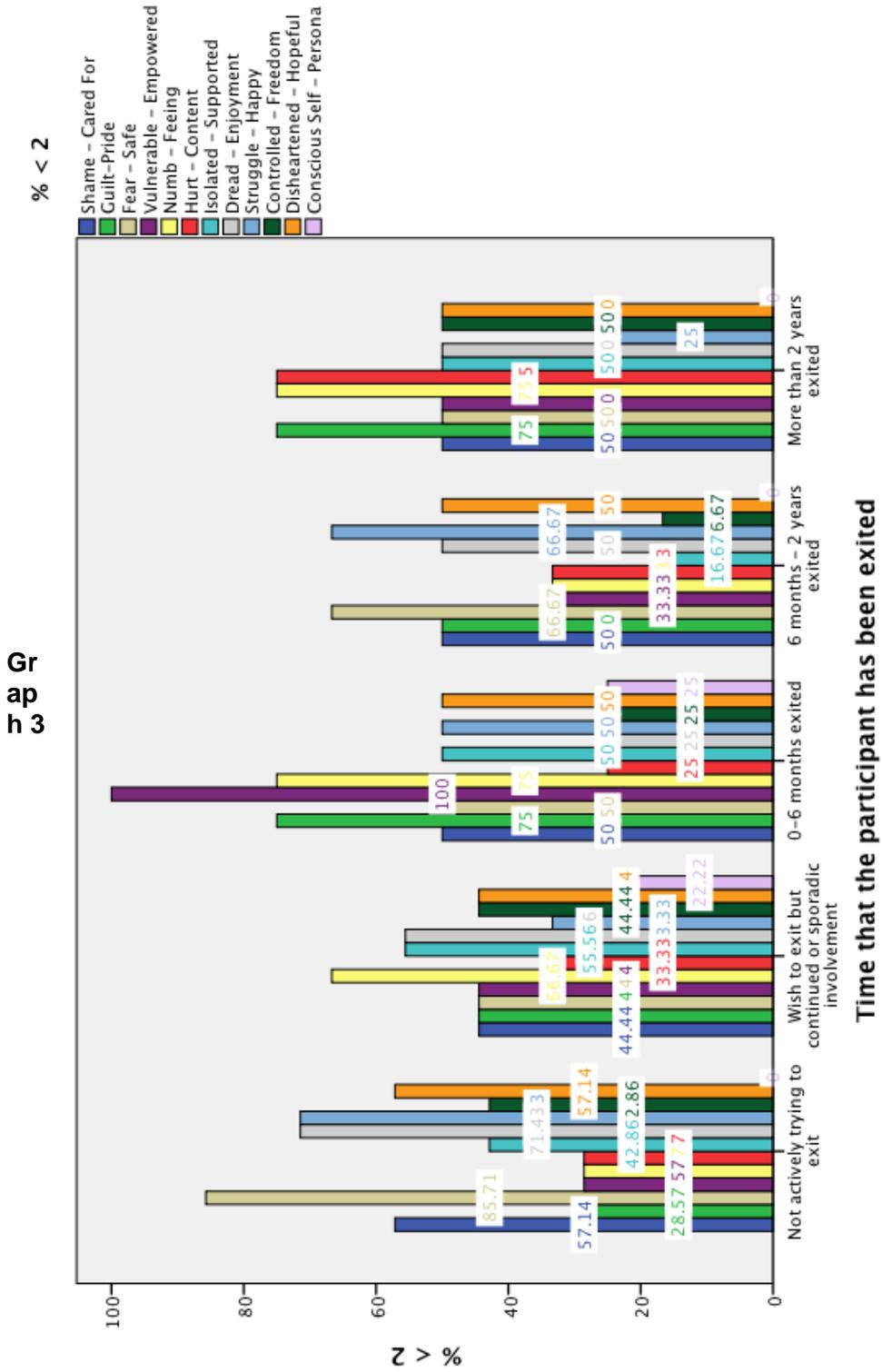
Participant number	Time exited	Elements relevant to current lifestyle
10	Not actively trying to exit	Extra money, Flat, Bills, Having sex for money, Flexible Hours, Gatekeeper Service
19	Wish to exit but continued or	Unpredictable work, Punters, Job

	sporadic involvement	search, Sex work, Relationship with mum, Gatekeeper Service
7	0-6 months exited	Sober periods, Gatekeeper service, Friend/relationship, Doing Courses
2	6 months – 2 years	Partner/Family, Stable Home, Benefits, Children, Domestic Role
23	More than 2 years exited	Money, Son, Religion (Christianity), Community – new friends, College

