Durham University

Durham E-Theses

Global Perspectives on Sustainable Exit from Prostitution: An analysis of social enterprise approaches adopted by faith-based projects supporting women to leave prostitution

KATIE ELAINE THORLBY

How to cite:

THORLBY, KATIE ELAINE (2015) Global Perspectives on Sustainable Exit from Prostitution: An analysis of social enterprise approaches adopted by faith-based projects supporting women to leave prostitution. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/11072/ is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

Global Perspectives on Sustainable Exit from Prostitution:

An analysis of social enterprise approaches adopted by faith-based projects supporting women to leave prostitution

Katie Elaine Thorlby

School of Applied Social Sciences

Durham University

April 2015

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Abstract

Prostitution is highly contested and extensively researched yet despite the amount of research that has been carried out there has, until recently, been little focus on how people leave prostitution. Within the literature that does exist, the complexity of leaving prostitution is widely acknowledged. Exiting is seen as a process not an event, and one which is not necessarily linear, and studies recognise that those who seek to leave face multi-faceted barriers. The role of support organisations in facilitating transitions from prostitution is acknowledged but such organizations remain largely unexamined, as do the associations with faith traditions that have been noted amongst some of these organisations. The existing literature attests to the role of alternative employment in enabling women to exit and remain out of prostitution and a small number of empirical studies have begun to explore the role of micro-enterprise development and vocational skills training in the context of prostitution. The provision of alternative employment through the operation of a social enterprise, has, however, received scant attention.

This thesis contributes to understandings of the process of exiting prostitution through an exploration of the phenomenon of faith-based projects that support women to leave prostitution through the operation of social enterprises. Based on data from an internet mapping study and ethnographic research with two case studies, a project in India and a project in the US, both of which are running social enterprises, the research examines the nature of such projects; how they support women to exit prostitution; how the social enterprise models employed by these projects operate; the salience of faith in the nature and work of such projects; and the experiences of the women engaging with these projects. In doing so, this thesis contributes to knowledge in three areas: (1) exiting prostitution, (2) social enterprise, and (3) faith.

Table of Contents

Abstract ..... **i**

Table of Contents ..... **ii**

List of Figures ..... **vii**

List of Tables ..... **vii**

Declaration of Copyright ..... **x**

Acknowledgements ..... **xi**

Dedication ..... **xiii**

Chapter 1: Introduction **1**

Introducing the Thesis 1

The Contested Nature of Prostitution 1

Existing Knowledge Base on Prostitution 4

The Interplay of Research and Researcher 5

Research Aims and Objectives 6

Outline of Thesis Structure 7

Chapter 2: Exiting, transitioning and 'moving on': the literature on exiting prostitution **10**

Introduction 10

Contested definitions 10

The desire and decision to exit 13

The matrix of factors influencing exit 16

Barriers 16

Enabling Factors 18

Understanding the *how* of exit 19

The role of support organisations 23

Summary: the politics of exit 26

Chapter 3: Understanding the phenomenon of social enterprise **29**

Introduction 29

Making sense of the world of social enterprise 29

From definitional jungles to analytical toolkit 33

The choice of organisational form and business model 33
Measuring social impact and pursuing growth 36
Negotiating tensions and identifying challenges 38
Social enterprise, prostitution and the real world 40
Summary 43
Chapter 4: Understanding and Researching Faith-Based Organisations 45
Introduction 45
Religion, faith and spirituality 46
What is a Faith-based Organisation? 49
The salience of faith within FBOs 53
From typologies to empirical examination 57
Summary 59
Chapter 5: The Research Journey 61
Introduction 61
Research Approach 61
Research Design 63
Phase 1: The Mapping Study 65
Phase 2: Case Studies 69
The Experience of Research and the Question of Ethics 92
The question of informed consent 92
Confidentiality and anonymity 94
Negotiating identities and relationships 95
Summary 98
Chapter 6: A snapshot: faith-based projects and the operation of social enterprises 99
Introduction 99
Location and Extent 99
Social Enterprise Approaches 101
Organisational Form 101
Business Activities 103
Income Streams 105
Growth Strategies 107
A social enterprise typology for FBOs supporting women to exit prostitution 107
Presentation of Prostitution 110

Framing of prostitution 110
Type of prostitution context 111
Presentation of the women 113
The issue of Faith 114
Identifying an organisation as faith-based 114
Faith affiliations and denominational connections 116
Organisation names and associations with faith 117
Mission Statements 118
The presentation of faith on organisations' websites 120
Classifying the presentation of faith by organisations 122
Summary 124
Chapter 7: Framing Prostitution and Understanding the Process of Exiting 126
Introduction 126
The Indian Case Study 126
Setting the context: Prostitution in India 126
The 'line': framing the issue of prostitution 128
Mukti: from entrapment to freedom 132
'They don't have other choices': barriers to exit 135
The US Case Study 140
Setting the context: Prostitution in the US 140
The 'game': framing the issue of prostitution 142
Love Heals: a journey of healing 146
'It just seems like a vicious cycle': barriers to exit 149
Summary 155
Chapter 8: Supporting Women to Exit Prostitution 156
Introduction 156
The Indian Case Study 156
Overview of the factors supporting exit 156
The Significance of Community 164
'It's a life's journey; it is never going to be an instant, quick fix' 165
The US Case Study 167
Overview of the factors supporting exit 167
Stability in recovery 179

Summary 181
Chapter 9: Facilitating Exit through Social Enterprise 182
Introduction 182
The Indian Case Study 182
An economic solution: the development of the business 182
A Private Limited Company: the business model 184
Finances, Income and Profit 184
Business Drivers versus Social Mission 188
Marketing and Telling the Story 190
Multiplication: perspectives on growth 194
The US Case Study 194
A cottage industry: the development of the business 194
501(c)(3): the business model 195
Finances, Income and Profit 197
Business Drivers versus Social Mission 201
Marketing and Telling the Story 203
Sister Organisations: perspectives on growth 207
Summary 208
Chapter 10: The role of faith 209
Introduction 209
The Indian Case Study 209
The salience of faith within the organisation 209
The salience of faith amongst staff 216
The salience of faith amongst the women 219
The US Case Study 221
The salience of faith within the organisation 221
The salience of faith amongst staff 229
The salience of faith amongst the women 231
Summary 234
Chapter 11: Exploring the connections between exiting prostitution, social enterprise and faith 235
Introduction 235
The nature of faith-based projects operating social enterprises 235
Framing prostitution and understanding the process of exiting 238

Supporting women to exit prostitution 243
Facilitating exit through social enterprise 250
The role of faith....255
The experience of women engaging with the projects 259
Chapter 12: Conclusions 262
Introduction 262
Summary of the Research Findings....262
Contributions to Knowledge and Implications for Practice 265
Future Research: Gaps and Priority Areas 267
Closing remarks....269
Appendices 271
Appendix 1: Empirical Studies with relevance to Exiting Prostitution....271
Appendix 2: Mapping Methodology 278
Appendix 3: Draft Mapping Questions for Projects....280
Appendix 4: Draft Email to Projects....285
Appendix 5: Overview of the Magdalene residential programme 286
Appendix 6: Case Study RQ Framework....288
Appendix 7: Draft Email to Case Studies....294
Appendix 8: Research Agreement 295
Appendix 9: Interview Guide For Staff/Volunteers 299
Appendix 10: Interview Guide for Founder 300
Appendix 11: Interview Guide on Social Enterprise 302
Appendix 12: Management Discussion on Exiting....303
Appendix 13: Prototype Workshop Guide....305
Appendix 14: Information Sheet for Participants 310
Appendix 15: Consent Form for Participants....312
Appendix 16: Translator Confidentiality Agreement....313
Appendix 17: Timeline of development of Indian Case Study....314
Appendix 18: Timeline of development of US Case Study....316
References....318

List of Figures

Figure 1: The spectrum of social enterprise adapted from Seanor et al. (2013) 32
Figure 2: Overview of Indian business management structure 73
Figure 3: Overview of US project management structure 76
Figure 5: Photo of factors enabling exit from prostitution identified in a US workshop using Snakes and Ladders as a research tool (see Appendix 13). 84
Figure 4: Photo of factors enabling exit from prostitution identified in an Indian workshop using Snakes and Ladders as a research tool (see Appendix 13). 84
Figure 6: Year Range in which Social Enterprise Approaches were Established 101
Figure 7: US Project organisational chart 196
Figure 8: Sales breakdown for Thistle Farms, 2012-13 199

List of Tables

Table 1: Reasons for leaving prostitution outlined in the literature 14
Table 2: Barriers to Exiting Prostitution adapted from Baker et al. (2010), pp. 588-590 16
Table 3: Exiting Models and Typologies outlined in the literature 19
Table 4: Typology of PSOs adapted from Oselin and Weitzer (2013) 25
Table 5: EMES "ideal-type" indicators of social enterprise 31
Table 6: Alter's (2008) prototypes of social enterprise 34
Table 7: McKenna's (2013) typology of social enterprise models in the UK tackling the labour market exclusion of homeless people 35
Table 8: Seven growth strategies pursued by social entrepreneurs, Ellis (2010), p.144 37
Table 9: Implications of Social Enterprise hybridity adapted from Doherty et al. (2014) 38
Table 10: Clarke's (2006) Typology of FBOs 53
Table 11: Green and Sherman's (2002) typology of the roles of faith in the work of US service provision FBOs 55
Table 12: Sider and Unruh's (2004) typology of FBOs, pp.119-120. 56
Table 13: Johnsen's (2014) list of the ways in which an organisation might be influenced by faith, p.415. 58
Table 14: Research Framework: Research Questions, Methods and Analysis 64
Table 15: Search Terms used in Mapping Study 65
Table 16: Criteria for inclusion within mapping study 66
Table 17: Overview of specific activities engaged in as a participant observer within

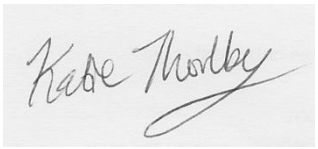
each project 80
Table 18: Interviews at Case Studies 81
Table 19: Workshops at Case Studies 83
Table 20: Country Locations with number of on-the-ground projects operating within each country 100
Table 21: Matrix of Primary Type of Business Activity and Markets targeted by Projects 103
Table 22: Types of Products produced by Projects 104
Table 23: Types of Marketable Services provided by Projects 104
Table 24: Types of Social Enterprise Model adopted by Projects 109
Table 25: Discourse drawn upon by Organisations to talk about Prostitution on their Websites 110
Table 26: Themes Occurring within Mission Statements of Organisations 119
Table 27: Summary of Faith Presentation Markers identified on Organisation Websites 120
Table 28: Presenting 'religious' activities of an organisation 122
Table 29: Overall presentation of faith by Organisations 123
Table 30: Barriers to Exiting Prostitution identified by Indian Case Study 136
Table 31: Barriers to Exiting Prostitution in India ranked according to the number of research encounters which mentioned each barrier (top eight barriers only) 137
Table 32: Barriers to Exiting Prostitution identified by US Case Study 150
Table 33: Barriers to Exiting Prostitution in the US ranked according to the number of research encounters which mentioned each barrier (top fifteen barriers only) 151
Table 34: Enabling Factors in Exiting Prostitution identified by Indian Case Study 157
Table 35: Enabling Factors in Exiting Prostitution identified by US Case Study 167
Table 36: Entry and drop-out data for US Project 180
Table 37: Outcome data for US Project for women with entry dates from August 2005-August 2011 181
Table 38: Income, Expenditure and Net Profit of Indian Case Study for 2010-13 185
Table 39: Estimate of financial cost of 'in-kind' contributions of Indian Case Study 187
Table 40: Impact of 'in-kind' contributions on Income, Expenditure and Net Profit of Indian Case Study 187
Table 41: Income, Expenditure and Net Profit of US Case Study for 2010-13 197
Table 42: Total revenue and total expenditure of US project over the last 10 years 198
Table 43: Percentage of the project's total income generated by Thistle Farms product

and cafe sales over the last 10 years based on data from Magdalene's annual audits 199
Table 44: Collages on faith from Workshop 6 at US case study 232
Table 45: Breakdown of barriers identified across the two case studies 241
Table 46: All enabling factors identified by the two case studies 244

Declaration of Copyright

I confirm that no part of the material presented in this thesis has been previously submitted by me or any other person for a degree in this or any other university. In all cases, where it is relevant, material from the work of others has been acknowledged.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published from it without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Signed:  Katie Thorlby

Acknowledgements

Undertaking a PhD, whilst a solitary endeavour at times, is undoubtedly a team effort and there are many people without whom the journey would never be embarked upon, let alone completed. The number of people to whom I owe a huge debt of gratitude is consequently humbling.

I would first like to thank the two case studies and all the women and project staff who participated in the research process. To the management teams and founders, it was your willingness to partner with me that has made this research possible. Thank you for taking the risk to trust me and allow me to work alongside you. To all the staff members at each project, thank you for making me feel so welcome, for sharing your time, support, guidance and experience so generously with me, for letting me cry when I needed to, and for inviting me to celebrate with you. To all of the women at each project, thank you for welcoming me into daily life alongside you; for your honesty and willingness to share your experiences with me; for the food you cooked for me; and for the trust you placed in me to share your wisdom with a wider audience. The strength, perseverance and hope that I witnessed in each of your lives was both inspiring and humbling.

Many thanks go to my supervisors Professor Nicole Westmarland and Professor Maggie O'Neill. Nicole, your friendship, encouragement, advice, down-to-earth manner, editing expertise and hospitality have been a great support over the past three years. Maggie, thank you for your encouragement and for providing a critical sounding board for ideas, especially when it came to research methods. Oscar too deserves a special mention for singing 'The Grand Old Duke of York' over Skype to cheer me up when feeling a long way from home.

This research would not have been possible without the scholarship I received from Durham University and the funding for fieldwork received from the Westhill Endowment Trust and the Spalding Trust. Thank you for your generosity. I am also thankful to the School of Applied Social Sciences for supporting my applications for funding and the Faculty of Social Sciences and Health for the grant to develop practitioner resources based on the PhD.

Josephine and Mark Wakeling, thank you for encouraging me to pursue this PhD, for opening doors for me, for being regular sounding boards, for reading draft chapters, and for your faith in me and in the value of the research. I am truly grateful for your friendship.

Living with someone doing a PhD can be a painful process and I would like to thank those who I have had the pleasure of sharing a home with over the course of the past three years for reminding me of life beyond the PhD: Alex Wade, the girls from the volunteers' flat in India and Sara Johnson. Thanks too to Suzie Anderson for welcoming me into her family in Nashville and inviting me round for a weekly dose of Bake-Off.

Thank you to my family and friends for their love, support and prayers and for their patience with me over the past three years as I disappeared overseas for months on end and as discussion about the PhD dominated my conversations! Special thanks to those of you who have kindly read chapters and offered feedback.

Finally, to Tim. What an adventure these past three years have been! Thank you for joining me on this journey and for marrying me in the midst of all this madness – your love and friendship is so precious to me.

For now we see only a reflection as in a mirror; then we shall see face to face. Now I know in part; then I shall know fully, even as I am fully known. And now these three remain: faith, hope and love. But the greatest of these is love.
(1 Corinthians 13:12-13, NIV)

This thesis is dedicated to those who continue to believe that love really will have the last word and who live their lives accordingly – you are an inspiration, thank you.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introducing the Thesis

This thesis contributes to understandings of the process of exiting prostitution through an exploration of the phenomenon of faith-based projects that support women to leave prostitution through the operation of social enterprises. In doing so, it weaves together three interconnected themes: exiting prostitution, social enterprise and faith. Holding these three themes together throughout the thesis has at times been challenging and has necessitated difficult decisions concerning the breadth of material covered. Accordingly, the thesis does not consider in depth the literature on international development but draws selectively on research from this area where it pertains to social enterprise and faith-based organisations. Similarly, the thesis does not engage in detailed theological analysis nor does it delve into the literature on religion and sexual ethics. Whilst both are relevant areas of scholarship, they were not considered priority areas given the exploratory nature of the study and the focus on how faith influences the nature and actions of these projects, as opposed to questions about the origins, content or social construction of faith within such projects. This decision also reflects the location of the study within the territory of applied social sciences, specifically sociological and criminological research on prostitution, rather than disciplines such as theology or sociology of religion. In drawing these boundaries around the thesis, the aim is to present a coherent introductory study to this under-examined topic and thereby invite further analytical engagement from scholars across different disciplines.

In this opening chapter, the literature on prostitution will be outlined; my personal interest in undertaking this study will be elaborated upon; the research aims and objectives will be discussed; and the structure of the thesis structure will be summarised.

The Contested Nature of Prostitution

Prostitution is a highly fraught issue, both ideologically and politically. This is not surprising given that it raises fundamental questions concerning the nature of sex and sexuality, bodily integrity, autonomy and freedom, gender relations, power and violence, commercialisation, globalisation, migration and work, economic structures, and the role of legislation: in short, prostitution is an arena in which understandings of what it means to be human are

constructed, contested, enacted, reflected and embodied. Within academic scholarship, particularly feminist research, much debate has centred on the question: what is it that is actually sold in prostitution? Is it a selling of one's self and therefore a selling of control over one's ability to say "no" to sex acts that are demanded within a specific time period? Or should it be understood as the selling of the fantasy of a (male) sex right rather than actual command? (Showden, 2011) Is it about the abuse of another's body for one's own satisfaction? Or is it about the use of another's desire for one's own profit? Given the varied ways in which sex markets are organised and intersect with individual circumstances some scholars have even questioned whether it is analytically meaningful to talk about 'prostitution' as a unitary institution (Phoenix, 2012).

Within scholarship on prostitution it is usual to identify three dominant theoretical perspectives: (1) prostitution as work; (2) prostitution as abuse; and (3) prostitution as a public nuisance. The third perspective has historically dominated criminal justice frameworks whilst the first two are often presented as structuring (feminist) academic debate. The prostitution as work perspective, also known as the 'sex work approach', views prostitution as legitimate labour - a possible job option or survival strategy which should be respected (see for example Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998). Asserting the right to self-determination, advocates of this perspective argue that it is the context in which people engage in prostitution, rather than prostitution itself, that is problematic. Within this framework, it is understood that there is nothing inherently harmful with prostitution; rather the abuse and violence that those involved in prostitution experience is a function of how power currently works in a patriarchal, late-capitalist consumer society and the consequent stigma that is attached to such sexual activity. There has thus been a tendency within this perspective to lay stress on a distinction between forced and voluntary prostitution, although this dichotomy itself has been subject to criticism (Doezema, 1998, p. 34–50). The prostitution as abuse perspective, sometimes referred to as the 'sexual exploitation approach', views prostitution as exploitative and harmful, a violation of human rights and a practice of gender inequality (see for example MacKinnon, 2011). Advocates of this perspective emphasise the markedly gendered nature of prostitution and its occurrence within a context of material inequalities between women and men. The fact that studies indicate that women who are most marginalised in social hierarchies are over-represented in prostitution, particularly in street prostitution, and that adults and children in the sex

trade are often 'not two separate groups of people [but] the same group of people at two points in time' is highlighted (MacKinnon, 2011, p. 298).

Such a binary presentation, however, is overly simplistic and fails to represent the range of perspectives and nuanced explorations found within both framings (Sanders et al., 2009). For example, within the framing of prostitution as work, some advocates celebrate sexual variety and argue that prostitution has the potential to be libratory and therapeutic, serving the sexual needs of clients that would otherwise not be met and allowing people to reconstruct sexuality in a way that reduces levels of sexual violence against women (see for example Chapkis, 1997). For others within this perspective, debates about what the sex itself actually *means* are irrelevant; rather prostitution is seen as 'an understandable (and reasonable) response to socio-economic need within unequal global economic forces' (Sanders et al., 2009, p. 4). What is at stake in this framing of prostitution is the 'lack of control over when, with whom, and under what circumstances one expresses one's sexuality' and thus the real issues are economic exploitation and legislative frameworks (Showden, 2011, p. 154–55). Similarly, within the framing of prostitution as abuse, for some proponents prostitution is the epitome of women's oppression and no woman would willingly choose to prostitute herself: a woman selling sex is by definition exploited and any apparent consent on her behalf is meaningless (see for example Barry, 1996). Others recognise that individual capacity for decision-making will be present to different degrees as will the extent to which selling sex is experienced in terms of personal power. However, the organisation of prostitution and its location within unequal gender orders is seen to reflect and reproduce gender as a hierarchy and thus undermine movements towards gender equality (see for example Coy, 2012). Within both framings there is an attempt to focus on both women's individualized agency and decision-making and the complex contexts within which prostitution occurs.

Weitzer (2009) has argued that a new paradigm has emerged within academic scholarship on prostitution during the past 15 years, a perspective he calls the 'polymorphous paradigm'. According to Weitzer, this paradigm 'holds that there is a constellation of occupational arrangements, power relations, and worker experiences' within the world of commercial sex (2009, p. 215). Arguing that what he calls 'the oppression paradigm' and 'the empowerment paradigm' are 'one-dimensional', he holds up the 'polymorphous paradigm' in direct contrast as 'sensitive to complexities and to the structural conditions shaping the uneven distribution of agency, subordination, and job satisfaction' and makes

the claim that it 'is more empirically driven than the other two' (2009, p. 214 & 215). Weitzer's 'polymorphous paradigm', however, is arguably built upon a simplified caricature of both the labour and abuse perspectives and rather than representing an alternative perspective is perhaps more accurately understood as a nuanced perspective *within* the general framing of prostitution as work.

Existing Knowledge Base on Prostitution

The research carried out on prostitution is extensive. Scholars have examined the daily lives of (predominantly) women involved in prostitution in a range of different settings across the globe. A significant proportion of such research has been conducted from within a health framework and a concern with HIV prevention. Motivations for engaging in prostitution and vulnerabilities that impact upon entry into prostitution have been examined along with factors sustaining continued involvement in the sex industry (for examples of recent work on these issues see Kennedy et al., 2007; Coy, 2008; Martin et al., 2010; Dodsworth, 2012; Saggurti et al., 2011; Ingabire et al., 2012; Roe-Sepowitz, 2012; Fielding-Miller et al., 2014; McCarthy et al., 2014). The centrality of violence in the lives of many involved in prostitution is well documented; though explanations of the cause of such violence remain disputed (see for example Farley, 2004; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Kinnell, 2008). Research has also focused on issues pertaining to drug use and health (see for example Benoit & Millar, 2001; Ward & Day, 2006). The discourse of prostitution and the various legal frameworks have been subjected to scrutiny and the emergence and dynamics of sex worker collectives have been studied (see for example West, 2000; Kantola & Squires, 2004; Sutherland, 2004; Outshoorn, 2005; Gangoli & Westmarland, 2006; Ghose et al., 2008; Kotiswaran, 2010; Waltman, 2011; Skilbrei & Holmström, 2013). The debates over the links between prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation have led to a large body of research on trafficking and migration in relation to prostitution (see for example Agustín, 2003; Sullivan, 2003; Kempadoo, 2005; Outshoorn, 2005; Agustín, 2007; Farley, 2009; Limoncelli, 2009; Dasgupta, 2014). Over the last decade there has also been an increased interest in examining the demand side of prostitution with a focus on those who pay for sex (Monto & McRee, 2005; Groom & Nandwani, 2006; Coy et al., 2007; Collins & Judge, 2008; Sanders, 2008). The process of exiting prostitution, however, has received scant attention and only in recent years have scholars begun to explore the dynamics of how individuals leave prostitution.

Amongst the small but growing body of literature on exiting prostitution, scholars have focused on the barriers faced by those who seek to leave prostitution and the consensus is that individuals face multi-faceted barriers (Månsson & Hedin, 1999; Sanders, 2007; Baker et al., 2010; O'Neill & Campbell, 2011; Bindel et al., 2012). Central amongst the structural barriers identified is the issue of employment, particularly limited employment opportunities and/or formal qualifications, training and job skills, and the challenge of adjusting to the differential in earnings (Dalla, 2006; Baker et al., 2010; Bindel et al., 2012; Ingabire et al., 2012; Bowen, 2013; Cimino, 2013; Hickle, 2014; Klubben, 2014). Exasperating this barrier is the stigmatisation faced by those involved in prostitution. Concerns surrounding disclosure of previous involvement in prostitution recurs frequently in the studies, with individuals expressing fear that a public disclosure will be used against them or will result in unrealistic expectations being placed on them (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Baldwin, 2004; Rabinovitch, 2004; Sanders, 2007). The factors which enable individuals to leave prostitution have received less attention but amongst the factors identified the role of formal support services is acknowledged (Bindel, 2005; Sanders, 2007; Matthews, 2008; Oselin, 2008, 2009, 2010; Bindel et al., 2012; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2012; Bowen, 2013; Cimino, 2013; Klubben, 2014). Little examination of such organisations has, however, been carried out to date.

In light of this research, the emergence of organisations seeking to provide alternative employment and income opportunities for those seeking to exit prostitution thus represents an interesting solution to the challenges faced when leaving prostitution; a response as yet largely unexplored. The involvement of faith-based organisations in such work is of particular interest as associations with faith traditions have been noted amongst organisations providing support to those involved in prostitution yet such associations remain unexamined or, in some cases, simply treated as suspect rather than empirically investigated (Oselin, 2008; Bernstein, 2010; Dasra, 2013; Overs, 2014). In addition, spirituality and religion feature within the literature as factors motivating and assisting women to exit prostitution (Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Dalla, 2006; Valandra, 2007; Oselin, 2008; Cimino, 2012; Klubben, 2014).

The Interplay of Research and Researcher

As well as a recognition that faith-based projects that support those seeking to leave prostitution through the operation of social enterprises is a phenomenon unexamined within the literature on exiting prostitution, the motivation to carry out this research also

stems from my own involvement as a trustee of a UK faith-based charity working with people involved in prostitution. It was through my work with this charity that I became aware of a number of faith-based projects that were establishing social enterprises as a way to support women to leave prostitution. I was intrigued by this approach and was disappointed to find almost no academic literature on the topic, and little on exiting prostitution in general, when I first began to explore it in late 2010. That the projects establishing social enterprises that I initially became aware of were related to the Christian faith reflected my connections with faith-based organisations. Similarly, the decision to focus on faith-based projects within this research derives in part from my personal identification with the Christian faith and my own ongoing critical engagement with the role faith plays in the lives and work of both those supporting individuals involved in prostitution and those who are themselves directly involved in the sex industry.

Research Aims and Objectives

The aim of the research is to contribute to understandings of the process of exiting prostitution, and specially the role of support organisations in assisting women to leave prostitution, through an exploration of the phenomenon of faith-based projects that support women to leave prostitution through the operation of social enterprises. In doing so, the research seeks to examine three interconnected themes: exiting prostitution, social enterprise and faith. Accordingly, the following five research questions underpin the research:

RQ1. What is the nature of faith-based projects around the world that are seeking to support women to leave prostitution through the operation of social enterprises that provide alternative employment and income opportunities?

RQ2. How do these projects support women to exit prostitution? And what is the nature and extent of these exits?

RQ3. How do the social enterprise models employed by these projects operate?

RQ4. What role does faith play in influencing the nature and the actuality of these projects?

RQ5. What is the experience of women affected by prostitution engaging with these projects?

The decision to focus on women is based on a number of interconnecting factors. First, whilst acknowledging the involvement of men and transgendered individuals in the sale of sex, the gender disparity in prostitution is stark: overwhelmingly it is women who sell sex and men who purchase sex. Second, the existing literature on exiting prostitution pertains almost exclusively to women, as can be seen in Appendix 1, and whilst a number of studies do include men and/or transgendered individuals within their sample, the numbers remain small in comparison to female participants. Third, recent work on vocational training pilots for those involved in prostitution suggests that the dynamics around male involvement in prostitution are different to that of females which, in turn, impacts upon experiences of exiting (Kootstra, 2012). Such findings suggest that separate analysis is required in order to understand the process and experiences of leaving prostitution for male and transgendered individuals.

Outline of Thesis Structure

The next three chapters provide the background and academic context in which to locate this study. Reflecting the three themes encapsulated within the research questions, three distinct fields of research will be explored and the key theoretical frameworks pertaining to each field examined. In Chapter 2, the literature on exiting prostitution will be reviewed. The definitional debates surrounding the notion of 'exiting' will be outlined and explorations of the reasons why women decide to leave prostitution, and the factors influencing this decision, as identified in existing studies, will be addressed. Following on from this the means and processes by which people leave the commercial sex industry will be examined along with the typologies of exiting found within the literature. The role of support organisations in facilitating transitions from prostitution will be considered and this chapter will close with a reflection on the politics of exiting prostitution. In Chapter 3 the literature on social enterprise will be unpacked. The definitional debates surrounding the concept of social enterprise will be presented and the chapter will seek to outline an analytical toolkit for researching social enterprise. Existing typologies of social enterprise will be discussed and the chapter will close with a reflection on social enterprise within the context of prostitution. Chapter 4 will address the scholarship on 'faith-based organisations' (FBO) as it has emerged within the growing body of social science literature on religion, faith and spirituality. Again, issues of definitional contention will be outlined. The analytical approaches that have been adopted to study these organisations will be explored with a

focus on ways of understanding how faith might influence an FBO and the impact this has upon those engaging with the organisation.

With the relevant academic landscape delineated, Chapter 5 will move on to outline the research methods employed in carrying out the study. An explanation of the research framework and a description of the research design and the process of analysis will be provided. The challenges of cross-language research and the ethical dilemmas encountered along the research journey will be discussed, along with reflections on the experience of fieldwork. Chapter 6, the first of five empirical chapters, addresses RQ1 and presents the findings from the mapping study of faith-based projects around the world that are seeking to support women to exit prostitution through the operation of social enterprises. The extent and location of such organisations, the varying social enterprise models pursued, and the ways in which both prostitution and the role of faith is presented within their work is examined.

Chapters 7-10 present the findings from the ethnographic research with the two case studies. In Chapter 7 the way in which the projects frame the issue of prostitution, how this relates to their understanding of exiting, and the barriers they perceive women face when leaving prostitution are explored. In Chapter 8 the way in which the projects support women to exit prostitution is investigated. The factors believed to assist women to leave prostitution and the ways in which the projects define success and measure impact are examined and then an assessment of the nature and extent of the exits supported by the projects is provided. Together these chapters address RQ2. Chapter 9 focuses on RQ3 and examines the social enterprise models employed by the two projects. The ways in which the businesses developed, their financial sustainability and their marketing strategies are discussed, along with the tensions arising between business drivers and social mission. In Chapter 10 the role of faith in the work of the two projects is explored, corresponding with RQ4. The influence and expression of faith within the two case studies is unpacked with attention paid to how the relation with faith within each organisation is experienced by staff and women alike. Throughout each chapter the views and perspectives of the women engaging with the projects are incorporated, thus RQ5 is addressed across all four of these chapters.

Chapter 11 draws together the research findings from across the five empirical chapters and explores the connections between exiting prostitution, social enterprise and faith. Finally,

Chapter 12 concludes by summarising the overall findings of the research and suggesting how the research could be developed, along with further areas for investigation.

Chapter 2: Exiting, transitioning and 'moving on': the literature on exiting prostitution

Introduction

Prostitution is an issue that has received significant attention within the academic arena yet, in spite of this large body of research, there is relatively little scholarship on how individuals leave prostitution. This paucity of evidence holds true despite the emerging interest in the exiting process that is identifiable amongst scholars in recent years (Bowen, 2013; Cimino, 2013; Hickle, 2014; Klubben, 2014). A review of the existing research on exiting suggests that the literature can be divided into (i) empirical studies which seek to observe and analyse the processes by which a sample of individuals (overwhelmingly women) leave prostitution, and (ii) theoretical, or analytical, studies that draw on the empirical research of others to identify and compare significant factors and formulate conceptual models. When the literature is broken down as such, it becomes apparent that the current knowledge base is built upon a relatively scant number of empirical studies, the majority of which involve small sample sizes. A breakdown of these empirical studies is provided in Appendix 1. There are 31 studies to date with just under a third published in the last four years. The majority have been conducted in the USA (n=12), followed by the UK (n=8) and Canada (n=6). Two studies relate to Sweden and one to Thailand, New Zealand and Rwanda respectively. Sample size ranges from 333 participants to as few as eight participants: with six studies involving 100 or more participants; four involving 50 or more participants; and the remaining 21 studies involving 49 or fewer participants. Whilst there is a preponderance of participants with experience of street-based prostitution across the studies, some studies do focus on participants with experience of indoor sex markets and at least ten studies include participants involved in range of different sex markets. As can be seen from the table, a number of authors use the same data sample in more than one study thus underscoring the scarcity of empirical research into the exiting process to date.

Contested definitions

Both the term 'exit' and the notion of 'exiting' itself are contested within the literature with authors using a range of different terms such as 'exit', 'transition', 'desistance', 'moving on' and 'routes out'. This diverse terminology is, in part, an attempt to accurately convey the complexity of leaving the commercial sex industry; which scholars and practitioners across

the prostitution/sex work dichotomy agree is a process not an event and one which is not necessarily linear (Manopaiboon et al., 2003; Hester & Westmarland, 2004; Dalla, 2006; Sanders, 2007; Matthews, 2008; UK Network of Sex Work Projects, 2008; Baker et al., 2010). However, the multiplicity of terms also reflects the various perspectives on prostitution held by the different authors and the differing analytical frameworks adopted.

For those who have adopted a labour perspective on prostitution, the term 'transition' is often preferred and research is framed as the examination of career 'transitioning'. For example, Law, in her study with women involved in criminalised indoor prostitution in Canada, rejected the terminology of exiting and deliberately adopted the terminology of transitioning, arguing that exiting can be 'seen to be always identifying sex work as something that needs to be escaped and never returned to, and as always negating the labour of sex work' (Law, 2011, p. 3). Similarly, whilst the UK Network of Sex Work Projects, in their *Good Practice Guidance* on exiting, use the terms 'exiting' and 'routes out' interchangeably, they explicitly seek to 'reclaim' the term 'exiting' as 'an option within a range of non-judgmental, holistic, harm reduction services offered to sex workers' (UK Network of Sex Work Projects, 2008, p. 3).

Alternatively, when leaving prostitution is examined within a criminological, stigma or deviant identity perspective then the term ' desistance' is more frequently employed. In his book *Prostitution, Politics and Policy,* Matthews distinguishes between 'desistance', which he uses to refer to the informal decision-making processes by which women leave prostitution , and 'exiting', which he uses to refer to 'leaving prostitution primarily as a result of formal interventions' (Matthews, 2008, p. 79). Yet despite this distinction he admits that 'since both desistance and exiting are processes rather than events, and the decision to leave prostitution often involves a combination of informal and formal pressures it will not always be easy to differentiate between them' (2008, p. 79–80).

Given this lack of consensus surrounding terminology, it is not surprising to discover that the working definitions of exiting and the ways in which people are defined as having 'exited' prostitution within empirical studies also vary significantly. This diversity in working definitions and measures of exiting can be seen in Appendix 1. In many studies no fixed definition of exiting is given. Instead exiting is implicitly understood as leaving prostitution and people are thus defined as 'exited' if they are not actively involved in commercial sexual activities. In some studies, this means that 'exited' individuals are simply those who are not

involved in prostitution at the time of the interview or questionnaire (Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Cusick et al., 2011; McCray et al., 2011; Bowen, 2013; Cimino, 2013). In other studies, the same working definition is used but the range of time periods since people left prostitution is given (Williamson & Folaron, 2003; Ward & Day, 2006; Sanders, 2007; Woodman, 2007). Other studies have chosen to use a fixed length of time to identify those who have exited (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Dalla, 2006; Hickle, 2014), or have used enrolment or participation in a course or residential program to identify people as 'exited' from prostitution (Valandra, 2007; Oselin, 2008, 2010).

With such a plethora of working definitions in use it is clear that '"success" is a vague term and difficult to define' in relation to leaving prostitution (Dalla, 2006, p. 289). In the context of street prostitution in the UK, Matthews argues for the need to make a distinction between 'stopping' and 'exiting' where exiting is 'defined as being drug free, re-integrated with family contact, being in education, training or work, having a secure home, gaining financial independence and developing a new sense of self' (2008, p. 89). In contrast, Baker et al. accept that it is difficult to define specific "criteria" that mark final exit; stressing instead individual variability and the belief that 're-entry is always a possibility' (Baker et al., 2010, p. 594). From a different perspective but raising similar issues, is Law's observation that 'women who had good (work) experiences in the sex industry do not define transitioning out of sex work as success, or as definitive, because they never saw their entry into, or involvement in sex work, as a failure' (2011, p. 92).

These discrepancies and the challenges they pose to efforts at evaluating the exiting process have been particularly noted in relation to the realm of policy making. In the UK the former Labour government commissioned a Home Office Research Study entitled *Tackling Street Prostitution: Towards an holistic approach* and, subsequently, placed increasing emphasis on 'developing routes out' for those involved in prostitution (Hester & Westmarland, 2004). The report evaluated eleven multi-agency projects aimed at tackling prostitution to examine 'what works'. Of particular relevance were the five projects aimed at providing routes out for women involved in street prostitution. However, one of the major limitations faced by the evaluators was the differing definitions of exiting amongst the projects; with some projects viewing 'their primary goal as harm minimization, rather than exiting *per se*' (Hester & Westmarland, 2004, p. 17). Likewise, in New Zealand, a 2007 Ministry of Justice report sought to provide a literature review on overseas best practice with regard to exiting interventions. The researchers stated that they 'came across little research which

considered what happened after exiting in terms of the long-term impact of time spent in sex work, or strategies which helped exited women to develop their lives' (Mayhew & Mossman, 2007, p. 7).

The desire and decision to exit

Notwithstanding the difficulties and ambiguities in defining and quantifying exiting, extant studies attest that many women involved in prostitution have a strong desire to exit. In a survey of 854 people in prostitution in nine countries, 89% told the researchers they wanted to leave prostitution but had no alternative means for economic survival (Farley, 2004, p. 1095). A Canadian study found that for most of the respondents, of whom 61.2% were currently or had last been involved in indoor commercial sex venues, the sex industry 'was not their ideal career' (Benoit & Millar, 2001, p. 60). Furthermore, 141 of the 201 respondents (70.6%) 'had exited the sex trade at least once over their careers and more than half had exited three or more times' (2001, p. 60). In a longitudinal study with 42 women involved in prostitution in Thailand, only one woman had never quit the sex industry; sixteen had quit and never returned and the remaining 60% had 'quit and re-entered sex work at least once' (Manopaiboon et al., 2003, p. 42). The profiles of 186 women engaging with UK intervention projects showed that 69% (n = 128) were 'trying to exit prostitution or had tried to in the past on one or more occasion' (Hester & Westmarland, 2004, p. 85).

Whilst no exact figures were given, researchers examining the life and work of women in the indoor sex trade in New York City asserted that 'the overwhelming majority of women in our sample did in fact, express a desire to eventually leave the trade' (Murphy & Venkatesh, 2006, p. 149). Similarly, in a review of three studies conducted with women involved in both indoor and on-street prostitution in the UK, O'Neill and Campbell argued that 'an important finding is that sex workers, regardless of their own personal circumstances, services needs and preferences, do on the whole think exit routes and support should be there for those who need them' (O'Neill & Campbell, 2011, p. 184). Finally, research conducted by Kootstra (2012) with people involved in prostitution in four countries revealed that of the 44 respondents in Macedonia, 24% wanted to leave prostitution and 38% would like to leave if there was a sustainable alternative (2012, p. p.35–36); all 15 individual interviewees in Uganda said they wanted to quit prostitution though more varied opinions were expressed within discussion groups (2012, p. p.56); 68% of the Vietnam sample (n=52) expressed the wish to exit immediately and 23% wanted to leave if enough alternative

income became available (2012, p. p.79–80); and of the 51 respondents in the Egyptian study, 'many individual interviewees indicated they definitely wanted to leave the sex sector' (2012, p. p.100).

Several studies have focused on the reasons why women seek to leave prostitution. An overview of some of the reasons listed within the literature is provided in Table 1.

Table 1: Reasons for leaving prostitution outlined in the literature

Reasons given for leaving prostitution and/or for not planning to return to prostitution
• Age (Oselin, 2008; Bowen, 2011) • Arrested/Incarcerated (Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Oselin, 2008) • Burn out/stress/ tired of prostitution/ depression (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Valandra, 2007; Oselin, 2010; Law, 2011) • Desire to/for a change (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Oselin, 2008) • Did not like prostitution/ felt it served no purpose/ not empowering (Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Bowen, 2011) • Experiencing excessive or specific experiences of violence (Oselin, 2010; Ingabire et al., 2012; Bowen, 2011) • Familial support/pressure and/or concern for children (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Valandra, 2007; Oselin, 2008, 2010; Ingabire et al., 2012) • Fear of jail/fear of death (Oselin, 2008; Bowen, 2011) • Feelings of shame and low self-worth (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Ingabire et al., 2012; Bowen, 2011) • Frustration with sex work/difficulties faced as a sex worker/poor labour conditions (Law, 2011; Ingabire et al., 2012; Bowen, 2011) • New job/returned to education (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Law, 2011) • New partner/love (Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Law, 2011; Bowen, 2013) • Pregnancy/having a baby (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Law, 2011) • Quit drugs/alcohol (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Oselin, 2008, 2010) • Sickness/poor health/injury (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Oselin, 2008; Law, 2011; Bowen, 2011) • Spirituality/Faith (Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Valandra, 2007; Oselin, 2008, 2010)

Sharon Oselin (2008), in her study of women enrolled in what she terms 'prostitute-helping organisations', found that the reasons women gave for leaving prostitution could be divided into three categories: compulsory, personal and interpersonal. She argued that 'these

reasons are not necessarily mutually exclusive but often combine together in such a fashion that generates the impetus to exit' (2008, p. 33). Alternatively, Law (2011) choose to group the reasons given by the women in her study according to whether they pertained to physical, emotional or situational reasons. She acknowledged that 'several participants left for a combination of reasons' (2011, p. 67). A finding confirmed by Oselin (2008, p. 53).

Closely linked to explorations of the reasons why women decide to leave prostitution, are examinations of the factors influencing this decision. Here studies enumerate both the challenges and barriers faced by those who desire to exit and the factors which appear to enable a 'successful' transition. According to both Oselin (2010) and O'Neill and Campbell (2011), a tension is discernible within the literature in relation to the agency/structure dimension of such factors. Månsson and Hedin, in their study with 23 women previously involved in street prostitution in Sweden, identified structural, individual and relational factors influencing the women's decisions to exit and concluded that 'it is our contention that the individual's emotional commitment, as it is expressed through dreams and positive illusions, lies at the very heart of the process of change' (Månsson & Hedin, 1999, p. 75). They are thus often depicted as prioritising the agentic aspect of the agency/structure dynamic. In contrast, Teela Sanders (2007), in her UK study with 30 women previously involved in prostitution, explicitly rejected the claim that the "emotional commitment" of individual women is the key factor in leaving prostitution and instead emphasised the structural factors influencing exit; drawing particular attention to the way in which the criminalisation of people in prostitution acts as a 'trapping' factor.

Whilst this agency/structure dichotomy can be identified in the literature, it is to a large extent, a false one. False in the sense that it fails to acknowledge that both Månsson and Hedin and Sanders refute such a division, even as they simultaneously appear to construct such a dichotomy. Månsson and Hedin stressed that:

> *...at the end of the day, it is important not to end up in far too individualistic explanations. A person's creative and innovative capacities definitely depend on reliable social relations and institutions in her environment*' (1999, p. 76).

Sanders meanwhile insisted that 'policy makers must consider the wider context of leaving a deviant career *and* the cognitive transformation processes in desistance' (2007, p. 94 italics added). It is also false in the sense that it is not an accurate depiction of the general understanding of the factors influencing exit arising in the literature. On the contrary, there appears to be a consensus that there are 'a matrix of factors which vary according to

individual circumstances, choices, positioning, relational factors and structural factors, also shifting across time and space/place' (O'Neill & Campbell, 2011, p. 184).

The matrix of factors influencing exit

Barriers

Particularly useful in relation to understanding the factors influencing transitions from prostitution is the work of Baker, Dalla and Williamson (2010) which provides a table of barriers to leaving prostitution, albeit in regard to street prostitution, most commonly described in the literature. They list eighteen different barriers, along with references to the studies identifying these different barriers, and group them into four categories: (1) individual, (2) relational, (3) structural, (4) societal (see Table 2).

Table 2: Barriers to Exiting Prostitution adapted from Baker et al. (2010), pp. 588-590

Individual:	**Relational:**
• self-destructive behaviours & substance abuse • mental health problems • effects of trauma from adverse childhood • psychological trauma/injury from violence • chronic psychological stress • self-esteem/shame/guilt • physical health problems	• limited conventional formal & informal support • strained family relations • pimps • drug dealers • social isolation
Structural:	**Societal:**
• employment, job skills, limited employment opportunities • basic needs (e.g. housing, homelessness, poverty, economic self-sufficiency) • education • criminal record • inadequate services	• discrimination/stigma

Examining recent studies that focus on the experiences of individuals involved predominantly in off-street prostitution or that include individuals involved in a range of sex trade venues, it appears that some of the same barriers detailed by Baker et al. (2010) are encountered across these different venues, including:

- problematic alcohol and drug use (Bindel et al., 2012, p. 7; Bowen, 2013, p. 33; Cimino, 2013, p. 51);

- pimps and coercion from others (Bindel et al., 2012, p. 9; Bowen, 2013, p. 54; Cimino, 2013, p. 51);
- job skills/gaps on CV (Law, 2011, p. 77–79; Bowen, 2013, p. 66; Cimino, 2013, p. 89);
- criminal record (Bindel et al., 2012, p. 8; Cimino, 2013, p. 90);
- housing (Bindel et al., 2012, p. 7; Cimino, 2013, p. 92);
- stigma (Law, 2011, p. 99–103; Bowen, 2013, p. 57–58; Cimino, 2013, p. 128).

Physical and mental health problems, age of entry into prostitution and experiences of violence as children were also identified as barriers by Bindel et al. (2012, p. 8–9) and Bowen did note that 59% (n=13) of participants within her study had entered the sex industry prior to 18 years of age, though she did not explicitly highlight this as a barrier to exiting (Bowen, 2013, p. 33).

In addition, recent studies have highlighted the following barriers not listed by Baker et al. (2010):

- clients/punters (Bowen, 2013, 2013, p. 55; Hickle, 2014, p. 71–72);
- children (Hickle, 2014, p. 65–66; Klubben, 2014, p. 170);
- relational difficulties resulting in challenges around intimacy and trust (Hickle, 2014, p. 65–68);
- rivalries among community organisations which create barriers to support services (Bowen, 2013, p. 56–57).

Specific barriers around employment have been further unpacked to highlight the challenges of adjusting to the difference in earnings compared to prostitution and of learning how to budget with a fixed income (Law, 2011, p. 82; Bindel et al., 2012, p. 8–9; Bowen, 2013, p. 90–91; Cimino, 2013, p. 85; Klubben, 2014, p. 167–68), and the difficulty of adapting to the more rigid schedule of mainstream employment (Law, 2011, p. 86–87). Cimino noted that ‘women who did not have or were not successful at getting a legitimate job internalised prostitution as their only option for income’ (2013, p. 62), whilst Klubben found that ‘getting a job and advancing one’s education seemed to be one of the most difficult and final steps in transitioning out of sex work after many other pieces were put into place' (2014, p. 183). The notion of prostitution as a lifestyle that can be addictive and/or can leave women feeling ‘trapped’ has also been recognised (Law, 2011, p. 82–86; Hickle, 2014, p. 62–65; Klubben, 2014, p. 173).

Enabling Factors

Here the empirical research on the factors which support and enable women to leave prostitution is more limited. Dalla (2006), in her study with a cohort of eighteen street-level prostituted women, identified the key characteristics of exit success as (1) the ability to develop new informal systems of support, (2) employable skills and job training, and (3) religion. Crucial in the sustained withdrawal from the sex industry was the 'ability to legally earn a living wage' (Dalla, 2006, p. 282). Similarly, McNaughton and Sanders (2007) have highlighted support services, networks of familiarity, housing and ontological security as significant factors influencing a woman's ability to leave prostitution in the UK.

More recently, Hickle (2014) has identified six 'helping factors' which facilitated women's exits from prostitution: (1) survivor presence - the support of other women who have exited prostitution and could relate to their experiences; (2) relationship connection – supportive relationships across a wide network of supports, relationships with their children and support in the criminal justice system; (3) formal support services – including drug and alcohol treatment, counselling services, 12-Step meetings, and access to a residential programme or safe housing; (4) spirituality – spiritual beliefs help to provide hope, maintain motivation and perseverance; (5) feelings of empowerment – opportunities to develop skills and demonstrate responsibility increase awareness of competence, skills and ability; and (6) fear of consequences - including legal consequences such as prison time, violence, or being further separated from children. Several of these factors find support within existing studies on exiting prostitution:

- peer support (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Hotaling et al., 2004; Woodman, 2007; Law, 2011; Bowen, 2013)
- supportive relationships (Hotaling et al., 2004; Bowen, 2013; Klubben, 2014)
- relationships with children as a key motivating factor (Oselin, 2008; O'Neill & Campbell, 2011; Ingabire et al., 2012; Klubben, 2014)
- formal support services (Hester & Westmarland, 2004; Bindel, 2005; Sanders, 2007; Matthews, 2008; Oselin, 2008, 2009, 2010; Bindel et al., 2012; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2012; Bowen, 2013; Cimino, 2013; Klubben, 2014).
- spirituality (Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Valandra, 2007; Oselin, 2008; Cimino, 2012; Klubben, 2014).

The importance of 'hope' and optimism about the future and having an alternative to prostitution so as to combat the perceived necessity of prostitution have also been identified within the literature as key enabling factors (Matthews, 2008; Ingabire et al., 2012; Cimino, 2013; Bowen, 2013).

There is thus extensive recognition within the literature that leaving prostitution is a complex process and individuals who seek to exit prostitution face multi-faceted barriers. Furthermore, there is a recognition that 'simply possessing reasons [to exit] does not automatically generate an exit' (Oselin, 2010, p. 536). It is the interaction of these multiple factors and reasons that is significant in influencing the outcome and actualisation of desires to exit; which leads us from the *why* of exit and on to the *how* of exit.

Understanding the *how* of exit

As outlined above, the *how* of exit from prostitution, the means and processes by which people leave the commercial sex industry, is the area which is most under-researched in terms of empirical studies, and yet a surprising number of models of the processes of exiting and of typologies of exiting can be discovered within the literature. Nine distinct models and three typologies have been offered and drawn upon by researchers and practitioners. A brief outline of all twelve is provided below.

Table 3: Exiting Models and Typologies outlined in the literature

Study	Model (-) or Typology (1)
Månsson & Hedin (1999)	Preliminary stages of breakaway - The turning-point - The post-breakaway marginal situation - Building a new life
Hester & Westmarland (2004)	Vulnerability - Chaos - Stabilisation - Post-exiting/moving on
Dalla (2006)	Initial stage - Action stage - Maintenance stage
Sanders (2007)	(1) Reactionary Routes Out, (2) Gradual Planning, (3) "Natural" Progression, (4) The Yo-Yo Pattern
Matthews (2008)	Engagement - Stabilisation - Transition - Stopping - Exiting
Oselin (2008)	Initial exiting - role distancing - role embracement /identity change
UKNSWP (2008)	Pre-contemplation - Contemplation - Decision - Action - Maintenance - Lapse/relapse (Cycle of change: Prochaska et al, 1998)
Baker et al. (2010)	Immersion - Awareness [(i) visceral and (ii) conscious] - Deliberate Preparation - Initial Exit - Re-entry - Final Exit
Oselin (2010)	(1) Rookies, (2) Inbetweens, (3) Experts
Law (2011)	First doubts - Seeking alternatives - Turning point - Creating an ex-role

Study	Model (-) or Typology (1)
	(Role Exit Model: Ebaugh, 1988)
Cusick et al. (2011)	(1) Intervention-assisted Exiters, (2)Opportunistic Exiters, (3) Gradual Exiters, (4) Strategic Exiters
Bindel et al. (2012)	Readiness and engagement - Treatment and support - Transition and stabilisation - Reconstructing and rebuilding - New roles and identities

Two of the nine models are not specific to leaving prostitution but are more generic models of processes of change which researchers have drawn up. These are the *Cycle of Change* devised by Prochaska et al. in 1998 in relation to their work on the process involved in quitting smoking, and Ebuagh's *Role Exit* model, published in 1988, which attempted to capture the processes by which people disengage from a role which is central to their sense of self-identity and take on an identity rooted in a different role (for a brief overview of these two models see Baker et al., 2010, p. 580–82). Although acknowledging the insights which can be gained from these two models, the development of models specific to prostitution suggests dissatisfaction with the ability of these models to capture the complexity of the exiting process.

The seven specific models can be understood as varying attempts to capture the non-linearity of leaving prostitution, as well as the complex interplay of multiple factors. More explicitly, they represent efforts to provide conceptual frameworks that enhance 'our ability to understand and predict relationships among the variables that challenge exit success' (Baker et al., 2010, p. 579). The notions of re-entry, lapses, reversals and of 'yo-yoing' are prevalent across the models and typologies, as is recognition of two basic variations in the way in which women experience their transition; as a gradual process and as a sudden departure. Due to the difficulties in defining "success", as noted earlier, the final stages of the models are often fairly vague and centre around the notion of building a new life and embracing a new identity. Such ambiguities lead Hester and Westmarland to state that 'the distance between incomplete exit and having moved on to a new life can be very great' (2004, p. 129).

The model proposed by Baker et al. (2010) builds on four previous models and proposes six stages to the process of exiting prostitution:

1. ***immersion*** – 'no thoughts of leaving or any conscious awareness of the need to change' (2010, p. 590).

2. ***awareness*** - (1) **visceral awareness** 'refers to gradual realisation that all is not as it used to be' - 'gut' feelings about leaving but unable to articulate these yet - (2) **conscious awareness** refers to when the woman acknowledges her feelings and begins to process them and verbalise them (2010, p. 591).
3. ***deliberate preparation*** – 'cognitive processing, data and information gathering' – assess both formal and informal support resources - some action but little, if any, behavioural change - the woman can be acting of her own accord or may be forced by others to begin to plan (2010, p. 592).
4. ***initial exit*** - begins to actively use informal and formal support services – in this stage 'a woman's internal desire and motivation to exit are severely tested' - for some their initial exit may be their only exit but for others it may be 'short-lived and result in re-entry' (2010, p. 592).
5. ***re-entry*** - may result in a complete re-immersion in prostitution - 2 pathways - (1) 'a woman may recycle through each of the stages' but because of earlier exit attempts, she approaches the next exit with greater contemplation or more deliberate planning - (2) a woman may experience feelings of being "trapped" therefore 'might lack confidence, initiative, coping skills or necessary resources to allow her to engage in deliberate preparation' (2010, p. 592–593).
6. ***final exit*** – 'most often occurs after a series of exiting and re-entering cycles' - difficult to define specific "criteria" that mark final exit due to individual variability and the fact that 're-entry is always a possibility' (2010, p. 593–4).

Testing the usefulness of this theoretical model against empirical findings from interviews with 19 women who had exited prostitution in the US, Hickle (2014) found that many of the themes identified in her study did coincide with the stages in the model, particularly the experience of becoming disillusioned with the prostitution lifestyle and the likelihood that women will attempt to exit and then re-enter prostitution a number of times before a final exit. She did, however, note three areas of divergence. First, she argued that the women in her study did not always experience the *awareness* stage prior to an *initial exit*: 'in fact many women became aware that they wanted to leave the sex industry only after an initial, often involuntary, exit' (2014, p. 99). Second, she found limited support for the d*eliberate planning* stage: 68% of participants (n=13) 'did not describe ever planning or preparing to exit, indicating that this is not a necessary step to go through in order to successfully exit sex work' (2014, p. 58). Third, she argued that 'contrary to the model's design, it was difficult to separate initial exits from re-entry into sex work because they were not described as separate or distinct events' (2014, p. 60).

Further enhancing understanding of the process of exiting is the recent model developed by Bindel et al. (2012), based on interviews with 114 women in the UK. Whilst the stage

readiness and engagement within the model is similar to Baker et al.'s (2010) *awareness stage,* and the *treatment and support* stage arguably parallels the *initial exit* stage of the Baker et al. model, the final three stages in the model seek to provide greater detail about the processes by which women come to 'adopt a non-prostitution related identity and develop a new sense of self' (Bindel et al., 2012, p. 11). During *transition and stabilisation*, 'women typically begin to address a range of personal, psychological and social issues, normally with the help of specialist agencies and support groups' (2012, p. 12). This stage might involve 'being stable in drug treatment, stepping back from hectic lives, slowing down and finding somewhere safe and secure to live' and 'allows greater reflection of past circumstances so that previous experiences can be better understood and reconciled' (2012, p. 12). During the fourth stage, *reconstructing and rebuilding*, women repair and reassess the past and construct a new identity; processes which can occur simultaneously. According to the authors, 'for some women at this stage it is a matter of coming to terms or making sense of their past while for others it is about self-development and the formation of a new identity' (2012, p. 12). The final stage, *new roles and identities*, is marked by a firm personal commitment to exiting permanently and continued construction and maintenance of a new identity. In practical terms, the authors argue that this means that women:

> *had 'broken away' from damaging peer groups and coercive relationships; formed new relationships with friends, partners and colleagues; engaged in new forms of employment, training or education, established effective coping strategies to deal with stressful times; and had hopes and plans for their future* (Bindel et al., 2012, p. 12).

That the process of 'moving on' or sustaining an exit from prostitution is frequently wrapped up with issues of identity and a restructuring of everyday life appears to be a common feature in the literature, and one which is corroborated by empirical studies. Sanders noted that:

> *repeatedly women explained that the barrier preventing them from 'moving on' was the psychological process that enabled one to experience self-worth and recognise that they could have a 'role' or identity within a different lifestyle and life experience* (Sanders, 2007, p. 894)**.**

Law observed in her study that 'many participants had a difficult time 'letting go' of their sex worker identities' and so in this respect their identity transitions were characterised by conflict (2011, p. 115). Similarly, Murphy and Venkatesh (2006) found that when women move to indoor prostitution they begin to conceive of sex work as a profession and a career,

despite prior expression and/or intentions of turning to prostitution as a short-term means of employment. They argued that the emergence of this "professional and careerist orientation" towards prostitution comes about 'not because of the material goods that it can produce, but because of the meaning and significance that it takes on in their lives and how they conceive of their futures' (2006, p. 133). With this formation of a sex work identity comes extended tenures and a diminishing likelihood that the women will pursue exit.

Intricately connected to these themes of identity and lifestyle in explorations of the *how* of exiting is the notion of stigma; another common theme occurring across the literature. The stigmatisation of people involved in prostitution is widely attested to in the broader literature on prostitution and, within the scholarship on exiting, there is consensus that stigma both negatively impacts women's ability to transition *and* structures the strategies pursued in exiting (Baldwin, 2004; Hotaling et al., 2004; Sanders, 2007; Oselin, 2008; Law, 2011; Hickle, 2014). As mentioned earlier, women expressing fear about public disclosure of previous involvement in prostitution recurs frequently in the studies (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Baldwin, 2004; Rabinovitch, 2004; Sanders, 2007; UK Network of Sex Work Projects, 2008; Klubben, 2014). Interestingly, in a Thai study the female respondents did not feel that they would be stigmatised for their previous involvement in prostitution as they felt that their community accepted such involvement on the basis of economic necessity. However, they described 'stigma against former sex workers who had failed to accumulate material wealth' and against those 'who failed to behave 'properly' after stopping sex work and returning to their community' (Manopaiboon et al., 2003, p. 48).

The existing models and typologies provide 'a *foundation* for continued research' and draw attention to some of the areas requiring further attention (Baker et al., 2010, p. 580, italics added). What they do not provide is evaluative evidence of the effectiveness of interventions or support offered at various stages in the transition out of prostitution; a task which involves the methodological challenge of determining 'their added value and the relation between informal decision-making and the impact of different formal interventions' (Matthews, 2008, p. 80)**.**

The role of support organisations

The role of support organisations in facilitating the process of exiting from prostitution, as noted above, is recognised within academic literature, albeit literature predominantly

focused on Canada, the US and the UK. However, researchers have acknowledged that there is 'little examination of the actual organizations or their relationship to broader legal and cultural arrangements' (Oselin & Weitzer, 2013, p. 448) and that 'an in-depth exploration of how these services are helpful has yet to be conducted' (Klubben, 2014, p. 54). Within the research that does exist, Bowen (2013) found that employment and support from sex worker organisations were key factors that promoted exit. Such organisations provided a community of individuals to whom those seeking to exit could relate to and who did not judge them; and they provided a segregated form of employment where individuals could transition from prostitution to providing support to others involved and thereby achieve exit. In the US, Hickle (2014) notes that services addressing prostitution and sex trafficking are few and divides the support services that are available into three types: (1) residential treatment, (2) community-based case management, and (3) diversion programmes. This scarcity is presented as problematic in light of the findings within her study that of the 19 adult women who had exited prostitution most 'were not able to successfully exit without some assistance from services specifically targeted to address the needs of prostituted women' (Hickle, 2014, p. 88).

Oselin's (2008) work on women exiting prostitution within the context of 'prostitution-helping organisations' (PHOs) highlights how the organisational structures of PHOs shape people's exit pathways. Having identified 30 PHOs across the US, Oselin charts the variations between these organisations according to five key variables: (1) modes of entree (voluntary v. involuntary); (2) programme resources (state/federal v. private); (2) organisational ties (relationships to other agencies); (4) organisational structure (total institution v. loosely structured programme); and (5) temporality (time in the programme). Interestingly, from the perspective of the current study, Oselin also noted that 'many programs emerged from grassroots movements, which were originally linked to local churches' (2008, p. 17). These faith associations, however, remain unexplored within her study. In recent years the acceptability and role of prostitution diversion programmes in the US has also come under investigation. Such studies are, so far, few in number and generally focus on the impact of such programmes on prostitution recidivism (Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2011; Shdaimah & Wiechelt, 2012; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2014; Shdaimah & Bailey-Kloch, 2014).

The philosophy and practices of specific support organisations has been the focus of a handful of studies (Hotaling et al., 2004; Rabinovitch, 2004). Perhaps the most extensive in

this regard is the study by Oselin and Weitzer (2013). Arguing that the organisational philosophies of 'prostitution support organisations' (PSOs - projects providing direct support services) affect the strategies, activities and goals of such organisations, Oselin and Weitzer collected data on known PSOs within the US and Canada and categorised them according to their central perspective on prostitution. They argued that the PSOs could be categorised into four distinct types, as outlined in Table 4.

Table 4: Typology of PSOs adapted from Oselin and Weitzer (2013)

1. **Radical Feminist PSOs** (pp.451-53) - aligned with the oppression paradigm of prostitution. They reject the stigmatization of women involved in prostitution and instead portray them as exploited and victimised. Some Radical Feminist PSOs 'draw parallels between prostitution and sex trafficking, in order to underscore the elements of coercion and exploitation'. Moreover, such organisations are primarily service- and exit-oriented which Oselin and Weitzer suggest is due to their failure to identify a 'concrete source' of the injustice that affects women in prostitution. They argue that such organisations tend to 'offer a much more muted critique, if any, of the structural causes of prostitution'.
2. **Sex Work PSOs** (pp. 454-57) – aligned with the sex worker empowerment paradigm. They emphasise the agency of women to choose to engage in sex work and view the lack of formal recognition of prostitution as sex work as a labour and human rights issue that constitutes a form of discrimination. Service provision is based on a harm-reduction model and includes legal advice and representation. Such organisations also prioritise advocacy to promote the acceptance of sex work as legitimate, respectable work which Oselin and Weitzer suggest is a function of their ability to identify a specific source of injustice, the criminalisation of prostitution, and a 'specific remedy', decriminalisation, and 'their fairly strong ties to larger sex workers' rights organisations that are actively involved in advocacy work'.
3. **Youth Oriented PSOs** (pp. 457-60) – aligned with the 'polymorphous' paradigm of prostitution which Oselin and Weitzer describe as asserting 'that specific working conditions and other structural arrangements dictate to a large degree the experiences of the actors involved'. They focus exclusively on those under the age of 18 who lack the capacity to consent and are therefore victims by definition. They provide services but are also keen on advocacy to promote court diversion programmes and educational campaigns. According to Oselin and Weitzer, such organisations frame the central grievance as minors being subject to arrest and punishment and not treated as victims within law enforcement practices.
4. **Neutral PSOs** (pp.460-61) – also aligned with the 'polymorphous' paradigm of prostitution. According to Oselin and Weitzer, such organisations 'present a non-judgmental stance' on prostitution. Their central concern is to 'promote harm reduction for those involved in prostitution and assistance for those who want to leave prostitution'. Such organisations do not engage in advocacy.

Oselin and Weitzer argue that their research demonstrates substantial ideological variation across PSOs and that 'PSO's core beliefs and principles regarding sex work are universalistic rather than contextually determined' (2013, p. 463). Their categorisations, however, appear

somewhat problematic. For example, 'Youth Oriented PSOs' are described as focusing 'exclusively on underage prostitutes' (2013, p. 450), however, in the examples given of PSOs within this category, the distinction between 'youth from adult sex workers' that supposedly characterises these organisations appears to be less distinct than is portrayed. Girls Education and Mentoring Services (GEMS), one of the examples given in this category, states on its website that it works with 14-24 year olds, clearly indicating that their remit is not restricted to those under the age of 18 (GEMS, n.d.). Additionally, PSOs within the category 'Neutral PSOs' are considered to 'present a non-judgmental stance' on prostitution and yet at least some of the quotes from PSOs included within this section appear to frame prostitution as something which women need to heal and recover from and which is antithetical to a healthy lifestyle. Such comments suggest a judgment about prostitution is in fact being made by such PSOs.

Within an Indian context, the emergence and activities of sex worker collectives has attracted substantial attention from researchers and the work of the DMSC, the sex workers collective in Sonagachi, Kolkata, features heavily (Gooptu & Bandyopadhyay, 2007; Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008; Ghose et al., 2008, 2011; Kotiswaran, 2011; Sircar & Dutta, 2011; Ghose, 2012). Although the focus of this research is not on the role of such collectives in the process of exiting prostitution, studies have examined the mechanisms of mobilisation and collective identity formation (Gooptu & Bandyopadhyay, 2007; Ghose et al., 2008; Jordan, 2011; Ghose, 2012), the role of collectives in HIV intervention (Ghose et al., 2008; Shivdas, 2008; Ghose et al., 2011) and the role of collectives in anti-trafficking work (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008; Jordan, 2011; Magar, 2012).

Other than these studies, however, the organisational philosophies and day-to-day practices of organisations supporting women seeking to leave prostitution remain largely unexamined.

Summary: the politics of exit

For some scholars and practitioners, as noted above, 'exiting' is treated with caution and clear variations exist within the literature as to where the emphasis should be placed. Law (2011) argues that constructing 'exiting' sex work as socially desirable reinforces stigmatic assumptions about sex work as an inherently violent and risky lifestyle. She also suggests that the expression, by friends and family, of positive views about a woman's decision to transition out of sex work are 'another manifestation of stigma' (2011, p. 74). Furthermore,

she interprets the inconsistencies she identifies between respondents' pride in their sex work and their rejection of sex work as a long time career and adherence to normative scripts as symptomatic of structural stigma (2011, p. 93–96). Here stigma is understood simply and only as an internalisation of imposed constructed societal values without leaving scope for the possibility that it may, in part, result from a negating of an individuals' own internally held beliefs and values. Such a position appears to allow little scope for supporting, let alone encouraging, women to leave prostitution.

Others have argued that 'macro changes in women's lives can only be achieved through intensive, efficient, holistic support packages *outside* the criminal justice system because this breaks the damaging 'yo-yoing' effect' (McNaughton & Sanders, 2007, p. 898 italics added). This position can take different forms. The areas of agreement are that such support should be non-compulsory, 'holistic', structured but flexible enough to allow for individual variation and that it should take into account the reality of 'yo-yoing'. Where this position splinters, however, is mainly in regard to whether or not such support should be proactively offered.

Matthews identified some major concerns with adopting a harm minimisation approach, namely that harms are reduced to practical, technical or medical matters and so 'what is an acceptable level of harm or an adequate level of reduction is rarely specified', which led him to argue that exiting should be offered proactively by agencies that are 'specialist and dedicated to exiting' to avoid placing the onus on women to request such services (2008, p. 84 & 92). This accorded with a 2005 study into the nature of services provided for women in the sex industry in London which found that the majority of existing projects focused 'primarily on issues of sexual health and substance misuse' and lacked an emphasis on exiting (Bindel, 2005, p. 36). It is also a position that finds support in the UK evaluation of five projects aimed at providing routes out for women in street prostitution which found that the most successful project, in terms of the highest level of exits and the only positive outcomes perceived by the local community, offered an individually-tailored structured holistic care plan centred on exiting (Hester & Westmarland, 2004).

In contrast, Cusick et al. have argued that 'the reality of the provision of practical frontline provision of services for sex workers shows that to conceptualise harm reduction and exiting as mutually exclusive is to create a false dichotomy' (2011, p. 154). Drawing on a 2007 review of 26 specialist sex work projects in England, all of whom were members of UKNSWP,

the authors acknowledged that only six of the projects described ‘exiting services’ as a specific focus of their current remit and a further three projects were in the process of developing exit services. However, the authors argue that ‘stripped of the context of the service philosophy, the actual service content and process of "harm reduction" services could not be differentiated from those of "exiting" services’ (2011, p. 152).

The nature and distinctiveness of interventions specifically geared towards exit thus remains contested. In spite of this, a common concern to provide services which offer a holistic and long-term strategy designed to enable women who want to leave prostitution to sustain their exit from the sex trade is apparent. The operation of a social enterprise may offer one way of providing and funding such services and it is to the phenomenon of social enterprise that we turn to now.

Chapter 3: Understanding the phenomenon of social enterprise

Introduction

> *A social enterprise is a business that trades for a social and/or environmental purpose. It will have a clear sense of its 'social mission': which means it will know what difference it is trying to make, who it aims to help, and how it plans to do it. It will bring in most or all of its income through selling goods or services. And it will also have clear rules about what it does with its profits, reinvesting these to further the 'social mission'.*
>
> (Social Enterprise UK, 2012)

Upon initial acquaintance, the concept of 'social enterprise' appears to be relatively straightforward, referring to an organisation with a clear social and/or environmental mission that is reliant on commercial business activity, as opposed to charitable donations, for its income. Delving into the field of social enterprise, as a field of practice and as an academic field, however, quickly muddies such notions and leaves one with the sensation of having entered 'a jungle of definitions and concepts that criss-cross industries, sectors and legal units' (Ellis, 2010, p. 120). Rather than bringing greater clarity, it becomes apparent that 'social enterprise is a fluid and contested concept constructed by different actors promoting different discourses connected to different organisational forms and drawing upon different academic theories' (Teasdale, 2012b, p. 99).

Making sense of the world of social enterprise

Making sense of this conceptual fluidity, the different ways in which the term has been used and the empirical realities it seeks to highlight has been a priority in academic research. Three different terms are identifiable within the literature: 'social entrepreneurship', 'social entrepreneur' and 'social enterprise'. Whilst frequently used interchangeably, especially in the US, Huybrechts and Defourny (2010) argue that each term is linked to a different focus and/or analytical framework of the phenomenon of 'social enterprise'. Distinguishing between these different terms sheds light on the different schools of thought shaping the field.