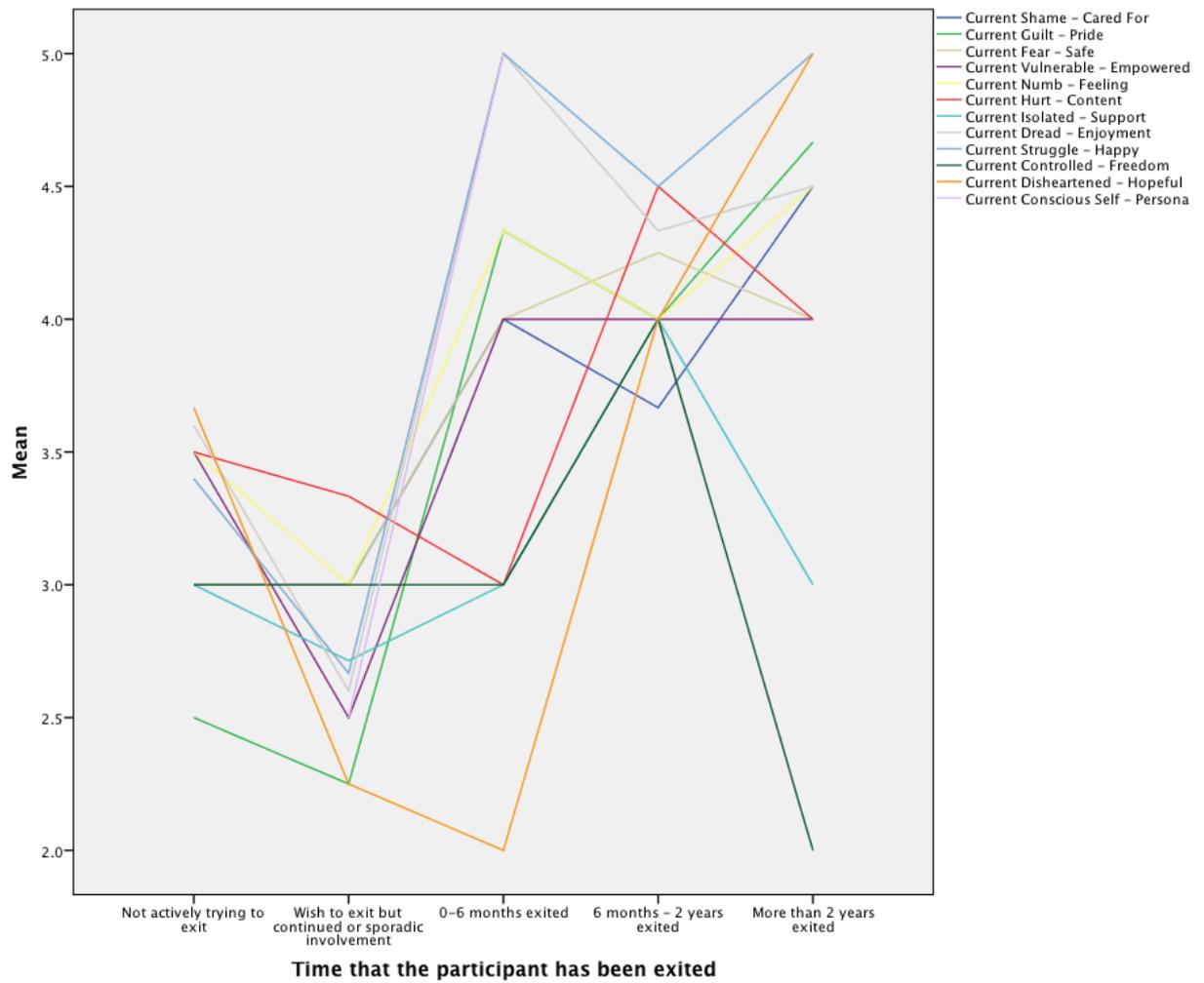
Graph 1



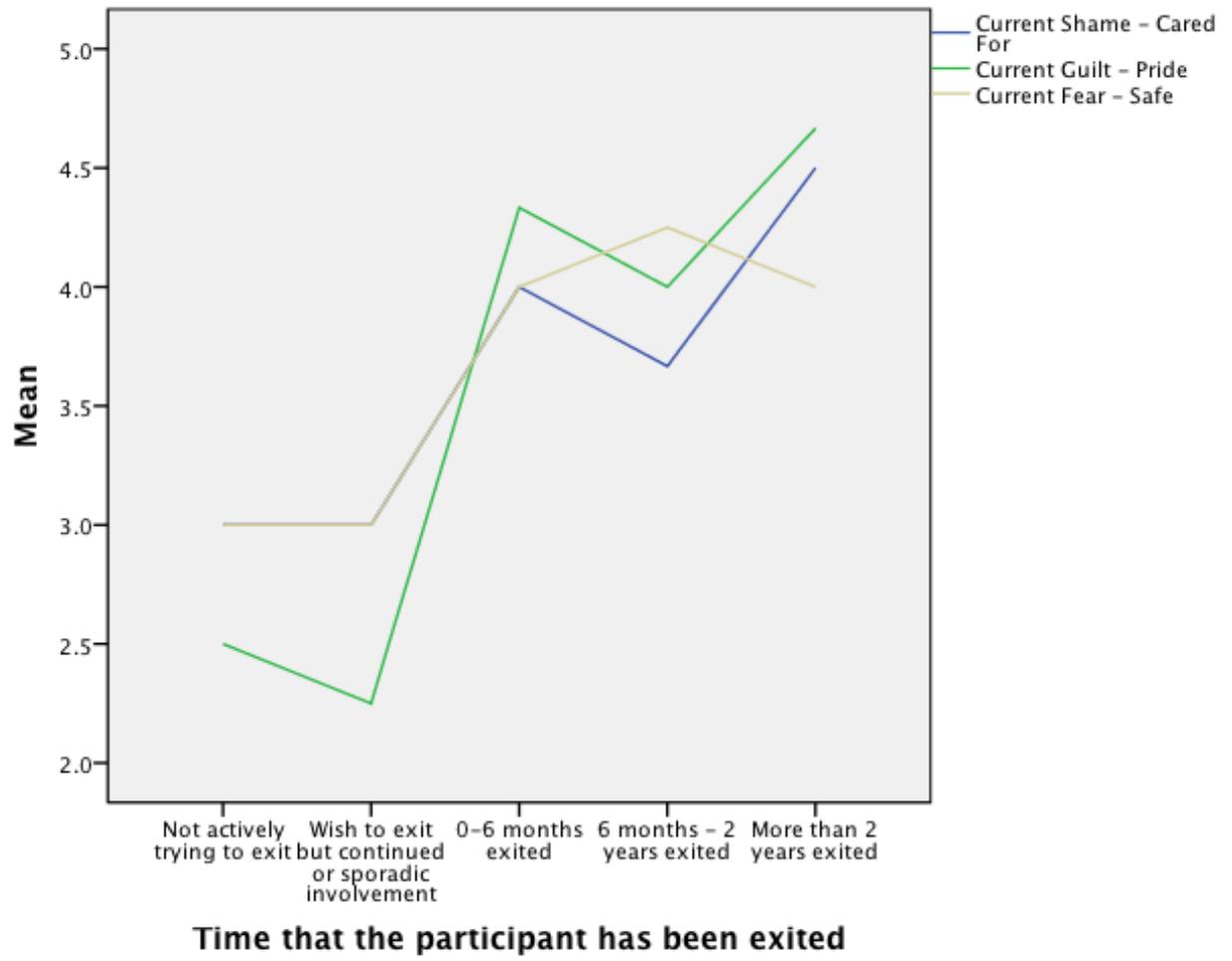
Graph 2



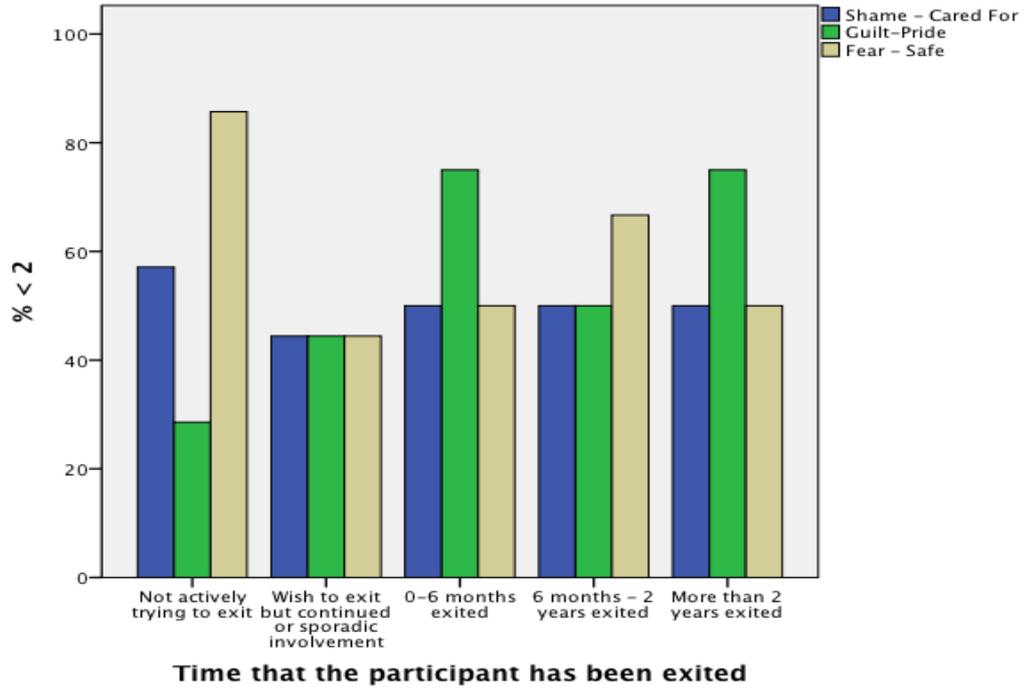
Graph 4



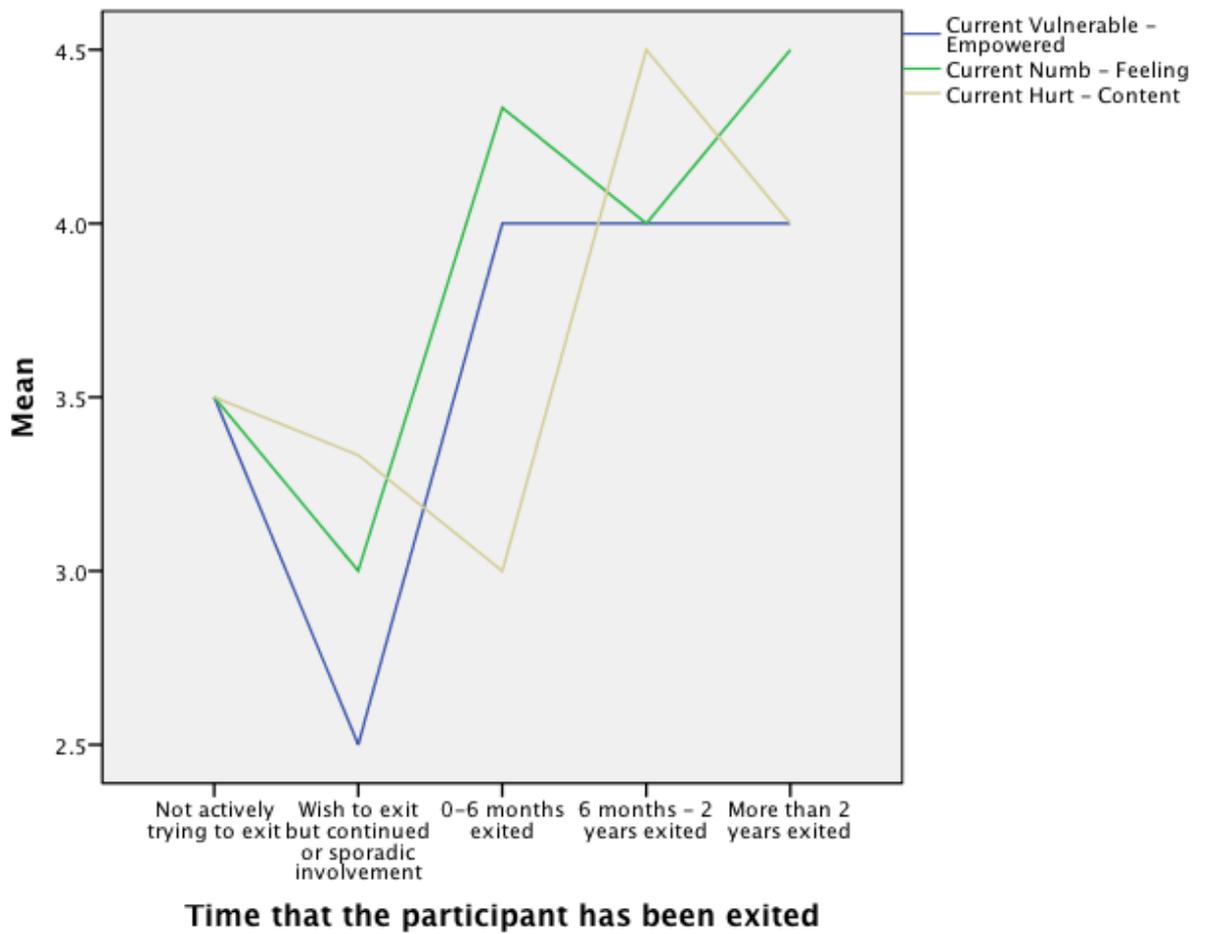
Graph 5



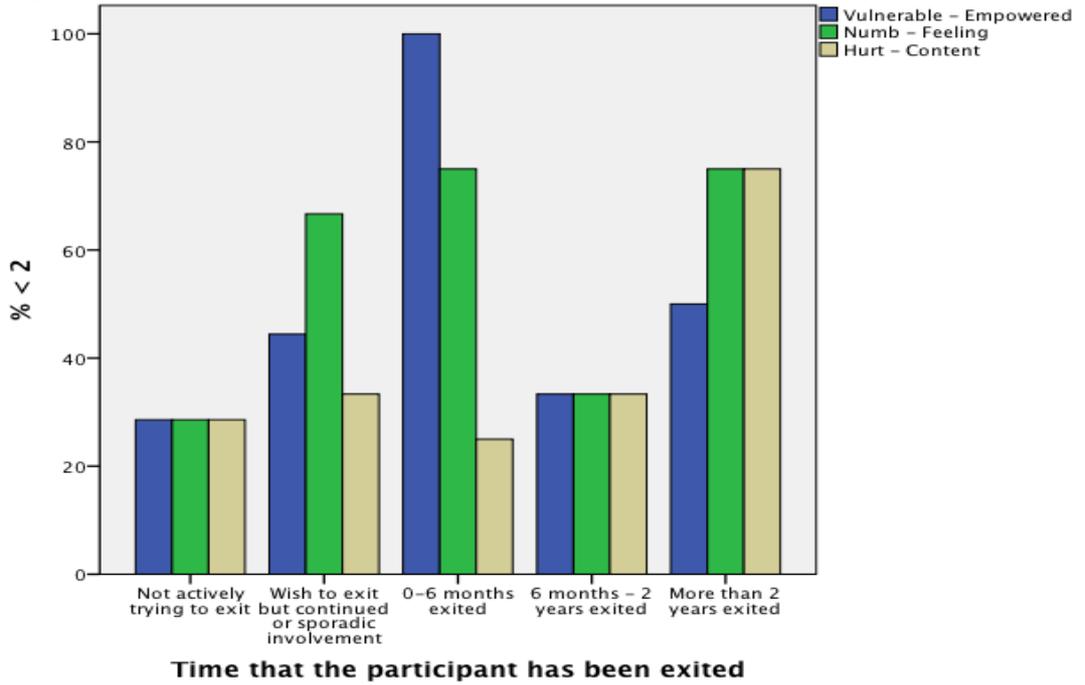
Graph 6



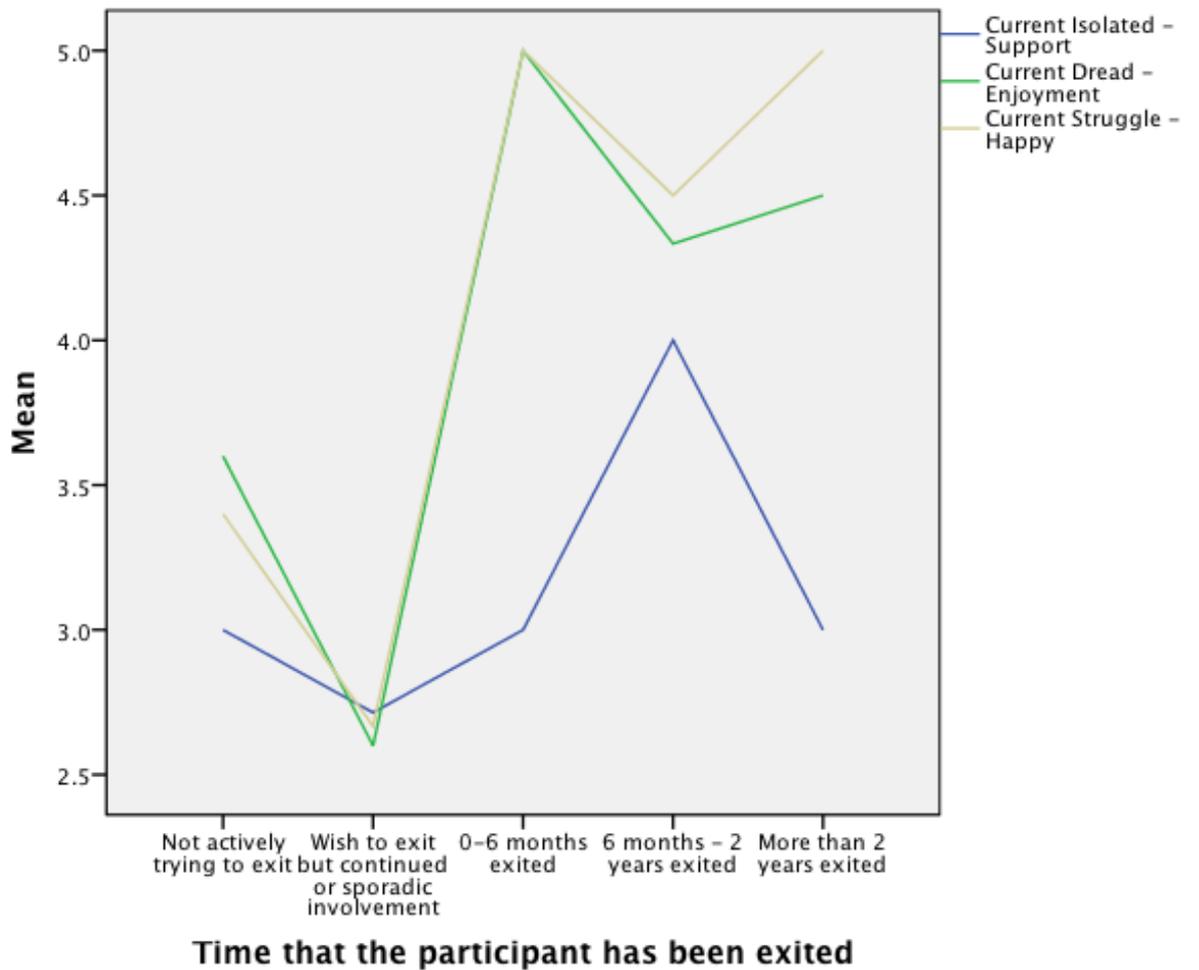
Graph 7



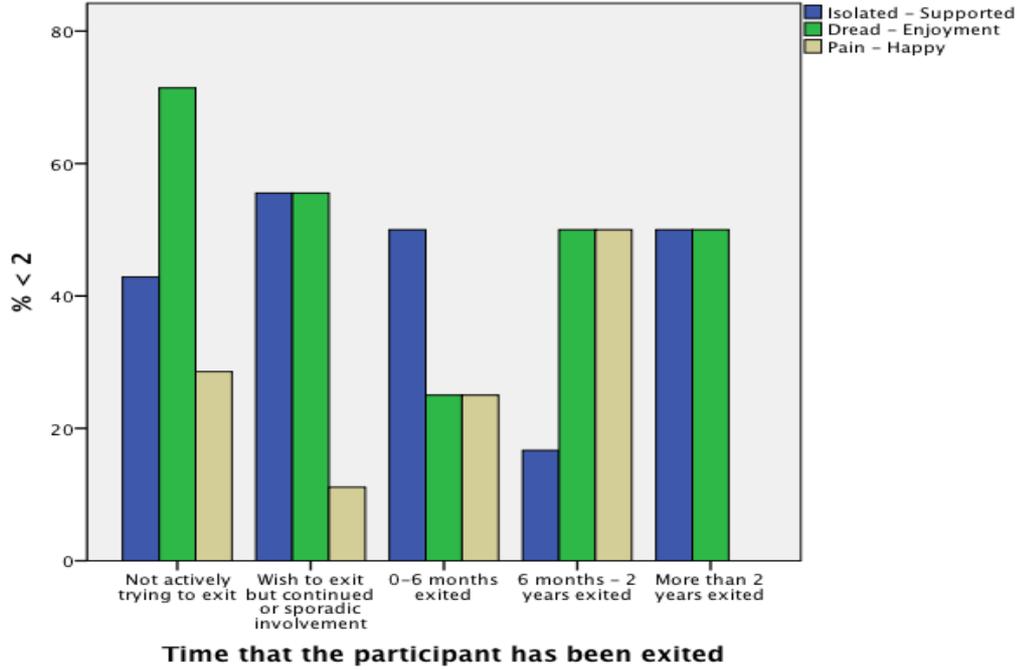
Graph 8



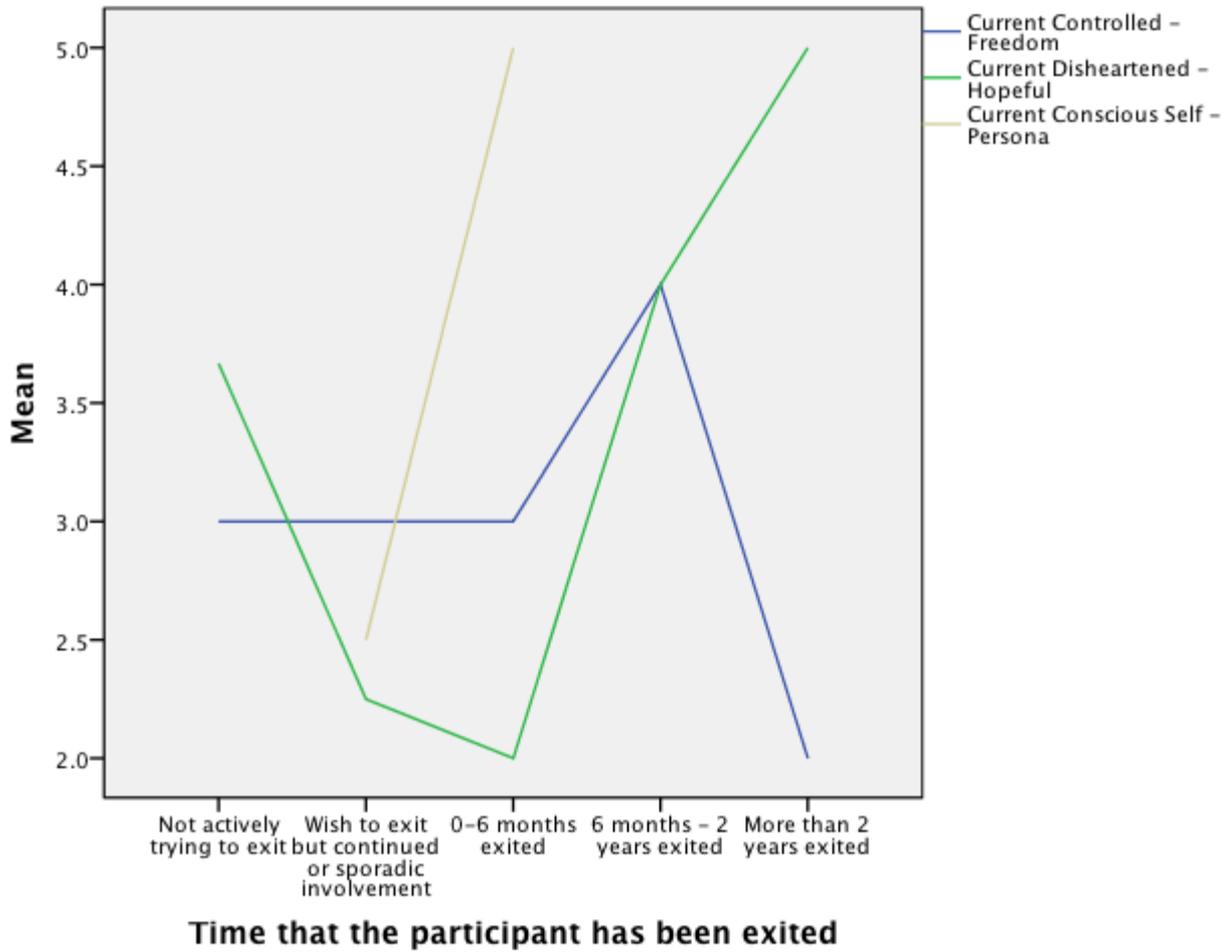
Graph 9



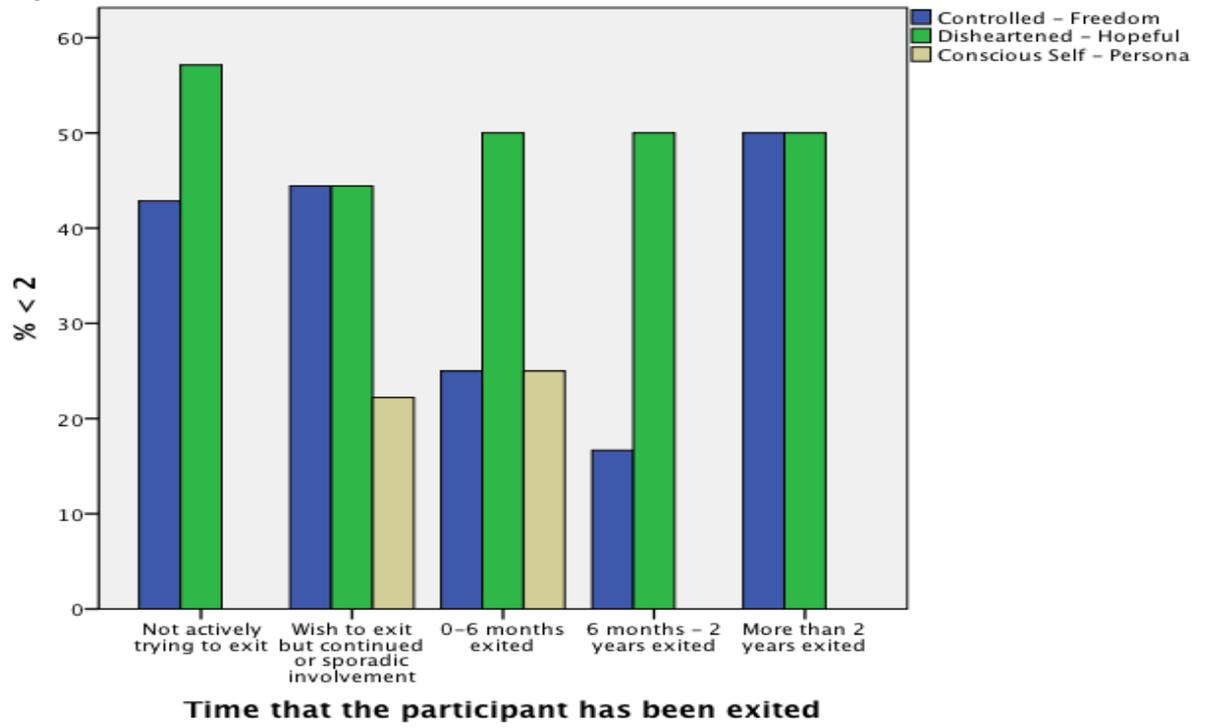
Graph 10



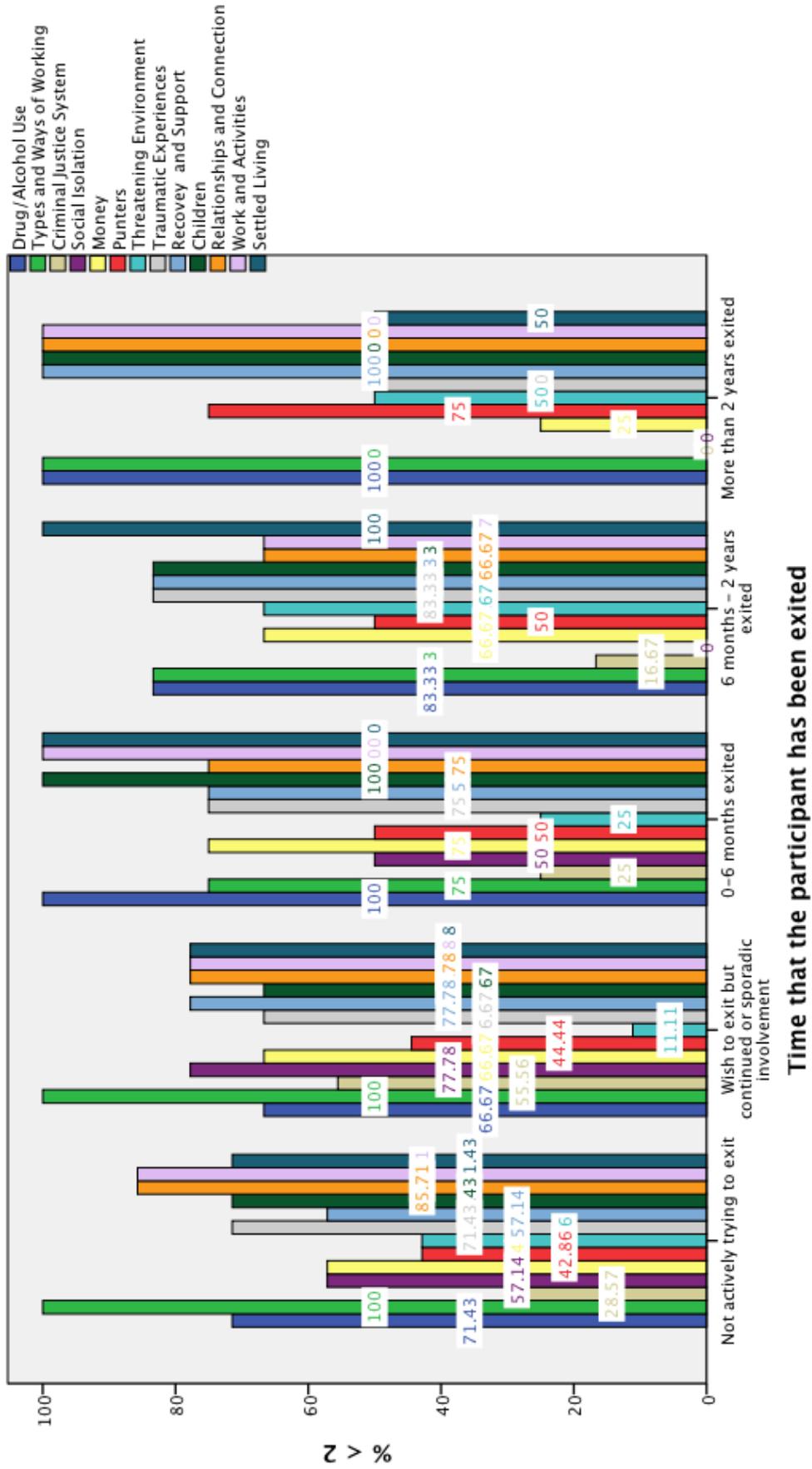
Graph 11



Graph 12



Graph 13



Interview Outputs

1.
Elements:

1.1	Money	1.7	Looking for Job
1.2	Missing Daytime	1.8	Access to Kids
1.3	Risk of Assault	1.9	Nice House
1.4	Meeting Nice Men	1.10	Husband/Relationship
1.5	Stability	1.11	Holidays
1.6	More Drugs	1.12	Driving

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 1)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Safe	Danger	5
Content	Sad	4
Freedom	Controlled	2
Independent	Lacking	2
Freedom	Isolation	1
Possibility	Wary	0

Grid

	1 Mo	2 MD	3 RA	4 NM	5 S	6 MD	7 LJ	8 AK	9 NH	10 HR	11 H	12 D	
Freedom	3	5	4	2	1	5	3	1	1	3	1	1	Isolation
Safe	3	4	5	3	1	5	3	1	1	3	3	3	Danger
Content	3	5	5	3	1	5	2	1	1	3	2	2	Sad
Freedom	3	5	4	3	1	5	3	1	2	3	3	2	Controlled
Independent	2	4	4	3	2	5	3	1	2	3	2	2	Lacking Confidence
Sense of Possibility	3	5	5	3	3	5	2	5	3	3	3	3	Wary

2.

Elements:

2.1	Drugs
2.2	Needing certain amount of money
2.3	Dodgy People
2.4	Risk of Violence
2.5	Partner/Family
2.6	Stable Home
2.7	Benefits
2.8	Own a Home
2.9	Partner that is Working
2.10	Children
2.11	Domestic Role

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 2)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Ecstatic	Sick	3
Relaxed	Anxious	1
Butterflies	Dread	1
Happy	Stress	1

Grid

		1 Dr	2 NM	3 DP	4 RV	5 PF	6 SH	7 Be	8 OH	9 PW	10 Ch	11 DR	
2.1	Stress	1	1	1	1	4	4	2	5	5	5	5	Happy
2.2	Butterflies/ Excitement	5	5	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	Dread
2.3	Calm/Relaxed	5	5	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	Looking over shoulder/Anxious
2.4	Sick	1	1	1	1	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	Ecstatic

3.

Elements

3.1	Money – cash in hand	3.7	Kids Staying
3.2	Having sex with men	3.8	Normal day to day things
3.3	Danger – risk of rape	3.9	Starting course
3.4	Having more people around	3.10	Job
(sauna)		3.11	More kids
3.5	Using more drugs	3.12	Getting Married
3.6	Stronger family connections		

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 3)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Pride/Importance	Not Feeling/Nothing Matters	5
Happy	Not Bothered	4
Safe/Comfortable	Vulnerable	2
Safe	Can't Trust	2
Feeling Good About Self	Feeling Crap	2
Strong	Stressed Out	0

Grid

		1 Mo	2 HS	3 DR	4 MP	5 UD	6 FC	7 KS	8 ND	9 SC	10 Jo	11 MK	12 GM	
3.1	Happy	3	3	3	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Not bothered
3.2	Strong	3	3	5	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Stressed
3.3	Safe/ Comfortable	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Vulnerable
3.4	Pride/ importance	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Not feeling/ Nothing matters
3.5	No trust	3	1	1	2	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	Safe
3.6	Feeling Crap	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	Feeling good about self

4.

Elements:

4.1	Benefits	4.7	Police harassment
4.2	Meeting punters	4.8	Freezing cold
4.3	Volunteering	4.9	Danger
4.4	Job	4.10	Relationship
4.5	Having sex for money	4.11	Children
4.6	Abuse from public		

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 4)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Safe	Scared	7
Treated well	Degraded	6
Accepted	Judged	5
Wanted	Sick	4
Relaxed	Having to be alert	2
Love and Protection	Nothing	2
Not worrying	Struggling	2
Not doing anything	Sick	0

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
4.1	Degraded/abused	3	3	5	5	3	1	1	1	1	5	5		Treated well
4.2	Scared	3	3	5	5	3	1	1	1	1	5	5		Safe
4.3	Having to be alert	3	3	5	5	3	1	1	1	1	5	5		Relaxed
4.4	Judged	3	3	5	5	3	1	1	1	1	5	5		Accepted
4.5	Loved/protected	3	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	1	1		Nothing
4.6	Struggling	3	3	5	5	3	1	1	1	1	5	5		Not worrying
4.7	Useful	3	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	1	1		Not doing anything
4.8	Sick	3	3	5	5	3	1	1	1	1	5	5		Wanted

5.

Elements:

5.1	Using drugs	5.7	Being attacked by family
5.2	Kids adopted	5.8	Being in jail
5.3	Going to gatekeeper service	5.9	Going on beat
5.4	Seeing drug addicts	5.10	Roof over head
5.5	Getting money (for drugs)	5.11	Putting weight on
5.6	Signing on	5.12	Job

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 5)	Contrasting Pole	
Control	Chaotic	
I can do it	Feeling like nothing	
Normal	Rattling	
Loved and loving	Disconnected	
Kissing floor grateful	God's punishing me	
Happy	Low	
Aware	Nothing else matters	
Safe	Fear	

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
5.1	God's punishing me	1	1	5	1	3	5	1	5	1	5	3	5	Kissing floor grateful
5.2	Rattling	1	1	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	5	5	5	Needs met/normal
5.3	Nothing else matters	1	3	5	3	1	5	3	5	1	5	3	5	Aware
5.4	Shame/feeling like nothing	1	1	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	5	5	5	I can do it
5.5	Low	1	1	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	5	5	5	Happy
5.6	Fear	1	1	5	2	3	5	1	3	1	5	3	5	Safe
5.7	Chaotic	1	1	5	1	1	5	1	3	1	5	3	5	Control
5.8	Disconnected	1	1	3	1	3	5	1	3	1	5	3	5	Feeling loved and loving

6.

Elements:

6.1	Drug Use	6.7	Family network
6.2	Other Women	6.8	Gatekeeper Service
6.3	Violent Clients	6.9	Free of alcohol/drugs
6.4	Having Sex For Money	6.10	Son with me
6.5	Standards	6.11	Own Business
6.6	Personal hygiene/appearance	6.12	College/learning things

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 6)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Positive/good	Degraded/sick	8
I can do anything/free	No interest/not bothered	7
Stick up for myself	Scared	4
Done something right	Guilty	4
Achievement	Vulnerable	4
Secure	Anxiety	3
Ecstatic	Worthless	2
Powerful/in control	Threatened	2
Not judged	Embarrassed	1

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
6.1	Scared	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	Stick up for myself
6.2	Worthless	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	Ecstatic
6.3	Threatened	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	Powerful/ in control
6.4	Degraded/ sick	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	Positive/good about things
6.5	No interest/ not bothered	1	1	1	2	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	I can do anything/free
6.6	Guilty	1	3	1	4	4	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	Done something right
6.7	Anxiety	1	1	1	3	4	4	5	5	3	5	5	5	Secure
6.8	Embarrassed	1	1	3	1	4	4	1	5	5	5	5	5	Not judged
6.9	Vulnerable	1	1	1	3	4	4	5	5	3	5	5	5	Achievement

7.

Elements:

7.1	Drug use	7.7	Sober periods
7.2	Having no money	7.8	Involved with gatekeeper service
7.3	Losing kids	7.9	Friend/relationship
7.4	Homeless	7.10	Doing courses
7.5	Working the streets	7.11	Children
7.6	Abusive relationship	7.12	Living on beach

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 7)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Vulnerable	Safe	4
Helped	Hurt/abused	3
Excited	Depression	3
Confidence	Disappointment with self	2
Enjoyment	Pain	1
Being	No feeling	1

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
7.1	No feeling	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	Being
7.2	Pain	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	Enjoyment
7.3	Vulnerable	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	Safe
7.4	Hurt/abused	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	Helped

7.5	Disappointment with self	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	Confidence
7.5	Depression	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	Excited

8.

Elements:

8.1	Gatekeeper service	8.7	Having sex for money
8.2	Being on benefits	8.8	Having income
8.3	Looking for work	8.9	'Normal' work like hairdressing
8.4	Family/friends	8.10	Having expenses
8.5	Lying	8.11	Living in a foreign country
8.6	Avoiding male attention	8.12	Normal banter

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 8)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Emotional support	Depression	6
Hope	Jumping off pier	6
Stability	Scare	6
Pleasure	Disgust	4
Calm and collected	Nervous	3
Nothing wrong	Judged	2
Happy, bubbly, outgoing	Isolation	1
Confident	Embarrassed	0

Grid

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Stigma/Judged	5	2	2	5	1	2	2	5	5	3	5	5	Nothing wrong
Isolation	3	2	3	5	1	2	1	5	5	3	4	5	Happy, bubbly, outgoing
Embarrassed	3	2	2	5	1	2	1	5	5	3	3	5	Confident
Depression	4	3	2	5	1	2	1	5	5	3	3	5	Emotional support
Jumping off the pier	5	3	3	5	1	2	1	5	5	3	3	5	Hope
Disgust	5	2	2	5	1	2	1	5	5	3	3	5	Pleasure
Scared	5	2	2	5	1	2	1	5	5	3	3	5	Stability
Nervous	4	2	2	5	1	2	1	5	5	3	3	5	Calm and collected

9.

Elements:

9.1	Drugs	9.7	Weirdos/arseholes
9.2	Probation worker	9.8	Relationships
9.3	Working beat	9.9	9-5
9.4	Regulars	9.10	Dinner with family
9.5	Detox	9.11	Daughter

9.6	Lack of sleep	9.12	Own place
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Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 9)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Safe	Panic	6
Security	Destitute	6
Love	Despise	5
Accomplishment	Frustrated	5
Worthy	Self-hatred	4
Enjoyment	Disgust	4
Content	Lonely	3
Complete trust	Suspicious	2
Numb	Head full of magic	0

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
9.1	Despise	5	3	1	3	5	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	Love (like for a child)
9.2	Numb	1	5	5	3	5	5	5	3	3	3	3	3	Head full of magic
9.3	Self-hatred	1	3	1	1	5	3	1	3	5	5	5	5	Worthy
9.4	Panic	3	1	1	5	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	Safe
9.5	Disgust	5	3	1	1	3	3	1	3	5	5	5	5	Enjoyment
9.6	Destitute	1	1	1	5	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	Security
9.7	Lonely	3	3	1	3	5	3	1	4	5	5	5	5	Content
9.8	Suspicious	5	1	1	4	3	3	1	4	5	5	5	5	Complete trust
9.9	Frustrated	1	1	1	3	5	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	Accomplishment

10.

Elements:

10.1	Drugs	10.7	Having sex for money
10.2	Extra money	10.8	Break-up
10.3	Flat	10.9	Kids
10.4	Homeless	10.10	Flexible hours
10.5	Bills	10.11	Gatekeeper service
10.6	Trying new things	10.12	Nice job

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 10)	Contrasting Pole	Score
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At ease	Ticking bomb	6
Choice	Just happen	6
Determination	Dragged down	6
Nice	Disgusted	6
Confidence	Worthless	6
Freedom	Suffocated	6
Fulfilled/excitement	Boredom	4
Emotional attachment	Wall (no trust)	4
Not bothered	Regret	1
Safe/protected	Nervous/unsure	0

Grid

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Boredom	5	5	3	3	3	5	3	3	5	5	3	5	Fulfilled/excitement
Ticking bomb	5	5	5	1	5	1	1	3	5	3	3	5	At ease
Just happening	5	3	5	1	3	5	5	3	5	5	3	5	Choice
Dragged down	1	5	5	1	5	1	1	3	3	5	3	5	Determination
Disgusted	1	5	5	1	3	3	1	3	5	5	3	5	Nice
Worthless	1	5	5	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	5	Confidence
Wall – no trust	5	3	3	1	3	3	1	3	5	3	3	3	Emotional attachment
Regret - angry at self	1	3	3	1	3	3	1	3	2	3	5	3	Not bothered
Suffocated	1	3	3	3	1	3	1	3	3	5	3	3	Freedom
Nervous/unsure	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	Safe/protected

11.

Elements:

11.1	STI	11.7	Pregnant
11.2	Dirty bastards	11.8	Current relationship
11.3	Gatekeeper service (van)	11.9	Family problems
11.4	Outreach	11.10	Isle of Skye
11.5	Pimp (first)	11.11	Mansion
11.6	Soliciting	11.12	Secure home

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 11)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Love	Cringe	7
Purpose	Just existing	5
Mange/accept	Denial	5
Optimism	Chastised	5
Fabulous	Angry	4
Relief	Anxiety	4
Big city lights	Boredom	3
Security	At risk	2
Needed	Unwanted	1

Grid

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Security	3	5	1	4	4	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	At risk
Beautiful/ needed	4	5	4	1	5	5	1	1	5	3	3	3	Nasty, unwanted
Fabulous	5	5	3	3	4	5	1	1	5	1	1	2	Angry
Excitement – Big city lights	3	3	3	2	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	1	Boredom
Love	5	5	3	3	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	1	Cringe (disgusted)
Purpose	5	5	3	1	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	1	Just existing
Managing/ accept	1	5	1	1	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	1	Denial
Optimism	4	5	3	1	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	1	Chastised
Relief	5	5	3	1	5	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	Anxiety

12.

Elements:

12.1	Gatekeeper service	12.7	Kids
12.2	Street work	12.8	Death of a partner
12.3	Whizz – speed	12.9	Dodgy punters
12.4	Heroin	12.10	Normal punters
12.5	Controlling relationship	12.11	Nice flat
12.6	Good relationship	12.12	Proper job

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 12)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Good	Disgust	5
Cared for	Abused	4
Enjoyment	Numb	3
Safe	Scared	2
Keeps alive/going	Don't want to live	1
Brilliant/happy	Upset/pain	0

Grid

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Upset/pain	5	3	5	3	1	5	5	1	1	4	5	4	Brilliant/happy
Don't want to live	5	3	5	1	3	5	5	1	3	5	5	5	Keeps alive/ going
Scared	5	3	2	5	4	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	Safe
Numb	5	1	5	1	1	5	5	1	1	5	5	5	Enjoyment
Abused	5	3	5	1	1	5	5	3	1	3	5	5	Cared for
Disgust	5	3	5	1	1	5	5	1	1	5	5	5	Good

13.

Elements:

13.1	Shoplifting	13.7	Money
13.2	Homeless	13.8	Being clean
13.3	Family	13.9	Kids taken
13.4	Drug	13.10	Kids living with
13.5	Older man	13.11	Violent partner
13.6	On beat	13.12	Normal life

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 13)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Whole	Something missing	5
Love/connection	Lonely	4
Happy	Pain	3
Content	Anxious/frustrated	2
Genuine	Disappointed/guilty	1
Numb	Angry	0

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
13.1	Happy	3	4	5	5	5	5	3	1	5	1	5	1	Pain
13.2	Numb	3	4	5	1	2	1	2	3	5	3	5	3	Angry
13.3	Genuine	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	1	5	1	5	1	Disappointed/ guilty
13.4	Content	3	5	5	5	5	5	3	1	5	1	5	1	Anxious/ frustrated
13.5	Whole	3	5	5	5	5	5	3	3	5	1	5	1	Something missing
13.6	Connection/ love	3	5	5	5	5	5	3	3	5	1	5	1	Lonely

14.

Elements:

14.1	Music video	14.7	Past boyfriends
14.2	Dog walking	14.8	Working independently
14.3	Current boyfriend	14.9	Violent incident
14.4	Homeless	14.10	Sex work
14.5	Care work	14.11	Aggressive women
14.6	Prison	14.12	Settled life

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 14)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Independent	Degraded	6
Interesting	Sad	4
Looked after	No attention	4
Settled	Too much/not enough	3
Better in myself	Annoyed	3

Secure	At risk	1
Happy/fun	Depressed	0

Grid

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Depressed	5	5	5	1	5	1	1	5	1	3	1	5	Happy/fun
Too much/ not enough	5	5	5	3	3	1	1	3	1	3	1	5	Settled
Annoyed	5	5	5	3	5	1	1	5	1	5	1	5	Better in myself
At risk	5	5	5	1	5	1	1	5	1	3	1	5	Secure
Degraded/ embarrassed	5	5	3	1	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	5	Independent
Sad	5	5	3	3	5	1	1	5	1	3	3	5	Interesting
No attention	5	5	5	1	5	1	3	5	1	3	1	5	Looked after

15.

Elements:

15.1	Money	15.7	Streets
15.2	Family abuse	15.8	Fighting
15.3	Kids	15.9	Paedophile ring
15.4	Putting kids in care	15.10	Gatekeeper service
15.5	Drugs	15.11	Current boyfriend
15.6	Past boyfriends	15.12	Nice gaff

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 15)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Strength	Vulnerability	7
Pride	Nothing	5
Capable	Cornered	5
Safe	Powerless	4
Confident	No worth	4
Trust/faith	Fear	4
Unaffected	Emotional attachment	3
Choice	Controlled	2
Grateful	Being let down	2

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
15.1	Choice	3	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	Controlled
15.2	Unaffected	1	4	5	5	5	1	3	1	4	5	4	5	Emotional attachment
15.3	Safe	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	1	1	1	Powerless

15.4	Confident	3	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	1	3	1	1	1	No worth
15.5	Trust/faith	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	1	1	1	Fear
15.6	Grateful	3	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	1	1	1	Being let down
15.7	Strength/ power	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	1	1	1	Vulnerability
15.8	Pride	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	1	2	1	Nothing
15.9	Capable	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	1	1	1	Cornered

16.

Elements:

16.1	Dad having cancer	16.7	Children
16.2	Financial struggles	16.8	Career
16.3	Abusive relationship	16.9	Abusive role play punters
16.4	Cocaine use	16.10	Normal punters
16.5	Threats (associates)	16.11	Autoimmune disease
16.6	Women's refuge	16.12	Holidays

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole	Contrasting Pole	Score
Nurturing	Self-destructive	7
Positive	Passive and scared	5
Conscious self	Persona	4
Accepted	Judged	4
Direction	Unknown	3
Strong	Dependent	3
Supported	Lonely	1
Protected	Vulnerable	1

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
16.1	Supported	5	5	5	4	5	1	1	3	5	2	5	3	Lonely
16.2	Direction	5	4	5	2	5	1	1	1	5	4	5	1	Unknown
16.3	Protected	5	5	5	3	5	1	1	1	5	3	5	3	Vulnerable/ risk taking
16.4	Conscious self	1	3	5	5	5	1	1	1	5	4	1	3	Persona
16.5	Nurturing	1	5	5	5	5	1	1	2	5	3	5	1	Self- destructive
16.6	Strong	3	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	5	5	5	3	Dependent
16.7	Positive	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	5	4	5	1	Passive and scared
16.8	Accepted, included	3	5	5	5	5	1	1	2	3	3	5	1	Judged

17.

Elements:

1.College 2.Gatekeeper service 3.Financial struggles	7.Sauna 8.Street work 9.Upbringing
--	--

4.Drink problem 5.Relationship 6.Son adopted	10. Kids/family life 11. Other job/cleaning
--	--

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 17)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Safe	Nervous	5
Looked after	Disturbed	5
Help	No-one to talk to	3
Special/important	Disgusted	3
Happy	Disappointed	2
Being yourself	Guilty	2
Easy	No confidence	1

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
17.1	Happy	5	1	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	1	1	Disappointed
17.2	Easy	5	1	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	1	1	On a downer (no confidence)
17.3	Help	5	1	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	1	1	No-one to talk to
17.4	Being yourself	5	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	Guilty
17.5	Special/important	5	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	Disgusted
17.6	Safe	5	1	5	5	1	5	1	5	5	1	1	Nervous
17.8	Looked after	5	1	5	5	1	5	1	5	5	1	1	Disturbed

18.

Elements:

18.1 Partner	18.7 Work
18.2 Counselling	18.8 Heroin
18.3 Christianity	18.9 Prison
18.4 Women's group	18.10 Being in care
18.5 Gatekeeper service	18.11 Violent incidents
18.6 Normal life	18.12 Street

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole	Contrasting Pole	Score
Satisfied with self/calm	Angry	5
Happy	Degraded/worthless	3
Safe/relief	In danger/scared	3
Cared for	Judged/guilty	3

Freedom	Controlled	1
Easy	Hard work	0

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
18.1	Easy	5	3	5	3	1	5	5	3	3	3	2	1	Hard work
18.2	Happy	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	1	1	5	5	Degraded/ worthless
18.3	Freedom	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	3	3	Controlled
18.4	Safe/relief	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	5	5	In danger/ scared
18.5	Satisfaction with self/calm	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	5	1	5	5	I don't care attitude/angry
18.6	Cared for	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	1	1	5	5	Judged/ guilty

19.

Elements:

19.1	More money	19.7	Sex work
19.2	Unpredictable work	19.8	Relationship with mum
19.3	Punters	19.9	Nice house
19.4	Job search	19.10	Job
19.5	Nothing to do	19.11	Friends
19.6	Hostel	19.12	Gatekeeper service

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 19)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Interesting	Bored	3
Helped	Lonely	3
Potential	Pointless/nothing	3
Meaningful	Disgusted	3
Own space	Rules/told what to do	2
Safe	Worried	1

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
19.1	Feeling ok – safe	1	4	3	4	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	Worried
19.2	Interesting	1	4	4	5	5	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	Bored
19.3	Own space	1	4	4	5	3	3	3	5	1	3	1	1	Rules/told what to do
19.4	Helped	1	4	3	4	5	3	4	3	1	3	1	1	Lonely
19.5	Potential/	1	5	3	5	5	3	3	3	1	1	1	3	Pointless/left

	Options														with nothing
19.6	Meaningful	1	5	5	5	5	3	5	3	3	1	3	3	3	Disgusted

20.

Elements:

20.1	Mum leaving	20.7	Rape (15)
20.2	Escorting	20.8	Partner
20.3	Street	20.9	Nice house
20.4	Money	20.10	Daughter
20.5	Drug habit	20.11	Fighting with partner
20.6	Prison	20.12	Gatekeeper service

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 20)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Treated properly	Treated like dirt	4
Love	Stop caring/barrier	3
Content/comfortable	Chaotic/low	2
Looking after self	Disgusted with self	1
Fun	Depressed	0

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
20.1	Looking after self	1	2	5	1	4	3	5	1	1	1	3	1	Disgusted with self
20.2	Content/comfortable	5	3	5	1	5	3	5	1	1	1	5	1	Chaotic/low
20.3	Love	5	4	5	1	5	3	5	1	1	1	4	1	Stop caring/barrier
20.4	Treated properly	5	2	5	1	5	2	5	1	1	1	3	1	Treated like dirt
20.5	Fun	3	3	5	1	4	3	5	1	1	1	3	1	Depressed

21.

Elements:

21.1	Moving to England	21.7	Money
21.2	University	21.8	Restaurant work
21.3	Brazil	21.9	Punters
21.4	Husband	21.10	Indoor work
21.5	Financial troubles	21.11	Kids
21.6	Separation	21.12	Housewife

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 21)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Love	Nothing	4
Real self	Closed	3

Feeling good	Hurting	3
Relaxed	Angry	2
Help	Alone	2
Possibility	Hard	1

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
21.1	Possibility/being someone	1	1	3	4	4	5	1	3	5	3	1	1	Hard
21.2	Real self	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	1	Closed
21.3	Relaxed	1	1	2	1	5	5	1	3	5	5	1	1	Angry
21.4	Feeling good	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	4	5	5	1	1	Hurting mind/body
21.5	Helped	5	1	3	5	5	5	1	1	5	5	1	1	Alone
21.6	Love	3	3	1	1	5	5	1	1	5	5	1	1	Nothing

22.

Elements:

22.1	Partner	22.1	Escorting
22.2	Drugs	22.2	Mum left
22.3	Kids	22.3	Community
22.4	Job	22.4	Gatekeeper service
22.5	Pimp	22.5	Money in pocket
22.6	Street work	22.6	House

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 22)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Loved/cherished	Used/bored	5
Dignity/pride	Dirty	5
Whole	Erratic/angry	4
Hopeful	Wayward/lost	3
Comfortable	Distressed	2
Excitement	Boredom	2
Enjoyment	Disappointment	0

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
22.1	Hopeful	1	3	1	1	5	4	3	5	1	1	1	1	Wayward
22.2	Comfortable	1	3	1	1	5	5	4	5	1	1	1	1	Distressed

22.3	Whole	1	3	1	1	5	5	4	5	1	1	1	1	Erratic/angry
22.4	Excitement	3	1	1	1	5	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	Boredom
22.5	Loved/cherished	1	5	1	1	5	4	4	3	1	1	1	1	Used/abused
22.6	Dignity/pride	1	5	1	1	5	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	Dirty/disgraced
22.7	Enjoyment	1	4	1	1	5	4	4	3	1	1	1	1	Disappointment

23.

Elements:

23.1	Escorting	23.7	Punters
23.2	Money	23.8	Boyfriends
23.3	Crack cocaine/heroin	23.9	Religion (Christianity)
23.4	Street	23.10	Community – new friends
23.5	Upbringing	23.11	College
23.6	Son	23.12	Career

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 23)	Contrasting Pole	Score
New/refreshed	Dark/messy/violent	6
Self worth	Empty/no value	5
In control	Needy	4
Pride/dignity	Shabby	3
Peace	Catastrophising	2
Purpose/empowered	Numb/not direction	1
Excitement	Not being noticed/boring	0

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
23.1	In control	1	3	5	5	5	4	3	5	4	3	4	1	Needy
23.2	Excitement	1	3	1	2	5	1	2	5	1	1	1	1	Not being noticed/boring
23.3	Peace	5	3	5	5	5	3	5	5	1	3	3	1	Catastrophising/at risk
23.4	Pride/dignity	5	1	5	5	5	1	5	5	1	1	1	1	Shabby/dirty
23.5	Purpose/empowered	5	1	5	5	5	1	5	5	1	3	1	1	Numb/no direction
23.6	Self worth	5	2	5	5	5	1	5	5	1	2	1	1	Empty/no value
23.7	New/refreshed	5	2	5	5	5	1	5	5	1	1	1	1	Dark/messy

24.