A growing consensus within academia acknowledges the existence of three main schools of thought (CASE, 2008; Defourny & Nyssens, 2010; Huybrechts & Defourny, 2010; Bacq & Janssen, 2011). These have been referred to as the "Social Innovation School", the "Social

Enterprise School" and the "EMES approach"[1]. The first two schools of thought are seen to have emerged within the US whilst the third school has grown out of a European context[2]. According to Bacq and Janssen, all three schools 'clearly agree on the fact that the social mission is at the core of social entrepreneurship' but differ in the significance they place on the role of the individual, the entrepreneurial process and the organisational dimension (2011, p. 384). For the "Social Innovation School" the figure of the social entrepreneur is central with attention focused on 'the establishment of new and better means to tackle social problems or to satisfy social need' (Bacq & Janssen, 2011, p. 380). The external outcome of the initiative is more significant than the way in which income is generated and so the concept of 'social enterprise' is of secondary importance; the focus is on visionary individuals adopting innovative approaches. The "Social Enterprise School", on the other hand, primarily focuses on non-profit organisations engaging in revenue generation through earned-income business activities. The concept of 'social enterprise' is therefore a key element and was initially understood to refer solely to non-profit organisations, although this has broadened over recent years to include businesses that trade for a social purpose. The concept of 'social enterprise' has also been the main focus of the "EMES approach". Concerned with analysing the various realities emerging within the third sector across different European countries, the "EMES approach" has examined the creation of new legal forms and developed "ideal-type" indicators for social enterprises. These indicators are grouped into two series with four criteria put forward to reflect the economic dimension of initiatives and five criteria intended to encapsulate the social dimensions of initiatives (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010, p. 239–240).

[1] The EMES Network grew out of a 5 year research project (1996-2000) financed by the European Commission which brought together scholars from 15 EU countries to analyse how social enterprises were emerging in their respective national contexts. The letters EMES stood for 'Emergence des Enterprises Sociales en Europe'. The acronym EMES was subsequently retained when the network decided to become a formal international association.

[2] The literature on social enterprise to date is largely Western as recently noted by Doherty et al. (2014).

Table 5: EMES "ideal-type" indicators of social enterprise

Criteria that encapsulate the economic dimension of social enterprises:

1. A continuous activity producing goods and/or selling services
2. A high degree of autonomy
3. A significant level of economic risk
4. A minimum amount of paid work

Criteria that encapsulate the social dimension of social enterprises:

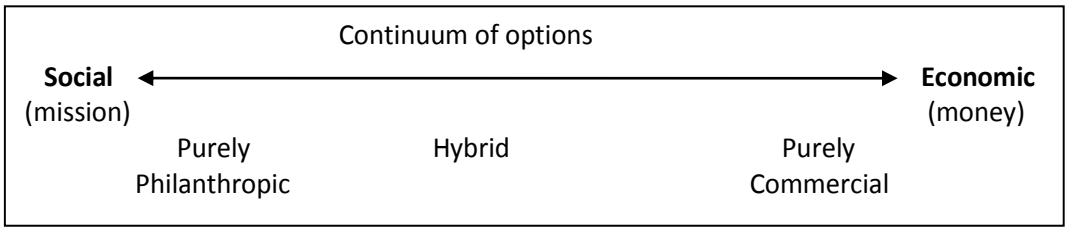
1. An explicit aim to benefit the community
2. An initiative launched by a group of citizens
3. A decision-making power not based on capital ownership
4. A participatory nature, which involves various parties affected by the activity
5. A limited profit distribution

Within the “EMES approach” there is a concern with participatory democracy, mutuality and co-operative management as key defining features of social enterprise; features that receives less, if any attention, in the other two schools of thought.

With each strand of thinking approaching the field from a different perspective there have emerged competing understandings of the legal forms and business models social enterprises can take, differing interpretations of the level of integration required between the organisation’s social mission and its productive activities, heated debates over the appropriate use of profit, and a range of opinions on the extent to which economic sustainability should be achieved through market resources alone. Consequently, different visions of long-term success in the field exist; ranging from 'identifying more high potential social entrepreneurs and helping these “new heroes” achieve their intended impact’ through to ‘improved understanding and adoption of the best use of market forces and business methods to achieve social impact' (CASE, 2008, p. 6–7).

Stepping back from the intricacies of these conceptual debates, many commentators have concluded that there is a spectrum of social enterprise characterised by two constituent elements: ‘the primacy of social aims and the centrality of trading’ (Teasdale, 2012b, p. 101; see also McKenna, 2013; Seanor et al., 2013). Accordingly, dichotomous, liner models are often used to frame the concept of social enterprise with the social and economic positioned at opposite ends of a spectrum, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The spectrum of social enterprise adapted from Seanor et al. (2013)



As noted by Teasdale (2012a), it is widely accepted that social enterprise as a distinct entity emerges towards the centre of this spectrum, where the tension between social change as the main purpose and business methods as the means becomes more pronounced. Towards the 'social' end of the spectrum, which the "Social Innovation School" can be seen to exemplify, the centrality of trade is minimal, with greater emphasis placed on innovative social problem solving than on market orientation (CASE, 2008; Nicholls, 2008; Bornstein & Davis, 2010; Ellis, 2010; Gunn & Durkin, 2010). At the other end of the spectrum, the emphasis is on the economic, on achieving market objectives, and it is here that the non-mission related revenue generating activities carried out by non-profit organisations, as highlighted by the "Social Enterprise School", can be seen to fall. Where the boundaries around the concept of 'social enterprise' are drawn is a matter of politics and reflects differing perspectives on the role of social enterprise in relation to the private, public and third sectors (Pearce, 2003; Sepulveda, 2009; Ridley-Duff & Southcombe, 2012; Teasdale et al., 2013).

Faced with such an array of definitions, the term 'social enterprise' can appear to be all things to all people and therefore of questionable use: beyond a loose consensus that social enterprise 'involves organisations that trade in the marketplace to meet their social goal' (Teasdale, 2012a, p. 517), there is little agreement as to what exactly constitutes a social enterprise. However, as Nicholls and Young hinted at in the preface to the 2008 edition of *Social Entrepreneurship: New Models of Sustainable Social Change*, such diversity need not be cause for dismay but can be an opportunity for constructive analysis as attention shifts from a narrow concern with definitions to a broader engagement with the process of social entrepreneurship, the political contexts within which social enterprises emerge and operate, the organisational forms and management processes adopted and the range of resource strategies pursued.

From definitional jungles to analytical toolkit

Accepting the existence of a spectrum of social enterprise and a range of conceptual understandings of what exactly constitutes a 'social enterprise' one is able explore the relative adherence of different organisational realities to social and economic goals and to the various processes and dimensions identified with social entrepreneurship in general. Indeed the literature furnishes a wide range of issues to be examined: the business model adopted, the level of integration between social mission and business activities, the use of an organisation's profit, income streams, perspectives on growth and scaling strategies, performance measurement, and success, to name but a few. It is to these dimensions that we now turn.

The choice of organisational form and business model

A central part of the social entrepreneurial process is the choice of organisational form and business model. As Tim Curtis has argued:

> *...the social issue, and how it is framed, has a fundamental influence on the type of entrepreneurial opportunity that is considered. Innovation in developing the solution, in this respect, lies in the way in which a problem is conceived in the first place* (2010, p. 87).

For those concerned with social entrepreneurship in general, the organisational form and business model are dependent upon the nature of the desired social change and the sustainability of the innovation and can therefore comprise a whole range of options. In contrast, for those upholding a narrower definition of social enterprise the business model to be pursued is that of a for-profit entity or business. However, even amongst such proponents there is recognition that this does not restrict social enterprise to one specific legal form.

A number of typologies of social enterprise have been developed to aid understanding of the different organisational forms and business models which social enterprises can take (e.g. Defourny & Kim, 2011; Kerlin, 2013). More useful for the purposes of this study, however, is the typology proposed by Alter (2008). In an attempt to tease out the variation in organisational forms and the different ways in which these reflect the priority given to financial and social objectives, Alter (2008) proposes three strategic approaches to social enterprise: (1) social enterprise as a programme strategy whereby 'the social enterprises are central to the organisation's mission and function as self-funding programme strategy, accomplishing mission goals while simultaneously increasing financial self-sufficiency'; (2)

social enterprise as a financial strategy whereby the 'social enterprise's activities are related to the mission, but are employed as a funding strategy, which at once earns income to finance social programmes and augments the mission'; and (3) social enterprise as an auxiliary activity, whereby the business activities pursued 'are often unrelated to the mission and are employed solely as funding strategy' (2008, p. 207). Alter refers to these approaches respectively as 'mission centric', 'mission related' and 'unrelated to mission' (2008, p. 209–11). Each approach relates to the level of integration between social programmes and business activities and can correspondingly be described as 'embedded', 'integrated' and 'external' (2008, p. 212–13). Of these three, it is only in embedded, mission-centric social enterprises where the social programme is the business; where mission and market activities are synonymous.

Building on this categorisation, Alter goes on to outline seven operational prototypes of social enterprise, as described in Table 6. The first four prototypes are described as embedded social enterprises; the fifth could be classed as either integrated or embedded; the sixth is defined as an integrated social enterprise; and the final prototype conforms to the external categorisation and is chosen purely on its financial merits. The categorisation of the seventh model as a 'social enterprise' would undoubtedly be questioned by many practitioners within the field. In addition to each model standing alone, Alter argues that social enterprises could combine two or more operational models into one social enterprise, in what she terms a 'complex model', or could involve multiple social enterprises each with different social aims and financial objectives under one umbrella organisation, in what she terms a 'mixed model' (2008, p. 225). Furthermore, social enterprises might pursue a franchise model or a partnership with the private sector to enhance their sustainability and social impact.

Table 6: Alter's (2008) prototypes of social enterprise

1. *Entrepreneur Support Model* (pp.214-16) - 'sells business support and financial services to its target population – self-employed individuals or small firms – who then sell their products and services in the open market [...] its mission centres on facilitating the financial security of its clients by supporting their entrepreneurial activities'.
2. *Market Intermediary Model* (pp.216-17) - 'provides product development, market access, and credit services to its target population: small producers [...] its mission focuses on facilitating clients' financial security by helping them develop and sell their products in high-value markets'.

3. *Employment Model* (pp.217-19) - 'provides employment opportunities and job training to its target population: people with high barriers to employment [...] through enterprises that sell products and services in the open market'.
4. *Fee-for-Service Model* (pp.219-20) - 'commercialises its social services and then sells them either directly to the target population: individuals, firms, communities, or to a third party payer [...] its mission centres on rendering social services to clients in the sector in which it works' .
5. *Market Linkage Model* (pp.222-23) - 'facilitates trade relationships between the target population –small producers, local firms and cooperatives—and an external market'.
6. *Service Subsidisation Model* (pp.220-22) - 'sells products or services to an external market and uses the income it generates to fund its social programmes'.
7. *Organisational Support Model* (pp.223-25) - 'may incorporate virtually any type of business and sell its products and services to an external market, business, the public, or in some cases the not-for-profit client'.

No typology has yet been developed in relation to social enterprises engaging with women involved in prostitution. However, the work of McKenna (2013) is closest as it focuses specifically on social enterprises tackling the labour market exclusion of those experiencing, what she terms, 'deep exclusion' issues. She proposes a seven-fold typology (see Table 7).

Table 7: McKenna's (2013) typology of social enterprise models in the UK tackling the labour market exclusion of homeless people

Model	Description
Work Integration Social Enterprises (WISE)	Intermediate labour market organisations offer homeless and other vulnerable people work experience and training with a view to eventual employment in the mainstream labour market.
Accommodation and Work Experience/ Training Model (AWET)	This model provides housing support, skills training and work experience for homeless and vulnerable people.
Employment Model	Offers paid employment to homeless and formerly homeless people. The contracts are flexible and may also feature some training. This model seeks to balance both social and economic objectives to secure the financial viability of the organisation.
Entrepreneur support model	Facilitates the financial security of homeless, formerly homeless people and organisations seeking to support homeless people by offering access to financial remuneration and small business advice. Encourages beneficiaries to set up businesses but they do not have to be social enterprises.
Profit	Has profit-making as the main focus in order to generate surpluses for social objectives met elsewhere, via a charity for example. This model is more likely to have 'mixed' workforces with non-homeless

	individuals representing the majority of the workforce.
Client	Involves individuals (homeless or otherwise) setting up and managing social enterprises to employ and/or train, generate (or a combination of all three) a profit to fulfil a social aim. Usually this model transpires from the entrepreneur support model but is not exclusive to it.
Hybrid/complex model	An amalgamation of two or more of the models mentioned above. For example, the employment and WISE models are often combined.

Overall, the delineation of such organisational forms provides a toolkit by which to analyse and classify the approaches adopted by organisations calling themselves 'social enterprises' and by those who, without adopting this term, are seeking to achieve a social mission through business activities. The models serve to highlight the need to probe the income streams of such organisations to ascertain the extent to which they are reliant on business activity for their income. In the case of for-profit organisations, the issue of shareholders and profit distribution is crucial but, as Ellis (2010) has pointed out, this is a contested point and relates back to definitional disputes: 'for some it is crucial that all or part of the profit is reinvested [...] others are more pragmatic and argue that it is the way they make their money which is central, not how they spend their surplus' (2010, p. 142). The goals of the social enterprise and the participation of the persons affected by the social enterprise activity also stand out as areas to be explored, and, in the case of social enterprises seeking to tackle labour market exclusion, the types of training and job contracts on offer and the quality of the job and/or work experience provided merit investigation.

Measuring social impact and pursuing growth

The social impact achieved by a social enterprise is obviously fundamental to its existence yet measuring such impact is widely recognised as problematic. Social impact cannot simply be captured by return on investment; attributing social transformation to a particular innovation is extremely difficult; and achieving systemic change is a long term process not an overnight event. Additionally, 'the value of specific outcomes is open to contention, reflecting differences in the values and assumptions of different observers' (CASE, 2008, p. 17). Bornstein and Davis (2010) have bemoaned the lack of tools to assess risk and measure social impact. They highlight some web-based systems that have been developed to evaluate the performance of social enterprises but recognise that 'organisations pursuing long-term impact often assess their progress against a theory of change' (2010, p. 66). In practice this involves combining data and storytelling. Significantly, they emphasise that

what a social enterprise counts determines what it does; it shapes the solution pursued. This political dimension is also picked up by Huybrechts and Defourny (2010) who recognise the normative content of social missions and, consequently, the possibility of fundamentally divergent social objectives.

In an effort to illustrate the different perspectives on scaling impact exhibited amongst social entrepreneurs, Ellis (2010) outlines seven growth strategies which she argues are related to the social venture's value-adding proposition (see Table 8). A social enterprise could pursue one or more of these strategies simultaneously and/or could pursue different strategies at different points in its organisational development.

Table 8: Seven growth strategies pursued by social entrepreneurs, Ellis (2010), p.144

1. **Remain small in organizational size and focus on other growth parameters**, e.g. employee happiness, environmental improvements or building local economies
2. **Grow quantitatively in size**, e.g. turnover and number of employees by attracting investors, expanding into new markets and/or increasing the customer base
3. **Replicate the business concept to other national or global regions**, e.g. through systematic franchising or 'amoebic' multiplication of small independent units
4. **Build a movement**, e.g. by spreading the core idea and principles so that governments, mainstream businesses, local communities or other entrepreneurs decide to work in support of the same purpose
5. **Collaborate or merge with other social ventures in the same cluster to develop processes, products and services or engage in 'network production'**, e.g. so micro-entrepreneurs can join forces to supply large companies
6. **Enter into partnerships with actors in the private, public or civil sectors**, e.g. to gain access to knowledge, skills infrastructure and/or capital
7. **Sell parts of or the entire social venture to a mainstream, commercial business**, e.g. to increase the knowledge and impact of the concept so that it goes mainstream

In the context of case studies, and in the absence of robust tools for measuring social impact, it is thus important to examine the theory of change adopted by a social enterprise, the way in which it defines success, the metrics chosen to measure its impact, and the ways in which performance assessment is used to inform strategic adjustments within the social enterprise. With regard to the extent to which a social enterprise is concerned with scaling impact, it is important to investigate how it hopes to achieve this if it does intend to scale up; the challenges it has faced or expects to face in pursuing a growth strategy; the ways in which the social enterprise has sought to attract people with the appropriate skills; and the

wider networks it collaborates with in order to increase the impact of its work, on a local, national and international level.

Negotiating tensions and identifying challenges

One of the newest emerging areas of research within the literature on social enterprise is that concerned with the tensions between the social and the economic. Whereas earlier academic work generally accepted the implicit assumption that by maximising profit social enterprises could maximise their social goals, recent academics have begun to critically review this assumption. Doherty et al. (2014) identify hybridity as the defining characteristic of social enterprises, arguing that because social enterprises span the boundaries of the private, public and third sectors, they bridge different institutional fields and therefore face conflicting sectoral paradigms, logics and value systems. Assessing the impact of this hybridity on the management of the mission of the social enterprise, on financial resource acquisition and on the mobilisation of human resources, Doherty et al. propose a framework of tensions and trade-offs faced by social enterprises. An adapted version of this framework is provided in Table 9.

Table 9: Implications of Social Enterprise hybridity adapted from Doherty et al. (2014)

Distinctive Feature	Challenges	Tensions
Social Mission	'craft a balance between acquiring resources to build and maintain competitive advantage and using resources to engage with their key stakeholder groups' (2014, p. 6).	1. Mission drift - the social objectives of the social enterprise are sacrificed to achieve financial sustainability 2. Managerial tensions - the pursuit of social goals conflicts with managerial rationality which prioritises financial objectives 3. Shifts in stakeholder perception of the social enterprise's legitimacy when changes between the social and commercial orientation occur
Financial Resources	'the requirement to internalise social costs means that social enterprises generate less profit than might be created if they adopted full economic costing' (2014, p. 8).	1. Cash flow - in order to adhere to their social mission, social enterprises may forgo economic benefits which in turn impacts on their ability to generate a sustainable cash flow 2. Markets – often put greater emphasis on economic value rather than social impact so poor financial performance punished more readily than poor social impact
Human Resources	requires 'a balance of staff	1. Volunteers – can be an important

	with both commercial and social sector knowledge' (2014, p. 10).	resource for social enterprises facing skills shortages, however, staff turnover can be higher when relying on volunteers 2. Resources - lack of sufficient financial resources to pay the market rate means that they often have to rely on non-financial incentives to motivate staff

In social enterprises where the mission is to employ and train individuals facing labour market exclusion, hybridity also blurs the distinction between client and employee with resources used to assist 'both the personal development of the employee (as a client) as well as the performance of the employee (as an agent)' (Doherty et al., 2014, p. 10). Consequently, the social enterprise incurs additional costs that 'would not be incurred in a commercial organisation that recruited fully trained employees' (2014, p. 10).

Along similar lines, Teasdale (2012a) explored the strategies used by work integration social enterprises in the UK homelessness field to balance mission-related goals with financial sustainability. He argued that in order to compete with private sector organisations social enterprises employ a number of balancing strategies and draw 'upon hybrid resource mixes that effectively transfer additional costs to other resource holders' (2012a, p. 516). Social enterprises may seek to balance their social and commercial goals by employing a mixed workforce or by "creaming off" those individuals who are most likely to succeed in the labour market and who are the most productive. With regards to resource transfers, these can be achieved through strategies such as drawing upon financial resources available to third sector organisations; using their social mission to increase demand for their products at a given price and thereby effectively passing on the additional costs to ethical consumers; and relying on third sector organisations to deliver or fund the social support provided to employees. Interestingly, none of the six case studies in Teasdale's study were able to fund social support through commercial revenue: employees were either referred to other organisations with specific expertise or the costs of providing social support in-house was met through grants from foundations or government.

Comparable tensions were identified in the case studies carried out by McKenna (2013), who concluded that social enterprises adopting the profit-focused or employment models are unsuited to those who may have a 'dual diagnosis' of mental ill health coupled with substance dependency because the close proximity of such models to the mainstream labour market means that they tend to demonstrate more high-pressured environments

compared to those models simply providing training and work experience. One further tension identified in relation to social enterprises seeking to provide employment and training opportunities to homeless people is that of transition. As Leadbeater (2013) has noted, the success and growth potential of the business may limit the number of people the social enterprise can assist, especially if employees do not transition on to external employment after an appropriate interval. He therefore urges the need for caution when considering whether the investment of resources required to establish and sustain a social enterprise is the most effective use of available resources.

Together these studies highlight the need to investigate the tensions that arise when seeking to balance the social mission with the pursuit of financial sustainability and the ways in which different social enterprises seek to negotiate such tensions.

Social enterprise, prostitution and the real world

Moving from the conceptual to the empirical in the world of social enterprise is, in many ways, a large leap as case studies and large-scale analyses of social enterprises, especially those working with individuals at risk of labour market and/or social exclusion, are still relatively sparse within the literature. Notable exceptions include a number of works concentrating on homelessness, as referred to above, and a growing body of literature on the role of social enterprise in reducing reoffending, of which Cosgrove and O'Neill (2011) provide a good overview. In the context of prostitution, a small number of empirical studies have begun to explore the role of micro-enterprise development and vocational skills training as opposed to social enterprise per se. All but one of these studies focus on emerging and developing economies. The majority are conducted within a health framework, specifically a concern with HIV risk reduction (Sherman et al., 2006; Odek et al., 2009; Sherman et al., 2010; Tsai et al., 2011; Cui et al., 2013; Torri, 2014); two within a wider poverty alleviation and career development framework (Kootstra, 2012; Overs, 2014); and one within the context of anti-sex trafficking initiatives (Dasra, 2013). The studies involve a range of business training/vocational skills programmes, micro-credit programmes, savings-led microfinance interventions and combinations of the above. Amongst these studies, 'the economic element is generally dealt with as peripheral' (Overs, 2014, p. 7).

The existing studies show that business/vocational skills training can play a role in enabling women to leave prostitution and/or reduce their reliance on prostitution for financial income. Two income generating interventions with women involved in prostitution, one in

the US (Sherman et al., 2006) and one in India (Sherman et al., 2010), 'resulted in improvements in higher overall income and lower income from selling sex' (Cui et al., p.2872). A three-fold intervention in Kenya involved the provision of credit for small business activities, business skills training and promotion of a savings culture alongside a peer-mediated HIV/AIDS intervention among 227 women involved in prostitution (Odek et al., 2009). At the end of two years, two-thirds (65.2%) of participants had operational businesses, nearly half (45.4%) reported to have stopped selling sex and there was a reduction in the self-reported number of sexual partners. A Mongolian study found that of the nine women who participated in a pilot project involving a matched savings programme combined with financial literacy and business skills training, five of the participants 'had reduced their hours in sex work to pursue alternative employment, vocational training, or small business start-up' three-months after the pilot (Tsai et al., 2011, p. 9). In Cambodia, of the 35 women who participated in vocational training programmes, 16 women had moved on entirely to a different lifestyle; 14 had only recently left prostitution; and 5 had recently returned to prostitution at the time of interview (Torri, 2014). Finally, whilst no exact figures were given, Kootstra concluded that the pilot vocational skills training programmes run in four different countries 'helped the participants to generate alternative income, so that a large group was able to leave the sex sector or reduce their sex work' (2012, p. 118). Vocational skills training programmes were also seen to improve self-esteem and confidence (Tsai et al., 2011; Torri, 2014) and facilitate the construction of stronger social ties, thereby increasing women's access to services and options for the future (Overs, 2014; Torri, 2014).

Problems and challenges with such interventions have also been identified, such as failing to lead to sustainable markets and for 'trapping women' into poorly paid work (Overs, 2014). Whilst concerns about the ability of training programmes to lead to employment or saleable skills which will provide a sustainable, living wage have been noted, it has also been acknowledged in studies in Egypt, Uganda and Vietnam that low educational levels amongst those involved in prostitution negatively impact on women's ability to engage with such training programmes (Kootstra, 2012, p. 74, 82 & 114). In addition, in the context of India, the trauma experienced by women who have been trafficked has also been identified as impacting their cognitive skills and their ability to engage with such training (Dasra, 2013, p. 60).

The difficulty of finding markets for goods and services has been highlighted and in with women involved in prostitution in Ethiopia, 'a recurring theme was that of goods being produced for which there was no distribution or marketing plan' (Overs, 2014, p. 26). Such challenges are exacerbated by the stigma associated with prostitution. As Tsai et al. highlighted, 'in very competitive or oversaturated markets, stigmatised women with smaller social networks may be at a disadvantage when competing with more established enterprises' (2011, p. 10). Thus even when women have been trained in marketable skills, their association with prostitution may 'undermine their chances to find an alternative occupation within the same community' (Torri, 2014, p. 157).

Concerns around vocational training programmes that make participation contingent on exit from prostitution have been raised by Kootstra on the basis that 'for many men and women sex work is a vital strategy for economic survival in environments of poverty' and so 'much economic damage could be done to both the sex worker and his or her relatives when he or she is forced out of the sex sector' (2012, p. 113). The limited places available on business training programmes have also been identified as problematic given the scale of prostitution worldwide (Overs, 2014, p. 21). Finally, on an individual level, the need to balance their roles as mothers and workers was a challenge for women in Cambodia seeking alternative employment after engaging in vocational training programmes (Torri, 2014).

In addition to this small number of studies, the networks of organisations set up to support social entrepreneurs provide another interesting entry point into social enterprise within the context of prostitution. In the online database of Ashoka Fellows, the search engine identified 20 social entrepreneurs working with a target audience of 'sex workers'[3]. Of these twenty, almost three-quarters of them are operating in south-east Asia; with five operating in Thailand, three in India, two in Bangladesh, two in Pakistan, and one in Indonesia. Three are based in South America, with one in Argentina and two in Brazil; and the remaining four are working in Egypt, South Africa, the US and the Czech Republic. The vast majority focused on health or human rights.

Finally, the purchasing of consumer goods in the name of fighting sex trafficking has been briefly touched upon in the work of Bernstein (2007b, 2010). In her analysis of the contemporary anti-trafficking movement in the US, Bernstein argues that an alliance has been forged between 'abolitionist feminists' and evangelical Christians based on a shared

[3] The following information is based on research carried out on the Ashoka website during the week beginning 09/04/2012. The term 'sex worker' is the term used on the website.

commitment to 'neoliberal (i.e., market-based and punitive as opposed to redistributive) solutions to contemporary social problems' (2010, p. 47). She highlights the practice of "Business as Rescue", framing it as an attempt to 'bring former "slaves" into "free" labour by producing commodities for Western consumers', and argues that evangelical anti-trafficking organisations have embraced a neoliberal consumer politics in which '"freedom" resides in Western consumers' ability to purchase the trinkets and baubles that "trafficking victims" produce' (Bernstein, 2010, p. 64). Such pro-business social remedies she describes as 'a global-capitalist refashioning of the nineteenth-century evangelical practice of "rescuing" women from prostitution by bringing them into domestic labour or teaching them to sew' (Bernstein, 2010, p. 64). Furthermore, such an approach, she argues, reduces human trafficking to 'a humanitarian issue that global capitalists can help combat' and fails to frame the issue in 'terms of the broader dynamics of globalisation, gendered labour, and migration' (Bernstein, 2007b, p. 141). Rather than advocating for the empowerment of the oppressed, Bernstein asserts that this approach promotes the beneficence of the privileged and 'leaves intact the social structures that drive low-income women (and many men) into patterns of risky migration and exploitative informal sector employment' (2007b, p. 137).

To conclude, although limited knowledge on the topic of social enterprise in the context of prostitution exists, it is clear that this is new terrain, relatively unexplored and in which the realities on the ground are still emerging and evolving. In many ways the emphasis amongst organisations such as Ashoka has been on highlighting innovative approaches rather than on the extent to which organisations are achieving their social mission through business activities. Clarifying the exact financial arrangements of these innovative organisations, their income streams, profit distribution rules, and performance metrics would require more in-depth investigation. Nonetheless few of them appear to be operating for-profit entities; rather the majority could be described as 'leveraged non-profit ventures' and a minority could be described as 'hybrid non-profit ventures' (Schwab Foundation, 2012).

Summary

The field of social enterprise, as an academic field, is a relatively young one. The analytical tools are still being defined and the need for empirical research is evident. As a field of practice, social enterprise is dynamic and the criteria for inclusion within this arena are far from concrete. Accordingly, adopting a broad definition of social enterprise and focusing on the entrepreneurial and management processes, political contexts and range of resource strategies pursued offers a means to evaluate the extent to which conceptual definitions of

social enterprise correspond with real world realities. Furthermore, in the context of exiting prostitution, adopting such an approach allows one to explore how different experiences of this phenomenon have resulted in different entrepreneurial processes and models. As the brief exploration of the field of social enterprise in the context of prostitution demonstrated, such an approach is necessary as for-profit entities and organisations conforming to the Social Enterprise UK's definition of social enterprise quoted at the opening of this section are, at present, rare.

Chapter 4: Understanding and Researching Faith-Based Organisations

Introduction

> *The term "faith-based organisation" is nebulous, for it endeavours to capture a wide range of organisations with differing philosophies, motivations, programming, size, scale, areas of interest and expertise, scope of activities, relationships-or lack of-with states, and means of support. In addition, those NGOs that describe themselves as faith-based mean a variety of things by that term.*
> (Hefferan et al., 2009, p. 7)

Scholarship on 'faith-based organisations' has witnessed a steady proliferation over the course of the past decade, mirroring a growing body of social science research that is increasingly engaging with issues of religion, faith and spirituality. Whilst the social sciences arguably neglected the study of religion during the twentieth century, except within the sociology of religion, the significance of religion in social life and the implications for social science methodologies has attracted mounting attention since the start of the twenty first century. Scholars from across various disciplines have begun to critique the legacy of the engagement with modernity, to call into question the centrality of secularism in social science theory and research practices, and to acknowledge the ways in which religion blurs conceptual and disciplinary boundaries, poses ontological problems and complicates positionalities (Spickard et al., 2002; Ganiel & Mitchell, 2006; Tomalin, 2007; Spalek, 2008; Bailey et al., 2009; Yorgason & della Dora, 2009; Shahjahan & Haverkos, 2011). It is within this context that studies of 'faith-based organisations' have emerged.

The term 'faith-based organisation', or 'FBO' for short, is a relatively new term and yet within the past decade it has come to be commonly used across disciplines, amongst practitioners and by policy makers. Its widespread use, however, disguises the contentious nature of the label 'faith-based' and 'masks enormous complexity' (Lunn, 2009, p. 942). As a Praxis Paper by the International NGO Training and Research Centre (INTRAC) put it:

> *The term FBO is highly problematic. For some people FBO smacks of right-wing American politics […] For many, the term 'FBO' conceals much more than it reveals. It gives the impression FBOs are the same. Yet FBOs are extraordinarily heterogeneous in the ways in which their faith identity plays out in their work*
> (James, 2009, p. 4).

Consequently, scholars have sought to determine both the extent to which it is possible to distinguish 'faith-based' from 'secular' organisations and the types of organisations that should be included within the category of 'FBO'.

A large proportion of the research has been US-focused, reflecting specific concerns regarding relations between the state and religion accentuated by the establishment of the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in 2001 (Tomalin, 2012; Bielefeld & Cleveland, 2013; Crisp, 2013). Such research has tended to focus on organisations providing social services, has sought to measure organisational religiosity and evaluate the 'effectiveness' of FBOs, and has mainly reflected the Christian faith tradition. Another major area of research has been within the context of international development, with scholars seeking to understand the role of religious organisations in delivering humanitarian aid and the role of religion within such organisations (Lunn, 2009; Clarke, 2010; Ferris, 2011; Palmer, 2011; Tomalin, 2012). Here the field has engaged with religions other than Christianity resulting in further problematization of the concept of 'FBO'. For example, the Religions and Development (RaD, n.d.) Research Programme that ran from 2005 to 2010 sought to explore the relationships between several major world religions, development in low-income countries, and poverty reduction and involved researchers in India, Nigeria, Pakistan and Tanzania. A similar cross-country research project was FACIT (n.d.), which examined the role of FBOs in matters of poverty, homelessness and other forms of social exclusion across seven European countries. Like studies within the field of international development, the FACIT research project highlighted the complexity of religions and the implications this has for studying FBOs.

In order to provide a foundation for the research, and given the absence of research on faith-based organisations supporting women involved in prostitution, this section will review the literature on FBOs so as to unpack the complexity of defining faith-based organisations and explore the analytical approaches that have been adopted to study these organisations. The focus will be on ways of understanding how faith might influence an FBO and the impact this has upon those engaging with the organisation. As such, it is necessary to begin by clarifying definitional issues relating to religion, faith and spirituality.

Religion, faith and spirituality

Religion, it is argued, 'is one of the most powerful, deeply felt, and influential forces in human society' and yet there is no consensus on how religion should be defined, neither

amongst those who study religion as a social phenomenon nor amongst those who study religion with the aim of detailing how to live in accordance with a particular religious tradition (McGuire, 2008b, p. 1). These definitional debates are not simply matters of academic dispute but, as McGuire asserts, are deeply rooted in historical, political processes and reflect the reality that 'what is "properly religious" is a continuing controversy in modern societies' (2008b, p. 8).

Within the social sciences, definitions of religion tend to be either substantive or functional. Substantive definitions try to establish what religion *is*; they seek to 'establish categories of religious content that qualify as religion and other categories specified as nonreligion' (McGuire, 2008b, p. 9). Such definitions are amenable to empirical studies but tend to be based on Western ideas about reality, which in turn are strongly influenced by a Christian heritage. Functional definitions, conversely, seek to establish what religion *does*; the focus is on the social functions fulfilled by religion rather than on the content of religious belief and practice. These definitions tend to encourage sensitivity to the religious quality of many social settings but are less amenable to quantifiable categorisation for empirical studies. Both definitional strategies have been strongly influenced by the pervasiveness of secularism as a framework of understanding within the social sciences; by the notion of a radical dichotomy between the secular and sacred upon which such a framework rests; and by the privileging of orthodoxy (correct belief) over orthopraxis (correct practice) that stems from Reformation-era theological ideas.

McGuire has claimed that religion has many aspects, including cognitive beliefs, ritual, subjective experience that is attributed to the spiritual or sacred, and awareness of belonging to, and participating in, a community of believers (2008b, p. 15–22). The stress placed on these different aspects varies between religious traditions but the overall effect is the provision of meaning and belonging. She emphasises the need to distinguish between 'official religion', defined as 'a set of beliefs and practices that are prescribed, regulated, and socialised by organised, specifically religious groups'(2008b, p. 148), and 'non-official religion', that which is not accepted or controlled by official religious groups. More recently, she has advocated the use of the concept of 'lived religion', arguing that this pays attention to the ways in which religion is practiced, experienced and expressed by people in the context of their everyday lives. Such a focus, she argues, serves as a reminder of the centrality of human embodiment in all religions and of the complexities and dynamism of individuals' religions-as-practised. This in turn encourages us to investigate the location of

the sacred and the nature of divine power rather than taking the notion of a sacred-profane dichotomy for granted as an immutable defining feature of 'religion' (McGuire, 2008a).

McGuire's definition of 'official religion' ties in closely with the definitions of religion found within the literature on FBOs. For example, Clarke argues that:

> *'Religion' refers to an institutional set of values, rules and social practices stemming from a system of thought, unseen supreme being, person, or object, that is considered to be supernatural, sacred, divine, or of the highest truth* (2006, p. 14).

Within this context, how people are religious, the ways in which they attend to matters of the sacred, is encapsulated by the concept of 'religiosity'. However, the concept has often been reduced to a measurement of how religious people are; focusing on the frequency with which they carry out set practices, the extent to which the beliefs they hold find visible expression, and the logical consistency of the set of 'truths' adhered to.

Often closely associated with the concept of religion is that of 'spirituality'. Whilst this term is sometimes used interchangeably with 'religiosity' it is more commonly viewed as a much broader term, understood as 'a way of being, an awareness of the transcendent, beliefs, and practices around meaning and purpose in life, and interaction with a higher power' (Fowler et al., 2011, p. 1245). Thus distinctions are drawn between what is 'religious' versus what is 'spiritual', with the former carrying the connotations of 'official religion' and an institutionalised system of beliefs and practices and the latter understood to pertain more to an individual's connection with the sacred. McGuire, however, cautions against accepting such distinctions at face value:

> *We always need to be alert to the social meanings behind such distinctions, because making distinctions involves trying to delineate acceptable from unacceptable beliefs and practices, desirable from denigrated identities and statuses, and worthy from unworthy ideals and values* (2008a, p. 6).

The politics of distinctions are evident in the use of the term 'faith', another term often associated with religion and spirituality, and again sometimes used interchangeably with both. 'Faith' is understood as a more amorphous category than 'religion'. Like 'spirituality' it is commonly understood in relation to individuals as opposed to institutional systems thus extending beyond the 'official' religions. More so than 'spirituality', however, the concept of 'faith' is centred on the notion of human trust or belief, either in a transcendent reality or

in the truth of a 'religion', whether 'official' or 'non-official'. 'Faith' is thus viewed by some as a more inclusive concept than 'religion' but as less visceral than 'spirituality'.

On the basis of its perceived greater inclusiveness, the term 'faith' has gained widespread use in contemporary America and Britain. Yet its supposed inclusiveness is not unquestioned. Rakodi (2011) argues that the concept of 'faith' stems from Christianity and draws on particular understandings of belief in a divine power. She therefore questions the ability to translate it into other religious traditions and languages and is especially doubtful of the applicability of the term to religions that are not theistic; a view shared by others (Crisp, 2014; Tomalin, 2012; Şen, 2011). Furthermore, she notes the connection of the term 'faith' with the rise and political influence of the 'religious Right' in the US where, arguably, the term 'faith-based' has served as a way of sidestepping concerns about the separation of church and state (for an acknowledgment of the politics behind the term 'faith-based' within US policy documents see Vidal, 2001). These connections, she claims, have given the term 'new and controversial connotations in many developing countries' (Rakodi, 2011, p. 45).

What is a Faith-based Organisation?

Given the contested nature of 'religion' and its associated concepts it is no surprise to find that definitions of FBOs are also varied and disputed. The problems with defining FBOs are numerous and have been increasingly recognised within the literature. Problems stem not only from the complexity of different religions and faith traditions but from the diversity within each tradition; 'there are radically different interpretations of faith in different cultural, social, political and geographic contexts' (James, 2009, p. 4). Not only is it difficult to establish the precise relationship between an organisation and religion but how an organisation implements faith, even within the same faith tradition, can vary significantly and raises questions as to what counts as 'religious', 'faith' or 'spiritual' content and the weighting that should be given to such characteristics (Ferris, 2011). Thus defining an FBO on the basis of its relation to a specific religious tradition is just as problematic as defining it on the basis of 'religious' characteristics.

The context in which an organisation is situated is also highly influential in determining the extent to which FBOs can be seen as distinctive and generalisations about them made. Torry argues that it is only with the development of the sacred/secular divide during the Enlightenment that 'the sacred and the secular evolved different discourses and different

organisations' (2005, p. 2). Where the sacred is not divided from the secular, the distinctiveness of FBOs is less apparent. In his study of FBOs and social exclusion in Turkey, Şen (2011) recognises that the term FBO is not widely used in Turkey and unpacks the relationship between the state and religion to account for this. According to Şen, state monopoly of religious activities 'has largely restricted the activities of FBOs that would combine religious and non-religious activities as autonomous bodies from the state' (2011, p. 8). Official religious apparatuses are fully financed and run by the state and are based on a certain interpretation of Sunni Islam whilst the Turkish legal system places restrictions on the political and religious activities of associations and foundations. There are thus no proper legal grounds for FBOs understood as organisations combining religious and non-religious activities. Consequently, Şen found that Sunni-inspired organisations engaging with issues of social exclusion did not accept the importance of faith and defined themselves as secular or charitable organisations. In contrast, organisations pertaining to communities not recognised as a distinct religious group within the Turkish state tended to more readily combine what might be considered religious and non-religious activities. In such a context, Şen argued that:

> *...although some FBOs deny or do not accept the importance of faith and define themselves as secular or charitable organizations, it is possible to recognize the religious orientation of organizations from their names, written and spoken goals, symbols, activities and even from social and political backgrounds of their leading and founding cadres* (2011, p. 52).

His claim was that FBOs could be recognised as such on the basis of certain 'religious' characteristics regardless of whether or not they defined themselves as FBOs.

The reluctance amongst FBOs to self-identify as 'faith-based' is not just evident within countries where there is less emphasis upon a division between state-church relations. Exploring how European FBOs define and operationalise their faith, James acknowledged that 'many FBOs in Europe, particularly Christian ones, have been reticent to articulate too close a connection to their faith identity' (2009, p. 5). This reticence he attributed to the prevailing secular climate of international development, especially in relation to funding requirements. Similarly, in the Belgium study of the FACIT programme, researchers found a considerable caginess amongst organisations in relation to recognising their faith identity:

> *They seemed reluctant to identify their organization as an FBO and rather defined it as secular or pluralist. As for pluralism, they emphasised the open character of*

> *their organization: it does not judge or exclude people on the basis of religion or any other characteristic – like gender and race. In most cases, the organizations we interviewed also defined themselves as secular. To be precise: almost half of the organizations in our sample saw themselves either as 'always been secular' or 'religious before, secular today'. Yet, the neutral functioning of these organizations mostly seemed to hide a faith-based inspiration or history. In many cases, the religious background has become part of the organisation's history, but it still seems to have some impact on the organisation's mission statement, methods, clientele, or public image* (Dierckx et al., 2011, p. 38–39).

The quotation suggests that for many FBOs in Belgium a reticence about affirming their links to religious traditions can be related to a desire not to seem exclusive and/or a historic relationship that no longer reflects contemporary circumstances. In the face of this reserve, the researchers claim that 'the three most important criteria to call an FBO faith-based are: the general context, the mission statement and its relationships with other actors' (Dierckx et al., 2011, p. 39).

In the context of service provision to homeless people in the UK, Johnsen (2014) found similar ambiguities in relation to how FBOs articulate their connections to faith. She noted that in some cases, religious names simply reflected a faith heritage that had little, if any, influence on contemporary operations. In other cases, FBOs had chosen not to include any religious references in their publicity so as 'avoid "putting off" people of other or no faith' (2014, p. 419). Furthermore, she found that many FBOs regularly emphasised or de-emphasised the project's faith affiliation or history depending on which stakeholders they were seeking to appeal to. Consequently, Johnsen concluded that there was 'a great deal of fluidity, and ambiguity, in organisations' public expression of faith identities' which meant that it is 'very difficult to determine whether many projects are faith-based purely on the basis of information associated with their "public face"' (2014, p. 449).

Additional reasons why FBOs might be reluctant to define themselves as 'faith-based' have been suggested. In the Indian context, several scholars have noted that identification with faith traditions in the public sphere can be fraught with moral and political tensions (Grills, 2008b; Jodhka & Bora, 2009). This is arguably true across a range of national and international contexts but the rise of the Hinduvata movement and the intertwining of politics and religion despite India's secular assertions provides a vivid example of such tensions. As Grills (2008b) has highlighted, such an intertwining can lead to FBOs becoming the target of religious hatred and can thus lead them to downplay their connections with

religion in order to 'remain as invisible as possible'. In the same way, where an FBO is operating in a 'restricted context,' where another religion to that associated with the organisation is the state religion, the FBO may want to downplay their faith in order not to offend host communities, to avoid attracting suspicion and constraint and to protect staff and volunteers from harassment.

The desire to attract funding which is based on a secular framework of understanding may also encourage, or even require, FBOs to separate the spiritual dimension in their mission (James, 2009). This may be considered necessary from the FBO's point of view so as to portray the professionalism of the organisation. Alternatively it may reflect the desire not to be seen as condoning or engaging in proselytic activity, a concern often raised by funders and sometimes stipulated as a prerequisite for funding. The thorny issue of proselytism is one we will come back to later but suffice to note here that it plays a critical role in how FBOs present their work, how they are perceived and the distinctions drawn between acceptable and unacceptable beliefs and practices. Finally, in a different vein, Aiken (2010) has suggested that FBOs may simply lack the ability and vocabulary to clearly articulate the distinctive contribution faith makes to their work. Such an inability may stem from the prominence of secularism within the public realm in certain contexts and a corresponding marginalisation of the religious or, it may stem from a lack of recognition of a sacred-secular divide which makes it impossible to separate out the 'non-religious' values, beliefs and activities within an organisation from the 'religious' ones or, then again, it may stem from the difficultly of articulating and accounting for the non-material realm.

The different size and scope of activities of FBOs is another factor that contributes to the difficultly of defining faith-based organisations. Several scholars have proposed typologies to convey this diversity. Within the context of international development, for example, Clarke (2006, 2010) has suggested that there are five types of FBOs (see Table 10).

Table 10: Clarke's (2006) Typology of FBOs

1. *Faith-based representative organisations or apex bodies* – rule on doctrinal matters, govern the faithful and represent them through engagement with the state and other actors.
2. *Faith-based charitable or development organisations* – mobilise the faithful in support of the poor and other social groups, and which fund or manage programmes which tackle poverty and social exclusion.
3. *Faith-based socio-political organisations* – interpret and deploy faith as a political construct, organising and mobilising social groups on the basis of faith identifiers, but in pursuit of broader political objectives; or, alternatively, promote faith as a socio-cultural construct, as a means of uniting disparate social groups on the basis of faith-based cultural identities.
4. *Faith-based missionary organisations* – spread key faith messages beyond the faithful by actively promoting the faith and seeking converts to it, or by supporting and engaging with other faith communities on the basis of key faith principles.
5. *Faith-based radical, illegal or terrorist organisations* – promote radical or militant forms of faith identity, engage in illegal practices on the basis of faith beliefs, or engage in armed struggle or violent acts, justified on the grounds of faith.

All of the factors explored in this section contribute to the complexity and difficulty of defining faith-based organisations and explain the diversity of working definitions. In charting a way forward in this definitional quandary, it is arguably more beneficial to adopt a broad definition of 'FBO' and then study whether and how faith influences the shape, nature and activities of such organisations. The definition proposed by Clarke and Jennings (as quoted in Ferris, 2011, p. 607) is a helpful example of a broad definition: 'any organization that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within that faith'. Utilising such an approach allows for an acknowledgement that 'the differences between faith-based organisations can be much greater than between faith-based and secular organisations' and that organisations vary with respect to more than one characteristic (Ferris, 2011, p. 621). It also takes heed of McGuire's (2008a) encouragement to investigate the location of the sacred rather than assume a binary division into religious and secular.

The salience of faith within FBOs

Typologies serve as useful analytical tools by which to assess characteristics and contributions of organisations and several typologies have been put forward by scholars in

an attempt to aid understanding of the ways in which faith is manifest in FBOs. Many of the typologies that exist within the literature have built upon one another and represent a process of revision as scholars have endeavoured to test and improve their usefulness.

One of the earliest attempts to categorise how faith manifests itself within organisations was that by Jeavons in 1998 (as referenced in Sider & Unruh, 2004; and Ebaugh et al., 2006). Jeavons drew on applied organisational theory to suggest seven areas where faith manifests itself and argued that organisations could be placed along a spectrum from least to most religious for each variable. Here 'religious' pertained to the tangibly expressive ways that religion was manifested rather than to how *faithful* an organisation was to a religious tradition. The seven variables he identified were: (1) organisational self-identity; (2) selection of organisational participants, e.g. staff, volunteers, funders, clients; (3) source of resources; (4) goals, products and services; (5) information processing and decision making; (6) the development and distribution of organisational power; and (7) organisational fields, by which he referred to programme partners and professional bodies.

In contrast to this approach, other studies have argued for a more dichotomous classification of FBOs. In a study of US social service organisations in 2001, Smith and Soison (as referenced in Sider & Unruh, 2004; and Ebaugh et al., 2006) distinguished between faith-related agencies and faith-based agencies, with the first category being more encompassing and inclusive of organisations that have some links to religion at the institutional level regardless of personal belief systems. The degree to which an organisation is linked to faith, they argued, could be conceptualised along three main dimensions: (1) *resource dependency* – proportion of financing and staff from religious sources; (2) au*thority* – bureaucratic or normative control that religious agencies hold over the organisation; and (3) *organisational culture* – interactions with religious influences in relation to secular influences such as professional associations. A similar two-fold division was proposed by Monsma in 2002 (as referenced in Sider & Unruh, 2004; and Ebaugh et al., 2006) based on a study of welfare-to-work programmes in the US. On one hand there were faith-based/integrated organisations which incorporated religious elements into their programmes; on the other hand, there were faith-based/segmented organisations which kept religious activities separate from their social services. A later typology based on a review of the literature on Muslim and Christian international relief agencies also adopted the notion of ideal types at the extreme ends of a continuum (Benedetti, 2006).

Based on the idea of a spectrum of ways in which faith is manifested in FBOs but placing greater emphasis on the variations along this spectrum, Green and Sherman in 2002 (as referenced in Clarke, 2010) proposed six different roles of faith in the work of service provision FBOs (see Table 11). The categorisation was based on a study of 389 social service FBOs all participating in government-funded programmes in 15 states in the US and focused heavily on the place of evangelism within organisations.

Table 11: Green and Sherman's (2002) typology of the roles of faith in the work of US service provision FBOs

Not relevant – The organisation's faith commitments are not revealed, or are not evident, in its work with clients, beneficiaries or partners.
Passive – The organisation's faith commitments are revealed through the act of caring for clients or supporting beneficiaries, rather than explicit mention of religious or spiritual matters.
Invitational – The organisation's faith commitments are explicitly mentioned to clients, beneficiaries and partners, and they are invited to inquire more fully about religious or spiritual matters outside the programme.
Relational – The organisation's faith commitments are explicitly mentioned to clients, beneficiaries and partners, and members of staff seek to establish personal relationships that involve religious or spiritual matters outside the programme.
Integrated – The organisation's faith commitments are an explicit and critical part of its work with clients, beneficiaries and partners, but staff respect the rights of clients, etc., not to participate in the religious or spiritual aspects of a funded programme.
Mandatory – The organisation's faith commitments are an explicit, critical and mandatory part of its work with clients, beneficiaries and partners who choose to participate in a programme or network.

Another influential typology within the literature is that propounded by Sider and Unruh (2004), developed through a study of 154 social service programmes in the US (see Table 12). Although the applicability of this typology to FBOs beyond the Judeo-Christian tradition has been questioned by Jeavons (2004), case studies of FBOs across Latin America and the Caribbean have led researchers to argue that the typology does in fact 'accurately capture the ways faith and religion are manifested in goals, mission, programming, and funding' of FBOs (Hefferan et al., 2009, p. 9).

Table 12: Sider and Unruh's (2004) typology of FBOs, pp.119-120.

(1) Faith-Permeated – 'the connection with religious faith is evident at all levels of mission, staffing, governance, and support […] extensively integrate explicitly religious content. The religious dimension is believed to be essential to the program's effectiveness, and therefore participation in religious elements is often required'.

(2) Faith-Centred – 'founded for a religious purpose, remain strongly connected with the religious community through funding sources and affiliation, and require the governing board and most staff to share the organisation's faith commitments […] incorporate explicitly religious messages and activities but are designed so that participants can readily opt out of these activities and still expect the benefits of the program's services'.

(3) Faith-Affiliated – 'retain some of the influence of their religious founders (such as in their mission statement) but do not require staff to affirm religious beliefs or practices, with the possible exception of some board and executive leaders […] incorporate little or no explicitly religious content, they may affirm faith in a general way and make spiritual resources available to participants [..] may have the intent of conveying a religious message through nonverbal acts of compassion and care'.

(4) Faith-Background – 'tend to look and act secular, although they may have a historical tie to a faith tradition. Although religious beliefs may motivate some personnel, faith commitments are not considered in the selection of the staff or board […] have no explicitly religious content aside from their possible location in a religious setting, and they do not expect religious experience to contribute to program outcomes'.

(5) Faith-Secular Partnership – 'special case in which a secular (or faith-background) entity joins with one or more congregations or other explicitly religious organisations […] typically secular in its administration but relies on the religious partners for volunteers and in-kind support'.

(6) Secular – 'no reference to religion in their mission statement or founding history, and they regard it as improper to consider religious commitments as a factor in hiring and governance […] include no religious content'.

Sider and Unruh's typology is divided into two sections in recognition that faith might affect an organisation and the programmes run by an organisation in different ways. Whilst the six categories are used for both sections, separate characteristics are provided for purposes of classification. Accordingly there are eight characteristics to explore when determining how faith might affect an organisation: (1) mission statement or other self-descriptive text; (2) the founding of the organisation; (3) whether or not the organisation is affiliated with an external entity and, if so, whether that entity is religious; (4) the selection of the board; (5) senior management; (6) staff; (7) financial and nonfinancial resources; and (8) the organised religious practices of personnel, such as prayer or devotions. With regards to programmatic classification, the four key characteristics are: (1) religious environment (building, name, religious symbols etc); (2) religious content of the programme; (3) main form of integration

of religious content with other programme components (e.g. whether it is implicit, invitational, relational, optional or mandatory); and (4) the expected connection between religious content and desired outcome.

All of the typologies outlined thus far rest on an assumption that organisational religiosity exists either as a dichotomy or on a continuum. The notion of a uni-dimensional continuum has however been disputed by Ebaugh et al. (2006) whose study of 656 'faith-based social service coalitions' in the US sought to operationalise empirical measures of religiosity raised in existing typologies. Based on their study they argued that organisational religiosity is a three-dimensional phenomenon consisting of the following three scales:

1. ***Service religiosity*** –summarised as 'the manner in which they related to clients' and for which they listed ten measures.
2. ***Staff religiosity*** – summarised as 'the manner in which staff are hired and relate to one another' and for which they listed five measures.
3. ***Organisational religiosity*** – summarised as 'the public face that organisations present' and for which they used three measures.

Moreover, they maintained that faith-based organisations vary extensively on all three dimensions with relationships between organisational variables and the three religiosity scales varying significantly. Whilst Ebaugh et al. (2006) seek to highlight the complexity evident in practice amongst FBOs in regards to the ways in which faith is manifested within organisations, their study, like the other typologies in this section, continues to distinguish between 'internal' and 'external' expressions of faith and relies on a specific understanding of what should be classed as 'religious activities'; hence it perpetuates the secular-sacred divide.

From typologies to empirical examination

Drawing on these typologies, it is possible to identify a number of ways in which an organisation might be influenced by faith; areas that can be empirically examined to analyse the influence of and/or expression of faith within an organisation. Crisp (2014) sums these up as (1) the branding of the organisation; (2) organisational structure; (3) how the organisation understands its purpose; and (4) the role of religion in service provision. A more comprehensive list is provided by Johnsen (2014).

Table 13: Johnsen's (2014) list of the ways in which an organisation might be influenced by faith, p.415.

- mission (the place of faith in an organisation's identity and purpose)
- founding (whether it has a faith heritage and the continuing relevance of this)
- affiliation (whether affiliated with a faith entity)
- governance (role of faith identity in board selection)
- staff (role of faith identity in staff selection)
- support (financial and non-financial support from faith sources)
- target group (whether aimed at people of a particular faith)
- practices (integration of faith practices such as prayer or scriptural study)
- environment (whether premises are mainly used for religious purpose or contain religious objects/symbols)
- programme content (whether explicitly religious)
- expected connection between religious content and outcomes (that is, whether spiritual experience is considered significant in promoting desired outcomes)

Several studies have sought to examine the difference that a religious affiliation or heritage makes to specific organisations and the services they provide based on an exploration of the areas identified above. In his study of Christian FBOs responding to HIV in India, Grills found that faith affected seven main domains: (1) stigma, awareness and prevention; (2) the focus of the HIV response and the quality of the response; (3) the approach to management and business structures; (4) access to physical resources; (5) HR factors; (6) upward and lateral linkages; and (7) downward linkages, understood as engagement at the grassroots (2008a, p. 291). Along similar lines in a single site study of an FBO-run child development programme based in Uganda, Aiken (2010) explored the extent to which faith impacted upon organisational culture, influenced how development was defined, informed programme design and informed interactions with the wider community. Her conclusions were that faith inspired an inclusive attitude to the wider community which blurred the boundaries of beneficiaries; faith was integrated into organisational culture through regular routines and through employment policies; and that the personal beliefs of the staff were very significant in how faith influenced the FBO on a daily basis and in how beneficiaries experienced the FBO.

An additional useful example of an attempt to explore the role of faith in FBOs is the study by Hugen and Venema (2009) which focused on human service programmes in the US. The study found that many programmes reported a high centrality of spirituality in their

programme but did not report faith-related programme outcomes. A similar disconnect was found between programmes that reported a high centrality of spirituality in their programme and those that reported a faith-related theory of change. This brings us back to the issue of proselytism briefly touched upon earlier. Much has been made of FBOs' approaches to evangelism in relation to their mission although, arguably, it is an issue that is only relevant to Christian and Islamic FBOs, faith traditions which claim universal truths and thus seek to persuade others to accept those truths. As Rakodi has outlined, the term 'evangelism' in Christianity embraces elements of both witnessing to the truths of the religion and attempting to spread it but is often used to denote 'the explicit and intentional preaching of the gospel, including an invitation to personal conversion' (2011, p. 65). The term 'proselytism', in contrast, is often understood more narrowly and, for some, is associated with negative connotations of forced conversion or the offer of material inducements to convert. In Islam, *dawa* is understood as inviting people to the faith and is usually associated with preaching to encourage conversion. In discussing the issue of seeking converts, Rakodi argues that 'it is useful to distinguish between voluntary and induced or forced conversion - none of the religious traditions approve of the latter, but in practice the dividing line may be blurred' (2011, p. 11). The blurred boundary is also highlighted by James who maintains that whilst some organisations develop formal policies on evangelism, 'in practice the distinction between spiritual development and proselytising is not so obvious' as it heavily depends upon who is making the judgement (2009, p. 15). Accordingly he argues that it is more useful to look at how such 'proselytising' is carried out: a commitment to sharing the faith and inviting others to the faith does not have to be contextually insensitive or manipulative.

Summary

There is an incredible diversity of FBOs along a number of different dimensions and 'organisations which may have similar qualities on paper may behave very differently in practice' (Hefferan et al., 2009, p. 28). Nonetheless, an awareness of the typologies that have been proposed and the existing case studies provides a useful guide for conducting organisational case studies exploring the impact of faith in the work and identity of FBOs. They supply ample suggestions for areas to pay attention to and suggest ways of analysing and interpreting the influence of faith, particularly in the unexplored context of faith-based organisations supporting women involved in prostitution. The literature also emphasises the need to pay attention to the context in which FBOs are operating and the impact this

has on how they are defined and seek to define themselves; to explore the treatment of the sacred within FBOs; and to examine how FBOs understand 'evangelism' and seek to put such understandings into practice.

Having explored the academic context of the three central themes of the research, the following chapter moves on to outline the research methods employed in carrying out the study.

Chapter 5: The Research Journey

Introduction

Prostitution is widely regarded as a sensitive subject to research, with those involved in the sex industry 'concerned with arrest, stigmatization, and further "othering"' (Wahab, 2003, p. 626). The relationship between academia and the sex industry has been described as uneasy and researchers have sometimes been accused of alienating women in the sex industry from the production of knowledge about their lives and experiences (van der Meulen, 2011; Wahab, 2003). Calls have thus increasingly been made in favour of using participatory research methods when carrying out research with those involved in the sex industry (van der Meulen, 2011; Coy, 2006; Wahab, 2003; O'Neill, 2001). Such an approach, it is believed, will enable a move from research *on* women who sell sex to research *with* women who sell sex. It locates the women as experts capable of making informed decisions about their lives and moves their experiences from the periphery to the centre thus avoiding the silencing of their voices. A desire to heed this advice has been paramount in the design and implementation of this study and in this chapter the methodology used in the study will be outlined. An explanation of the research framework and a description of the research design and the process of analysis will be provided. The chapter will close with a reflection on the experience of research and some of the ethical dilemmas encountered along the research journey.

Research Approach

The research is rooted within a critical realist ontological framework and in terms of its epistemological approach it draws inspiration from feminist scholarship and the principles of Participatory Action Research (PAR). According to Jones, feminist scholarship is best understood as 'a collection of critical texts and a conversation' (2000, p. 3). Similarly, Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2002) have emphasized the methodological disputes and diversity within feminist scholarship. Rather than offering a distinct methodology, feminist scholarship invites the researcher into a critical dialogue and process of personal reflection on, for example, how to connect knowledge and reality, how to deal with experience, the grounds of particular forms of epistemic authority, power relationships and their effects in the research process and accountability for the knowledge that is produced. Crucially, feminist scholarship recognises the inseparability of epistemology, ethics and politics and

thus 'encourages feminists to imagine how human relationships could be different, and how a better social world could work' (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002, p. 169).

Participatory Action Research (PAR) also problematizes the role of the researcher and questions the way in which knowledge is produced and epistemic authority is established:

> *Defined most simply, PAR involves researchers and participants working together to examine a problematic situation or action to change it for the better [...] advocates have attempted to remove hierarchical role specifications and empower 'ordinary people' in and through research* (Kindon et al., 2007a, p. 1).

PAR is a process directed towards social change, involves a cycle of reflection and action, and draws attention to who is involved in the research process, in what ways and at what stages. It encourages collaborative reflection on whose questions matter, whose analysis counts and the role of participants as both individuals and members of communities within the research project. For some advocates, 'true' PAR necessitates collaboration at all stages of reflection and action, whilst others concede that 'levels of participation by co-researchers and participants may vary significantly' (Kindon et al., 2007b, p. 16). Acknowledging a continuum of participation these authors argue that choices about modes and degrees of participation need to be negotiated with co-researchers and participants.

In drawing on these methodologies, this research seeks to place the lived experiences of research participants at the heart of the research, acknowledge the positioning of the researcher and disseminate the findings so as to enable grassroots projects, whether faith-based or not, to reflect on the findings in order to consider how they might improve their own effectiveness in supporting women seeking to leave prostitution. Recognising the constraints on full collaboration at all stages of reflection and action posed by the requirements of a PhD, the study has nonetheless sought to adhere to the ethical principles and practice of participatory research where possible (Centre for Social Justice and Community Action (CSJCA) & National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement (NCCPE), 2012). For example, focus has centred on the relational means of the research; issues around informed consent, anonymity, translation and the use of research findings have been discussed openly; participatory research methods have been drawn upon to foster inclusion and to build on and enable research participants to share their different expertise; I have personally and emotionally involved myself in the lives of the research participants with a willingness to share and an openness to understand what has meaning and relevance

for others; and I have sought to make analysis and interpretation accessible and open to challenge.

Research Design

To adequately address the research questions, a multiple method qualitative approach was adopted and the research was divided into two phases. The first phase sought to address RQ1 (see Table 14) and, given the lack of existing research on faith-based projects seeking to support women to leave prostitution through the operation of a social enterprise, adopted an inductive exploratory approach. A desk-based internet mapping exercise was carried out as a means by which to build up a snapshot of such projects. The second phase was designed to explore RQs 2-5 and involved case studies with two specific projects. A cross-cultural ethnographic approach was adopted and a triangulation of methods that included participant observation, semi-structured interviews, research workshops and document analysis was employed to carry out the fieldwork. Whilst the term 'ethnography' is used to mean different things within different disciplines, it is understood here to involve immersion in a social setting for an extended period of time through participation and observation, with the intention of understanding how individuals make sense of their lived reality within the context and culture of that particular setting (Skeggs, 2001; Bryman, 2008). Ethical approval for the research was granted by the School of Applied Social Sciences' ethics committee. The table below outlines the Research Framework, which details the research questions and their associated research methods and analysis methods.

Table 14: Research Framework: Research Questions, Methods and Analysis

Research Question	Research Methods	Analysis Method
1. What is the nature of faith-based projects around the world that are seeking to support women to leave prostitution through the operation of social enterprises that provide alternative employment and income opportunities?	1. Internet search to map projects 2. Documentary analysis of project websites (and publications)	Thematic analysis exploring presentation of prostitution, exiting, social enterprise and faith.
2. How do these projects support women to exit prostitution and what is the nature and extent of these exits?	1. Two Project Case studies a. Interviews with staff and volunteers b. Group workshops with women affected by prostitution engaged with the project c. Documentary Analysis of organisational literature: i. Project Website ii. Project publications (e.g. newsletters, books etc) d. Ethnographic observation as a participant observer	Thematic analysis of interviews and workshops. Field notes indexed according to the categories (1) exiting prostitution, (2) social enterprise, and (3) faith. Thematic analysis used alongside this to identify patterns emerging from the data.
3. How do the social enterprise models employed by these projects operate?	1. Two Project Case studies a. Interviews with staff and volunteers b. Documentary Analysis of organisational literature and policy procedures: i. Project Website ii. Project publications (e.g. newsletters, books etc) iii. Business Plan/Organisational Policies c. Ethnographic observation as a participant observer	Thematic analysis of interviews. Analysis of financial documents. Field notes indexed according to the categories (1) exiting prostitution, (2) social enterprise, and (3) faith. Thematic analysis used alongside this to identify patterns emerging from the data.
4. What role does faith play in influencing the nature and the actuality of these projects?	1. Two Project Case studies a. Interviews with staff and volunteers b. Group workshops with women affected by prostitution engaged with the project c. Documentary Analysis of organisational policy, ethos and theology: i. Project Website ii. Project publications (e.g. newsletters, books etc) iii. Organisational Policies d. Ethnographic observation as a participant observer	Thematic analysis of interviews and workshops. Field notes indexed according to the categories (1) exiting prostitution, (2) social enterprise, and (3) faith. Thematic analysis used alongside this to identify patterns emerging from the data.
5. What is the experience of women affected by prostitution engaging with these projects?	1. Two Project Case Studies a. Group workshops with women affected by prostitution engaged with the project b. Ethnographic observation as a participant observer c. Auto-ethnographic writing	Field notes indexed according to the categories (1) exiting prostitution, (2) social enterprise, and (3) faith. Thematic analysis used alongside this to identify patterns emerging from the data.

Phase 1: The Mapping Study

A desk-based internet search was carried out from February to August 2012 to explore the nature of faith-based projects around the world that are seeking to support women to leave prostitution through the operation of social enterprises. The aim was to provide a 'contextual snapshot' of projects in this field; to allow for a preliminary analysis of the varying social enterprise models being pursued and the ways in which prostitution and the role of faith in the work of such organisations are presented. In doing so, the intention was to start to build a knowledge base on such organisations and provide a wider context within which to situate the analysis of the case studies.

Data Sources

As there is no existing database of faith-based projects throughout the world supporting women to exit prostitution that could be drawn upon a snowball sampling approach was adopted. The websites of both known umbrella organisations working with people in prostitution and known international faith-based umbrella organisations were searched, alongside a systematic search of a range of specified terms using the Google search engine (see Table 15). For a list of the websites investigated and an overview of the mapping process see Appendix 2. A full search using the Baidu search engine was also planned but after carrying out some tests using the search terms that had produced the most results in the Google search, the decision was taken not to continue as the search was not producing any new projects.

Table 15: Search Terms used in Mapping Study

OR	prostitution "sex work" "commercial sexual exploitation" "sex trafficking" trafficking	AND	faith Christian* Islam* Muslim Hindu* Judaism Jewish Sikh* Buddhist God "missionary organisations"	AND	exit* leav* desistance transition

In addition to the above searches, contact was made with Sharon Oselin concerning the mapping exercise she had conducted on 'prostitution-helping organisations' in the US (Oselin, 2008) and a request for information was posted on the Facebook page of a UK-

based organisation supporting women involved in prostitution. A search of projects on Twitter was also conducted using a snowball method: previously identified projects were located on Twitter and then a systematic exploration of who they were 'following' was carried out. These methods did not, however, lead to the identification of any new projects.

Criteria for Inclusion

As organisations supporting women to exit prostitution were identified, a four-fold criterion was used to determine inclusion within the study. These are outlined in the table below along with explanatory notes for each criterion.

Table 16: Criteria for inclusion within mapping study

Inclusion Criteria	Explanatory notes
1. that the organisation is providing direct services to support women to exit prostitution	• Definitional debates surrounding prostitution and trafficking (Kempadoo, 2005; Outshoorn, 2005; Agustín, 2007; Dempsey, 2010) = organisations using language of trafficking included if clear that they did not focus solely on supporting international victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation. • Disagreement within the literature over the way in which age distinctions are employed when talking about prostitution (see for example MacKinnon, 2011) = only organisations that solely engaged with children and females under the age of 18 excluded from the study. • Contested nature of 'exiting' = no requirement to meet a specific definition of 'exiting' - organisations could refer to a range of terms including desistance, routes out, leaving, restoration, rehabilitation, transition. • Organisations that focused solely on prevention work or campaigning were not included within the scope of the study.
2. that the organisation is faith-based	• Broad definition adopted along the lines proposed by Clarke and Jennings (as quoted in Ferris, 2011, p. 607): 'any organization that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within that faith'. • In operationalising this definition revealed commitment to a faith tradition was the first and primary criteria. • BUT multiple reasons why FBOs might be reluctant to define themselves as 'faith-based' recorded within the literature (Grills, 2008b; James, 2009; Jodhka & Bora, 2009; Dierckx et al., 2011; Şen, 2011). • So additional criteria included:

Inclusion Criteria	Explanatory notes
	1) whether the organisation was originally founded by individual(s) professing a faith and the website did not state that the project was no longer faith-based; 2) the project receives funding from religious organisations; 3) affiliation or membership with a religious organisation, network or forum; 4) religious values, teaching and/or practices influence the nature of the project; 5) the website provides evidence that the project actively encourages people of faith to volunteer and/or join their staff team; 6) signposting from another FBO. • If a project met one of these criteria then it was considered to be 'faith-based'. • If faith identifiers obscure, organisations emailed directly to enquire as to their relationship with a specific faith tradition.
3. that the organisation has a web presence	• Exploratory study – no existing database and limited resources – focus on projects that have a web presence - relatively visible and accessible.
4. that the organisation is adopting a social enterprise approach in the direct services it provides[4]	• Broad definition of social enterprise used: 'the pursuit of a social purpose through engagement, on some level, in the production of goods or services within the marketplace'. • Primary concern = investigate the different ways in which projects are seeking to support women to exit prostitution through the provision of alternative employment and income opportunities – a narrower definition of social enterprise thus considered counterproductive. • Broad definition = the inclusion of a number of organisations within the study which could more accurately be described as running vocational training programmes as opposed to social enterprises, though all engaged in the marketplace in some form.

[4] The original intention with RQ1 had been to investigate the scope of faith-based projects in general offering support services to women exiting prostitution and so the mapping study was initially planned with just the first three criteria. However, an initial search resulted in the identification of over 240 projects that looked like they might fit the criteria. Therefore, in order to make the mapping process more manageable, given the timeframe, and to align RQ1 more closely with the overall focus of the research, the decision was taken to add the fourth criterion.

Data Collection and Analysis

Once organisations were identified as fulfilling the criteria, qualitative information pertaining to fifteen key questions was systematically collected from each organisation's website and entered into an Excel database (see Appendix 3 for the list of questions). Where projects were listed on part of a larger organisation's website with little information about the actual project and the project did not have its own independent website, an email was sent to the organisation requesting a copy of any official public documents about the project (see Appendix 4). Initial question-based coding was carried out for each organisation, which was then thematically cross-analysed around the themes of exiting prostitution, faith and social enterprise. All the information collated was available within the public realm, however all organisation names have been removed from the final analysis due to the disparity of information available between organisations' websites and the complexity surrounding the role of faith in the work and identity of these organisations.

Limitations

The internet searches were conducted in English which means that organisations with non-English websites, and that are not identified through an umbrella organisation, are likely to have been overlooked. Where a project was linked to an umbrella organisation but its website was not in English, Google Translator was used to assess whether or not the project met the inclusion criteria. Similarly, the use of an internet search approach means that the results reflect the global disparity in opportunities to access and make use of the internet. Those organisations whose work is small scale, highly localised and run on limited resources are unlikely to be captured through this method.