Elements:

24.1	Drug use	24.7	Reuniting
24.2	Lost children	24.8	Community
24.3	Street work	24.9	Gatekeeper service
24.4	Violence	24.10	Benefits
24.5	Punters	24.11	Job
24.6	New flat	24.12	Family

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 24)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Trust	False dreams	4
Comfortable	Afraid	3
Like a human being	Scum/dirty	2
Opened eyes	Don't care	2
Relieved/joy	Weight/heavy	2
Support	Alone	2

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
24.1	False dreams	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	1	1	5	1	Trust
24.2	Scum/dirty	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	3	1	5	1	Like a human being
24.3	Afraid	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	3	3	5	1	Comfort
24.4	Don't care	1	1	1	1	1	4	5	5	1	1	5	1	Opened eyes
24.5	Weight/heavy with regret	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	1	3	1	5	1	Relieved/joy
24.6	Alone	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	1	5	1	Supported

25.

Elements:

25.1	Prison	25.7	Drugs
25.2	Sex Group – accredited	25.8	Children
25.3	Homelessness	25.9	Retail
25.4	Street work	25.10	Gatekeeper service
25.5	Domestic violence	25.11	Family home
25.6	Punters	25.12	Pillar of community

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 25)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Loving feeling	Don't care	5
Good about self	Worthless	3
Support	Unwanted	3
Settled	Daze/turmoil	2

Safe	Fear	1
Alive and active	Numb	1

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
25.1	Alive and active	3	1	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	Numb
25.2	Safe	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	Fear
25.3	Settled	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	Dazed/turmoil (no control)
25.4	Good about myself	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	Worthless
25.5	Supported	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	Unwanted
25.6	Loving feeling	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	3	1	1	Don't care

26.

Elements:

26.1	Mum dying	26.7	Homelessness
26.2	Sex work	26.8	Modelling
26.3	Drug use	26.9	People to smoke with
26.4	Kids	26.10	Countryside
26.5	NA meetings	26.11	Kids in care
26.6	Support	26.12	Job

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole	Contrasting Pole	Score
Strong/empowered	Belittled	3
Fresh/content	Ashamed/tainted	3
Escape/no burdens	Wrenching/nothing to live for	1
Helped	Forgotten	1
Womanly	Used for someone else	1

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
26.1	Escape/no burdens	5	4	4	5	3	3	5	5	5	1	5	1	Wrenching/nothing to live for
26.2	Helped	5	4	4	5	1	3	5	5	5	1	5	1	Forgotten
26.3	Womanly	5	4	4	5	3	3	5	5	5	1	5	1	Used
26.4	Strong/empowered	5	4	4	5	3	3	5	5	5	1	5	1	Belittled
26.5	Fresh/content	5	4	4	5	3	3	5	5	5	1	5	1	Ashamed/tainted

27.

Elements:

27.1	Home life	27.7	Working park
27.2	Home/work area	27.8	Stable life
27.3	Crack/addictions	27.9	Group work
27.4	Young sex	27.10	Rehab
27.5	Sex working	27.11	Training/apprenticeships
27.6	Gatekeeper service	27.12	Family

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 27)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Comfort/self acceptance	Degrading	6
Value/purpose	Regret	5
Sense of self	Not conscious	5
Boundaries	Freedom	5
Rejuvenated	Destruction	3
Care about	Careless	2
Supported	Hopeless	1
Enjoyment	Repulsed	0

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
27.1	Comfort/ self acceptance	2	5	4	5	5	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	Degrading
27.2	Valuable/ purpose	3	5	3	5	5	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	Regret
27.3	Sense of self	3	3	5	5	4	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	Not conscious
27.4	Freedom	1	1	1	1	1	4	3	5	4	5	5	3	Boundaries
27.5	Care about	3	3	5	3	5	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	Careless
27.6	Rejuvenated	3	5	5	5	5	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	Destruction
27.7	Enjoyment	3	5	5	5	5	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	Repulsed
27.8	Supported	3	5	5	5	5	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	Hopeless

28.

Elements:

28.1	Sex work	28.7	Having money
28.2	Heroin addiction	28.8	Police attention
28.3	Parents split up	28.9	Gatekeeper service
28.4	Abusive marriage	28.10	Regulars
28.5	Children	28.11	Own home
28.6	Dealing	28.12	Job

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 28)	Contrasting Pole	Score
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Choice	Chained	5
Independence	Unsafe	4
Love	Revulsion	3
Backed up	Unwelcome	2
Normal	Not part of society	1
Able to feel	Numb	0

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
28.1	Choice	5	5	3	3	3	3	1	5	4	4	1	2	Chained/ necessity
28.2	Normal	5	4	3	4	3	2	1	5	5	4	1	2	Not part of society
28.3	Feeling able	5	4	3	5	1	3	3	5	3	4	3	3	Numb
28.4	Love	5	4	4	5	1	3	1	5	4	5	1	2	Revulsion
28.5	Independence	5	4	5	5	3	1	1	5	4	2	1	1	Unsafe
28.6	Backed up	2	5	5	5	3	2	1	5	4	2	3	3	Unwelcome

29.

Elements:

29.1	Sex work	29.7	Daughter
29.2	Crack habit	29.8	Work
29.3	Abusive relationship	29.9	Church
29.4	Gatekeeper service	29.10	Rehab
29.5	Outreach van	29.11	Positive people
29.6	Homeless	29.12	Relapse

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 29)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Fulfilling potential	Worthless	5
Whole	Disheartened	3
Strong	Controlled	3
Positive	Brought down	2
Helped	Left	2
Enjoyment	No feelings	0

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
29.1	Positive	5	5	5	3	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	Brought down
29.2	Fulfilling	3	5	5	3	3	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	Worthless

	potential													
29.3	No worries/whole	5	5	5	4	3	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	Disheartened
29.4	Strong	3	3	5	3	3	5	1	1	1	1	1	3	Controlled by something
29.5	Helped	4	4	4	3	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	3	Left to do whatever
29.6	Enjoyment	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	3	No feelings

30.

Elements:

30.1	Street work	30.7	Police
30.2	Abusive relationship	30.8	Friends
30.3	Homeless	30.9	Probation
30.4	Crack	30.10	Children
30.5	Having money	30.11	Getting job
30.6	Gatekeeper service	30.12	Own property

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 30)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Not feeling	Pain	3
Safe	Dependent/problems	2
Valued	Degraded	1
Helped	Alone	0

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
30.1	Numb	3	5	4	1	3	3	5	3	3	3	3	3	Feeling
30.2	Empowered	5	5	5	3	1	3	5	3	3	1	3	3	Vulnerable
30.3	Supported	5	5	5	5	3	4	5	3	3	3	3	3	Isolated
30.4	Cared For	3	5	5	4	3	3	5	3	3	1	1	1	Shame

Appendix 2: Case Studies

The following case studies demonstrate the emotional constructs, personal values hierarchy and narratives of women at different stages of exit. A number of these case studies relate to women who are contemplating or just beginning to exit, mainly because this is a key point at which service provision is accessed and relied upon.

Tina is looking for alternative work but not actively trying to exit whereas Olivia does not believe there are any alternatives. Imogen and Laura are both actively involved in the industry but wish to exit. Imogen is facing the structural barrier of needing drug treatment, whereas Laura faces the internal battle of uncertainty about her own capacity to move forward. By contrast, Melody has reduced her involvement but feels trapped in an undesirable lifestyle. Pauline and Freya are fully exited but vary in the extent to which their identity has shifted. Pauline worked only indoors. Both demonstrate that exit is being constantly maintained and negotiated over time.

Tina

(White British, 20, involved in street prostitution irregularly, looking for alternative work)

Tina was disconnected from herself and her emotions. She spoke of having a difficult background and relationship with her mum. However, she did not reflect on this apart from to say she wanted to have her own space. She had also lived in a hostel for a time. Her narrative was almost solely focussed on wanting to have money so that she could relieve her sense of boredom. It is interesting to note that she rates searching for a job more negatively than her involvement in sex work. She is unmotivated and unsure about the possibility of getting other work:

Just that there's no point because every time I look there are not many jobs there... I do want to do bar work but how do you even get into bar work. Do you need a special class for cocktails and stuff?

She describes her involvement in prostitution as a financial necessity:

Yeah because then you can just walk away. Sometimes when you've got money you can walk away from everything but when you've got money to make you can't.

She believes that prostitution is the best option for her to make money. She strongly values being interested as opposed to bored and she feels that she needs more money in order to avoid boredom, loneliness, and feeling like life has no potential:

When I've got no money I feel like I've got nothing to do. I can't do anything, go out or whatever.

Loneliness is a theme running throughout her narrative and even a reason that she comes to work on the streets:

I don't really have many relationships.

After job search you get a job and then when you get a job you get more friends

Sometimes I go outside just to have a chat with people because I'm bored.

(on her family) It's got better now since I lived in the hostel but we always argue but we are not arguing as much now I think it's because I'm going out more.

Tina's repertoire of emotions focuses on wanting to feel a sense of freedom, and to have a sense of engagement with life and possibility. She is more focussed on her lack of money than on her involvement in the sex industry. The only emotion that is elicited directly from her involvement in the industry is that of 'meaningful/disgusted'. She finds the actual act of having sex for money disgusting:

I don't really like it... Just because you don't really know the person and it's not meaningful... Disgusted really.

Overall, the participant does not reflect deeply on her life, having one dominant value, which is to avoid boredom. She entered prostitution through friends encouraging her as a way of making money and although she does not enjoy it she cannot envisage a realistic alternative and is not strongly motivated to leave the industry. For Tina, she is willing to be involved in order to have more money, which is the only element that is rated on the desirable pole for all her constructs. However, her narrative also suggests that the participant is dissociating from her life experiences and from her own self. She finds it difficult to articulate any feelings and remains detached as she discusses her family issues, past, and involvement in the industry. When she had a period of non-involvement she states '*I just felt better*' but she cannot articulate why '*Oh. I don't know I just didn't want to do it any more*'.

Tina Outputs

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
19.1	Feeling ok – safe	1	4	3	4	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	Worried
19.2	Interesting	1	4	4	5	5	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	Bored
19.3	Own space	1	4	4	5	3	3	3	5	1	3	1	1	Rules/told what to do
19.4	Helped	1	4	3	4	5	3	4	3	1	3	1	1	Lonely
19.5	Potential/ options	1	5	3	5	5	3	3	3	1	1	1	3	Pointless/left with nothing
19.6	Meaningful	1	5	5	5	5	3	5	3	3	1	3	3	Disgusted

Elements:

19.13	More money	19.19	Sex work
19.14	Unpredictable work	19.20	Relationship with mum
19.15	Punters	19.21	Nice house
19.16	Job search	19.22	Job
19.17	Nothing to do	19.23	Friends
19.18	Hostel	19.24	Gatekeeper service

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole	Contrasting Pole	Score
Interesting	Bored	3
Helped	Lonely	3
Potential	Pointless/nothing	3
Meaningful	Disgusted	3
Own space	Rules/told what to do	2
Safe	Worried	1

Correlations

Element Correlations

	More money	Unpredictable work	Punters	Job search	Nothing to do	Hostel	Sex work	Relationship with mum	Nice house	Job	Friends	Gatekeeper service
More money	.											
Unpredictable work	. 1.00	.										
Punters	. 0.32	1.00	.									
Job search	. 0.50	0.63	1.00	.								
Nothing to do	. 0.16	-0.10	0.32	1.00	.							
Hostel	. 0.32	0.40	0.63	0.80	1.00	.						
Sex work	. 0.32	0.70	0.16	0.20	0.40	1.00	.					
Relationship with mum	. 0.00	0.39	0.61	0.39	0.77	0.00	1.00	.				
Nice house	. 0.25	0.79	0.50	0.16	0.32	0.79	0.00	1.00	.			
Job	. -0.71	0.00	0.00	0.45	0.45	0.00	0.58	0.00	1.00	.		
Friends	. 0.25	0.79	0.50	0.16	0.32	0.79	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	.	
Gatekeeper service	. 0.71	0.45	0.71	0.45	0.45	0.45	0.00	0.71	-0.33	0.71	1.00	.

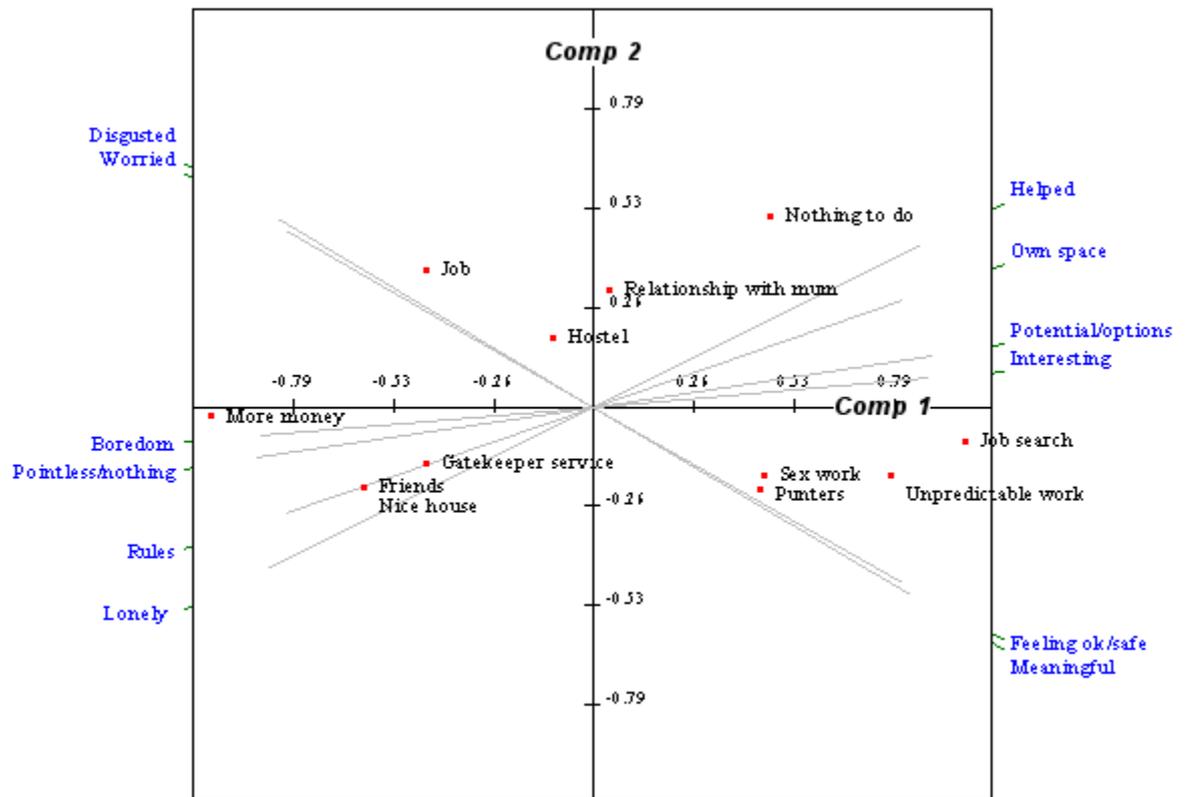
Construct Correlations

	Feeling ok/safe	Interesting	Own space	Helped	Potential/options	Meaningful
Feeling ok/safe	1.00					
Interesting	0.58	1.00				
Own space	0.59	0.59	1.00			
Helped	0.53	0.78	0.77	1.00		
Potential/options	0.62	0.78	0.66	0.79	1.00	
Meaningful	0.83	0.72	0.53	0.49	0.67	1.00

Principle Components Analysis

Element Loadings (Unrotated)

	PC_1	PC_2
More money	-1.00	-0.03
Unpredictable work	0.79	-0.19
Punters	0.44	-0.23
Job search	0.98	-0.10
Nothing to do	0.47	0.50
Hostel	-0.11	0.18
Sex work	0.45	-0.19
Relationship with mum	0.05	0.31
Nice house	-0.60	-0.22
Job	-0.44	0.36
Friends	-0.60	-0.22
Gatekeeper service	-0.44	-0.16



Olivia

(Still currently involved in street prostitution, previously saunas but she felt too fat to continue working there even though she prefers the clients, involved since age 17 entered to earn more money as benefits wasn't enough (living in care), not drug user, 43, Black British, single, trauma through being kicked out of her gran's house and living in care, kids removed)

Olivia continued to be involved in street prostitution and although she stated she would like to leave, she felt that this could only happen with a viable financial alternative. This was reflected in her choice of elements, where non-involvement in prostitution meant being on benefits and getting a job. Her ideal lifestyle was limited to having her children (who are now adopted) and perhaps having a relationship, although she did not feel this would be a realistic possibility. Although looking for work, appeared entrenched in her current lifestyle:

'I'd feel better not going down but like I said I've got things to pay off at the moment so carrying on with it... on benefits you don't get very much and there are things to pay full and it's like I said I'm so used to the extra money when I get it so until I do get a job - and if - I'll probably carry on doing it... eventually I want to (leave) but because I've got things to pay off I can't really think about it until things change'

Despite her decision to remain in prostitution, she did not present positive emotions regarding her current lifestyle. Although her grid elicited positive emotions as contrasts to those she expressed, the conformity of the ratings demonstrate that her emotional and conceptual repertoire are limited. In relation to the elements that she currently experiences she feels either negative or nothing. Overall, Olivia struggled to articulate any positive emotions or contrasting emotions to negative feelings:

I: it's just unpleasant... how would you rather feel?

P: just not having to put up with that

...

P: with these who you're like struggling, you're doing it is to survive aren't you

I: what is the opposite for you to struggling?

P: well it's just a way of getting extra money... if I wasn't struggling then I wouldn't be worrying'

The only current element that elicited positive ratings was her current involvement in volunteering through the gatekeeper service. As such, the gatekeeper service appears to play an important contrasting role in her life, in comparison to an overall sense of isolation, which is reflected in her values hierarchy, with being accepted and treated well at the top of her concerns. These constructs – feeling treated well/degraded, accepted/judged, and wanted/sick – were the most dominant in the mind of the participant, indicating an inhibiting sense of disconnection. When discussing her sense of being degraded and used, there is an underlying sense of anger and resentment that is never fully articulated:

'I don't like it, you get idiots in cars who drive around quite a few times and think it's funny, at the end of the day I don't have to be out there but they don't either, it's not nice having people shout at you, sometimes I just ignore it but if they keep coming around about how many times it gets annoying... They're not the kind of people that will stop me working at the moment so I just let them get on with it'

Olivia had no alternative identity to her involvement in prostitution and yet at the same time she did not feel that her involvement represented her true self:

'just trying to a hopefully one day get away from doing it... it's just hard to stop because I've been doing it for so many years'

The arc of the interview demonstrated a woman who did not enjoy her current lifestyle but had nothing alternative to grasp onto. She had been involved in prostitution since a young age and had previously been in care. A friend introduced her to prostitution as a way of making money. She also described how she had never had a successful relationship, although she did have some friends who accepted her.

Olivia Outputs

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
4.1	Treated well	3	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	1	1		Degraded/ abused
4.2	Safe	3	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	1	1		Scared
4.3	Relaxed	3	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	1	1		Having to be alert
4.4	Accepted	3	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	1	1		Judged
4.5	Love and Protection	3	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	1	1		Nothing
4.6	Not worrying	3	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	1	1		Struggling
4.7	Useful	3	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	1	1		Not doing anything
4.8	Wanted	3	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	1	1		Sick

Elements:

4.12	Benefits	4.18	Police harassment
4.13	Meeting punters	4.19	Freezing cold
4.14	Volunteering	4.20	Danger
4.15	Job	4.21	Relationship
4.16	Having sex for money	4.22	Children
4.17	Abuse from public		

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole (Int 4)	Contrasting Pole	Score
Safe	Scared	7
Treated well	Degraded	6
Accepted	Judged	5
Wanted	Sick	4
Relaxed	Having to be alert	2
Love and Protection	Nothing	2
Not worrying	Struggling	2
Not doing anything	Sick	0

Correlations

Element Correlations

	Benefits	Meeting punters	Volunteering	Job	Having sex for money	Abuse from public	Police harassment	Freezing cold	Danger	Relationship	Children
Benefits	1.00										
Meeting punters	.85	1.00									
Volunteering	.70	.60	1.00								
Job	.65	.55	.50	1.00							
Having sex for money	.40	.30	.20	.10	1.00						
Abuse from public	.35	.25	.15	.10	.80	1.00					
Police harassment	.30	.20	.10	.05	.70	.60	1.00				
Freezing cold	.25	.15	.05	.05	.60	.50	.40	1.00			
Danger	.20	.10	.05	.05	.50	.40	.30	.20	1.00		
Relationship	.15	.05	.05	.05	.40	.30	.20	.10	.10	1.00	
Children	.10	.05	.05	.05	.30	.20	.10	.05	.05	.05	1.00

Construct Correlations

	Treated well	Safe	Relaxed	Accepted	Love	Not worrying	Useful	Wanted
Treated well	1.00							
Safe	1.00	1.00						
Relaxed	1.00	1.00	1.00					
Accepted	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00				
Love	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00			
Not worrying	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00		
Useful	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	
Wanted	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

Principal Components Analyses (Correlations) for Blank Grid

Element Loadings (Unrotated)

	PC_1	PC_2
Benefits	0.00	0.00
Meeting punters	0.00	0.00
Volunteering	-1.00	0.00
Job	-1.00	0.00
Having sex for money	0.00	0.00
Abuse from public	1.00	0.00
Police harrassment	1.00	0.00
Freezing cold	1.00	0.00
Danger	1.00	0.00
Relationship	-1.00	0.00
Children	-1.00	0.00

Note. Values used for plotting elements in unrotated component space.