The operationalisation of 'faith-based' within this study, and the demarcation of projects as 'faith-based', also results in a number of limitations. Chiefly, the criteria are limited to the 'presentational' aspects of faith. This emphasis on the 'presentational' aspects also means that those projects whose work is strategically low-key due to sensitivities regarding the associations with faith are unlikely to be represented within the study. Finally, the mapping study is not able to provide information on the scale and capacity of projects; the number of women they provide support to; the organisational structures of projects; the temporal nature of women's engagement with the projects; or the kind of outcomes achieved. Such information is only attainable through more in-depth investigation.

Reflections on the Mapping Study Process

A number of reflections are worth noting in relation to the process of the mapping study. First, some of the search terms were more useful than others. The term 'desistance' turned out not to be particularly useful, generally bringing up hits related to universities and criminology centres, whilst the term 'commercial sexual exploitation' tended to bring up hits related to children, not adults. Second, whilst carrying out the mapping study several social enterprises that were seeking to empower economically vulnerable women were identified. Whilst not specifically working with women seeking to exit prostitution, and thus falling outside the study's remit, their work is nonetheless significant in helping to combat the necessity of engaging in prostitution. Third, three projects stated on their website that they were in the process of setting up social enterprise approaches but as these were not yet in operation at the time of the study, they were not included.

Phase 2: Case Studies

A case study approach was used to investigate RQs 2-5 due to the exploratory nature of the research. Case study research is intensive and depth-oriented: 'it involves the study of a single instance or a small number of instances of a phenomenon in order to explore in-depth nuances of the phenomenon and the contextual influences on and explanations of that phenomenon' (Baxter, 2010, p. 81). As such it provides a site to learn about the complexities and intersections of exiting prostitution, social enterprise and faith, bringing together macro-scale discourses and processes with the everyday practices of the project. Whilst the findings of case studies cannot be considered to be immediately transferable to other contexts, the issues and insights raised by case studies can stimulate reflection within other contexts and can create 'a resonance with people outside of the immediate situation who are experiencing phenomena which are not identical, but hold enough similarity to create a potentially transformative resonance' (Swinton & Mowat, 2006, p. 47).

Case Study Selection and Description

The selection of the case study sites was purposive to allow for exploration between cases. As many new businesses fail in their first few years of operation, one of the key criteria in selecting the two case studies was length of operation. By selecting projects that had been operating social enterprises for a longer period of time it was felt that the projects could be seen to have 'proven' their sustainability to a certain extent through their existing length of operation. It was thus decided to select projects that had been in operation for more than a decade, if possible. A second criterion was that the selection would enable cross-cultural

comparison; providing an opportunity to study the phenomenon of faith-based projects pursuing social enterprise approaches in both a Global South context and a Global North context. A third consideration in the selection of the case studies was access and an appreciation that gaining access to projects to carry out the research was likely to be challenging given the sensitive subject matter. Existing relationships and points of connection were thus considered to be significant. Given the timeframe of the PhD and the need to build rapport with the case studies, negotiate access, gain ethical approval and plan the practicalities of carrying out fieldwork abroad, it was decided that the process of selecting the case study sites needed to run concurrent with the mapping study. Thus the mapping study did not serve as a sampling frame though findings from the mapping study did inform the case study selection (see Chapter 6).

The Indian project was selected as the Global South case study because the social enterprise approach has been in operation since 2001 and a relationship with the project was already in existence as the researcher had visited the project for three weeks in August 2010. The management team of the project was approached and immediately agreed to participate. The US project was selected as the Global North case study because the social enterprise approach has been in operation since 2001. Whilst no direct relationship with the project existed, the Executive Director of a UK network had been in touch with the US project and agreed to provide an introduction and recommendation via email. This proved crucial. During the initial stages of establishing contact with the case studies, the US project originally declined to participate in the research stating that they felt unable to provide adequate staffing to assist with the research. Whilst seeking to reassure the project about what would be involved and clarifying the intended timeframe, alternative options with other projects in the US were simultaneously explored as a back-up. There were no existing points of connection with these alternative projects and all declined to participate in the research.

Both case studies are associated with the Christian faith though the specific faith tradition that the projects were associated with was not a deciding factor in the case study selection. However, the results of the mapping study demonstrated that there were very few projects related to other faith traditions that specifically supported women in prostitution and none that were adopting a social enterprise approach. The different ways in which the projects present the role of faith did, however, come into consideration when selecting the case studies. From the websites, the Indian project appeared to be less explicit about its faith

associations than the US project. This was considered to offer an interesting opportunity for comparison.

Case Study One: India

The Indian case study was situated in a large city in India and describes itself as 'a fair trade business offering employment to women trapped in [city]'s sex trade'. Established in 2001, the business produces jute and cotton bags and organic cotton t-shirts almost exclusively for the export market (though was also in the process of establishing a new business incubator). The business is registered as a Private Limited Company in India and was founded by an expatriate couple. Originally employing 20 women from the red light area, the business was employing around 180+ women at the time of the fieldwork[5]. This includes both women who have themselves been involved in prostitution and women who are 'at risk' of entering prostitution, predominantly the daughters of women involved in prostitution. Employment is on an individual voluntary basis and the criteria for women seeking employment within the business are fairly minimal: they have to either be currently involved in prostitution or be at risk of entering prostitution and they have to express a commitment to 'be free from the sex trade'.

Physically located on the outskirts of one of the city's largest brothel-based red light areas, the business occupies two neighbouring buildings; although a third smaller building located within the red light area had recently been purchased. Information about their products is available online however they only take orders directly for custom-printed T-shirts. All other orders are directed to country specific suppliers listed on their website. The business is a member of the Fair Trade Federation and has 'Fair Trade Organisation' membership of The World Fair Trade Organisation (WFTO). The business sources GOTS (Global Organic Textile Standard) certified 100% organic cotton for its t-shirts and the cotton is dyed using an organic process. In addition, they only use water-based ink for screen printing to avoid harmful petro-chemical and compounds. All profits are reinvested into the business and no dividends are paid to shareholders.

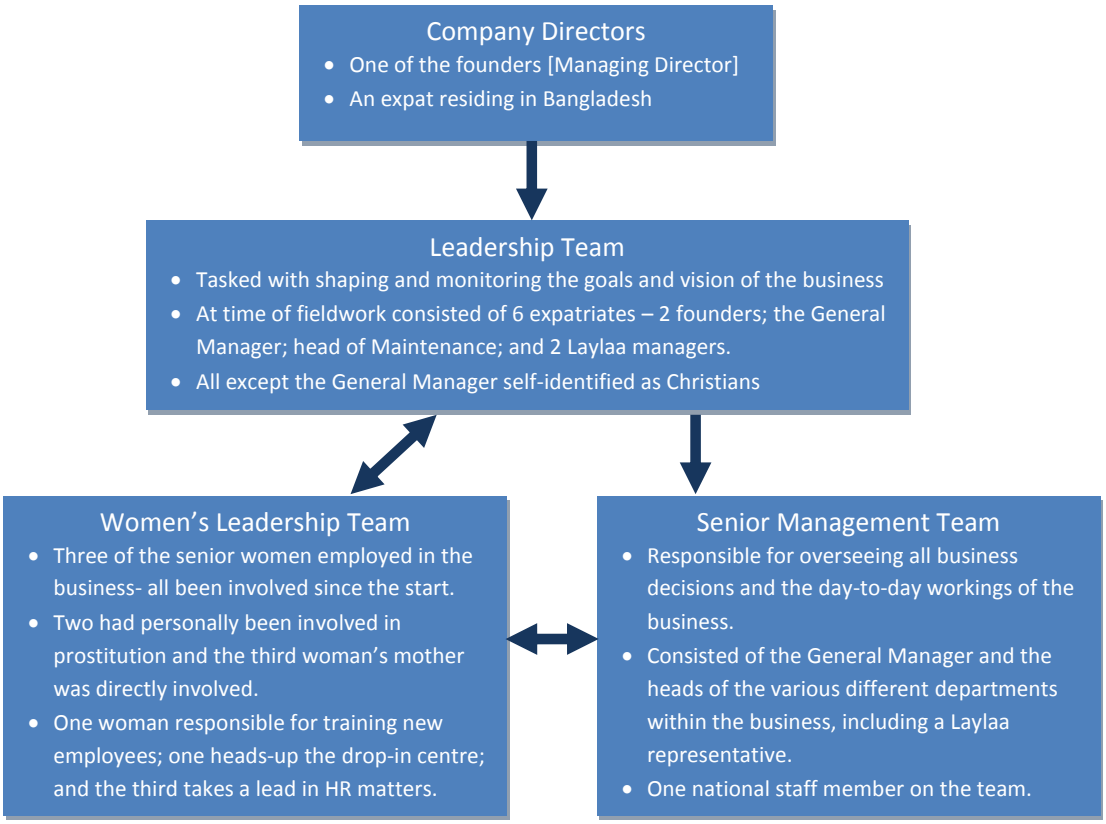
Alongside the business there is a charitable trust which provides support services. Basic literacy lessons, budgeting classes, loans and basic health care have been provided since the project's beginning and an in-house nursery for the pre-school children of women employed

[5] Obtaining an exact figure from the staff was difficult as they said the number fluctuated frequently due to the taking on of new employees, the drop-out rate amongst trainees and the departure of employees upon marriage.

by the business was established in 2006. However, since 2011 the provision of support services has taken on a more formalised structure due to the launch of a new initiative, given the pseudonym 'Laylaa'. Laylaa is tasked with implementing a community development approach to supporting women to exit prostitution to compliment the economic approach of the business. At the time of the fieldwork, Laylaa had four main internal components: (1) economic – the provision of budgeting help, a saving scheme and a loan system; (2) health – an in-house nurse, assistance accessing government insurance and services, and basic health checks; (3) emotional – currently being carried out through friendships with Laylaa staff and signposting to external resources, although a trained social worker had just joined the team; and (4) social – under which they were mainly focusing on supporting women to gain access to education for their children but also included assisting women to find new accommodation if they wished to move out of the red light area. Laylaa was also in the process of taking over the training process from the business which included the screening of new women for the business, the delivery of the three-month training programme and ongoing individual support for a further three months. In terms of external focus, Laylaa was running a drop-in centre on one of the main lanes in the red-light area. Formal programming had yet to commence and the focus had so far been on building relationships. However, research had been carried out into the needs and desires of women in the area and at the close of fieldwork the provision of English lessons was about to commence.

An overview of the management structure of the business is provided in the figure below.

Figure 2: Overview of Indian business management structure



Whilst the senior management levels predominantly consist of expatriates, there were, however, noticeably more Indian nationals involved at the level of office management. Alongside the practical management structure, the business has an expatriate couple tasked with overseeing the pastoral care of expatriate staff, national staff and the women. There is also a Production Forum whose role it is to represent the concerns of the women to the management. Elected solely by the women themselves, the Forum is consulted over internal decisions and issues relating to employees, such as which festivals will be official holidays each year.

Case Study Two: US

The US case study was situated in Nashville, Tennessee and describes itself as 'a residential program and social enterprise of women who have survived prostitution, trafficking and addiction'. The residential programme, called Magdalene, was established in 1997 by an Episcopal female priest and is registered as a 501(c)(3) corporation. It provides housing for 2 years, at no cost to residents, to women who have dual histories of substance addiction and involvement in prostitution. Admission into the programme is on a voluntary basis; only

once has the project accepted a woman who was court-mandated into the programme. At the time of fieldwork Magdalene owned four homes and two transitional houses and was able to house up to 26 residents and 6 graduates at any one time. Thistle Farms, the social enterprise, was started in 2001 and operates under the same umbrella. Originally producing handmade bath and beauty products predominantly for the US domestic market, Thistle Farms now also houses Paper and Sewing Studios and a cafe called Thistle Stop Cafe. Employment at Thistle Farms is offered to Magdalene residents after they have been in the programme for a minimum of four months. Employment is optional and women can choose to find alternate work or return to school if they prefer. Thistle Farms also employs Magdalene graduates and, at the time of the fieldwork, employed around 40 residents and graduates[6].

The six houses owned by Magdalene are spread across a number of different neighbourhoods in Nashville and all six function without 24-hour live-in staff; residents are given keys to the houses and are expected to create a supportive community and share household tasks. Graduates living in the transitional homes are required to pay $100 per month in rent and share the utility bills between themselves. The main residence, which was purpose built in 2004 and provides accommodation for eight women, serves as the location for all group sessions and also houses office space for the residential staff team. During the two years in the programme residents follow a structured programme that is tailored to each individual. Assistance with medical and dental treatment, accessing education, psychological counselling, therapy, legal support, a savings scheme and a programme of in-house group sessions is provided throughout the two years. A detailed overview of the residential programme is provided in Appendix 5.

Thistle Farms is housed in an 11,000 square foot building on a main road in the west of the city. The business moved into this building in 2010; the Paper Studio was refurbished and opened in 2012; and the Sewing Studio and Cafe were refurbished and opened in 2013. Thistle Farms' products can be purchased in-store and through their online shop, from retail outlets almost exclusively located within the US, and at home parties and events. The beautifully decorated cafe serves a selection of fair-trade teas and coffees alongside

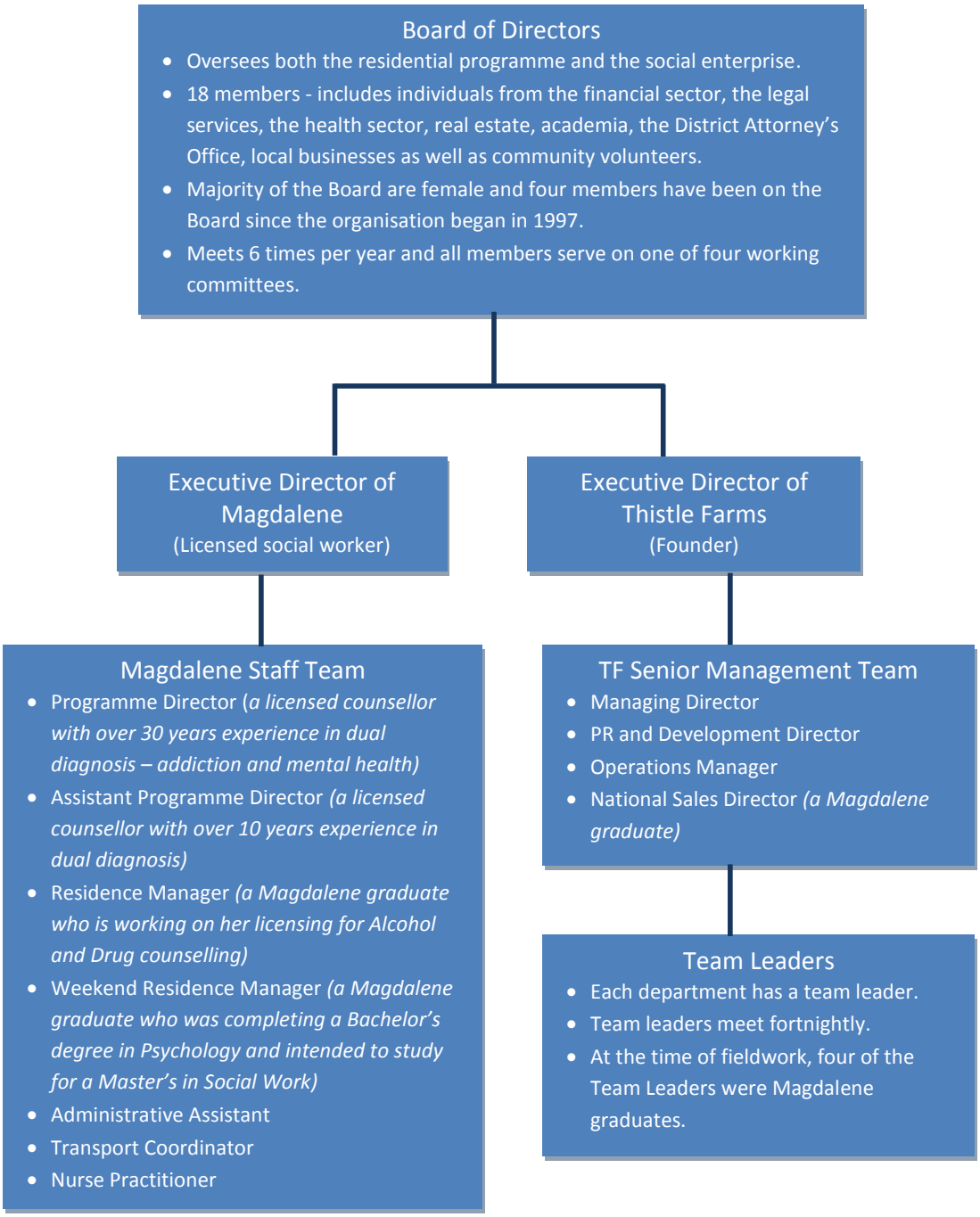
[6] Obtaining an exact figure from the staff was difficult as they said the number fluctuated due to the taking on of new employees and the departure of employees for new jobs or due to relapse. For example, during the period of the case study, five women were due to start work at Thistle Farms but only four actually started as one woman had relapsed and left the programme just prior to her start date.

sandwiches, salads and bakery items. At the time of the fieldwork the cafe was open 7am-2pm Monday to Friday and was available for private hire outside of these hours. A weekly live music event was also being trialled. Since 2010 the project has run free monthly Education Workshops to enable visitors to spend a morning at Thistle Farms learning about the manufacturing process and the business from women in the programme and from non-Magdalene staff.

Thistle Farms works in partnership with four other social enterprises based in Rwanda, Kenya, Ghana and Ecuador respectively. Each enterprise employs women seeking to rebuild their lives in the aftermath of violence and poverty and Thistle Farms orders materials from them for their products and kits. During the case study, the project was preparing to launch a new initiative, The Shared Trade Alliance. The Alliance will be 'a coalition of social enterprises committed to bringing women permanently out of poverty through recovery from violence and sustainable employment' (2013 Annual Report).

An overview of the management structure of the organisation is provided in the figure below.

Figure 3: Overview of US project management structure



The Thistle Farms' Office Manager is also a Magdalene graduate and a range of volunteers run the weekly group and therapy sessions that take place as part of the residential programme.

Research Methods and Data Collection

The case studies involved a preparatory phase and a fieldwork phase. During the preparatory phase initial consent was sought from the management teams of both projects. A process of establishing a research agreement with each case study was then embarked upon, via email and Skype, to agree mutual expectations of the research and outline the ethical review process. The research design, process and tools were discussed and agreed collaboratively with representatives from the management of both case studies. A draft timeframe for each fieldwork visit was drawn up along with a Case Study RQ Framework which sought to further develop the basic Research Framework, outlined above, by explicitly incorporating the learning gained from the review of the relevant literature to generate research sub-questions (this can be seen in Appendix 6).

The fieldwork stage drew upon multiple qualitative research methods and involved three months with the Indian project (February-May 2013) and 2 ½ months with the US project (July-September 2013). The slightly longer length of time spent with the Indian project reflected the additional barriers related to language faced within that context, which will be discussed below. Whilst the general approach to the research had been decided during the preparatory phase, the specific nature of the research process at each project, in terms of what was done, how it was done, with whom and when, unfolded as the fieldwork was underway in discussion with project staff and in response to the demands on each project. Flexibility was crucial. To convey this process and the disparities that sometimes occurred between what had been planned and what took place each of the following sections will be divided into two parts. The first will outline the method as intended and prepared prior to entering the field; the second will explain how the method unfolded in practice within each context. As such the first person will at times be used so as to more clearly communicate the experience of the research process in practice.

Participant Observation

Participant observation constituted one of the principle methods used during the case studies. The goal of participant observation is 'to develop understanding through being part of the spontaneity of everyday interactions' (Kearns, 2010, p. 245) and involves the researcher 'explicitly and self-consciously attending to the events and people in the context they are studying' (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 80). According to Dewalt and Dewalt (2011) it encourages an iterative reviewing and reformulation of research questions as 'ideas and notions are continually challenged and "resisted" by the actions and words of those within

the setting' (2011, p. 15). Moreover, 'living, working, laughing, and crying with the people that one is trying to understand provides a sense of the self and the other that is not easily put into words' (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 10).

Participant observation can involve a range of degrees of participation, from passive through to complete immersion. This continuum of involvement has been classified by Gold (1958 as quoted in Bryman, 2008) into four possible research roles: (1) complete observer; (2) observer-as-participant; (3) participant-as-observer; and (4) complete participant. In this research, a participant-as-observer role was adopted. Whilst this was ongoing throughout the period of fieldwork, it had been agreed with both case studies that the first 4-6 weeks of fieldwork would be a familiarisation period during which the focus would solely be on participant observation. I would volunteer at the project, participating in the daily activities and workings of the project alongside the women. The intention was to give the women time to get to know who I was, ask me questions, and decide if they wanted to take part in the research. It was also a time for me to immerse myself in the project, start to build up an understanding of the different aspects of the project and get to know the women engaging with each case study.

The nature of my participation at each case study varied. In the Indian context it was a much more immersive experience as during the fieldwork I lived in the project's volunteers' flat on the edge of the red light area. The flat is intended to provide accommodation for short-term volunteers and I shared the flat with seven other volunteers at various times. Sharing shopping, cooking and cleaning tasks throughout the fieldwork and sharing a room for over half of the time allowed me to experience firsthand the joys and challenges faced by volunteers. Living in the volunteers' flat also enabled me to develop an arguably greater sensitivity to the context within which the women and the staff live their lives than would have been the case had I chosen to stay in a hotel in a different area of the city and simply travelled in to the project each day. In the US context my accommodation arrangements were unrelated to the project and I travelled across the city each day to participate in the activities of the project. Whilst a few staff members did live within the same neighbourhoods as some of the project's residential houses, there was not the same intentional policy as in the Indian case study of encouraging staff to live in the same areas. Thus whilst my experience in the US was less immersive in comparison to the Indian case study, it did reflect the experiences of volunteers and staff.

In terms of my participation in the daily workings of each project, in India this meant a month of cutting jute, of marking bags, of checking the quality of screen prints, of braiding saris, of trimming off lose threads, of attending the daily devotions and of going along to the drop-in in the red light area. In the US it meant volunteering in the cafe, pouring and labelling lip balms, making paper, assisting in the packaging department, and participating in a range of group sessions at the residential house such as NA Book Study; Yoga and Nutrition; and Stress Management. A full overview of the activities which I engaged in at each project is provided in Table 17. Throughout the fieldwork, observations were documented through jot notes that were recorded during the course of the day in bullet-point form and were then typed up on a laptop into expanded field notes. As advised by DeWalt and DeWalt (2011), methodological notes (as a record of choices that will inform analysis), personal reflections and a log (a record of how the day was spent, expenditures, things to do, unanswered questions) were incorporated into the field notes.

In both case studies the familiarisation period proved crucial. It allowed me to establish relationships and a degree of trust with the women and often led to the sharing of food. It placed me in the position of learner. The women showed me how to carry out the different tasks and they corrected me when I got things wrong. Such daily contact meant that they got to see me on days when I was homesick and my mind was elsewhere. I got to see them on days when their kids were playing up, they'd had an argument with someone or they were struggling with the desire to use drugs again. It allowed me to develop an awareness of what has meaning and relevance for them and it required emotional investment and engagement on their terms. It implicated me in their lives and their spaces and enabled us to encounter each other as people rather than simply 'researcher' and 'research subject' (Cloke et al., 2003). The familiarisation period also played a role in helping me to earn the respect of project staff and negotiate practicalities.

Table 17: Overview of specific activities engaged in as a participant observer within each project

Indian Case Study	US Case Study
• Braiding saris with the women. • Assisting with jute cutting. • Volunteering in the bag marking department. • 2 days in screen printing. • Volunteering in the sewing room. • 3 days in the finishing room. • 2 days in T-shirt room. • 5 afternoons at the Drop-In Centre. • Attended 10 of the weekly staff devotions meetings. • Attended the daily devotional time over 30 times. • Attended 2 of the monthly Saturday morning church services run for the women. • Attended an Intern Evening hosted by the project. • Frequently sat in the staff room and in the design office to write up notes and this provided an informal opportunity to talk with people and observe	• Several days assisting with conference and fundraising admin and mailings. • Assisting in the Paper Studio. • Volunteering in the café. • Database entry to assist the graduate working on the reception. • Volunteering in manufacturing helping to pour and label lip balms. • Volunteering in packing department and shipping department. • Attended 6 of the weekly residential staff meetings. • Attended one local sales event party with one of the graduates. • Sat in on one of the Team Leaders meetings at the social enterprise. • Attended one of the conference planning meetings. • Observed and participated in a range of group sessions at the residential house including: Prostitution Group; NA Book Study; DBT group; Dreamwork; Yoga and Nutrition; Community Group: Orientation; Reality group; Stress Management; and Women's Issues. • Spent time just hanging out at the main residential house which provided me with the opportunity to chat informally with both staff and residents. • Attend a music event run at the café. • Shadowed the Residential Executive Director in a number of meetings including one with a documentary film crew.

Individual Interviews

The original plan was to conduct both informal dialogues and semi-structured interviews with project staff and the founders at both case studies to explore the three themes of the research. Accordingly, a number of interview guides were prepared (these are provided in Appendices 9-12). The intention was not to interview specific women engaging with the

project; instead women would be offered the opportunity to participate in a range of interactive research workshops.

In practice, organising interviews with staff was challenging in both contexts due to the multiple demands on their time and their need to prioritise responding to crises over participating in interviews. Consequently, interviews with staff members in both contexts were re-scheduled and frequently interrupted and opportunities had to be taken as they arose. In both contexts I was unable to carry out the management group interview on exiting prostitution (see Appendix 12) and only in the Indian context was I able to carry out the management group interview on social enterprise (see Appendix 11). Additionally, in contrast to the original research design, individual interviews with women engaging with the project were carried out in each context after staff decided this was appropriate and individual woman agreed to participate. For these interviews the interview guide designed for staff was used to guide the conversation (see Appendix 9). The table below outlines the interviews conducted for each case study.

Table 18: Interviews at Case Studies

Indian Case Study	**US Case Study**
• Individual semi-structured interviews with both founders plus an informal unstructured interview with one founder. • One-to-one interviews with 7 members of staff; 4 Indian nationals and 3 ex-pats. • One joint interview with 2 ex-pat members of staff involved in Laylaa (including a staff member who also participated in an individual interview). • One group interview on social enterprise with the Senior Management Team (attended by 5 staff members). • Five interviews with women working at the project.	• Informal individual interview with founder. • One-to-one interviews with 11 non-graduate paid members of staff; 8 social enterprise staff and 3 residential staff members. • One-to-one interviews with 3 volunteer staff members; 2 social enterprise and 1 residential. • One-to-one interviews with 3 graduate staff members: 2 residential staff & 1 café staff member.
Total Number of Interviews: 17	Total Number of Interviews: 19
Total Number of Interviewees: 18	Total Number of Interviewees: 18

In the Indian context, all of the interviews with staff and the founders were conducted in English. The interviews with the five women were conducted in Bengali with staff members serving as interpreters. The challenges and implications of cross-language research are

discussed in more depth below. All interviews took place during working hours, were conducted in a range of semi-private rooms within the project's buildings, and were audio-recorded. In the US context, all of the interviews were carried out during working hours and took place in a range of locations including the cafe, staff members' offices, and the conference room at the main residential house. With one exception they were all audio-recorded. The informal interview with the founder did not follow the planned interview guide nor was it audio-recorded due to the spontaneous nature of the interview. A full transcript of each interview from both case studies was produced[7].

Workshops

The intention was to develop research activities that the women could engage with that would allow them to share their knowledge without feeling like the focus was on them 'telling their story'. The activities needed to allow women to engage at the level at which they felt comfortable, regardless of their level of literacy, a particular concern with the Indian case study. The activities also needed to work in both of the case study contexts. With all this in mind, a number of interactive workshops were designed that centred on group discussion, drawing and brainstorming activities (a full description of these can be found in Appendix 13). These were discussed with the project staff prior to the commencement of fieldwork and practitioners in the UK were also consulted as to the appropriateness and sensitivity of the workshops. Both projects had told me that any structured research activities with the women would need to take place outside of working hours. So when and how I was going to run these workshops, and specifically how I was going to inspire women to give up their time outside of work hours to take part, was a question hanging over me as I began the fieldwork.

In practice, both projects agreed to allow me to carry out the research workshops during working hours. The table below outlines the workshops conducted for each case study.

[7] Eleven of the 19 US interviews were transcribed by a paid professional transcriber due to health problems which impacted on typing speed. The transcriber signed a confidentiality agreement & each transcript was checked against the audio-recording.

Table 19: Workshops at Case Studies

Indian Case Study	US Case Study
• One workshops on the theme of Exiting Prostitution (see Appendix 13) attended by 5 women working as supervisors within the project, four of whom had personally been in the line and one whose mother had been in the line. • One workshop on the Role of the Project attended by 6 women working as room supervisors within the project. Exact information as to whether they had personally been in the line was not provided. • One workshop on the theme of Exiting Prostitution attended by 6 women employed in different areas of the business, all of whom had personally been in the line and who were mainly older women.	• Two workshops on the theme of Exiting Prostitution (see Appendix 13) each attended by 5 graduates of the programme who are all currently employed at the social enterprise. • Two workshops on the theme of Exiting Prostitution attended by 8 residents and 2 residents respectively. • One workshop on the Role of the Project which was attended by 9 residents. • One workshop on the Role of Faith and Spirituality attended by 6 residents. (Overall, 14 different residents participated in the workshops; 3 of whom participated in 3 workshops; 5 participated in 2 workshops; and 6 participated in one workshop).
Total Number of Workshops: 3	Total Number of Workshops: 6
Total Number of Participants: 17	Total Number of Participants: 24

In the Indian context, I was heavily dependent upon the assistance of project staff to organise and run the workshops due to the language barrier. All three workshops took place in the conference room at the project which was rearranged so that everyone was sat on chairs in a circle with the activity laid out on the floor in the centre. The workshops were predominantly conducted in Bengali and were audio-recorded. Photographs of the activities were taken at the end of the workshop (see Figure 4). The collaboration with the staff members and the way in which interpretation was conducted will be discussed below. Food and ice-breaker games were central in the workshops. I had been told that it wasn't appropriate for me to offer financial compensation to the women but I wanted to show my appreciation. I chose to bake cakes and share them as part of a game at the start of each workshop. For me, the time taken to bake the cakes was a small practical way of 'giving something back' to the women. The cakes went down well and the ice-breaker games, which I thought would just be a bit silly to help the women to relax, turned out to be informative.

Figure 4: Photo of factors enabling exit from prostitution identified in an Indian workshop using Snakes and Ladders as a research tool (see Appendix 13).

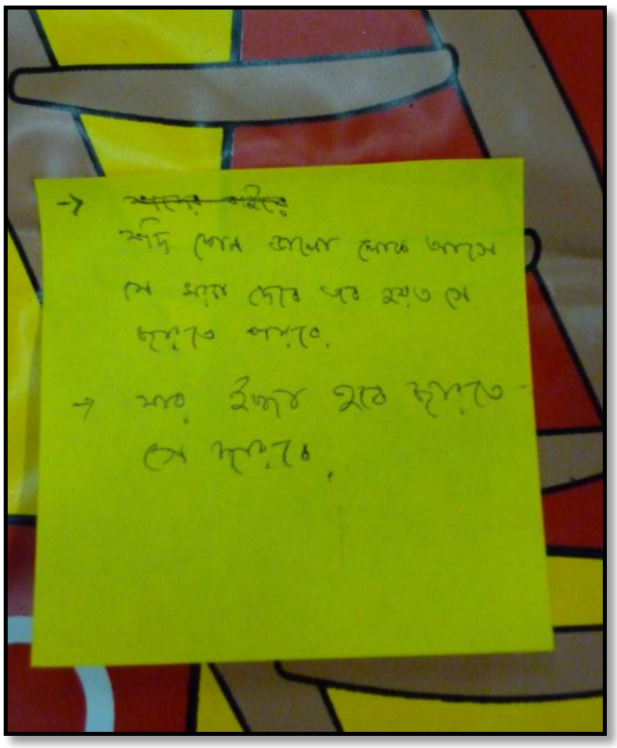
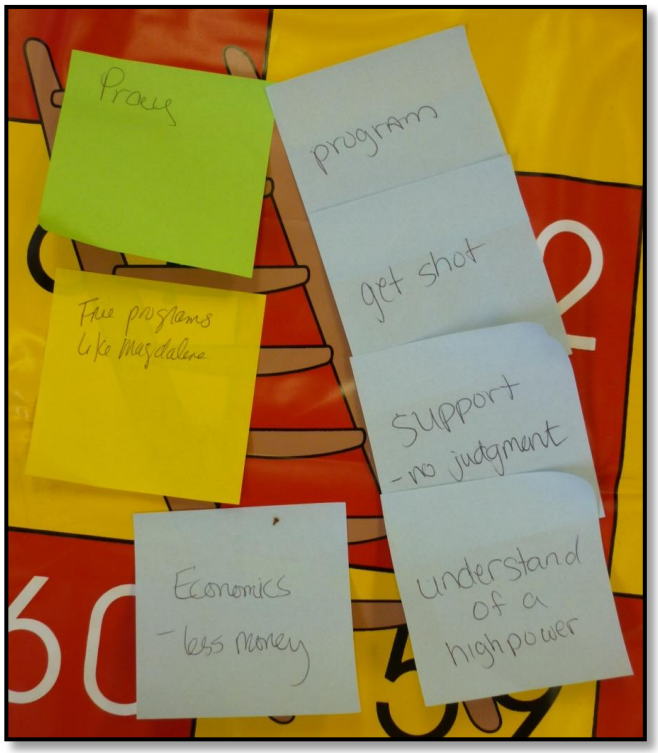


Figure 5: Photo of factors enabling exit from prostitution identified in a US workshop using Snakes and Ladders as a research tool (see Appendix 13).



In the US context, I was able to organise the workshops without as much assistance from staff and was given the opportunity to tell everyone about them. I was allowed to run two workshops with graduates during working hours at the social enterprise and I ran another four workshops with residents during programme hours. Trying to organise who was going to come on which day proved challenging and although the plan was to have 4-5 women for each workshop, I never knew who might turn up on the actual day. At the social enterprise the workshops took place in the conference room and were run over lunch time to cause the least disruption. I provided lunch and baked cakes. The workshops with residents took place in the living room in the main residential house. Whilst not a private space, the majority of group sessions take place in the living room so the women are familiar with the space. The open nature of the room also meant that it was less intimidating for a woman to leave if she chose to stop participating. As the workshops took place in the afternoon I baked cakes rather than provided lunch. Each workshop was audio-recorded, notes were taken during the workshops, photos of the activities were taken at the end of the workshop (see Figure 5) and a transcript of each workshop was later produced.

Project Document Analysis

To supplement the above methods, documents produced by the project were collected and analysed. Publicity resources for both case studies such as the project website, promotional video(s), blog posts and newsletters were analysed to increase understanding of how the projects present their work. An array of internal documents was also provided by each project. In the case of the Indian project this included research reports commissioned by the project; a sample 'Freedom Plan' (individual support plan tailored to each woman); documents prepared for visitors; an overview of their profit and loss accounts; and their 'Freedom Charter'. In the case of the US project this included Employee, Resident and Volunteer Handbooks; residential intake forms; annual reports and audits; and organisational budgets. Such documents added further depth to my understanding of how the projects operate.

The Challenge of Translation

The case study in India posed specific challenges as I do not speak the local language, Bengali. The project staff are bilingual and so communication with them could take place in English, however, the majority of the women engaging with the project do not speak English. Although I undertook some basic lessons in Bengali, it was evident that I would not be proficient in the language prior to carrying out the fieldwork and thus the need to work with

an interpreter was apparent. Whilst a positivist approach has been the predominant paradigm for working with interpreters in the social sciences, researchers have increasingly highlighted that **'**cross-cultural language exchange is not a simple technical process; the interpreter's role involves a complex social and cognitive process that influences the findings of the study' (Shimpuku & Norr, 2012, p. 1693). Rather than focusing solely on concerns around validity and objectivity and adopting techniques that serve 'to render the interpreter invisible' (Edwards, 1998, p. 201), emerging literature highlights the ways in which the interaction between researcher, interpreter and research participant is 'part of the social construction of the research product' (Temple & Young, 2004, p. 173). Calls for an accounting of the rationale for decisions regarding collaboration with interpreters and translators are thus an increasing feature within the literature (Temple, 2005; Squires, 2009; Berman & Tyyskä, 2010).

The Interpreters

Advice was sought from project staff during fieldwork preparation as to the most appropriate person for the role of interpreter. During these discussions I was informed that they did not consider it appropriate to use an external interpreter due to the societal stigma associated with prostitution. They thought that the women would be reticent to talk to an Indian national from outside the project as such an individual would be seen to carry that information into the local community. Instead it was suggested that one of the Indian staff members could work with me as an interpreter or, if not, a bilingual ex-pat staff member could assist me, though this would be dependent upon who was around and available at the time. Consequently, I was unable to confirm who I was going to be working with in relation to interpretation prior to arriving in the field.

In practice five different individuals acted as interpreters during the fieldwork. Whilst the literature often suggests it is best to work with just one interpreter to maintain the consistency of interpretation (Wallin & Ahlström, 2006), other researchers have acknowledged that 'the choice of when and how to translate is in part determined by the resources available to the researcher' (Temple & Young, 2004, p. 174). In the case of four of the individual interviews, one of the founders worked with me as the interpreter. As an expatriate her mother tongue is English but she has lived in India for over a decade, speaks Bengali and regularly interprets between the women and English-speaking visitors. Throughout the fieldwork she acted as my coordinator within the project and so spent a lot of time going over the purpose of the research and the interview guides. In the interviews,

she interpreted the question into Bengali, the participant responded in Bengali and then she translated their response back into English. Sometimes she translated almost simultaneously but usually it was consecutively. At times the interviewee would commence speaking again whilst she was still interpreting. On occasion, she skipped a question or two, commenting in English that she thought they had already covered it in a previous answer. Throughout the interviews she switched between interpreting in the first person and in the third person. Whilst her involvement raised concerns that some of the women might feel unable to say certain things or be as critical as they might otherwise be, it was also beneficial in that she knew three of the four women we interviewed very well and she is also very familiar with the organisation of prostitution within the local area. This meant that she was able to expand on what an interviewee said to aid my understanding when interviewees made passing reference to something or assumed understanding on my behalf.

In a fifth interview, a female ex-pat staff member worked with me as an interpreter. This was unplanned as the interview was originally going to take place in English, however, the interviewee decided to ask someone to interpret. The staff member was a native English speaker and had been in India for just over two years having previously completed a year of language study. During the interview I asked the questions in English, the staff member interpreted them into Bengali, the participant replied in Bengali and then the staff member gave a summary in English. Occasionally, the participant understood the question in English so replied directly in Bengali without the question first being translated. Interpretation was mainly in the third person though on occasion the first person was also used. In the sixth interview I deliberately asked a female Indian staff member who did not have a direct role in the business aspect to interpret as I was keen to hear the interviewee's views on the way in which the project markets the business and thought this would allow her more freedom to speak her mind. The staff member appeared to be well trusted by the women and spoke good English. Prior to the interview we discussed what I was interested in talking to the interviewee about. The interview itself was unstructured and was conducted using consecutive interpretation mainly in the third person.

For the three workshops I worked with an Indian male staff member who works in the HR department and one of the women who now also works in HR. Both were present for the first and third workshops but for the second workshop only the male staff member was available. Both had participated in interviews themselves and so were familiar with the

purpose of the research. Prior to the workshops we went through the workshop plan together. This allowed them to raise concerns and clarify activities. Suggestions of ways in which the workshop could be improved were taken on board; for example, the original plan had been to invite one of the participants to act as a scribe during the workshops but they recommended that they take on this role as many of the women are not literate and so this would avoid causing any sense of embarrassment.

The workshops were mainly conducted in Bengali, to enable them to flow as naturally as possible for participants, with regular summaries in English to allow me to follow the general discussion and ask questions. In practice this meant that I was not in control of a lot of the workshop in terms of the tone and how it was conducted, which at times I found frustrating. The day after each workshop we held a debrief session as the timing of the workshops meant that to debrief immediately after the workshops would have been to ask both staff members to work an extra hour and I did not consider this appropriate. Each debrief started with a general discussion about how they felt the workshop had gone. We would then go through each post-it note, clarify what was written on it and they would explain in greater detail what the women had discussed in relation to each point. Jot notes in English were taken during each workshop and extensive notes were written up during debrief.

The follow-up translation

After arriving back from the field I decided to pay for a 'follow-up' translation of the workshops and interviews, as recommended by Ingvarsdotter et al. (2012). The aim was not to secure a technically accurate translation but to explore the faithfulness of the interpretations offered by project staff and to establish the trustworthiness of the data. A native Bengali speaker was recruited through the International Office at Durham University. The individual had an MPhil degree from Jadavpur University in Women's Studies and was interviewed on Skype to assess her suitability. She was given a verbal and written brief of the research and was asked to sign a confidentiality contract (see Appendix 16). Access to the audio recordings was provided via a password protected Dropbox folder and she was asked to send a copy of the first translated interview for checking before continuing with the rest. A full transcript in English was produced for each interview and workshop, with the aim of achieving conceptual equivalence rather than a literal translation. The translator was also invited to comment on the accuracy of the interpretations offered by staff and the process of translation itself. The content of the two transcripts (the original and the follow-

up) was compared for each interview and workshop. Inconsistencies, concerns and queries were noted for each. Following on from this, two Skype calls were held with the translator during which areas of concern were discussed. For each concern, the translator would re-listen to the recording and either confirm her interpretation, add to her interpretation or clarify whether she thought the discrepancy was reasonable or not.

Comparing the two translations raised questions about the nature of the accuracy of translation and the active role both the interpreter(s) and translator have played in shaping the meaning of the women's words. As Temple has argued, 'there is no one correct way of translating' (2002, p. 846); rather 'all translators choose between words and concepts to try and reconstruct meaning and there is no single correct choice to be made' (Temple et al., 2006, p. 4). Neither transcript could thus be classed as the 'truer' version and instead of viewing inconsistencies as threats to validity differences in interpretation were explored as part of the process of translation. For example, sometimes the original transcript contained extra details not included within the follow-up translation. Such additions could be an example of a staff member elaborating on the response given by the interviewee based on their knowledge of the interviewee's situation in order to broaden my understanding of what the interviewee was saying. Alternatively, the poor quality of the audio recordings meant that at times the translator struggled to pick out what was said and so additions could represent dialogue she missed rather than actual additions. Determining how to treat such inconsistencies and how to analyse the data, given that there were two transcripts for each interview and workshop, was the next challenge.

Working with the translated data

It was decided that both transcripts would be imported into NVivo and linked together so that every response interpreted by the staff member was linked to the corresponding section in the follow-up translation. Next the original transcripts were colour-coded to indicate any sections where there appeared to be (1) additions (extra details provided by the staff member but not conveyed in the translator's summary of the participants' response), (2) omissions (details not provided by the staff member but conveyed in the translator's summary), and (3) changes in meaning (the central meaning conveyed in the staff member's interpretation was not consistent with the central meaning conveyed in the translator's summary). This coding indicated that overall the level of consistency between the two transcripts in regard to the central meanings conveyed by participants was fairly high.

Once the translation-related coding had been conducted I then chose to carry out the thematic coding (as described below) on the original transcripts on the basis that the staff members understood the context within which the research was taking place, were familiar with the operation of prostitution in that area and often already knew the women's personal stories. The translator, in contrast, lacked this knowledge. However, throughout the thematic analysis constant comparison between the two transcripts was maintained and sections where I was not confident that the participant's central meaning had been conveyed were not included within the analysis. When it came to the inclusion of quotes within the thesis, the use of the staff interpretation was preferred in line with the decision to use these transcripts as the basis of analysis. However, the follow-up translations have been used when the interpretation offered by the staff member was considered to be too succinct and the follow-up translation enabled a fuller understanding of the participant's comment. The transcript used when including quotes is indicated throughout the thesis.

Analysis

In line with the principles of a participatory approach, analysis was understood to be a part of the action-reflection cycle characterising the entire research project; it was an on-going process from the initial design of the research, through to the data collection period and into the more explicit periods of reflection following the return from fieldwork. For example, the field notes were 'simultaneously data and analysis' (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 159). Whilst the desire had been to involve both the project staff and the women in the process of analysis this proved difficult in practice due to the requirements of producing a PhD thesis, the fact that both case studies were located on different continents and the practical day-to-day demands faced by each project. The analysis stage was thus more planned and less participatory than originally intended.

The data from the case studies comprised of field notes, interview transcripts, workshop notes, project documents, and project web pages. All of this data was considered during analysis. After the first period of fieldwork, initial analysis, in the form of thematic spider diagrams, was carried out to help cement familiarity with the data and capture insights prior to commencing the second case study. Once both case studies had been completed NVivo 10 was used to assist with the management of data and the process of analysis.

Initially the data for each case study was analysed separately using a thematic approach loosely based on the 'framework' method (Ritche et al., 2003). In each case, all the data

sources were imported into NVivo, assigned a source classification (e.g. workshop notes) and coded by person where relevant. This ensured that an individual's responses could be traced across the data. All data sources were then systematically coded using the three themes of the research: prostitution, social enterprise and faith. Each data source was read line-by-line and any text that was relevant to the three themes was coded (as a sub-code). Initially these sub-codes were a priori codes drawn from the Case Study RQ Framework , itself informed by the three literature reviews (see Appendix 6), such as 'Barriers to Exiting Prostitution' and 'Expression of Faith'. However, other sub-codes emerged from reviewing the data, such as 'Significance of Community'. As the Indian data was coded first, all codes developed during this analysis were imported into the NVivo project for the US data. Where these imported codes were found not to be relevant to the US data they were dropped from the analysis of the US data and additional codes were introduced as necessary.

Once the data had been coded and repetitive and similar codes combined, an analysis report was written for each case study. The Case Study RQ Framework was used to inform the structure and each report consisted of four key sections: (1) Framing Prostitution, (2) The Process of Exiting Prostitution, (3) The Social Enterprise Approach, and (4) The Salience of Faith. For each section, the relevant coded data was exported into a Word document with the source classification and person code intact. The questions outlined in the Case Study RQ Framework (see Appendix 6) were then used to analyse the coded data and guide the writing of each report. For example, a question posed under the section on social enterprise was 'how does the project describe what it does?' All data coded 'project description' was examined, comparisons were noted between descriptions offered in project publicity and descriptions offered by project staff in interviews, and a response to the question was constructed. This process of analysis allowed for the clarification of emerging themes and was important for considering how each theme fitted into the broader overall analysis. The analysis reports produced through this process created a holistic and condensed account of the data in relation to RQs 2-5.

Following on from this, a cross-case study analysis was carried out to identify patterns and differences between the two contexts. This involved a re-reading of the literature alongside the two case study analysis reports. Constructing the thesis itself, the format of the analysis reports served as the foundation for the empirical chapters and crafting the reports into chapter sections involved a process of editing which further refined and clarified the emerging themes.

During the final writing stage, a report on each case study was produced which was sent to the respective projects. Each report drew directly on the material in the thesis and members of the management team were invited to comment on the respective report. This provided them with the opportunity to offer feedback, correct factual errors and discuss thematic interpretations – an opportunity both projects took up. This process sought to make the analysis and interpretation accessible and open to challenge, in line with a PAR approach, and the feedback from the projects was incorporated into the final thesis.

The Experience of Research and the Question of Ethics

Fieldwork, as Abebe has argued, 'is a personal experience rather than a mere academic pursuit' (2009, p. 460). However, within academic scholarship 'the politics of being in the field and how we, and our participants, experience research is oftentimes left at the margins or in the field' (Giampapa & Lamoureux, 2011, p. 129). Whilst I have sought to weave aspects of the experience of research throughout this chapter, this section will focus more reflexively on the ethical dilemmas that stemmed from the relational context of the research.

The question of informed consent

Informed consent, a key principle in social science ethics, is usually understood to entail 'giving sufficient information about the research and ensuring that there is no explicit or implicit coercion so that prospective participants can make an informed and free decision on their possible involvement' (ESRC, 2012, p. 29). Guidelines indicate that information should be provided in written form, time should be allowed for participants to consider their choices, and signed consent forms should be obtained from research participants. Where participants are not literate, verbal consent is often considered appropriate. Researchers have also highlighted 'the importance of information being presented in a user-friendly way' (Wiles et al., 2007, p. 3.9). Yet despite such guidelines informed consent is far from a straightforward process (Abebe, 2009).

During the preparatory phase of the fieldwork verbal and written explanations of the research were provided to members of the management teams. As discussed earlier, a familiarisation period was agreed and I produced adaptable information sheets and consent forms (these are provided in Appendices 14 & 15). Once in the field, the issue of informed consent became much more complicated due to the fluidity of the research process. I was involved in a continual ethical assessment of what was (or was not) the right way to proceed

with the research given differing understandings of what ethical research involves and the specific contexts within which the research took place. In India I was introduced to expat staff and the Senior Management team on my first day and was able to talk to them about who I was and what the research was about. With regards to the women, however, there was no formal introduction. Instead, during the period of familiarisation, the founder introduced me in each department where I volunteered. In contrast, in the US, by the end of the first week, all staff, graduates and residents had met me, heard about the aims of the research and understood that I would be carrying out participant observation and later interviews and workshops.

When it came to interviews with staff members, I was able to provide staff at both projects with the information sheet and consent form written in English. Whilst written consent was obtained in the vast majority of cases, there were a number of instances when verbal consent was instead given. On two occasions, once in both sites, the interviewee launched straight into talking before I had gone through the information sheet and consent form. As I felt confident that the individuals understood the purpose of the research, and as I was aware of how busy these individuals were, I chose to interpret their willingness to make time for the interview as an indication of their consent.

Ensuring the women who participated in interviews and workshops were able to make an informed decision about participating had its own challenges. In India, the selection and recruitment of participants by staff raised the possibility that women might feel obliged to agree to participate (although they might have felt just as much obligation given my status as a 'researcher from the UK'). Whilst this possibility was unavoidable due to my limited language skills, my interactions with the women throughout the fieldwork reassured me that they were confident in deciding the level of information they were willing to share with me. As Edwards (1998) has highlight, the exercise of power within interviews is a complex process and interviewees are capable of inserting their own agenda into the research interview. In discussion with the founder, it was decided that it was not appropriate to simply translate the information sheet and consent forms into Bengali due to illiteracy rates amongst the women. Instead the research was verbally explained to participants. In the US, I was given the opportunity to explain in advance at both the social enterprise and the residential house that I would be running workshops that week and what participation in them would involve. Whilst I was the one recruiting participants, staff members encouraged the women to participate and emphasised how I had come a long way to do the

research. The possible sense of an obligation to participate was thus also present at this site. At the start of each workshop I would again give a verbal explanation of the research and time was given for any questions the women might have. Whilst written consent was obtained in most cases, there were a small number of times when this was not the case.

Despite trying to design research activities that were sensitive and explaining that the women could say as much or as little as they wanted about their personal experience it was impossible to avoid the fact that we were talking about sensitive issues. During one US workshop, there was a discussion about the difference between bad relationships and having a pimp and as this discussion progressed one woman announced that the workshop wasn't good for her and that she didn't want to take part any longer. I reassured her that she was free to leave if she wanted to and she did. She had previously told me that she had a therapy session straight after the workshop so I knew that she had good support but I had spent quite a bit of time with her over the weeks and the thought that participating in the workshop might have had a damaging impact on her left me feeling guilty; an experience acknowledged by others when researching sensitive topics (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007, p. 343). The next day I told her I was sorry the workshop had upset her. She explained that she'd talked to her therapist, that it wasn't really anything to do with the workshop, and reassured me that she was ok. Whilst uncomfortable, this experience demonstrated to me the need to respect the women's resilience and their ability to decide for themselves what was good for them.

Confidentiality and anonymity

Both case studies posed clear challenges regarding anonymity and confidentiality on a number of different levels; for the project, for individual staff, and for the women engaging with the projects. With regards to the projects, the unique characteristics of their work make them easily identifiable and so the possibility of offering complete anonymity was highly questionable. Both projects involve small staff teams which mean that issues of internal confidentiality within the individual case studies needed to be carefully negotiated. This was also a challenge in relation to the women. These issues were discussed with both projects during the preparatory phase and at various points throughout the fieldwork, analysis and final editing of the thesis.

Concerns about jeopardising the security of the business in India, due to sensitivities around the issue of faith, led the management team to request that the project was not named

within the thesis. The decision was also taken not to identify the exact location of the business. In the case of the US project, the Executive Director was happy for the project to be named. Staff members are not named within the research and I decided that even referring to their job roles would make individuals identifiable internally within the case studies, breaching their right to confidentiality, and externally in the US case due to information available on their website. All quotes from the women who participated in the workshops in India and the US have been anonymised and pseudonyms are used for the women who participated in individual interviews, with the exception of one woman in the US who requested that her real name was used.

Negotiating identities and relationships

Ethnographic research is fundamentally relational and involves a continual (re)negotiation of identities and relationships between all involved in the research process. Consequently researchers highlight 'the ways in which researcher identities, and the positionalities that are imposed/claimed by participants and researchers alike when working in the field, do impact on both the research process and product' (Giampapa & Lamoureux, 2011, p. 128). Autoethnography has thus been seen as a means by which researchers can reflexively engage with these relational dynamics, with researchers drawing on the concepts of 'insider' and 'outsider' to discuss such agency. However, such writing can also be problematic because 'it tends to create the illusion of a fixed identity that is not representative of lived experience' (Bailey et al., 2009, p. 255). As Lamoureux has highlighted, 'agency through insiderness or being positioned as an outsider is not limited to only one researcher characteristic or identity marker' (2011, p. 208). Furthermore, 'we will never be fully aware of our positionalities, how they have manifested during the research process, how others have interpreted them, and how they have influenced the research participants' (Hopkins, 2009, p. 6). Such points highlight the complexities involved in addressing "the intersubjectivity of the researcher and the researched" (Chase, 2010, p.217 as quoted in Lamoureux, 2011, p. 207).

Throughout the research process I have experienced the complexity of my own contingent and historical situatedness and its influence on the research process, both on an analytical level and on a physical level. My experience of outreach with women involved in street prostitution and of serving as a trustee of a UK charity working with people involved in prostitution undoubtedly gave me credibility in the eyes of the two projects as someone who understood the complexities involved in prostitution and who was likely to engage

sensitively. Indeed, these connections were crucial in establishing a research relationship with both projects and meant that as a researcher invited in to work with both projects I held a privileged position. I was able to participate in a wide range of activities within both projects and had access to both staff and women. And, unlike staff and volunteers at the projects who had specific roles and responsibilities to carry out, I was granted flexibility in how I made use of my time.

Throughout the fieldwork I was involved in a continual process of self-disclosure as I volunteered alongside staff and women at both projects. This was undoubtedly easier in the US context than in the Indian context due to the challenges around language, however, through informal interpretation by staff and by those women who did speak some English we were able to exchange everyday stories about our lives. With some research participants my status as a woman in her late 20s was a point of identification and similarity; others considered me young and commented on the fact that they had daughters the same age as me. My status as a newly married woman was a point of connection eliciting conversations, particularly in India, about when I was going to have children and producing empathy at being apart from my husband having only just got married.

In the Indian context, being an ex-pat was a characteristic I shared with some members of staff. I was invited to participate in meals out outside of working hours and there was an appreciation of the difficulties of negotiating a foreign culture. However, I was only there for a few months and would return home: I had not committed to spending several years there or to making the city my home. Conversely, with the women, being an ex-pat placed me as an 'outsider', as someone who did not daily live within the cultural possibilities and confinements of their society. This was beneficial in that the women were suspicious of Indian nationals who visited the project because of the societal stigma against women in prostitution and the possibility of shame being brought on their families; as an 'outsider' with no connections within the local community, speaking to me was seen to involve less reputational risk. My status as an ex-pat was also seen by some of the women to offer them the possibility of cultural critique, with one interviewee inviting me to share my views on how the shame surrounding women involved in prostitution might be changed and voicing her own frustrations with Indian culture as she saw it. Additionally, in the view of some of the women, as a White British national, I was potentially able to garner more support for the project in my home country. One interviewee explicitly explained how:

> *I'm telling you a lot of my struggles and what I faced and I'm going to tell you why I am doing that. So that we can get lots of help from others and we understand that others are here to help* [Diya, Staff Interpretation].

She raised concerns about the need for more ex-pat staff if the business was going to provide employment to more women and, at the end of the interview, she again reiterated this request: 'You tell others to come and work with us, work alongside us [...] when you go back, tell others'.

In the US context, my identity as a White British national marked me out as different from both staff and women alike: I was the one with 'the accent'. For some of the women, my British identity created an air of curiosity around me and an opportunity to find out about how life differs in the UK. It also generated an appreciation that I had travelled to the US to learn about their lives and thus a willingness to include me in activities and make me feel welcomed. For example, during my first week, one of the women took a photo of me making paper and posted it on her Facebook page with the caption 'Katie came all the way from England to make paper with me'.

My own personal identification with the Christian faith is an important part of my positionality. My faith has contributed to the development of access and trust within both projects and has enabled me to participate authentically in times of prayer, meditation and devotional services. Where participants identified as Christian, our shared faith allowed the incorporation of expressions of spiritual realities, knowledge and experiences into our discussions. My personal belief and experience that an encounter with God is personally and socially transformative has arguably brought a higher expectation of hopeful outcomes, though this is informed by my appreciation of the relational, structural and societal barriers facing women in these circumstances. It has also brought with it a commitment to embracing the complexity of faith-based organisations and a heightened sensitivity to different forms of faith in action and unforeseen implications, particularly where these might be contentious. My prayer life and the prayers of family and friends have been a source of support throughout the PhD and prayer has been an important way in which I have responded to the emotional dynamics of carrying out the research.

My faith position has also been a source of anxiety as I have negotiated my positionality in relation to the secular normativity of academia within the UK; an experience acknowledged by other scholars researching from a faith position (for example see Sanderson, 2012; Williams, 2012). On a number of occasions, when speaking about my research at academic

conferences and workshops, I have encountered two connected assumptions: that the faith-based nature of projects must make them dubious and that as a researcher I must be starting from a position of distrust. Whilst encountering such assumptions has been frustrating, it has heightened my sensitivity to such suspicion towards a religious positionality as a legitimate source for knowing the world. Consequently, throughout the analysis, I have continually sought to consider the data not only from my position of 'critical empathy' but also from a position of distrust (Bailey et al., 2009, p. 263). Arguably, this has strengthened the analysis. Overall, like Williams, I have found that 'my faith has led me to acknowledge and attenuate issues that may otherwise have been ignored or 'misinterpreted' by 'outsiders'' (2012, p. 132).

Summary

This chapter has outlined the research journey, providing an explanation of the research framework and a detailed account of the research methods employed in carrying out the study. The two phase approach to the research, involving an internet-based mapping study and case studies with two specific projects, has been discussed along with the challenges of cross-language research and the ethical dilemmas encountered. We now move on to examine the research findings. These are presented in a series of five chapters, the first focused on the findings of the mapping study and the subsequent four chapters presenting findings from the ethnographic research.

Chapter 6: A snapshot: faith-based projects and the operation of social enterprises

Introduction

The role of support organisations in facilitating the process of exiting from prostitution, as discussed in Chapter 2, is recognised within academic literature, however, very little is actually known about the history, philosophy and programme strategies of such organisations. The emergence of organisations specifically providing alternative employment and income opportunities for those seeking to exit prostitution has received even less academic attention: little research into their emergence, extent and operations has been carried out to date (the few studies that do exist were discussed in Chapter 3). Moreoever, the role of faith within such organisations has only been briefly touched upon (Bernstein, 2010; Dasra, 2013). An initial question in this study, RQ1, was thus a contextual one: what is the nature of faith-based projects around the world that are seeking to support women to leave prostitution through the operation of social enterprises that provide alternative employment and income opportunities. The mapping study has sought to answer this question and, in doing so, provide a wider context within which to situate the analysis of the two case studies. The mapping study is best described as a 'contextual snapshot' as the study was limited to a desk-based study over a specified period of time. It was intended as a broad brush of the field of faith-based organisations providing alternative employment and income opportunities rather than a detailed analysis of such organisations. In this chapter, the extent and location of such organisations will be reported; the varying social enterprise models pursued by these organisations will be explored; and the ways in which the organisations present both prostitution and the role of faith in their work will be examined.

Location and Extent

The study identified 52 organisations operating in 20 different countries with a total of 59 on-the-ground projects across these countries (see Table 20). The discrepancy between the overall number of organisations and the number of projects is accounted for by the fact that some organisations operate in multiple countries. Out of the 59 projects, 80% of the projects adopting a social enterprise approach were situated in what the IMF (2012) classifies as "emerging and developing economies" with around 60% concentrated within

Asia[8]. Within countries some projects were based in a single location whilst others had multiple sites and a clear clustering of projects was identifiable in some areas. In India there were a total of 14 sites with five of these based in Kolkata, four in Mumbai and the remainder scattered across the country. Of the six sites identified in Cambodia, five of these were in Phnom Penh. Similarly, in Thailand four of the ten sites were located in Bangkok. These clusters could indicate the significance of networks in the development of social enterprise approaches; however, further research would be needed to clarify this.

Table 20: Country Locations with number of on-the-ground projects operating within each country

No.	Country	No. of Projects	No.	Country	No. of Projects
1	Bangladesh	3	**11**	India	10
2	Bolivia	1	**12**	Jamaica	1
3	Cambodia	6	**13**	Mali	1
4	Canada	2	**14**	Nepal	3
5	China	4	**15**	Nicaragua	1
6	Columbia	1	**16**	Philippines	2
7	Costa Rica	1	**17**	Thailand	7
8	Dominican Republic	1	**18**	Uganda	1
9	Ethiopia	1	**19**	USA	10
10	Fiji	1	**20**	Vietnam	2
				TOTAL	**59**

Although some of the organisations described themselves as international only five organisations, at the time of the study, had projects which were providing alternative opportunities for women in more than one country. Overall 70% of organisations (37 out of 52) were based in a single location and were providing direct support services and alternative employment opportunities in that one location.

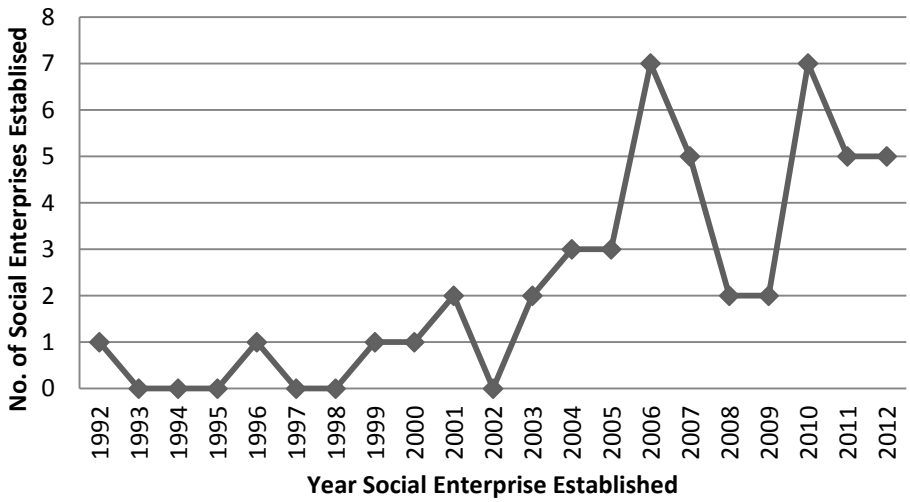
Looking at the year the social enterprise approaches were established it is clear that this is a relatively new phenomenon[9]. Some 75% of them had been founded since 2005 with 45% established between 2008 and 2012 alone (see Figure 6). Only three organisations had

[8] The country classification in the *World Economic Outlook* divides the world into two major groups: "advanced economies" and "emerging and developing economies" (IMF, 2012, p. 180). The criteria for determining country classification are queried; even the 2012 report itself acknowledges this.

[9] For 3 of the 59 projects there was no information about the year the project was established; for 9 there was information about the original founding of the project but no specific information pertaining to when the social enterprise approach was introduced, although their websites suggested that this was at a later stage. Information about the year the social enterprise was started was thus available for 47 of the projects.

adopted a social enterprise approach prior to 2000 and, interestingly, all three of these organisations had been in operation providing direct services to support women to exit prostitution for a period of time before a social enterprise approach was introduced. This is in contrast to the more recently established social enterprise approaches, where the number of new start ups exceeds the number of existing organisations introducing a social enterprise approach to their already established programmes.

Figure 6: Year Range in which Social Enterprise Approaches were Established



Overall, the mapping study has found that the phenomenon of faith-based organisations adopting social enterprise approaches to supporting women to exit prostitution appears to be relatively new and, at the time of the study, was predominantly occurring within emerging and developing countries.

Social Enterprise Approaches

Organisational Form

Information pertaining to the legal form of the organisations was very difficult to clarify via the websites but it appeared that the majority of projects were registered as non-profit organisations with only nine clearly registered as Private Companies. What is striking is that around 65% (n=34) of organisations were either themselves registered in the US as a non-profit 501(c)(3) organisation or an umbrella organisation under which they operated, or through which they encouraged people to donate, was registered as a 501(c)(3). Section 501(c)(3) of the US Internal Revenue Code allows for federal tax exemption of non-profit organisations, specifically those that are organised for charitable purposes. A 501(c)(3) organisation cannot operate for the benefit of private interests and none of its earnings may

inure to any private shareholder or individual. That so many are registered as 501(c)(3)s is striking because only 30% of these organisations (10 out of 52) are providing alternative employment opportunities to women in the US; the other 70% are all operating outside of the US. A proportion of these 34 organisations are also registered in other countries as businesses and/or non-profits, some in multiple countries and others in the country where they are providing direct services. For example, one organisation operates as a business and a non-profit in Thailand and as a 501(c)(3) in the United States. Similarly, another project was originally set up as an Indian single proprietorship in 2006 and became an Indian Private Limited Company in 2009 but also has a non-profit arm through a US-founded international 501(c)(3) umbrella non-profit organisation through which it receives donations.

In addition to these 34 organisations, it was also clear that at least six other organisations were registered as, or closely linked to, a non-profit organisation or business outside the country in which they operated. Thus, whilst 80% of the organisations geographically operated in emerging and developing economies, predominantly in Asia, just over 75% of them were registered as, or closely linked to, a non-profit organisation or business in an advanced economy: with 65% of organisations registered in the US as a 501(c)(3). This raises questions as to the influence of the US on the growth and emergence of such social enterprises. Does the preponderance of 501(c)(3)s indicate a dominance of US citizens in the establishment and management of these organisations? Does it perhaps reflect a widespread desire amongst such organisations to tap into US philanthropic finances and consumer markets? Or maybe it reflects the strength of Christian tradition and the anti-trafficking movement within the US and appeals to these support bases? Without further research into the founding of each organisation, their organisational strategy and their management structure, it is difficult to interpret this finding accurately.

Detailed information on the organisational form of projects was difficult to clarify based solely on analysis of websites and the exact legal form of projects' social enterprise initiatives were often not easy to discern. The relatively new emergence of many of these social enterprise approaches adds to the complexity. A good example of this complexity can be seen in the case of a project situated in Bangladesh. Upon initial investigation it was unclear whether the project was being operated by a Bangladeshi non-profit organisation or by a worldwide ministry of Anabaptist churches with headquarters in Canada and the US. Further inquiry revealed that the Bangladeshi non-profit organisation was originally established by the larger Anabaptist organisation in 2001 to independently manage job

creation enterprises that had initially been developed by the larger organisation. Email correspondence with the Anabaptist organisation confirmed that the project was currently being operated under a division of their organisation but in partnership with the Bangladeshi non-profit. Furthermore, the correspondence led to the discovery that upon crossing the break-even point and becoming financially self-sustaining, which was anticipated to occur during the course of 2012, the plan was to separate the project from the Anabaptist organisation and either establish it as an independent business or run it under the umbrella of the Bangladeshi non-profit organisation. This example alone demonstrates the evolving nature of these social enterprise initiatives.

Business Activities

Moving to look at the business activities pursued by the organisations, the 59 projects can be categorised according to whether their business activity was primarily service-based or product-based. In total, 80% of the projects were involved in producing marketable goods and approximately 32% were involved in providing marketable services. Eight projects ran multiple initiatives, providing both marketable services and goods, and of these, six targeted both the local market and the international market. The distribution of business activities amongst the projects alongside the primary markets they targeted are shown in the table below. Strikingly, 30 of the projects (50%) were producing goods aimed at the international market.

Table 21: Matrix of Primary Type of Business Activity and Markets targeted by Projects

	Type of Market			
Type of Primary Business Activity	**Local**	**International**	**Mixed**	***Total***
Service	11	0	0	**11**
Product	4	30	6	**40**
Service and Product	2	0	6	**8**
Totals	**17**	**30**	**12**	59

Three international organisations had the bulk of their direct projects in one country but provided some work for women leaving prostitution in the country where their headquarters were based. All three of these organisations were primarily involved in the production of goods; however, the economic opportunities provided for women in the country where their headquarters were based were related to the sale, marketing and distribution of goods and not to their actual production.

Table 22: Types of Products produced by Projects

Type of Products	No.
Jewellery	29
Clothing	12
Handicrafts/Gift items/Accessories	10
Cards/Stationary	8
Bags	7
Food items (Bakery, Cakes, Poultry)	4
Bath and Body Products	4
Leather Goods	1

In terms of the types of products projects were involved in making, half of the projects were involved in the production and sale of jewellery. Clothing and handicrafts were the next most popular products manufactured. In the case of clothing, the common model was to centre production on one or two specific types of clothing items, such as custom-designed T-shirts or handmade pyjamas. However, one of the projects involved in the production of clothing specialised in ready-to-wear and custom-made clothing and a second ran a garment manufacturing business in partnership with a Private Limited Company, specialising in products for mountaineering and extreme sports sold in a range of mainstream outdoor stores. Just under half of the projects involved in the production of goods (23 out of 48) had multiple production lines; although for the vast majority of them the types of goods were very similar. In addition, 77% had their own online shop through which their products could be bought directly or offered an online catalogue and took orders via email. Both of these sales methods enable the projects to target their goods at the international market.

Table 23: Types of Marketable Services provided by Projects

Type of Service	No.
Cafe/Restaurant	7
Spa/Beauty Salon/Hairdressers	5
Catering service	4
Hotel and Hospitality	2
Bridal Business	1
Cleaning Business	1
Rubbish Collection Business	1
Office Administration	1
Retail (thrift shop/ distribution company)	2

Of the types of marketable services offered by projects, the most common service was the running of a cafe or restaurant. If those projects that provided a catering service were also counted, then approximately 25% of projects (11 out of 59) were involved in food industry service. Of the eleven service-based only projects, six operated multiple services, such as a cafe and a beauty salon or a cafe, thrift shop and cleaning business. In terms of geographical location, one third of the projects providing a marketable service were based in the US.

The prevalence of jewellery-producing projects raises questions as to the sustainability of such businesses and their capacity to expand and offer ongoing opportunities for women to exit prostitution. On the other hand, that thirteen of the projects had multiple distinct business activities arguably demonstrates the innovation occurring in seeking ways to expand the capacity of organisations to offer alternative income opportunities. For example, a Thailand-based project had a jewellery and card-making business, a hair salon, and ran a bakery and a restaurant; whilst a Cambodia-based project ran a beauty salon and offered a bridal business[10]. In the face of market shifts, it is these projects which would be expected to have the greatest resilience.

The preponderance of jewellery-making projects and the disproportionate number of projects registered as 501(c)(3)s, compared to the number of projects actually offering employment opportunities in the US, can in many ways be seen to confirm the criticisms levelled at such organisations. In her critique of US evangelical Christians' engagement with 'modern-day slavery', Bernstein has poured scorn on "The Business of Rescue" amongst 'Christian humanitarian organisations that orient former prostitutes towards entry-level jobs in the service economy' (Bernstein, 2007b, p. 140). As discussed earlier, she argues that such organisations have embraced a neoliberal consumer politics in which '"freedom" resides in Western consumers' ability to purchase the trinkets and baubles that "trafficking victims" produce' (Bernstein, 2010, p. 64). Whilst such criticisms need to be heeded further exploration of these organisations than Bernstein appears to have undertaken is necessary to assess the extent to which her criticisms are indeed accurate and valid.