Imogen

(White British, 38, entered age 18, suffered childhood abuse that caused PTSD, still working on streets to fund crack and heroin habit, wants to leave but trying to get on drug treatment programme, has a daughter who has her own place)

Imogen is still very much involved in the industry and drug use but wants to leave. She had a wide repertoire of constructs of which the most dominant appeared to be 'numb/head full of magic'. This gave a clue as to her current state of mind and emotional barriers to leaving. Having a 'head full of magic' means having too much noise in her head, too many thoughts. At the moment, she prefers to be numb than to deal with what goes on in her mind. It is unsurprising therefore that the only element that elicited her preferred end of the construct pole 'numb' was using drugs, whereas detoxing was at the other end. Many of the ideal aspects of her lifestyle scored neutral on this construct. Overall, it seems that beyond drug treatment, there are internal factors that need to be addressed in order to move on:

(without drugs) My anxiety, my PTSD, everything else would be a lot more apparent. I wouldn't be able to even leave the house or get out of bed in the morning.

(on her family) And I really do believe it's because of them I'm in the predicament I'm in now. I'm not, you know, people could call it blame throwing, they can call it whatever they like but I know that, you know, what they did to me has a detrimental effect on the way I am now.

This is also demonstrated by the remainder of the constructs, which tended to revolve around feelings of disgust directed either at herself or at others (and closely linked to her involvement in the industry) – ‘despise/love’, ‘self-hatred/worthy’, ‘disgust/enjoyment’ or an inability to safely relate to others ‘lonely/content’, ‘suspicious/complete trust’:

(on relationships) In terms of my relationships with other people I'm always very suspicious and if somebody you know, I'm always aware you know that somebody's got ulterior motives and all kinds of shite like that. I don't trust anybody.

There is also a hint of hidden shame:

(on her daughter) She doesn't know, she probably knows what I do but I've never advertised it and I've never rubbed it in her face and I've never admitted it so as far as I'm concerned she doesn't know what I do although she might have an inkling.

Additionally, there is the theme of safety and security, and also having a sense of accomplishment. These constructs can be found at the top of her personal values hierarchy in contrast to ‘numb/head full of magic’ – clearly indicating that although the participant prefers to feel numb she is willing to sacrifice this in order to accomplish her more tightly held values. This is consistent with her current willingness to detox – ‘I can work on the head full of magic’. Her personal values hierarchy therefore shows that a desire to feel more alive has kicked in. However, she has not yet developed a clear picture of an alternative lifestyle:

I'd probably be doing shit with my daughter or, you know, if I'm not working then I'd probably be you know just doing normal things at home you know like cleaning or decorating or whatever. So other things, like just spending time with my child, catching up or whatever.

I: If you weren't involved in prostitution, what do you think your life would be like?

R: I have no idea. I can't answer that question. I mean ideally I suppose you know saying normal things that we would have laughed at years ago; people having a 9 to 5, you know. You know they go to work, they go home, you know, they'll sit down to dinner with their families and stuff like that. What people would call a normal life, you know.

On the other hand, she has a stronger sense of her ability to stay off and feels she has some anchors:

When I was younger it was staying off that I couldn't get my head around. Now as I've got older it's harder to stop because like I said when I was younger I could stop, you know. I've done enough detox in my life whether it was in a hospital or whether it was at home with nothing and it was the staying off like I said that I couldn't get my head around. Now as I've got older it's the getting off that I can't get my head around. I know that I'll be able to stay of because I have other things in place to help me stay clean... It's getting off this time as I've got older. It's weird, it's complete opposite. It's just a complete about face and it's really annoying and it's frustrating and I just, I don't want to use drugs anymore and I don't want to have to go out there.

And a strong sense of what she is moving away from:

I don't want to be like, don't get me wrong, I'm not out here to judge, I'm just out here to do what I'm doing, make my

money, whatever. I don't want to be like some of the women, some of these women in their fucking sixties selling their body... No, I do not want to be doing that. Fuck that. Fuck that. No. I'd fucking... I'd go and top myself first, I really would. Not a chance.

This state of uncertainty can be clearly demonstrated in her Principle Components Analysis, which depicts the constructs as spaced apart – indicating that instead of being closely related to one another, their application varies, and therefore each element elicits different emotions in different combinations. There is no black and white thinking, which reflects this sense of moving between different elements in her life. However, there are some clear themes in how the elements are clustered together, having a family and normal home life are closely related and positively regarded. Elements relating to involvement in prostitution are negatively regarded, although her regulars give some relief from the streets and stand alone as having some positive aspects (these are more practical in ensuring safety but do not stretch to being enjoyable). Having relationships, detoxing, and drugs also stand alone. Drugs are associated with the desirable state of being numb, relationships give rise to doubt and ambivalence, and detoxing is perceived as difficult but necessary.

Imogen clearly sees exit as a two-stage process and is unable to reflect on the second stage until she has completed the first stage of detox:

Well I've got a few things that I need to take care of and including going for detox and that. And after then I suppose I can't, I suppose not can't, I don't, it's more of I don't need to think about those until I've done a few things that need to be done first; then I can think about the next few because that's when my head gets fucked, more full of magic because I'm trying to think of too many things, trying to do too many of those things and getting frustrated because I've got no control.

There are also structural issues, insofar as she has no alternative source of income:

I absolutely despise it but it's a means to an end. Like I said, if you don't work a beat then there's no drugs and without any drugs you can't work a beat.... Security. Well that's a bit of a grey area as well because in order for me to have to go into detox I'm going to have to be fucking destitute. I'm on my arse, nothing's working, I've got to fucking work a beat to fucking fund a habit and all the rest of it.

This also links to her sense of frustration about her life:

I couldn't answer that because I'd rather have both. I couldn't choose out of the love and accomplishment because in order for me to feel love I suppose it would have to feel accomplishment because in order for me to feel the love and worthy I have to accomplish those things in order for me to be able to...

Overall, Imogen has a number of emotional factors competing for her attention, a strong commitment about resolving these due to an aversion to her current lifestyle but some uncertainty about putting this into practice.

Imogen Outputs

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
9.1	Despise	5	3	1	3	5	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	Love (like for a child)
9.2	Numb	1	5	5	3	5	5	5	3	3	3	3	3	Head full of magic
9.3	Self-hatred	1	3	1	1	5	3	1	3	5	5	5	5	Worthy
9.4	Panic	3	1	1	5	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	Safe
9.5	Disgust	5	3	1	1	3	3	1	3	5	5	5	5	Enjoyment
9.6	Destitute	1	1	1	5	3	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	Security
9.7	Lonely	3	3	1	3	5	3	1	4	5	5	5	5	Content

9.8	Suspicious	5	1	1	4	3	3	1	4	5	5	5	5	Complete trust
9.9	Frustrated	1	1	1	3	5	1	1	5	5	5	5	5	Accomplishment

Elements:

9.13	Drugs	9.19	Weirdos/arseholes
9.14	Probation worker	9.20	Relationships
9.15	Working beat	9.21	9-5
9.16	Regulars	9.22	Dinner with family
9.17	Detox	9.23	Daughter
9.18	Lack of sleep	9.24	Own place

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole	Contrasting Pole	Score
Safe	Panic	6
Security	Destitute	6
Love	Despise	5
Accomplishment	Frustrated	5
Worthy	Self-hatred	4
Enjoyment	Disgust	4
Content	Lonely	3
Complete trust	Suspicious	2
Numb	Head full of magic	0

Correlations

Element Correlations

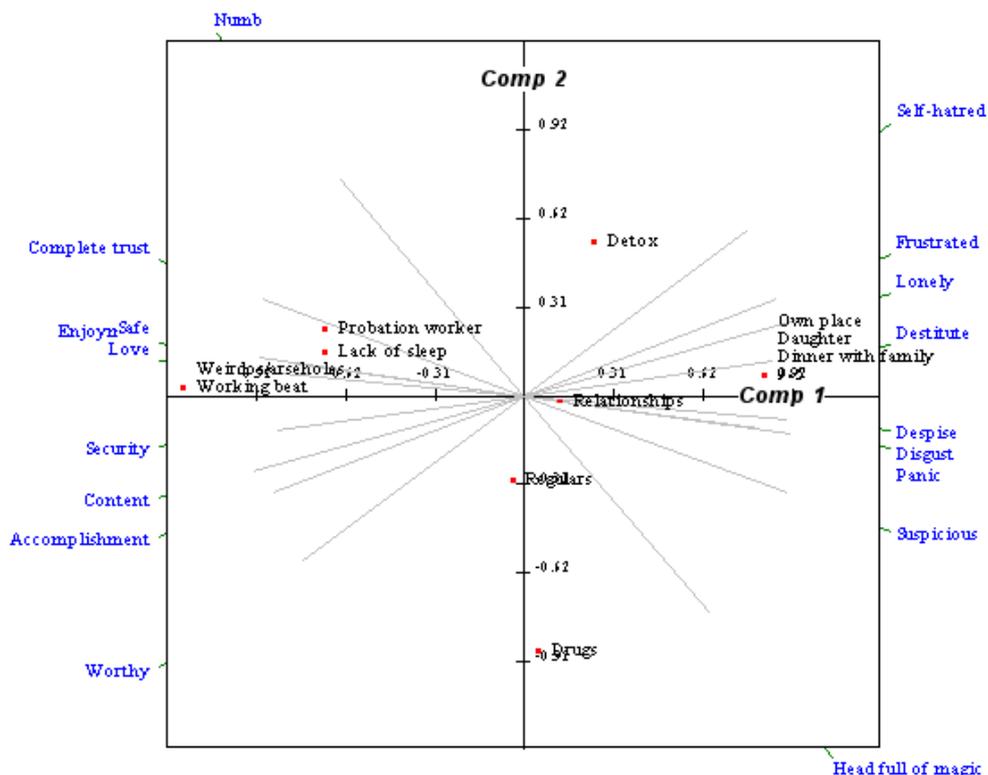
	Drugs	Probation worker	Working beat	Regulars	Detox	Lack of sleep	Weirdos/arseholes	Relationships	9-5	Dinner with family	Daughter	Own place
Drugs	1.00											
Probation worker	0.14	1.00										
Working beat	.	.	1.00									
Regulars	-0.10	-0.73	.	1.00								
Detox	-0.44	0.56	.	-0.28	1.00							
Lack of sleep	0.14	0.55	.	-0.56	0.22	1.00						
Weirdos/arseholes	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.00					
Relationships	-0.27	-0.25	.	0.07	0.41	0.07	.	1.00				
9-5	-0.36	0.32	.	0.03	0.71	0.32	.	0.23	1.00			
Dinner with family	-0.36	0.32	.	0.03	0.71	0.32	.	0.23	1.00	1.00		
Daughter	-0.36	0.32	.	0.03	0.71	0.32	.	0.23	1.00	1.00	1.00	
Own place	-0.36	0.32	.	0.03	0.71	0.32	.	0.23	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

Construct Correlations

	Despise	Head full of magic	Self-hatred	Panic	Disgust	Destitute	Lonely	Suspicious	Frustrated
Despise	1.00								
Head full of magic	0.64	1.00							
Self-hatred	0.67	0.05	1.00						
Panic	0.79	0.67	0.55	1.00					
Disgust	0.82	0.61	0.71	0.58	1.00				
Destitute	0.66	0.44	0.64	0.95	0.46	1.00			
Lonely	0.85	0.40	0.90	0.77	0.78	0.76	1.00		
Suspicious	0.78	0.83	0.51	0.87	0.78	0.74	0.77	1.00	
Frustrated	0.71	0.33	0.80	0.80	0.53	0.86	0.87	0.68	1.00

Element Loadings (Unrotated)

	PC_1	PC_2
Drugs	0.06	-0.89
Probation worker	-0.69	0.23
Working beat	-1.17	0.02
Regulars	-0.04	-0.30
Detox	0.25	0.53
Lack of sleep	-0.68	0.15
Weirdos/arseholes	-1.17	0.02
Relationships	0.13	-0.03
9-5	0.83	0.07
Dinner with family	0.83	0.07
Daughter	0.83	0.07
Own place	0.83	0.07



Laura

(Still currently involved, working most days, street. 1 year of involvement in order to finance her and her boyfriend's drug habit. Age 37, White British, trauma through controlled relationship, no mention of other experiences of trauma, kids removed)

Laura had just escaped from her partner that morning. She had decided to leave after finding out he had lied about fundamental things. He was frequently texting her. She was therefore in a state of limbo and uncertainty. Her constructs reflect her uncertainty about her future- on the one hand wanting a feeling of safety and freedom but on the other being wary, with very little sense of possibility, and aware of her current isolation when involved in prostitution.

As can be seen from the Principle Components Analysis, there is a very clear polarity in both the elements and constructs. The elements and

constructs are clustered into clear groupings. Those elements that she associates with independence, freedom (conceived in contrast to both being controlled and isolation), contentment, and safety – such as having a nice house, holidays and driving – and those that she associates with danger, isolation, sadness, control, and lacking confidence – essentially those elements related to involvement in prostitution and drug use. The elements that elicited positive emotions were her responses to aspects of non-involvement in prostitution and ideal lifestyle. These elements chosen are simple – to be a mother, work, raise children, be in a relationship, have holidays and be able to drive.

However, two of the elements – money and relationships – are consistently rated a '3', demonstrating an ambivalence about what these elements mean to the participant. This was clear in her narrative, she states:

'P: a key feature of prostitution, um, meeting men funny enough, actually meeting men

I: men you'd want to date or –

P: yeah I suppose they might be a possibility, I would it's a possibility... I don't know what the other girls are like but the majority of the men I see a nice, you know they're all married'

Contrasted with later in the interview:

'P: yeah, at the minute it makes me feel isolated when I talk about having relationships

I: but if you think about your ideal relationship?

P: I'd still put it in the middle because I'm wary... (later) it can either be a safe environment or a nasty environment, that's got two sides to it that has... I don't trust men, no trust'

On money:

'it can bring debt, it can bring drugs, bring bullying because I've had all of these things happen to me, yeah it can also

bring, you know nice things, like I said before holidays and driving and it's got a negative side to it as well as the good'

In addition, although the constructs tend to be clustered into 'positive' and 'negative', all seeming to be closely related to the other (i.e. ratings on each construct are similar); the construct 'wary-possibility' deviates from this pattern, frequently being rated a '3' or else on the 'wary' end of the scale; thus demonstrating that for this participant a sense of possibility has not yet been developed. It is therefore important to note that finding a job was the only element that elicited a sense of possibility. This represents a structural issue as the participants ability to exit rests on the structural opportunities available to her just as much as her own sense of agency. The participant's ambivalence can be demonstrated here and extends to her feelings on the possibility of exit:

(On the possibility of exit) 'I've been in a controlled relationship that's why, the only time I've managed to get away is today so I've never thought about it until today... I've got to build my confidence up before I even think about that, I have yet it's not a close thought in my mind put it that way'

From a narrative perspective, it is important to note that Laura was able to name the relationship from which she had recently escaped as a 'controlled relationship'. This appeared to give her confidence in the decision she had made. However, she did not elaborate on the meaning of this, perhaps suggesting an underlying ambivalence towards the relationship, which was borne out in her preoccupation with her mobile phone and the fact that she did not present the relationship as controlled when telling the story of becoming involved in the industry:

'I'd been in rehab with a guy called John um and... We wanted drugs and we was out on the street for about six weeks and John used to ring his mum up every day for money but that ran out and we found that I could work the streets and get money'

On a number of levels, therefore, Laura seemed uncertain about her future and her past. She had not made sense of either. Her values strongly reflect a concern for her own safety and wanting to feel more content. However, although the construct 'possibility/wary' came at the bottom of her values, the overall narrative suggests that this was her most dominant construct in relation to her current decisions. The fact that this construct was rated last in terms of her personal values hierarchy reflects her overall willingness to feel this uncertainty in order to achieve her goals. Similarly, she is willing to accept some forms of isolation (this is rated second to last in the hierarchy). Her involvement with the gatekeeper service appeared to address the need for less isolation as well as feeling her more valued need of safety:

'it's building my confidence up, and the involvement around other women, there's no men involved so it a safe environment, it is it feels safe'.

Laura Outputs

Grid

		1 Mo	2 MD	3 RA	4 NM	5 S	6 MD	7 LJ	8 AK	9 NH	10 HR	11 H	12 D	
1.1	Freedom	3	5	4	2	1	5	3	1	1	3	1	1	Isolation
1.2	Safe	3	4	5	3	1	5	3	1	1	3	3	3	Danger
1.3	Content	3	5	5	3	1	5	2	1	1	3	2	2	Sad
1.4	Freedom	3	5	4	3	1	5	3	1	2	3	3	2	Controlled
1.5	Independent	2	4	4	3	2	5	3	1	2	3	2	2	Lacking Confidence
1.6	Wary	3	1	1	3	3	1	4	1	3	3	3	3	Sense of possibility

Elements:

1.13	Money	1.19	Looking for Job
1.14	Missing Daytime	1.20	Access to Kids
1.15	Risk of Assault	1.21	Nice House
1.16	Meeting Nice Men	1.22	Husband/Relationship
1.17	Stability	1.23	Holidays
1.18	More Drugs	1.24	Driving

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole	Contrasting Pole	Score
Safe	Danger	5
Content	Sad	4
Freedom	Controlled	2
Independent	Lacking	2
Freedom	Isolation	1
Possibility	Wary	0

Correlations

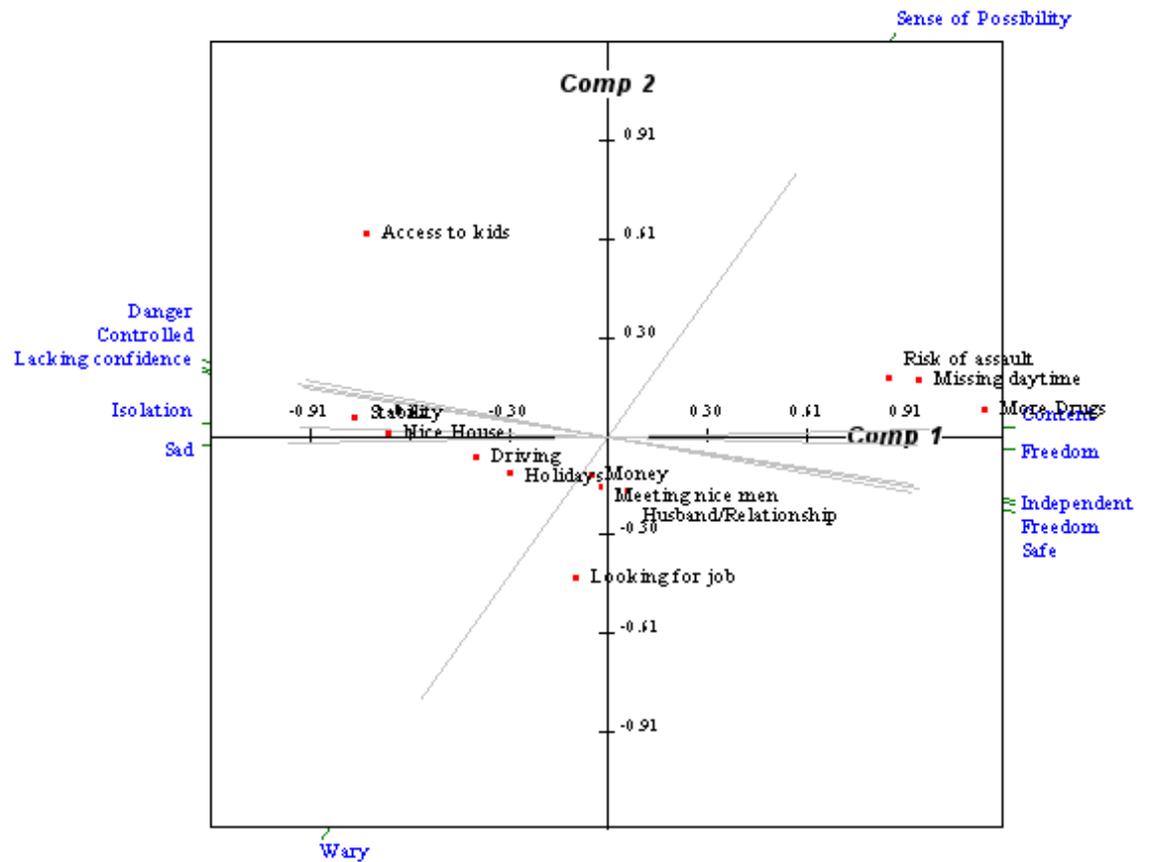
Element Correlations

	Money	Missing daytime	Risk of assault	Meeting nice men	Stability	More Drugs	Looking for job	Access to kids	Nice House	Husband/Relationship	Holidays	Driving
Money	1.00											
Missing daytime	0.63	1.00										
Risk of assault	0.45	0.00	1.00									
Meeting nice men	-0.20	-0.32	0.45	1.00								
Stability	-0.29	0.00	0.22	0.29	1.00							
More Drugs	.	.	.	.	.	1.00						
Looking for job	-0.32	-0.50	-0.71	-0.32	-0.46	.	1.00					
Access to kids	0.20	0.32	0.45	0.20	0.88	.	-0.63	1.00				
Nice House	-0.20	0.16	0.00	0.40	0.88	.	-0.32	0.80	1.00			
Husband/Relationship	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.00		
Holidays	0.20	-0.16	0.45	0.80	0.29	.	-0.16	0.40	0.50	.	1.00	
Driving	0.11	-0.34	0.73	0.76	0.48	.	-0.34	0.54	0.43	.	0.87	1.00

Construct Correlations

	Freedom	Safe	Content	Freedom	Independent	Sense of Possibility
Freedom	1.00					
Safe	0.82	1.00				
Content	0.92	0.93	1.00			
Freedom	0.91	0.90	0.93	1.00		
Independent	0.89	0.85	0.89	0.90	1.00	
Sense of Possibility	0.51	0.40	0.58	0.42	0.42	1.00

Principle Components Analysis



Element Loadings (Unrotated)

	PC_1	PC_2
Money	-0.05	0.13
Missing daytime	0.95	-0.17
Risk of assault	0.86	-0.17
Meeting nice men	-0.02	0.17
Stability	-0.77	-0.05
More Drugs	1.16	-0.08
Looking for job	-0.10	0.44
Access to kids	-0.74	-0.62
Nice House	-0.67	-0.01
Husband/Relationship	0.06	0.17
Holidays	-0.30	0.12
Driving	-0.40	0.08

Note. Values used for plotting elements in unrotated component space.