Income Streams

Very few websites provided detailed information on the finances of the organisation and many contained minimal or no information. The issue was also complicated by the evolving

[10] The bridal business provided wedding attire, beauty packages, bridal house decoration and car rental organisation.

nature of projects and the complex relationships between organisations and their social enterprise initiatives, in the cases where some kind of distinction between the two existed. One of the most striking findings, based on the available information, was that it appeared that almost all of the organisations had at least two income streams and were not solely reliant upon trading income. Around 35% of the organisations' websites had information pertaining to fundraising events and just under half stated that they received funding from charitable trusts and foundations; 17 of which confirmed that they received financial support specifically from faith-based sources. Interestingly, only four organisations stated that they received government funds whilst two organisations explicitly stated that they did not receive such funding. Both of these were US-based organisations and for one of them the decision not to take government funding was clearly one of principle, not simply lack of opportunity.

The vast majority of the 52 organisations solicited donations from individuals through their website. Making no request for individual private donations was thus the exception and only eight organisations did not encourage people to donate online. Furthermore, on all eight of these organisations' websites there was no reference to any kind of financial income apart from income generated through the sale of goods and services. Interestingly all eight of these organisations fell more towards the business end of the social enterprise continuum as opposed to the charity end; for all of them the social enterprise was *the* approach to supporting women to exit prostitution and not an added extra.

Given that the vast majority of the organisations operated as a non-profit charitable organisation and were not solely reliant upon trading income, they could be described, using the typology of the Schwab Foundation for Social Entrepreneurship (2012), as 'hybrid non-profit ventures'. This model mixes external funding with some degree of cost-recovery through the sale of goods and services. In this respect, many of the organisations would fail to qualify as social enterprises according to narrower definitions which emphasise that such entities must be independent businesses (Social Enterprise Mark Company, 2011).

Whilst discussing finances, it is worth noting that 19 of the 52 organisations specifically state on their website that the women receive a salary or remuneration from the organisation, with three projects in India and three in Cambodia emphasising that it is a 'fair trade salary'. Of these 19 organisations, a small number provide detailed information about employee benefits (e.g. health insurance, loan schemes etc).

Growth Strategies

Detailed analysis of the growth strategies pursued by the organisations was also not possible based on the information available on projects' websites but a number of critical reflections are worthy of note. Firstly, partnership with the private sector had proved a viable means of expansion for the Columbia-based organisation which originally started out as a training and educational programme offering practical experience to trainees. At this stage the project was not a commercially viable manufacturer; rather it sought to enable trainees to gain experience and thus apply for jobs elsewhere. Partnering with a private sector business in 1992, however, enabled the project to transition from a training programme to a social enterprise which was commercially viable and which offered employment, not simply training, to women. It also enabled the project to grow quantitatively in size through expansion into new markets and the increased customer base it entailed. Secondly, another organisation had expanded its work through the replication of its model to other global regions. Support offices, intended to raise funds for their activities, were first established overseas and then an international arm was formed and tasked to study how to replicate the project, with replications commencing in 2008 and 2009 in two different countries.

The final critical reflection is the occurrence of networks of organisations. This is hard to elaborate on based on the organisations' websites alone but it is noticeable that several of the organisations were networked together and not only referenced each other but actively promoted one another. For example, one of the newer US organisations had been established by a woman who had previously lived in India and been involved in an organisation there. The US organisation she had established, in part, acted as a distribution company and sold products made by a number of other organisations. These mainly consisted of organisations in India but also included a US-based organisation and a Bolivian-based organisation. In this sense, the organisations could potentially be described as working together to build a movement, spreading the core idea and principles and working in support of the same purpose.

A social enterprise typology for FBOs supporting women to exit prostitution

As noted in Chapter 5, a broad definition of social enterprise as 'the pursuit of a social purpose through engagement, on some level, in the production of goods or services within the marketplace' was used for the purposes of this study. This definition has, however, meant the inclusion of a number of organisations within the study which could more

accurately be described as running vocational training programmes as opposed to social enterprises. For example, a US-based project runs a voluntary 3-month day programme where participants take part in training activities alongside the production of hand-made bath products and jewellery. The sale of these products is used to pay the women a monthly stipend. This project is thus not offering employment, it being an educational programme, but it is providing a temporary alternative source of income for women leaving prostitution and is generating some earned income through the production and sale of goods. Similarly, a project based in Costa Rica, which operates an outreach and drop-in centre, runs regular jewellery workshops.

> *During the workshops, we ask the ladies to make three pairs of earrings, 1 of which we resell to support the ministry. The women are under no obligation to sell the jewelry we teach them to make; it is completely up to them to move forward with this newfound skill.*

Whilst this activity is clearly taking place on a very small scale and is not generating extensive income for the project or the women taking part, it does represent a move towards engaging in the production of goods and services in the marketplace as a means of supporting women to exit prostitution. Several other projects fall within this same vocational training programme category and were also included within the analysis on the basis that they offer a valuable insight into the support being offered by projects. Projects running vocational training programmes, however, that did not appear to be engaging, on some level, in the production of goods or services *within the marketplace* were not included.

Whilst all of the organisations could loosely be described as corresponding to Alter's (2008) *Employment Model* prototype, in that they had sought to develop a solution to supporting women to exit prostitution through the provision of alternative employment and/or income opportunities to those seeking to exit, the organisations can be more usefully categorised according to the specific way in which the business activities pursued are related to the organisation's social mission and strategy, referred to here as the 'Social Enterprise Model'. Four such models were identified, with the first model consisting of 3 sub-categories (see Table 24).

Table 24: Types of Social Enterprise Model adopted by Projects

Type of Social Enterprise Model	No.
1. Programme with Social Enterprise	**38**
(a) Programme with Vocational Training Programme ***presented more as a training programme than a social enterprise per se***	7
(b) Outreach Programme with Social Enterprise ***emphasis is predominantly on the outreach programme***	21
(c) Residential Programme with Social Enterprise ***emphasis is predominantly on the residential programme***	10
2. Social Enterprise with support services ***emphasis is predominantly on the social enterprise***	**10**
3. Social Enterprise that partners with Local Organisations ***distinct entity that works alongside grassroots projects***	**8**
4. Social Enterprise ***no info about support services***	**3**

The most common model by far was that of a project running a programme with a social enterprise operating alongside it, with over 50% of such projects predominantly outreach-based projects. The other three models all fall within the umbrella category of 'Social Enterprise', meaning that the mission and market activities are synonymous, but they operate in three distinct ways, hence the different categories. In all three the social enterprise was the approach to supporting women to exit prostitution and not an added extra; their main emphasis was on providing alternative employment and income opportunities to women seeking to exit. However, in the 'Social Enterprise with support services' model, the projects also provided an array of additional in-house support services, such as optional housing, health care support, budgeting support and educational training. In the 'Social Enterprise that partners with Local Organisations' model, the organisation itself did not appear to provide any direct additional support services; however, its practice of setting up and working in partnership with existing local grassroots projects that are already supporting women to exit prostitution means that woman can access other forms of support through these partners. In the final model, no information about additional support services or about partnerships with local grassroots projects was available on the organisations' websites.

Given the focus of the study and the definition of social enterprise employed, none of the projects were approaching social enterprise activity as an auxiliary activity unrelated to the mission and employed solely as a funding vehicle. For all 59 projects, the business activities served to augment the social purpose of supporting women to exit prostitution: the aim of

the business activities was to provide an alternative income to those women seeking to leave the sex industry. In this sense then, all four models could be described as 'mission centric'. On the other hand, the extent to which the business activities were self-funding and the projects were financially self-sufficient and not reliant on external philanthropic funding, criteria which Alter (2008) uses in defining 'mission centric' social enterprises, varies significantly and cannot be accurately assessed without further information. Thus determining the extent to which the business activities could be described as 'embedded' or 'integrated' is difficult without further information. Suffice it to say that approximately a third of the projects, those falling within the last three categories, could clearly be described as operating 'embedded' social enterprise models. With an outline of the types of social enterprise models being pursued by faith-based organisations, we now turn to examine the ways in which the organisations presented prostitution.

Presentation of Prostitution

Framing of prostitution

There was significant variation in the way in which the organisations framed and portrayed the issue of prostitution on their websites and the vast majority of organisations drew on multiple discourses. As shown in Table 25, the discourse that appeared most frequently by far on the organisations' websites was the discourse of trafficking. However, in only one instance was trafficking the only predominant discourse employed. Most commonly it was combined with that of sexual exploitation. Of the six organisations which drew on the discourse of sex slavery, five did so alongside the discourse of trafficking. In the case of the sixth organisation the discourse of sex slavery was the overriding framework used throughout their website.

Table 25: Discourse drawn upon by Organisations to talk about Prostitution on their Websites

Discourses Drawn Upon	No. of Projects Using the Discourse
Trafficking	30
Prostitution	19
Sexual Exploitation	19
Sex Trade/Industry	15
Sex Slavery	6
Sex Work	4
Unclear	3
Other	8

Three organisations employed vague discourses on their websites which made the links with prostitution less overt. For example, a project based in Bangladesh talked about 'women who are undervalued within society' and 'often forced into work they would not choose for themselves'. No explicit mention was made on their website of trafficking, prostitution, sexual exploitation, or sex work etc. In this case the emphasis appeared to be on not identifying the women they employed explicitly with prostitution. In another example, a US based project used the phrase 'severe obstacles to employment' and talked about working with 'women who are in recovery' and 'women in destitution'. Here the broader discourse reflected the fact that the project was not restricted exclusively to women seeking to leave prostitution but was also open to those who had experienced homelessness, abuse, incarceration and addiction.

In addition to the discourses listed in the above table, eight organisations drew on other discourses to communicate about the nature of their work and the people they are seeking to support. Five organisations drew on a discourse of 'women at-risk'. In two cases the inference was that women were at risk of being trafficked and so the discourse of trafficking was implicated. In the other three cases the inference was that women were at risk of becoming involved in the sex industry more generally, with the underlying suggestion that this may perhaps be against their will or due to poverty. One organisation framed its work within the discourse of HIV/AIDS. Another used the phrase 'bar girls' extensively throughout their website. This organisation was situated in Thailand and the phrase could be seen to fall within the 'sex industry' discourse, although references were predominantly to 'bar work' with the occasional reference to 'the red light district'. The eighth organisation often used the term 'single moms' throughout their website. The ethos of the organisation was centred on supporting and fostering strong families and the organisation was originally founded 'to stop the cycles of poverty and destruction of families throughout [location]'.

Type of prostitution context

The vast majority of organisations did not specify the exact type of prostitution context with which they were engaging though it was clear that individual projects were engaging in multiple types of prostitution contexts. Although some judgements about the type of prostitution context a project was engaging with could be made based on the location a project was operating within and the way in which a project framed the issue of prostitution, the complexity and diversity of the global sex industry makes classification into discrete categories problematic. For example, the juxtaposition of indoor and street-based

prostitution, found within some of the literature, fails to convey the blurred lines between different sex markets, the variations that can occur between place of solicitation and place of sex and research findings that suggest some individuals have involvement in multiple types of prostitution contexts (Benoit & Millar, 2001; Jain & Saggurti, 2012; Cimino, 2013).

Fourteen of the organisations did state that they were specifically seeking to support women involved in on-street prostitution. Nine of these were also engaging with women in brothels and bar-based prostitution and one also worked with women who had been domestically trafficked. Six organisations specified that they were engaging with women involved in bar-based prostitution and seven mentioned engagement with women involved in brothel-based prostitution on their websites. Although a significant proportion of organisations used the discourse of trafficking on their website, exactly what this meant in terms of the contexts of the women they were engaging with was difficult to determine. For example, one social enterprise in India was originally set up by an NGO working to rescue minor girls from prostitution through undercover operations with the police. The social enterprise was started as part of the programme of their aftercare home as a way of providing job training. As the initiative developed they had spun it off into its own private limited company, employing women who graduated from the safe home and wanted to work for the company. The social enterprise website talked about their products being made by 'women rescued from prostitution'. In 2012 they had launched a second workshop in a different Indian city and, according to their website, the women employed in this workshop lived independently in local hostels. Whether these women had been 'rescued' from situations of prostitution or were women involved in prostitution who were seeking an alternative was ambiguous.

The ambiguities and complexity around contexts was just as evident amongst organisations operating in the US. One project described its work as 'restoring survivors of human trafficking' but then went on to explain that it works in partnership with a court diversion scheme for women who are arrested on prostitution-related charges. Another US-based project ran multiple programmes including a long-term shelter programme for domestic minor victims of sex trafficking aged 12-17, a transitional living programme for domestic victims aged 18-25, as well as a broader outreach ministry to women involved in the sex industry. Their social enterprise initiative was described as helping 'survivors of sexual exploitation, ages 16 - 25, achieve financial independence' and the tag line of their online shop was 'Handmade by Domestic Survivors of Sex Trafficking'. Email correspondence with

the project confirmed, however, that the social enterprise initiative was designed for women who have been victims of sexual exploitation and not solely sex-trafficking.

That many of the projects appeared to be engaging with women from diverse contexts could explain the blurring of discourses around prostitution, trafficking and sexual exploitation, as the projects attempt to articulate this diverse reality on the ground using the language currently available. For others, the choice of language could be understood as a more explicit political and social strategy. Significantly, on the basis of the information available on the organisations' websites, none of the projects appeared to be engaging with women involved in online prostitution or escort-based prostitution.

Presentation of the women

Intricately intertwined with the framing of prostitution and the prostitution contexts with which the projects were engaging is the way in which the projects chose to present the women they support and the terms used to talk about the women on the projects' websites sheds some light on this issue. The most frequently used term by far was simply 'women', closely followed by the term 'girls'. Of the organisations that used the term 'girls' it was not always clear what the exact age range of the individuals they were engaging with was. Only six of the 52 organisations seemed to provide specific information on the ages of the women they engaged with and of these only two worked exclusively with women aged 18 years or above. The distinction between adults and children, women and girls, was thus blurred in the language used by such projects.

Neither the term 'prostitutes' nor 'sex workers' were widely used. The term 'sex workers' only appeared on eight organisation websites and for only one organisation did the term appear to be their preferred term. Interestingly this organisation had a large focus on HIV/AIDS. Whilst some organisations used the phrases 'prostituted women', 'women who prostitute themselves', and 'women in prostitution' the use of the term 'prostitutes' was rare. With one exception, on the websites where the term did occur, it was not used extensively. Fifteen organisations (29%) used the term 'victims' to describe the women and fourteen (27%) used the term 'survivor', with nine using the two terms alongside each other. Another term with similar connotations, but arguably conveying more personal agency, that occurred on approximately 10% of the organisation websites was 'women at-risk'. In contrast to such terms pertaining to the women's situation vis-à-vis prostitution, other organisation websites used terms that related to the women's involvement in their

project, such as ‘participant’, ‘residents’, ‘graduates’ and ‘clients’. In a similar way, five organisations mainly used terms connected to the women’s status in relation to the work undertaken with the social enterprise; referring to the women predominantly as ‘employees’, ‘staff’, ‘trainees’ and ‘artisans’.

The question of how these organisations present the role of faith in their work is what we address next.

The issue of Faith

Identifying an organisation as faith-based

A broad definition of the term ‘faith-based’ was used within the study, along the lines of that proposed by Clarke and Jennings (as quoted in Ferris, 2011, p. 607): 'any organization that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within that faith'. Despite the use of this broad definition, however, all 52 of the organisations identified were related to the Christian tradition. Whilst a small number of organisations related to other faith traditions that were providing direct services to women seeking to exit prostitution were identified during the process of the mapping study, none of them were adopting a social enterprise approach in the direct services they provided.

The easiest route when seeking to identify organisations as faith-based is to focus on organisations that self-identify as such. Thirty two organisations (62%) were identified in this way; their website included a statement or reference that revealed a commitment to the Christian tradition. These ‘faith statements’ varied in regards to the terminology used and the overtness of the statement. Seven organisations explicitly described themselves as a ‘Christian organisation’; one stated that it was a ‘Christian ministry’; and four used the term ‘faith-based’. The remaining twenty organisations included an assortment of statements indicating their faith commitments. Four mentioned Jesus Christ when talking about the aims of the organisation; eleven made more general references to Christianity, such as ‘Christian roots’ and ‘biblical principles’, or included Biblical quotes to convey their mission; and a final five organisations used less explicitly Christian references, framing their work in terms of ‘God’s love’ and ‘God’s grace’ for example.

For twenty of the 52 organisations (38%), there was no explicit statement on their website identifying the organisation as faith-based and so alternative criteria was used to determine

whether or not the organisation could be deemed to be faith-based for the purposes of this research. Seven organisations were originally founded by an individual or by people professing a Christian faith and the websites did not state that the organisations were no longer faith-based. Ten organisations were identified as faith-based on the basis of an affiliation with a religious organisation, network or forum. Two on the basis that the primary grassroots organisation(s) they partnered with self-identified as Christian projects; three on the basis that the project was a programme or initiative run by an umbrella organisation that identified as Christian; two on the basis of a specified relationship with a church; one on the basis of their affiliation with the International Christian Alliance on Prostitution (ICAP); and two on the basis of their stated partnership with a Christian organisation, particularly in relation to funding. A final three organisations were included based, respectively, on signposting from another organisation, identification with faith-based distribution organisations followed up with an email to the organisation, and the identification of a biblical reference in their promotional video followed up with an email to the organisation.

As might be expected, the classification of organisations as 'faith-based' was not straightforward and in many ways the use of such label, with its associated assumption that other organisations can be defined as 'secular', conceals the complexity surrounding the role of faith in the work and identity of projects. For example, one Indian organisation that ran a social enterprise supporting women to leave prostitution listed on their website, in their section on partners, several other projects that had an explicit commitment to the Christian tradition. Unsure if this organisation also shared such a commitment, email correspondence with the project manager was pursued enquiring whether or not she would consider the organisation to be faith-based or to have any links with a particular faith. The manager responded stating that the organisation 'is not a faith based organisation we deal with girls from different religion and we have kept a secular approach so far'. Curious to unpack this further, a second email was sent asking if she could explain what she meant by a 'secular approach'. Her response revealed the inadequacy of a simple sacred-secular dichotomy in exploring the role of faith in organisations:

> *I really did not understand the question or may be that we do not want to go that deeper. India is a secular country and people of all sects lives in harmony and observes various religious occasions - by being secular I mean following this same tradition. Girls definitely have their own faith or religion and they do follow that openly. Girls who works or volunteers with us are also from different religion*

including Jew, Hindu, Christianity, Muslim and many other. We are always learning from each other.

Whilst the organisation did not consider itself to be 'faith-based' and pursued a 'secular approach', faith was clearly relevant and present in the lives of the individuals engaging with the organisation. In this instance, however, the organisation was not included within the analysis.

Similarly, another international organisation had been founded by a Buddhist lama and was working with a local partner in Cambodia to provide non-formal education and vocational skills training to 'sex workers, their children, and those vulnerable to recruitment in the sex industry'. The founder continues to be the chairman of the Board, the website indicates that a number of the Board members identify with Buddhism and Buddhist Global Relief supports the project. However, the website explicitly states that the organisation is not a 'faith-based or religious non-profit' but is 'a secular non-profit organisation'. Given this explicit rejection of the term 'faith-based' the decision was taken not to include the organisation within the analysis, however, Buddhism was clearly relevant to the founding of the organisation, the motivation of at least some of those involved and the income of the organisation[11].

Faith affiliations and denominational connections

Of the 52 organisations identified, all but one was linked with the Protestant tradition of Christianity; the exception being an organisation founded and run by sisters of a Catholic religious order. Identifying the denominational affiliations of organisations was more difficult and a comprehensive account would require more extensive research than a desk-based study allowed. Four organisations did explicitly state that they were 'non-denominational'. Three projects made reference to membership of The Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability (ECFA) and a further three had explicit connections with dominations that self-defined as Evangelical. Other explicit denominational connections amongst the organisations included Episcopal, Anabaptist, Assemblies of God, Baptist, Pentecostal and Methodist.

[11] In addition, whilst the organisation was providing vocational skills training it was not clear that this was connected with engagement in the marketplace in any form, such as the selling of products made during the training course. This was a further reason why the organisation was not included within the analysis.

Approximately a third of the projects were associated with a larger missionary organisation or faith-based relief and development organisation. A number of these international organisations have been running for over a century and could be considered 'traditional missionary organisations', such as SIM, an evangelical, international and interdenominational mission founded in the late nineteenth century. Others are much newer. For example, two of the organisations have links with Word Made Flesh (WMF), a US international non-profit organisation founded in 1991 that describes its mission as 'called and committed to serve Jesus among the most vulnerable of the world's poor'. The WMF website places great emphasis on 'incarnational, holistic mission' and their position paper on evangelism, available online, critiques the notion of evangelism as "getting people saved" as a 'narrow and truncated form of biblical evangelism […] propagated by many American evangelicals' (Chronic, 2009).

On many organisation websites relationships with churches were mentioned. In some cases this was simply in a list of financial supporters or partners or involved a fairly generic statement such as: *We love to partner with spirit-led churches.* On some websites information on the different churches attended by staff members was included. In the case of ten organisations, a specific connection with an individual church was highlighted; for four this was a church located in the city in which they were operating, whilst for six organisations, all of which were operating in LEDCs, the church they were connected with was located in a MEDC. In five instances, the church was a large non-denominational, charismatic, independent church in the US and in one the church was a large multi-site Baptist church in Australia. In five out of these six cases, the church was the 'home church' of the organisation's founders/leaders.

Organisation names and associations with faith

Some scholars argue that it is possible to recognise the religious orientation of organisations from their names and typologies of FBOs often include organisation name as one of the key criteria to be examined (Şen, 2011; Ebaugh et al., 2006; Sider & Unruh, 2004). Out of the 52 organisations only ten of them (19%) had an unambiguously religious name. In addition, six organisations, which did not have unambiguously religious names themselves, were run by umbrella organisations that did have an explicitly religious name. Seventeen of the organisations (33%) had names that could be described as implicitly religious; they referred to concepts that have strong Christian connotations but which are not exclusively religious concepts, such as 'hope' and 'light', or had names where the associations with Christianity

are ambiguous and, on the basis of the name alone, it would be difficult to determine the religious orientation. The final nineteen projects (37%) had names that did not immediately suggest a religious orientation, although in a couple of cases explanations of why these names had been chosen revealed the connections with the Christian faith. The organisation names alone were not, on the whole, a good guide to the religious orientation of the organisations nor, as will be explored below, did they provide an accurate indicator of the way in which faith was (re)presented by the organisations.

Mission Statements

Thirty two of the 52 organisations had a formal mission and/or vision statement outlined on their website, another twenty had self-descriptive text which summarised the purpose of the organisation but was not necessarily presented as a clear mission statement[12]. In the case of just under half of the organisations (n=24) the religious influences on the organisation's aims and practices were signalled within the mission statement or self-description. For four organisations this involved a simple reference to 'spiritual development', 'spiritual needs', 'spiritual support' or the desire for the women to 'know faith'. In the case of the other twenty organisations, the specifically Christian basis and influence was more apparent.

All of the organisations' mission statements were examined to identify key themes and the most common theme was the provision of employment, an economic option or access to sustainable job opportunities, coded simply as 'employment'. That this was the most recurrent theme is not surprising given the focus on projects that are using a social enterprise approach to support women to exit prostitution. What is surprising, however, is that this theme featured in only 21 of the organisations' mission statements, suggesting that this was not the main framework through which 60% of the organisations conceptualised their work. After the theme of employment, the themes that occurred the most frequently were 'restoration' and 'hope'.

[12] One organisation, in the time period between initial identification and data collection, dramatically reduced the content of their website, leaving only a very basic holding page and a Facebook page. Thus only very limited information about the organisation was available for analysis.

Table 26: Themes Occurring within Mission Statements of Organisations

Theme	No. of Projects Using this Theme
Employment	21
Restoration	12
Hope	12
New life/future	11
Empowerment	11
Transformation	9
Dignity	8
Healing	8
Help	7
Rescue	5
Relationships	5
Freedom	5
Rehabilitation	4
Development	3
End Slavery	2
A Way Out	1

Within the theme of 'empowerment', ten of the organisations used the actual term 'empower' whilst the other two spoke more generally of enabling women to support themselves. The stress on the active agency of the individual women was apparent in these organisations' self-descriptions. For example, one organisation described their mission as 'a hand up, not a hand out' and another emphasised that they seek 'to move away from NGO dependence'. In two instances where the theme of 'dignity' occurred this referred to the individual women, as in restoring the women's own dignity. In the six other instances 'dignity' referred to work or opportunities that were described as bestowing dignity; for example, one organisation spoke of providing women with 'the opportunity to support themselves with skill and dignity'. In this second type of usage of 'dignity' the inference was that prostitution is undignified and that the aim of the organisation is to offer dignified alternatives; here the implication is not necessarily that individual women themselves are lacking dignity but that the options available to them are.

Given the prevalence of the discourse of trafficking on organisations' websites it is noteworthy that only five organisations (10%) described their work in terms of 'rescue'. In addition, two organisations drew on the theme of 'end slavery'; four employed the theme of 'rehabilitation'; and five organisations characterised their aims in terms of the theme of

'freedom'. If these themes are considered as sub-themes of 'rescue', which is debatable at least for the themes of 'rehabilitation' and 'freedom', and accounting for where organisations drew on multiple themes, thirteen organisations in total (25%) described their mission in terms of rescuing the women.

The presentation of faith on organisations' websites

Assessing the way in which faith was (re)presented by the organisations on their website was a complicated task. First and foremost, an analysis based on organisations' websites can only take account of the 'external' expressions of faith; it is not possible to analyse the ways in which faith influences the day-to-day nature and workings of the project. Focusing on these 'external' expressions of faith, such an analysis also relies on the assumption that there are things that can be distinctively identified as 'religious' and 'spiritual' and so conforms to the notion of a sacred-secular dichotomy. Furthermore, such an analysis is limited to the 'external' expressions of faith that an organisation chooses to portray on its website. (Re)presentations of an organisation's ethos, mission and activities on a website are thus simply that: (re)presentations. It is therefore important to acknowledge that an analysis of the way in which organisations present faith on their websites is not the same as analysing the impact of faith on an organisation; the two are related but distinct. In addition, the discovery that at least half of the organisations in the study had multiple online forums, such as several websites, Facebook pages, Twitter accounts and blogs, further complicated the analysis as the ways in which faith was (re)presented by an organisation could vary across the different mediums.

Table 27: Summary of Faith Presentation Markers identified on Organisation Websites

Faith Presentation Markers*	No. of Projects
Faith features in Staff Bios on Website	29
Website states that they run bible studies/ church	23
Website includes Scripture with reference	18
Website includes Prayer Requests	12
Website does not feature any of the above	10
Website includes Statement of Belief / Doctrines	8
Website includes Values Statement	7
Website Encourages Prayer But No Specific Prayer Requests	7
Website includes Specific Prayer Section	3
Website includes Scripture but with no reference	1

***NB some organisations have multiple markers.**

On the websites (re)presentations of faith occurred most frequently in relation to staff biographies and/or the founding of the project. Such references varied in tone and content from simple mentions of the churches attended by staff through to founding stories that centred on faith and a specific 'call' from God. When it came to prayer, a total of 22 organisations (42%) explicitly mentioned prayer on their websites. Again there was a huge range in the tone and content of such references. For some organisations this simply involved listing 'Pray' as one of the ways to get involved; for others there was a section on their website where specific prayer requests for individuals and situations were regularly listed and stories about how women had been 'changed by the love of the Lord' were included. Interestingly, for a number of organisations, the way in which prayer was presented differed across mediums: e.g. their website contained few or no prayer references but their Facebook wall included prayer requests, sometimes on a very regular basis. Of the eight organisations that included a Statement of Belief on their website, six were doctrinal statements; one focused on why they care for vulnerable people; and the eighth read more like a core values list although it was presented as beliefs. Another seven organisations included a core Values Statement on their website; these related less explicitly to doctrinal matters and often centred on values such a dignity, identity, community, and partnership. However, that such values were often rooted in Christian beliefs was frequently explained. For example, one organisation explained that their list of core values was based on Jesus' teaching known as the Sermon on the Mount.

In terms of communicating how the organisations present their faith in relation to the women they work with, it was clear that 23 projects (44%) ran bible studies, devotional activities, or even specific churches for the women. Other organisations may have been involved in similar activities but did not explicitly mention these on their websites. Several organisations were clear to stress that such activities were not compulsory and to emphasise the non-discriminatory nature of their work. Others presented the 'spiritual' side of their work as essential to their vision of healing, restoration and exiting. Again there was variation in how such issues were presented and the tone used. Table 28 includes direct quotations taken from organisations' websites and gives a flavour of the variety of ways in which bible studies and other devotional activities provided for the women were presented.

Table 28: Presenting 'religious' activities of an organisation

The following quotations, which are taken from five different organisations' websites, range in tone from optional (at the top) to mandatory (at the bottom).
We believe that each individual is on a unique faith and healing journey. To respect that journey, we do not require [Project name] volunteers or program participants to be professing Christians. All of our spiritual development programs available to vulnerable parents and children are optional.
If women would choose to believe in Jesus or desire to study the Bible, we provide small group studies and will help connect the women to local churches, where, we believe, true discipleship takes place.
Refusal to attend church services will in no way result in any form of disciplinary action. [Project name] clients are not required to share any religious beliefs that we profess in order to be eligible for participation in our program. However, it is important to note that all of the [Project name] staff and volunteers are in agreement with the faith statement of [Name of Umbrella Organisation], a Christian organization. We do not facilitate other religions.
The danger is for us to see this as a simple social program. However, nothing is done without a clear communication of the gospel. No money is offered without first acknowledging that it is the Lord that provides. Those who go out and witness to these women and who offer job training and stewardship principles are saved and discipled members of our local church and who are using the knowledge and talents from the Lord to be a blessing and a help to these women.
When they stay here they must follow the rules of the [name] home. It's required to attend bible study every Tuesday and Thursday. Also, every Sunday it is required to attend small group for bible study and discussions.

Whilst such statements gave an indication of how such 'religious' activities were presented to women engaging with the organisations, on the basis of the information available on the websites alone it was impossible to judge whether such activities were in practice 'invitational', 'relational', 'optional' or 'mandatory' (Clarke, 2010).

Classifying the presentation of faith by organisations

In classifying the presentation of faith by organisations consideration was given not only to organisations' websites but also to any other official online forums, such as Facebook pages, Twitter accounts and blogs. Once all online forums had been considered, the extent to which faith featured in the organisations' online 'public face' was classified according to four categories: none, minor, modest and explicit.

Table 29: Overall presentation of faith by Organisations

Presentation of Faith	Total
Explicit	27
Modest	12
Minor	10
None	3

In the case of three organisations, there were no references to God, faith or religion; no mention of prayer; no verses from Scripture; and no 'religious' terminology. For the ten organisations categorised as 'minor' there was very little evidence of the influence of faith in their website content or other online forums. There may have been a single quote from Scripture included on the website, or there may have been one or two general prayer requests, or a specific church may have been mentioned in connection with the organisation but overall their online 'public face' included very few religious references. Distinguishing between 'modest' and 'explicit' presentations of faith was more difficult. If religious references, prayer requests and/or verses from Scripture regularly appeared across a number of the website pages or if the organisation's Facebook wall included frequent and unambiguous religious references then the organisation was classed as 'explicit'. If, however, the references to faith were overt but limited in their extent, for example, if an organisation had a statement of belief but very few other references to religion, then the organisation was classified as 'modest'.

Even amongst the 27 organisations classed as 'explicit' in their presentation of faith there was a substantial variation in tone. For example, one organisation in their 'about' section stated:

> *Christ longs to crush human trafficking, and I pray he uses [Project name] to stamp it out from every nation. We desire to equip local churches with the necessary resources to combat this issue, all the while preaching the gospel, our message of hope.*

Another organisation announced in one of its online newsletters that: *We want to separate "the sheep from the goats" and find out which ladies are serious about leaving prostitution*. Such examples contrasted with the tone found on other organisations' websites which were much less bellicose. For example, the following extract is taken from a project's 'Who We Are' section:

> *We are people who have found the other-centeredness of Jesus to be so transformational in our own lives and families that we have chosen to commit ourselves to the same. […]In terms of religious affiliation, we are Christian. However we find that the broad label of Christianity includes many traditions and values that look little like Jesus, if at all. Some are simple amoral cultural choices, but often cultural values completely antithetical to Jesus have mixed into Christianity. So while we recognize and appreciate the diversity of Christian traditions and the positive role that many have had over the centuries, we prefer to focus on the person of Jesus himself particularly as detailed in the first four New Testament books, and base our personal and corporate values on him as closely as possible.*

No discernible patterns were visible in relation to the presentation of faith and the geographical location of organisations: in all countries where there were multiple organisations operating, there was a mix of presentational styles. In relation to organisation names, all those with an unambiguously religious name fell within either the 'explicit' or 'modest' category and the three organisations that had no religious content at all on their website all had names with no religious connotations. Other than this, however, the organisations fell across the range of categories. Thus organisations with implicitly religious names were found in the 'minor', 'modest' and 'explicit' categories as were organisations linked to umbrella organisations that had an explicitly religious name and organisations with 'non-religious' names. These findings offer partial support to earlier research in the US that found that those organisations whose names conveyed their faith-based nature had higher levels of religiosity on the organisational scale used in the study; a scale which referred to 'the extent to which the "public face" of the coalition is explicitly faith-based' (Ebaugh et al., 2006, p. 2263). Finally, of the 23 organisations that stated on their website that they ran bible studies, devotional activities, or specific churches for the women they served, all but two of these were classed as 'explicit' in their presentation of faith; the two exceptions being an organisation classed as 'minor' and one as 'modest'.

Summary

Whilst the mapping study has provided a basic snapshot of the occurrence of social enterprise amongst faith-based organisations seeking to support women to exit prostitution, it is just that, a basic foundation. Further research would be required to clarify the financial arrangements of such organisations, their profit distribution practices, their theories of change, their performance metrics, the markets they are engaging in, their understanding of prostitution, the dynamics of power within the organisations, the socio-political and economic context in which they are operating and the impact of faith on their

day-to-day activities; investigations which are not possible through an internet survey alone. For the purposes of this study, however, the mapping study has addressed RQ1 and, in doing so, provides a ‘contextual snapshot’ within which to interpret the two case studies, to which we turn to next.

Chapter 7: Framing Prostitution and Understanding the Process of Exiting

Introduction

The way in which the two case studies frame the issue of prostitution is integral to understanding how they support women to exit prostitution. As Oselin and Weitzer (2013) highlight, the organisational philosophies of projects that provide direct services to women involved in prostitution, particularly their beliefs about prostitution and those involved in it, affect the strategies, activities and goals of such projects. In other words, how prostitution is framed influences how organisations generate grievances on behalf of women in prostitution, assign blame, and offer remedies. This process is referred to by Oselin and Weitzer as cultivating 'injustice frames' (2013, p. 448). The normative content of social missions has also been highlighted within the social enterprise literature, with researchers emphasising the way in which the framing of social issues influences the understanding of what the 'problem' is that needs to be addressed which in turn shapes the types of solutions proposed (Bornstein & Davis, 2010; Huybrechts & Defourny, 2010). Thus this chapter will explore how the projects frame the issue of prostitution, how this relates to their understanding of exiting and the barriers that they perceive need to be addressed (RQ2). The frame construction in both the projects' publicity will be compared with that offered by staff in interviews and the projects' overall framing of prostitution will be examined alongside the framing of prostitution offered by the women engaging with each project. First, however, a brief overview of the country context in relation to prostitution will be provided so as to situate each case study.

The Indian Case Study

Setting the context: Prostitution in India

The legal framework that governs the activities that occur within prostitution in India predominantly consists of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (IPC) and the Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls (Prevention) Act, 1956 (ITPA), introduced in 1986 to replace the earlier Suppression of Immoral Traffic (in Woman and Girls) Act, 1956. According to Section 2(f) of the ITPA, prostitution is defined as 'the sexual exploitation or abuse of persons for commercial purposes or for consideration in money or in any other kind'. The laws do not ban prostitution per se but restrict or limit those activities connected to prostitution

(Gangoli, 2006; Wad & Jadhav, 2008; Kotiswaran, 2011). The law recognises male prostitution and although there is no specific section punishing the customer, customers can be prosecuted under Sections 7 and 8 of the ITPA. However, as scholars have highlighted, there is an inbuilt gender bias; men who are charged with soliciting or seduction face imprisonment for 7 days to 3 months whilst women can be convicted for up to 6 months (Gangoli, 2006; Wad & Jadhav, 2008). The ITPA allows police to conduct raids on brothels without a warrant where they believe an offence under the ITPA is being committed on the premises (Section 15) and also provided for the establishment of 'protective homes and corrective institutions' (Section 21). The literature is highly critical of these institutions, pointing out that they are frequently ill-equipped, oppressive and authorities are liable to bribes from brothel owners and pimps (Kotiswaran, 2011; Magar, 2012). Furthermore, the issue of police corruption in relation to the implementation of these laws features regularly within the literature (Gangoli, 2006; Yadav, 2008; Jordan, 2011; Saggurti et al., 2011; Magar, 2012).

The literature attests to the inadequacy of a simple dichotomy of 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' for explaining women's involvement in prostitution in India. It documents that the majority of women in prostitution are from poor economic backgrounds and that debt and low wages in the informal sector play a significant role in women's engagement with prostitution (Dandona et al., 2006; Gangoli, 2006; Saggurti et al., 2011; Sahni & Kalyan Shankar, 2011; Karandikar et al., 2013). The high levels of illiteracy amongst women involved in prostitution and the proportion of women from low castes highlight the inequalities undergirding the sex industry within India (Sahni & Kalyan Shankar, 2011). The frequency of marital abuse and divorce or separation amongst women involved in prostitution highlights another major contributing structural factor (Dandona et al., 2006). As Saggurti et al. argue, the reasons women give for involvement in prostitution are 'complex, overlapping and not necessarily mutually exclusive' and 'many women who initiate sex work are not forced physically, but do so because of reasons over which they had little or no control' (2011, p. 172 & 174). With regard to the frequency of physical force, coercion or some other element of abuse in women's entry into prostitution, the studies vary with the lowest figures around 17% and the highest around 80% (Saggurti et al., 2011; Karandikar et al., 2013 respectively) . The sample population size differs significantly between such studies.

In seeking to understand the lived experiences of those involved in prostitution, a number of typologies of women involved in prostitution have been developed, mainly for the purposes of HIV prevention programmes and drawing on data from southern Indian states. Buzdugan et al. (2010) proposed a 7-fold typology based on place of solicitation and place of sex and drawing on data from 2312 women involved in prostitution. Of the seven categories they proposed the most common was home solicitation and sex (31.5%), however, half of the women who participated in the study were involved in street-based solicitation (50.4%). A 2012 report (Jain & Saggurti, 2012) which drew on data from 5301 female mobile sex workers, also found that the most common category for solicitation was street based (65%) whilst the most common categories for engaging in sex were lodges (58%) and homes (54%).

With regard to the organisation of prostitution, studies have identified three modes of operation within brothel-based systems in India: (1) the *chhukri* mode which resembles bonded labour; (2) the a*adhiya* mode, under which the brothel keeper and the individual woman share the price per transaction with the brothel keeper charging extra for food, clothing and medical expenses; and (3) self-employed, where an individual woman operates for her own account (Sahni & Shankar, 2008; Jordan, 2011; Kotiswaran, 2011). In a rare study on 'call girls' operating in Kolkata, the authors found that 80% of the 136 participants worked through agents rather than independently and 60% of them had a steady parallel profession (Majumdar & Panja, 2008, p. 165). What these studies and the typologies all underline is the diverse realities of women involved in prostitution and the 'highly internally differentiated nature of the sex market' within India (Kotiswaran, 2011, p. 177).

Having briefly outlined the country context we now move on to look at the specific case study carried out within India.

The 'line': framing the issue of prostitution

The message about prostitution in the project's publicity is a clear and overt one: many women are 'trapped' in prostitution in India and this is the result of poverty and trafficking. A phrase which occurs a number of times on the website and, in a similar format, on the product labels emphasises that involvement in prostitution should not be considered a positive choice but the result of a lack of alternative choices: 'these women didn't choose their profession it was chosen for them'. The language of trafficking features heavily on the project's website with one page dedicated to explaining the dynamics of 'sex trafficking'.

The underlying cause of such trafficking is stated explicitly as the demand for commercial sexual services and the (gender) inequality inherent within such practices. The website is also clear that it is not simply physical force that is at work in trafficking:

> *Many victims of trafficking remain in the trade not because they are kept by force but because they have no other means of earning a living and imagine no other life. Lack of choice can enslave a child or woman as effectively as a locked door.*

A third theme that comes across in the project's publicity is the notion of prostitution as business: one which involves the sale of human beings. According to the publicity, prostitution involves women 'selling their bodies' and robs them of dignity and hope. In the six-minute promo video on the website prostitution is clearly and overtly presented as inherently exploitative. Whilst at times the project's publicity veers towards the use of emotive narratives of suffering in which women can only be subjects of 'rescue', at other times such a framing is actively resisted and the agency of the women is underscored:

> *At the center of our philosophy is a commitment to the women having choice over their own lives they can choose to leave the trade and work at [project name] instead. Because we are a sustainable business which provides employment along with training, we ensure that their decision to leave the trade is sustainable.*

Indicating an awareness of the problematic nature of approaches that remove women from society in order to provide services, the project emphasises the way in which their model is centred upon recognition the these women are not simply helpless victims in need of rescue; they are individuals capable of making choices.

As in the publicity, the dire circumstances leading to women's engagement in prostitution and the concomitant questioning of the appropriateness of 'choice' as a means for understanding women's motivations for engaging in prostitution were frequently commented on in staff interviews. Staff highlighted the role of poverty, death of a spouse, greed of another person, needing to feed a family, the selling of daughters, and the abandonment by husbands and boyfriends as just some of the life circumstances leading to women entering prostitution in India. As one person put it: 'most of the women they are not happy with this prostitution: everyone has a reason for being in this line' [Male national staff member]. The phrase 'the line' was an expression used by both staff and the women to refer to prostitution and alluded to 'the long line they stand in, they're one of hundreds of girls waiting to be selected' [Female ex-pat staff member]. The language of trafficking, however, did not feature as prominently in staff interviews. Whilst staff did talk about the

occurrence of trafficking, the impression given was that it is a means by which women end up in prostitution in India but it is only one aspect of the larger, more complex phenomenon of the sex trade. Indeed, both founders expressed some unease with the trafficking framework, with one stating, in a discussion about how the project defines 'exiting prostitution', that 'rescue for us is a dirty word' [Male founder].

The experience of 'knowing their stories' meant that prostitution was not just a theoretical issue for staff but involved women whom they had grown to know personally through working and living alongside them, which in turn led to a strong emphasis on treating the women with respect and not condemning them. Staff underlined the stigmatisation faced by women involved in prostitution in India and the rejection the women endure. They expressed frustration at the blame placed on women and the perceived general lack of understanding within society about the reasons why women enter prostitution. The complexity of the issues connected to prostitution was regularly expressed by staff with attention drawn to the need to address multiple aspects at once: economics, housing, health and emotional trauma experienced by the women. Staff acknowledged how such complexity made it difficult to define prostitution. Discussing research on the number of women at the project still engaging in prostitution, one staff member expressed her frustration with the lack of clarity over what it means to be involved in prostitution:

> *...that's fine that you're saying they're still in the line but what do you qualify as still being in the line and do the women understand what it means to be in the line? Is it one customer a year who you have emotional ties to? Is it once a year when there's a puja season* [an annual Hindu festival] *and there's that great temptation to make an extra buck? Is it every day?* [Female ex-pat staff member]

The complexities are also apparent when considering the question of who the project engages with. The founder explained that the project is in relationship with madams and is seeking to build ties with them on the basis that 'those who are perceived at times as the oppressors, even they themselves have been victims in the past'. When it came to engaging with the local sex workers' cooperative, however, the founder was clear:

> *...we don't work with the local sex workers' cooperative, although we are friends with some of the people who are in that, because they want legalisation of prostitution and they actually work towards keeping the women in the trade. Their whole philosophy is that it is ok and we don't accept that* [Male Founder].

The framing of prostitution by the project resonated with that offered by the women themselves in interviews and workshops, where prostitution was predominantly spoken about in negative terms. They referred to prostitution using phrases which translated into English as 'dirty work', 'dark road', 'life of darkness' and 'as tormenting as hell'. Not one woman, in all of the interviews and workshops carried out, mentioned that she liked or had previously enjoyed being involved in prostitution; rather the shame and stigma associated with prostitution and the desire to work in a 'respectable job' came across strongly. As in the staff interviews, the language of trafficking did not feature significantly in the workshops or individual interviews however the practice of girls being tricked and sold into the line did come up regularly. One woman spoke of having been sold into prostitution by a female friend at the age of 13 after running away from home whilst a second woman had been sold by her first husband and his family. Another two women recounted the deceit involved in their initial entry into prostitution: both had been promised work in the city as teenagers but upon arrival had been sold to madams by the women promising them work.

Whilst the women were clear that some individuals were forced to enter prostitution against their will they also spoke about women choosing to enter the line. Such comments, however, were often presented within explanations of the many reasons why women end up in the line. For example:

> *There are many girls who come from very poor families, their siblings may be too small and their fathers without income. They may ask somebody from the line to introduce them there, so that their parents don't die of starvation. They start working in the line, earning money and sending money home. These are examples of girls coming on their own will* [Aasha, Follow-up translation].

The women spoke about women and girls being brought to work in the line by their husbands, brothers, aunties and mothers. Examples were given of women with physical handicaps who had ended up in the line because their families considered them unmarriageable. The death of a spouse, the need to feed children and the lack of parental income were all repeatedly given as reasons why women might enter the line. Under such circumstances, the choice to enter prostitution was presented as self-sacrificial:

> *Often it happens that a girl working in the line had to provide for a large family back at home, none of whom are employed. If they think only of themselves, their families will starve. They work in hell, to ensure their siblings live a respectable 'normal' life; find jobs, or get married. They hate to bring their siblings to this hell* [Workshop Participant, Follow-up translation].

Overall, the emphasis was on poverty as a driving force for the majority of women, with prostitution a practical means by which to earn a living under such circumstances: 'the whole reason why mostly girls enter the trade is through, because of dire circumstances' [Prisha, Staff Interpretation].

That prostitution was a way to earn more money than alternative forms of work was also highlighted by the women as a reason why some women chose to enter the line and why many women, once involved, stay, especially those who were under a lot of pressure to send money to their family. The heavy societal stigma associated with prostitution was also frequently mentioned as a reason why women once involved in prostitution, and regardless of the circumstances of their entry, chose to remain in the line and why the daughters of women in the line also often end up in prostitution. Associated with this was the commonly expressed desire for people outside their community not to come to know of their past and the concomitant desire to not be identified as a 'sex worker'.

In summary, the way in which the project frames prostitution in India is complex. According to the project's publicity prostitution in India is an exploitative form of business in which many women are 'trapped' due to a range of dire circumstances, gender-based vulnerabilities and a lack of alternative choices. Whilst staff reinforced this framing within interviews, they also expressed some unease with the trafficking framework and emphasised the ways in which societal stigma serves to isolate those involved and reduce the possibilities for earning a living through other means. The framing of prostitution offered by the women themselves also emphasised the heavy societal stigma associated with prostitution with poverty highlighted as a driving force for the majority of women.

Mukti: from entrapment to freedom

Exiting prostitution is clearly understood within the project as a process and not an event and the theme of *mukti* [freedom] is arguably the central organising concept through which the project understands and presents the process of exiting prostitution. As one of the founders put it; 'the catchphrase is always freedom' [Female Founder]. Within the project's publicity the notion of freedom is most frequently presented within the context of two mediating concepts; choice and journey. Freedom from the line is a choice which the project offers through providing an alternative job and a choice which women can make. The emphasis here is on 'women having the opportunity to choose freedom'. Freedom is not presented as something that is enforced upon, awarded to or given to the women but

as something which women can choose and, according to the project, do choose. The second mediating concept presents freedom as a journey, an ongoing process and not a one-off event. The theme of freedom also serves as a means by which the consumer can actively engage with the vision and work of the project. Through purchasing the products made by the business, people are invited to 'participate in a woman's journey to freedom'. Here the language used treads a fine line of emphasising collaboration with the women in pursuing freedom as opposed to portraying the consumer as the agent of transformation and the producer of freedom.

Two further mediating concepts were evident in the interviews with staff; the collective nature of freedom and the notion of 'holistic freedom'. Freedom was spoken about inclusively and was seen as a communal and participatory process. One of the founders stressed that 'our freedom is based on community and our freedom is based on the transformation of the community in which we now live'. In his view the notions of choice, freedom and community were inextricably linked:

> *In the end this community's got a choice: it's something they get to do. It's not something that is forced on them, it's not something that we're doing for them and it's actually strongly based on community and we're part of this community so is this a humanitarian thing? No, we're working out each other's freedom* [Male Founder].

Similarly other staff members spoke about 'being a community of people who are journeying towards freedom' [Male ex-pat staff member]. The use of the inclusive 'we' in such comments suggested that staff viewed themselves as journeying towards freedom just as much as they did the women. This notion of the collective nature of freedom has a strong influence on the design and mission of the project. Rather than simply focusing on enabling individual women to exit prostitution, the project is intentionally aimed at transforming the whole community through continuous relationship and engagement. Staff are encouraged to live within the vicinity of the red light area and women are encouraged to remain where they are living rather than move out of the red light area. The two-fold rationale is that for many of the women the red light area is their community and that to expect them to leave would be to ask them to leave the community that they know and in which they have a support system. Secondly, it is believed that in order to transform the community and not simply feed into the supply chain of the sex trade it is important for the women not to move out of the area as their doing so would create space in brothels where

new girls could be brought in. Staff did, however, emphasise that if individual woman wanted to move out of the area they would support them to do so and a number of women had chosen to relocate.

The phrase 'holistic freedom' conveyed the idea that freedom was more than just freedom from involvement in the sex trade and that offering women an alternative job was just the first step in this process. Staff highlighted the need to not simply address the immediate economic aspect of women's exit from prostitution but to assist the women with all the other issues they faced. Their concern was with how they could 'ensure that we are handing the women the tools and the alternative employment that they really can actualise a really holistic approach to freedom' [Female ex-pat staff member]. The idea that you need to keep talking about freedom and working out what it actually means and looks like in practice came up in interviews, with some staff members raising the need to question what is meant by 'freedom'. The linking of the theme of freedom with the Christian faith was also apparent in some interviews with staff, as the following quote indicates: 'we all struggle towards that idea of freedom, redemption and I think that is the heart of the Gospel' [Female ex-pat staff member]. For both the founders and the expatriate staff involved with Laylaa (see page 72), the Christian faith was not just crucial in their understanding of freedom; it was the ultimate *source* of freedom.

The theme of freedom was also drawn upon by the women themselves in interviews and in the workshops. Whilst 'freedom' was predominantly used by the women to refer to not working in the line, it was also spoken of in relation to being content, having pride and dignity in their work, having peace, having a good family, being able to hold their heads high, and to a good life. Individual interviewees used the concept of freedom to describe their roles in the organisation and their motivations for working at the business. Rupali said she had '*mukti kaj*', freedom work, Prisha explained that she is involved in training new employees so that they can get freedom whilst Aasha spoke about how:

> *I want girls to come to the same kind of freedom I have so that's what I want so that they understand, so that they've got peace of mind. Girls in line have got so many problems, so many issues to sort out but I want them to understand that they can get freedom* [Aasha, Staff Interpretation].

The desire to share the freedom they had found with other women still in the line came across strongly in both workshops and interviews.

Three of the five women interviewed individually explicitly linked freedom with faith. Prisha and Rupali spoke about how God is needed for women to really achieve freedom, with Prisha drawing a direct connection between coming to faith in Jesus Christ and quitting the line. Aasha spoke about how God had given her freedom and peace and expressed her belief in the importance of prayer in achieving the vision of providing 10,000 women with an alternative to prostitution. In none of the workshops, however, was freedom explicitly linked with faith. The meaning of freedom did come under scrutiny by the women on occasion. Commenting on the fact that some women at the project still work in the line, Rupali explained that she did not think these women had achieved freedom; for her freedom meant having no links with prostitution. In an interview discussing the marketing of the business, Diya raised concerns about how compatible telling the stories of the women on the project website was with upholding their freedom, a central component of which she considered to revolve around no longer identifying the women with their previous involvement in prostitution.

Whether this theme of freedom originated with the women and reflected their personal understandings and definitions of the process of exiting prostitution, or whether the women had adopted the language of freedom as a result of their engagement with the project is difficult to assess. However, that the theme of freedom was central in how both the project itself, in terms of publicity and individual staff members, and the women spoke about the process of exiting prostitution and understood the purpose of the project was unmistakable. Moreover, the use of the theme of 'freedom' to frame the process of exiting prostitution accords with the project's understanding of women being 'trapped' in prostitution.

Having outlined how the project frames prostitution and understands the process of exiting, the next section explores perceptions of the barriers faced by women seeking to leave prostitution.

'They don't have other choices': barriers to exit

During interviews and workshops staff members and women engaging with the project were asked what barriers they thought women who desired to leave prostitution faced. The following table lists all of the barriers that were mentioned both in response to the direct question and whilst talking more generally about prostitution. The barriers are listed in order of the frequency with which they were mentioned across all interviews and

workshops, with the most frequently cited barrier at the top of the table. Those barriers listed in the shaded section received fewer than five references.

Table 30: Barriers to Exiting Prostitution identified by Indian Case Study

Overall Rank	Barrier	Identified by ...	Women's Rank	Staff Rank
1	Societal Stigma	Staff and Women	4=	2
2	Self-esteem/Shame	Staff and Women	6=	1
3	Earnings	Staff and Women	3	4
4	Poverty and the Need for Family Maintenance	Staff and Women	1	9=
5	*Malkinis* (madams)	Staff and Women	4=	5
	Babus (male partners)	Staff and Women	2	9=
7	Housing and Rental Prices	Staff and Women	9=	3
8	Lack of an Economic Alternative	Staff and Women	6=	6=
9	Lack of Trust and Fear of Alternatives	Staff and Women	8	9=
10	Loans and Debt	Staff and Women	12	6=
11	Fear and Physical Abuse	Staff and Women	9=	14=
	Age (Being Young and therefore able to Earn More)	Staff and Women	11	6=
13	Own Choice to Stay/Lack of Desire to Exit	Staff and Women	13=	12=
14	Addiction	Staff and Women	13=	14=
15	Being Physically Held Captive	Women	13=	-
16	Lack of Education	Staff and Women	16=	14=
	Emotional Trauma	Staff	-	12=
18	Language Barriers	Staff	-	14=
	Eight Hour Working Day at Project	Staff	-	14=
	Remaining in the Same Community	Staff and Women	16=	14=
21	Physical Health Problems	Staff	-	20=
	Peer Pressure to Return/Remain in the line	Staff	-	20=

Overall 22 barriers were identified, however, just over 75% of the references related to the first ten barriers alone.

The identification of barriers was also analysed according to each structured research encounter (each interview and workshop). The barriers were then ranked a second time based on the total number of research encounters in which a barrier was mentioned (see Table 31). A comparison of the two rankings revealed consistency in the top eight barriers identified.

Table 31: Barriers to Exiting Prostitution in India ranked according to the number of research encounters which mentioned each barrier (top eight barriers only)

Barriers ranked according to total number of research encounters which mentioned the barrier	No. of research encounters that mention the barrier
Societal Stigma	11
Earnings	10
Poverty and the Need for Family Maintenance	
Housing and Rental Prices	9
Self-esteem/Shame	8
Malkinis (madams)	
Lack of an Economic Alternative	
Babus (male partners)	7

Stigma and Shame

The barriers identified by staff and by the women engaging with the project consist of a mixture of individual, relational, structural and societal constraints. Societal stigma was the most frequently mentioned and was considered to be a major barrier to exiting prostitution because of the way in which it limits alternative possibilities, its ripple effects and the fear it produces. Women and staff alike spoke about how no-one wants to employ a woman if she has been involved in prostitution and how this attitude extends to the children of such women, even in cases where the son or daughter has obtained a university degree and has never themselves been involved in the line. Staff felt that such stigmatisation and the way it limited alternative possibilities for women to earn an income meant that expectations amongst women of finding alternative employment were lowered accordingly. They also felt that such societal stigma created a fear of rejection which made it more comfortable for women to remain in prostitution and within the community of the red light area, once involved, rather than take the risk of moving to a new community where the discovery of knowledge about their background could lead to further rejection and isolation.

Closely intertwined with societal stigma as a barrier to exiting was the low self-esteem and shame felt by the women. One staff member felt that 'many women are just resigned to "this is what I'll do, this is my place in life. I'm here to serve the men"' [Female ex-pat staff member]. Another said that a frequent response they heard when telling women about the opportunity offered by the business was '"Oh, I can't do that, I'm a dirty person, I'm not worth that"' [Female ex-pat staff member]. Staff explained that once involved in prostitution there was a sense amongst women that they were now tainted or 'bad' and

that this could never be removed. In the workshops and the interviews women spoke about feeling ashamed of working in the line. Rupali talked about how the shame she had felt about being involved in the line had prevented her from telling people about her livelihood.

The lack of an economic alternative was also intrinsically related to the social stigma women who sell sex in India face. Staff and women alike argued that women in the red light area often find that the choice to do something else is not available to them. This was also identified as a problem for those women and girls who had been trafficked and then rescued by the government. Without social safety nets and alternative economic opportunities, and with the social stigma that comes from having an association with prostitution, staff explained that such women often end up back in the line.

Poverty

The barrier 'Earnings' referred to the difference between what women were able to earn working in the line and what they were able to earn in other jobs. Staff pointed out that the salary at the project was not equivalent to what the women had been used to earning whilst in the line and recognised that this acted as a barrier to exiting prostitution, particularly in cases where women were supporting their entire family back in their home village. It was also pointed out that some women were not willing to live on a smaller income and so one aspect of this barrier related to the level of income a woman desired. The differential in earnings as a barrier came across very strongly in the interviews and particularly the workshops with the women. Women explained how the need to earn a certain level of income was often directly related to demands from women's families. Women referred to the money that could be earned in the line as 'quick money' and one woman felt that once women had got a taste of such 'quick money' it was difficult to overcome this. The level of income attainable within the line was thus a strong motivating reason for women to remain in prostitution. The nature of the income was also identified as a barrier to exiting by the women: moving to a monthly salary was seen as potentially problematic due to its fixed nature.

Poverty and the need for family maintenance were frequently mentioned not only as a reason why women enter prostitution but also as a factor which prevented them from leaving. Staff and women alike explained that women and girls were often supporting their entire family back in their home village, where there was often not enough work for the

family to make a living. Where a woman had elderly parents or was the only income earner in her family, she would be under a lot of pressure to send large amounts of money home.

Malkinis and Babus

The role of *malkinis* [madams] in preventing women from leaving prostitution had a number of different dimensions and reflected the different organisational systems of prostitution within the red light area. The practice of *malkinis* purchasing women and girls and then refusing to allow them to leave until they had repaid this amount was spoken about by both the women and staff. Such women would just be given food and board until the 'debt' had been repaid. This purchasing price was often referred to as a loan and women 'in debt' to their *malkini* were acknowledged to be the most heavily controlled. The Nepalese brothels were widely regarded to be the ones where the women were subjected to the most control and Diya explained that despite the presence of Nepalese women at the drop-in centre, the constant surveillance the women were under meant it was very difficult to talk to them in any depth. Another way in which *malkinis* act as a barrier is through the practice of renting out rooms. Here the *malkini,* usually an older woman who is no longer able to sustain herself through prostitution, would rent out her room(s) to younger women. Sometimes this arrangement would involve a daily rental charge which would be demanded regardless of what the woman had been able to earn that day. Alternatively, the woman might be expected to split her earnings in half with the *malkini*. Both of these arrangements mean that madams can be reluctant to see women leave the line and move to alternative employment which is less lucrative. This in turn can lead to them placing pressure on women to remain in prostitution. The opposition those working at the business experienced from *malkinis* was also described.

Babu was the word used to describe the boyfriends and male partners in the women's lives, with a distinction drawn between 'good' *babus* and 'bad' *babus*. Bad *babus* were identified as a barrier to women seeking to leave prostitution and were described as 'leeches' by staff and as 'parasites' by one woman engaging with the project. In some instances, *babus* were said to rent rooms in the red light area and then live off the money earned by the women they developed relationships with. According to staff and women, often a *babu* would be married to another woman and would be supporting his own family through the money the woman earned in the line. A *babu* might have several women and the women at the project talked about *babus* abandoning older women for younger women, once the woman was no longer able to earn as much money. In interviews and workshops the women accused

babus of beating women up, of taking all their money, of forcing them into alcohol, of moving them between red light areas and of selling women. Project staff acknowledged the pressure on women of having a male protector and the cultural taboo around a woman leaving a man and living on her own.

Housing

Finally, rental arrangements within the red light area where identified as a barrier for women seeking to leave prostitution due to the high cost of rent and also the nature of tenancy arrangements.

> *Rent, rent is crazy, crazy high. If you are not owned, if you're owned often it is a 50-50 system, if you're not owned in my mind you technically are owned because what you do is you rent out a room and the barriwhallah, the landlord who controls the building, you pay him every morning generally, I've come across a few that is every other morning, but generally it is every morning you pay your rent to him and lo and behold, when you can't pay your rent, 9 times out of 10 he's often the loan shark. So he says, 'no problem, I'll give you a loan' which has exorbitant levels of interest on it and so basically you're locked into it. So I would say rooms and rent that is out the window is one of the biggest issues we deal with* [Female ex-pat staff member].

One of the founders stated that she felt the landlords were part of the exploitative system and that it was very easy for the women to get into a downward spiral with debt over the cost of rent. High rental costs thus fed into concerns regarding the differential in earnings between prostitution and other forms of employment.

The US Case Study

Setting the context: Prostitution in the US

In the US, the state of Nevada is currently the only place where prostitution is legal with licensed prostitution permitted in certain rural counties (Ditmore, 2010; Flowers, 2011). Within these counties prostitution is heavily regulated through brothel licensing, mandatory health checks and planning ordinances that serve to permit off-street prostitution in restricted locations (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). Elsewhere, state statues prohibit the activities that occur within prostitution though 'some state statutes punish the prostitute but not the john, some punish both but impose harsher penalties on the prostitute, and some punish the prostitute and the john equally' (Johnson, 2014, p. 724).

In the state of Tennessee, both 'prostitution' and 'patronising prostitution' are Class B misdemeanours which are punishable with up to 6 months imprisonment and/or a fine up to $500 (Tenn. Ann. Code § 39-13-512 and § 39-13-514). If you engage in prostitution knowing that you are HIV positive, you are guilty of 'aggravated prostitution', which is a Class C felony (Tenn. Ann. Code § 39-13-516). 'Promoting prostitution' is a Class E felony. This includes making money from the earnings of someone involved in prostitution, owning or managing a 'house of prostitution' or 'a business for the purpose of engaging in prostitution' and purposely causing another to engage in prostitution (Tenn. Ann. Code § 39-13-512). Punishment includes a fine of up to $3,000 and/or 1-6 years imprisonment.

At a federal level, the Mann Act, passed in 1910, criminalised the interstate transportation of women for the purpose of prostitution. This was amended in 1986 to expand its protection to men (Johnson, 2014). Also at a federal level, the 2005 Trafficking Victims Prevention Reauthorisation Act has arguably encouraged a focus amongst law enforcement on those who purchase commercial sex acts (Weitzer, 2010). Nonetheless, the discriminatory enforcement of state statutes has been noted, with FBI statistics revealing that 'women are arrested at roughly twice the rate as men for the crime of prostitution and commercialized vice' (Johnson, 2014, p. 725–6).

Accounts of the mechanisms of involvement in prostitution in the US highlight a broad range of factors. These include negative experiences from childhood and adolescence, such as physical, emotional and sexual abuse (Dalla, 2000; Kramer & Berg, 2003; Surratt et al., 2004; Roe-Sepowitz, 2012), homelessness and substance abuse (Tyler, 2009), through to more immediate circumstances, such as current economic needs, remuneration, the state of the labour market and limited success in obtaining legal employment (Murphy & Venkatesh, 2006; Bernstein, 2007a; Rosen & Venkatesh, 2008; Martin et al., 2010). In a recent comparative study that drew on data from 595 individuals 'employed in one of three occupations: sex work (n=212), serving (n=204), and styling (n=179)' in two cities, one in Canada and one in the US, researchers found that:

> *A notably greater proportion of people working in the sex industry had the following experiences prior to their 15th birthday: they had been physically, emotionally, or sexually abused; they had been the victim of a crime; they had lived in a foster or group home; or they had been homeless. Compared with other workers, people working in the sex industry also had, on average, significantly less education and fewer jobs, and more of them were single. Significantly greater proportions of people employed in the sex industry had used heroin, cocaine, or crystal*

methamphetamine in the 4 months prior to their interviews (McCarthy et al., 2014, p. 1385).

Unlike the literature on prostitution in India, no typologies of women involved in prostitution appear to have been developed within a US context. Whilst a significant proportion of studies focus on the experiences of women involved in street-based prostitution (for example Dalla, 2000; Kurtz et al., 2005; Oselin, 2010), scholars have also examined patterns of employment and income generation amongst women involved in the indoor sex trade in New York City (Murphy & Venkatesh, 2006), the involvement of the middle classes in commercial sex (Bernstein, 2007a) and experiences of violence in legalized brothels in Nevada (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). Ditmore provides an overview of some of the venues for prostitution that currently exist in the US, noting that 'many sex workers and prostitutes work in a variety of venues during their careers' and that there is stratification between and within different venues based on race, class, gender, age and attractiveness (2010, p. 1). Venues discussed include the street, nightclubs, karaoke parlours, strip clubs and lab dancing clubs, brothels, massage parlours, escort agencies, independent call girls, hotels and the internet. A prominent theme in the US research on prostitution is the high-level of violence experienced by those involved, particularly in street prostitution (Potterat et al., 2004; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Surratt et al., 2004).

Having briefly outlined the country context we now move on to look at the specific case study carried out within the US.

The 'game': framing the issue of prostitution

The framing of prostitution within the project's publicity is succinctly conveyed in a phrase which occurs frequently on their website and product labels: 'women who have survived lives of prostitution, trafficking and addiction'. Prostitution is presented as something which women are "driven to" with those involved having 'paid dearly for a culture that continues to buy and sell women'. The website switches between the terms 'prostitution' and 'street prostitution' and the notion that 'nobody gets to the streets by themselves' suggests the wider role played by (the failings of) society in a woman's entry into prostitution. Clear links are drawn between prostitution, childhood sexual abuse, traumatic loss and drug addiction, as evident in a recent promotional video. Three women are featured: the first speaks of being molested at an early age and argues that "nobody as a child when they are growing up envisions 'hey, I want to be a prostitute'"; the second woman speaks of being told that once addicted to dope she would never be able to change; and the third speaks of getting

involved in prostitution at the age of 13. The stigmatization of women involved in prostitution is also arguably challenged, with the founder explaining that she thinks 'the line between priest and prostitute is really thin' thus calling into question any sort of 'Madonna/whore' binary (Pheterson, 1993).

The language of 'trafficking' does feature in the project's publicity, though not extensively. On a webpage specifically about 'Prostitution and Trafficking', the project critiques the current approach to trafficking, arguing that 'the discussion and funding for human trafficking should be less focused on how to become a modern day "abolitionist" and more focused on the creation and implementation of services for survivors'. The project calls for national acknowledgement of the consequences of child sexual abuse; the provision of services to victims regardless of whether they pursue criminal prosecution; and the expansion of the definition of a trafficking victim to include women who 'are simply on the street trafficking themselves'.

In staff interviews the transactional nature of prostitution was frequently highlighted with four staff members questioning the distinctions drawn between prostitution and other forms of sexual relationships. One felt that 'if you've done anything with your body in exchange for something else that is a form of prostitution' [female TF staff member] whilst for another prostitution was part of a wider phenomenon involving the use of a woman's sexuality in an unhealthy way. In her opinion there are many women who have experienced:

> *...the feeling of knowing that you really did not choose to be sexually express... in a relationship with someone out of choice, and out of loving commitment; it was coercion of some sort and you knew it* [Female TF staff member].

As in the project's publicity, staff linked prostitution with childhood sexual abuse, drug addiction and the failure of communities. One staff member argued that if prostitution was the oldest trade in history 'than a generation older is the abuse' [Female TF staff member] whilst another explained that she saw 'prostitution as the end of a narrative that starts in childhood' [Female residential staff member]. Several staff members gave examples of specific women's stories to highlight the ways in which these dynamics interact and in doing so drew on the language of survival and recovery. Corresponding to the emphasis placed on the role of childhood sexual abuse and drug addiction in women's entry into prostitution, staff challenged the notion that prostitution was a choice:

> *...when you're addicted to drugs that's not a choice really and when you've been raped when you were seven years old how do you come back from that? How do you ever? I mean when you're sold by your mother at the age of thirteen to a drug dealer, how do you come back from that? Why wouldn't you just think that that was normal* [Male TF staff member].

The film *Pretty Woman* was mentioned by staff at pains to point out that this was not how the stories really end, with one staff member contrasting the Richard Gere ending with the murder of one of the initial residents who relapsed.

Whilst one staff member did use the language of victimhood when asked about her understanding of prostitution, another explained that they tend not to use the term 'victim' because it implies someone who might be 'damaged in a way that they can't be self-reliant or resilient, somehow are helpless or passive' [Female residential staff member]. She stated that she has 'never experienced these women as passive people' and argued that such language simplifies things in a way she finds uncomfortable. In contrast, the language of trafficking was used by staff, albeit with a certain degree of wariness and pragmatism. One staff member explained that they had recently begun using the term 'trafficking' in their marketing because 'people are very attuned to that phrase' [Female TF staff member]. Another felt that 'there's a lot of romance' about getting involved in the anti-trafficking movement and emphasised how unglamorous such work is in practice [Female TF staff member]. One staff member was explicit about her own discomfort with the paradigm of 'modern day slavery' [Female residential staff member]. She considers it a simplification which isolates sex trafficking from addiction; produces a narrow definition of the population involved; and sidesteps the issues of child sexual abuse and addiction which she considers central to understanding both street prostitution and trafficking in the US. She also thought the language of slavery has an unhelpful inherent power imbalance.

As amongst some staff members, there was also debate amongst the women around what exactly constitutes prostitution. Prostitution was referred to as 'the game' and the terms most frequently used by the women were 'prostitute' and 'ho' with repeated debate over the differences between these terms. For example, one woman argued that a 'prostitute' has standards and is motivated by money whereas a 'ho' will have sex for no money, perhaps to gain revenge. Another woman argued that 'a prostitute gets paid, a hoe gets laid' [Discussion during a group session]. It was evident that for many of the women their primary conception of prostitution was that of a woman walking the streets and this was the

yardstick against which they defined their own involvement. One resident explained how 'of course I've prostituted but I felt like I wasn't prostituting because I was in my own home' [Workshop Participant] whilst another shared that 'I prostituted myself for a bit but I wasn't a quote "prostitute"'. The desire to distance oneself from the stereotype of the streetwalker was also highlighted:

> *...a lot of times the stigma of just the title 'Prostitute' or 'Ho' err we don't want to admit that, we don't want to think that about ourselves. And so I have a lot of women or girls come in and they'd be like 'Well I'm no prostitute' you know, because when you think of prostitute you think of somebody on the street, walking up and down the street or erm, you know, an escort, you know? But the thing of it is, is that it goes so much deeper than that, the definition of prostitution it goes so much deeper* [Tiana].

The phrase 'selling your body' was regularly used by the women and for some it clearly had negative connotations. One resident said the project had 'saved me from having to sell my ass' whilst another described how she had made prostitution into her career: 'that's the sick part about it, I'd made this into a career, selling my body, you know what I'm saying' [Workshop Participants]. Linda criticised what she saw as the glamorisation of prostitution: 'the reality of it is you're selling your body okay, you're selling yourself like a piece of meat okay and we're not for sale'. Prostitution was described as a 'disease' by two residents during one workshop, as an 'addiction' in another workshop and Tiana also spoke of prostitution as 'a symptom of our disease because we get addicted to that lifestyle'.

The notion that prostitution had been fun or easy, at least in the beginning, was acknowledged by some women. After sharing her story of how she got involved in prostitution, one graduate stressed that 'it wasn't all that bad' and that whilst she would not want to go back and do it again, she wasn't going to say that she never enjoyed it. The 'fast money' was highlighted as particularly attractive and Linda, who described prostitution as 'degrading; it's inhumane', acknowledged that 'in the beginning it was fun though I'll be honest. Money was so easy, it was fast money'.

Experiences of childhood sexual abuse and/or trauma were mentioned frequently in women's explanations of how they became involved in prostitution as was drug addiction. In the opinion of Tiana, who explained that she herself had started out as an escort, '98% of the women are ending up on dope'. The language of trafficking did not feature significantly although three graduates did use the term 'trafficking' to describe their own personal

experiences. One woman explained how after running away from home she had been trafficked along highways from the age of 13; a second woman spoke of how she had been fed drugs as a child, sold to a drug dealer and had been trafficked for 10 years; and Linda described herself as a 'survivor of sex trafficking'. The matter of 'choice' in relation to prostitution was only explicitly touched upon by two graduates, and like non-graduate staff members, they linked the discussion to childhood sexual abuse or trauma and drug addiction:

> *I don't think it's a choice. I think we get so caught up in the addiction that drugs will make you do anything in order to support the habit. I don't think that any woman here just chose to be a prostitute it just kind of happens through bad things that happen in your life, do you know what I mean? And when you end up out on the streets it just kind of… it ends up happening and then it becomes, it's almost like comfortable for most of the women because almost every woman here has been molested or raped as a child so it was almost like okay, you know, because it was happening at home. At least now you're benefiting from it* [Linda].

In summary, the project frames prostitution in the US as the result of a destructive culture that buys and sells women. Emphasis is placed on the role of childhood sexual abuse, addiction and the failure of communities in women's entry into prostitution and those involved are presented as survivors of a culture that has failed them. Apart from the acknowledgement by some women that involvement in prostitution had been fun in the beginning, the framing of prostitution offered by the project was in consonance with that offered by the women.

Love Heals: a journey of healing

Exiting prostitution is clearly understood within the project as a process, often a cyclical one, and relapse is understood to be a part of the process, not an aberration. Two staff members used the phrase 'lifestyle change' to describe what exiting prostitution involves and a graduate described the process along similar lines:

> *It's kind of like a whole life change: do I want to leave prostitution? Do I want to get clean? That would have to be the number one thing. Get clean, get a job, be a member of society; all that. So it's a complete life change* [Workshop Participant].

Relapse is defined broadly within the project and the project works to support women when a relapse occurs, often holding a woman's bed for several weeks. The justification for adopting such a broad definition was that relapse was considered to be contagious; when a woman relapses it is believed to affect the other women in the programme. Whilst staff

considered relapse to be part of the process of exiting, they did not consider it an endless cycle and stressed that the cycle tended to be shorter after a relapse.

The themes of healing and of recovery are two of the central organising concepts through which the project understands and presents the process of exiting prostitution (for an in-depth exploration of these themes within the work of Magdalene see Suiter, 2012). The tag line of Thistle Farms is 'Love Heals' and the website states that: 'Thistle Farms is committed to growing in order to employ more women and have greater opportunities to share our products and stories of healing on a larger scale'. The notion of healing is evident in the book *Find Your Way Home* which was collaboratively written by Magdalene graduates and residents with input from volunteers and staff. In the final section of the book, the penultimate paragraph declares that:

> *...the women of Magdalene believe that love is the most powerful force for change in the world, and we are the witnesses to that truth […] We all need one another to be well. At the centre of the mystery of recovery is the power of love, and love makes us sing* (Women of Magdalene & Stevens, 2008, p. 118).

The theme of healing is also evident in the products. The founder explained that they initially started the business producing candles, as a symbol of light to others still on the streets, and body balms, as soothing to the body. More recently, a range of Healing Oils were introduced alongside a new book by the founder which explores the theme of healing in relation to the work of the social enterprise and the founder's own healing from sexual abuse and her father's death as a child.

In individual interviews staff spoke about the women needing time to heal and the founder described how they seek to be 'an open community that celebrates the healing power of love'. Staff criticized short-term programmes, such as 30-day and 60-day programmes, labelling them as 'quick fix' and arguing that they did not allow women enough time to change patterns of behaviour. One staff member mocked the notion of 'rescue' in relation to exiting prostitution, particularly the idea that 'all you need to do is provide a way out and it all just falls together'. She stressed how slow, complicated and painful change is for anyone but specifically for those who have endured abuse.

As in the publicity, the notion that in healing women, you heal whole communities came across in the interviews and staff spoke of healing occurring within community. One

individual highlighted the way in which this healing extends out beyond the women of Magdalene:

> *...one thing I've noticed is that, working with the volunteers, is that you also see they are healing in their own way as well. It might not be as obvious to others as say some of the Magdalene women but they are healing in their own way and it is really cool to see everyone working together, everyone healing together in this space* [Female TF staff member].

Alongside the language of 'healing' staff frequently used the language of 'recovery'. Recovery was generally spoken of in relation to addiction and staff spoke of the project being a 'recovery community' and providing a 'recovery environment'. A senior staff member did stress that they define recovery more broadly than traditional 12-Step recovery communities and staff sometimes spoke of women recovering from trauma, rape and sexual abuse as well as from drug addiction. The notion that this broader understanding of recovery could only come after a woman had obtained some stability in her recovery from substance addiction was underscored by staff, as was the danger of women allowing their recovery to take a backseat. The need for the focus to be first and foremost on a woman's recovery was emphasised: 'you've got to keep on doing the recovery work, it is a daily thing' [Female TF staff member]. Linked to the ideas of healing and recovery was the notion of an 'emotional exit' from prostitution.

> *I mean there are certainly social and economic ways to exit prostitution but from my perspective there's got to be an emotional exit too and that can only happen if someone is able to, in a group, make sense of experiences in their life and integrate them into a whole* [Female residential staff member].

The challenge of exiting prostitution was emphasised by the women engaging with the project. In one workshop a graduate explained why she had placed in a circle the barriers she had identified to exiting prostitution and written 'vicious circle' on one of the post-it notes:

> *There's nowhere to go. If you don't have any family, which family kept me down too because my mother was on drugs so I had nowhere to go without Magdalene and so then I was fear. And then the pimps kept me there and then the drugs kept me there. And then I would have no money if I left and nowhere to go. And then fear and then pimps and family and the drugs and no money and arrggh* [Workshop Participant].

In another workshop a graduate used the phrase 'vicious cycle' when describing the challenges of sustaining the decision to remain out of prostitution whilst, in a workshop with residents, a third woman described the process of exiting prostitution as 'a catch-22'.

The theme of healing was drawn upon by some of the women. In workshops one graduate spoke of how the Sexual Assault Centre had helped her 'tremendously so much to heal' whilst a resident explained how she had felt the need for healing: 'I think my thought process and the way I was thinking, the way I was feeling, in the beginning, you need to have healing'. In an interview, one graduate spoke of feeling 'the power of healing' everyday when she came to work and also drew on the language of healing when talking about her personal experience of leaving prostitution, sharing how she had prayed to God and how 'I needed him to take me away from it, to heal my body from it' [Arleatha]. More frequently, however, the women drew on the language of 'recovery' and spoke about 'being in recovery' and 'my recovery'. The necessity of putting their recovery first was frequently brought up and the women were prepared to put this into action, e.g. choosing not to attend family events for fear it might lead to a relapse. The re-emergence of emotions and the ability to feel was also spoken about by the women as part of the recovery process and was seen as both a blessing and a curse.

As in the Indian case study, whether the themes of healing and recovery originated with the women and reflected their personal understandings of the process of exiting prostitution or whether the women had adopted these as a result of their engagement with the project is difficult to assess. However, the extensive use of the language of 'recovery' is not surprising given that a history of substance addiction is a criterion for entering the programme and residents and graduates regularly attend 12-Step meetings. Furthermore, the theme of healing complements the framing of women involved in prostitution as survivors of a destructive culture. It is the barriers that women have to overcome in this process of healing that are explored next.

'It just seems like a vicious cycle': barriers to exit

As in India, staff members and women engaging with the project were asked what barriers they thought women who desired to leave prostitution faced. The following table lists all of the barriers that were mentioned in order of the frequency with which they were mentioned across all interviews and workshops, with the most frequently cited barrier at

the top of the table. Those barriers listed in the shaded section received fewer than five references.

Table 32: Barriers to Exiting Prostitution identified by US Case Study

Overall rank	Barrier	Identified by	Women's rank	Staff rank
1	Addiction	Staff and Women	1	2=
2	Lifestyle of the street	Staff and Women	2	6=
3	Self-esteem and shame	Staff and Women	3	6=
4	Poverty and Lack of Financial Stability	Staff and Women	7	1
5	Unhealthy relationships	Staff and Women	5	10=
6	Pimp	Women	4	-
7	Earnings	Staff and Women	8=	4=
8	Fear and Physical Abuse	Women	6	-
	Lack of Trust and Fear of Alternatives	Staff and Women	8=	13=
10	Relapse	Staff and Women	14=	4=
	Societal Stigma	Staff and Women	11=	6=
	Childhood sexual abuse	Staff and Women	17=	2=
13	Homelessness and Housing	Staff and Women	11=	13=
	Cannot see a Way Out	Staff and Women	8=	16=
15	Criminal Record	Staff and Women	17=	10=
16	Mental Health Issues	Staff and Women	22=	6=
17	Denial/Self-centredness/Compulsiveness	Staff and Women	11=	16=
18	Lack of Education	Staff and Women	19=	15
	Not ready	Staff and Women	14=	16=
	Lack of Job Skills	Staff	-	10=
21	Lack of economic alternative (no job)	Women	14=	-
22	Starting to feel emotions	Women	19=	-
	Thinking you can keep prostituting just a bit	Women	19=	-
24	Madams	Women	22=	-
	Physical health problems	Staff	-	16=
	No community support	Women	22=	-

Overall 26 barriers were identified, however, almost 25% of all references related to the top two barriers alone, and over 78% of the references related to the first twelve barriers (to rank 10).

Again, the identification of barriers was also analysed according to each structured research encounter and the barriers were ranked a second time based on the total number of research encounters in which a barrier was mentioned (see Table 33). A comparison of the two rankings revealed consistency in the top fifteen barriers identified.

Table 33: Barriers to Exiting Prostitution in the US ranked according to the number of research encounters which mentioned each barrier (top fifteen barriers only)

Barriers ranked according to total number of research encounters which mentioned the barrier	No. of research encounters that mention the barrier
Addiction	15
Lifestyle of the street	13
Childhood sexual abuse	11
Poverty and Lack of Financial Stability	
Earnings	10
Self-esteem and shame	8
Unhealthy relationships	7
Societal Stigma	
Pimp	6
Lack of Trust and Fear of Alternatives	
Relapse	
Criminal Record	
Fear and Physical Abuse	5
Homelessness and Housing	
Cannot see a Way Out	

That the barriers Addiction and Lifestyle of the Street feature first and second respectively in both rankings is not surprising given the in-take criteria of the programme.

Addiction and the Lifestyle of the Streets

As in India, the barriers identified consist of a mix of individual, relational, structural and societal constraints. Both staff and the women alike spoke of the centrality of substance addiction in sustaining women's involvement in prostitution. One staff member argued that at the point at which women enter the programme, most of them 'are trafficking themselves for drugs' [Female residential staff member]. Seeking to exit prostitution without addressing addiction issues was seen as futile:

> *...if you're still doing drugs and you decide you want to leave prostitution you're not going to feel any emotions except when you come down, then you're going to feel like shit and you're going to do anything you can to use some more dope. So a lot of it is you have a drug problem, you're probably not going to leave unless you're going to rehab or something because at the end of the day if you want to get high you're going to do whatever you can to get money* [Workshop Participant].

Whilst addiction was mainly used to refer to substance addiction, one staff member spoke of 'the addiction to sex' whilst another spoke of some of the women in the programme having 'a triple addiction': 'mental illness, prostitution plus they have the A&D issues' [Female residential staff member]. Correspondingly, relapse, predominantly in relation to

drugs, was identified as a barrier to exiting because of the multiple impacts it could have on a woman's life. If she had a job, it could cause disruption to her ability to carry out her job and could result in her losing the job. Staff spoke of how a relapse could result in a woman losing her car and housing, if living independently, thus returning her to a vulnerable situation and how repeated relapses whilst trying to exit could intensify feelings of shame and guilt which could result in the woman leaving the programme.

The barrier 'lifestyle of the streets' referred to the notion that prostitution was not just a series of isolated acts but part of a lifestyle which involved getting high, 'fast money' and partying. This was seen to act as a barrier in two main ways. First, the lifestyle was described as addictive by the women. Enjoying the thrill, the money, and the sex was highlighted, as was the way in which this became a habit. Second, it was argued that women became used to the lifestyle and the associated behaviours which in turn encouraged a survival and/or transactional mentality involving patterns of behaviours that were not deemed appropriate in a work environment. For example, Tiana spoke of the challenge of unlearning behaviours around conflict. That the lifestyle of the streets was all that some women knew was also raised in workshops and was related to the early age at which some women get involved in prostitution and the learnt 'survival technique of I don't need nobody to take care of me' [Workshop Participant].

Low Self-esteem

Staff spoke of the self-loathing and lack of trust in themselves that many women entering the programme exhibit and the belief amongst some that they do not deserve anything better. One staff member spoke of how such self-hatred was expressed in 'a lot of self-destructive behaviour' [Female TF staff member]. In her opinion, whether a woman was able to make it through 'that period where all the anger comes out' was crucial in their ability to leave prostitution. Women spoke of how 'most of us have been told what we couldn't do as opposed to what we can do and what we can be' [Workshop Participant] and the belief that they don't deserve anything better: 'Once you sell yourself you think that's me, once I was out there selling myself I thought that was all I deserved because I felt so low and that kept me stuck' [Workshop Participant]. Women talked of how their feelings of shame and guilt kept them estranged from their families and prevented them from seeking help. Such feelings were believed to be particularly acute when a woman had sought to get clean and exit and had then relapsed. Closely linked to the barrier low self-esteem and shame was the barrier 'Cannot see a Way Out' which related to the belief amongst women

that change was not possible, that they couldn't stop and that they would 'die being a ho' [Workshop Participant]. Tiana referred to this as 'believing the lie'.

Poverty

Poverty was mentioned as a factor preventing women from leaving prostitution. The founder stressed how no-one coming off the streets has any money. Women echoed this stating 'lack of money' and 'no money to support myself' as barriers. During a workshop one resident explained the poverty trap she had found herself in upon being released from prison. She had court and drug charges to pay as part of her parole; she had to pay her rent at the halfway house and the costs of basic amenities; and she had five children. Despite finding a job she said that she became so overwhelmed with trying to meet all of these costs that she had returned to prostitution. Poverty was also seen to operate as a continuing barrier for women who did choose to leave prostitution and staff stressed how women who exited were often living pay cheque to pay cheque. Whilst many women qualified for disability allowance, this was described as 'really poverty living, you're living out at or below the poverty line' [Female residential staff member]. Furthermore, coming off disability allowance could plunge a woman further into poverty as she would lose her health insurance and her subsidized housing. The kind of work that the women were able to get was also seen as problematic with staff recognising that such work was often in the fast food industry at minimum wage. Coupled with this was the issue of whether women were working enough hours to gain a decent income. The barrier 'Earnings' referred to the difference between what women were able to earn in prostitution in comparison to legal employment and the pull factor that such 'easy, fast' money could exert on those trying to leave prostitution. Learning to live on less and to budget was described as a 'new thing' for some women and staff spoke of the struggle to resist the thought that '"Oh well, I could go out and turn a few tricks and then I'd have the money for this"' [Male TF staff member].

Unhealthy Relationships and Physical Abuse

Relationships, specifically unhealthy ones, were identified as a barrier. Two staff members named dynamics in personal relationships as the number one reason why women drop out of the programme. In workshops, one woman explained how her mother's own drug addiction had acted as a barrier whilst another explained how she would get clean and then 'go hang back out with the same people doing the same thing' [Workshop Participant]. A third woman argued that whilst involved in prostitution 'every relationship was dysfunctional; it was violent, it was foul' [Workshop Participant]. The barrier 'pimp' was

only raised by women engaging with the project, not by staff. The women spoke of how the abuse and fear instilled by pimps acted as a barrier, as did the emotional complexity of such relationships. As one woman explained:

> *...in all that, one man has a lot of different titles to me, you know what I'm saying, like he was my boyfriend, he was abusive, he was my pimp and he's my baby's father, so that's a lot for me, for someone to have deal with all in one* [Workshop Participant].

Fear of being beaten or killed if they tried to leave prostitution or fear that somebody might hurt their family were also mentioned as barriers by women. In one workshop, the women were frank that death wasn't just a fear but a reality for some women: 'in some places it is a serious game, you're going to die if you try to get away' [Workshop Participant].

Trust and Stigma

Staff spoke of how the women entering the programme are often distrustful of all authority, can take a long time to trust somebody new and push everyone away who tries to get close. Tiana summed up this barrier as 'we have big trust issues'. In the workshops concerns around whether they would be able to complete a two-year programme, whether they would manage being apart from their children during that time and the 'fear of whether or not you can make it on your own' were all raised by the women. Societal stigma was also raised as a barrier to exiting, specifically the treatment of women involved in prostitution as criminals, as was the internalisation of stigma. As one graduate explained: 'it's like once you are known as a prostitute you are branded for life' [Workshop Participant]. Having a criminal record was identified as a barrier to getting employment and thus to establishing an alternative means of income. Staff explained how most jobs now do a criminal background check and how employers tend to shy away from hiring people with drug histories and arrest records.

Childhood Sexual Abuse and Housing

Experiencing sexual abuse during childhood was identified as a barrier to exiting because of the way in which it could foster a desensitisation to sexual violation and because of the distrust it engenders:

> *...many of our women here have been sexually abused as a young child and because of that, that violation [...] have been so traumatised by these violations that eventually it becomes not in your nature so to speak but you just stop allowing it to*

make, you stop allowing it to really have as much of an emotional effect on you, you kind of become numb to it [Female residential staff member].

In the workshops women spoke of the reality that if they left prostitution they had nowhere to go, especially if they did not have a relationship with their family. The lack of money and lack of a credit history were cited as barriers to obtaining housing. According to one staff member, homelessness was the most obvious structural barrier facing women who wanted to leave prostitution: 'If you're homeless you can't do much but survive so I think people have to have housing' [Female residential staff member]. Another staff member agreed and pointed out that the practice of carrying out background checks on tenets made obtaining housing difficult: 'most people don't want to have folks who are doing anything prostituting' [Female residential staff member].

Summary

This chapter has focused on the two case studies and has explored how each project frames the issue of prostitution, how this relates to their understanding of exiting, and the barriers they perceive women face when leaving prostitution. In both cases the framing of prostitution offered in the project's publicity has been compared with the framing offered by staff and by the women engaging with the project. Overall, this chapter provides the context within which to investigate how the projects practically support women to exit prostitution.

Chapter 8: Supporting Women to Exit Prostitution

Introduction

Having explored how the two case studies frame the issue of prostitution we now turn to look in more depth at how the two projects support women to exit prostitution (RQ2). This will involve an exploration of the factors identified by staff members and women engaging with each project that were believed to assist women to leave prostitution; the ways in which the projects define success and measure impact; and an assessment of the nature and extent of the exits supported by the projects. As with the identification of barriers, staff and women at both projects were asked in interviews and workshops to identify what they thought helped women to leave prostitution. It is with a focus on these enabling factors that the analysis of each case study will begin.

The Indian Case Study

Overview of the factors supporting exit

Across all of the interviews and workshops with staff and women at the project a total of 17 different factors were identified as supporting women to exit prostitution. Of these factors, 13 can be said to be associated specifically with the project, and related to either support provided by the project or the nature of the project itself. The remaining four factors reflected more personal dynamics. The table below lists the enabling factors in order of the frequency with which they were mentioned across all interviews and workshops, with the most frequently cited factor at the top of the table. Those factors listed in the shaded section received fewer than five references.

Table 34: Enabling Factors in Exiting Prostitution identified by Indian Case Study

Overall Rank	Enabling Factor	Identified by ...	Women's Rank	Staff Rank
1	Peer support	Staff and Women	2	1
2	Children	Staff and Women	1	9=
3	Desire for a 'respectable life'	Staff and Women	3	9=
4	Provision of a job	Staff and Women	5=	5=
5	Proactive outreach of the project	Women	4	-
	Health support	Staff and Women	13=	2=
7	Loan scheme	Staff and Women	7=	9=
	Assistance with housing and rent	Staff and Women	7=	9=
	Personal desire to exit	Staff and Women	10	5=
	Babus – supporting them to exit	Women	5=	-
	Age	Staff and Women	7=	9=
	Lots of chances	Staff	-	2=
13	Work-related benefits provided by the project	Staff and Women	13=	4
14	Savings	Staff and Women	13=	5=
	Drop-in Centre	Staff and Women	11=	9=
16	Nursery	Women	11=	-
	Being upfront about your struggles	Staff	-	5=

A quarter of all references referred to the top two factors alone: peer support and children. As with the barriers, the identification of enabling factors was also analysed according to each structured research encounter and the factors were ranked a second time based on the total number of research encounters in which an enabling factor was mentioned. A comparison of these two rankings revealed that the top four enabling factors in both rankings, in exactly the same order, were (1) peer support, (2) children, (3) desire for a 'respectable life' and (4) provision of a job. These top four enabling factors will be discussed individually then the other factors will be discussed in two groups: those relating specifically to the project and those reflecting individual-level dynamics.

Peer Support: 'the biggest gift'

Peer support was by far the most frequently mentioned enabling factor and the peer support available within the project was seen as one of the most crucial aspects of the project model. As one staff member stated:

> *...one of the biggest gifts we have is you are placed in a community of almost 200 sisters who have walked that road and who are walking that road. There's no programme we can implement that can speak louder than that because in so many*

> *ways the [project name] model, and we are fractured and there is drama, you know, stuff we can work on, but so much of the model that, it's nothing that has been created by the outsiders but by the women, is where one is weak, the others are strong* [Female ex-pat staff member].

The same staff member went on to point out that due to the business bordering the red light district and its emphasis on women remaining part of the local community, this peer support was not just available during working hours but 'the community often goes home with you at night and lives with you in your other community'. Another staff member described the emotional support and acceptance between the women as 'invaluable' [Female national staff member].

Staff spoke about how the women were able to encourage one another; about how the presence of so many peers within the project was a source of hope for those who were unsure about their ability to leave the line; and how they sought to create a feeling within the training context that they are all in it together. Older women at the project are encouraged to mentor new trainees and new trainees are encouraged to support one another, however a lot of peer support was initiated by the women themselves and was not implemented through a structured mentoring programme. For example, during an interview with Aasha she explained how she had recently supported a woman during her training period. The trainee had decided to leave her *babu* because he was pressurising her to return to the line but one month into the training she was struggling to make ends meet. She had spoken to Aasha about her intention to go back to the line and Aasha had challenged her not to and provided her with food, out of her own money, for the remaining two months of the training. Aasha proudly spoke of how this woman had completed her training and was now employed by the business:

> *After pay day the girl took her pay and said to Aasha 'If you hadn't helped me, if you hadn't been there beside me, I don't think I would have made it. I think I would have died'. Aasha said you stay here beside me* [Aasha, Staff Interpretation].

Such peer support was not just related to the women employed by the project but had an external emphasis as well, reaching out to women still involved in the line. In interviews and workshops women acknowledged that because they are known amongst women living within the red light community they can have informal conversations about their alternative work at the project and encourage other women to consider leaving the line.

Children and the desire for a 'respectable' life

The significance of children in women's decisions to exit prostitution was spoken about frequently in interviews and workshops with the women. The impact of the stigma associated with prostitution on their children was recognised and the women explained how they wanted their children to not have to say that their mother was in the line. Women explained how tutors were unwilling to come to their homes to teach their children, how they wanted to send their children to good schools away from the red light area and how no-one wanted to marry their daughters. Providing their children with a 'good life' was often presented as incompatible with being in the line. The desire to achieve these outcomes for their children was thus highlighted as a strong motivating factor to leave prostitution. Conversely, women also spoke about being in the line specifically to earn money for their children's education and marriages and that once these had been achieved and their children had grown up they had chosen to leave the line.

Acknowledging this motivating factor, the project seeks to assist women in providing their children with an education: loans are provided for purchasing school books and to contribute towards boarding school fees. Over the course of 2012 staff had spent time researching what schools were available in the local area that were willing to accept the women's children and had built relationships with two particular schools. The decision to focus on access to education for the children of women engaging with the project was spoken of by staff as stemming from the desire to break the generational cycle of prostitution.

As with children as a motivating factor, the role of a desire for a 'respectable life' in motivating women to leave prostitution came predominantly from the women and not from staff. Contrasting with the negative phrases used to speak about their involvement in the line, women spoke of their employment at the business with pride and referred to it as allowing them to lead a 'good life', a 'dignified life' and a 'respectable life'. Again, it was only in studying the follow-up translations that the extent to which the women used such phrases became apparent. Asked about their thoughts and feelings having started work at the project, one woman explained: 'I will have the satisfaction of doing a respectable job and not having to work in the line anymore [Workshop Participant, Follow-up translation]. The desire for a 'respectable life' as a motivating exiting factor was also apparent in the Freedom Charter, a document written by an elected group of the women that outlines 12 principles which women are asked to commit to when joining the business. The second

principle in the Charter talks about choosing to join the project 'where I can earn an income with respect'.

'A factory that gives ten million chances'

Whilst the desire for a 'respectable life' might be a motivating factor for women to leave prostitution, the provision of a job was fundamental in enabling them to actually achieve this desire. Several staff members highlighted the economic aspect of leaving prostitution and the necessity of providing alternative employment was underscored. That the project was providing employment and not just a handout was seen as particularly important by staff: 'They work hard for their money and that I think, they also say, it gives dignity' [Male ex-pat staff member]. Moreover, the job provided by the project was not just a job like any other but was primarily geared towards supporting the women in the wider context of their lives. In the words of one staff member: 'We are a factory that gives ten million chances and then when those ten million chances are done, we'll give you one more' [Female ex-pat staff member]. This commitment to providing 'lots of chances' was seen as vital by staff in supporting women to leave prostitution. There was recognition of the different challenges women might be working through and thus the need to be flexible and offer continual support. Staff explained that any disciplinary action within the business, which usually took the form of a suspension, was always accompanied by ongoing support:

> *No matter what happens we never, we always try and stay in contact with the woman and continue journeying with her, whether it is while they're working here or while they're in the community* [Female ex-pat staff member].

Talking in more detail about some of the HR challenges they faced as a business, one of the Senior Management Team explained how the project strove to understand what was driving 'unacceptable' behaviour within the business and how the decision that a woman could no longer work at the project was never considered final:

> *We don't see it as a closed book; it is another step along the journey. And quite often, not always, but quite often, those women will end up coming back at a later time* [Male ex-pat staff member].

Services provided by the project

In addition to the provision of a job, a range of other services provided by the project were identified as playing a role in enabling women to exit prostitution. The proactive outreach of the project, spearheaded by a woman on the Women's Leadership Team, was considered significant because it allowed relationships to be built with women in the line and enabled

the project to understand what barriers to exiting a woman might be facing and how to support her as an individual. It was also considered important in ensuring that women were aware that alternative employment was available. Asked whether it would be difficult for women to leave the line if the project did not carry out visits in the red light area, one workshop participant responded by asking how women would come to know about this alternative employment without such visits taking place. In the same way, the drop-in centre, located on a main lane in the red light area, was also considered to play an important role in assisting women to leave prostitution: it allows the project to have a presence in the red light area and provides an opportunity for women to become familiar with the alternative employment on offer and the people involved. To this end, the project had recently employed a Nepali-speaking woman to reach out to the Nepalese women attending the drop-in centre.

As part of the employment package of working at the business, women are enrolled in a government health insurance scheme and a retirement fund. Alongside this they receive health support from staff who assist the women to utilise the government systems, attend medical appointments with the women, and support those women who are HIV positive to manage their ARV medication. The Laylaa staff team had two trained nurses, one of whom was an Indian national, and they were available for consultation and had trained a number of the women in basic First Aid. The project also assisted the women with the health concerns of their dependents and relatives. For example, one woman's young daughter had developed eye cancer and the project had raised funds through external supporters to cover the large costs of the child's medical bills.

Some dissatisfaction amongst the women concerning the health insurance was, however, noted. Staff explained how the appointment of a national nurse had come about as a response to the needs assessment carried out in 2011 in which the women at the project had expressed a desire for an in-house clinic. Whilst a staff member explained that the project had not wanted to set up a full in-house clinic and instead wanted to work as advocates to connect women to the government system, she stated that the report had prompted them to step up their level of advocacy. Since 2011 a basic health check at a local clinic, funded by the project, has been offered to all of the women employed at the business and free basic health checks and workshops on health issues are also now part of the training provided to new employees. Another staff member described the service offered by the government health insurance scheme as 'terrible' but explained that when it came to

major operations the women could not afford to go private and so enrolling the women in the scheme meant the costs of such operations were covered. This was seen as beneficial for the women as it prevented the need to take out loans with high interest rates to cover unexpected medical expenditures and thus avoided the potential of entering into debt.

The project runs a loan scheme, which is referred to as '*mukti*' loans. The loans are interest-free, limited to 5000 INR and are paid back through deductions from the woman's monthly salary. Staff explained that these loans were granted in cases where a woman might have taken out a loan that had very high interest or required a lump sum of money for a deposit on a new room. The loans were identified by the women as particularly helpful during the transitional training period. Practical assistance with housing and rent is also provided, with staff helping women to find new rooms at lower rents, thus making it more feasible for women to be able to afford to leave the line. As one of the women explained:

> *And some people get a house somewhere else and stay out there so that they don't have the pressure of working in their life. It is not easy. It is hard finding a new house. We'll give help in finding that.* [Shameena, Staff Interpretation]

Budgeting advice is provided to help women to manage their expenditures and adjust to receiving a fixed monthly salary. At the time of the fieldwork the project had commissioned research into the standard living wage in the area and the spending habits of the women at the project as huge differences had been discovered in spending between women and the project was seeking to provide better assistance to the women in managing their finances:

> *...we could take an educated guess to say ok this is different because of this but if we actually have data that is objective and proven from the marketplace that will help us to inform the women better as we sit to help them with their budget* [Female ex-pat staff member].

In order to receive their wages women are required to have a bank account and so staff assist with opening a bank account if a woman does not already have one. Additional financial support is provided through two savings schemes: *puja* savings and a general company savings account, both of which are voluntary. The *puja* savings is intended to help women to save up over the course of the year for the purchase of new clothes for *Durga Puja*, an annual Hindu festival. Women deposit 200 INR on a monthly basis and this is matched by 100 INR of the founders' own money. Every woman in the company makes use of this scheme. The general savings account allows women to choose how much they want to save each month but is not widely used. As a member of the financial staff team

explained, once women have covered their living costs and put aside money in the *puja* savings, they do not have much money left over to save.

The nursery run by the project was identified as a practical factor in enabling younger women with small children to take up employment at the business and leave the line. Taking children from the age of 3 months up to 6 years, the nursery provides the women with a safe environment in which to leave their children whilst working. The final enabling factor related to the project, identified by staff, was 'being upfront about your struggles'. Staff spoke about how they actively encourage women to be upfront about all the struggles they are facing at the start when they join the project and how the women who are upfront are usually the ones who are most successful in overcoming the barriers they face and leaving the line:

> *Just the ones who have come in and laid themselves open and been like 'this is where I am at and I know that it is messed up and I don't really know how I'm going to get there but I want to get there and I have hope that it is possible'. Those are the ones who have done the best. The ones that are reluctant to share truly where they are at, are the ones who have struggled* [Female ex-pat staff member].

Encouraging the women to be upfront about their struggles involved working with the women to make a plan together to address the challenges they were facing. This was presented as a key purpose of the Freedom Plans which are drawn up with the women during the training period.

Personal/Individual level factors supporting exit

The three remaining factors can be grouped together as 'personal factors' in that they represent the unique factors at the level of the individual woman's lived experience. These include a personal desire to exit; a good *babu*; and age. The significance of self-willingness to leave the line was spoken of in workshops with the women. When asked what helps women to leave the line, one participant explained that:

> *...girls may want to come out of it and live a life of purity and mental happiness. They may not want to engage in the line which is a dirty place* [Workshop Participant, Follow-up translation].

Other women spoke about their dislike of prostitution and their desire to leave the line, even if it meant earning less money. Similarly, speaking about the barrier of differentials in earnings for younger women, one staff member acknowledged that there were some young

women who despite the ability to earn more in the line 'don't feel comfortable to continue there' and express a desire to exit [Male national staff member].

Whilst *babus* were most frequently spoken about as a barrier to exiting prostitution, they were also referred to as an enabling factor. Women acknowledged that sometimes a 'good *babu*' might help a woman to leave the line; they might take a house together, financially support the woman and help her to find work outside the line. Diya and Aasha spoke of the role their male partners had played in their own exits from prostitution. Even when the men had been unable to provide enough financial support to allow them to fully leave the line, their emotional support and their encouragement to keep trying to find alternatives had been significant to them.

The final enabling factor identified was age. Staff and women alike highlighted that as women grew older they were not able to earn as much money in the line and this fall in income was often a deciding factor in women choosing to leave prostitution: 'For old people like me, line is no longer a viable option hence I have to look for employment outside' [Workshop Participant, Follow-up translation]. The influence of age on women's decisions to exit prostitution was reflected in the demographics of the women employed at the business. Whilst staff highlighted that the demographics of the project had begun to change in recent years, becoming more mixed, the project had initially attracted older women 'who are more in the stage where you can say they are burnt out from the trade, they're not getting enough money to sell their body anymore' [Female ex-pat staff member].

The Significance of Community

From observations it was clear that the emphasis on fostering a supportive community within the project, whilst not explicitly identified, was also a key contributing factor in supporting women to leave prostitution. This overlapped with the peer support identified by staff and women alike but it also went beyond that. In recounting the story of how the business began, one of the founders outlined how an emphasis on community and on consultation had been embedded within the project from the start:

> *... we sat down with 20 women and we said 'we've got this idea, what'd you think?' They said, they were crazy enough to give it a go really and that's how it started. None of us knew what we were doing but we had this common thing where, by working together there would be a chance for choice. It was very relational, very community based and we gave it a go* [Male Founder].

The project makes a point of holding regular community celebrations. There is an annual

picnic, organised and paid for by the project and the project's birthday is also celebrated each year. A free lunch is provided for all of the employees, time is set aside for sharing stories and then a general party follows.

As mentioned earlier, the project specifically encourages staff to live within the local community and to live simply in solidarity with the women. Although not all staff followed this principle, a considerable proportion of the staff did live within walking distance of the project; living out their daily lives within the vicinity of the red light area. Staff chose to go without conveniences such as air conditioning and one staff member had chosen to live within the red light area itself; her accommodation consisted of a small room with a double bed, a fridge and a fan; a basic gas stove in the passageway; and a small bathroom. Her reasoning for doing so was that the women felt more comfortable visiting her there as the difference between their living circumstances and her own was less daunting.

Choosing to live alongside the women arguably enables staff and volunteers to develop greater trust with the women and a greater appreciation of their daily lives and struggles. Talking about the best part of his role at the project, one of the founders stressed the importance of community for him personally:

> *These women know our children so well, our kids have grown up here too, they are the ones who have taught me for many years, been my teachers, yeah, it's about relationship. It's always about relationship, it always comes back to that and if it doesn't, there's a problem because then it comes back to what you do. It's about relationship and who you are in relationship with which really counts* [Male Founder].

In interviews Aasha and Prisha spoke with pride of their relationships with the founders and the fact that their children had grown up alongside the founders' children whilst Diya and Shameena referred to the project as 'family'. The commitment to live within the community, to work with and not simply for women seeking to leave prostitution and to be involved for the long-term appeared to be strengths of the project.

'It's a life's journey; it is never going to be an instant, quick fix'

When it came to measuring the impact of the project, the founders confirmed that the project does not have an official definition of 'exiting prostitution' and there was widespread recognition amongst staff that some of the women employed by the business were still involved in prostitution. The felt lack of a need for an official definition of 'exiting prostitution' was linked to the understanding of exiting prostitution as a journey involving

not just the cessation of selling sex but the addressing of health, social, financial and emotional issues. One of the founders explained that 'it is never instant, I think I long for the instant but the longer I'm here the longer I realise it is a life's journey, it is never going to be an instant, quick fix' [Female Founder]. In the day-to-day running of the business, rather than focusing on whether or not a woman had ceased all involvement in prostitution, the project instead focused on providing women with the choice of an alternative way of earning money. As one of the founders explained:

> *Actually to be perfectly honest the biggest thing for me is, and we want to see women totally out of the trade, but you know the whole point of this is that choice is in their hands and they can make bad choices or good choices and our desire for them is to make good choices which would mean they don't have to go back but certainly get them in a position where they have a choice* [Male Founder].

Enabling choice could thus be considered the means by which the project had effectively defined success in terms of its social mission.

The Senior Management Team acknowledged that there had been a lack of measurement of the impact of the project in the past. Although operating since 2001, it was not until 2011 that a base line study of the socio-economic conditions of the women employed by the business was commissioned. The study was requested by a funder and was carried out by an external Indian research company. The researchers had interviewed 120 of the 170 women employed by the business at that time and of those 120 women, 83 had been directly involved in prostitution whilst 37 were indirectly associated through family members. The researchers stated that of all the women who had been directly involved in the trade, 36% were still involved on a part time basis. Thus, in total, the study claimed that 30 women employed by the business were still involved in prostitution, representing 25% of those interviewed. This finding had led to some questioning amongst staff over how the research was conducted: 'there just wasn't tight data to say this is why and I wish we had more of a breakdown of what does it mean to be in the line' [Female ex-pat staff member]. Yet despite such questions, the survey had led to strategic adjustments within the project in relation to building up the social resources available to the women. In particular, the establishment of Laylaa in 2011 was a direct response to the survey which sought to introduce a specific team tasked with addressing the social, emotional and health issues faced by the women.

The US Case Study

Overview of the factors supporting exit

In the US a greater number of enabling factors were identified by staff and women engaging with the project than was the case in India, with a total of 32 different factors highlighted. The range of factors was also broader, with only half of the factors mentioned relating to either support provided by the project or the nature of the project itself. The table below lists the enabling factors that were identified in order of the frequency with which they were mentioned across all interviews and workshops, with the most frequently cited factor at the top of the table. Those factors listed in the shaded section received fewer than five references.

Table 35: Enabling Factors in Exiting Prostitution identified by US Case Study

Overall Rank	Enabling Factor	Identified by ...	Women's Rank	Staff Rank
1	Provision of a job	Staff and Women	7=	1
2	God/Faith/Prayer	Staff and Women	1	12=
3	A supportive recovery community	Staff and Women	9	2
4	Peer support	Staff and Women	4=	6=
5	Personal Desire to Exit	Staff and Women	2	17=
6	Drug Treatment (AA & NA meetings)	Staff and Women	10=	4=
	Improved Self-esteem	Staff and Women	7=	11
	Magdalene Programme (in general)	Women	3	-
	Mental Health Therapy and Sexual Assault Centre	Staff and Women	10=	4=
	Support from family and friends	Staff and Women	4=	17=
11	Education and Skills Training	Staff and Women	13=	6=
	Housing	Staff and Women	13=	6=
	Receiving Love	Women	6	-
14	Time	Staff and Women	17=	3
15	Being upfront about prostitution	Staff and Women	10=	14=
	Lots of chances	Staff and Women	13=	12=
17	Health support	Staff and Women	27=	9=
	Help from an Individual	Women	13=	-
	Trust	Staff and Women	27=	9=
20	Jail and Court	Staff and Women	17=	14=
21	Age	Staff and Women	17=	17=
22	Children	Women	17=	-
	Death	Women	17=	-
24	Change in the sex market	Women	22=	-
	Legal aid support	Staff	-	14=
	Morals kicking in	Women	22=	-
	Rob your pimp	Women	22=	-

	Specific Support Projects	Women	22=	-
	Traumatic Incident	Women	22=	-
30	Failed suicide attempt	Women	27=	-
	If there were no johns	Women	27=	-
	Savings scheme	Staff	-	17=

Seventy eight per cent of all references referred to the top 14 factors and just over a quarter of all references referred to the top three factors alone.

Again, the identification of enabling factors was also analysed according to each structured research encounter and the factors ranked a second time based on the total number of research encounters in which a factor was mentioned. A comparison of the two rankings showed that of the top 14 enabling factors in each ranking, 11 of the factors appeared in both lists. Three of the top four enabling factors in both rankings were identical, albeit ranked differently: provision of a job; a supportive recovery community; and peer support. In addition, the enabling factor God/Faith/Prayer appeared in the top four ranked factors in both lists; ranked second in one and joint-fourth in the other. Furthermore, 76% of the top 14 enabling factors featured in the two rankings were associated specifically with the project.

A job at Thistle Farms

Provision of a job was the most frequently mentioned enabling factor and was also mentioned by the greatest number of people. One staff member described 'gainful employment' as 'the most important thing for exiting' [Female residential staff member] whilst another explained that ensuring there is a way for the women to be financially secure is 'a make or break deal' [Female residential staff member]. The significance of a job lay not just in the financial stability it could provide but also in the sense of purpose it could offer. In the experience of one staff member the women who receive disability allowance and choose not to work are the ones who struggle the most with relapse. The vast majority of references to 'provision of a job' referred specifically to the employment provided by Thistle Farms. Staff and women alike noted that the job was focused on recovery and provided a structured but looser working environment than other companies:

> *...they find that they feel so safe and secure at Thistle Farms because they've got meditation in the morning, which you don't do in a normal job, they've got all these other people holding them accountable, all these people are not talking about using drugs and alcohol because we're in a recovery environment, and then you have*

> *staff people who are onboard with the same mentality* [Female residential staff member].

Staff listed the way in which Thistle Farms provides women with the opportunity to learn how to maintain a job and deal with a supervisor, build up a work history and travel to promote the business. A job at Thistle Farms was seen to promote self-esteem and personal strength. Staff did note that having to work alongside the same women they were living with could cause frustrations for some women and one staff member estimated that about 30-40% of women entering the programme choose to find employment elsewhere. The same staff member felt that of those women who did choose external employment the most successful tended to have worked at Thistle Farms for a period of time before transitioning and she credited their success to having learnt how to maintain a job.

In workshops and interviews women highlighted how the job at Thistle Farms helped them to be self-reliant, enabled them to take care of themselves and to feel good about doing so. One woman thought the job gave you 'courage to believe in yourself' and 'helps you to communicate' and explained how it had helped her to identify what she was good at and realise that she was capable of learning new skills [Workshop Participant]. A 2002 graduate spoke about choosing to return to work at Thistle Farms after a period of working in a fast food chain:

> *I knew that it would be a better environment with the people and the customers. Because where I was before it was a drug environment, and alcohol, and that is the life I am trying to stay, to leave alone and get away from so yeah, I love being here* [Arleatha].

Another graduate highlighted the way in which promotions at Thistle Farms are based on your ability to carry out tasks and not on your educational credentials:

> *Nobody here has any credentials to begin with so they just let you start from day one with what you can do and you build yourself up on what you can do, not because of what you know. Because a lot of people here are, you might have a position at the top of the company and barely have a high school diploma. That's an asset to being in this company* [Workshop Participant].

Conversely, for one resident the job at Thistle Farms was a motivating factor for her to find more lucrative work: 'I'm grateful but at the same time I know I can do better' [Workshop Participant].

A supportive recovery community

The belief in the necessity of a supportive recovery community for a woman seeking to exit prostitution was foundational to the design and purpose of the project. According to the founder, community was the most significant factor when talking about exiting and she stressed the need for a radical, non-judgmental community in order to allow women to heal from the trauma they have experienced. The sensitivity to recovery amongst the staff was highlighted along with the way in which support was personalised. One staff member joked about the project 'being a kind of Club Med' explaining how 'there are all these different pieces and you can kind of find, it can kind of be personalised for what your needs are' [Female TF staff member]. The strong relationship between the residential staff and the business staff was identified as the factor which enabled the project to provide a supportive recovery community across all of its work, with one staff member suggesting that without this cooperation 'it would be a disaster' [Female TF staff member].

The breadth and depth of support offered by the project was spoken about by the women. One graduate explained how 'they supported me whatever I wanted to do' emphasising that they offered support without judgement [Workshop Participant]. Similarly, Tiana described how the founder had been one of the first people to address the emotional impact prostitution had had on her life. She explained how the staff had encouraged and supported her to go back to college and to regain custody of her children and she praised the founder: 'she believed in me, she believed in every woman that comes through here'. For Linda, one particular staff member had gone to hospital appointments with her, had been at the birth of her children, and had helped her to advocate for herself. A fourth woman explained how the support of the staff had been important during her three years in prison: they had written her letters, sent packages, visited, and ensured there was a bed available for her when she was released.

The notion that the support offered by the project was not time-limited was raised and the uniqueness of this was underscored by several women:

> *It was always 'If you fall down, get back up and find your way home' because you can always come back to the Circle. Nobody was giving that, nobody is giving that today, not for real, not genuinely* [Tiana].

A staff member also explained that many of the women, whether they graduate or drop out of the programme, continue to maintain contact and during the fieldwork at least five women dropped by to talk to staff and seek support.

The supportive community was also understood to extend beyond the confines of the project with staff explaining that the model of the project is based on engaging with the local community. Women are not housed in a secret location but are seen as, and encouraged to be, part of the community. An annual graduation celebration is held, social trips are often organised at the weekends for residents and graduates who want to participate and during the fieldwork several 'birthday' celebrations were held to mark the date since individual women had stopped using drugs. Furthermore, the healing and recovery fostered within the project is not just seen as unilateral but is believed to extend to staff, volunteers and the wider community. Asked about what they were most proud about their work with the project, staff overwhelming spoke of the relationships they had developed with the women and the fact that they get back so much more than they give. One staff member said the he had 'seen some of the most amazing transformations of people' which had, in turn, transformed him too [Male TF staff member].

Peer Support: 'life-time sisters'

Complementing the supportive recovery community provided by the project was the support offered by the other women in the programme. As one staff member stated:

> *... there's safety in numbers, yeah, just the power of peer support and a community and the notion that you're walking into a room full of people who, everybody's experience is different but they've been there and survived it too. And they potentially can be a source of support and learning and motivation for change* [Female residential staff member].

In an interview, one graduate explained how she drew inspiration from other women who had gone through the programme before her and spoke particularly about how she had 'learnt a lot' from the Residence Manager: 'knowing what she went through on the streets and the lifestyle that she lived and who she is today, it's what keeps me motivated to stay clean and sober' [Arleatha]. Similarly, a resident described how she felt she was 'making life-time sisters' [Workshop Participant]. For some of the women who took part in the workshops, peer support had played a vital role in their initial efforts to leave prostitution and had led to their entry into the programme. One woman had been at a drug rehabilitation centre when she met a Magdalene resident who had relapsed. Hearing about the resident's experience of the programme and being able to ask her questions about it had inspired the woman to call up and get on the waiting list: 'she just couldn't say enough wonderful things about the programme' [Workshop Participant].

Staff pointed out that a lot of the peer support was initiated by the women themselves and this was witnessed repeatedly throughout the fieldwork. On a number of occasions graduates attended the weekly NA Book Study held for residents. They shared with residents their own experiences of being in the programme, talking about what they had struggled with, challenging the women to keep focused on their recovery and encouraging them to seek help. Staff and women alike were careful to stress, however, that whilst peer support was important, each woman's journey was different and that it was important not to expect every woman 'to walk the same way' [Female TF staff member].

Many of the women also thought of themselves as a light to women still out on the street; an idea encouraged by the project. At the start of group sessions and the meditation time at Thistle Farms a candle was often lit and the woman lighting the candle would explain that it was being lit for all those still on the streets in the hope that they would see the light and find their way home:

> *...when we light the candle I ask the women, I'm like 'Who is the light?' And you know they'll say 'We are' and I'm like 'Don't forget that' because somebody is gonna see you and you're gonna look like Katie but damn is that Katie?* [Tiana]

The power of hope that women were able to ignite by returning to speak with those still involved in prostitution was also highlighted by a graduate who volunteers with the Hannah Project, a one day monthly programme facilitated by the Nashville District Attorney's Office which any woman with a prostitution charge can attend and if she does so the charge is dropped from her record.

'A loving God'

In all four workshops on exiting prostitution, women listed the role of God, faith and prayer in enabling them to leave prostitution. Post-it notes included 'having a loving God to guide you off the street', 'true belief in God' and 'church support'. One resident felt that:

> *...the belief in God is what pulls you through; He's the thread that goes through the needle. So you have to have that faith and if it's only for a moment, that faith is what is going to pull you out of it* [Workshop Participant].

One graduate described her relationship with God as 'such a big asset' and explained that what has got her through 'has been my relationship with Him' [Workshop Participant]. For another graduate, God was 'the first reason' she continued to remain out of prostitution,

whilst a fourth woman declared that she had 'a praying sister' whom she knew had 'prayed me up here' [Workshop Participants].

Six women spoke of the specific role God had played in their exit from prostitution. In the last four months one woman was on the streets she would pray at night asking God to 'show me the way out' [Workshop Participant]. She explained how she 'didn't hear no voice go off in my head' but 'finally it dinged' and she woke up 'and everything looked completely different'. She sought help and hadn't been back since. A second woman described how she 'had been praying like crazy and telling God not only am I sick of prostitution, I'm sick of dope, sick of all of it' [Workshop Participant]. The third woman recalled her frustration over her inability to leave prostitution and her belief that it was God who had changed her so that she no longer wanted to be involved. Tiana used to hear her mother's voice in her head telling her to pray and towards the end of her time on the streets she had begun to pray. She described how as she was praying a police car pulled up and the officer warned her that they would arrest her if they came back and she was still there. Determined that they wouldn't leave without her she had thrown a rock through their car window: 'to me it was like God sent them to get me'. Similarly, another graduate described how she had had enough and had prayed that if God was real then would God help her. She had been arrested and had asked to go to Magdalene. The arrest she interpreted as an answer to her prayer. The sixth woman, Arleatha, described how one night when she was having trouble finding a trick she had sat at a bus stop remembering how she used to enjoy going to church. She spoke of feeling like God was disappointed in her and how she had started praying. That same night a man had pulled up, taken her to a hotel and instead of paying for sex had given her the phone number for Magdalene along with some money. Three days later she had been accepted into the programme.

Whilst the women spoke frequently of the role of God, faith and prayer in the process of leaving prostitution, these featured less prominently in interviews with staff. One staff member felt that the 24 Spiritual Principles of Magdalene gave the women 'something to follow, you know, instead of just doing whatever they were doing before that wasn't working' [Female TF staff member] but only one staff member spoke at length about the role she thought faith played in enabling women to leave prostitution. She described how she had seen a lot of women 'have a Christian, or what you call a spiritual awakening' and get involved in a church. She explained how when that happens the individual woman 'begins to think more about herself and starts evaluating rights and wrongs and spirituality'

and that as 'they become spiritually aware and committed' they decrease the 'behaviours of prostitution' [Female residential staff member].

Services provided by the project

In addition to the provision of a job, the supportive recovery community and the peer support nurtured within the project, a range of other services provided by the project were identified as playing a role in enabling women to exit prostitution. In workshops women listed 'coming to Magdalene' and 'the Magdalene program' as an enabling factor. They spoke of how the programme provides comprehensive support; how it is specifically designed for women who have been involved in prostitution and so directly addresses that aspect; how it is free; and how it meets all of their needs and therefore removes the need to engage in prostitution. As one resident explained: 'the Magdalene programme has accommodated every, every need from every A to Z in every aspect' [Workshop Participant]. The uniqueness of the Magdalene programme was highlighted. One resident said she had 'been to fifty million other programmes, rehabs, and institutions' and that Magdalene was the only one that 'touches on all of my issues, from my addiction, my prostitution, my mental health' [Workshop Participant].

Treatment for substance addiction, along with access to ongoing recovery services, was considered an essential factor in exiting prostitution. In workshops women listed 'Narcotics Anonymous' and 'doing step work' as enabling factors. The project requires all new residents to attend a 90-day IOP provided by another organisation within the city and employees at Thistle Farms are expected to attend 12-Step meetings. One staff member explained that the 'rigidity' of the 12-Step model was what kept people clean and in recovery, especially during the early stages of recovery.

The significance of mental health therapy and the Sexual Assault Centre was highlighted by staff and women. In informal conversations, one graduate explained how the Sexual Assault Centre had taught her to recognise her pain and anger and control it rather than numb it or lash out. One staff member felt that engagement in some form of mental health therapy enabled a woman to 'make sense of experiences in their life and integrate them into a whole' [Female residential staff member]. This she referred to as 'second stage recovery work'. Similarly, another staff member felt that some kind of therapeutic intervention helped women to address the 'pain and trauma surrounding their own bodies' [Female

residential staff member]. At the time of the fieldwork the project was paying for 20 women, residents and graduates, to receive individual therapeutic support.

When it came to housing, one staff member thought that without the residential aspect the project would not be as effective at supporting women to leave prostitution:

> *...it has been my experience that if you don't remove people from the environment that they're in [...] they are going to continue to revert back to those behaviours that they have to have in order to survive in that environment* [Female residential staff member].

The provision of housing was thus seen to enable women to move beyond survival. The need for housing to be provided free was underscored and staff questioned the logic underlying programmes that require residents to pay rent: 'how do you expect someone to get the money to pay for a bed when you don't have a job other than prostitution?' [Female TF staff member] Staff also stressed the need for housing to be provided for two years to allow time for women to 'heal and recover'.

Suitable housing was also seen to be necessary for a woman to sustain her decision to leave prostitution. A staff member explained that there are a number of affordable housing schemes within the city that they help women to apply for and that if a woman has been unable to find somewhere suitable then they will allow her to move into one of their two transition houses if there is space or, if not, will allow her to remain in the programme until something suitable has been found.

Education and skills training were identified as an enabling factor as they increased a woman's ability to get and maintain a job. Staff spoke of how the project helps women 'fine tune their social skills' and learn how to positively interact with colleagues and supervisors within a work environment. Business classes are provided in-house and all residents complete a free basic computer course provided through a partnership with another organisation. If a woman does not have her GED, assistance with fees and individual tutoring is provided. Magdalene also assists women to pursue further education, helping with the cost of textbooks and accessing financial support. During the fieldwork, one resident returned to college to begin a cookery class; her dream was to be a pastry chef.

The project helps the women to address any legal issues that might hinder them from getting employment or housing and clear driving offences so that they can regain their license. Law students are paired with women in their second year of the programme to see

if they can get the women's fines reduced or expunged. A staff member explained how such support 'really dramatically impacts their ability to be successful when they leave' because it reduces their level of debt [Female residential staff member]. One graduate explained how grateful she was that all of her court charges had been expunged the previous week. She was a trained nursing assistant but because of her criminal record had been unable to get a hospital job; now that option was open to her again. The project also runs a savings scheme that residents are encouraged to take advantage of. This was seen to help in planning for the future and preparing for life post-Magdalene.

In addition to these practical services provided by the project, 'receiving love' was identified as an enabling factor by the women. This referred to the way in which they felt staff provided them with 'all this unconditional love' and believed in them which in turn gave them hope. The trust the project places in the women was also identified as an enabling factor. Both Executive Directors felt that not having live-in staff challenged the often implied message that women who have been involved in prostitution are not to be trusted. For Tiana, being given her own key had helped her to start trusting in herself:

> *I was just like 'Damn they're trusting me to do the right thing'. Even when I think nobody is looking and that made me start trusting me because you see I didn't even trust me*.

Trusting the women to handle money and to run the cafe without the constant presence of non-Magdalene staff was believed to make the women 'feel appreciated, important and special' [Female TF staff member].

The two-year time period of the residential programme was identified as an enabling factor with staff arguing that this was necessary due to the complexity of the trauma that some women have experienced. As Linda explained, 'they give you an opportunity for two years to take off all that schmuck that happened to you'. The two years allow 'time to fail, to do it wrong, to get to do it over' and for 'little successes at a time' [Female residential staff member]. Corresponding to this was the fact that the project provides 'lots of chances' which one staff member termed 'relentless compassion' [Female residential staff member]. Linda described how staff 'will work with you to the bitter end' whilst a resident explained how 'they are good if you mess up, they still love and support you' [Workshop Participant].

The final enabling factor relating to the project was 'being upfront about prostitution'. This referred to the way in which the project specifically addressed the topic of prostitution and

recognised that 'there's a reason that you've been prostituting' [Female residential staff member]. The Prostitution Group was seen to play a central role, with talking about prostitution considered 'the vital important piece' of the programme:

> *...it's designed for the prostitute, we need to be talking about prostitution and how do we get into it. Who was the very first person that introduced you, what did it feel like, you know? Like I said it brings up a lot of stuff but that's what this whole community is about, love over everything, do you know what I'm saying?* [Tiana]

Personal/Individual level factors

The significance of self-willingness to leave prostitution was spoken of by the women and was often referred to as being 'tired', being 'done' and being 'ready'. As one resident explained: 'you've got to find something in you that is still alive, that is really wanting, that don't want it no more' [Workshop Participant]. Women spoke of the need for determination, persistence and courage and of the desire to put their recovery first. One woman believed that the project was set up so that if you wanted support to leave prostitution then it was possible but that if you came in and 'give them bullshit' then 'you're going to get what you're going to get' [Workshop Participant]. A second woman felt that 'if you set it in your mind that this is what you want to do then you can do it' [Workshop Participant].

In workshops, women listed things such as 'high self esteem', 'finding love in yourself as well as others' and 'self-belief' as factors enabling exit. One graduate explained how, during the early stages of leaving prostitution, she had stuck post-it notes with positive affirmations on them all over her mirror so that she could read them each morning. Staff too noted the role improved self-esteem played in the exiting process with one staff member stating: 'when they start to experience that validity of existence, like "my life is worth something, I am valuable as some kind of person" then they start to really act that way in the rest of their life' [Female residential staff member].

Those women who had the support of family and friends spoke of how thankful they were for this, even when it took the form of, what one woman described as, 'tough love'. For example, for one woman the fear of permanently losing her relationship with her children and parents, when her parents prevented her from seeing her children, had been the motivating factor to address her drug use and leave prostitution. Children were similarly identified as an enabling factor by some women: one graduate explained that getting pregnant was the reason she had decided to leave prostitution. Interestingly, staff did not

identify children as an enabling factor and in a staff meeting concerns were voiced that assisting women to regain custody of their children could lead to relapse in cases where the woman was unlikely to be successful in her appeal.

Five women spoke of a specific individual who had assisted them in their efforts to leave prostitution. In two instances it had been a 'trick' who had helped them; one had provided the phone number of Magdalene whilst the second man had driven the woman to IOP each day. For a third woman, her boyfriend had made sure she rang Magdalene daily so that she would remain on the waiting list. In the case of the fourth woman, it had been a woman running an IOP group who had got her an interview at Magdalene and a Catholic priest connected the fifth woman with the project after she attended his church with her sister.

Staff and women alike highlighted that as women grew older the lifestyle of the streets tended to take its toll on their bodies. One graduate spoke about how she had realised that she was 50 years old and was on so many medications that if she relapsed she knew she was going to die; she no longer wanted to take that risk. The influence of age on exiting prostitution was reflected in the demographics of the women who enter the programme: 'the median age might be around 40, and they, they suddenly start to get tired' [Female residential staff member].

Two women identified the occurrence of a traumatic incident as a trigger point for leaving prostitution. One woman wrote down 'get shot' whilst another woman explained that she had had an incident where she was raped, kidnapped and had jumped out of a moving car to escape. After that night she said 'I took my ass off the street, period' [Workshop Participant]. Traumatic incidents did not always lead to an exit, however, as one graduate underscored:

> *...you would think that whenever I got duck-taped, tied up and kicked out into a… dumped into a canyon, you would think that was my bottom right, wouldn't you think that? Well damn after that you would get clean but no, I stayed out there for about five or six more years after that* [Linda].

For one resident, it was a failed suicide attempt that had motivated her to leave prostitution and 'try to look for a better way' [Workshop Participant]. Whilst for another resident, it had been finding out that her trick was married and her 'morals kicking in' that had led to her decision to exit prostitution.

Other Enabling Factors

Whilst recognising the destructive cycle of jail to street, jail was seen to provide some women with an opportunity to break their drug addiction and leave prostitution: for some jail was 'a way to staying alive until they could find a programme that would work for them' [Female residential staff member]. Jail featured as a means of initial exit for a number of the women taking part in the research, however, being 'ready' or 'tired' appeared to be a prerequisite for jail to act as an enabling factor. In one workshop a graduate named two other specific support projects operating within the city, End Slavery Tennessee and the Hannah Project, and said that she thought these could help women to leave prostitution. The first is non-profit organisation that provides support services to survivors of sex trafficking. The second is the one day programme facilitated by the District Attorney's Office mentioned earlier. In another workshop a resident wrote down 'you rob your pimp and leave' as an enabling factor whilst in a workshop with graduates a debate about 'johns' took place, with one graduate deciding that 'if I didn't have no tricks, no johns, none of that I wouldn't have prostituted' [Workshop Participant]. One graduate explained how she felt that the streets had become unsafe and that men were paying less which had motivated her to leave prostitution. Finally, and poignantly, death was identified as the only means by which some women exited prostitution: 'that's one of the ways people exit out of it, they just really don't, but they do' [Workshop Participant].

Stability in recovery

Unlike the Indian case study, the US project has a system in place for tracking outcomes and measuring impact, however, like the Indian case study, the project did not appear to have an official definition of 'exiting prostitution'. One staff member acknowledged that they do not track 'how many women actually stop the behaviours of prostitution once they leave this programme' [Female residential staff member]. Her reference to 'behaviours of prostitution' incorporated her wider understanding of prostitution as involving any exchange of sexual activities that is a means to an end and not just involvement in commercial sexual transactions. Instead the project measures success in terms of the following outcomes for graduates: (1) recovery from addiction, mental health and homelessness; (2) working and/or in school; (3) saving money and building assets; and (4) living in permanent safe housing. The lack of an official definition of 'exiting prostitution' and the fact that the project does not track data pertaining to a woman's involvement in prostitution once she has graduated could, in part, be due to the understanding of the role

of childhood sexual abuse, the failure of communities and drug addiction in sustaining a woman's involvement in prostitution. Rather than focusing on women's cessation of involvement in selling sex, the project instead seeks to address the above involvement factors and focuses on removing barriers faced by women leaving prostitution.

The project has been a United Way Partner Agency[13] since 1999 and is consequently required to provide quarterly reports and performance target outcome plans. Individual outcomes at Magdalene are tracked over a 36 month period that includes the 12 months after a woman has graduated from the programme. Tracking of outcomes does not start until a woman has been in the programme for 30 days. The project uses a range of tools and documents to track and evaluate individual and overall programme success and the status of those who have graduated is verified through phone, email, social media or in-person contact. Whilst outcomes have been tracked since 2000, a computer failure in 2005 led to the loss of all data collected prior to August 2005. The data was recreated from paper records but the status of programme participants from before August 2005 has not been verified. The project thus has full outcome data for the 116 women who, since August 2005, have entered the programme and stayed for more than 30 days.

Table 36: Entry and drop-out data for US Project

No. of women who have entered the programme and stayed for more than 30 days since 2005	116
No. of women who have successfully completed the 2 year programme since 2005	72 (62%)
No. of women who are currently participants of the programme and have yet to complete the 2 years	23 (20%)
No. of women who stayed for more than 30 days but then dropped out without completing the programme since 2005	21 (18%)

As of July 2014, when the latest attempts to contact past participants were made, 73 of those 116 women (63%) were in stable housing, were working and/or receiving disability income and were in recovery.[14] This includes 23 women who are currently at Magdalene with entry dates between September 2012 and August 2014 and who have yet to graduate.

[13] United Way is a non-profit organisation that offers leadership and support to charitable organisations across the US.

[14] The project was unable to make contact with 14 women, five women were currently incarcerated, two women were back on the Magdalene waiting list and one woman had since died.

Table 38 details the outcomes for the women who entered the programme between August 2005 and August 2011 and who have thus completed at least 12 months post-graduation.

Table 37: Outcome data for US Project for women with entry dates from August 2005-August 2011

• 72 women entered the programme and stayed for more than 30 days.
• 62 women successfully completed the 24 month programme and graduated with stable housing, work/income, and were in recovery (86%).
• 56 women had maintained stable housing, work/income and recovery 12 months post-graduation (78%).
• 43 women were confirmed to be stable in recovery, housing and income when the most recent contact was made in July 2014 (60%).

Of the 72 women who entered Magdalene and stayed more than 30 days between August 2005 and August 2011, 78% successfully completed the programme and had maintained stable housing, work/income and recovery for 12 months post-graduation, with 60% continuing to maintain this as of July 2014.

Summary

In this chapter the way in which the two case studies support women to exit prostitution has been investigated. The factors believed to assist women to leave prostitution in each context and the ways in which each project defines success and measures impact have been examined. In addition, an assessment of the nature and extent of the exits supported by the projects has been put forward. We now move on to examine the social enterprise models employed by the two projects.

Chapter 9: Facilitating Exit through Social Enterprise

Introduction

A distinctive feature of both case studies, as established in the previous chapter, is the provision of employment rather than just vocational training. In both projects, this is achieved through the running of a social enterprise. In this chapter the social enterprise models employed by the two projects will be explored (RQ3). The business models will be discussed in relation to the typologies of social enterprise developed in Chapter 6 with a particular focus on how the businesses developed, how they describe what they do, and their financial sustainability. Tensions that arise between business drivers and social mission will be unpacked and the marketing of the businesses and the consequences that result from this are examined.

The Indian Case Study

An economic solution: the development of the business

Starting a business and working with women in prostitution was not the original intention of the founders when they arrived in India: it was only upon discovering that they had rented a flat adjacent to a red light district that they began a two-year process of building relationships with their neighbours. As the couple got to know a group of women associated with a struggling NGO and heard the women's stories the idea to start a business emerged:

> *It is just so obvious that that's what's needed. An economic problem needs an economic solution... if you want to seek to provide alternatives and choice then you've got to come up with them so business is their choice, their opportunity* [Male Founder].

According to the founders, five factors shaped the design of the business. First, the product needed to be simple to make to ensure that they could teach women with little or no education to produce something of marketable quality. Second, the product needed to be something that could be done in bulk so that the business could expand and employ more women. Third, they were concerned with being able to compete with China on price so they had focused on jute, a local material, which would give them a competitive advantage. Fourth, being environmentally friendly was of importance to them; a criterion which they felt jute met. Finally, they had to know they could sell the product at a price that meant

they could pay the women a decent wage. This meant targeting the export market 'so that actually we weren't exchanging one form of slavery with another' [Male Founder]. With these factors in mind the founders had returned to their home country with samples of different jute products to test if there was a market for such products:

> *Most people say "we make this, will you buy it?" I started with "what will people buy that is simplistic enough, we'll make that'"* [Male Founder].

The development of the project over the past 12 years was presented by Senior Managers as needs based as opposed to the execution of a clear business strategy (see Appendix 17 for a timeline of the project's development):

> *...from the beginning we were printing with a local guy around the corner and then as things grew it just became too big for him and we started to think 'if we employ him, why can we not employ more women' so that is how the printing started. And then later on the T-shirts, 'ok we need to do something more specialised with our good sewers'* [Male ex-pat staff member].

The ad-hoc nature of this development and the have-a-go attitude was particularly highlighted by staff. In 2008 a General Manager, an ex-pat with a background in export business, had come onboard and had gradually taken over the day-to-day running of the business from the founders. With his introduction the business had begun to take on more formal structures, including the establishment of a Senior Management Team and the introduction of a computer-based ordering, production and shipping programme. This standardisation process was still ongoing and the business was in the process of implementing a move to room-based production, introducing quality control checks, and developing a supervisory system and specialist training for the women.

The emphasis on being located within proximity of the red light area has had a particular impact on the project's development due to the challenge of purchasing real estate within the area and the unexpected consequences that have come from having done so, such as the inheritance of existing tenants which has effectively rendered large parts of one building unusable. Though debate concerning the consequences regarding the space available for the project to expand production and employ new women is live within the company, the Senior Management team remain committed to operating within the local area.

A Private Limited Company: the business model

The business is registered as a Private Limited Company in India which, in turn, is owned by a New Zealand Limited Company set up by a missionary organisation; a company that, according to its website, is 'tasked with facilitating Christian business and marketplace ministry'. The legal structure of the business means that the practice of using all profits from the business to benefit the women and grow the business is not a legal requirement but an ethical commitment the project has made. The Trust that operates alongside the business is registered as a charitable trust in India.

The business produces a range of standard bags (around 40% of their bag business) alongside custom-designed bags (around 60%). The maximum number of bags that the project could produce in a month was 25,000 at the time of the fieldwork. The business also produces stock t-shirts and custom designed t-shirts.

The business is focused on production for export and at the time of fieldwork the business partnered with 12 distributors in nine countries: USA, Canada, UK, France, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Norway and Sweden. Each distributor is an independent entity that imports, markets and sells the products within their own country, meaning that the distributors themselves carry out the majority of marketing for the project and provide market access for the products produced by the business. Exceptions were made however in cases where there was no distributor in a particular country or where the profit margins of the distributor meant that it was not financially viable for them to take the order. Working through distributors rather than targeting customers directly was described as a strategic decision to reduce the workload for the business but did have some drawbacks; the main one being the challenge of balancing the orders placed by the different distributors, a live issue at the time of fieldwork.

Finances, Income and Profit

Overview

The business was started with only a small amount of seed funding. The General Manager thought it had been equivalent to £5,000-£10,000. Discussing the finances with a staff member, it was clear that the business has been producing a profit for at least the last three years[15]. The table below provides a summary of the income, expenditure and net profit of

[15] The business may have been producing a profit for much longer but financial data was only provided for the past three years.

the business over the last three years based on data from their annual profit and loss accounts.

Table 38: Income, Expenditure and Net Profit of Indian Case Study for 2010-13

	Total Income	Total Expenditure	Net Profit	£ equivalent	Profit Margin
2010-11	Rs. 40,968,299.42	Rs. 37,969,123.82	Rs. 2,999,175.60	(£37,500)	7%
2011-12	Rs. 48,907,327.37	Rs. 43,211,552.78	Rs. 5,695,774.59	(£71,200)	12%
2012-13	Rs. 69,909,561.67	Rs. 53,827,821.05	Rs. 16,081,740.62	(£201,000)	23%

NB: The above figures are based on the data from the business' annual profit and loss accounts and do not include the 'in-kind' contributions that the business benefits from. For an inclusion of such costs see Table 41. All £ equivalents are based on the exchange rate at the time of fieldwork which was roughly 80 INR to £1.