Melody

(33, White British, street prostitution, still involved but has cut down as no longer a heroin user so answers 'yes and no' to whether still involved, now just does for extra money, entered 8 years ago due to drug use and not wanting to work or shoplift (avoiding risk of criminal charges), homeless at 13, got addicted through a much older man - she was 13 he was 34 - but she financed by shoplifting, two kids removed a year ago because of violent partner)

Melody made the decision to get clean from drugs, a habit she had since the age of 13 after running away from home. However, she has not completely exited as she goes back occasionally in order to earn extra money. She describes this as easy money:

But cos I have worked and I know how easy it is if I do need tobacco or food or rent I do tend to come back... Before I got off the drugs, about 2 or so years ago, I was out here 24/7, never had nowhere to live

It is significant that the majority of her chosen constructs relate to drug use, bad relationships, or her involvement in the industry. Her ideal life can only be envisaged as 'normal' i.e. not the life she has. She does not imagine what that might look like in practice. Her life has not significantly changed since she stopped using and she still experiences it in the same way:

That side of it's pretty good, not really using, on methadone. But my life's crap (I: Is that different to when you were on the streets?) No, about the same actually, just that I'm clean now... I've got nowhere to live, didn't have my kids, people use me... I had my two little kids taken off me May last year.

She has a strong yearning for what she considers a normal life but this is very different from her personal experiences of both family and relationship trauma, tellingly, she uses extremely abusive relationships as a benchmark, once again showing that she evaluates the world around her through the lens of the bad things that have happened to her or the worse case:

A normal life, a house, the kids, a partner who doesn't beat the fuck out of you, excuse my language.

it weren't the best, but it weren't... where as some relationships are bad like they beat me every day, but it weren't good neither... It was a drug relationship I think, just that.

Her emotional constructs and their ratings against the elements demonstrate this strong contrast between her ideal lifestyle and her actual life experience. The construct that has the most relevance to her involvement in the sex industry is that of 'numb/angry' where she was using drugs to mask her feelings. This is also linked to the construct 'genuine/guilty' which has a strong influence in the way she evaluates experience and her own sense of self:

A lot of it was I was having drugs to mask the.. I was a different person sort of thing... I've had a lot of bad things happen to me in my past... Cos I'm a very nice genuine girl when I'm not using. It's like anybody, to get that drugs you.. well myself, not some people, but myself I'd rather hurt myself than hurt other people.

Interestingly, these two constructs appear at the bottom of her personal values hierarchy and yet, they are the emotions that appear to be the biggest barriers to moving out of prostitution completely. Despite the fact that are not her most tightly held values, moving beyond the construct 'numb/angry' and feelings of guilt appear to be essential in order to experience the more desired emotions:

Not hate myself. I've got a lot of guilt... Because I've got six kids and they're not living with me. I had my chance with my last two...

(on barriers to leaving the industry completely) I have a lot of guilt there like I said and...(I: and does it make you give

up on yourself?) Yeh. A lot. A very lot... You go back to what you know don't you.

Her most tightly held value is to feel 'whole' as opposed to 'something missing', which is linked to having lost her kids to adoption. She craves a strong family life but at no point in the narrative of the interview does she present this as a realistic possibility:

I'd settle with happy. I don't have to been completely happy and content, just healthy happy... All I ever wanted to have was that family life... contented, whole, happy, happy in myself... I crave that family

There is a sense of inevitability of her involvement despite clearly wishing that she were out completely:

I went back to what I knew. Cos it started getting hard on my own... Everything, financially, emotionally... I haven't really got friends

Overall, Melody does not appear to have moved on emotionally from her past and this results in repeated behaviour that she finds undesirable. She has no alternative sense of self or sense of possibility.

Melody Outputs

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
13.1	Happy	3	4	5	5	5	5	3	1	5	1	5	1	Pain
13.2	Numb	3	4	5	1	2	1	2	3	5	3	5	3	Angry
13.3	Genuine	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	1	5	1	5	1	Disappointed/ guilty
13.4	Content	3	5	5	5	5	5	3	1	5	1	5	1	Anxious/ frustrated
13.5	Whole	3	5	5	5	5	5	3	3	5	1	5	1	Something missing
13.6	Connection/ love	3	5	5	5	5	5	3	3	5	1	5	1	Lonely

Elements:

13.13	Shoplifting	13.19	Money
13.14	Homeless	13.20	Being clean
13.15	Family	13.21	Kids taken
13.16	Drug	13.22	Kids living with
13.17	Older man	13.23	Violent partner
13.18	On beat	13.24	Normal life

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole	Contrasting Pole	Score
Whole	Something missing	5
Love/connection	Lonely	4
Happy	Pain	3
Content	Anxious/frustrated	2
Genuine	Disappointed/guilty	1
Numb	Angry	0

Correlations

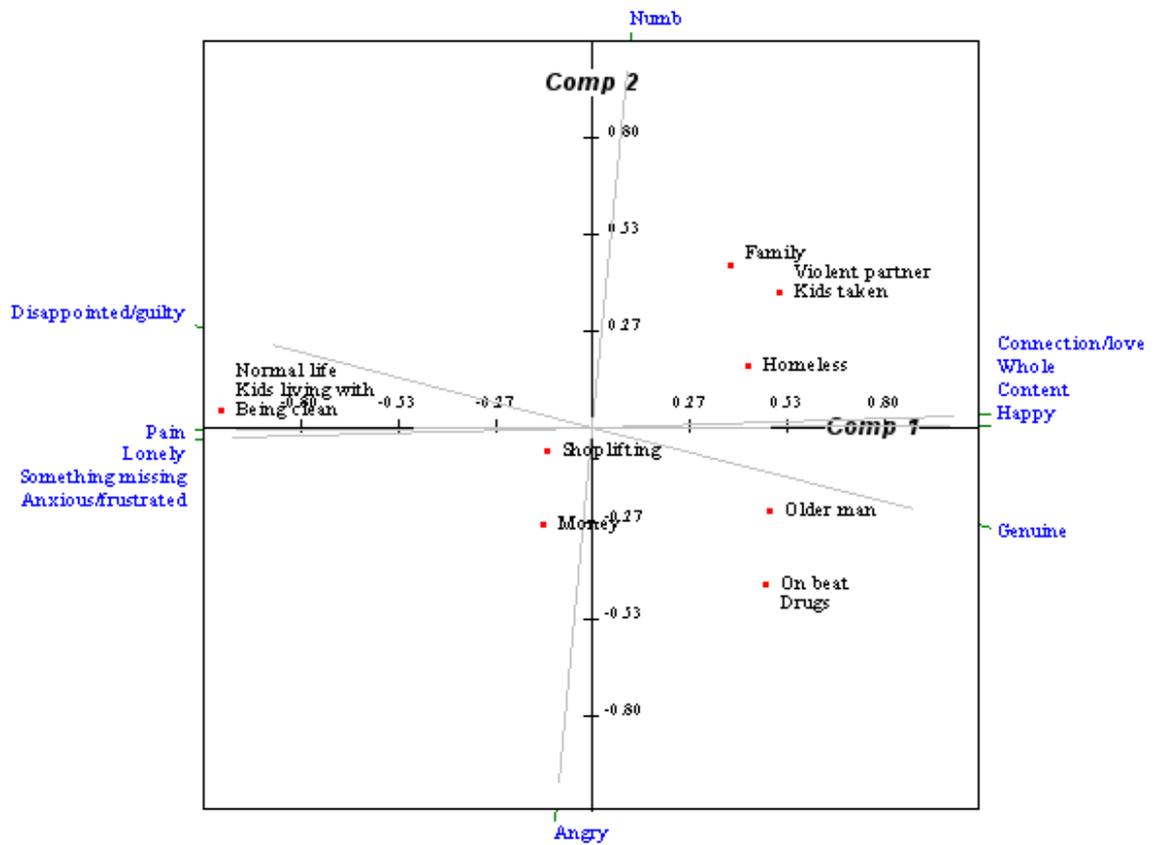
Element Correlations

	Shoplifting	Homeless	Family	Drugs	Older man	On beat	Money	Being clean	Kids taken	Kids living with	Violent partner	Normal life
Shoplifting	1.00											
Homeless	0.32	1.00										
Family	-1.00	-0.32	1.00									
Drugs	0.20	0.63	-0.20	1.00								
Older man	0.20	0.63	-0.20	1.00	1.00							
On beat	0.20	0.63	-0.20	1.00	1.00	1.00						
Money	0.91	0.53	-0.91	0.58	0.58	0.58	1.00					
Being clean	-0.20	-0.63	0.20	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00	-0.58	1.00				
Kids taken	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.00			
Kids living with	-0.20	-0.63	0.20	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00	-0.58	1.00	.	1.00		
Violent partner	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.00	
Normal life	-0.20	-0.63	0.20	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00	-0.58	1.00	.	1.00	.	1.00

Construct Correlations

	Happy	Numb	Genuine	Content	Whole	Connection/love
Happy	1.00					
Numb	0.09	1.00				
Genuine	0.82	-0.10	1.00			
Content	0.99	0.12	0.83	1.00		
Whole	0.99	0.12	0.83	1.00	1.00	
Connection/love	0.99	0.12	0.83	1.00	1.00	1.00

Principle Components Analysis



Element Loadings (Unrotated)

	PC_1	PC_2
Shoplifting	-0.12	-0.07
Homeless	0.43	0.17
Family	0.38	0.44
Drugs	0.48	-0.44
Older man	0.49	-0.24
On beat	0.48	-0.44
Money	-0.13	-0.28
Being clean	-1.02	0.04
Kids taken	0.52	0.37
Kids living with	-1.02	0.04
Violent partner	0.52	0.37
Normal life	-1.02	0.04

Pauline

(White British, 49, escort (never on street), exited two months ago, entered through an abusive/grooming partner in 2010, previous history of abuse as a child plus very abusive relationship in 30s, cocaine use during her involvement, partner also cocaine user and she was paying for it, broke up with partner in 2011 due to threatening behaviour as he and his associates wanted her to become a drug mule, then worked for an agency, had threatening experiences while involved)

Pauline's involvement in the sex industry has been driven by two factors; firstly, involvement with abusive and coercive partners and secondly, (after leaving these relationships), poverty. She has only recently exited the industry and feels that money is a constant draw to becoming involved again:

I can never say it is completely over... How can I say this?...
I've got loads of debts... I would feel like a bit of a failure,
but at the same time I would feel like I was doing it for me
as a choice, not for someone else.

She distinguishes strongly between working for someone else to fund addictions, and working for herself to earn money. Similarly, she distinguishes between normal punters and other punters who she found weird, abusive or threatening. One of the elements of her involvement in the industry was these unpleasant experiences, such as rape role-plays. Although she tends to rate even normal punters as negative for most constructs, she rates them as 'supportive' as opposed to 'lonely'. This has some relevance to her involvement in the industry as she battles a strong sense of isolation, as demonstrated by her choice of constructs such as 'supported/lonely', 'accepted/judged':

Loneliness. Because some of my punters were my friends... Some of them were really good people, and a lot of the time it felt like I was offering a therapeutic service, because they wanted comfort and some of them wanted comforting as well as fun. They wanted to sit and talk.

One of the barriers to exiting prostitution is her ability to move on and feel accepted:

I think I feel rejected by society. (I: What would you rather feel?) Included. Fully included, and be normal... I don't want to be judged, that is what it is. I don't want to be judged... Things that I've been feeling of being a bit rejected from society, and it makes you feel like you have got limited choices.

Pauline yearns for the support she had from her deceased father, she gets a mixed response from her family, who do not judge her but who also question her ability to move forward:

This might sound wrong, but my dad dying and my financial struggles are tied together, because my dad was very supportive of me. He did spoil me really. He helped me financially whenever I needed it, and I knew that I had to

start to be independent. That was more of a push to get into sex work, because I knew I wasn't going to have that back up of finance when I struggled... Not just money, emotional, my dad was my angel. He was everything to me. And him leaving this world was like a big chunk of my support going.

My eldest daughter found out by accident, and then she told my son and my other daughter. They were shocked to start off with, but they have been very supportive of me. They love me, so they have been very supportive.

My family. They don't believe that I can make it... Don't do this, you will only fail.

For this participant, a major motivating factor in leaving the industry was her sense of lacking direction. The gatekeeper service helped to give her this sense of direction:

The services gave me, I suppose it is similar, because the services gave me direction again. It gave me a routine.... They gave me a routine, I knew when to come here on certain days, and the women's refuge obviously protected me.

She also felt very disconnected from her self when in the industry, which can be contrasted to her strong sense of self in relation to completing her degree and pursuing her career (this career was something that she was already pursuing when she became involved in the industry):

I didn't have cocaine all the time, but I had alcohol every day... To help me cope with the persona that I had to put on...I could become L...My private self, and there is my public self. My public self was Lizzie and my private self was Julie.

I can be very professional, not business minded but career minded. I can be very intelligent sometimes, and this is more about me being positive. I'm positive when I'm like that.... As opposed to I was being really passive and really negative and scared.

Again, these concern, such as direction and authenticity, are borne out in her constructs, such as 'direction/unknown', 'conscious self/persona', 'strong/dependent', 'nurturing/self-destructive', 'positive/passive and scared'. Her most tightly held value is to have this sense that her life path is nurturing as opposed to self-destructive. Her involvement in the sex industry involved alcohol abuse and is therefore seen as self-destructive:

I've not had as much money. And I'm really struggling financially. I still get requests to work from apartments, but I say no. It is a big temptation but it is not easy money, people think it is easy money and it isn't. Because I drink when I work, and then I get a drink problem... To cope with the work.

My abusive relationship and the cocaine use was almost like a persona that I put on. I feel as if I have a persona inside me that is my work person that is living, and I was very risk taking, I was very vulnerable at the same time. I was very irresponsible. And it is different from, with my children I was a very good parent. Two of my children have gone onto university, one of them went to Cambridge, and they are successful. It was totally different behaviour from how I was with my children... More like my conscious self. Me, who I am. That felt more like it was all about me and my needs, and that felt like it was about others. That was nurturing, and that was self-destructive.

Her involvement in the sex industry is tied up with her relationships to men. Although she feels that she may return on her terms if she needs the money, she also feels that she needs protection. On the other hand, this protection

comes at a price. Thus, her constructs are dominated by this tension between loneliness and vulnerability:

Because the way that guys always drop it is that they are going to be there forever and be your protection. When you see a punter they have got to know that you are with someone, and when they have left they have got to know that they have left so that they know you are safe. If they know your appointments they know how much money you are making.

Overall, the Pauline's involvement in the sex industry is something that has conflicting positive and negative attributes for the participant. However, it leaves her feeling inauthentic, vulnerable and lacking direction. She also abuses alcohol to cope. However, she is unsure whether she has completely stepped into a new role. She has a disease that limits her options and she feels limited by society's stigma. She also has a strong sense of isolation - *'it always comes back to me being lonely'* - running through her narrative, despite the support of her family and the gatekeeper service. She therefore feels that she may be willing to return to the industry if money becomes an issue.