In the financial year ending March 2013, the business' total income was equivalent to around £874,000. Within the last three financial years the business has seen substantial growth in sales and profitability as demonstrated by the increase in both total income and net profit. Between 2010-11 and 2011-12 the income increased by 19.4% and the net profit increased by 90%; then between 2011-12 and 2012-13 income increased by 42.9% and net profit increased by 182%. Consistently over the last three years the labour costs of the business have accounted for around 24% of overall costs and another 43% of costs have been associated with stock and materials. Of the remaining overall costs, airfreight accounted for 52% of these costs in 2010-11 and 67% in both 2011-12 and 2012-13, reflecting the export-oriented market of the business.

Rental Arrangements

The Trust owns the buildings in which the business operates and the business pays the Trust a token rent. In 2012-13 the business paid a total of 600,000 INR (≈ £7,500} in rent. This rental income is the Trust's main source of income. Alongside this the Trust also receives donations from visitors to the project and local Indian churches and grants from charitable organisations.

Payment Structures

Within the social enterprise there are arguably three different 'payment' structures in place: that relating to production staff; that relating to Indian national non-production staff; and that relating to expatriates. Originally, the social enterprise had operated a flat payment structure but as they had grown and as individuals gained more responsibility they had found it increasingly difficult to continue this practice. Whilst all production staff continued

to receive the same salary regardless of their job within the production process, this was about to change; an increase in the salaries of room supervisors had been proposed and accepted by the Senior Management.

Women involved in production

Upon joining the business, women undertake a three-month training period at a reduced salary. Once training has been completed the women's salary is based on full attendance for 26 days per month and overtime is paid for every extra 30 minutes worked. At the time of the fieldwork the gross monthly salary was 5467 INR (≈ £68). Deductions to this are made for health insurance and pension contributions, which totalled 659 INR (≈ £8) per month. This meant that the net monthly salary was 4808 INR (≈ £60). In addition, according to The Payment of Bonus Act, 1965 of India every factory in which 20 or more people are employed is mandated to pay employees a bonus. This meant that in 2013 the women were entitled to a bonus of 4,672 INR (≈ £58), bringing their total net income over the course of the financial year to 62,368 INR or roughly £780.

Non-production positions

Non-production positions within the business are paid for the women and for Indian nationals already living in India. No salary details were provided but the salary received is higher than that paid to women involved in production. This was a point of tension for the business:

> *...we really struggle to get a handle on what is the right level to pitch it to those local staff, staff who, especially the higher level management kind, and without giving away 10 times of what the women get* [Male ex-pat member of the Senior Management].

Expatriates

No expatriate receives any remuneration from the business for their work and they are expected to cover their own costs. The rationale behind this was explained as a means to ensure that the business benefitted the women and did not enable foreigners to profit from the work of the women.

In-kind contributions

Whilst the business was making a profit, it enjoyed a number of 'in-kind' contributions that were not accounted for in their profit and loss accounts. First, there was the equivalent of 11 full-time ex-pat staff involved in the day-to-day running of the business at the time of the

fieldwork and the project also regularly receives groups of short-term volunteers who carry out basic maintenance work. A second benefit the business enjoys is subsidized rent. In 2012-13 the business had paid 50,000 INR (≈ £625) per month in rent to the Trust compared to the 500,000 INR (≈ £6,250) per month estimated by the Senior Management as the actual market rental value for just one of their buildings. The third benefit is external investment in infrastructure which has mainly come from the founders' country of origin with no expectation of a return. A final factor benefiting the business is that the training salary of new employees is paid for by the Trust, not by business income. If just the first two 'in-kind' contributions are taken into account then the business would not be making a profit, as demonstrated in the two tables below.

Table 39: Estimate of financial cost of 'in-kind' contributions of Indian Case Study

'In-kind' contribution	Basis of Estimate	Estimate of Financial Cost	£ equivalent
Equivalent of 11 full-time ex-pat staff involved in day-to-day running of the business	Average salary equivalent to £26,000 pa (based on rough average of international aid workers' salaries).	Rs. 22,880,000.00[1]	(£286,000)
Rent for two buildings per year	Average rent of Rs.3000,000 and Rs. 500,00 per month as estimated by Senior Management.	Rs. 9,600,000.00[2]	(£120,000)
Estimated Minimum Total of 'In-Kind' Contributions		**Rs. 32,480,000.00**	**(£406,000)**

[1] This is a ballpark figure. It does not take into account the fact that ex-pat staff fulfil roles that go beyond the scope of the business and spend many hours on things considered to be outside of the business, such as living within the local community and engaging with their neighbours.

[2] There was some debate between staff over what the market rental value would be for the buildings they owned, with some stating that Rs. 500,000 was an over-estimate, so this figure may be overstated.

Table 40: Impact of 'in-kind' contributions on Income, Expenditure and Net Profit of Indian Case Study

Financial Year	Total Income	Total Expenditure incl. 'in-kind' contributions	Net Profit	£ equivalent
2010-11	Rs. 40,968,299.42	Rs. 70,449,123.82	-Rs. 29,480,824.40	(-£368,510)
2011-12	Rs. 48,907,327.37	Rs. 75,691,552.78	-Rs. 26,784,225.41	(-£334,803)
2012-13	Rs. 69,909,561.67	Rs. 86,307,821.05	-Rs. 16,398,259.38	(-£204,978)

Using the above estimates it is possible to work out the approximate extent to which the business is reliant on 'in-kind' contributions. In 2010-11 'in-kind' contributions represented 42% of total expenditure; in 2011-12 it was 35%; and in 2012-13 it was 19%. The reliance on

'in-kind' contributions has thus been decreasing. Senior Management acknowledged the necessity of such contributions in order for the business to produce a profit and thought that a complement of free skilled labour would always be necessary because of the productivity challenges the business faces. However, such a reliance on free skilled labour was considered to have non-financial benefits. One staff member felt that the involvement of expatriates and skilled individuals from outside the red light community in the business provided a platform for increasing the women's self-esteem and helped to counter the stigma and isolation from 'mainstream' society often experienced by women associated with the line.

Business Drivers versus Social Mission

In interviews and discussions it was apparent that there are a number of tensions involved in the balancing of business drivers with the social mission of the project.

(1) Productivity

The first related to productivity and stemmed from the fact that the business hires women according to their need and not according to their level of skill. This results in higher production and operational costs which, in turn, mean the business has lower productivity compared to competitors. For example, some women are able to make 100 bags per day, others are only able to make 5 per day and in other companies producing jute bags within the city workers are usually paid per piece and are not salaried. The General Manager estimated that the women were effectively being paid five times the average rate a worker would receive on piece rate. Consequently it is difficult for the business to produce their products at a competitive price. The productivity level was also creating tension in relation to demand as the business was struggling to meet the growth in demand for their products and had had to turn down some orders which they feared could lead to a loss of future business. A Senior Management Team member did, however, acknowledge that they had underestimated what the women were capable of and that part of the challenge was managing the production process.

(2) Reliance on foreign volunteers, especially within management

A second major challenge was the reliance on skilled expat volunteers versus the need for local stakeholder ownership to challenge the stigma around prostitution. The reliance on foreign volunteers meant that the business experienced problems with staff capacity and disruption as volunteers came and went. It was also seen as counterproductive to the social mission: 'if we're really looking to do community transformation, it is wonderful that there

are so many of us foreigners here but it needs to take a shift and it has to be local society bought in' [Female ex-pat staff member]. The challenge of recruiting locals for management and administrative roles within the business was, however, tied into the tension around salaries mentioned earlier. The unique culture of the project, '[it's] not Indian but nor is it Western', was also considered to be a challenge: 'because there is a lot of influence from foreigners there are some areas where our expectations are quite different from what local expectations would be' [Male ex-pat staff member].

(3) Telling the Story

A third tension was that of 'telling the story', or the marketing strategy of the business. Staff stressed that they wanted to protect the women's dignity and privacy and yet they also felt that the story of providing alternative employment for women leaving prostitution was a necessary component in the business' marketing due to the competitive disadvantages the business faces as a result of relatively low productivity. There was also related tension between hosting visitors at the project to create interest in the business and sell products versus protecting the women's privacy.

(4) Maintaining Community

With the growth of the business and the increase in the number of women employed, the project was struggling with the challenge of maintaining a sense of community. Whilst the business had been able to operate very relationally in its early years, its growth had meant that the social dynamics within the business had changed and it had become less personal. Staff and women on the Women's Leadership Team noted that women had become less invested in fostering a supportive community:

> *There are a lot of women here who kind of treat it just as a job and that's tough, it's not what we really want, it is not what we desire for them. We want it to be an environment of a caring and supportive community, where it's not just about getting out, doing something to earn money* [Male ex-pat staff member].

A Senior Management Team member spoke of the how the project had begun to experience a level of complacency and so had recently introduced an exam at the end of the training period in an attempt to combat the attitude of '"oh just cruise through training because at the end of it you've got a job, don't worry about it"' [Male ex-pat staff member]. Whilst he emphasised that they would not refuse women a job on the basis of their exam performances, the intention was to encourage women to invest in the training process. The business was also experimenting with moving to room-based production units, partly as an

attempt to improve productivity and also to help foster an improved sense of community between smaller groups of women.

(5) HR challenges

Staff also mentioned challenges around HR issues and dealing with the misconduct of women. Where an employee might be dismissed in other businesses due to misconduct, the project was reluctant to dismiss women because of their social mission and the likely return to the line if a woman was sacked. The way people behaved at work, however, was important if the business was to be profitable and provide incomes for the women. A member of the Senior Management accepted that HR problems were to be expected due to the difficulties some of the women were facing and joked that 'if we weren't having all the HR problems then we're probably not fulfilling our brief' [Male ex-pat staff member]. The challenge facing the business, however, was how to deal with such HR issues consistently: 'we may have to deal with different people in different ways to get the outcomes that will be best for them in the long run but it still has to be fair, and that's a challenge'.

(6) Social resources

Finally the challenge of keeping the business afloat combined with the increasing number of women employed over the years had made it more difficult to give enough attention to the social support required by the women. The establishment of Laylaa as a separate, parallel entity to focus specifically on social support had helped to ease the pressure on those responsible for the management of the business, especially as 'the social stuff is so time consuming' [Male ex-pat staff member]. This model of having the two entities working alongside each other had however created a 'fuzzy line' between what issues were to be dealt with by Laylaa and what issues should be dealt with as a HR issue by the business: 'there might be social issues that are contributing to the HR problem' [Male ex-pat staff member]. Ensuring that the two organisations work closely together was thus considered essential.

Marketing and Telling the Story

Both founders and a member of the Senior Management Team recognised that they 'walk a fine line' in how the story of the social mission of the business is told and there was recognition of the potential danger of re-victimising the women through the marketing strategy of the business. There was also a clear tension between the marketing power of the story of women being able to leave prostitution and a desire for the products to stand

on their own merits in the marketplace. As one of the founders explained:

> *...while the story is important we want the product to actually stand, stand alone in the market place so even if it didn't have that story that someone would want to buy it because it is a good product. We want to be seen that it's an ethical, fair trade and all that kind of stuff product without necessarily having the story, so needing wisdom in telling the story. But I think the story is very powerful but it is only a tool* [Female Founder].

A member of the Senior Management believed that the story would always be a key component in the sales pitch because of the challenges of productivity the business faced. However, he explained that they wanted the story to back up the marketing 'rather than leading out with the story and then bringing the products along behind'. Feedback on the revision of the project website in 2009 had highlighted that the homepage contained no photos of the products and gave the impression that the project was an NGO rather than a business. Since then a more commerce-based focus on their website and in their marketing had been introduced.

In terms of how the stories are told, a member of the Senior Management Team felt that they were 'very protective of the stories'. Permission is sought from individual women, with staff explaining how the story will be used and why, and names are changed when a woman's story is included on the website or in marketing materials: 'when we market ourselves and we use specific women to tell the story, it's women who want to tell their story' [Female ex-pat staff member]. The difficulty of explaining the accessibility of the internet and the potential for anybody, including people within India, to access the information was, however, acknowledged and a member of the Senior Management highlighted the problem that 'there may be enough information in the story to identify [the woman], for someone who knows them'. Where photos are used, staff stressed that permission was always sought, and in some cases women's faces are blurred to protect their identity.

With regards to the content of stories, a member of the Senior Management felt that organisations often focus heavily on the trauma women have experienced because they want people to understand the importance of the work being done by the organisation. He described such stories as often '80% trauma story and then 20% or 10% hope'. Admitting that their initial stories as a business were like that, he emphasised that they were trying to change this balance and ensure that 'half is "these are the things that being at [project

name] means"'. He also spoke of the tension between wanting people to understand the complexity of the women's situations and having to frame the story in ways that readers/customers could engage with:

> *I want people to understand that it's not straight forward, it's not simple, it's not easy, and it's not, say, a magic box. I want to keep it real but within parameters that they can still understand because there's stuff that you can tell people they're not going to understand the context enough and that's actually not helpful* [Male ex-pat staff member].

The shift towards focusing on the positive impact that the business has on the women's lives as opposed to their experiences in prostitution is evident in the project's promo video. In the six-minute video, the first minute focuses on the hardships endured by women in the line whilst the following five minutes focus on how the business works and the support it offers. Six women are featured, each speaking about the business and the difference it has made to them. The overriding emphasis is clearly on hope. The desire not to 'sugar-coat' the 'after-story' also comes through: the voiceover explicitly states that 'a job at [project name] doesn't mean a woman suddenly finds great prosperity'.

Discussing whether or not women were happy to be identified in the project's publicity, one of the founders thought that for most of the women 'there is a sense of pride in what they've achieved and that people want to know about it and ask them about it' [Female Founder]. She explained that the women in the Women's Leadership Team have input into what is printed on publicity materials. The extent to which any of the women were involved in shaping the overall marketing strategy of the business, however, appeared to be limited. Furthermore, the business' marketing materials and website are in English and few of the women appeared to be able to read English. In an interview with Diya, she explained that she often leads the visitor tours and that she is never instructed to say anything in particular. She confirmed that she was happy to share her story, especially to foreigners, but emphasised that it was a woman's choice whether or not she shared her story. She acknowledged that women were particularly reluctant to talk to Indian visitors for fear of being identified and was critical of attempts by Indian reporters to interview women at the project, suggesting that such interviews 'are a deterrent to our efforts of living an emancipated life' [Diya, Follow-up translation]. There was ambiguity around whether or not she understood that what was on the project's website was accessible to people within India. However, she made it clear that if there was something she was unhappy about then

she would speak out: 'I say both good things as well as bad things; I cannot be sweet mouthed when I don't feel happy about something' [Diya, Follow-up translation].

The hosting of visitors at the project is another key way in which the business markets its products; however, the number of visitors to the project was a source of tension. Several staff members confirmed that there were mixed views amongst the women:

> *We have women who say 'wow people from another country have come to see how my life has changed' and I've heard that and I've also heard women say 'oh they've come to see the animals in the zoo'* [Female ex-pat staff member].

In a workshop, when asked what they thought a new woman might think to all the foreign visitors, one woman responded by saying that it is as if they are in a zoo and the foreigners come to see them; a response which caused laughter amongst the women. Asked if she would prefer foreigners not to visit, the woman laughed and said that they wanted foreigners to visit so they could get 'fruit and bananas'. Whilst obviously intending the zoo comments to be tongue-in-cheek, and explaining in English herself at the end of the workshop that 'I was joking', the comments nonetheless expressed a tension with the presence of visitors within the project. In an interview with Aasha, she thought that despite mixed opinions about visitors, most of the women recognised the benefit to the business.

One of the founders acknowledged that women had expressed their frustration with the number of visitors; however, she felt that witnessing visitors coming to look round and buy products during a period when the business was receiving few orders had led to more tolerance as women recognised the value of the sales. In addition, one staff member voiced her own 'growing discomfort with the huge groups coming through' and, whilst it was something she felt the business was aware of, she thought that it was an issue they needed to wrestle with:

> *...yes it is important to be able to market our goods and sometimes the only way to do that is to expose people [to the organisation] but at the same time the ultimate goal should be protection of the women's dignity and actually the women as a whole* [Female ex-pat staff member].

For her the issue of publicity was one that the project needed to pay more attention to. She highlighted the marked difference in the ways in which the women responded to foreigners compared to groups of Indian nationals: the more guarded response to Indian nationals she believed stemmed from the greater degree of shame felt in the presence of people from

their own society. She pointed out that if the project was looking to see community transformation and the growth of a domestic market then they would need to 'deal with this very issue of exposure and what does that mean'.

Multiplication: perspectives on growth

As the project website states, the vision of the project has always been for thousands of women involved in the line to have the choice of alternative employment. In terms of achieving this, the project was pursuing two main approaches. First was the growth of the existing business; efforts to achieve this included increasing the number of overseas distributors, the purchasing of new property to allow for expansion and the introduction of capacity building measures within the factory to improve productivity. Second, the project was seeking to scale impact through multiplication and the establishment of new businesses. Recognising that one business cannot fulfil the vision of the project, the business incubator, being established at the time of the fieldwork, is intended to assist the launch of new businesses based on the project's current model and also exploring new models. A significant aspect of this second approach is that the focus for new business ventures will be villages in rural areas of India and not just established red light areas so as to also offer employment to families struggling with poverty. The project proposes to offer employment on the basis that a family keeps their daughter in school and agrees not to arrange her marriage before she is 18 years old. This way the project hopes to prevent entry into prostitution from occurring in the first place.

The US Case Study

A cottage industry: the development of the business

Magdalene was initially started in response to the lack of transition programmes for women coming out of prison with histories of addiction and involvement in prostitution. The founder had become aware of the need through visiting women in jail and the first five women who entered Magdalene were released from the Tennessee women's prison on the condition that they participated in the programme. The social enterprise came later and was a response to the frustrations Magdalene graduates and residents were facing in finding employment. The original plan in 2001 had been to start a cottage industry to provide the women with work training; however, the idea quickly developed into providing permanent jobs and they began to think of themselves as a social enterprise (see Appendix 18 for a timeline of the project's development).

According to the founder, three factors shaped the design of the business. First, they had wanted something that was easy to make. Second, it needed to have a long shelf life as they didn't know how long it would take to shift products. Third, they wanted to produce something that was healing for the body. Production began in the kitchen of the founder's church with six women and the founder working around fifteen hours a week making products. When the building was condemned another Episcopalian church allowed them to use a house they owned three days per week, and staff explained how they had had to set up and pack down every day. The donation that had enabled them to purchase a suitable building for the business in 2010 was described as a turning point: 'that was when I think the most growth happened, where we were able to expand and really have really professional equipment' [Male TF staff member].

Talking about how the business has developed staff frequently used the phrase 'organic'. One staff member explained how when she joined in 2002 'there were no systems in place, I mean there really were no systems so we got to create systems and you can't always create systems by the book' [Female TF staff member]. Similarly another staff member explained how the company did not have sales records when she joined in 2010 and no data to predict growth. In the last three years, however, the business has started to collect and track data on the different products. A production schedule and a material requirements planning tool were being introduced to improve the management of the production process and manufacturing procedures were being written to bring a level of standardisation to training, which to date was 'pretty much just word of mouth' [Female TF staff member]. Point-of-Sale technology for all events was also being introduced to improve sales tracking.

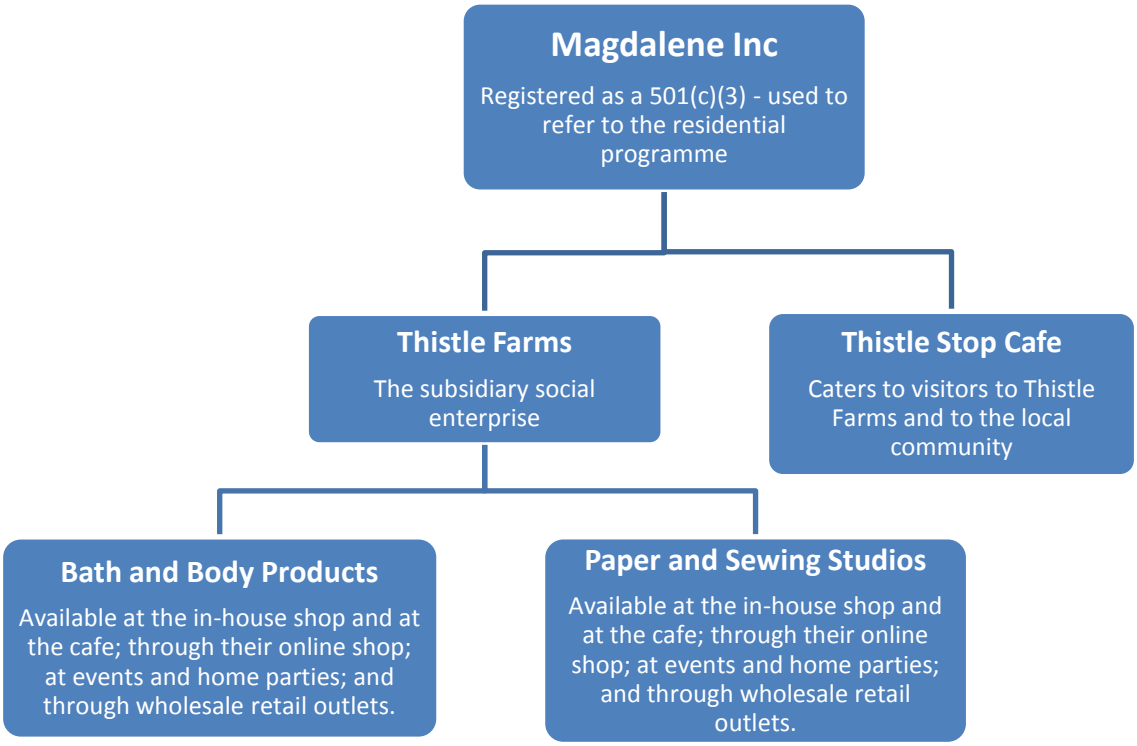
The role of the founder's visionary leadership in the development of the business was emphasised by staff as was the significance of volunteers with specific skill sets. For example, in starting the cafe, they had benefitted from free barista training, coffee equipment at wholesale cost, custom blends and huge discounts on wholesale beans provided by a local coffee company.

501(c)(3): the business model

Magdalene Inc is registered as a 501(c)(3) corporation and Thistle Farms is its subsidiary. Whilst the residential programme and the social enterprise have separate budgets, they operate under the same legal non-profit entity. Under IRS regulations, 501(c)(3) organisations are legally allowed to generate earned income but the business efforts must

qualify as “substantially related” to the mission of the non-profit for the earned income to be exempt from tax. No part of a 501(c)(3) organisation’s net earnings may inure to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual which means that the practice of using all profits from the business to benefit the women and to invest back into the programme is a legal requirement. Figure 7 provides an overview of the project and its various components.

Figure 7: US Project organisational chart



The product lines of the business, the bath and body care line and the paper and sewing studio, are aimed almost exclusively at a domestic market; currently the business only ships within the US and to Canada. The internet market was described by the Operations Manager as the fastest growing market and in the first quarter of 2013-14 internet sales had increased by 112%. Home parties are run by the women, with employees sharing stories about the work of Magdalene and providing products for sampling and for purchase. The founder also undertakes speaking engagements, often three or more per month, and is usually accompanied by two graduates or residents who handle the sale of products. Events comprised approximately 40% of the business’ annual income at the time of fieldwork. Regarding their wholesale market, their products are currently available in approximately 290 retail outlets, almost exclusively based in the US, exceptions being a retailer in

Singapore and one in the UK. The Thistle Farms sales team, staffed by three Magdalene graduates at the time of the fieldwork, provides on-site demonstrations for stockists. Staff explained that the wholesale market was much harder to sustain than other markets due to the fact that products are sold at half cost, compared to the retail price, resulting in much slimmer margins.

Thistle Stop Cafe operates under the same legal entity, but unlike the Paper and Sewing Studio, the cafe maintains its own financial books distinct from the general financial accounting of Thistle Farms. A distinct feature of the cafe model at the time of fieldwork was that all food was prepared off the premises by local caterers and bought in. Outside its opening hours the cafe offers private Afternoon Tea which includes cream tea, a guided tour of Thistle Farms manufacturing facility and an opportunity to purchase Thistle Farms products.

Finances, Income and Profit

Overview

The seed funding for the residential programme came from revenue raised through Nashville's Prostitution Solicitation School[16] and charitable donations, including a large donation from the Episcopal cathedral. For the social enterprise, the founder's husband and a few friends provided the money for the first six months. With the cafe a capital campaign was run to raise money for the renovations and construction costs and the funds left over were used to support the first three months of operation. The table below provides a summary of the income, expenditure and net profit of the project as a whole over the last three years based on data from their annual financial audits.

Table 41: Income, Expenditure and Net Profit of US Case Study for 2010-13

	Total Income	Total Expenditure	Net Profit	£ equivalent	Profit Margin
2010-11	$1,252,889	$1,467,546	-$214,657	(-£143,105)	-17%
2011-12	$ 1,695,537	$1,641,230	$54,307	(£36,205)	3%
2012-13	$2,192,866	$1,941,339	$251,527	(£167,685)	11%

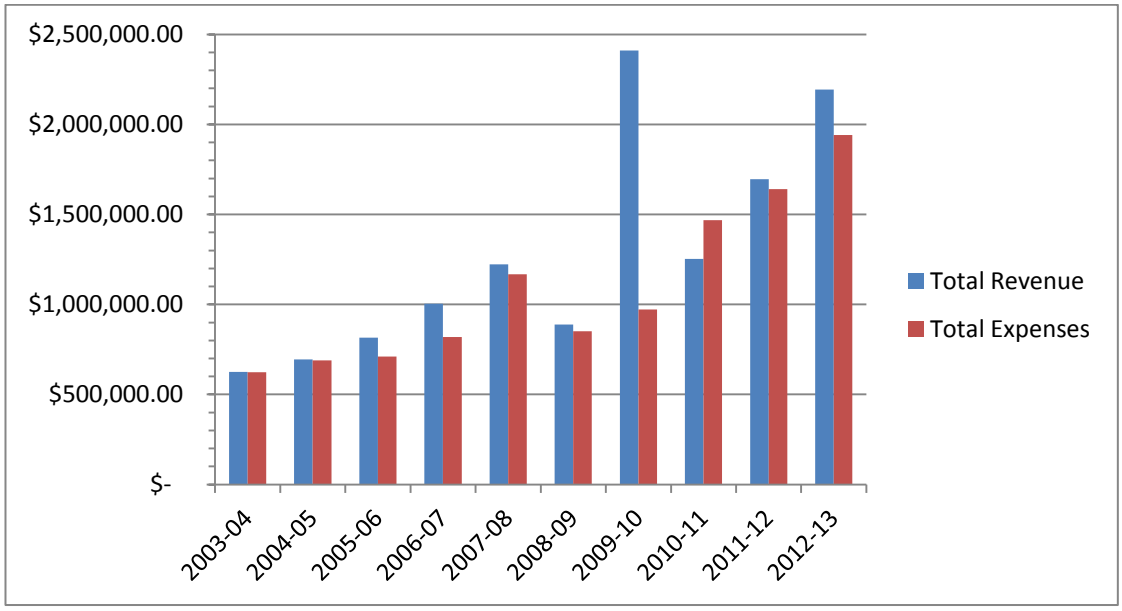
[16] The Prostitution Solicitation School was developed by a taskforce on prostitution formed by the Mayor's Office in the late 1990s. Men arrested for soliciting, if they are first time offenders, can choose to attend an all-day programme, take a HIV test and pay $250 and if they complete the course without re-offending, the charge can be dismissed after a year. The money from the fees was originally earmarked to fund Magdalene and continues to operate as a revenue stream for the organisation to this day.

In the financial year ending June 2013, the project's total income was $2,192,866 (≈ £1.3m) and its total expenditure was $1,941,339 (≈ £1.17m). The project receives no state or federal funding and according to the 2012-13 financial audit the project has seven main revenue streams: contributions from the general public; Thistle Farms product sales; grants; in-kind support; men's rehabilitation programme; Thistle Stop Cafe sales; and other. The largest by far is 'contributions' which for the last three years has consistently provided around 42-47% of the total income. Donations to the organisation can be made online and a large fundraiser is held each year. Labour costs for employing Magdalene graduates and residents within Thistle Farms represents around 50% of the project's overall costs and stood at around $520k (≈ £347k) annually at the time of the fieldwork. For the first six months a woman is employed at Thistle Farms her salary is booked to an Education & Training line item and, in 2012-13, if this line item was deducted from the overall costs of the business and if donations are excluded from total revenue, the business was just $28k (≈ £19k) short of breaking even.

Financial development over the past decade

Examining the financial audits for the last 10 years it is clear that the organisation has seen steady increases in both total revenue and total expenditure as the project has expanded. The table below charts these increases.

Table 42: Total revenue and total expenditure of US project over the last 10 years



The percentage of the total income generated through Thistle Farms product sales (and, from 2013, Thistle Stop Cafe sales) hovered around 18% between 2003 and 2010, with the

exception of 2008-09, and then for the past three years has provided around 30-32% of the project's total income.

Table 43: Percentage of the project's total income generated by Thistle Farms product and cafe sales over the last 10 years based on data from Magdalene's annual audits

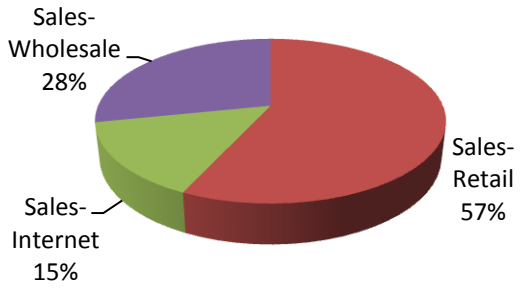
Fiscal Year	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13
Percentage of total income generated by Thistle Farms sales	18%	16%	14%	16%	17%	26%	10%*	30%	32%	32%

* The total income for 2009-10 is skewed by a large donation for the purchase of a manufacturing building. If the purchase cost is discounted from the total income for that financial year then the percentage of total income generated by Thistle Farms sales for 2009-10 is 18%.

At the same time that the percentage of the project's total income generated by the social enterprise has increased, so the expenses of the social enterprise as a percentage of the project's total expenditure has increased. In 2012-13, 61% of the project's overall expenses related to the business, compared to 40% in 2008-09 and 20% in 2004-05.

Focusing on the financial data for 2012-13, the project generated $655,848 (≈ £437,232) through the sale of Thistle Farms products and $37,634 (≈ £25,089) through Thistle Stop Cafe sales. The figure below shows the market distribution of the product sales. Retail includes the in-house shop, home parties and all events.

Figure 8: Sales breakdown for Thistle Farms, 2012-13



Payment Structures

Magdalene Residents and Graduates

Women employed within Thistle Farms are paid fortnightly on an accrual basis and start on the federal minimum wage; $7.25/hr at the time of fieldwork. During their two-year

residence at Magdalene their housing and medical costs are covered by the project. Overtime is paid at one and half times an employee's regular hourly rate for all hours worked beyond the fortieth hour. All employees who work the normal 3-day (15 hour) work schedule are entitled to holiday pay and receive three 'PDOs' per year of service which can be used for vacation, sick leave or bereavement. Employees can move up in pay depending on position and tenure and the Operations Manager explained that their target was to move towards a situation whereby the time a woman graduates from the residential programme she is earning $10/hr with as close to full time work as possible. At the time of the fieldwork, fifteen graduates were employed on a full-time basis at Thistle Farms and those in management positions were on salaries of $35-$42k pa (≈£23-£28k).

Non-Magdalene Staff

The majority of non-graduate staff within Thistle Farms are employed on a part-time paid basis although a number of key staff members carry out their roles on a voluntary basis, including the Executive Director of Thistle Farms, the Events coordinator, the Social Marketing coordinator and the Volunteer coordinator. Full details of non-graduate staff salaries were not provided but staff suggested that salaries were below market rate.

In-kind contributions

Like the Indian case study, the US project benefits from 'in-kind' contributions. Each Wednesday is open morning at Thistle Farms and volunteers are welcomed and encouraged to assist with the production of handmade paper. A regular group of women volunteer in the Sewing Studios and have provided guidance to those employed within this department. Volunteers played a major role in the construction of the cafe and continued to play a role in the cafe's day-to-day operations with two to three volunteers serving as support staff each day. All the photography of Thistle Farms products is done by a volunteer and a design company provide pro bono work for the organisation. Additionally, up until 2011 the organisation operated its administrative facilities from St Augustine's Chapel, which donated the use of these facilities without cost other than direct reimbursable expenses.

Staff acknowledged the significance of volunteers and their contributions to the organisation: 'they're at least half of the people that work here, so yeah I guarantee, besides the financial resources that the people give us they offer us a lot of skills too' [Male TF staff member]. Volunteer time is recognised within the consolidated financial statements 'to the extent such time is provided by individuals with specialised training and which would

normally need to be purchased'. However, the financial statements also acknowledge that the organisation 'receives volunteer services from a number of individuals in carrying out its programs but not meeting the criteria for recognition' and staff estimated that the number of individual volunteers per year was around 1,500. Assessing the full extent to which the project benefits financially from the service of volunteers is thus difficult.

Business Drivers versus Social Mission

As in the Indian case study, it was apparent that there are a number of tensions involved in the balancing of business drivers with the social mission of the project.

(1) Business performance versus commitment to pastoral care

A fundamental tension in balancing the business drivers with the social mission is the fact that the business hires women according to need: 'it's not like a company where you go out and hire and you interview for your most capable candidates, we get the women that come over through Magdalene' [Female TF staff member]. This commitment to employing residents and graduates, regardless of their skill-level, results in a number of internal challenges for the business. First, it requires a large investment in training, and the desire for women to have the space and time to work on their recovery whilst in the programme means that this training takes place over a longer period of time than if they were employed on a full-time basis. Second, mental health issues faced by some of the women mean that they need to work at a slower pace than other employees. Achievable tasks have to be identified and staff spoke of wanting to encourage the women's development but of not always being confident in an individual's ability to fulfil the role that she wished to do within the company. There was thus a need at times to have difficult conversations with women about what was and was not working from the perspective of the business.

Third, tensions can arise between departments keen to have women who demonstrate aptitude and then the demands placed on these women can be detrimental to their recovery. A fourth challenge is the 'reality of relapse'. One staff member described this as 'the biggest threat' to the social enterprise [Female TF staff member]. When an employee relapses it reduces the capacity of the workforce. In the event of a relapse, employees can make an appeal to return but in order to do so they must complete two clean drug screens, consecutively, at least two weeks apart. Previously women in management positions who relapsed were reinstated in the same position. However, concerns had been raised over the message this was sending to other employees. The business had thus decided not to hold

positions for employees; a decision with consequences for the business as it means that if a woman relapses the business has to train another employee to take on the vacant position.

Fifth, staff mentioned challenges around HR issues and the need to collaborate with the residential staff team when dealing with HR incidents so as not to jeopardise a woman's recovery. Issues mentioned included inappropriate clothing when representing the business, attitudes and language used when interacting with others and past history and/or conflict with other employees. Finally, staff felt that the additional support offered by the business to help nurture the women post-graduation had created unrealistic expectations amongst some women. For example, the business was in the practice of granting loans to employees which were then repaid from future pay checks. Although officially these were one-off emergency loans, requests were being granted for non-emergencies. At the time of fieldwork staff were divided over how this should be addressed. Some felt that it was unhealthy for the women to expect to be able to get a loan from the company they worked for and that all loans should be stopped. Conversely, others felt that for many of the women one of the main benefits of working for the business was that they could rely on Thistle Farms for help when they were struggling and they highlighted how being able to pay back the loans created a positive sense of achievement.

(2) Telling the Story

A second major tension was that of 'telling the story'. Whilst staff stressed that women were not pressured to share their own personal stories, a key sales approach within the business was the hosting of events at which women speak and one staff member acknowledged that this creates tension: 'I struggle all the time with marketing Thistle Farms, marketing our programmes, and when are we marketing these women?' [Female residential staff member] This was also connected to the tension between hosting visitors to create interest in their work and raise awareness about the issue versus prioritising the women's recovery and meeting the manufacturing needs of the business. The opening of the cafe had also raised new challenges as it involves a greater degree of interaction with the general public and, as staff acknowledged, many customers want to hear the women's stories.

(3) The Benefit Trap

A third tension could be described as the benefit trap. As the business has sought to give women more responsibility some woman have been unwilling to increase the number of hours they work as they would no longer qualify for disability allowance and would lose the

benefits that come with it, such as subsidised housing and health insurance. Staff understood the reluctance amongst women to give up this stable source of income and acknowledged the challenges faced by those women who had sought to move off disability allowance and increase their employment at Thistle Farms. As the growth of the business creates the need for more full-time positions, supporting women to come off disability allowance without ending up financially worse off was an ongoing challenge.

(4) Nature of the products

A fourth tension related to the fact that the business manufactures high end products and, as the founder explained, if someone buys their products, 'they're good for 6 months, they aren't going to purchase again soon'. This means that the business needs to expand its markets to survive. The nature of their products also means that the business currently does around 40% of its sales between October and December, in the run up to Christmas. This creates difficulties with managing their cash flow, which is compounded by their social mission. Where a business might build up capital reserves to draw on during slower seasons or to invest in raw materials, the project faces the decision as to whether such in-year surplus should instead be used to employ more women and/or increase the hours offered, and the salaries paid, to their existing employees so as to increase the graduates' financial security.

(5) Growing Pains

As the business has grown, new tensions have arisen. One staff member spoke of the challenges of shifting from a 'mom and pop mindset' to basing decisions on market shares: from 'you run over there with two candles, to you only do caseloads' [Female TF staff member]. The resistance to letting go of products from their product line was given as an example of this tension. Another tension that had arisen was that between encouraging graduates to move on and find new employment and the need to maintain and build up a skilled workforce so that the business is not constantly in flux. Finally, tensions had arisen over the quality of the products. In the early days people would overlook quality issues because they liked the mission but as the business has grown and they've built up their wholesale market they've had to work on improving the quality of their products.

Marketing and Telling the Story

Telling the story of women leaving prostitution is central to the project, not just from the perspective of marketing their products but as a means of raising awareness, of erasing stigma and of 'getting rid of the us and them' as one staff member put it. The founder

spoke of wanting the women not to feel isolated in the experiences they have gone through and believes there is power in telling the stories and 'exposing the lies' surrounding prostitution. One staff member, however, acknowledged that when it comes to how the story of the social mission is told 'it is a fine line and a source of tension' within the organisation.

Staff were keen to stress that the women's recovery was their first priority and that no-one is required to share their personal story, participate in sales events, or be present when photography or filming is going on unless they wish to do so. The founder emphasised that when it comes to deciding whether or not to share their story it is down to the individual: 'they're adults and they can decide if they want to tell their story'. She acknowledged that this might be a bad decision in some cases but maintained that it was the role of the staff to have the support in place to help the woman deal with the consequences of that decision, not make the decision for her. The residential staff team, however, were more cautious. Their concern was that a woman might decide to share her story without having had time to think through the consequences, which could lead to her relapsing. One staff member recognised that because of the storytelling culture within the organisation this was a real risk; she questioned how easy it was for a woman to say no to a request to tell her story. Unlike other staff members who felt confident that the women feel empowered to say no, she thought it was 'naive or sometimes disingenuous' to say that women can say no within such a culture, stating rather that she thought it was 'very difficult'. Consequently, she explained that she seeks feedback from other organisations on this aspect and her rule has always been that in terms of media access it is graduates only.

This tension between the residential staff team and the business staff team, particularly between the two Executive Directors, on the issue of telling the story was seen as a strength by some staff members; a means by which the organisation could be held to account. One staff member at Thistle Farms felt the programme team 'hold the line as to what is necessary, what is the healthiest for the women in the programme' and explained that 'the final say, in so many things, really is the programme team'.

The story of the social mission of the project and individual women's stories are told through multiple media and in a range of contexts. At sales events women share the story of the project's origins and sometimes share aspects of their own personal stories. Every Wednesday tours of the business facilities are provided for first time visitors. A number of

women serve as tour guides and will often share a part of their story with the visitors. Individuals also engage in speaking engagements and the website lists two graduates as available speakers. Photos are an integral way in which the project communicates both on its website and through social media forums. The photographs are celebratory and include photos of women holding the products along with snapshots of everyday life at the project. Whilst in some sections of the website a woman in a photograph might be identified as a Magdalene graduate or resident, in other areas photos portray 'Thistle Farmers' and the boundary between who is a graduate and who is a staff member or volunteer is left blurred, challenging the 'us and them' barrier often associated with prostitution.

The project also has a number of promotional videos in which some of the women feature. For example, a three-minute video providing a tour of Thistle Farms is available on the website. The video mixes the story of the social mission of the project, mainly told by the founder, with information about what the business produces. Again the boundary between graduates, residents and staff is blurred. A ten-minute video featuring eight women was also recently made for the 2013 fundraiser. During the first 4 ½ minutes they speak of the sexual abuse and trauma they suffered as children and their experiences in prostitution. The focus then shifts to the Magdalene programme and the women speak of how they became involved with the project and the impact it has had on their lives.

Women's real names are frequently used in the project's publicity and names are often linked to photos and specific stories. Talking about why the project has chosen not to adopt a default anonymity policy, the founder spoke of stories being valuable and of how they do not want to take the stories away from the women. The inclusion of the women's real names also accords with the project's emphasis on the women being part of the community and on challenging the silence around childhood sexual abuse, drug use and prostitution.

The emphasis on telling the story within the project creates a number of challenges. Staff spoke of the competition that can arise amongst women wanting to be the face of Thistle Farms and the danger of what one staff member called 'the poster-job for the non-profit' [Female TF staff member]. The challenge of 'finding the balance between sharing what is important versus sharing all the nitty details' was also identified and one staff member raised concerns that sometimes 'the women get into this mindset of selling themselves' at events in order to sell more products [Female TF staff member]. That the more traumatic a woman's story is the more products people buy is a reality that staff and women alike were

aware of. A third challenge is the emotional impact on individual women and the balance between telling the story of the project and telling personal stories. The project provides guidelines and encourages women to 'make it more universal about the ideas behind sex trafficking, prostitution and with less of your own personal story' [Male TF staff member]. At the time of the fieldwork the Sales Director, a graduate, was running weekly lunchtime classes for all those involved or interested in being involved in sales events. A key focus of these classes was how to tell the story of Thistle Farms and how to include your personal story within this larger story.

Discussing whether or not women were happy to share their stories, one staff member estimated that:

> *...at least two thirds of the women are comfortable enough at sharing and understand the purpose of it, that it's not meant to be exploited in any way but it's meant to shine a light on the issue and humanise prostitution for people who don't really understand* [Male TF staff member].

The desire for more women to get out of the lifestyle of the streets was identified as a motivating factor for many women in deciding to share their stories, as was the desire for their name to be associated with something positive. One staff member thought that for many of the women there was a sense of pride in telling their stories: 'I think it's because they came from such bad places but they're doing so well now it's almost like "Yeah, let's talk about my past 'cause look at me now"' [Female TF staff member].

Talking with residents and graduates it was clear that there was a sense of pride in being part of the Magdalene community and that this often translated into a desire to be publicly identified with the organisation. During fieldwork, a group of residents who were due to start work had visited Thistle Farms for the morning. Back at the residential home later that afternoon one of the residents uploaded to her personal Facebook page a photo of her and another resident holding a postcard with the motto 'Love Heals' on it; she attached a comment talking about how excited she was to be starting work at Thistle Farms, about how Magdalene had changed her life, how she experienced love on a daily basis and how she couldn't wait to be an ambassador herself to women still out on the streets. Similarly, during the Circle time one morning, a woman spoke about a sales event that she had been working at over the weekend. She spoke of how her photo had been up on the stall with the 'Love Heals Everything' slogan on it and said how delighted she had been because it was the first time that her photo had been in a public place with a positive message and not, she

joked, a 'have you seen this woman?' message. In addition, the Thistle Farms' blog features blog posts written by some of the residents and graduates and the cafe menu, at the time of the fieldwork, included a short version of one of the women's stories.

In individual interviews, Linda and Tiana explained that telling their story was now part of their job. Linda, however, said that when she first entered the programme she wasn't really comfortable with going to home parties and sharing her story and so had opted not to work at Thistle Farms. She did not like the idea of getting up 'in front of a bunch of people that feel sorry for me' [Linda]. It wasn't until four years after first entering the programme that she began to share her story and described it as her 'way to give back'. She now regularly speaks at events and her name had been submitted to sit on the state-wide Human Trafficking Task Force. Tiana explained that a few years ago she had got fed up of telling her story and speaking at events and so stopped for a while. She had felt that women were starting to feel obliged to share their stories and that was never what the founder had wanted so she had stopped telling her story so that others would see that it was ok to say no. She was now actively telling her story again and explained that it is her passion to share her story as a light to other women still on the streets.

Sister Organisations: perspectives on growth

The project is concerned with scaling impact and the founder spoke of being part of a global movement. However, staff were clear that they would not consider franchising as a strategy for growth as they believe that projects need to be 'grown locally':

> *I mean we can help with the tools but if you don't have local community support, if your money and your volunteers and everything, if it doesn't grow out of a need right there locally then we can't do it from far off* [Female TF staff member].

Instead of a franchise, the founder spoke of wanting to spread their model in the form of 'sister organisations' that share similar values and are committed to working together and supporting one another. To this end the project has been running free monthly education workshops since 2010 and held its first national conference in 2013. These provide opportunities to share best practice and to encourage others to explore how they might duplicate the Magdalene model within their own communities. At least three sister organisations are currently in existence. So far they only appear to be duplicating the residential aspect of the Magdalene model and not the social enterprise aspect. However,

the 2013 annual report stated that a goal for 2014 was to hire graduates from sister organisations as regional sales and marketing representatives of Thistle Farms.

Another way in which the organisation is seeking to scale impact is through the launch of The Shared Trade Alliance. This is intended 'to grow a movement for women's emotional, physical and economic freedom' and to support the development of an alliance of social enterprises where the workforce of women is the mission. By sharing best practices, branding, and marketing strategies the alliance hopes to help member organisations gain greater economic leverage.

Within the organisation itself, Magdalene was looking to expand their programme capacity in 2014 through the donation of a new residence and was, at the time of the fieldwork, preparing to launch 'Magdalene on the Inside', a therapeutic community within Tennessee Women's Prison. In terms of Thistle Farms and the growth of the business, the focus was on the expansion of their online and wholesale markets. They were seeking to improve their efficiency and profit by trimming products which were not selling well, focusing instead on their higher margin products. With the cafe, they were working hard to establish it as a live music space within the city. Concerns were voiced over the ability of the social enterprise to continue absorbing new residents entering the programme whilst also trying to offer existing employees increased hours. One staff member spoke of her dream for a goodwill ambassador for the women who could build relationships with small and medium sized businesses and assist graduates, after a year or two of employment at Thistle Farms, to transition on to other jobs. This, however, was not a strategy that was currently being pursued.

Summary

This chapter has examined the social enterprise models employed by the two case studies, paying particular attention to the ways in which the businesses developed, their financial sustainability, and their marketing strategies. Tensions arising between the business drivers and social mission were identified and their perspectives on growth have been discussed. Next we examine the role of faith in the two case studies.

Chapter 10: The role of faith

Introduction

The influence of faith within both case studies has already surfaced in earlier chapters. In Chapter 7 the Christian faith was linked to the theme of freedom in the Indian project; in Chapter 8 the role of God, faith and prayer was identified as a factor enabling women to leave prostitution in the context of the US project; and in Chapter 9 the significance of the founders' own faith as motivations for initiating the projects and the varying relationships with other FBOs, churches and faith communities as sources of support, resource and in-kind contributions was noted. Building on this and drawing on the review of literature on FBOs, this chapter will examine in greater depth the influence and expression of faith within the two case studies. Exploration of the way in which faith influences the organisation will be based on (1) investigation of the way in which faith is expressed in the public face that the project presents and how this relates to staff perceptions; (2) the influence of faith on the values espoused by the organisation; and (3) the impact of faith on the design and operation of the project. The salience of faith will then be examined in relation to both staff and the women engaging with each project with the aim of exploring how the relation with faith within each organisation is experienced by staff and women alike.

The Indian Case Study

The salience of faith within the organisation

The project does not describe itself as 'faith-based' in its publicity and in statements describing the social mission there are no indications of religious influence. Faith is not referred to at all in the online version of the founding of the project and only a few minor references to faith appear on the whole website. Four of the six stories in the Women's Stories section include references to how 'God' has helped them. In the promo video one woman is translated as saying 'Now God has taken care of me' and the backing track includes instrumental versions of the Christian hymn 'Amazing Grace' and a Christian song called 'Let Freedom Rain'. The only other religious references are contained in newsletters, with two of the December newsletters focusing on the Christmas story. Overall, the website and publicity do not give the impression that the project is 'faith-based' and it is only in reading through past newsletters that such an impression emerges.

In contrast, when asked if they would describe the business as a 'faith-based organisation', both of the founders affirmed that they would and presented such an affirmation in the context of their motivation:

> *Well we're Christian. Absolutely, without reservation. That's our motivation, that's my motivation. God has this incredible, amazing heart for the poor; it's good news for the poor and it's release for the captive; it's sight for the blind and it's freedom for the oppressed, that's what we believe in* [Male Founder].

Staff members, including those who did not self-identify as Christian, also agreed that the Christian faith was central to the organisation. One staff member highlighted the faith of the founders and asserted that 'the very existence of [project name] is underpinned by Christianity, it wouldn't exist if wasn't for that' [Male ex-pat staff member]. Similarly, another described the Christian faith as 'embedded in who we are, why we do what we do, why we function the way that we do' [Female ex-pat staff member]. Staff pointed out that it was known within the local community that most of those involved in the management of the business are Christians and the role of faith in the founding of the project was spoken about with visitors.

There was some discrepancy, however, over whether or not the Christian faith was a necessary part of the work of the project. One staff member argued that the project 'doesn't need Jesus for it to make sense' [Male ex-pat staff member] whilst another felt that 'if you take away the faith aspect then our whole model is upside down and back to front' [Female ex-pat staff member]. Asked why faith does not feature heavily in the publicity of the business the founders gave a number of reasons, including the country context in which the project operates; the fact that they felt faith is not always understood; the desire to compete as a business based on the quality of their products; and the desire to have a broad sales pitch.

The influence of faith on the values espoused by the project

There was widespread agreement amongst staff that the Christian faith has a significant influence on the values espoused by the project. Jesus' teachings on looking after the poor were referred to in explanations as to why the founders originally moved to India and the language of 'serving' the women came across in several interviews. One staff member, who did not self-identify as Christian, identified this notion of service as a distinctive feature of the project and explicitly related it to the teachings of Jesus. The emphasis on freedom

within the project was also, for the Christian staff members, an expression of the Christian faith and their understanding of God's heart for freedom.

The centrality of community and of living life together and not just treating the business as a job was rooted in an understanding of the Christian church and the inseparability of work and worship. It was such notions that informed the emphasis on staff living within the locality of the red light area. An emphasis on hope, restoration and grace also came through clearly in interviews. Staff described the HR processes of dealing with misconduct within the business as 'infused with grace' and a hope in God's power to restore as the reason why the project 'will continue to journey even when it seems like there is no hope' [Female ex-pat staff member]. As one staff member explained:

> *...everything we do is powered by this hope that God can restore fully and a hope that no matter how dire the circumstances or how far gone someone appears to be the power that God has, not us and our programmes have, but that God and his power, to bring about restoration and healing* [Female ex-pat staff member].

Linked to the notion of restoration, staff espoused an understanding of the brokenness experienced by all people and the desire for freedom and healing shared by staff and women alike.

Prayer was a central practice within the project and stemmed from the Christian belief in humanity's dependence upon God. One of the founders felt that it was particularly during difficult periods for the business that their reliance on God and the importance of prayer was most evident. On an operational level, the emphasis on integrity, particularly the project's policy of not intentionally paying bribes, was presented as a commitment to God's timing: 'we realised that trying to take a stand means it takes twice as long to get permission but we felt that if we are faithful then God's timing is far better anyway than our timing' [Female Founder].

The impact of faith on the design and operation of the project

Physical Space and Activities

Within the buildings owned by the project, there were a few visible physical expressions of the Christian faith, the most obvious being a large rugged wooden cross mounted on the wall in the courtyard of the main building. Pinned to some of the notice boards around the factory were also posters depicting the crucifixion; these were iconographic in style and very colourful. It was unclear whether the posters had been put up by staff or by the women.

A number of faith-related activities are incorporated into the day-to-day workings of the project. The weekly staff meeting, attended by expat staff and Senior Management, is referred to as 'staff devotions'. The meeting incorporates department updates, a devotional reading based on the Bible, and a time of prayer. A daily devotion takes places in the main courtyard at the start of each working day. Conducted in a mixture of Bengali and Hindi, the devotion ranged from 10 to 30 minutes in length and was led by a range of people including expat and national staff, the women themselves, a local Baptist church and foreign visitors. The format of the daily devotion varied but usually involved a time of communal singing of Christian songs, a short talk and/or a reading from the Bible and a communal reciting of a version of the Lord's Prayer.

There was some confusion as to whether attendance at the daily devotion was compulsory or not for the women employed by the business, with all expat staff affirming that it was not whilst some national staff members stated that it was. According to a member of the Senior Management Team:

> *The rules, as I understand it, are everyone must be at work by 10 o'clock. Devotions are not compulsory but if you're not at devotions then you must be working* [Male ex-pat staff member].

The occasional use of the devotion time to share business-related information added further ambiguity as choosing not to attend could, on such occasions, mean that an individual missed out on such notices. Whilst a small number of women did choose not to attend the daily devotion and instead start work, the vast majority of the women participated in the devotion each day.

On Saturdays, instead of the daily devotion the women are encouraged to lead their own time of devotion in each room. At the end of the working day a short time of prayer is held in the main courtyard. Finally, a monthly Saturday church service specifically for the women involved in the project is run by a local Baptist church. On these Saturdays the business changes its operating hours to allow women to attend. The service is optional and those who choose to attend make their own way to the church. Around 20 women attended each of the services that took place during the fieldwork, with many of the same women attending both services.

The selection of staff and employees

There is no requirement to self-identify as a Christian to be part of the office staff, management team or to serve as a volunteer. Neither does religion play a role in the decision to employ a woman. As a member of the Senior Management pointed out 'a lot of the foreigners are Christians, but we've got Hindus, we've got Muslims, so there is a, I mean the majority is Hindu, most of the women are Hindus'. One staff member was keen to emphasise that office-level employees are primarily hired on the basis of competence for the role but he did acknowledge a preference for Christians as he felt they were more likely to demonstrate the level of commitment required. A similar preference was expressed by one of the founders in regard to the Senior Management team; his preference being that the majority would always consist of Christians because he felt that 'it influences who you are and the way you go forward'. He also felt that the fact that the current General Manager does not self-define as a Christian worked because he 'is sympathetic and doesn't have a problem, he knows we are faith-based'.

With regard to the extent to which the faith-based nature of the business is presented to women interested in joining the business, one staff member recognised that this is not heavily emphasised due to the individuals carrying out the recruitment. Whilst not deliberately avoided in the interview process, she thought 'the faith card' was not something that steered their interactions. Despite this, she highlighted that word of mouth means that the faith aspect is not something that is hidden from potential new employees and when expats had been more directly involved in the recruitment process, she thought 'the faith element probably would come up a lot quicker' [Female ex-pat staff member]. She also felt that if different women were involved in recruitment then the 'faith aspect would come up right away' because it was much more relevant to them.

The expression of religious faith within the project

All staff members interviewed affirmed that there are no explicit directives regarding the expression of religious faith within the project. There was, however, a strong emphasis on the importance of relationships, respecting each other's beliefs and on choice when it came to the sharing of faith with the women. As one staff member explained:

> *...they know we are Christians, we just don't enforce our faith on them, that's important, because we have to respect their religion the way they respect ours. If they want us to pray for them, we will definitely pray for them but we're not forcibly like 'you need prayer, you need to do this'* [Female national staff member].

Indeed the emphasis on the significance of relationships when it came to the sharing of faith was acknowledged as an implicit directive amongst staff.

Staff explained the preference within the project of living out their faith through actions. One staff member explained that the drop-in was not a place where she speaks to the women about God; rather she seeks to demonstrate God's love through her actions. Similarly, a member of the Senior Management recounted how in an internal documentary made for the business' 10th birthday the theme of faith-in-action had come through in the women's reflections on the journey of the project: 'you can hear the women saying, you know, words to the effect of, you know, "I see Jesus in what they're doing"'. He went on to explain how it was faith-in-action that meant that staff had credibility when conversations about faith occurred: 'they are listening to you because they appreciate you being here; they appreciate what you've done'.

Whilst some Christian staff members spoke of their desire for the women 'to know the grace and mercy of Jesus Christ', there was no expectation on women to convert to Christianity and the importance of choice in regard to such matters was heavily underlined. One staff member affirmed that 'we're not counting converts, much to some churches who sponsor us dismay, that's not the model here' [Female ex-pat staff member]. Similarly one of the founders explained:

> *Do we want them to know Christ absolutely but we want them to have choice. We will put those options but it's got to be their choice; nobody has to do anything, apart from turn up to work* [Male Founder].

This emphasis on choice and on being open to sharing when it came to talking about faith was presented by another staff member as an opportunity for those of other faiths to also share their views. Some staff members did articulate perceived benefits of the Christian faith in terms of the desired outcomes for the women engaging with the project, particularly in relation to the women's freedom and self-worth: there was a sense that the women who have developed a strong faith in Jesus are the ones who have 'come full circle in their journey towards freedom'.

Incidences of insensitivity in relation to the expression of faith within the project were also discussed. Generally such incidences related to the behaviour of foreign visitors and not those directly involved with the project and arguably stemmed from differing expectations amongst visitors as to the role of faith within the project. Incidences of insensitivity were

also identified in connection with the local church. Two staff members, both of whom do not self-identify as Christians, felt that the behaviour of the team from the church had at times been questionable. Their concerns stemmed from a conviction that whilst it was appropriate to talk about the Christian faith within the context of the project, it was not appropriate to state the need for people to renounce all other beliefs except those of Christianity. One of them explained though that such incidences were now very rare after he had taken it up with the Senior Management.

The significance of faith in external relationships

The majority of the medium- to long-term expat staff are supported by missionary organisations and, whilst not salaried by these organisations, they provide a legitimate channel through which staff are able to raise the funds they need to offer their services free of charge. The missionary organisations also provide global networks of individuals committed to praying for the work of the project. As well as bringing benefits, the links with missionary organisations could also be a source of tension. For example, those serving with missionary organisations are periodically expected to return to their home country to carry out speaking engagements and fundraise. This could be problematic for the business due to the length of time that some organisations require people to engage in such activities. For those expat staff members not associated with a missionary organisation, the role of faith was still significant in the financial support they received to carry out their work. One staff member was independently supported by a number of churches in the USA and New Zealand. Similarly, one of the founders explained that they were able to provide the General Manager with free food and accommodation due to 'some amazing supporters who are Christians' who financially support his involvement with the project.

On a local level, the project has strong links with a Baptist church run by Indian nationals. A team from the local church leads the devotion time once a week and, as mentioned above, the church provides a monthly service for the women. Staff were involved in a monthly prayer network with other organisations working on issues around prostitution and human trafficking in the locality and the project has a strong partnership with two other social enterprises working with women involved in prostitution, both of which are faith-based. The project provides a packaging and export service for these two projects and had recently assisted one of them to purchase premises. At an international level, the project has connections with a number of Christian-based networks focused on prostitution, social justice and 'business as mission'.

Over 100 people visited the project during the period of fieldwork, the vast majority coming from abroad, and there were also at least 10 short-term volunteers. Whilst not all necessarily identified with the Christian faith, it was evident that this was a significant factor for most of them. For example, one group of Polynesian visitors were touring projects connected with a certain missionary organisation; a woman volunteering for three weeks was a member of a New Zealand church that regularly sends volunteers; and the three interns volunteering with the project all identified with the Christian faith, albeit from different denominations and varying theological beliefs.

The impact of faith on funding and revenue

When it came to the sale of products, the founder was keen to point out that their market was not solely Christian-based. Although he recognised that they 'get a fair bit of decent sales' from Christian organisations and individuals, he pointed out that for many of their customers the mission of the business makes sense without reference to faith. A breakdown of the percentage of customers who were faith-based was not, however, available. In terms of funding, a faith-based aid organisation was involved in providing funding for capacity building within the project; they had encouraged a focus on measuring impact and had provided the funding for leadership training for the women involved in production supervision.

The salience of faith amongst staff

Faith was clearly a significant factor for a number of staff members when it came to their motivations for engaging with the project. One staff member spoke of how her own journey of coming to faith in Jesus was related to her desire to serve women involved in prostitution. Another identified her Christian faith as the original factor 'to actually get me here in the first place' [Female ex-pat staff member]. Whilst for one national staff member, repeatedly hearing people speak about not needing to be in the pulpit to serve God had led her to apply for a job with the project rather than attend Bible College as planned. Furthermore, both the General Manager and one of the founders acknowledged that God's heart for the poor and Jesus' teachings on serving the poor were what motivated many foreign volunteers to get involved with the project.

The centrality of Christianity as a framework for interpreting life was evident in the lives of some staff members, particularly the founders. During an interview one of the founders drew on biblical characters to describe her role within the project, referring to herself as 'a

Martha, I'm not a Mary'. She also spoke of the personal significance of Isaiah 58 when she had first arrived in India and was getting to know the women. Even in interviews with staff who did not identify as Christians, aspects of the teachings of Jesus were spoken of as relevant. One staff member explained that he endorsed what he called the 'master servant' teachings of Jesus 'because it is actually beautiful' [Male national staff member]. Another described how 'the part of the gospels that resonates for me, when Jesus talks about looking after poor people, that compassion side, that's what makes sense, that's the part of Jesus that I dig' [Male ex-pat staff member]. He went on to explain that he had grown up in a Christian environment and, whilst he did not consider himself 'someone of faith', he was comfortable with the practice of Christianity so long as he was not asked to pray.

Interestingly, the influence of faith on understandings of prostitution did not come up in interviews. Only on one occasion, at a film evening held for the interns, did a staff member explicitly articulate how his faith influenced his understanding of prostitution. Discussing why he was not convinced by the arguments in favour of legalisation, he explained that his reservations were due to his understanding of humanity's capacity for violence and greed. He also explained that because of his faith, he understood sex to be more than a physical act and to involve the spiritual joining of two people.

Prayer was weaved into the everyday practices of the expatriate and Senior Management staff. For example, at a birthday lunch held for a staff member, one of the founders opened the lunch by explaining how the staff member, a trained nurse, was an answer to 10 years of prayer and then led a prayer of thanks for her work at the project. Similarly, at the departure of another expat staff member a commissioning blessing from the Book of Common Prayer was read aloud followed by prayers of thanksgiving. On another occasion, a staff member explained how she had found her first day so hard that she had had to pray a lot in order to have the strength and energy to return the next day. Along similar lines, one staff member spoke of the need for patience in carrying out her role within the project and how 'that comes with prayer'. Staff would also pray for one another on an individual basis if a difficult situation arose or an individual was feeling particularly discouraged.

In addition to the Christian faith shaping staff members' engagement with the project it was evident that the relationships developed with the women through the project were shaping the faith of individual staff members. One staff member spoke of how she had personally

learnt so much about faith from the women and how her thinking on the expression of faith had been challenged:

> *I think sometimes as Westerners we can be very limited in our thinking of the expression of faith, at least I can be. You know, there have been countless stories of various women who if you visit them in their houses or see some of the emblems that they wear they're not screaming 'I'm a Christian'. They'll have multiple gods on the wall; they'll have the little tokens tied to them that are based on superstition. But at the heart of it, their faith puts my faith to shame because they get forgiveness, they get the Gospel, they get freedom, they get grace* [Female ex-pat staff member].

Similarly, one of the founders spoke of how she was often surprised by the faith of the women and commented on the fact that the women often demonstrated more faith in God than she did.

Staff expressed a range of opinions on the daily devotion and differed in their perceptions of the women's engagement with the devotions. One staff member felt that 'for very few it is actually genuine but for most it is just a waste of time, they spend half an hour and get paid for doing nothing'. Another admitted that 'the devotions time is sometimes awful; it is just tedious and boring'. Two staff members felt that the women enjoyed the devotions whilst another described the sight of 'nearly 200 women praising and thanking God' as 'nothing short of a miracle'. Gathering together each day to participate in a shared activity was for another staff member what was valuable about the daily devotion. In his opinion:

> *...it is more than a devotion, it is a community time to spend some time together before we start the work. So in the community time I never see that anybody has resisted to join that because it is a time of togetherness more than anything* [Male national staff member].

A member of the Senior Management team also framed the daily devotion as a time of community and argued that 'there are lots of non-faith reasons why devotions is actually, devotions is a really good time'. Whilst he acknowledged that the choice between participating in the devotion or starting work 'probably makes devotions a good option' for the women, he felt that:

> *...they add enormous value in the sense of being part of community, everyone comes together and they sing songs, Christian songs, but as a shared activity. They often have a lot of fun with it, you know, it is not generally taken too seriously but*

> *they can lark about with some of the songs, they've got actions and they love the actions and, you know, they have fun* [Male ex-pat staff member].

He added that the Management Team were discussing the re-working of the daily devotions as they felt they had 'got a bit stale, formulaic'. He spoke of their intention to involve more women in leading them and to use it as a time to talk more about freedom and to identify emerging community issues. He thought a 'faith element' would continue to be incorporated 'because it is a chance to talk about the things that, the reasons why [project name] exists' and he felt that was reasonable to 'see what Jesus has to offer'.

The salience of faith amongst the women

The vast majority of women employed by the business attend the daily devotion time and, whilst some women appeared disengaged and restless, for many it involved a lot of interaction and laughter. Women would often shout out suggestions of songs to sing and sometimes a group of women would take the lead in performing actions to the songs. On a number of occasions, one of the Indian male staff members was persuaded by the women to lead the singing. His hip-wiggling dance moves would induce laughing and clapping. A small number of women took an active role in leading the devotion and each day a woman from the Women's Leadership Team would close the devotion by leading everyone in a recital of a version of the Lord's Prayer.

Expressions of faith on the part of the women were evident outside of the daily devotion. For example, it was common for the women to play music on their mobile phones as they worked and one morning one woman leaned over and said 'Jesus song', indicating that the music was a Christian song. On another occasion, before starting work, the women working in the printing department gathered together to pray. One woman prayed aloud and then they all made the sign of the cross. This time of prayer was solely initiated and led by the women. A small number of women in this department also wore items of jewellery depicting symbols of the Christian faith.

Talking about the influence of faith on the work of the project in an interview, Shameena spoke of how she has started developing faith in Jesus but that she was unsure how other women felt. She thought there was some minor observation of Christianity by most but emphasised that it was the choice of individual women as to whether or not they are guided by faith. She did think that many of the women found it 'a bit compelling' to be always taught to keep Jesus in their prayers and explained that since most of the women have their

own Hindu Gods to follow, they felt that such suggestions were 'a bit encroaching upon their personal faith systems' [Follow-up translation]. She also suggested that some women thought the project was trying to convert them to Christianity.

Concerns around conversion were also raised in one of the workshops when the women were asked what they thought a new woman might think of devotions. The women responded by explaining the initial apprehension a new woman might feel:

> *The first time some people fear that they are trying to make us Christians but later they understand and feel happy when they listen to the Word of God* [Workshop Participant, Staff Interpretation].

They went on to explain how they are introduced to a life of prayers and songs alongside work. They stated that nobody is told they have to become a Christian to pray and that they appreciated the devotions because often they did not find time to pray in the mornings before work. Similarly, in an interview with one woman who was not on the Women's Leadership Team, she explained that: 'I really enjoy and like the fact that they talk about God and use God's word and I listen to that and it does help me for my own work and my own life' [Rupali, Staff Interpretation].

For two of the three women on the Women's Leadership Team, the Christian faith was clearly very significant. Aasha explained how since becoming involved with the project she has had peace, freedom and faith in Jesus. She went on to back this up by explaining how she no longer considers it necessary to go to the temple when she is ill because she has faith in her prayers to God. Prisha spoke of how the Bible has taught her how God sacrificed His son for our good. Conversely, Diya did not appear to make such a clear distinction between Hinduism and Christianity and a more general idea of God seemed to be what was important to her. Significantly, both Prisha and Diya had seen films about Jesus prior to their engagement with the project.

Sharing their motivations for being involved with the business and what they were most proud of, all three women on the Women's Leadership Team spoke about God. Prisha spoke of how God had given her a desire to help women whilst for Aasha the opportunity she got to share her faith with other women in the business was a source of great joy. Diya framed her own experiences in the line within the context of God enabling her to help others:

> *So I understand that it was God's will for me to suffer as I did so that gives me greater understanding to help others. There were times when I wanted to kill myself but I believe that God has protected me at those times and saved me from doing that so that I can help others see the light* [Diya, Staff Interpretation].

She also talked about how God had entrusted her with the task of reaching out to women still in the line and how, without the help of God, she would not be able to do this work.

With regards to the expression of faith within the project and the response to this, all three women were aware that many of the women in the business do not share the Christian faith and all three spoke of talking to the women about Jesus. Diya felt that whilst the women have their own faith, and she used language which included herself within this statement, they must be willing to embrace new prayers. She pointed out that the women do worship and pray together in the business and that they would not do this if there was no love or faith amongst them. Prisha explained how she helps new women to learn the songs and understand the prayers and spoke of seeing the women's reaction to devotions change from disinterest to listening and understanding what is happening as time goes on. She was clear that she did share her own faith with the women and that she would read them Bible stories as part of teaching them to read and write.

As previously mentioned in Chapter 7, three of the five women interviewed individually drew a direct connection between coming to faith in God and leaving prostitution. Asked if there was a role for faith in supporting women to leave the line, Aasha responded by giving her own personal example. She explained how when the business first started and they used to have a time of prayer, she could not pray. Gradually she said the faith came and now she wants to help other women to have that faith. Interestingly, the role of faith did not, however, come up in workshop discussions on factors which enable women to leave the line.

The US Case Study

The salience of faith within the organisation

The project does not describe itself as 'faith-based' in its publicity yet the website is explicit that the project was founded by an Episcopal priest and that she continues to play an active role in the organisation. The website section entitled 'The 24 Spiritual Principles of Magdalene' provides a brief paragraph outlining the Rule of Benedict and its influence on the programme, and lists the 24 principles developed by 'the Magdalene sisters' as 'a simple

guide for living in community'. A non-specific suggestion of 'praying for the women's healing' is included in the section on 'Ways to Help' and blog posts are regularly infused with the language and imagery of Christianity. Finally, the name of the residential programme, 'Magdalene', has clear religious associations; with the Resident's Handbook stating that this name was chosen in honour of Mary Magdalene as 'the first to witness the Resurrection and preach' and because 'the name embodies the hope that grace can be transformative'.

In interviews with staff, the question of what role faith plays in the work of the project elicited a seemingly contradictory response, with many stating that the project is not faith-based whilst emphasising the centrality of faith within the organisation. For example, one staff member acknowledged the significance of faith in the work of the project:

> *If you start with the idea that the founder is also a charismatic leader, is an Episcopal priest, it's present. If you bring to that folks, residents, graduates, some staff, and a lot of volunteers' involvement in 12-Step recovery, there is a whole component there about the necessity of being in touch with your spirituality, however that looks on the ground, that's present, so that's in the mix. And depending on any individual's faith history you get the good works piece, what motivates folks* [Female residential staff member].

She remained reluctant, however, to identify the project as 'faith-based'. Similarly, another staff member explained that 'we might not be faith-based but we are totally faith-based as individuals so I think as far as the residents and graduates and employees and that, all that sort of thing, I think it [faith] plays a huge role'. A few minutes later she went on to say 'having a priest as your founder it is kind of silly to say we're not faith-based, but we aren't, but we totally are' [Female TF staff member].

Exploring this apparent dichotomy further, it was evident that the term 'faith-based' carried specific connotations in the minds of staff and was understood to refer particularly to Evangelical Christian organisations and organisations where some form of religious instruction is compulsory for service users. This was clear in one staff member's statement that 'we don't do church time; we're actually not faith-based' [Female residential staff member] and another's belief that the term 'faith-based' was 'usually interpreted as being a more conservative sort of Christian perspective' [Female TF staff member]. The founder herself described her preference for 'holding a sacred place and not putting names on it' and referred to the organisation's approach to faith as 'very loose'.

Staff were clear that the project is non-denominational and explained that the 12-Step Programme was 'the kind of brand of faith' they do. The emphasis within the 12-Steps on having faith in a 'higher power' and the looseness around how that is defined was highlighted, with the 12-Steps described as 'not religious based but they're spiritual programmes' [Female TF staff member]. Staff also agreed that whilst they wanted to encourage women to engage with their spirituality, the aim was to 'encourage faith indirectly' due to the recognition that some women had experienced abuse at the hands of those in positions of authority. Thus adopting a more direct approach or tying the provision of services to any form of religious instruction was seen as potentially damaging and likely to push the women away.

Finally, whilst many staff members spoke of 'faith' playing a central role in the organisation, what was meant by the word 'faith' varied. In some instances the term was used to refer to faith in God and/or the divine. One staff member spoke of faith being 'the whole glue' of the organisation and explained how 'to me that is, it's God and Jesus Christ if you will' [Female TF staff member]. In other instances the term was used in the context of having faith in yourself: 'people have to have faith to even walk through the door' and believe that 'I can do this' [Female residential staff member]. Similarly, another staff member stressed that 'we have faith in each other' [Female TF staff member]. She acknowledged that 'church faith', as she called it, was important to many within the organisation but it wasn't this that she thought 'makes it work here'. Rather she emphasised 'faith in the power of the Circle', the community, as the 'biggest faith' within the organisation.

The influence of faith on the values espoused by the project

The influence of faith, specifically Christianity, on the values espoused by the project was not widely commented on by staff though there was some recognition of its impact. The strong emphasis on love and particularly the belief that 'love is the most powerful force for change in the world' was, for the founder, an expression of her Christian faith. She described how she believes love is the broadest term for God and how she sees focusing on love as a way of being accessible to all people. Similarly, one staff member recognised that some people might assume the focus on love and loving unconditionally 'is kind of faith based'. The centrality of community was rooted in the tradition of the Benedictine Rule and one staff member acknowledged that having a minister as the founder meant that there was an understanding within the organisation that the need for community is ongoing. She

contrasted her own approach as a social worker trained to 'help people sort themselves out and move on' with the founder's 'come in and stay' approach to community.

Where the influence of the Christian faith on the values espoused by the project is most evident, however, is in the book *Find Your Way Home* and its associated Spiritual Principles. Throughout the description of the principles in the book there are frequent references to 'God', 'the Spirit', 'the Creator' and 'our higher power' and the concepts of forgiveness, servanthood and gratitude feature prominently. Whilst there are no direct references to Jesus, Judeo-Christian influences are identifiable in the notion of 'Original Grace'; the image and language of washing one another's feet; the concept of 'the image of God'; and the reference to 'give drink to the thirsty, food to the hungry, comfort to the sorrowful, clothing to the naked, and companionship to the imprisoned and dying' (2008, p. 43) which echoes Jesus' teaching on the actions by which his followers will be identified.

The impact of faith on the design and operation of the project

Physical space and Activities

Thistle Farms' production originally began in the founder's chapel and the business has made use of Episcopalian church spaces over the years. Since 2011, however, they have been housed in their own manufacturing facilities. Within this space, there are a small number of visible physical expressions of the Christian faith, mainly put up by the women, such as a black and white print entitled 'The Lamentation of Mary Magdalene' and copies of prayers, psalms and a poem called 'Anyway', often attributed to Mother Theresa. In terms of the main residential house, whilst the architectural design incorporates the idea of monastic cloisters through its inclusion of an enclosed courtyard at the heart of the house, the only visible physical expression of faith was a framed quotation of 1 Corinthians 13 hanging in the Programme Director's office.

Two arguably faith-related activities are incorporated into the weekly rhythm of the project. On the three main work days at Thistle Farms the day starts with what is known as 'the Circle', an AA-style meditation. During this time all employees gather together in a circle, a candle is lit as everyone sits in silence 'to remember the women still out on the streets', and then one of the women gives a short reading, often from *Find Your Way Home*. After the reading people mention things they would like remembered in prayer. This is followed by a moment of silence and then a communal reciting of a prayer, usually the Serenity Prayer or the NA Third Step Prayer. On Wednesdays, when visitors are present, the reading is

followed by a time of sharing. Each individual is invited to briefly introduce themselves, with many graduates, staff and regular volunteers introducing themselves with the statement 'I'm a grateful Thistle Farmer'. Sometimes individuals choose to reflect on the reading and such reflections often involved a notable level of vulnerability. For example, on the day that the principle 'Love without Judgement' was read aloud, some women spoke about the difficulties they were currently facing whilst others spoke of the things they were celebrating like gaining custody of their children. As individual women shared their joys there was clapping and cheers and as those struggling spoke through tears words of support were offered.

The other arguably faith-related activity is the weekly group known as 'Reality Group'. The group used to be called 'Spirituality Group' but was renamed as the women felt that 'reality' was a more accurate description of what was discussed in the session. The group is run by an ordained minister who is also a licensed alcohol and drug counsellor. He was described by one staff member as a 'long term fixture' at Magdalene and his group session as the spirituality piece of the 12-Step tradition. Residents are required to attend this group unless they have other appointments or are at college or work. In the sessions attended during fieldwork, the topics of discussion included the process of change, the lies that addiction tells you, the cycle of self-sabotage, dreams for the future and choice. During the groups, the minister talked about 'a higher power' but also regularly used Biblical references including explicit references to Jesus.

The selection of staff and employees

Magdalene describes itself as an equal opportunity employer and employment and promotion of staff within the organisation is based on an individual's qualification and abilities without regard to religion. Similarly, Thistle Farms does not discriminate in employment opportunities and practices on the basis of religion. Neither staff nor the women entering the programme are thus required to be Christians. At the same time, however, one staff member acknowledged that as far as she was aware 'I don't know anybody here that's not a Christian and that doesn't prescribe to those values and beliefs' [Female TF staff member]. In addition, as part of the holistic intake process, residents are asked to state their religious affiliation, list any issues that may have affected their regard to religion, state whether they attend a worship service and if so where and whether they participate in religious-based activities outside of worship services. This information, however, is not used to determine access to services.

The expression of religious faith within the project

When it comes to the expression of religious faith within the project, one staff member said that 'we kind of speak out of both sides of our mouth'. She explained that they ask staff and volunteers not to express their personal faith within the project but acknowledged that this happens on a regular basis:

> *We tell them they cannot do that, they cannot do that. They do it all the time. And the women really talk a whole lot more about Jesus than any of the rest of us but, of course, people do it all the time. What we say is, again, you can't be formally or informally doing bible study. We really are not comfortable with that; that is up to the individual* [Female residential staff member].

Another staff member confirmed this, explaining that churches are welcome to invite the women to attend a Bible study at their church but that Bible studies cannot be carried out on the project's premises. She also explained that they don't discourage women from going to a church and that they will coordinate with churches to set up transportation if a woman does want to attend.

Other staff members stated that there were no explicit instructions regarding the expression of religious faith within the project, with one staff member explaining that 'it's pretty, pretty open'. Indeed, on numerous occasions throughout the fieldwork staff spoke about faith with the women. Some staff members spoke of liking the fact that they can talk about their faith and pray: 'I like being able to talk about God because I do believe in God and I do, I was raised Church of Christ, that's my faith but I don't push any of the women with it' [Female residential staff member]. This notion of not pushing one's beliefs on the women was also emphasised by others, with two staff members explaining that if the women ask them about their faith they will talk about it but that they don't initiate such conversations. Similarly the way in which the founder weaves together her roles as priest and Executive Director was considered to be 'very open' and means that 'you can be an agnostic or atheist and I think most people wouldn't be offend by it because it's never like "you have to believe this"' [Female TF staff member].

Although people's personal beliefs and the topic of faith arose within discussions on a fairly regular basis within the project, there was no expectation on the women to convert to Christianity nor were such discussions part of any kind of formal religious instruction. One staff member explained that visitors to the project who came from a faith perspective were often surprised by this: 'some of them really struggle with, you know, it's almost like,

"you've got this captive audience here, why aren't you evangelising?"' [Female residential staff member] She thought that the reason evangelism was not a central concern was due to the fact that those originally involved in supporting the project, if they were Christians, were 'either Catholic or mainstream denominations' and not Evangelical. She also noted that, in terms of volunteers who get involved with the project, 'folks who tend to be more Evangelical [...] don't stay'.

In terms of the expression of faith within the marketing for Thistle Farms, one staff member explained that they are careful to be non-faith-based and stressed that they don't talk about Jesus or God in any of their marketing materials, though she acknowledged that the marketing for one product does include a quote from Isaiah. This current approach contrasts with that of earlier years when the products had biblical names such as 'Balm of Gilead' and 'Lot's Wife'. The decision to move away from using biblical names was the result of advice from a PR firm helping the project to reach a wider audience. This had been a difficult transition and the biblical names 'wasn't something that we let go of easily' [Female TF staff member].

The significance of faith in external relationships

The project has an extensive network of external relationships and relies heavily on outside organisations to deliver many of the services provided for residents. Of the non-profit organisations Magdalene partners with to jointly hire a psychiatric nurse at least two are explicitly Christian-based. Dental health treatment is provided by the Interfaith Dental Clinic and a major partner in the provision of health care has been Saint Thomas Family Health Centre, part of 'the leading faith-based, non-profit health care system in Tennessee' (Saint Thomas Health, 2014). That these partner organisations are faith-based, however, may be less significant than the fact that they provide services to those without health insurance and to those on low-incomes without regard to ability to pay.

Many of the women attend local churches and groups of volunteers from churches carry out a range of tasks within the project. The relationship with the founder's own church, St Augustine's, was recognised to be particularly significant. Two staff members are also employed part-time by St Augustine's as is a Magdalene graduate and several staff members have been or are members of the church. Many of the sales events that the project carries out are related to churches and the founder has spoken at events 'for pretty much every denomination you could think of, Baptist, American Baptists, Methodists,

Presbyterians, Nazarenes you know, Episcopal of course' [Male TF staff member]. The founder herself voiced her personal desire for the Episcopal church to be 'at the heart of healing women', explaining that she has always believed that healing is part of life in community and that it is centred in the church.

The relationships with faith groups and with churches have not always been smooth. One staff member explained that when the project first began 'Baptists and more fundamental groups wouldn't work with us because we were non-denominational'; this has changed as the project has grown and has demonstrated successful outcomes. Finally, the 'increasing number of denominations that have taken on the role of trafficking' was commented on by staff and a senior staff member expressed her frustration that a lot of Evangelical organisations were not engaging with state services or outside specialists; carrying out their work in silo. Equally, she noted that state departments were not considering FBOs involved in anti-trafficking work legitimate and so were not engaging with them either. Thus, she has spent the last few years working to get different organisations, state departments and stakeholders within the city who carry out work surrounding sex trafficking to talk to one another and a group now meets on a monthly basis.

The impact of faith on funding and revenue

When it came to the sale of products, it was evident that their market is not solely Christian-based; for example, one of their largest wholesale clients is Whole Foods. The founder did recognise, however, the role that churches have played in their growth as a business, joking during one event that the company makes high-end products and that the Episcopal Church happens to be a good place to sell such products. A breakdown of the percentage of customers who were faith-based was not, however, available. In terms of funding, the project receives donations from a wide range of organisations and financial support is not limited to religious communities, FBOs or churches. However, the project does cultivate such support. For example, during the fieldwork a conference of Episcopal bishops took place in Nashville and Thistle Farms hosted a group of the bishops' spouses. As part of the tour the visitors were given the opportunity to purchase a consignment kit; the pitch being that they could sell the products at their churches and anything they failed to sell could be refunded.

The salience of faith amongst staff

When speaking of their motivations for engaging with the project, it was clear that faith was a significant factor for a number of staff members and, when asked what influence they thought faith had on the work of the project, several chose to respond by first speaking about their own personal faith. Two staff members described themselves as 'spiritual' but distanced themselves from the term 'religious'. One explained that her Christian faith 'is a very strong part of who I am' whilst another described herself as 'an individual who does want to be the hands and feet of Christ'. A fifth staff member related her own experience with the 12-Steps and how it was through that that she found 'a personal God, you know, to be with me every day and to help me with my life'. Similarly the centrality of Christianity as a framework for interpreting life was evident in the lives of some staff members. One staff member drew on the biblical story of Moses when explaining how she felt underqualified to carry out her job. As Moses had been given the tools he needed because of his faith, she explained how 'through faith and through community' she was being provided with the tools to carry out her role. Another staff member drew on the parable of the talents in Matthew 25 when explaining her motivation for offering her services on a voluntary basis within the project.

Staff spoke of their faith as the factor which kept them involved with the work of the project and talked about praying to God when they were finding their work difficult. One staff member explained that prior to her involvement with the project her faith had been 'compartmentalised' and described how refreshing she had found the Circle time. She went on to state:

> *...that's what's kept me here, that's all, to see my faith strengthen, to see other women's faith strengthen, to find my faith and questions about how, you know, the balance of it all, the injustices like where is God in all of this? I mean it's wild, right, it's wild and I love it* [Female TF staff member].

Recalling a recent HR issue that they had worked through, she also spoke of God being involved in the healing process. Another staff member spoke of God's protection. A gang-related shooting had taken place less than 500 metres from two of the residential houses during the fieldwork. Recounting this incident, the staff member explained how at the time of the shooting one of the residents had 'a meltdown' and as a result everybody was inside the house. She felt that 'it was like God's way of protecting us' given that there would

usually have been women sat outside on the porch and that this resident 'hadn't had a meltdown in two weeks and she chose that moment'.

The influence of faith on understandings of prostitution came up in one interview. For one staff member, her understanding of sexuality was rooted in her faith and this had implications for how she understood prostitution:

> *I think that's one of the things that we're, most of us here are pretty clear on is the idea that your sexuality and spiritually should be combined, and everybody doesn't agree with that, there's obviously a lot of feminist perspectives wouldn't see that and, you know, third wave feminism wouldn't accept that probably and just a lot of people wouldn't accept that, they think it's 'just as natural as anything else'. But I think it is different; I don't think it is the same. I don't think it is the same as it is making food for somebody and taking money. It is totally different. I think we get wounded by unhealthy sex in a way that you are not wounded because somebody gave you a bad meal or whatever it might be, you know what I mean, it's entirely different, the trauma from it is very different. I see it as something that is very special and God-given and can easily be misused* [Female TF staff member].

Whilst she thought that many within the project held similar views, no other staff members explicitly expressed such an opinion. However, Principle 11 of Magdalene's Spiritual Principles is 'Unite Your Sexuality and Spirituality' and in *Find Your Way Home,* this principle is explained through a rejection of the idea that 'sexuality is a commodity' and an acceptance that 'We are sexual beings made in the image of God' (2008, p. 55).

Finally, the importance of the Circle was commented on by staff. One staff member felt that it provides 'that moment where you meet together as a team and you just check in and make sure that, you know, let's focus our energies today'. For her, it was the recognition of their shared need that made the Circle powerful:

> *...there's something about having… really I mean, women in totally different positions and history than me but they're all speaking about the same thing, which is we're all looking for love, we're all looking for forgiveness of ourselves, of others, and so going in at Circle and hearing these stories… so they're talking about the last time they used drugs and the last time that… how that felt and how empty they felt. Well, I have that similar feeling, maybe not about drugs but about whatever I was going through* [Female TF staff member].

Another staff member explained that the organisation 'does not let you be a spectator' and talked about how being involved means asking yourself how you are doing on a regular basis. Concerns about the Circle were voiced by one staff member. Her anxiety was that

the words 'grateful' and 'love' were sometimes overused and that it could feel like 'we're kind of on stage at the Circle, especially on Wednesdays' [Female TF staff member]. She stressed that she encouraged women not to say that they are grateful if they're not but that this was a challenge.

The salience of faith amongst the women

According to staff faith was significant amongst the women engaging with the project and there was agreement that more often than not women choose to get involved in some sort of faith-based congregation outside of the project. One staff member could only remember one woman who had entered the programme who had said she was an atheist and that 'most everybody seems to believe in God, at least the ones I have interacted with'. She thought this stemmed from their upbringings and explained that 'a lot of women in our programme were raised in some sort of church' [Female residential staff member]. Another staff member felt that the women 'can gravitate towards faith because they've been in very hopeless situations which require a lot of faith' [Male TF staff member].

As explored earlier, in all four workshops on exiting prostitution, the women listed the role of God, faith and prayer in enabling them to leave prostitution. In informal conversations too, women repeatedly spoke about the importance of faith, regularly peppering their speech with references to God. The Reality Group was very popular amongst the residents. Whilst a few women shared their dislike of the group, mainly due to dislike of the group leader's confrontational style rather than the actual content, others spoke of it as their favourite group session. For several women the fact they were still alive despite all of the things they had been through was evidence that God or a Higher Power was involved in their lives:

> *For me, personally, I know He never left me, I left Him. For me, personally, if I can't hurt myself and He keeps bringing me through what I've done to myself then I know that without a doubt in my mind that there's a power greater than myself because I should have been dead a long time ago* [Workshop Participant].

During workshops, several women also spoke of making covenants or vows with God. For example, one graduate spoke of how she has made a covenant with God that no matter what happens she will no longer contact the guy who she used to go to for money and expressed her pride in the fact that despite being 'totally broke' she has not contacted him.

One of the workshops run with residents focused specifically on the role of faith and spirituality in the work of the project and in the lives of the women. Asked to express what they thought faith or spirituality mean, five of the women created collages of words they associated with these concepts. The words included in their collages are shown in Table 46.

Table 44: Collages on faith from Workshop 6 at US case study

Collage 1	Love. Faith. Spirituality. Bible. Loyalty. Hope During Tough Times. Strong. The Art of Faith. Pray without ceasing and in everything give thanks. Faith for the journey. Rejuvenate. There is a time for everything and a season for every activity under the heavens. Miracle.
Collage 2	Favour. Hope. Trust. Freedom. Faith. Truth. God. Belief. Devotion. Love. Wisdom. Togetherness.
Collage 3	Believing in the unseen. Trusting in a spirit and not man. "Loving" unconditionally. Faith. Hope. Praying. Overcoming the Impossible.
Collage 4	The unknown. Trust. Love. Peace. Freedom. Pure. Clear. Kind. Growth. Listening. Meditation.
Collage 5	Believing. Trusting. Fear of the unknown.

The importance of faith in God in helping them to keep going and complete the programme was stressed by a number of residents:

> *I put my care in God and stop worrying, in whatever comes my way that be a lesson. God help me learn my lesson from this situation and keep the faith so I can go on because sometimes two years seems like a long time, right? But I've came this far and that was through faith, you know what I'm saying, so I believe He's going to carry me all the way* [Workshop Participant].

One resident spoke of how she had 'jumped out in faith' in entering the programme; another spoke of how she felt God was humbling her through the programme, giving her gratitude and changing how she sees life. For a third resident, the programme had given her 'the hope, the freedom, the confidence and the state of truth that God's not through with me yet'. Speaking of the role of faith within the project, one resident felt that 'spirituality plays a big part because we've been so broken, we've been so disappointed and we've been to sea so many times'.

In individual interviews, women also affirmed the positive role of faith within the project. Arleatha felt that 'Magdalene works if you stay humble and if you stayed prayed up, you pray to God, you ask God to help you, He will continue to help you'. Tiana referred to the programme as 'God given' and was keen to emphasise how God has 'used' the founder to love 'a population of women that have been beaten down and broken'. Linda said she

wouldn't use the word 'faith' but instead described the project as 'a spiritual programme'. She thought this was 'extremely' important and explained that it works so well because 'religion is not pressed down your throat, you know, you get to believe what you want to believe'.

In interviews and workshops too, the women confirmed that 'they don't push spirituality on you' [Workshop Participant] and that 'you're free to talk about how you feel and your faith in the programme and your faith in God' [Arleatha]. The women explained that the freedom to create your own Higher Power and not have specific expectations placed on them with regards to faith helped them to distance themselves from prior understandings of God or experiences that had been harmful. As one resident explained:

> *Ok some people, it's just like love; we're not used to receiving it so it's kind of like hard to receive, you know, the love part or even having a power higher than ourselves. We've been alone with ourselves so long in the darkness that's all we know. When you start it's kind of like we have to define that because, you know, we can go based on God, based on what we were raised up on but in the darkest hell where was He? So it is different for each person how they view how they come to God* [Workshop Participant].

This need to be aware of the past harms associated with religion for some women was also highlighted by Linda, who was frank about her own scepticism about faith when she had first entered the programme:

> *...a lot of us come in here broken and the last thing we want to hear about or have happen is someone pressing God down our throat. Because most of us, whether they say it or not, come in with resentments because at six years old it's not right for your mum to bring some man into your bed and allow him to, you know… so it kind of like… it kind of gives you issues with God, you know? But I think… I think that the longer you're here erm you come to realise that He carried us through our hell. Well for me, let me just say for me I realised that He carried me through my hell, you know, He was with me the whole time because I really in all honesty should be dead, I've had a lot of bad things happen.*

She emphasised how for some women the fact that they had been raised in church made engaging with faith particularly painful and confusing, especially if they had been made to go to church every Sunday by their parents who were then 'living dirty' at home. That God or belief in a Higher Power was central to many of the women's experiences of leaving prostitution was, however, evident.

Summary

In this chapter the role of faith in the work of the two case studies has been examined. The influence and expression of faith within the two projects has been unpacked with attention paid to how the relation with faith within each organisation was experienced by staff and women alike. This concludes the presentation of empirical evidence and in the next chapter we seek to draw together all of the findings and discuss them in relation to the existing literature.

Chapter 11: Exploring the connections between exiting prostitution, social enterprise and faith

Introduction

In this chapter the research findings from the mapping study and the two case studies will be discussed in relation to the five research questions laid out in Chapter 1 and the three bodies of literature outlined in Chapters 2 to 4. The aim is to explore the connections between the three themes of the research: exiting prostitution, social enterprise, and faith.

The nature of faith-based projects operating social enterprises

Addressing RQ1, the mapping study has shown that the phenomenon of faith-based organisations adopting social enterprise approaches to supporting women to exit prostitution is relatively new and, to date, appears to be occurring mainly within emerging and developing countries but with strong organisational links to advanced economies via the legal structures of such organisations. Fifty-two organisations running 59 on-the-ground projects were identified. Product-based projects were more common than those offering a commercial service with half of the projects surveyed involved in the production of jewellery for the international market. The majority were registered as non-profit organisations and almost all had at least two income streams and were not solely reliant upon trading income. In terms of the ways in which these organisations related their business activities to their social objectives, a four-fold typology was proposed: programme with social enterprise; social enterprise with support services; social enterprise that partners with local organisations; and social enterprise. The most common model was an outreach programme with a social enterprise running alongside it. For all 59 projects, the business activities served to augment the social purpose of supporting women to exit prostitution and were not simply used to generate revenue for the project. In this sense, all four models were 'mission centric' (Alter, 2008).

Based on the information available on organisations' websites, it was clear that prostitution was predominantly framed within negative terms by these organisations, as evidenced by the use of discourses such as sexual exploitation and women-at-risk. The discourse of trafficking was prominent, although the specific prostitution contexts with which projects were engaging was, in the vast majority of cases, not specified. The discrepancy between the heavy reliance on the discourse of trafficking and the lack of information pertaining to

specific contexts raises questions as to why the discourse of trafficking featured so prominently; did it reflect the means of entry into prostitution experienced by the women the organisations were engaging with or rather did it reflect theoretical understandings concerning the associations between prostitution and trafficking? That around 75% of the organisations had been founded since 2005 is worth noting in relation to this issue. As highlighted by Jobe (2008), there has been 'a dramatic growth in interest' in sex trafficking within research, the media, policy and practice over the past decade, especially since the adoption of the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000). The emergence of these organisations could thus be understood as a response to increased concern about the occurrence of trafficking. Moreover, drawing on the discourse of trafficking enables organisations to situate themselves within this wider debate which, on a pragmatic level, could potentially increase their access to funding and their support base, particularly given the strength of the anti-trafficking movement within the US, where 65% of organisations were either themselves registered as a non-profit 501(c)(3) organisation or an umbrella organisation under which they operated, or through which they encouraged people to donate, was registered as a 501(c)(3).

When it came to the role of faith, it is significant that the phenomenon of faith-based organisations adopting social enterprise approaches to supporting women seems to be exclusively associated with the Christian tradition, specifically the Protestant tradition. Whilst a small number of organisations related to other faith traditions were identified in the initial stages of the mapping as providing direct services to support women to exit prostitution, none fulfilled the fourth criteria of adopting a social enterprise approach in the direct services it provides. In terms of the presentation of faith, thirty two organisations (62%) self-identified as 'faith-based' and 46% signalled religious influences within their mission statement or self-descriptive text. The terminology and explicitness of such commitments and influences, however, varied significantly. Organisation name was not found to be an accurate indicator of whether an organisation could be termed 'faith-based'; less than a third of all organisations had an unambiguous religious name. In terms of the presentation of faith, religious references appeared most frequently in staff biographies and founding stories; 42% of the organisations made some kind of reference to prayer; and 44% stated on their website that they ran bible studies, devotional activities, or specific churches for the women they provided services for. The extent to which faith featured in the

organisations' online 'public face' was classified according to four categories, with 75% of the organisations displaying either an 'explicit' or 'modest' presentation of faith.

It is worth considering why it is organisations associated with the Christian tradition, particularly the Protestant tradition, that are adopting social enterprise approaches to supporting women to exit prostitution. It is possible that this finding could reflect the problems inherent in the term 'faith-based' (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 6) and the limitations of the mapping study (as outlined on page 70). Alternatively, there may be specific theological beliefs, values and practices within (Protestant) Christianity that mean that it is a faith tradition particularly amenable to social enterprise. This is an area where further research is required. The involvement of Christian organisations in providing direct services to women seeking to exit prostitution in general has, however, a long and somewhat complicated history. It stems from Roman Catholic Orders, such as the Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd, founded in the seventeenth century, through to the work and life of Josephine Butler, a nineteenth century Christian influential in the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts and known for establishing "Houses of Rest" for women wishing to leave prostitution (for more on Butler's work see Karras, 1989; Jordan & Sharp, 2003; Nolland, 2004; Daggers & Neal, 2006; Milbank, 2007). According to Brock and Thistlethwaite, feminist theologians within the Christian tradition drawing on Liberation theology, the doctrine of sin has often been used to obscure and distort the dynamics of prostitution which, in turn, has led to a tendency to blame those exploited sexually and ignore or protect the perpetrators and systems of exploitation (Brock and Thistlethwaite 1996, pp.236–41). Consequently, Christian engagement with prostitution has historically focused on pursuing a transformative approach to the individual women involved in prostitution which has, at times, perpetuated a victim/rescuer dichotomy. From a different perspective, a preference for the marginalised and vulnerable and for reaching out to those deemed 'unacceptable' by society is central in Christian theology, as Grills (2008a) outlines in relation to major Christian faith groups and their respective theology of development. Accordingly, given the stigmatisation facing those involved in prostitution, such underlying faith values may explain to some extent why it is that this phenomenon is prominent amongst organisations associated with the Christian tradition. Again, this is an area which would benefit from further research.

Why other religious traditions do not appear to be adopting social enterprise approaches to support women to exit prostitution is also of interest. However, a mapping of different

religions in relation to both prostitution and social enterprise would involve an investigation of religious texts, the traditions and on-going life of faith communities, and the nuances between differing schools of interpretation within each faith tradition. Given the diversity and complexity of religions and the dynamism of individuals' religions-as-practiced, as highlighted by McGuire (2008a) and discussed in Chapter 4, such an investigation was deemed beyond the scope of this present study.

The fact that such faith-based organisations are mainly operating within emerging and developing economies yet have strong links to advanced economies reflects a pattern identified in Chapter 3. There is was noted that all but one of the existing studies on the role of micro-enterprise development and vocational skills training in the context of prostitution are focused on emerging and developing economies and that the majority (18 out of 20) of the Ashoka social entrepreneurs are also operating within these contexts. Whilst Bernstein's analysis (2007b, 2010) might suggest that such a pattern is evidence of the benevolence of the privileged and the triumph of neoliberal consumer politics, the inequalities of the global economic system are significant. It is likely that the preponderance of these projects in emerging and developing economies reflects the reality that it is a more commercially viable approach in these contexts, as opposed to within advanced economies, due to the lower costs of production and the opportunity to access lucrative export markets. Indeed, in the two case studies, it was noted that the Indian project was able to generate approximately 80% of its total income through the sale of goods whereas in the US the figure was around 33%.

Framing prostitution and understanding the process of exiting

The way in which such projects support women to exit prostitution (RQ2) was examined through the analysis of two case studies in Chapters 7 and 8 and was broken down into two parts. How the projects frame the issue of prostitution, how this relates to their understanding of exiting, and the barriers that they perceive need to be addressed was explored in Chapter 7. Both case studies frame prostitution in negative terms and, through an emphasis on the circumstances leading to women's involvement in prostitution, challenge the notion that involvement in prostitution is a positive choice. In the case of the Indian project, prostitution is presented as an exploitative form of business in which many women are 'trapped' due to dire circumstances and a lack of alternative options. Societal stigma serves to isolate those involved and reduces the possibilities for earning a living through other means. In the case of the US project, prostitution is seen as the result of a

destructive culture that buys and sells women. Emphasis is placed on the role of childhood sexual abuse, addiction and the failure of communities in women's entry into prostitution. Whilst both projects utilise the framework of trafficking, specifically sex trafficking, especially in their publicity and more so in the case of the Indian project, there is cautiousness around this framing and an explicit rejection of the term 'rescue'.

The framing of prostitution offered by both projects is complex and arguably disrupts the categorisation of 'prostitute-serving organisations' outlined by Oselin and Weitzer (2013). Based on their negative framing of prostitution, both projects would appear to best fit within Oselin and Weitzer's category of 'Radical Feminist PSOs'. Such a categorisation, however, is problematic. First, whether either project would consider themselves to be a radical feminist organisation is highly debatable and their framing of prostitution is much more complex than the phrase "oppression paradigm" allows for. Second, Oselin and Weitzer argue that such organisations tend to 'offer a much more muted critique, if any, of the structural causes of prostitution' (2013, p. 462). In contrast, both projects arguably do offer a critique of the structural causes of prostitution, as shall be discussed below.

The ways in which the projects understand the process of exiting complements their respective framings of prostitution: in India the project draws on the theme of 'freedom' and in the US the project draws on the themes of 'healing' and 'recovery'. In both projects exit from prostitution is seen as desirable and support is proactively offered to this end; neither project presents their approach as simply one of harm minimisation. Whilst the women engaging with each project drew on these themes in their discussions of exiting prostitution it is difficult to assess the extent to which these themes have been adopted by the women as a result of their engagement with the projects. However, in both case studies, the women who participated in workshops and interviews overwhelmingly spoke of prostitution in negative terms and construed leaving prostitution as desirable. In India, the desire for a 'respectable job' was regularly contrasted with the shame of involvement in the line and prostitution was referred to using phrases such as 'dirty work', 'dark road' and 'life of darkness'. Interestingly it was only in studying the follow-up translations that the extent to which the women used such terms became apparent; in the workshops in particular the negative phrases were often not conveyed in the interpretations given by staff. In the US, whilst some women acknowledged that prostitution had been fun in the beginning, terms such as 'disease', 'addiction' and 'degrading' were regularly used to describe prostitution. Women in the US did speak of experiencing a desire to return to prostitution but this was

framed as being 'sucked back into the lie' and residents explained how they would 're-run the ho tape' when these feelings occurred, remembering not just the positive aspects but all of the negative experiences they had had in prostitution.

The framing of exiting prostitution as a form of freedom also emerged in recent research carried out with individuals involved in the sex industry in Canada: participants who had exited the sex industry and did not intend to return 'discussed the act of exiting as a form of liberation' (Bowen, 2013, p.35). In Bowen's study, as was found in this research, those who had chosen to leave prostitution and did not intend to return 'viewed sex work as harmful to varying degrees' (2013, p. 59). This echoes previous research. For example, research with women involved in prostitution in Thailand also found that: 'negative attitudes about sex work were generally much stronger than positive attitudes and were expressed almost exclusively by those who had already quit' (Manopaiboon et al., 2003, p. 45).

The complexity of issues involved with prostitution within each context was recognised, with staff and women in both projects delineating the extensive breadth of barriers on multiple personal and societal levels that challenge a woman's ability to exit prostitution: in India 22 barriers were identified whilst in the US a total of 26 barriers were mentioned. The multiple barriers identified in each context add weight to the argument within the existing literature that there are 'a matrix of factors' which influence a woman's ability to leave prostitution: factors that vary according to individual circumstances, relational factors, cultural factors and structural factors (O'Neill & Campbell, 2011, p. 184).

Drawing on the categorization of barriers used by Baker et al. (2010) in their summary of barriers to leaving street prostitution most commonly described within the literature, the barriers in each case study can be divided into four categories: individual, relational, structural and societal, where societal factors 'capture social perceptions of prostituted women (e.g., stigma, discrimination) that likely affect, in profound ways, the other three factors' (Baker et al., 2010, p. 590). See Table 45.

Table 45: Breakdown of barriers identified across the two case studies

Case Study	Individual Barriers	Relational Barriers	Structural Barriers	Societal Barriers
Both	• Self-esteem/Shame • Lack of Trust and Fear of Alternatives • Own Choice to Stay/Lack of Desire to Exit/Not ready • Addiction • Physical Health Problems • Emotional Trauma/ Starting to Feel Emotions	• *Malkinis*/Madams • *Babus*/Pimp • Fear and Physical Abuse	• Earnings • Housing and Rental Prices/ Homelessness and Housing • Poverty and the Need for Family Maintenance/ Lack of Financial Stability • Lack of an Economic Alternative • Lack of Education	• Societal Stigma
Indian case study only	• Age (Being Young and therefore able to Earn More) • Language Barriers	• Being Physically Held Captive • Remaining in the Same Community • Peer Pressure to Return/Remain in the Line	• Loans and Debt • Eight Hour Working Day at Project	
US case study only	• Relapse • Childhood Sexual Abuse • Mental Health Issues • Denial/Self-centredness/ Compulsiveness • Cannot See a Way Out • Thinking you can keep prostituting just a bit	• Lifestyle of the Streets • No Community Support • Unhealthy Relationships	• Criminal Record • Lack of Job Skills	
	14 individual barriers	9 relational barriers	9 structural barriers	1 societal barrier

Of the barriers listed by Baker et al. (2010), the only ones that were not explicitly identified in either case study were chronic psychological stress, lack of knowledge of services and inadequate services. Conversely, a number of barriers were identified in the case studies that were not listed by Baker et al. (2010), such as loans and debt, lifestyle of the streets, age, language barriers and differential in earnings.

The substantial crossover in barriers identified by the two case studies suggests the commonality of barriers faced by women leaving prostitution despite very different

contexts, culturally, economically and in terms of the nature of the sex markets involved: predominantly street-based in the context of the US case study and brothel-based in the Indian case study context. In both case studies the difference between what women were able to earn in prostitution and what they were able to earn in other jobs was identified as a barrier with the consequent adjustment to a lower income making exit difficult. The differential in earnings and the adjustment to a lower income has also been identified as a significant barrier to exiting for women with experience in street prostitution, escort agencies, erotic massage, domination, saunas and independent online escorting in the US (Hickle, 2014), Canada (Law, 2011; Bowen, 2013) and the UK (Sanders, 2007; O'Neill & Campbell, 2011). Similarly, Ingabire et al. (2012), in a study with women involved in prostitution in Rwanda, found that the ten women who had attempted to leave prostitution but returned reported doing so because they found that other employment did not provide enough income to meet financial needs.

Despite the commonalities in barriers across the two case studies, the different ways in which specific factors operate as barriers within each case study reveal the significance of place in understanding the dynamics involved. For example, housing was identified as a barrier in both case studies. In India it was the high rental prices within the red light area and the nature of tenancy arrangements, namely the daily payment of rent and the practice of landlords offering loans to tenants at inflated levels of interest when they are unable to pay their rent, that were seen to combine to make housing a barrier. In the US, experiences of homelessness, lack of credit history and the practice of conducting background checks on tenets were highlighted as factors contributing to the difficulty women exiting prostitution in the US face in obtaining stable housing. Thus whilst women seeking to leave prostitution may face similar barriers despite very different contexts, the dynamics of such barriers do vary according to context.

Baker et al. (2010) describe structural barriers as 'those associated with societal circumstances', however, based on the barriers categorised as structural barriers within the two case studies, it would perhaps be more accurate to label them as 'economic' barriers as all of the barriers classified as 'structural' either pose a direct economic barrier to exiting, such as 'lack of an economic alternative', or serve to hinder a woman's ability to meet her financial needs, such as 'lack of education'. From this perspective, between 26% (US) and 32% (India) of the barriers identified by each project relate to economics, arguably demonstrating a substantial recognition on the part of each project of the economic

underpinnings of the injustice experienced by women involved in prostitution in the two contexts. With economic barriers identified by both projects as playing a significant role in challenging women's attempts to exit prostitution, the proposal of an economic response emerges. The lack of viable economic alternatives is thus identified as a concrete source of injustice by both projects; the remedy is the provision of an alternative income, namely through the provision of a job, to combat the necessity of engaging in prostitution.

Supporting women to exit prostitution

Both case studies demonstrate that a range of resources and factors are involved in supporting women to exit prostitution, factors that entail both individual agency, such as 'personal desire to exit', and the addressing of structural dynamics, such as housing. These findings add further weight to the argument that an agency/structure dichotomy is unhelpful in understanding the factors influencing and enabling exit and that leaving prostitution involves both 'the provision of opportunities and the willingness of individuals to take these opportunities' (Matthews, 2008, p. 82). Moreover, the findings provide support for existing calls within the literature of the need for a holistic approach to supporting women to leave prostitution; support that focuses on the personal, the relational and the structural (Hester & Westmarland, 2004; UK Network of Sex Work Projects, 2008; Matthews, 2008; Kootstra, 2012; Klubben, 2014)

In the Indian case study, a total of 17 different factors were identified, of which 76% related to either support provided by the project or the nature of the project itself. In the US case study, a total of 32 different factors were highlighted and, when ranked, 76% of the top 14 enabling factors were associated specifically with the project. Whilst the concern that 'the methodological challenge in evaluating the effectiveness of exiting programmes is to determine their added value' stands, it was clear that the support provided by the projects was considered significant in both contexts in assisting the women to exit prostitution (Matthews, 2008, p. 80). Furthermore, the provision of employment evidently 'added value' as will be discussed below. Comparing the enabling factors identified in both case studies a clear overlap emerges. Of the 38 distinct factors identified, approximately 29% (n=11) were identified in both cases. The table below demonstrates this overlap with the shaded section indicating those factors that were mentioned in both case studies.

Table 46: All enabling factors identified by the two case studies

Enabling Factor	Case Study
Desire for a 'respectable life'	India
Proactive outreach of the project	India
Work-related benefits provided by the project	India
Drop-in Centre	India
Nursery	India
Loan scheme	India
Peer support	India and US
Children	India and US
Provision of a job	India and US
Health support	India and US
Housing/Assistance with housing and rent	India and US
Personal desire to exit	India and US
Age	India and US
Lots of chances	India and US
Savings scheme	India and US
Support from family and friends/*Babus*	India and US
Being upfront about prostitution	India and US
God/Faith/Prayer	US
A supportive recovery community	US
Drug Treatment (AA and NA meetings)	US
Improved Self-esteem	US
Magdalene Programme (in general)	US
Mental Health Therapy and Sexual Assault Centre	US
Education and Skills Training	US
Receiving Love	US
Time	US
Help from an Individual	US
Trust	US
Jail and Court	US
Death	US
Change in the sex market	US
Legal aid support	US
Morals kicking in	US
Rob your pimp	US
Specific Support Projects	US
Traumatic Incident	US
Failed suicide attempt	US
If there were no johns	US

Again, as with the barriers identified in Chapter 7, the crossover in enabling factors identified by the two case studies suggests the commonality of factors involved in leaving prostitution despite very different contexts. A finding that is perhaps not surprising given

the commonality of barriers faced. Similarly, the different ways in which the specific factors are addressed within each case study again reveal the significance of place in understanding the dynamics involved. Taking the example of housing, the US case study provided residential housing for two years, had two transition homes and worked to help women access housing through local affordable housing schemes. In India, the project did not provide housing but would work to help women find more affordable rooms to rent within the local rental market. They would also provide loans to help women overcome the barrier of the high transaction costs of moving to a new room.

In both case studies, peer support and provision of a job featured in the top four factors listed. Peer support has been identified in a number of studies as positively contributing to women's efforts to leave prostitution (Hotaling et al., 2004; Woodman, 2007; Bowen, 2013). A Canadian study found that 'finding a community of individuals to whom they could relate and who did not judge them' was a crucial factor supporting exit for those individuals within the study who had exited prostitution and did not intend to return (Bowen, 2013, p. 51). In both projects a lot of the peer support was initiated by the women themselves, however, the very existence of the projects and thus their role in bringing together women seeking to leave prostitution fosters the occurrence of such support and provides a space in which it can occur.

The provision of a job is a distinctive feature of both projects. As noted earlier, very little research has been carried out on projects that provide women seeking to leave prostitution with alternative employment. However, the literature does attest to the role of alternative employment in enabling women to exit and remain out of prostitution and the challenges faced when such employment is not available. A US study with women involved in street prostitution found that of the women who had remained free of prostitution and drug use all had secured legal employment (Dalla, 2006) whilst another found that 'women who did not have or were not successful at getting a legitimate job internalised prostitution as their only opportunity for income' (Cimino, 2013, p. 62). In Canada, Benoit and Miller (2001) found that those individuals who had been out of the sex industry for a minimum of 2 years at the time of the interview were much less likely to be gainfully employed in comparison with the general population and thus faced economic marginalisation. Also in Canada, Bowen argued that 'the primary barrier for those who planned to exit was the difficulty in finding and keeping a square job' (2013, p. 90) and Klubben concluded that 'getting a job

and advancing one's education seemed to be one of the most difficult and final steps in transitioning out of sex work after many other pieces were put in place' (2014, p. 183).

Within the context of emerging and developing economies, a study with women involved in prostitution in South Africa reported that the women 'struggled significantly to find alternative employment' (Hakala & Keller, 2011, p. 22). This, they argued, was due to a lack of documentation and experience and not simply a lack of education or employable skills. In Rwanda, a study found that the female participants had limited formal education and 'felt that they had few options for alternative employment' (Ingabire et al., 2012, p. 1042). Similarly, Kootstra (2012) identified low education levels as a barrier to gaining employment and enrolling in vocational training programmes amongst women seeking to leave prostitution in Macedonia, Uganda, Vietnam and Egypt.

Whilst the provision of vocational training has been seen to serve as a way to address the barriers facing women in gaining alternative employment or earning an alternative income (Sherman et al., 2006, 2010; Kootstra, 2012), women still face the challenge of finding work or setting up a sustainable business once such training has been completed. Such challenges were evident in a pilot project in Uganda where vocational training based on a toolkit for adult literacy, life skills and economic empowerment was provided to 20 individuals involved in prostitution. The training was deemed to have helped participants to 'set personal goals for starting alternative income-generating activities' but at the close of the pilot 'no concrete businesses' had yet come out of it (Kootstra, 2012, p. 63). It is possible that this was due to the timeframe of the pilot but nonetheless it highlights the time it takes to find a job or set up alternative income-generating activities. Interestingly, another pilot project in Uganda that provided vocational skills training in hairdressing started and equipped four hairdressing salons to provide employment for those who completed the training but had not found work elsewhere: here the provision of skills was inadequate; the provision of employment was required (Kootstra, 2012, p. 58). Thus even with vocational training, structural unemployment, stigma and a criminal record can all hinder the transition from training to employment.

Unlike projects that provide vocational training, both case studies provide women with ongoing employment and not simply job training. This is significant given the challenges identified within the studies above. Furthermore, both projects provide employment within a context that is primarily geared towards supporting the women in their transition from

prostitution: the employment is provided as part of a holistic package. In the case of the US project, this involves a structured residential programme and in the case of the Indian project, this involves financial, emotional, health and social support. In terms of the actual job provided, this translates into a structured but looser working environment than would likely be the case in other jobs; a commitment to flexibility and a recognition of the different challenges women might be working through; and the willingness to offer lots of chances and address behaviours that within other companies might result in employment being terminated. Where stigma or a criminal record might prevent a woman from gaining mainstream employment, the job provided by each project sidesteps these barriers. Whilst concerns as to the opportunities open to women to move on from these jobs to other alternative employment may remain, the jobs provided by the projects do enable women who want to leave prostitution to earn an alternative income.

From observations it was clear that the emphasis on community within both projects was a key contributing factor in supporting women to leave prostitution. Whilst this overlapped with the peer support identified at both projects, it also went beyond that. In the US, the significance of a supportive recovery community was explicitly identified by staff and women as an enabling factor. In India, it was not explicitly identified as an enabling factor, however, it was evident that fostering a supportive community was central to the ethos of the project. The regular community celebrations held by both projects arguably serve to reinforce the sense of pride and ownership within the projects and foster the supportive social network amongst staff and employees. The significance of a supportive community when exiting prostitution has previously been identified in the literature. Kootstra found that for individuals seeking an alternative to prostitution in Macedonia, Uganda, Vietnam and Egypt 'a strong supportive social network enhances the chances for individuals' success considerably' as such transitions often involve changing social environments (2012, p. 115). Whilst a recent US study has identified a strong, supportive community as 'beneficial if not necessary' in helping women overcome the obstacles to transitioning out of street prostitution (Klubben, 2014, p. 169). The US study explained that having a supportive community helped women 'to maintain hope that they could continue their transition, to provide them with information about different opportunities and resources, and to be a source to lean on during difficult times' (2014, p. 169–70). The same appeared to hold true for both case studies.

It is interesting to note that God/Faith/Prayer was only identified as an enabling factor in

the US case study, and mainly by the women, despite the faith-related nature of both projects. The significance of God or a Higher Power in women's exits from prostitution has been noted in a number of other studies; five studies carried out in the US (Dalla, 2006; Valandra, 2007; Oselin, 2008, 2010; Cimino, 2013), one Canadian study (Klubben, 2014) and one study carried out in New Zealand (Saphira & Herbert, 2004). In Oselin's US study (n =30) one in three participants discussed spirituality/divine intervention as a key factor in their exit from prostitution (Oselin, 2008). Faith had, however, been a key motivator in the founding of both projects and the role of faith in the work of the two projects and in the women's exits will be discussed in more detail below.

Drug Treatment and Mental Health Therapy were also only identified as enabling factors within the US context. In the case of drug treatment this arguably reflects the greater emphasis placed on substance addiction as a barrier to exiting prostitution within the US case study, as demonstrated in Chapter 7. In the case of mental health therapy this could reflect different cultural attitudes towards counselling. However, the differences could also be attributed to the different starting points of the two projects. The Indian case study originally began as a social enterprise whilst the US case study began as a two year residential programme. Thus offering services that help women address their addiction and any abuse that they may have experienced has been a fundamental part of the US project since the beginning, whereas it is only since 2011 that the Indian project has begun to address the health and emotional wellbeing of the women employed by the business in a more formal and structured manner.

In terms of the nature of the exits supported by the projects, both case studies offer holistic support which includes the provision of a job as a central component of that support; both are seeking to emphasise community instead of merely the individual; both are seeking to foster a sense of ownership and pride in the business amongst the women; both provide a strong supportive community for those seeking to exit; both are committed to a long-term vision and recognise exit is a process and not an event; and both provide ongoing support to the women engaging with them.

In terms of the extent of the exits supported by the projects, the available data suggests that 75% of the women engaging with the Indian project have been able to either exit the line or avoid entering the line and it is likely, given the work schedule of the business and the income earned, that the remaining 25% have at the least been able to reduce their

involvement in the line. With the US project, the available data suggests that 86% of the women who enter the programme and stay for more than 30 days complete the 24 month programme and graduate with stable housing, work/income and are in recovery, and 78% are able to maintain stable housing, work/income and recovery for at least 12 months post-graduation. These figures compare favourably to the rates of 'successful exit' achieved by women enrolling in formal interventions in the US reported in other studies. Dalla (2006) found that 28% (n=5) of the 18 women in her study, of whom 17 had received some type of formal services, were able to successfully exit prostitution; and Roe-Sepowitz et al. (2012) found that 44.9% (n=22) participants enrolled in a 'resident prostitution-exiting program' completed 90 days of treatment. Higher rates of 'successful exit' have been reported by Oselin (2008): all three residential 'prostitution-helping organisations' in her study considered clients who remained sober, out of prostitution and legally employed a year after graduation "successful" and claimed success rates of 80%, 89% and 65%.

The outcomes from the two case studies also accord with the outcomes found in relation to an income generating intervention with women involved in prostitution in the US (Sherman et al., 2006) and one in India (Sherman et al., 2010). In the US study, 54 women took place in a pilot economic enhancement intervention which taught HIV prevention risk reduction alongside the making, marketing and selling of jewellery. The individual who made the jewellery received 50% of the sale, 30% was divided between participants who worked at the sale, and 20% went towards the cost of supplies. At the 3-month follow up period, 'income from the jewellery sale was associated with a reduction in the number of sex trade partners', with 72.5% reporting fewer sex trade partners (Sherman et al., 2006, p. 7) . In the Indian study, a microenterprise intervention pilot, involving the tailoring of canvas bags, was tested with 100 women involved in prostitution in Chennai. Participants were divided into a control group and an intervention group and comparisons were carried out at baseline and at 6-month follow-up. The study found that 'intervention participants reported a significantly lower number of sex partners and significant increases in income at the 6-month follow-up compared to control participants' (Sherman et al., 2006, p. 649). This included a 'significantly higher mean personal monthly income' and 'significantly lower monthly earnings from sex work' compared to control participants (2010, p. 653). Additionally, the study reported that 60% of the intervention participants were still involved in bag production 10 months after the study was completed.

Facilitating exit through social enterprise

The two case studies offer differing examples of social enterprise models employed to support women to exit prostitution (RQ3), as explored in Chapter 9. In terms of the Social Enterprise models developed in Chapter 6, the Indian case study can best be described as a 'Social Enterprise with support services': it originally began as a social enterprise, the focus being specifically to offer an alternative economic opportunity, and the emphasis continues to be predominantly on the social enterprise. The support services have developed alongside the business as needs amongst the women have been identified and as the number of women employed has increased. Alternatively, the US case study can best be described as a 'Programme with Social Enterprise': it originally began as a residential programme and the social enterprise developed alongside it in response to the difficulties residents were encountering in seeking employment. As the business has developed there has been increasing emphasis on the work of the social enterprise but it continues to be rooted within the wider context of the residential programme, offering employment specifically to residents and graduates.

The development of the two projects could arguably be described as a journeying towards one another from different ends of the social enterprise spectrum: the US project starting with social support for women exiting prostitution, and thus a non-profit model, and recognising the need to provide alternative employment alongside this and the Indian project starting with the provision of employment, and thus a for-profit model, and recognising the need to also provide structured social support. Interestingly, despite developing from different starting points, both projects described the growth of the project as 'organic' and both had arrived at a point where they operate with two staff teams; one focused on the social enterprise, the other on the support services. Whilst the two staff teams work closely together in both case studies, the two distinct teams enable the projects to establish a balance of staff with both commercial and social sector knowledge and was one way in which the projects sought to balance the tensions arising between social objectives and financial objectives and thereby avoid 'mission drift' (Doherty et al., 2014).

Neither case study was 100% reliant on commercial business activity for its income with both drawing on a range of resources. In the case of the Indian project approximately 80% of its total income was generated through the sale of goods whereas in the US project the income generated commercially constituted around 33% of the project's total income. The US figure is comparable to findings amongst other employment-focused social enterprises in

a European context (Spear & Bidet, 2005) whilst the Indian figure is much higher, likely reflecting lower operational costs and thus greater potential for generating profit. Note here that the two projects are very different with the US one offering free residential accommodation for two years alongside the social enterprise; a cost not faced by the Indian project. Both projects had clear rules about reinvesting all profits from the business so as to benefit the women and grow the business; however, only in the case of the US project did the legal form of the project mandate this practice. Whilst the finances of the two projects would mean that they fail to qualify as social enterprises according to narrow definitions, which emphasise cost-efficiency reasoning and financial independence, both projects contested the fixation on profit and underscored the additional costs they incurred as a result of their practice of hiring based on need not according to skill. Financial sustainability as opposed to financial self-sufficiency was thus considered the key issue.

Like the case studies in Teasdale's (2012a) work, both projects draw 'upon hybrid resource mixes that effectively transfer additional costs to other resource holders' (2012a, p. 516). These resource mixes included heavy reliance on volunteers; philanthropic funding to differing degrees; subsidised rent; support from private sector businesses; and external investment in infrastructure. Neither case study, however, received any government funding. Nor had they chosen to balance social and commercial goals by reducing the number of women employed as a percentage of the total workforce or by operating flexible employment contracts.

Both social enterprises directly employ women seeking to leave prostitution, rather than offering training or work experience. In doing so, they arguably avoid the kind of charges of 'indirect exploitation' and lack of trust noted by McKenna (2013) in relation to UK homelessness social enterprises that do not pay trainees but offer remuneration through expenses and payment in kind. The Indian project, however, described themselves as chasing the minimum wage and both projects face a constant tension between increasing the salaries paid to existing employees and increasing the number of women they are able to offer employment to. The question of the quality of the job provided by social enterprises is a pertinent one and has been raised in relation to organisations seeking to provide women exiting prostitution with alternative income opportunities. In the context of India, Dasra (2013) has argued that organisations providing livelihoods or vocational training options for survivors of commercial sexual exploitation tend to train women in low skill, sedentary options that are repetitive and do not develop the women's agency. Whilst

offering a means of procuring minimum earnings, Dasra suggests that such skills 'might be unable to provide a sustainable source of income to live an independent life unless better linked to a market' (2013, p. 59–60). Similarly, Bernstein (2007b) has argued that Christian humanitarian organisations orient women seeking to leave prostitution towards entry-level jobs in the service economy and, in a pilot study on strategies to support sex workers in taking career development opportunities, Kootstra has argued that 'it is unlikely that basic vocational skills in home economics and handicrafts will provide access to economically viable alternatives' (2012, p. 29). In both case studies, the majority of the work on offer is low skilled and low paid; however, both social enterprises provide a job and not simply vocational training. This ensures that the skills acquired result in employment and a steady income. Moreover, both offer much more than simply a job, providing a community and ongoing holistic support, and both strive to increase the personal skills development of the women, building self-esteem, confidence and social skills.

In the Indian case study the project had introduced the production of T-shirts to develop the skills of their more advanced sewers; external-led training was being provided to room supervisors to improve their leadership skills; and those women with higher levels of education were being trained to take on office-level roles. The low levels of education amongst many of the women did pose an ongoing challenge and whilst basic literacy and numeracy training was provided during the training period, the project did not have the capacity or funding to focus more attention on this at the time of the fieldwork. In the US case study, women are trained in a range of skills and staff try to ensure that women experience the different areas of the business so as to identify the best-fit with the individual's skill-set. Business skills classes are provided and if they are interested women have the opportunity to gain experience in sales. The project also assists women to re-enter education. For example, one graduate was completing a Bachelor's Degree in Psychology alongside employment at the project so that she could advance her career. Moreover, the business sought to offer opportunities for professional development and a number of graduates were in management positions within the business, in finance, marketing and production management. In both case studies the educational level of attainment and mental health issues faced by some of the women serve as barriers to jobs that require high skill levels or qualifications and in India, according to project staff, the stigma of being associated with the line means that even where women have attained a high-level of education they face discrimination from other employers.

Whilst neither social enterprise is able to offer financially lucrative, high-skilled work to the majority of the women employed, both projects do provide work designed appropriately to the needs of the individuals involved. Both also foster a strong sense of ownership of the business amongst the women. The Indian staff team saw this as one of the major benefits of operating a social enterprise:

> *The positive side of a social enterprise is social enterprises give a platform to be partner and to gain respect [...] Whereas in a charitable or development organisation, what do you say, it is just a hand-out. If you call someone for training they're always dependent […] so organisations they have to be behind them, 'please come, please come, please come and learn properly so that you can do this for yourself in the future'. Whereas in social enterprises it is more effective because it is, you have to come one step, and I have to come one step on our own willingness and that makes more sense. In the process they gain more responsibility. Whereas in a development organisation initiation is from the institution that is driving. Whereas here the initiation is from both ends* [Male national staff member].

In the US, the staff also spoke of the collaborative nature of the business and the emphasis on being 'about the women for the women'. Speaking of their annual strategic planning meeting, on staff member stated:

> *...there's no company that puts the whole… you know, every employee into its future planning meeting. It just doesn't work that way but it is about the women for the women. Want them to be part of it, want them to know that this is their company, it's different* [Male TF staff member].

As McKenna (2013) has highlighted in the context of homelessness social enterprises, such traits can be seen as another measure of 'quality'.

For both social enterprises there are trade-offs involved in balancing the business drivers with the social mission and challenges related to productivity, HR issues and telling the story were identified in both case studies. Indeed, the tensions involved in telling the story was one of the biggest challenges faced by both projects and one that they both continue to wrestle with despite having been in operation for over a decade. The story of supporting women to leave prostitution enables the social enterprises to increase demand for their products at a given price. Like the homelessness social enterprises in Teasdale's (2012a) study, the social mission serves as a unique selling point and increases the business' appeal to ethical consumers. Without the story of the social mission, staff in both projects questioned whether they would be able to sustain the business and balance the challenges

around productivity. However, the use of the story as a marketing device raises questions as to whether the projects enable women to move beyond a continued association with prostitution; both are explicit in their marketing that the employment they offer is to women seeking to leave prostitution. In the case of the US project, the use of the label 'Thistle Farmer' arguably offers a positive articulation of identity; one that goes beyond mere opposition (as in the case of 'ex-prostitute' or 'ex-sex worker') to offer an identity outside the discourse of prostitution. However, telling the story of the social mission within the business' wider publicity serves to reinforce an association of those employed by the social enterprise with prostitution. In the case of the Indian project, one of the women on the Women's Leadership Team explained that the neighbours living near the factory referred to it as the 'prostitutes' factory' [Diya, Staff Translation].

There was little evidence that either project had sought to achieve financial sustainability through engaging in "creaming off", a practice identified in relation to work integration social enterprises in the UK homelessness field (Teasdale, 2012a). The US project specifically caters to women with a history of substance addiction and, according to a 2011 grant application, many of the women also suffer from chronic, severe or persistent mental health issues: 'for the past eleven years, we have found that up to 85% of our population at any point in time meets diagnostic criteria for co-occurring mental illness' [UW Partner Grant 2011]. Relapse is considered part of the process of exiting prostitution and does not necessarily mean the termination of employment. Moreover, working hours are limited to 15 hours per week for residents to ensure that they have the time to engage in the available support services. By employing women through the residential programme, however, the business does ensure that women have completed a 90-day IOP prior to starting work and thus have any substance misuse issues managed. In the case of the Indian project, women who were homeless and sleeping on the streets were employed by the business along with women struggling with substance addiction. Staff did, however, acknowledge that they had a dropout rate during the three-month training period, though no exact figure was available. Additionally, staff explained that as the business had grown they had deliberately focused on employing a younger demographic of women as these younger women tended to demonstrate a greater aptitude for picking up the skills required and could therefore serve to counter-balance the lower productivity of some of the older women. Thus, contrary to McKenna's (2013) finding that social enterprise models seeking to provide paid employment are not suitable for people with "deep exclusion" issues, due to the need to limit costs and

maximise profit to meet their social aims, both social enterprises in this study were employing and supporting women facing complex barriers to exiting prostitution.

Regarding the extent to which the social enterprises aim at structural transformation, it would appear that they predominantly fit the description used by Sherman et al. of a microenterprise initiative in India: 'individually focused interventions with a structural-level target: economic opportunity' (2010, p. 655). Accordingly, there is a danger that both projects could be seen to support a view of prostitution, and the challenges of exiting the sex industry, as an individualised problem rather than a consequence of inequalities within the broader dynamics of globalisation, gendered labour and migration (Bernstein, 2007b). However, neither case study supported such a view. Their framings of prostitution highlighted the complexity involved, placing a strong emphasis on the structural and cultural factors surrounding women's participation in prostitution, and in recent years both projects had turned their attention to ways in which to multiply the impact of their work and engage in structural labour-market change. In India this involves the multiplication of businesses providing employment in rural areas and in the US this involves the establishment of a Shared Trade Alliance to strength the economic leverage of social enterprises where the workforce of women is the mission.

To conclude, the detailed case study analysis has shown that despite the differences between the two models and the very different socio-economic contexts, social enterprise can be an effective medium through which to support women to leave prostitution. They provide a context within which women can develop skills and the work itself can generate a sense of pride as well as providing an income. From the perspective of the projects, the operation of a social enterprise makes their work more financially sustainable and it encourages mutuality rather than dependency. However, social enterprise is clearly not the only answer to the barriers faced by women seeking to exit prostitution as both case studies demonstrated the range of additional support required alongside the employment on offer.

The role of faith

The Christian faith was found to be personally significant to the founders of both projects, clearly underpinning the establishment of the two projects, and whilst it was evident that the Christian faith continues to be influential in both projects, its influence was complex and nuanced (RQ4), as was apparent in Chapter 10. Neither project publicly self-defines as 'faith-based' and the contentious nature of the term was apparent in both contexts. In

interviews, the founders at the Indian project positively affirmed that the project is 'faith-based' and staff, including those who did not self-identify as Christian, agreed that the Christian faith is central to the organisation. However, the publicity for the Indian project contains few religious referents and it would be difficult to determine whether the project was faith-based purely on the basis of such information. This decision to de-emphasise the project's faith affiliation in its 'public face' stemmed primarily from concerns that being identified as an FBO could attract hostility towards the project. Being identified as 'faith-based' would be to raise the contentious issue of proselytism and potentially invite discrimination; a not unsubstantiated concern which has been noted amongst other Christian FBOs operating within India (Grills, 2008b). In contrast, the US project is much more overt about the significance of faith within its publicity and the name of the residential programme has religious connotations. However, staff were adamant that the project was not 'faith-based' whilst nonetheless stressing the centrality of faith in the work of the organisation. The rejection of the term 'faith-based' in this context stemmed from its perceived association with Evangelical Christian organisations and organisations where some form of religious instruction is compulsory. As Aiken (2010) also found, context was thus very important in how the two organisations chose to present their faith associations.

The teachings of Jesus were a source of inspiration in both case studies, particularly his teachings on how to treat those who are disempowered and vulnerable within society, as seen in comments by staff in the Indian project and the Spiritual Principles of the US project. Though neither project requires staff to self-identify as Christian, and the Indian case study clearly employs people who do not, the Christian faith was also clearly important in the motivations of many staff members and volunteers engaging with the two projects. In both contexts, some staff members drew on Christianity as a framework for interpreting their involvement with the project. The extent to which the everyday practices of staff and volunteers were shaped by faith was, however, more overt in the Indian project where prayer was weaved into everyday routines.

Faith plays a role in the external relationships of each project with connections with missionary organisations and churches providing a means of financial support, a pool of volunteers, and service delivery partners. In both cases, however, it was noted that such connections could also be a source of tension. Differing understandings of the implications of 'faith' in the work of the projects could lead to, what were considered to be, insensitive expressions of faith on the part of visitors in the Indian case study and to frustration on the

part of volunteers who tend to be more Evangelical in the US case study. The associations with Christianity also help to generate a sympathetic consumer base amongst Christian organisations and individuals though neither business is solely dependent on a Christian-based market. Indeed, the US project had dropped the original biblically-based product names in order to broaden their appeal.

Both projects include activities that could be considered 'faith practices' in their day-to-day operations which were interpreted by staff as a time of community. In the Indian project this takes the form of a daily devotion, prayer at the end of the working day and a monthly church service; all are optional. In the US project, the 'Circle' time at the start of the working day includes space for silence and prayer and the weekly Reality Group which residents are expected to attend also provides an opportunity to explore issues connected to spirituality. In both activities, whilst Christianity is certainly discussed on occasion, the emphasis is on exploring 'faith' in a general sense and the language of a 'Higher Power' is usually drawn upon. Interestingly, in both projects staff interpreted these activities, specifically the daily devotion and the Circle time, as a time of community, emphasising that they involve participation in a shared activity which was considered to have value in and of itself. In the Indian project it was described as a 'time of togetherness' and in the US project it was spoken of as a time to meet together around shared needs. A similar framing was also found in Aiken's (2010) study, where staff considered the daily devotion held by the FBO to 'be a valuable source of collective guidance', though, in Aiken's study, the devotion appeared to be held for staff only.

The two case studies both add weight to James' argument that 'proselytism' is 'more complex and nuanced than simple black and white' and that a distinction between spiritual development and proselytising depends on who is making the judgment (2009, p. 15). In both projects staff spoke about the Christian faith with the women yet neither project is driven by the aim of seeking converts. Both projects emphasised the significance of relationships, choice and respect in terms of how faith is expressed in relation to the women engaging with the project and in neither project is there any expectation on women to convert to Christianity in order to access the employment and support services. Expressions of faith within both projects were considered to be relational. The Indian project had no explicit directives for staff regarding the expression of religious faith within the project though placed a strong emphasis on living out faith through actions. Stories from the Bible were drawn upon during the daily devotion and the woman in charge of training explained

that she would read Bible stories as part of the basic literacy lessons provided. This was not based on a formal programme of religious instruction but reflected her personal belief that this was an appropriate resource to draw upon. Some staff members spoke of their hope for women to know Jesus and articulated perceived benefits of the Christian faith in terms of the desired outcomes for the women, though faith was not regarded as essential for the women to be able to leave prostitution. In the US project there was some ambiguity around the expression of faith. Officially staff are asked not to express their personal faith within the project but there was acknowledgment that this happens on a regular basis. Staff generally stated that there were no explicit instructions concerning the expression of religious faith though there was an emphasis on not 'pushing' one's beliefs on the women. No formal religious instruction is provided and there is a clear prohibition against the conducting of Bible studies by staff or volunteers within the project. Again, faith was not considered essential for women to be able to leave prostitution though the Christian faith clearly influenced the Spiritual Principles and staff did note the role faith could play in a woman's experience of exiting.

Assessing the extent to which the nature and actuality of the two projects has been influenced by faith is almost impossible and rests on an assumption that 'beliefs and actions can be separated and actions deemed morally neutral if their ideological motivation is implicit rather than explicit' (Cameron, 2004, p. 147). As Johnsen (2014) similarly found in her study of FBOs providing services to homeless people in the UK, the myriad ways in which faith is expressed within the two projects and infuses operation 'on the ground' blurs the boundary between the sacred and secular and problematises FBO typologies. For example, drawing on Green and Sherman's (2002) typology of the ways in which faith manifests itself in FBOs, it is clear that neither project would fall within the category 'mandatory'. Nor do the categories 'not relevant' or 'passive', which lie at the opposite end of the spectrum, seem appropriate as the associations with the Christian faith were evident in the work of both projects and religious or spiritual matters were explicitly mentioned. Whether the category 'invitational', 'relational' or 'integrated' is a more accurate fit for each project, however, is debatable. According to the description of each category, the organisation's faith commitments should be explicitly mentioned to clients, beneficiaries and partners. However, whilst faith was discussed in both projects, the US project rejected the categorisation as a 'faith-based' organisation and the Indian project de-emphasised faith commitments in its publicity. These nuances are not accounted for in the typology. In order

for the projects to be categorised as either 'invitational' or 'relational' it would appear that all 'religious or spiritual matters' must be dealt with outside the programme; which was clearly not the case in either project though both stressed that any expression of faith within the project was invitational *and* relational. The category 'integrated' thus emerges as the most appropriate though again the criteria that 'faith commitments are an explicit and critical part of its work' proves problematic.

Similarly, drawing on Sider and Unruh's (2004) typology, the Indian project could on the surface be described as 'faith-centred' due to the strong connections with other FBOs and communities of faith and the inclusion of explicitly religious activities. However, the Indian project does not require most staff to share a commitment to Christianity and was not, arguably, founded for a religious purpose: the project was founded to support women to leave prostitution. Here again, we get into the problem of a sacred-secular divide and the question of what being 'founded for a religious purpose' means. Staff within the Indian project also spoke of their intention of conveying a religious message through nonverbal acts of compassion and care, a criteria used to define 'faith-affiliated' rather than 'faith-centred' organisations. Likewise, the US project might initially appear to fall within the 'faith-affiliated' category. It retains the influence of the religious founder but does not require staff to affirm religious beliefs and practices; they convey faith through nonverbal acts of compassion and care; and affirm faith in a general way. However, the majority of the staff did appear to identify with the Christian faith, faith practices were included within the project, the influence of faith on the project was arguably conveyed explicitly within publicity and on numerous occasions staff spoke about the Christian faith with the women. Thus neither project fits neatly into Sider and Unruh's typology.

Overall, existing typologies of the ways in which faith manifests itself in FBOs appear to be inadequate in capturing the nuances of the role of faith within the two case studies.

The experience of women engaging with the projects

The experiences of women engaging with the two projects (RQ5) was weaved throughout the analysis rather than addressed within a specific chapter. In both case studies, the women who participated in workshops and interviews overwhelmingly spoke of prostitution in negative terms and construed leaving prostitution as desirable, paralleling the framings offered in the projects' publicity and by staff members. There was a strong crossover in terms of the barriers to exiting prostitution identified by the women and by the staff at each

project though it was noticeable that certain barriers, those which might typically be associated with trafficking, were identified by the women alone, e.g. 'being physically held captive' in the Indian case and having a 'pimp' and 'fear and physical abuse' in the US case. There was also consistency in the factors enabling exit from prostitution identified by the women and by the staff at each project, although in the US case the women identified a wider range of enabling factors than were identified by staff.

In the US it was clear that there was a sense of pride in being part of the project and this often translated into a desire to be publicly identified with the organisation and share their stories. In contrast, in India, whilst there was still a sense of pride in what they had achieved, the women were much more guarded in regards to acknowledging an association with prostitution in public. A number of women did choose to share their stories with visitors and in publicity out of a desire to increase support for the work of the project but there was not the same culture of storytelling as was the case in the US. This likely reflected the strength of societal stigma faced by the women in India, which was the most frequently mentioned barrier to exiting.

Faith did not appear to influence the motivation of the women to engage with either project; the motivation for engagement was based on a desire to leave prostitution. In India, staff confirmed that the majority of the women engaging with the project were Hindu though some women clearly identified with the Christian tradition. Whilst nearly all the women attended the daily devotion and around 10% chose to attend the monthly church service, the impact of faith on their exit trajectories was not widely commented upon and was only explicitly considered significant by a small number of women. Given the fact that the Indian project was operating in a predominantly Hindu context and was founded to support women to leave prostitution, as opposed to seek converts, this is not surprising. Participating in the daily devotions appeared to be accepted as part of the routine of working in the business and whilst concerns regarding conversion, especially when women first joined the business, were expressed, women voiced an appreciation of the devotion time because of the peace they gained from having space to pray.