Pauline Outputs

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
16.1	Supported	5	5	5	4	5	1	1	3	5	2	5	3	Lonely
16.2	Direction	5	4	5	2	5	1	1	1	5	4	5	1	Unknown
16.3	Protected	5	5	5	3	5	1	1	1	5	3	5	3	Vulnerable/ risk taking
16.4	Conscious self	1	3	5	5	5	1	1	1	5	4	1	3	Persona
16.5	Nurturing	1	5	5	5	5	1	1	2	5	3	5	1	Self-destructive
16.6	Strong	3	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	5	5	5	3	Dependent
16.7	Positive	5	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	5	4	5	1	Passive and

														scared
16.8	Accepted, included	3	5	5	5	5	1	1	2	3	3	5	1	Judged

Elements:

16.13	Dad having cancer	16.19	Children
16.14	Financial struggles	16.20	Career
16.15	Abusive relationship	16.21	Abusive role play
16.16	Cocaine use	punters	
16.17	Threats (associates)	16.22	Normal punters
16.18	Women's refuge	16.23	Autoimmune disease
		16.24	Holidays

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole	Contrasting Pole	Score
Nurturing	Self-destructive	7
Positive	Passive and scared	5
Conscious self	Persona	4
Accepted	Judged	4
Direction	Unknown	3
Strong	Dependent	3
Supported	Lonely	1
Protected	Vulnerable	1

Correlations

Element Correlations

	Dad cancer	Financial struggle	Abusive relationship	Cocaine use	Associate threats	Women's refuge	Children	Career	Abusive punters	Normal punters	Autoimmune disease	Holidays
Dad cancer	1.00											
Financial struggle	0.38	1.00										
Abusive relationship	.	.	1.00									
Cocaine use	-0.62	0.12	.	1.00								
Associate threats	.	.	.	.	1.00							
Women's refuge	.	.	.	.	.	1.00						
Children	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.00					
Career	0.00	0.38	.	0.16	.	.	.	1.00				
Abusive punters	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.00			
Normal punters	-0.17	-0.31	.	0.13	.	.	.	-0.82	.	1.00		
Autoimmune disease	0.57	0.88	.	-0.26	.	.	.	0.27	.	-0.22	1.00	
Holidays	0.00	-0.18	.	0.00	.	.	.	0.00	.	0.00	-0.38	1.00

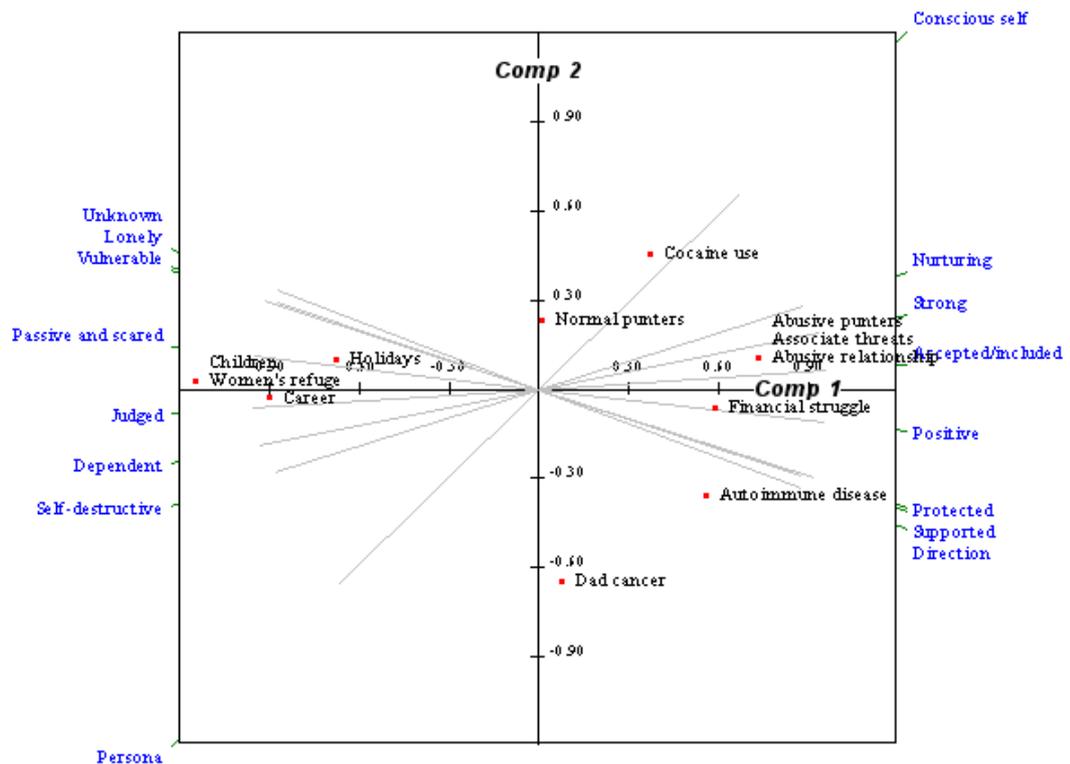
Construct Correlations

	Supported	Direction	Protected	Conscious self	Nurturing	Strong	Positive	Accepted/included
Supported	1.00							
Direction	0.79	1.00						
Protected	0.91	0.91	1.00					
Conscious self	0.42	0.41	0.47	1.00				
Nurturing	0.71	0.64	0.67	0.68	1.00			
Strong	0.72	0.77	0.83	0.75	0.86	1.00		
Positive	0.83	0.89	0.88	0.56	0.79	0.89	1.00	
Accepted/included	0.84	0.79	0.81	0.62	0.95	0.88	0.93	1.00

Principle components analysis

Element Loadings (Unrotated)

	PC_1	PC_2
Dad cancer	0.09	-0.65
Financial struggle	0.60	-0.07
Abusive relationship	0.74	0.10
Cocaine use	0.38	0.45
Associate threats	0.74	0.10
Women's refuge	-1.15	0.02
Children	-1.15	0.02
Career	-0.90	-0.03
Abusive punters	0.74	0.10
Normal punters	0.02	0.23
Autoimmune disease	0.56	-0.37
Holidays	-0.67	0.10



Freya

(41, street and indoors from hotels and flats, entered due to drug addicted and abusive partner, 11 years exited, involved for 5 years (late twenties), White British, no previous experience of trauma but a lot of trauma once involved in the industry (violence/rape), son removed but since returned)

Freya has been out of the sex industry for 11 years and this distance from her involvement is reflected in her choice of elements, for which only 3 out of the 6 elements she chose to represent her involvement in the industry were consistently associated with trauma or negative emotions (drug use, other women, and violent clients). In relation to having sex for money she felt mainly neutral or not bothered but there is an underlying sense of shame associated with this reflected in her rating this on the 'embarrassed' end of the 'embarrassed/not judged' construct. In general, she had mixed feelings about men, some clients being better than others but overall lacking any positive emotions or trust:

'I'd just blank it out... I think of how, what a good time I'm going to spend my money on. I just think hurry up, hurry

up... I ended up with a few clients that became really good regulars and I'm still in touch with them to this day... now it's put me off sexual relationships. I'm not at all sexually motivated at all.... Mainly I hate them and I let them know as well, yeah.... (on men) Not got much time for them. I don't know I'm not that bothered about guys. My son and my dad, that's about it.

The remaining elements for involvement related to her sense of standards and self-esteem while in the industry (having standards of what she would and wouldn't do and maintaining personal hygiene), a self-respect that she depends on now and that she uses to sever her identity from her involvement in the industry and set herself apart:

'I always looked after myself... I had just a really high standard of my personal regardless of being on drugs or not, I always used to get ... you know I'd clean myself up and present myself ... I don't know the stereotypical way you might say street girls dress as. I didn't dress like that'

'And I used to be very, very fussy. I wouldn't do everything. I wouldn't do this, that and the other. I wasn't like ... I had a few standards and a few morals regardless of being dependent on a substance, I still used to think I'm worth more than that.... when I decided not to give a client a blow job without a condom. That kind of used to make me feel a bit powerful even though I knew that the other girls would hate it... I didn't want to do it and why should I do that.'

Her distance from involvement in the industry is also demonstrated by her choice of elements related to non-involvement and ideal lifestyle, which were very much grounded in a sense of possibility and experiences she is familiar with such as her knowledge of antiques and her dream of living in the countryside:

'I've got a business plan that I've got to fill out and stuff and I'm starting college as well in the next couple of months ...

Yeah to have my own business which is just dealing in collectibles and antiques which I've grown up all my life with my parents doing that as kind of a hobby but an income as well... I'd love to be an auctioneer one day... I'm also doing some outdoor work as well, horticultural. I've always been interested in how to grow my own plants and veg and herbs. I'd like, one day, I'd like my own sustainable house. So it would be a really serious eco house'

These elements are associated with a sense of pride and confidence:

'I feel great now because all I get now is praise off people, you know for how well I'm doing... I will have achieved it, I'll have done it and it was all from my ideas, thinking how I can achieve my own business. It'll make me feel empowered. I'll feel powerful and I've set my own business up... I suppose so I don't feel bad and guilty these days because I'm doing things right. Yeah and I know it sounds a bit sad to say it at 41, but I'm still learning.'

Nevertheless, Freya continues to struggle with aspects of her past, feeling tainted and tempted by her surroundings, both her peers and structural constraints such as the constant presence of alcohol:

'With alcohol it's not so easy, it's constantly, you know the government are pro-active about alcohol aren't they. Yeah but it's the government that have just funded me to do my detox. They must be making a bloody lot of money out of alcohol... I couldn't believe it when I went in Super Savers to get some toiletries a few months ago and saw an aisle of blooming alcohol.'

'There's no temptations (in the countryside), apart from the ones that ... anything that is tempting out there is good for you. There's nothing that's a risk to your health out there... Alcohol and just people, in general... Always people trying to drag you back down'

In addition, there is a strong sense of guilt that continues to affect her relationships. Her family is both a facilitator and barrier to recovery, providing much needed support but also inducing guilt and shame (rating particularly highly for embarrassment and judgement). Her personal values hierarchy shows that a sense of embarrassment (or shame) can be tolerated as it is at the bottom of the chart, thus reflecting the fact that this is an aspect of her life that she has learned to manage. However, one of the main roles of the gatekeeper service has been to provide a safe space in which this sense of guilt is alleviated:

'It was yeah, because I ran away, I was embarrassed. I was very ashamed and because my family are a very well to do family and very well known business people, yeah I was very embarrassed. I used to run away out of embarrassment. I didn't, you know, me, I have a family like that ending up on there doing what I did?... Yeah, being judged. And my family being judged as well by hearing gossip about me. You know I used to think, oh god, does such and do they know that my mum's got a daughter that does this. You know my mum used to say you've brought shame on the family name, you're a disgrace you know what I mean. But yet she still helped me.'

'And I'm one of these people I don't usually, I don't like to bother people, I like to try and sort it out myself rather than asking for help but. I suppose sometimes, (they're) just there to remind me, that we're here for a reason, if you need help, we're not going to judge you or anything else. I can come (to the gatekeeper service) when I'm feeling vulnerable and I don't want people to judge me.'

There is an underlying lack of confidence in her ability to maintain her current state and she continues to struggle emotionally. In particular, her newfound ability to stick up for herself has also given rise to unresolved anger:

If I get up in a negative point and somebody said something like that to me I might go up to them and punch them in the face, kick their heads in something like that... I've got a lot of anger inside me I suppose... I suppose I'm angry with myself for letting myself be treated by certain people for as long as I did.

You know that was then this is now, you don't have to still feel guilty about 12 you know however many years ago. But I do still sometimes and sometimes my son does remind me... I tend to beat myself up... now and then depending on how I'm feeling in my head and then some days I have and probably still will spend days in bed with my bedroom door locked... it's bipolar now isn't now because I'm manic depressive so they've told me I'm bipolar now.

The gatekeeper service provides support so that she can return whenever these difficult emotions surface. It is also a space in which she can bring her vulnerability (as a contrast to her desired state of feeling competent and like she has achieved something):

They never, they would never ever say there's the door, see you. Maybe I wouldn't been able to access here if I hadn't have been a street worker. I think once you've been a street worker no matter what, they know that even in 10 years something might affect me from working on the streets that's not affecting me now... Yeah they tried to put me through counselling about it but I prefer to S and stuff than go and be having this psychotherapy and all that. And I know I'd end up killing the flipping psychotherapist. At least here, I don't get frustrated with this lot.

She also described how the gatekeeper service had been instrumental in enabling her to find a path to recovery, describing the exiting process as a turning point where she realised she would be dead unless something changed:

I felt powerful. I felt flipping heck, I felt 10 feet tall. That I'd actually cracked it and I knew I was going to do it and I knew how because of S (gatekeeper service staff)... I knew I'd never go back to it. I just knew it's something. I knew that once I stopped drugs I'd never touch another one in my life and I never have done... I think it's because I knew if I stayed on them I'd be dead.

Freya's personal values hierarchy shows that her main motivator is to feel positive instead of sick and degraded. However, overall, the participant's emotional landscape is dominated by the constructs just below 'positive/degraded' - a concern for sticking up for herself as opposed to being scared and a sense of motivation and possibility ('I can do anything/I am free') as opposed to being numb ('no interest/not bothered'). These give her the capacity for self-care that enables her to maintain her non-involvement and move on with her life:

I'm bigger than that. I've learned, I've found my voice now... I was scared of letting my voice be heard. Scared of sticking up for myself or my son... yeah I'd have to stick up for myself. It didn't get me nowhere, those years that I didn't stick up for myself, it didn't.

One with the positive outlook on it. I prefer the ones with positive. I'd prefer to be scared and get some ... and do something positive and, yeah... I can't do anything if I wasn't interested and bothered, I can't. I have to be bothered and interested otherwise I just won't do it.

Freya Outputs

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
6.1	Scared	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	Stick up for myself
6.2	Worthless	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	Ecstatic

6.3	Threatened	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	Powerful/ in control
6.4	Degraded/ sick	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	Positive/good about things
6.5	No interest/ not bothered	1	1	1	2	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	I can do anything/free
6.6	Guilty	1	3	1	4	4	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	Done something right
6.7	Anxiety	1	1	1	3	4	4	5	5	3	5	5	5	Secure
6.8	Embarrassed	1	1	3	1	4	4	1	5	5	5	5	5	Not judged
6.9	Vulnerable	1	1	1	3	4	4	5	5	3	5	5	5	Achievement

Elements:

6.13	Drug Use	6.19	Family network
6.14	Other Women	6.20	Gatekeeper Service
6.15	Violent Clients	6.21	Free of alcohol/drugs
6.16	Having Sex For Money	6.22	Son with me
6.17	Standards	6.23	Own Business
6.18	Personal hygiene/appearance	6.24	College/learning things

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole	Contrasting Pole	Score
Positive/good	Degraded/sick	8
I can do anything/free	No interest/not bothered	7
Stick up for myself	Scared	4
Done something right	Guilty	4
Achievement	Vulnerable	4
Secure	Anxiety	3
Ecstatic	Worthless	2
Powerful/in control	Threatened	2
Not judged	Embarrassed	1

Correlations

Element Correlations

	Drug use	Other women	Violent clients	Having sex for money	Standards	Personal hygiene/appearance	Family network	Gatekeeper service	Free of alcholo/drugs	Son with me	Own business	College/learning things
Drug use	1.00											
Other women	-0.12	1.00										
Violent clients	0.55	-0.80	1.00									
Having sex for money	-0.32	-0.32	0.25	1.00								
Standards	0.25	-0.50	0.40	0.63	1.00							
Personal hygiene/appearance	-0.35	-0.88	0.49	0.45	0.35	1.00						
Family network							1.00					
Gatekeeper service								1.00				
Free of alcholo/drugs	0.40	0.40	-0.32	-0.35	0.16	-0.56			1.00			
Son with me										1.00		
Own business											1.00	
College/learning things												1.00

Construct Correlations

	Scared	Worthless	Threatened	Degraded/sick	No interest/not bothered	Guilty	Anxiety	Embarrassed	Vulnerable
Scared	1.00								
Worthless	0.95	1.00							
Threatened	0.95	1.00	1.00						
Degraded/sick	0.95	1.00	1.00	1.00					
No interest/not bothered	0.98	0.92	0.92	0.92	1.00				
Guilty	0.85	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.83	1.00			
Anxiety	0.93	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.92	0.78	1.00		
Embarrassed	0.68	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.72	0.71	0.59	1.00	
Vulnerable	0.93	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.92	0.78	1.00	0.59	1.00

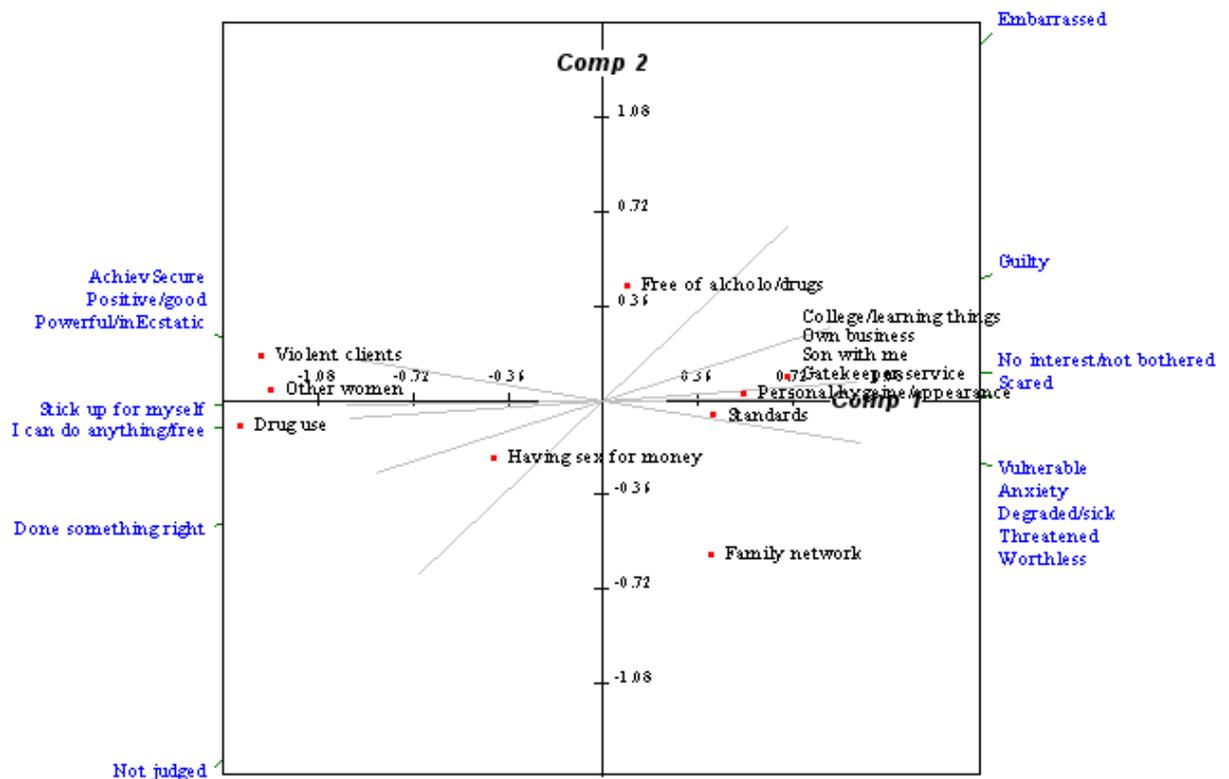
Principal Components Analyses (Correlations) for Blank Grid+++

Element Loadings (Unrotated)

	PC_1	PC_2
Drug use	-1.37	-0.10
Other women	-1.25	0.03
Violent clients	-1.29	0.17
Having sex for money	-0.41	-0.23
Standards	0.42	-0.06
Personal hygiene/appearance	0.54	0.02
Family network	0.42	-0.59
Gatekeeper service	0.71	0.08
Free of alcholo/drugs	0.10	0.43
Son with me	0.71	0.08
Own business	0.71	0.08
College/learning things	0.71	0.08

Note. Values used for plotting elements in unrotated component space.

Principle Components Analysis



Gina

(White British, 41, entered aged 24 (with 5 year old daughter) through escorting for the money but around the same time developed a crack habit and after 4 years ended up working on the streets, exited when pregnant with her son aged 37, dad heroin addict and mother alcoholic and was in a children's home)

Gina has exited from both the street and escorting. Her experience of working in escorting was rated more positively by the participant because escorting gave her a sense of empowerment and control. This sense of being in control is contrasted to a sense of neediness. Throughout her narrative she expresses a wish to avoid this neediness. However, she rates many positive aspects of her life, such as her religion, as something she feels she needs. Interestingly, the only other element that would give her a sense of control would be to have a career. As such, although she strives for a

sense of empowerment, she recognises a distinction between being totally out of control (is in street work) and having some reliance on positive aspects of her life or other people. Thus, although being in control rates highly in personal values hierarchy, the overall narrative suggests a more nuanced understanding of empowerment. Now she has left the industry, she would not return to either escorting or street work as her overall experience is remembered as negative and the sense of empowerment in escorting did not mitigate against other negative aspects:

I had a relationship before I started escort work and I think I was quite a needy person, I was a needy person before I entered prostitution. So and that side of me made me quite desperate at times, you know. And it put me in some desperate situations, that neediness you know. So I kind of lost a lot of pride and dignity being so desperate. So when I went into escort work I suddenly found myself like turning into a bitch, do you know what I mean? And I felt full of control with it, a form of power, yeah. So I think that kind of sealed that neediness in me; it kind of switched me. And I felt good with that, you know, because I wasn't so needy no more with this guy. You know, of my relationship.

I wouldn't, I wouldn't go back for any of it because I know for me to be able to cope with it I would have to take drugs or drink or something, do you know what I mean? It wouldn't actually be me who I am today, it would be somebody else inside me, do you know what I mean?

Her involvement in the sex industry and drug use is not described purely in terms of external or structural factors, such as financial. Although money is put forward as her primary motivator for entering the industry, she also acknowledges that there is an internal element, as if her lifestyle was a familiar role to her:

And so from the day I can remember like you know I've had drugs around me and I've had that kind of atmosphere around me... You know so I think that's kind of, I had that

atmosphere around me from an early start and I don't know, maybe it became like a comfort zone for me. I don't really know. I haven't really worked that part out yet.

As such, it is interesting to note that in her personal values hierarchy, her most tightly held value is that of feeling new and refreshed as opposed to dark/messy/violent. This is followed by feeling a sense of self worth. This reflects the fact that having left her previous lifestyle behind she is forging a new sense of self. This new sense of self involved having to make both internal and external changes:

My life has changed so much in the last 4 years. I mean it's been a process. I've had to work on my confidence again, you know, and I'm still at that daily better thing, I'm always working on that. My self-esteem I've had to work on like my value, who I am, you know, how I value myself I've really had to work on and I'm still working on these things. Yeah and as of next Monday I'm hoping to start college.... I have to try and not have them feelings and just sort of stand up to my own insecurities, you know. But that's again me having to work on my self-esteem as a person.

I got into rehab I said to myself, "Okay I'm going to do these 6 months and when I come out of here I'm going to go back to all my old friends, you know what I mean? They can't... I'll get these Social Services off my back and I'm going to go back to all of them." But it's like I was given wisdom, do you know what I mean, in there as well because I realised you know what? You can't be around them people no more; you just can't allow yourself to be around them.

This process of change is characterised not by having achieved perfection but instead by having a strong sense of resilience and purpose. This is reflected in her constructs – 'in control/needy', 'peace/catastrophising', 'pride/shabby', 'purpose/do direction', 'self worth/empty', 'new/messy':

...well for me empowered means feeling strong and like strong in where I'm going you know, like, I don't know it just feels like I'm standing on something and I'm getting there. It's like I've been at the bottom and now I'm standing on where I've been and I'm feeling yeah, I've come through all that and now I'm feeling empowered.

...one thing I'm learning is I get through; I get through it, do you know what I mean? You know I get through it and you know yeah, I think it's about finding that inner peace in yourself rather than thinking it's all about material stuff, do you know what I mean?

This new sense of self feels more authentic and is contrasted to having felt the need to numb herself and her feelings:

So you know it was just like playing a part. I suppose it was escaping from who I really was at the time as well, you know, who I felt to be inside myself. It was just an escape from who I was as well. So it was probably like taking drugs really as well; it was probably another addiction you know.

It's really weird because it's almost like I've forgotten it all you know? It's almost like I've forgotten a lot of stuff. I don't know, I don't know if I've done that purposely but it's like I've just had this shutdown in my brain.

In addition, there is a sense that the person she left behind and her experiences are forgotten, she no longer identifies with them:

It's really weird because it's almost like I've forgotten it all you know? It's almost like I've forgotten a lot of stuff. I don't know, I don't know if I've done that purposely but it's like I've just had this shutdown in my brain.

Nevertheless, the participant is also keen to move forward and make sense of her past in a meaningful way:

In an ideal world I would have a career, do you know what I mean? That is what I would have. And I think everything I have been through I would use it, like all the negative stuff I've been through I would turn it around in a positive way... Okay, having a career makes me feel empowered, you know. It makes me feel excited, it makes me feel that yeah there's a purpose to me and there's a purpose to what I've been through.

Gina demonstrates sophistication in her evaluation of the different elements of her life, which is reflected in her principle components analysis, which shows that her elements are not clustered but instead have individual properties relating to each construct. As such, this demonstrates an ability to take a nuanced approach to each aspect of her life and to her emotional landscape. She recognises that elements may bring up conflicting emotions. For example, she rates money positively for the majority of her constructs, however, her narrative reveals that this is clearly linked to the way she makes money. Involvement in the sex industry was seen as tainting the money she earned. At present, lack of money is a structural barrier to her moving forward with a greater sense of wellbeing and security but she is able to tolerate these negative aspects as she wishes to bring in money in a way that is meaningful to her:

Money just gives me security. I mean now I'm talking about today money gives me security and it just makes me feel like I'm not just existing, I'm comfortable, do you know what I mean? It's not so much of a struggle. It's a struggle right now, you know... I'm on social security now so you know it's different for me. I'm having to like budget, budget, budget like everyone else has to and I didn't have to do that with prostitution, do you know what I mean?

Escorting made me feel at the beginning it made me feel like, I felt nice, and then it feels shabby because I remember, I've just had a flashback of coming back with a whole lot of money and the girls saying, "Look how much

money you've got" and I was crying just saying, "Yeah, but you know it's dirty money." Yeah, shabby.

Although Gina has successfully exited, there remains a number of residual emotional issues such as the inability to trust, fear, and feelings of guilt and shame. These are emotions that the participant acknowledges she must manage but her overall narrative demonstrates a strong amount of trust in herself to adequately overcome this:

I'm not very trusting of people, you know. I always think there is an underlying thing with people

*Now, I'm being honest with you, I have carried a little bit of that with me, like here today, do you know what I mean?... I still kind of like assess situations and I'll think of the worst outcome that could possibly happen, you know. I'm not saying that everything is just, oh I've come out of it and everything is just *lad di dah*; it doesn't work like that.*

And also there's a lot of work to be done there. Like she has, she doesn't voice it or anything but she has a lot of hang-ups. She says to me, "How come you could have sorted yourself out for my son but I couldn't do it for her?" You know, a lot of anger there and a lot of emotions there that need to be you know worked through....

Gina contrasts practical aspects of being out of prostitution with the internal ties to the industry, acknowledging that some deep thought habits have been developed. This interestingly contrasts to her previous comments that she has forgotten her involvement in the industry, suggesting that on the one hand, her identity and sense of self has shifted but on the other she recognises that there are habits of pathways that she must consistently choose to avoid in order to maintain this new sense of self:

I do, yes. Yeah, I'm totally out of the physical side of prostitution, do you know what I mean? My mind can sometimes drift because like, because I have this guy's

number and he's me before if I'll give him like a dirty phone call and he'll put some money in my palm and blah, blah, blah, yeah? So my mind can sometimes, if I'm not being careful with myself, my mind might start slip and thinking, "Well I could just do that." It's old behaviour that I need to work on with myself and I need to have faith and just trust that I'm going to do alright. So I still need to work on the little neural pathways or whatever they're called, that I made in my life. But for me to specifically go out there and do what I used to do, never, I could, never, ever do that again.

No you know I just think that it's a process in leaving and it's not something that you walk out of an exit door and that's it, you're out of it. You know basically the thoughts still pop in your mind, you still think, "Oh, you know, I could do this and get the money and blah, blah, blah" but and then on the other side of it is, right, you look at people, I look at men differently, you know. Yeah, I'm just a little more responsible about where I'm going these days in my life, do you know what I mean? I'm just a little bit more responsible about...

Gina engaged with gatekeeper services on a practical level but feels that the decision to leave could not have come from this external source:

I mean if I remember rightly I'm sure somebody from (gatekeeper service) spoke to me about leaving before I had my son, you know. But it wasn't something that I really, I never really paid much attention to that conversation because I wasn't ready in myself, do you know what I mean? And that's the key thing really.

Instead, Gina attributes her strong motivation to leave to becoming pregnant, suggesting that she imagined herself in a new role and that this motivated her changing her life. However, she already had a child when she was 19, which was not enough to deter her from drugs and involvement in the sex industry. It seems that this alternative way of living was not

imaginable to Gina at that time but emerged as a strong motivator many years later:

I didn't understand how life was meant to be anyway; I was brought up in craziness, do you know what I mean? Like parties and drugs and drugs and all the rest of it, violence, so I didn't really understand that normal life is like a quiet, peaceful, you know, going somewhere having goals and I didn't get that at that age. So yeah when I, and I would be left with my daughter in our flat, you know, with not much money on our own, I just felt like my life was boring, you know. And so you know unfortunately that's how my mind was at that age.

Yeah, and I just feel like, to be honest with you, I feel like I've been scooped from the gutter do you know what I mean? Because I tell you what I would never have come out of that situation I was in off my own back; I didn't love myself enough, do you know what I mean? So it's through getting pregnant and having my son that I've basically given myself a chance to come out of it, you know. I've had a reason to come out of it and yeah, so now I'm just trying to work on myself as well you know.

She describes this decision to change her life as a sudden change in perspective and desires:

And it came from nowhere. The clock had just gone 12 and I checked in my little mirror, and I didn't know I was about to do this, I didn't cry but with all the energy I had in my body I said, "God please, this time next year don't let me be in this situation any more. I've had enough of it." You know because I was imagining everybody partying New Year's Eve, the whole world's having a party, and here I am again on drugs on my own, do you know what I mean, isolated? And I said, "Please let me get pregnant." I don't know where that came from. I think because my

daughter was pregnant at the time I felt kind of broody as well. So March 24th that year I found out I was pregnant with my son and then the following New Year I was in a rehab clean with a two-week-old baby in my arms.

Overall, Gina has exited in practical terms and her identity has also shifted with this change. However, she admits to having residual issues in relation to her past and to the necessity of consciously maintaining this new lifestyle. Nevertheless, there is a strong sense that the participant feels she has the resilience to do this, which is reinforced by her sense of purpose.

Gina Outputs

Grid

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
23.1	In control	1	3	5	5	5	4	3	5	4	3	4	1	Needy
23.2	Excitement	1	3	1	2	5	1	2	5	1	1	1	1	Not being noticed/boring
23.3	Peace	5	3	5	5	5	3	5	5	1	3	3	1	Catastrophising/ at risk
23.4	Pride/dignity	5	1	5	5	5	1	5	5	1	1	1	1	Shabby/dirty
23.5	Purpose/ empowered	5	1	5	5	5	1	5	5	1	3	1	1	Numb/ no direction
23.6	Self worth	5	2	5	5	5	1	5	5	1	2	1	1	Empty/ no value
23.7	New/ refreshed	5	2	5	5	5	1	5	5	1	1	1	1	Dark/messy

Elements:

23.13	Escorting	23.19	Punters
23.14	Money	23.20	Boyfriends
23.15	Crack cocaine/heroin	23.21	Religion (Christianity)
23.16	Street	23.22	Community – new
23.17	Upbringing	friends	
23.18	Son	23.23	College
		23.24	Career

Personal Values Hierarchy

Preferred Pole	Contrasting Pole	Score
----------------	------------------	-------

New/refreshed	Dark/messy/violent	6
Self worth	Empty/no value	5
In control	Needy	4
Pride/dignity	Shabby	3
Peace	Catastrophising	2
Purpose/empowered	Numb/not direction	1
Excitement	Not being noticed/boring	0

Correlations

Element Correlations

	Escorting	Money	Drugs	Street	Upbringing	Son	Punters	Boyfriends	Religion	Community	College	Career
Escorting	1.00											
Money	-0.65	1.00										
Drugs	0.65	-0.42	1.00									
Street	0.65	-0.42	1.00	1.00								
Upbringing	.	.	.	.	1.00							
Son	-0.50	0.61	0.24	0.24	.	1.00						
Punters	0.97	-0.63	0.80	0.80	.	-0.31	1.00					
Boyfriends	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.00				
Religion	-0.65	0.42	0.17	0.17	.	0.88	-0.45	.	1.00			
Community	0.00	0.19	0.44	0.44	.	0.64	0.13	.	0.44	1.00		
College	-0.43	0.63	0.25	0.25	.	0.99	-0.26	.	0.80	0.66	1.00	
Career	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.00

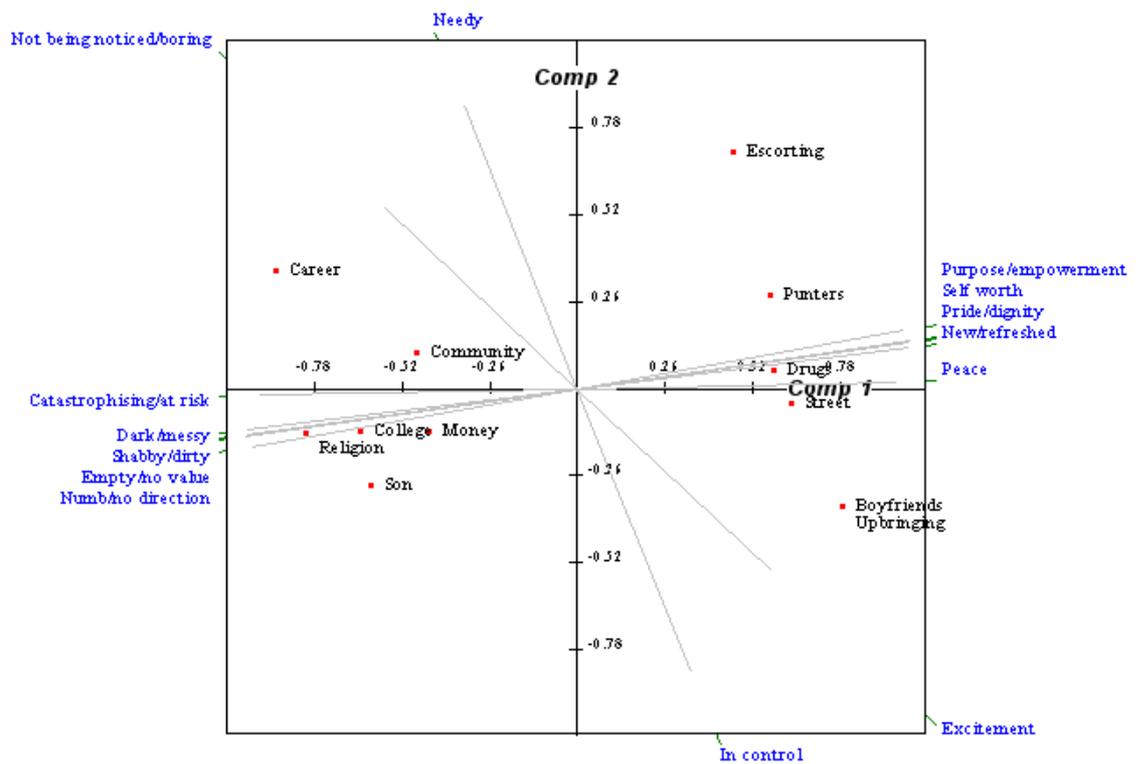
Construct Correlations

	In control	Excitement	Peace	Pride/dignity	Purpose/empowerment	Self worth	New/refreshed
In control	1.00						
Excitement	0.39	1.00					
Peace	0.34	0.46	1.00				
Pride/dignity	0.23	0.45	0.89	1.00			
Purpose/empowerment	0.20	0.42	0.90	0.96	1.00		
Self worth	0.21	0.49	0.92	0.98	0.98	1.00	
New/refreshed	0.22	0.50	0.91	0.99	0.94	0.99	1.00

Principle Components Analysis

Element Loadings (Unrotated)

	PC_1	PC_2
Escorting	0.47	0.70
Money	-0.44	-0.14
Drugs	0.59	0.05
Street	0.64	-0.05
Upbringing	0.78	-0.36
Son	-0.61	-0.30
Punters	0.58	0.27
Boyfriends	0.78	-0.36
Religion	-0.80	-0.14
Community	-0.47	0.10
College	-0.64	-0.13
Career	-0.89	0.35



Appendix 3: Interview Schedule, Consent Form, Pseudonyms

Interview Schedule

BACKGROUND

- Age, nationality
- Current involvement?
- Age of entry
- Age of exit, if applicable
- Length of involvement
- Types and ways of working

Repertory Grid Construct Elicitation

Introduce the technique.

NB: Throughout process, note down anything for further discussion.

ELICIT ELEMENTS

What are the key features of a life that includes being involved in prostitution?

What are/would be the key features of non-involvement?

- *Give example of a fireman – fighting fires, shift work, uniform.*
- For example, if you were being asked to make a choice between involvement and non-involvement, what would be the factors that you would take into consideration? Are there factors that wouldn't affect your decision either way? (relationships, money, experiences you might have etc).
- Try to think of the external aspects of your life, the internal thoughts and feelings that you experience will be explored later.

What would be included in your ideal lifestyle?

ELICIT CONSTRUCTS

Triadic elicitation using the qualifying phrase, in terms of how they make you feel?

Laddering down

Rate constructs as each one is elicited.

Overall how does involvement/non-involvement make you feel?

Semi-structured (narrative elicitation)

NB: Note down any emerging constructs

GRID EXPANSION

Pick up on key events/stories that came up during grid elicitation and expand on these.

Looking at this construct, can you recall a time when you have felt (each end of the pole)?

You strongly associated element X with construct Y, can you tell me of an experience that explains this association?

EXITING:

Entry

- Before you entered prostitution, did you experience any of the feelings mentioned in your constructs? Did you experience anything not mentioned?
- What changed for you once you became involved in prostitution?
- Were there any emotional factors that lead to your involvement?
- Do these emotional factors impact on your desire or ability to exit?

Exit

Attempts to exit prostitution – relate back to the elicited emotions:

- Have you ever tried to exit prostitution?
- How many times have you attempted to stop?

Before Exiting

- How did/does the thought of exit make you feel?
- What made you start to think about stopping?
Or why have you not thought about it?
- What would/did need to change in order for exit to be possible?

During Exiting

- How would you describe the exiting process?
- Was it gradual or did it happen quickly?
- What emotional barriers did you face?
- What emotions motivated you?
- Looking back at the feelings mentioned in your grid, in what ways did they play a role in exit?

After Exiting

- Do you feel like that part of your life is over? When did you realize this?
- What does it feel like to have exited?
- How would you feel about going back? Why?
- If you are still involved in prostitution when did you return? Why? How did this feel?
- If you tried to exit again, what would need to be different in order for the outcome to be different?

PERSONAL VALUES

- Using the constructs elicited ask: which end of the pole do you prefer and why?
- Continue until can't uncover a further construct – this is a core value.
- Use the resistance to change technique to ascertain core value hierarchy.
- (A and contrast B OR B and contrast A)

Information for participants and practitioners

Title of project: Emotions of women leaving the sex industry

About the research

This 3-year research project has been funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and is being conducted by the University of Kent. It is in accordance with the ethical standards of both institutions.

The research looks at the specific circumstances of women involved in the sex industry and their needs, motivations and perspectives on leaving or remaining in the industry. Participants could be at any stage – whether they have never considered leaving (or do not wish to), are in the process of trying to leave, or have successfully left. I am interested in finding out about unique perspectives on involvement in the sex industry.

The aim of the research is to identify the emotional journey that women take at different stages of the process of leaving. This will help to develop an understanding of how best to support women who want to leave.

The research aims to:

- identify the desire to leave amongst women working in the sex industry
- develop an understanding of the emotional aspects of leaving in relation to needs, motivations and barriers
- examine the process of change
- develop a better understanding of how to support women leaving the industry through service provision

(For participants)

How I will work with you

I would like to talk to you about your involvement in the sex industry and whether you wish to leave or remain in the industry. Only information that will help to develop a better understanding of the desire to leave and the process of change will be collected. The focus of the interviews will be on the way you think and feel about a topic as opposed to in-depth exploration of your experiences.

You do not have to be involved in this research if you don't want to and can withdraw from being involved in the research at any time without any consequences. If you agree to being involved you don't have to answer every question and you can tell me if you answered something which you wish you hadn't and I will delete that information. If you aren't comfortable with any element of the research you don't have to do it and we can take a break if you would like some time out. You also have the right to refuse to let me record any of our discussions.

Taking part in this research is completely separate to your involvement with service providers. As part of this research you are welcome to talk about your experiences of service provision and I will never report this information back to either your caseworker or the service itself in any way.

Anything you say to me will be kept completely confidential and anonymous. I won't tell *anyone* what you have said and you won't be able to be identified by being involved.

If you would like to access formal support I can give you information on how to do this. The only time that I may need to share any information is when there is a risk to you or someone else of serious harm. Should this happen I will discuss the issue with you before we take any action.

How we will keep any information we discuss with you

Only myself as the researcher on the project and my direct supervisors will have access to any information you provide during the research. I will take out anything which may identify you personally and will store anything with personal details separate from other information.

I will also store all information securely in locked filing cabinets or computers in locked rooms to which only I have access. Any information you provide to me will be stored in this way for the duration of the research and for a period of two years following the publication of any findings. Your written consent to be involved will also be kept on record and you can withdraw this at any point during the research. I will ensure you will not be able to be identified from any findings that are published.

Who we are: *The University of Kent*

Helen Johnson is a researcher for her PhD at the University of Kent in the School of Sociology and Social Policy. Her supervisors are Professor Roger Matthews and Dr. Kate O'Brien. Helen will be the main researcher and conduct the interviews. The aim of the school is to undertake research that influences policy on issues connected to society and social policy, including crime.

Contact: hj67@kent.ac.uk 07854006903

Research Consent Form

In order to take part in the research conducted by the University of Kent it is essential that you have full understanding of the information on the attached sheet. You will be given a copy of this information and an opportunity to ask questions to clarify any queries you may have.

Please read the information carefully.

I have been invited by..... to take part in a research project involving women who may wish to exit from prostitution. I have been given copies of the research aims and objectives and the policies governing how my information will be kept and used.

By signing below I give consent to take part in this research.

I understand that I may withdraw my permission at any time to take part in this research.

Research participant print name:	*SIGNED:	Date:
Researcher print name:	Signed:	Date:

CALL FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Focus of project: Thoughts and feelings on leaving prostitution

About the research

The research aims to find out:

- What **involvement and non-involvement** in prostitution **means to you**
- What your **thoughts and feelings** are about this
- Your **unique** perspective

The research will be used to:

- Understand **the way you see things** and your motivations
- Understand **what helps** women as they change their lives
- Build **better service** provision

The way we work:

- All information is **confidential**
- We will ensure you cannot be identified
- You do not have to participate and can stop at any time
- Data is kept **secure**

- As a **thank-you** for completing the interview, you will be offered a **£10 Boots Voucher**

Who is doing the research?

- This is a 3-year research project funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and conducted by the University of Kent.
- Helen Johnson is the main researcher and will be conducting the interviews.

If you are interested, please contact Helen on:

hj67@kent.ac.uk

07854006903

Pseudonyms

Pseudonyms by interview number:

1. Laura
2. Kate
3. Charlotte
4. Olivia
5. Elle
6. Freya
7. Nicky
8. Holly
9. Imogen
10. Julie
11. Bekki
12. Gemma
13. Melody
14. Louise
15. Dani
16. Pauline
17. Rachel
18. Steph
19. Tina
20. Una
21. Val
22. Anna
23. Gina
24. Rose
25. Christina
26. Natalie
27. Amy
28. Jane
29. Emily
30. Lucy