In contrast, in the US, the role of faith in women's personal exiting experiences was much more widely commented upon. Indeed, 'God/Faith/Prayer' was the second most frequently mentioned factor enabling women to leave prostitution and the factor mentioned most frequently by the women (see Table 35). Faith in a Higher Power/God was seen to offer a

source of hope and to play a role in enabling the women to persevere in their efforts to leave prostitution. In general, women considered the project's approach to faith to be a helpful one: providing space and opportunities for them to explore questions of faith whilst not 'pushing' it on them. Again, the cultural context of the project is significant. The US project was situated within a city that is culturally heavily influenced by Christianity and one that is well-known for its large number of churches and for being the headquarters for several Christian publishing houses and record companies. Within such a context, talk of the Christian faith is likely to be more common in general.

Whilst it is possible to explore the women's perceptions of the significance of faith, moving beyond this to an assessment of the actual impact of faith on women's personal exiting experiences, however, is fraught with methodological difficulties, not least of which is the challenge of 'putting God in the logic model' (Janzen & Wiebe, 2011, p. 19). These are challenges that the literature on FBOs is just beginning to get to grips with and an area that merits more attention.

Chapter 12: Conclusions

Introduction

The process of exiting prostitution is a relatively recent area of research within the literature on prostitution and whilst the barriers faced by women seeking to leave prostitution have been documented, the research on factors which enable women to leave prostitution is more limited. The role of support organisations in facilitating women's transitions from prostitution is acknowledged but such organisations remain largely unexamined in any depth. The existing literature attests to the role of alternative employment in enabling women to exit and remain out of prostitution and a small number of empirical studies, predominantly carried out within a health framework, have begun to explore the role of micro-enterprise development and vocational skills training in the context of prostitution. Such research, however, has tended to focus on the provision and impact of vocational skills training rather than on the provision of alternative employment through the operation of a social enterprise.

This research has sought to address these gaps and contribute to understandings of the process of exiting prostitution, and specifically the role of support organisations in assisting women to leave prostitution, through an exploration of the phenomenon of faith-based projects that support women to leave prostitution through the operation of social enterprises. In doing so, the research has examined three interconnected themes: exiting prostitution, social enterprise and faith. In this final chapter the main findings of the research will be summarised and the ways in which the research has contributed to knowledge will be discussed along with limitations of the study. The chapter will conclude with suggestions of how the research could be developed.

Summary of the Research Findings

Two key definitions have informed the research. First, 'faith-based' was defined along the lines proposed by Clarke and Jennings (as quoted in Ferris, 2011, p. 607): 'any organization that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within that faith'. Second, the term 'social enterprise' was defined as 'the pursuit of a social purpose through engagement, on some level, in the production of goods or services within the marketplace'.

The research found that there are at least 59 faith-based social enterprises around the world working with women in prostitution to help them exit. They represent a relatively new and growing phenomenon and many share similar core characteristics. The mapping study found that 75% of the social enterprises had been founded since 2005; they were mainly located in emerging and developing economies but with links to advanced economies; they appeared to be exclusively associated with the Christian tradition, specifically Protestantism; they were mainly non-profit organisations; all framed prostitution in negative terms with a view to assisting women to exit; and all relied on a combination of business and charitable income. Within this, there was a mix of practice about precise modes of operation. A four-fold typology was proposed: programme with social enterprise; social enterprise with support services; social enterprise that partners with local organisations; and social enterprise. The most common model was an outreach programme with a social enterprise running alongside it. In terms of the presentation of faith, 62% self-identified as 'faith-based' although the terminology and explicitness of such commitments and influences varied significantly.

Two case studies were studied in depth as indicative examples of the wider group of faith-based social enterprises. They operated in very different contexts but had a surprising amount in common. Both projects worked collaboratively with women who want to exit from prostitution and voluntarily engage with the projects. The complexity of issues involved with prostitution within each context was recognised. Staff and women in both projects identified a broad range of barriers to exit, with the lack of viable economic alternatives identified as a structural source of injustice. Significantly, a substantial crossover in barriers identified by the two case studies was found, suggesting the commonality of barriers faced by women leaving prostitution despite very different contexts. The dynamics of how specific factors operate as barriers, was, however, found to vary according to context. Both projects used a mix of paid employment, social support services and community/peer support to engender a holistic approach to enabling exit. Feedback from the women involved showed high levels of pride in their work and positive appreciation of the support and community. Both projects reported high rates of exit for the women with whom they worked; the available data suggested that 75% of the women engaging with the Indian project had been able to either exit the line or avoid entering the line and that 78% of the women who enter the US programme, and stay for more than 30

days, are able to maintain stable housing, work/income and recovery for at least 12 months post-graduation.

The two case studies offered differing examples of social enterprise models employed to support women to exit: the Indian case study was classed as a social enterprise with support services and the US one as a residential programme with a social enterprise running alongside it. The degree to which the enterprise covered the costs of the whole project varied significantly from 33% in the USA to 80% in India. With higher costs and the provision of free accommodation in the USA, this is perhaps not surprising. Both projects were growing, both in terms of the number of women employed and the sales of their products. Both projects provided paid work designed appropriately to the needs of the individuals involved. Women occupied positions of responsibility within both projects and there was some scope for personal progression within the businesses. Trade-offs in balancing the business drivers with the social mission were faced by both projects with challenges related to productivity, HR issues and telling the story common across the two case studies. In recent years both projects had turned their attention to ways in which to multiply the impact of their work and engage in structural labour-market change.

The Christian faith was primarily a key motivation for the people establishing and driving the projects and was also clearly important in the motivations of many staff members and volunteers engaging with the two projects. Faith shaped the design of the projects and the primacy of community. In both projects, the emphasis on journeying alongside the women, the prominence of affirmation and on providing 'lots of chances', and the notion of the collective nature of freedom in the Indian project and the belief in the healing power of love in the US project were all influenced by the teachings of Jesus. Associations with the Christian faith also provided the projects with channels of financial support, volunteers, service delivery partners and customers. Neither project laid any expectation on women to adhere to the Christian faith or convert nor was it a precondition for participating in the business or receiving any services. Overall, existing typologies of the ways in which faith manifests itself in FBOs were found to be inadequate; they failed to capture the nuances of the role of faith within the two case studies.

In terms of the women engaging with the two case studies, the women overwhelmingly spoke of prostitution in negative terms. In contrast, they expressed pride and self-respect with regards to their employment at each business. Whilst talk of God/Higher Power

featured regularly in the interviews and workshops with the women in the US, most of the women in the Indian case study did not talk about faith when discussing exiting prostitution. This difference likely reflected the different cultural contexts in which the projects were operating. Finally, the fact that women voluntarily engaged with each project and sought employment in the social enterprises despite the fact that it could mean earning less money, as was pointed out by women themselves in both case studies, indicated the strength of their desire to leave prostitution.

Contributions to Knowledge and Implications for Practice

In line with the three themes explored with this study, the research has contributed to knowledge in three areas: (1) exiting prostitution, (2) social enterprise and (3) faith. The mapping study represents a new contribution to knowledge in that it is the first study to map social enterprise activity amongst faith-based projects seeking to support women to exit prostitution. Although a number of social enterprise mapping studies have been carried out, particularly in the context of homelessness, none have focused on social enterprises providing alternative employment to women leaving prostitution. The study has proposed a new four-fold typology of how the practice of social enterprise is currently operating within this context and the information pertaining to location, organisational form, business activities, framing of prostitution, and influence of faith represents a useful data set and lays a foundation for future research.

Through a critical exploration of the barriers and enabling factors facing women leaving prostitution in two very different contexts, India and the US, this research has broadened understanding about the process of exiting prostitution. Significantly, the research found a substantial crossover in barriers to exiting prostitution identified by the two case studies which suggests the commonality of barriers faced by women leaving prostitution despite very different contexts, culturally, economically and in terms of the nature of the sex markets involved. The focus on projects supporting women to exit prostitution contributes to an area recognised within the literature as significant but which is largely unexplored. A qualitative examination of the experiences and views of women involved/previously involved in or associated with prostitution *and* of staff within the projects has been conducted, heeding calls for research that incorporates the perspectives of support workers on the transition out of prostitution (Klubben, 2014).

The research has sought to contribute theoretically to the literature on social enterprise and has responded to the call to move beyond a narrow focus on definitions and to explore the dynamic process of social enterprise as it is engaged with on the ground in relation to specific social issues. By detailing the characteristics, benefits and tensions of the social enterprises employed by the two case studies it has contributed to the limited number of empirical studies of social enterprises providing employment to people facing labour market exclusion. The research has also sought to contribute theoretically to the literature on faith-based organisations, exploring the extent to which existing typologies of the ways in which faith manifests itself in FBOs were found to be applicable in the case of faith-based projects supporting women in prostitution.

The account of the rationale and processes of translation in Chapter 5 contributes to the growing body of literature on cross-language research. In providing a detailed account of the translation process it highlights the possibilities of working across languages in challenging research contexts where it is not always possible to plan in advance, to exercise the kind of control over the interpretation process that is often advocated for within the literature, and where opportunities have to be taken as they arise. It outlines the various approaches adopted, given the language constraints of the researcher and the financial and time constraints of the PhD, and the ethical implications this had for the research. In doing so it responds to the call to 'describe and provide insights into the complexities and possibilities of researching multilingually' (Holmes et al., 2013, p. 298). It also adds weight to the argument put forward by Temple and Young that 'although the conversation with people who use other languages is difficult, it is possible, and probably essential, if we are to move on from the objectifying gaze on difference' (2004, p. 174).

At a practitioner level, the identification of the range of enabling factors within each context that were considered to support women to leave prostitution highlights resources and support services that may be beneficial in other contexts and provides a basis from which practitioners can assess the need for support in line with such factors. The identification of specific tensions experienced by the social enterprises in balancing the business drivers with the social mission highlight the kind of challenges that projects considering a social enterprise approach to supporting women to leave prostitution may need to be aware of. The analysis of the finances and income streams of the two case studies aids understanding of the range of resources that ensure financial sustainability and guards against unrealistic expectations of full financial self-sufficiency when employing people based on their need

and not their skill. Such information can increase awareness of the possible risks involved in pursuing a social enterprise approach and thus help practitioners to improve planning for such enterprises. It may also facilitate reflection on scalability and whether exploring other approaches, such as working alongside an existing social enterprise or business, may be more appropriate in specific contexts.

In an effort to ensure that the research findings are accessible to practitioners I have run workshops in the UK during which the findings of the research have been presented. In October 2012, at a national conference for practitioners working with people involved in prostitution, the findings of the mapping study were presented along with a short review of the literature on social enterprise. In June 2014 I presented the findings from the ethnographic research at an event on social enterprise organised by a UK charity. A third workshop took place in October 2014. Funding has also been received to create resources for practitioners based on the findings of the PhD. These will be developed following submission of the thesis.

Future Research: Gaps and Priority Areas

The research findings have raised a number of areas that require further investigation. First, whilst the use of a desk-based internet search has allowed for the development of a 'contextual snapshot' of faith-based projects that are seeking to support women to leave prostitution through the operation of social enterprises, a number of limitations were identified in Chapter 5 which suggest scope for more detailed research. It was acknowledged that those social enterprises whose work is small scale, highly localised and run on limited resources were unlikely to be identified through the methods employed. Similarly, the emphasis on the 'presentational' aspects of faith also meant that those projects whose work is strategically low-key due to sensitivities regarding faith associations were unlikely to be represented. Only through more context-specific on-the-ground methods are such projects likely to be identified. In addition, the mapping study, limited as it was to an internet search, was unable to provide information on the scale and capacity of projects; the number of women supported; the organisational structures of projects; the temporal nature of women's engagement with the projects; or the kind of outcomes achieved by projects. Further research is therefore required to clarify the financial arrangements of such organisations, their profit distribution practices, their theories of change, their performance metrics, the markets they are engaging in, their understanding of prostitution, the dynamics of power within the organisations, and the socio-political and

economic context in which they are operating. Only with more detailed investigation than was possible within the financial and time constraints of the PhD will we be able to assess the different social enterprise models employed by such projects, the impact faith has on their day-to-day operations and their effectiveness in supporting women to exit prostitution.

The detailed case study analysis suggests that there appears to be considerable evidence that social enterprises do have a role to play in supporting women to leave prostitution and generating employment for those women. The extent to which the findings drawn from the two case studies can be generalised to other faith-based social enterprises requires further research. Given the range of business activities such projects were found to be engaged in, and the different ways in which faith was presented on their websites, there is a need for larger scale, more systematic analysis of such organisations. Further work to develop tools for evaluating such organisations would also be valuable, particularly tools able to account for the influence of faith within their work.

The research in this study was limited to a focus on women involved in prostitution. There remains a need for research into the process of exiting prostitution as experienced by men and transgender individuals involved in the sex industry. Whether men and transgender individuals face the same or different barriers to exiting and the extent to which the factors that enable them to leave prostitution differ from those that support women are questions in need of empirical investigation. Research into this area could enable practitioners to implement support that is tailored to the needs of such individuals.

The finding within the mapping exercise that the phenomenon of faith-based organisations adopting social enterprise approaches to support women to leave prostitution appeared to be exclusively associated with the Christian tradition, specifically the Protestant tradition, raised questions as to whether there are specific theological beliefs, values and practices within (Protestant) Christianity that mean that it is a faith tradition particularly amendable to social enterprise. This is an area where further research is required. The case studies, however, suggest that critiques that equate pro-business social remedies with an uncritical embrace of neoliberal capitalism, as advanced for example by Bernstein (2007b, 2010), are far too simplistic and fail to engage with both the critiques within such enterprises of what are perceived as the unjust social-economic and political policies of neoliberal governance, and the extent to which the logics of care and community exhibited within their everyday

practices reflect an engagement with faith-based values and could be understood as resistance to an emphasis upon individual "responsibilization".

The focus on faith-based organisations within this specific research meant that the occurrence of social enterprise approaches amongst organisations supporting women that do not have a faith affiliation was not investigated. This remains an area largely unexplored and mapping such organisations would add to our understanding of the role social enterprise is currently playing in efforts to support those seeking to leave prostitution. This call mirrors that recently made by Overs (2014), in her report on what she termed 'economic empowerment programmes' (EEPS) in Ethiopia for women involved in prostitution. She highlighted the general 'lack of mapping or analysis of existing EEPs' and argued that 'research to produce knowledge about EEPs is urgently needed in order to learn lessons about how to develop, target, and monitor policies and programmes that are ethical, effective and large enough to matter' (2014, p. 32 & 5). Whilst this thesis has begun this process there is much work still to be done.

Closing remarks

Undertaking this research has been a rewarding and inspiring journey. What started out in late 2010 as an interest in understanding what was happening amongst a small number of faith-based projects establishing social enterprises as a way to support women to leave prostitution has led to cross-cultural research on two different continents, involving a language I don't speak, and the use of participatory approaches to explore the sensitive subject of prostitution. The research demonstrates that the women engaging with each project are articulate and able to communicate their own opinions on exiting prostitution, faith and the work of the project. They do not need someone to speak on their behalf. Despite the various potential barriers, such as our different social statuses, language barriers, cultural differences, and the sensitive topics under discussion, a participatory approach was possible. And I believe that seeking to ensure that the process of participation was two-way has given me a more meaningful understanding of the life-experiences of the women.

Through this journey I have gained a deep appreciation for the work carried out by the two case studies examined during the research and have witnessed an expanding network of projects across the UK, and further afield, interested in learning more about the role both faith and social enterprise can bring in such contexts. Through spending time with the

women in India and the US I have become increasingly convinced of the need for exiting support, particularly support that seeks to explicitly address the economic barriers women face when exiting prostitution. And it is my hope that this thesis has not only contributed to our understanding of the process of exiting prostitution but has opened up new dimensions of enquiry that may better the lives of women, particularly those seeking to leave prostitution.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Empirical Studies with relevance to Exiting Prostitution

Authors	Date	Country	Sample Size	Prostitution Context Info	Working Definition of Exit Used
Månsson & Hedin	1999	Sweden	n=23 women (15 left 3yrs prior atoi)	Most exclusively involved in street prostitution; less than 1/3 had other types of experience; and small group only had experiences in brothels	No clear definition given - cessation of all prostitution activity - 15 of the women had left prostitution 3 years prior to the interview; some yet to make a complete break (p.70).
Benoit & Millar	2001 (1999-2001)	Canada	n=201 individuals (54 left 2yrs atoi) [106 female, 36 male, 5 transgender]	On-street (78), agency (57), home-based (33), other indoor (33) - 61.2% of sample currently/last worked indoors	Defined 'exited' as someone who had been out of the sex industry for a minimum of 2 years at the time of the interview.
Hedin & Månsson	2003 (1999)	Sweden	n=23 women (15 left 3yrs prior atoi)	Most exclusively involved in street prostitution; less than 1/3 had other types of experience; and small group only had experiences in brothels.	No clear definition given - 15 of the women had left prostitution 3 years prior to the interview; some yet to make a complete break (p.70).
Manopaiboon et al.	2003 (1998)	Thailand	n=42 women (16 quit and never re-entered)	Part of a longitudinal study - only have prostitution context for 12 - 1 brothel-based and 11 non-brothel based	Cessation of involvement in prostitution activities (no timeframe given)- recognise cycles of quitting and re-entering.

Authors	Date	Country	Sample Size	Prostitution Context Info	Working Definition of Exit Used
Williamson & Foloran	2003	USA	n=21 women	Focused on street prostitution	No current involvement in street prostitution activities. The exits from prostitution ranged from six days to five years.
ECPAT NZ	2004	New Zealand	n=47 individuals (12 stopped atoq) [37 female, 3 male, & 7 transgender]	No breakdown of sex trade venues but all respondents were under 18 years of age when they began commercial sexual activity	Stopped commercial sexual activity at the time of filling in the questionnaire.
Hester & Westmarland	2004 (2001 - 2003)	UK	n=333 women	Focused on street prostitution	Exit understood as leaving prostitution but no fixed definition of 'exited' amongst the 5 projects - diff time periods (2-18 months, at least 3 months)
Cusick & Hickman	2005 (2001-2002)	UK	n=92 individuals [80 female, 12 male]	76% had most recently sold sex outdoors or as 'drifters' - sample drawn from a larger sample of 125 sex workers with any experience of drug use	Participants' circumstances noted as 'trapped' if they had ongoing problematic drug use and were continuing to sell sex at the time of interview.
Bindel	2006	UK	n=23 organisations engaging with women in prostitution	N/A	Understood as leaving prostitution.
Dalla	2006 (2002)	USA	n=18 women (5 had maintained their exit since 1999)	Street-level prostituted women	Successful exit defined as having remained free of prostitution, drugs and other criminal activity during the 3 yrs prior to interview.

Authors	Date	Country	Sample Size	Prostitution Context Info	Working Definition of Exit Used
DeRiviere	2006 (2003)	Canada	n=62 individuals for survey and n=8 women for in-depth interviews (all 8 not worked for at least 1 yr atoi)	mainly 'survival' sex workers but working in a range of venues - survey respondents included both women and transgender females	Defined 'exited' as having transitioned into mainstream society for at least one year.
Murphy & Venkatesh	2006 (2003)	USA	Nearly 100 female indoor sex workers	Range of indoor venues and experience - majority fell within the 'mid-range' - 'limited, alternative options, but they were not desperately poor nor were they earning lucrative income in their work' (p.139)	Understood as leaving sex work.
Ward & Day	2006 (1997-2000)	UK	n=130 women (46 not sold sex for last 6 months atoi)	47 interviewed, 13 took part in more informal discussions, 28 info obtained from a third party, 42 info obtained from clinic or project records	No longer involved in any aspect of the sex industry - 46 participants had not sold sex for the last 6 months.
McNaughton & Sanders	2007 (2005)	UK	n=15 (street sex workers) & n=13 (homeless women)	The sample of ex-street workers was the same as used in Sanders (2007). Of the 13 homeless women, 5 had engaged in prostitution	Talk more about trying to transition rather than exit
Oselin	2007	USA	n=29 women (3 x PHOs)	Women working in street prostitution enrolled in a Prostitution-Helping Organisation (PHO)	Exiting understood as process but focus is on having enrolled in a PHO.

Authors	Date	Country	Sample Size	Prostitution Context Info	Working Definition of Exit Used
Sanders	2007 (2005)	UK	n=30 women (27 stopped atoi)	15 were ex-street workers and 15 were ex-indoor workers	No clear definition -27 stopped working for between 3 months and 7 yrs, 1 just returned to street work, 1 woman left 3 times during 15 yrs and had returned for past 3 years, 1 in process of leaving & had decreased involvement significantly.
Valandra	2007 (2004)	USA	n=8 women	Self identified as African American women - no info of sex trade venues provided	Had actively participated in 12 weeks of services or graduated from Breaking Free within the previous year.
Woodman	2007	Canada	n=12 individuals (exited from 7 months to 14 yrs atoi) [10 female, 1 male & 1 transgender]	both on-street and off street experience (5), only off street experience (6) and only on street experience (1)	No longer involved in selling sex - range of time periods - exited from 7 months to 14 yrs.
Oselin	2008	USA	n=30 women (3 x PHOs)	Women working in street prostitution enrolled in a PHO - same sample as used in 2007 study but with one extra respondent	Understood as leaving sex work but focus is on having enrolled in a PHO - recognises this does not address permanence of desistance.
Ward & Roe-Sepowitz	2009	USA	n=29 women	All women self-identified as having prostituted - no specific venue details given - 11 resided in a residential exiting program and 18 were in a moderate-security prison	No clear definition given.

Authors	Date	Country	Sample Size	Prostitution Context Info	Working Definition of Exit Used
Oselin	2010 (2002-2006)	USA	n=36 women (4 x PHOs)	Study done with women involved in street prostitution enrolled in a PHO - draws on her 2008 research and an earlier study conducted in 2002.	Exit defined as entry into a PHO but does not claim that the role-exiting process is complete upon entry.
Cusick et al	2011 (2002)	UK	n=92 individuals (40 exited atoi) [80 female]	70 respondents mainly sold sex outdoors, remaining 22 mainly indoors; all had experience of problematic drug use	Not actively involved in sex work and/or problematic drug use at the time of interview - only 14 out of 40 exited both.
Law	2011 (2010)	Canada	n= 10 women (all had transitioned within last 5 yrs)	Criminalized indoor sex workers (escorts, dominatrices & massage parlour attendants) focused on women who had worked primarily as adults	Refers to transition not exit - but focus is on women who have left or have started the process of leaving sex work in the past five years.
McCray et al.	2011	USA	n=10 women (none active in prostitution atoi)	Women formerly involved in street prostitution currently in an outpatient drug rehabilitation programme	Exited defined as not still active in prostitution at the time of the interviews.
Bindel et al.	2012	UK	n=114 women	Around two-thirds were involved in on-street and one third in off-street prostitution. The sample included seven cases of women who had been trafficked into prostitution	No clear definition given but understood as leaving prostitution.

Authors	Date	Country	Sample Size	Prostitution Context Info	Working Definition of Exit Used
Ingabire et al	2012	Rwanda	n=70 women (10 had left prostitution atoi)	Women selling sex in Kigali drawn from a HIV-incidence study cohort - mostly working alone on the streets, in pubs and clubs and from home	Understood as leaving prostitution. Acknowledged that they don't know if women remained out of the sex industry post-study.
Roe-Sepowitz et al	2012 (2006-08)	USA	n=49 women voluntarily enrolled in a residential exiting programme	Primarily street-level prostituted women who all reported drug addiction	Criteria used was completion of the 90 days of treatment - 22 participants completed (44.9%) and 27 participants dropped out prior to completing 90 days (55.1%).
Bowen	2013 (2012)	Canada	n=22 individuals (17 had exited sex work atoi) [18 female, 3 male & 1 “femme gender queer”]	Focused on off-street sex industry involvement (though 2 participants had almost exclusive street-level experience)	Uses self-identification of having exited prostitution to define exiting and divided those who had exited into two groups: (1) exited and do not intend to return; (2) exited and acknowledged that they may return.
Cimino	2013	USA	n=16 individuals for qualitative interviews (2 actively involved in prostitution atoi) [13 female, 3 male] n=160 individuals for quantitative study (62 still involved atoq) [154 female, 3 male & 2 transgender]	Qualitative interviews - 5 involved in street; 4 in e-prostitution; 1 was an escort; 5 engaged in a combination of the above three; 1 described himself as a 'gigolo' (p.50) Quantitative participants came from 6 substance abuse treatment and prostitution-exiting programs - involved in a combination of street or another form of prostitution	Understood as no longer actively prostituting.

Authors	Date	Country	Sample Size	Prostitution Context Info	Working Definition of Exit Used
Hickle	2014 (2013)	USA	n=19 women (all exited)	84% (n=16) previously engaged in street prostitution but 63% experienced more than one type of sex work	Defined 'exited' as someone who self-reported that they had not engaged in sex work for at least 2 years at the time of the interview.
Klubben	2014	Canada	n=8 women (all exited)	All had experienced street prostitution - 2 had also been involved in indoor-level prostitution and 2 had been victims of sexual slavery	Defined 'exited' as someone who self-reported that they had been out of the street sex trade for at least two years.

Key: (1) All dates in bracket indicate when data collection took place; (2) atoi = at time of interview; (3) atoq = at time of questionnaire.

Appendix 2: Mapping Methodology

Data Sources

Known umbrella organisations with existing databases of affiliated/member projects, both faith-based and non-faith based:

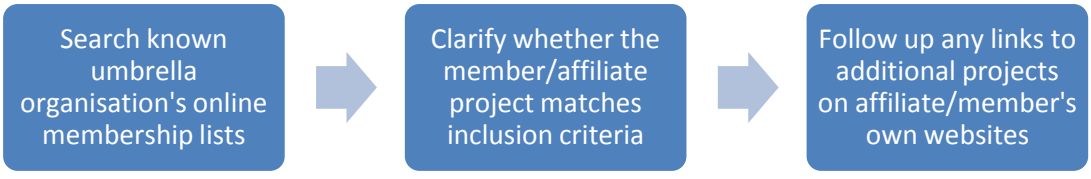
- National Christian Alliance on Prostitution (www.ncapuk.org)
- International Christian Alliance on Prostitution (www.icapglobal.org)
- Chab Dai (www.chabdai.org)
- UK Network of Sex Work Projects (www.uknswp.org)
- Network of Sex Work Projects (www.nswp.org)
- SWAAY (www.swaay.org)
- SWAN (www.swannet.org)
- African Sex Worker Alliance (www.africansexworkeralliance.org)

International faith-based umbrella organisations that were searched:

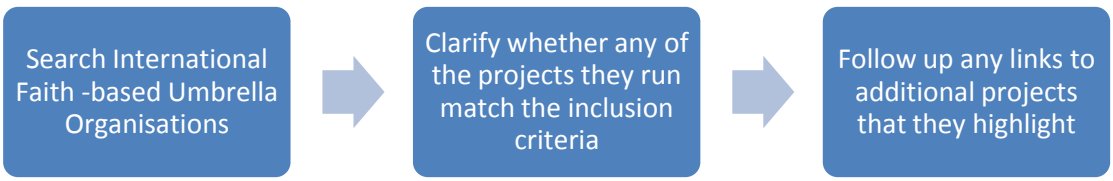
- The Salvation Army
- Oasis
- Word Made Flesh
- Youth with A Mission
- Youth for Christ
- World Hope International
- World Relief
- Assemblies of God World Missions
- Caritas
- CAFOD
- Samaritan's Purse
- World Vision
- Cross International
- Muslim Aid
- Islamic Relief Worldwide
- Muslim Global Relief
- Muslim Hands
- Catholic Relief Services
- World Jewish Relief
- Hindu Aid
- Khasla Aid
- Hindu Aid
- Buddhist Global Relief

Mapping Process

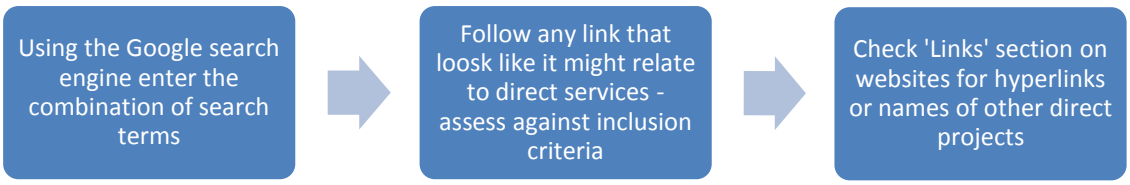
Cycle One: Known umbrella prostitution-related organisations



Cycle Two: Known international faith-based umbrella organisations



Cycle Three: General internet search



Appendix 3: Draft Mapping Questions for Projects

Note: This questionnaire is intended to guide the researcher's own collection of data from the internet search and will not be sent, in any form, to projects to complete.

1) Contact Information for the project:

a) What is the name of the project?

---

b) Does the project have its own website?

Own website		Listed as part of a larger organisation's website	

c) What is the website address of the project?

---

d) Contact email address?

---

e) Is it a local, national or international based project?

International		National		Local	

f) Where are the project's direct services located geographically?

	City	Country
Head Office		
Local Project 1		
Local Project 2		
Local Project 3		

2) How long has the project been in operation?

Year the project was established:	
Year the exiting support started if different to above date:	

3) On what grounds has it been identified as faith-based?

The project states on its website that it is a faith-based project	
It states that it receives funding from religious organisations	
It is a member or an affiliate of a religious organisation, network or forum	
Religious values, teaching and/or practices influence the nature of the project	
The website provides evidence that the project actively encourages people of faith to volunteer and/or join their staff team	
The project was originally founded by people professing a faith and the website does not state that it is no longer faith-based	
Other, please describe:	

4) What faith has the project been identified with?

Faith		**Additional Info (i.e. denomination, if available)**
Catholic		
Protestant		
Orthodox		
Muslim		
Jewish		
Hindu		
Buddhist		
Sikh		
Other		

5) How explicitly is the role of faith presented in the work of the project?

Religious language, images and tone explicit within website/majority of the project documents	
Some religious language, images and tone within website/majority of the project documents	
Religious language, images and tone in minority of website/majority of the project documents	
No religious language, images or tone within website/majority if the project documents	

Notes:

---

6) Does the project also offer support services to:

a. Men	
b. Children	
c. Other	

7) How does the project present its approach to exiting?

An integral part of its overall mission	
- specific purpose is to support women to leave	
- general vision is to see women leave prostitution	
Exiting presented as one element of a range of services	
Direct provision of alternatives to prostitution	
Assistance to explore alternatives to prostitution	
Rehabilitation and reintegration	
Healing and restoration	
Other	

Mission statement of the project if it has one:

---

8) What types of services/support does the project offer?

Main model of the project:	
- A business/social enterprise	
- Residential Programme	
- Day Centre	
- Outreach-based Services	
- Other	
Types of support on offer:	
- Accommodation	
- Health care support	

- Alternative employment	
- Vocational skills training	
- Structured peer support	
- Drug treatment	
- Counselling	
- Financial advice and budgeting support	
- Prison visiting	
- Personal development programmes	
- Job seeking/placement support	
- Advocacy support with relevant agencies and services	
- Educational training	
- CV writing support	
- Child care assistance	
- Social events	
- Legal and immigration support	
- Language assistance	
- Business training	
- Exiting classes/workshops	
- Religious discipleship	
- Devotional/Worship services	
- Prayer counselling	
- Other	

Summary of what the project does as presented on their website/in their documents:

---

9) How does the project present the women they are engaging with?

Women	
Girls	
Victims	
Survivors	
Sex Workers	
Others	

Notes:

---

10) What kind prostitution context is the project engaging with?

On-street prostitution	
Bar-based prostitution	
Brothel-based prostitution	
Escort-based prostitution	
Online prostitution	
Within-country sex trafficking	
Cross-border sex trafficking	
Unspecified	

11) How is the project funded?

Individual Private Donations	
Charitable Trusts and Foundations	
- specifically faith-based funds	
Government Funding	
Social enterprise model	
Selling goods and/or services	
Fundraising Events	
Unspecified	

Any additional information about funding:

Appendix 4: Draft Email to Projects

Note: This email will not be sent to every project identified in the mapping exercise. It will only be sent to projects which either have insufficient information on their website to gather the data required for analysis or, are only briefly mentioned on part of a larger organisation's website with little information about the actual project and thus more detailed information is required to complete the data gathering.

Dear _____

Hello, I am a doctoral student at the University of Durham in the UK and a trustee of Beyond the Streets, a UK-based Christian charity working with people involved in prostitution. I am currently carrying out an exploratory desk-based study into faith-based projects around the world that are providing direct services to support women to leave prostitution.

The study is focused on projects that have a web presence and is seeking to provide a general overview of the location and extent of such projects, the types of exiting support offered and the various ways in which the faith-basis of the project is presented.

This exploratory study is part of a wider study on the role of faith-based projects supporting women to leave prostitution and will complement more context-specific case studies that I will be carrying out with individual projects over the next two years.

I came across NAME OF PROJECT on the following website: (WEBSITE).

Would you be willing to send me any publicly available documents about the project, such as the latest annual report or a public fundraising appeal document?

Any information you send me will be used within my PhD thesis and in academic publications and presentations. Since I am only analysing publicly available documents at this stage, I may be naming projects within my thesis and the information you give me will not be anonymised.

I look forward to hearing from you and am happy to answer any questions in relation to this request.

Many thanks,

Katie

Miss Katie McAvoy
Doctoral Researcher, School of Applied Social Sciences, Durham University
32 Old Elvet, Durham, DH1 3HN

katie.mcavoy@durham.ac.uk

Appendix 5: Overview of the Magdalene residential programme

During the two years in the programme residents follow a structured programme that is tailored to each individual and which is modelled on the Benedictine monastic community. The programme has five phases: Initiate, Postulant, Novitiate, Candidate, and finally Sister of Magdalene when a woman graduates. Each phase has specific guidelines and expectations and lasts a minimum of three months. Progression through the phases is determined by each resident's longevity in the programme, their adherence to the guidelines and their movement through the steps required to achieve their personal growth, education and employment goals.

During the first week or two in the programme a woman is allowed time to simply rest and re-establish basic habits around eating and sleeping. They also undergo mental and physical health assessments and dental check-ups and Magdalene will buy clothes, shoes and other personal items as needed. After this initial period, the woman then begins a 90 day intensive outpatient (IOP) addiction recovery treatment programme and is also expected to attend 12-Step meetings, group sessions and counselling. Upon completion of the IOP, the woman is enrolled in a computer training course. Mandatory one-to-one sessions with the Programme Director, which continue throughout the two years, allow the woman to create an individual goal plan, a working, flexible document that helps women to identify problems, reflect on loss, set goals, assess education and employment needs, and access necessary services. Throughout this first stage, all residents are provided with a weekly stipend which can be spent as they wish, the only exceptions being the purchase of alcohol or illicit drugs. Residents are asked to refrain from all overnight visits during the first 90 days of the programme, after which weekend passes are granted on a case-by-case basis. Bus passes and/or access to their in-house van seven days per week are provided for their transport needs.

After completion of the Initiate phase, residents are required to seek and maintain part-time employment and/or continue their education. Once employment has been secured the stipend is stopped. If a woman does not have her GED, Magdalene will assist with fees and individual tutoring for her to complete this. The majority of women take up employment at Thistle Farms, working three days a week (9am to 2pm) and attending a range of group sessions, activities and therapy sessions in the afternoons and on the other two days. The group sessions run by the project vary but during the time of the fieldwork included a

weekly community meeting and a weekly orientation meeting; a prostitution group; yoga; walking/exercise group; Dialectical Behaviour Therapy; an NA book study; a session called 'Women's Issues' ; and one called 'Reality'. The groups are run by programme staff and a range of volunteers, including licensed therapists. A psychiatric nurse, jointly hired in partnership with four other non-profit organisations in the city, visits the organisation a day a week to provide one-to-one mental health support and the project pays for a number of women to attend individual therapy sessions at the Sexual Assault Centre.

Throughout the two years the project provides legal support to residents on a case-by-case basis. The project has developed contacts in the legal profession and, through pro-bono work offered by law school students, the project has helped women to clean up any outstanding warrants, seek reductions in or expungement of existing fines and accompanies them to court, if desired. The women are encouraged to set up an Individual Development Account, a savings scheme, which sees the project match a participant's savings 1-to-1 for every $1,000 saved. Those participating in the scheme must attend twice monthly financial literacy classes, the money must be used for an asset and women are allowed to re-enrol each time they earn the match.

As a woman nears the final phase she is offered continued employment at Thistle Farms and space in a one-year transitional home, depending on availability, or support in finding permanent accommodation. A separate Limited Liability Company, known as Magdalene Homes LLC and wholly owned by Magdalene Inc, was organised in 2004 to purchase real estate and build residential homes for graduates of its programme. During 2008, the construction of two homes was completed and these were sold to former Magdalene residents. The project also has a graduate needs fund which serves as a safety net for those times when a graduate is unable to pay their bills that month. The fund has $500 per month to spend and in a month where no request is submitted, this money is rolled over into the following month.

Appendix 6: Case Study RQ Framework

RQ1. How do these projects support women to exit prostitution? And what is the nature and extent of the exiting?		Research Methods	Analysis Method

1.1.a Contested Definitions of Prostitution and the Exiting Process	• How does the project frame the issue of prostitution?
	  ○ How do individual staff members view prostitution?
	  ○ What language and terms do they think are most appropriate to use and why?
	  ○ What message(s) about prostitution does the project convey in the public realm through its website(s) and other publicity materials?
	  ○ How do the message(s) in the project's publicity compare with the views of individual staff members?
	• How does the project identify and define the individuals with whom they engage?
	• How does the project understand and define the process of exiting prostitution?
		Workshop with Management Team on Exiting Prostitution
		
		Founder(s) Interview
		
		Individual Staff Interviews
		
		Participant Observation
		
		Document Analysis of Project Website and Publications
			Thematic and Narrative Analysis of Interviews and Workshop
			
			Thematic Analysis of Field Notes
			
			Critical Discourse Analysis of publications

1.1.b The Desire and Decision to Exit	• What are the reasons women seek to leave prostitution?		
1.1.c The *how* of Exit	• What are the challenges and barriers faced by those who desire to exit? • What are the factors which appear to enable a 'successful' exit? • What strategies help the women to develop their lives following a decision to leave prostitution? • What role does stigma plays in the lives of the women engaging with the project and in their efforts to leave prostitution? And how does the project respond to this? • In what ways does the project assist women with issues of identity and the restructuring of everyday life?		
1.1.d The politics of Exit	• What are the views of the project on whether or not support to assist women to exit prostitution should be proactively encouraged?		

RQ2. How does the social enterprise model employed by the project to provide alternative employment operate?		Research Methods	Analysis Method

1.2.a Definitions (mission vs money)	• How does the project describe what it does?
	  ○ How is the social mission defined? By project staff? In project publicity?
	  ○ How are the business activities defined? By project staff? In project publicity?
	  ○ What is the level of integration between the two?
		Workshop with Management Team on Business Model
		
		Founder(s) Interview
		
		Participant Observation
		
		Document Analysis of Project Website and Publications
			Thematic and Narrative Analysis of Interviews and Workshop
			
			Thematic Analysis of Field Notes
			
			Critical Discourse Analysis of publications

1.2.b Business Model	• What organisational form has the project taken? Has this changed over time? If so why? • What legal form has the project taken and why? Has this changed? • What were the context-setting factors that shaped the project design? • What context-setting factors are shaping the continued evolution of the project? • What role, if any, have role models played in the project's development ? • What support services does the project offer? • What business activities does the project engage in? • What is the management structure of the project?		
1.2.c Finances, Income Streams and Use of Profit	• Where did the seed funding for the project come from? • Do the business activities produce a profit? If so, what happens to the profit? • How has the organisational form of the project impacted upon the financial channels open to the project to pursue? • What is the payment structure in the project? • What are the economic risks faced by the project? In what ways is this risk assumed and addressed by the project?		

RQ2. How does the social enterprise model employed by the project to provide alternative employment operate?		Research Methods	Analysis Method
1.2.d Performance Measurement	• How does the project define success? • How does the project measure its impact? • Do funders/ investors require specific performance data? • How is assessment used to inform strategic adjustments?		
1.2.e Perspective on Growth and Scaling strategies	• What is the current organisational scale of the project? • How has the scale of the project changed over time? • Is the project concerned with scaling impact? If it is concerned with scaling impact, how does it hope to achieve this and what challenges does it expect to face? If not, why not? • Have there been any unforeseen consequences of the approach adopted, either in relation to the business activities pursued and/or the way in which the social mission has been conceived? • What procedures does the project have in place, if any, to enable them to withdraw, in an acceptable manner, from engagement with the social issue if necessary?		
1.2.f Project Staff, Volunteers and Employees	• In what ways has the project sought to build their team and attract people with the appropriate skills? • How does the project recruit employees?		

RQ3. What role does faith play in influencing the nature and the actuality of the exiting intervention?		**Research Methods**	**Analysis Method**

2.1 What is a faith-based organisation?	• Does the project self-define as 'faith-based'?
	  ○ What do project staff understand the term 'faith based organisation' to mean?
	  ○ Would project staff describe the project as a 'faith based organisation' and if so why?
	• What influence, if any, does faith have on the project's particular understanding of prostitution?
		Founder(s) Interview
		
		Individual Staff Interviews
		
		Participant Observation
		
		Document Analysis of Project Website and Publications
			Thematic and Narrative Analysis of Interviews
			
			Thematic Analysis of Field Notes
			
			Critical Discourse Analysis of publications

2.2.a Salience of Faith - Organisation	• How does faith influence the rationale for the project's existence and its understanding of what constitutes the most effective form of support? • What role, if any, did faith play in the founding of the project? • In what ways is faith significant in the affiliations and external relationships of the project? • To what extent are religious influences on the project's aims and practices signalled within a mission statement or self-descriptive text? Does the project present an unambiguous Christian basis for the support being offered? • Has the project identified any particular values as its preferred style of working and, if so, how do these relate to faith? • What impact does faith have on the sources of funding and support base the project is able to draw upon?		
2.2.b Salience of Faith - Staff	• How does faith influence the decision-making processes within the project? • Do project staff consider it possible and/or desirable to separate out the 'non-religious' values, beliefs and activities within the organisation from the 'religious' ones? • What impact does faith have on the values espoused and the motivations of staff employed by or volunteering for the project? • In what ways, if any, are the everyday practices of staff and volunteers shaped by faith? • In what ways does faith impact the selection of staff and the leadership of the project?		

RQ3. What role does faith play in influencing the nature and the actuality of the exiting intervention?		**Research Methods**	**Analysis Method**
2.2.c Salience of Faith – re. participants/ employees	• Does the project have any explicit (or implicit) directives regarding the expression of religious faith within the project in relation to beneficiaries? • In what ways does faith impact the selection of project participants/employees? • How does the project present and/or seek to integrate its understanding of faith within the day-to-day support and services it offers? • In what ways is faith visibly expressed in the physical spaces occupied by the project? (e.g. through images, symbols, buildings etc) • Are there any expected connections between faith and desired outcome for those engaging with the project and if so what are they? • How does the project define 'evangelism' and what place do they think it has in the work of the project?		

RQ4. What is the experience of women affected by prostitution engaging with these projects?		**Research Methods**	**Analysis Method**
3.1 Exiting Prostitution	• How do the women affected by prostitution who engage with the project understand and define the process of exiting prostitution? • What are the challenges and barriers faced by those who desire to exit? • What are the factors which appear to enable a 'successful' exit? • What strategies help the women to develop their lives following a decision to leave prostitution? • What role does stigma plays in the lives of the women engaging with the project and in their efforts to leave prostitution? • In what ways does involvement with the project assist women with issues of identity and the restructuring of everyday life? • What are the key factors in women affected by prostitution engaging with the project? • How does involvement in the project alter the women's social status, their perception of themselves, and their physical safety?	Workshops with the women – aim for 6 workshops with 6-8 women in each? Participant Observation	Thematic analysis of Workshops and Field Notes
3.2 Faith	• To what extent does faith influence the motivation of the women affected by prostitution to engage with the project? • Does faith have an impact on their exit trajectory and if so how?		

Appendix 7: Draft Email to Case Studies

Dear_____

Hello, Katie McAvoy here [*Personalised introduction*]. I am enrolled at the University of Durham in the UK as a PhD student and have full funding from the University to carry out research examining the scope and nature of faith-based projects seeking to support women to exit, and maintain their exit, from prostitution, with a specific focus on projects adopting innovative approaches, such as social enterprise models.

The research project is to be carried out over three years, from October 2011 through to September 2014, and will be conducted in two phases. I am currently in the first phase of the research which involves a mapping exercise, a desk-based internet search, that aims to provide a general global picture of faith-based projects around the world that are providing direct services to support women to leave prostitution. The study is focused on projects that have a web presence and is seeking to provide an overview of the location and extent of such projects, the types of exiting support offered and the various ways in which the faith-basis of the project is presented.

The second phase of the research project will involve fieldwork case studies with two specific projects and it is in relation to this aspect that I would be keen to talk to you. The idea is that I will spend 2-3 months in situ with each case study project seeking to understand the nature of their work, including the role of faith in what they do, and the impact of involvement in the project for the women seeking to exit prostitution. I envision this involving a range of qualitative research methods, such as participant observation, interviews, and auto-ethnography, and am very keen that the research is guided by a participatory ethic and thus shaped by collaborative arrangements with participants.

Having surveyed the projects out there, and particularly those adopting a social enterprise approach, I feel that [project name] would be an excellent organisation to work with and would provide an interesting counterpart to the [name of country]-based project that I am also currently seeking to establish a research relationship with.

I'd be keen to know if you would be interested and if you think [name of project] would be able to be involved with this research as one of the two main case studies. If you do feel that [name of project] could potentially partner with me in this research then I'd be very happy to send through some more info and answer any questions you might have in relation to making a decision about involvement. If a Skype conversation would be easier then emails back and forth then just let me know.

I look forward to hearing from you.

All the Best

Katie

Miss Katie McAvoy
School of Applied Social Sciences, Durham University
32 Old Elvet, Durham, DH1 3HN

Appendix 8: Research Agreement

The Research

- Doctoral (PhD) research project 'Global Perspectives on Sustainable Exit from Prostitution'.
- Aim of the doctoral research is to explore the role of faith-based projects seeking to support women to exit, and maintain their exit, from prostitution, focusing specifically on projects adopting social enterprise models aimed at providing alternative income opportunities.
- Three year project – began in October 2011 and will run until Sept 2014.
- Two phases: (1) desk-based internet search, which began in March 2012, that aims to present a general picture of faith-based projects around the world that are providing direct services to support women to leave prostitution; (2) two case studies with projects.

The Fieldwork Visit

- 3 month visit as a participant observer – I will serve as a volunteer during my visit and would like this to involve spending time working alongside the women, shadowing different staff members and volunteers, and attending meetings.
- Suggest 4 days per week volunteering and 2 days a week focusing on writing up notes etc
- Three indicative research questions which serve as the starting point for the case studies:
  - RQ1. To what extent do the projects support women to exit prostitution and what kinds of exits are they?
  - RQ2. What role does faith play in influencing the nature and the actuality of the exiting intervention?
  - RQ3. What is the experience of women affected by prostitution engaging with these projects?

Research Activities

- **Participant observation**: This will involve me taking part in the daily workings of the project and making notes on what I observe and participate in. I also plan to keep a reflective journal of my time to help me to reflect critically on my own role within the research.
- **Founders and Staff Interviews**: I would like to carry out interviews with the founders of the project and staff members exploring understandings of the process of exiting prostitution, the workings of the project, visions for the future, and the influence of faith etc.

- **Documenting project publicity:** I would like to study project documents, specifically those relating to publicity (e.g. the website, promotional video, newsletters etc) as part of the research to gain an understanding of how the project presents its work.
- **Research activities with the women:** I would like to carry out interactive research activities with the women engaged with the project. These will be sensitive and will allow the women to choose whether or not to take part. I'll discuss possible research activities with both the project management team and the women interested in taking part. I will offer a range of activities that can be selected from and employed as considered appropriate.
- **3 week familiarisation period** – no interactive research activities to take place with the women during this time to give them the opportunity to suss me out.
- **Proposed timetable of research activities** - drawn up in advance but flexible.

Language

- I will need to work with an interpreter – can project staff assist me with interpretation? Would it be appropriate to have a single member of staff / volunteer who agrees to work with me when carrying out specific interactive research activities with the women? Would it be appropriate to identify an interpreter from outside the project?

Informed Consent

- **Introducing the research** – would like the project management team to inform all staff, volunteers and women about my visit before I arrive so everyone is aware of the research project – willing to provide a research info summary sheet to help with this.
- **Explaining the research** – would like to plan a process for explaining the research and introducing myself to the women – suggest initial intro in week 1, more formal intro to the women in week 2 and opportunities to ask me questions over lunch during the first 3 weeks.
- **Gaining consent** – written consent from staff and volunteers who participate in interviews – possibly written consent from the women (in Bengali) or witnessed verbal informed consent could be carried out instead – if artwork is produced I suggest I photograph this and allow the women to keep the originals.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

- To conduct the research ethically and safely we will need to discuss and make decisions about respecting the privacy and right to anonymity of research participants. In order to achieve this, considerations are required at a number of different levels:

1. **The Project** – distinctive nature means that complete anonymity is not possible – so need to explore whether the project will be named or whether some level of anonymity will be adopted.

2. **Staff and volunteers** – different approaches to anonymity we could adopt: use names; use pseudonyms; identify individuals by their job role not by name; identify individuals simply as 'staff' or 'volunteer' and not by name – issue of internal confidentiality to be discussed.
3. **The Women** – use pseudonyms – no info allowing for identification of individuals to be included – individual contributions not discussed with staff to uphold confidentiality – need to ensure means of emotional support are in place if necessary.
4. **General Measures** – pseudo-names used in notes – notes typed up on a password protected laptop – identifiable info documented separately from notes and any interview transcripts – back-ups on external drive will be password protected – audio-recording will be discussed with each individual – where recordings are made, sound files will be stored in a password protected file on a password protected computer and later transcribed - written records of consent will be kept confidential.

Analysis

- Establish a process for reflecting on the data collected whilst with the project.
- Final draft thesis – provide a copy – invite a formal response to be included as an appendix.

Research Outputs

- 100,000 word PhD thesis – has to be the researcher's own individual work.
- Thesis would be made available online through Durham's e-theses service – it is possible to request restriction of access for 5 years if deemed necessary.
- Plan to use findings in academic journal articles and presentations and in presentations to other faith-based practitioners.
- Willing to explore how the project can benefit through the research – what outputs might be useful to the work of the project? (e.g. research briefings, short articles for publicity etc)

Funding

- No financial cost to the project – I will cover all my own expenses.
- Have received funding from Durham University, the Westhill Endowment Trust and the Spalding Trust – have to provide them with update reports and the title of the research will be displayed on their websites.

Potential Interactive Research Activities

Given [the language barrier and] the sensitive nature of the research, I suggest the following range of non-traditional research activities as possible activities that would allow the women to engage at the level at which they are comfortable [regardless of their level of literacy]. This is an indicative list and additional activities could be devised.

- Workshops on the topic of leaving prostitution – these could take place with small groups of women (7-12 participants) and could centre on drawing based activities and brainstorming activities. The questions for exploration would revolve around fictional characters so as not to ask direct questions about individuals' personal lives. One example would be to ask the women to imagine a woman who decides to join the project and to invite them to draw/write/suggest what she might be thinking, how she might feel and the practical issues she will face.
- Visual methods –for example, self-portraits were the women are invited, either in a group context or on an individual basis, to show on a piece of paper who they were when they joined the project and who they are at this moment in life. The drawings can be done as a discrete activity or can form the basis for a short interview in which the woman is invited to explain her drawings.
- Guided Walks – the women are invited to take me on a guided walk of their community and invited to share stories about areas and places of significance to them. These would help me to understand the wider community context in which the women live and work.
- Group analysis workshop of promo videos – the project's promotional video is a key means of communicating what the project does and its key values. The women would be invited to watch the promo video in small groups and then talk about their responses to it with the researcher [and interpreter]. Different groups could be consulted, for example, those who took an active role in the production of the video and told their stories, those who did not want to be identified within the video and those who have joined the project since the video was produced.
- Optional life story interviews – for those women who wanted to share some of their own stories about the processes of exiting prostitution, about their perspectives on the project, their visions for the future and their reflections on faith individual interviews could be carried out with me [and an interpreter].
- Workshops on the topic of faith and spirituality – again these could take place with small groups of women and could centre on drawing based activities and group discussion. The questions for exploration could be very open-ended so as not to direct the women towards certain responses. This is important given the nature of the project and the potential for the women to consider certain responses the 'correct' response. Potential questions could be: (a) What does spirituality mean to you? (b) What makes you feel valued? (c) What do you like best about your life? (d) What relationships are important to you? (e) Do you think there is a God? (f) How would you describe your purpose in life?

Appendix 9: Interview Guide For Staff/Volunteers

Intro

Thank you for being willing to take part in this interview today. I appreciate your willingness to share your time and experience with me.

- Check that they have seen the information sheet.
- In the interview today I am interested in hearing your views on the process of exiting prostitution and the role of faith in the work of the project. There are no right and wrong answers and if there is anything you don't want to talk about just say so.
- How do you feel about the interview being recorded?
- Confirm anonymity arrangements.
- Do you have any questions before we start?

Questions

1. Please could you describe your role in the project to me?
2. How would you describe your motivations for working here?
3. In what ways do you think faith influences the work of the project?

   (*Prompts: Decision-making processes; recruitment of staff; selection of project participants/ employees; Day-to-day working practices; sources of funding and support base; business activities; partnerships and external relationships of the project*)
4. Does the project have any instructions for staff and volunteers about the expression of faith within the project? (*Prompts: role of evangelism)*
5. How would you describe prostitution? Have your views changed over time? In what ways has your involvement with the project shaped your views?
6. When talking about women involved in prostitution what terms do you think are most appropriate to use and why?
7. Based on your experiences of working with women at the project, how would you describe the process of leaving prostitution? What impact do you think faith has on this process?
8. Again, based on your experiences of working with women at the project, what are the challenges and barriers faced by those who desire to leave prostitution?
9. What strategies do you think have helped the women to develop their lives following a decision to leave prostitution? What role does faith play in this?
10. What role do you think stigma plays in the lives of the women engaging with the project and in their efforts to leave prostitution? How might faith impact this?
11. In what ways do you think the project assists women with addressing issues of identity and the restructuring of everyday life?
12. What are you most proud about your work with the project?

Thank you for your time. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix 10: Interview Guide for Founder

Intro

Thank you for being willing to take part in this interview today. I appreciate your willingness to share your time and experience with me.

- Check that they have seen the information sheet.
- In the interview today I am interested in hearing your views on the role of the project in providing an alternative job opportunity for women involved in prostitution. There are no right and wrong answers and if there is anything you don't want to talk about just say so.
- How do you feel about the interview being recorded?
- Confirm anonymity arrangements.
- Do you have any questions before we start?

Questions

1. How would you describe the mission or vision of the project? Why was this important to you?

2. Can you tell me about the story of the project and your role in its development?
    a. *How did it begin?*
    b. *What factors shaped the design of the project?*
    c. *Any role models?*
    d. *How has the project changed over the years? What has influenced those changes?*

3. Does the project have an official or unofficial definition of 'exiting prostitution'? If so, what is it?

4. Who does the project work in partnership with and why?

5. Have there been any unforeseen consequences of the approach adopted by the project?
    a. *In relation to the business activities pursued?*
    b. *In the way in which the social mission has been conceived?*

6. What is your long term vision for the project?

7. Can you tell me about the empowerment outcomes of the project for the women?

8. Would you describe the project as a 'faith based organisation' and if so why? If you do not consider this term appropriate can you explain why?

9. What place if any do you think 'evangelism' has in the work of a project such as this?

10. Some scholars have argued that the use of business to support women to leave prostitution reduces prostitution to a humanitarian issue which global capitalists can help combat and fails to frame the issue in terms of the broader dynamics of globalisation, gendered labour and migration. How do you react to such suggestions? And what are your views on the broader dynamics around prostitution?

11. What would your advice be to a new project wanting to start something similar?

Thank you for your time. Is there anything else you would like to add that has not been covered?

Appendix 11: Interview Guide on Social Enterprise

Who: *To be carried out as a group interview with the business management team*

Aim: *To understand the business model being pursued.*

Intro

Thank you for being willing to take part in this group interview today. I appreciate your willingness to share your time and experience with me.

- Check that they have seen the information sheet.
- In the interview today I am interested in hearing your views on the role of the project in providing an alternative job opportunity for women involved in prostitution. There are no right and wrong answers and if there is anything you don't want to talk about just say so.
- How do you feel about the interview being recorded?
- Confirm anonymity arrangements.
- Do you have any questions before we start?

Topic Guide

1. What is the business model of the project?
    a. Management structure
    b. Legal/organisational form
    c. Income streams
    d. Markets
    e. Economic risks
    f. Staffing
    g. Success/Performance Data
    h. Partners
    i. Sustainability
    j. Growth/Scaling
2. What do you understand the term 'social enterprise' to mean? Would you describe the project as a social enterprise?
3. Can you talk me through the relationship between the business drivers and the social mission (or ethics of care)?
4. What advice would you give to others interested in starting something similar?

Thank you for your time. Is there anything else you would like to add that has not been covered in this interview?

Appendix 12: Management Discussion on Exiting

Intro

Thank you for being willing to take part in this group discussion today. I appreciate your willingness to share your time and experience with me.

- Check that they have seen the information sheet.
- In the discussion today I am interested in hearing your views on the process of leaving prostitution. There are no right and wrong answers and if there is anything you don't want to talk about just say so.
- How do you feel about the discussion being recorded?
- Confirm anonymity arrangements.
- Do you have any questions before we start?

Group Discussion Activities

1. Can you create a list of what you think are (a) the main barriers women face when seeking to exit prostitution and (b) the key enabling factors that assist women in leaving prostitution? [10 mins]

2. A number of models have been proposed to explain the process of leaving prostitution. This is the model proposed by Baker et al which builds on four previous models [*show the model and explain*].

    a) In what ways do you think this might be a helpful and accurate way of describing the process of exiting?

    b) If you think the model is helpful, where does the role of the project fit into this process?

    c) If you do not think the model is helpful, what would your model of exiting look like?

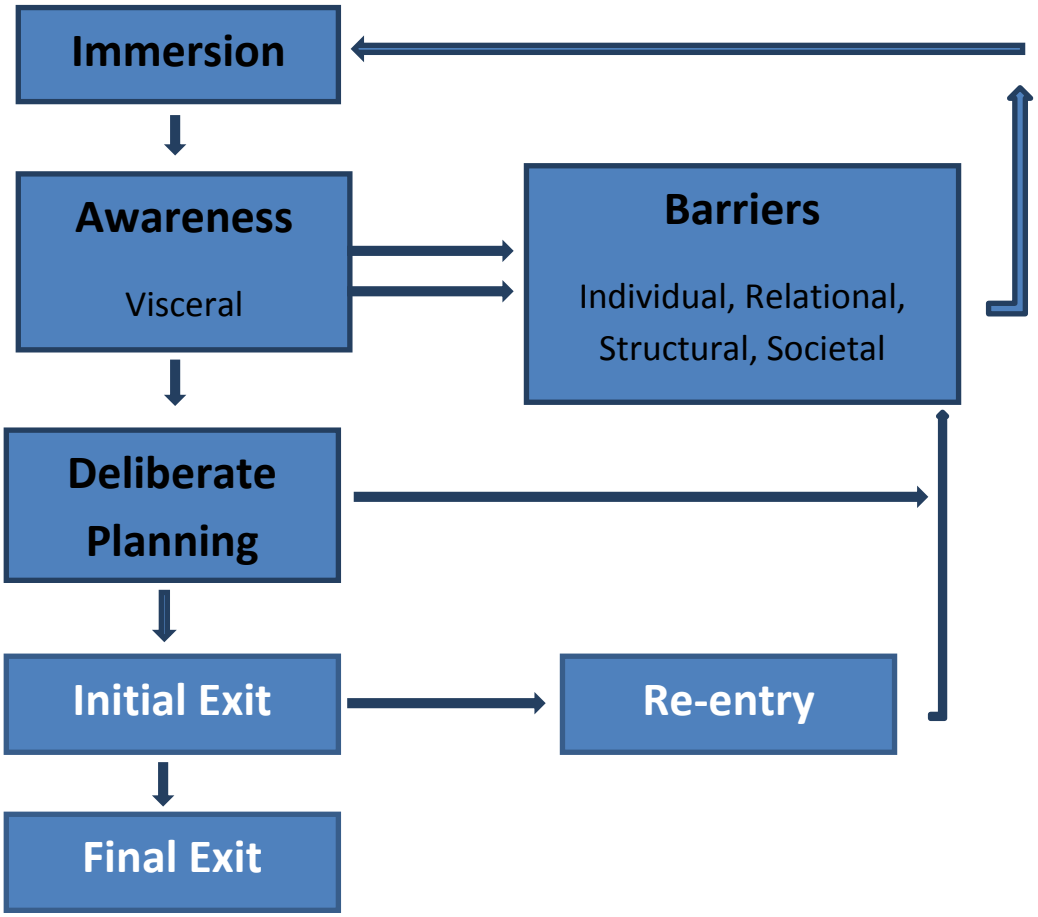
    d) Drawing on this model, how would you describe the role of the project in the process of leaving prostitution?

    [40 mins]

3. Many people agree that support should be available to help those who want to leave prostitution but disagree over what this support should look like and how it should be offered. What are your views on this issue? [10 mins]

Thank you for your time. Is there anything else you would like to add that has not been covered in this discussion?

Baker et al (2010) Exiting Prostitution: An Integrated 6 Stage Model



1. ***immersion*** - no thoughts of leaving or any conscious awareness of the need to change.
2. ***awareness*** - (1) **visceral** refers to gradual realisation that all is not well - 'gut' feelings about leaving but unable to articulate these yet - (2) **conscious** refers to when the woman acknowledges her feelings and begins to process them and verbalise them
3. ***deliberate preparation*** - cognitive processing, data and info gathering, some action but little, if any, behavioural change - the woman can be acting of her own accord or may be forced by others to begin to plan
4. ***initial exit*** - begins to actively use informal and formal support services - in this stage a woman's internal desire and motivation to exit are severely tested - for some their initial exit may be their only exit but for others it may be short-lived and result in re-entry
5. ***re-entry*** - may result in a complete re-immersion in prostitution - 2 pathways - (1) woman might re-cycle through each of the stages but because of earlier exit attempts, she may approach the next exit differently-greater contemplation or more deliberate prep - (2) woman may experience feelings of being "trapped" therefore might lack confidence, initiative and coping skills to engage in deliberate prep.
6. ***final exit*** - most often occurs after a series of exiting and re-entering cycles - difficult to define specific "criteria" that mark final exit - individual variability – re-entry always a possibility.

Appendix 13: Prototype Workshop Guide

Introduction *(15 mins)*

Thank the women for being willing to take part in the workshop

Remind the women about the research project and who is involved

- Refer to information sheet.
- [Introduce the interpreter and explain the confidentiality agreement we are both bound by] - *Indian case study only*.

Explain the purpose of the workshop

- As part of the research project I am inviting women who are involved with the project to share what they think is important on a number of different topics. These are (1) the process of leaving prostitution; (2) the role of the project in providing an alternative job opportunity; and (3) the role of faith in our individual lives and in the work of the project.
- We are meeting in this small group today to share our thoughts on the role of the project. We will share ideas, make some art and lunch will be provided.

Explanation of consent forms and voluntary participation

- Being involved in today's workshop is voluntary (your choice) and you can share as much or as little as you like.
- All of your personal information will be kept private. What we talk about today will remain anonymous and no-one will know it is you who shared a specific idea. To help ensure this we will all choose a different name for this workshop.
- Your ideas and comments will not be discussed with project staff. If anything does come up which you decide you would like to discuss with project staff then please let me know and we can agree as a group how to tell them without compromising the privacy of any of the other women taking part today.
- I would like to record the workshop to help me remember more accurately what we talk about today. The recording would not be seen or heard by anyone other than myself [and (project staff member's name) who is helping me with interpretation and who is bound by the same confidentiality agreement]. Once I have written up our discussion I will destroy the recording. How do you feel about the workshop being recorded?
- You can choose to stop participating in the group at any time. If there is anything you don't want to talk about just say. And there are no right and wrong answers; what are important are your ideas.
- If you would like to be in the workshop you will need to sign this form. By signing this form you are saying you understand what the research and workshop are about and that you make a choice to take part in the workshop. Even after signing this form you can still choose to stop being in the workshop at any time.

Read through the participant consent form, ensuring that participants understand and have participants sign/give verbal consent.

Workshop Guidelines

If possible these will have been discussed in advance with the women and agreed upon as part of the preparation and consultation leading up to the interactive workshops. This will simply serve as a reminder.

You can Stop - you can stop at any time and you can choose not to take part in an activity. If you want to miss out an activity and then join in again for the next one you are also free to do this.

Take Turns - Please let everyone speak. [As my Bengali is not very good I am relying on [interpreter] so please take turns talking].

Respect each other - Please respect everyone's opinion, even if it is different from your own.

Don't share outside the group - Please do not talk about what people said here outside of this group. If there is something you think we need to share with the project staff then please let me know and we can agree how best to do this.

Name Exercise *(5 mins)*

Encourage each woman to choose a pseudo-name. Give her a sticky label to write her chosen name. Invite the women to share why they have chosen that name.

Workshop on Exiting

Ice Breaker Activity *(5-10 mins)*

Introduce the women to the game of Snakes and Ladders. Explain that we are going to use this as a way of exploring the process of leaving prostitution. But first we are going to play a game just for fun. Run a short ice breaker activity.

Workshop Activity *(45 mins)*

1. What does a woman need to be able to leave prostitution?

(Explain that we want to explore how women leave prostitution and that we are using the game of snakes and ladders as a visual aid to explore that process. Snakes are barriers and cause you to slide backwards and ladders are helpful things that help you to reach the goal quicker. Using this game ask the participants to identify what might act as snakes and as ladders for a woman who wants to leave prostitution. Use sticky notes to pin to the board to indicate the factors they identify and then discuss)

Close

Thank the participants for coming. Remind them please not to share any of the information from the group with other people.

Serve food?

Workshop on Role of Faith

Ice Breaker Activity *(5-10 mins)*

Superpower Game. Ask the women to sit in a circle and then in turn name a super power they would like to have. It can be as silly as they like. Ask them to explain what difference they think this power would make to their life.

Workshop Activity *(45 mins)*

1. How important is the role of faith in the project and its work? *(20 mins)*

(Participants asked to think about the project staff, a typical working day, relationships amongst employees and their own experience of the project in turn. For each aspect they are asked to position themselves along a line in the room to indicate how important they think faith is. One end of the line will represent the opinion 'very important' and the other end of the line will represent the opinion 'not very important'. The participants can choose where to position themselves along the line and are then invited to explain their decisions).

2. What do faith and spirituality mean to you? *(25 mins)*

(Participants given a selection of local magazines and asked to create a collage of images and words that they associate with faith and spirituality. These can be created individually or in pairs and then participants are invited to discuss the collages they have made).

Close

Thank the participants for coming. Remind them please not to share any of the information from the group with other people.

Serve food?

Workshop on Role of Project

Ice Breaker Activity *(5-10 mins)*

Where feels like home? Ask the women to sit in a circle and place a map of the region in the centre. Ask them to indicate on the map 'where does home feel to you?' Ask them to explain why that place feels like home.

Workshop Activity *(45 mins)*

1. How does a woman become part of the project? *(30 mins)*

(Participants asked to consider a hypothetical woman who joins the project and to brainstorm what she might be thinking (thoughts), how she might be feeling (heart), and the practical issues involved. Ideas recorded as a group on a piece of paper divided into 3 sections, then interpreter to lead a discussion of all ideas listed, why they were chosen and what they mean)

2. What change has the project made to your life? *(15 mins)*

(Participants are invited to draw individual self-portraits showing on a piece of paper who they were when they joined the project and who they are at this moment in life. Each woman invited to explain what she has drawn to the group).

Close

Thank the participants for coming. Remind them please not to share any of the information from the group with other people.

Serve food?

Appendix 14: Information Sheet for Participants

Introduction

- My name is Katie Thorlby and I am a researcher at Durham University in the UK. I am also a trustee of a project called Beyond the Streets which works to support women in the UK who have experienced commercial sexual exploitation, and I have volunteered with a project in London which does street outreach and offers one-to-one support.
- The research I am doing is part of my university degree, known as a PhD.
- The purpose of the research is to explore how projects are supporting women to leave prostitution. I am particularly interested in projects that are offering alternative employment and income opportunities. This is something which is starting to happen across the world in different countries but is not really taking place yet in the UK.
- I am hoping to learn how such projects work and look at what possibilities there might be for supporting other projects to explore similar approaches. My hope is that this research can help projects improve their support for women and develop more sustainable routes out of prostitution.

The case study – participant observation

- To help me learn more about these projects I am spending time with you and have recently spent three months with another project in India. I will be with you for 10 weeks.
- During this time I will be a participant observer. This means that the management team have agreed to allow me to take part in a range of activities and volunteer alongside you. I will be taking notes on what I see and participate in. I will be interviewing some individuals and shadowing them to find out what they do. If you want to opt out of the participant observation please let me know and I won't collect any information relating to you.
- My notes will be anonymous and will not be shown to anyone. This means that all of your personal information will be kept private and I will never use your names in the notes I take or in the reports I write.
- I will only share observations that do not lead to the identification of individuals unless it is judged that confidentiality will have to be breached for the safety of an individual or others working at the project.

Interactive Research Activities

- I would also like to carry out some more interactive research with you so that I can hear your views on the project and how it works. I am particularly keen to learn from you and hear what you think about (1) the process of leaving prostitution; (2) the role of the project in providing an alternative job opportunity; and (3) the role of faith in our individual lives and in the work of the project.
- The research will use a participatory approach which is a method of doing research *with* people based on the principles of inclusion, participation, listening to and valuing

everyone's voices, and making sure the research has practical, sustainable outcomes. As such I have put together a research 'toolkit' which includes a range of potential research methods. We will discuss these during my first few weeks with you and together select which methods we would like to use.

- Your participation in the interactive research activities is entirely voluntary and if you wish to withdraw from any of the activities you may do so at any time without giving any reason or explanation for doing so.
- All research material produced through these interactive activities will be used appropriately in ongoing consultation with you and no material will be used in a manner that causes distress or places you in any danger. Any recordings or art work produced will be kept securely.

Appendix 15: Consent Form for Participants

Consent form – Global Perspectives on Sustainable Exit from Prostitution

In signing this consent form (please tick boxes):

- I understand that the purpose of the research is to explore how projects are supporting women to leave prostitution and that Katie, the researcher, is interested to hear about what I think about (1) the process of leaving prostitution; (2) the role of the project in providing an alternative job opportunity; and (3) the role of faith in our individual lives and in the work of the project. ☐
- I understand that the research is part of her university course and that the information will be used to write reports and papers which will be shared with other projects around the world that are supporting women to leave prostitution. ☐
- I understand that it is entirely voluntary (my choice) to take part in the interview/work shadowing and that I can choose to stop participating in the interview/work shadowing at any time without giving any reason or explanation for doing so. ☐
- I understand that my story and my experiences are my own and that I can choose what I share and what I don't share. ☐
- I understand that all research material produced through the interview/work shadowing will be used appropriately in ongoing consultation with me, will be kept securely and will not be shared with anyone else without my agreement. ☐
- I understand that my personal information will be kept private and that only anonymised extracts from the research will be used in reports and papers. ☐
- I understand that what we discuss today will not be shared with project staff unless (1) I give explicit permission to share something specific or (2) it is judged that it is necessary to break confidentiality for the safety of an individual or others working at the project. ☐

Signed: _____

Researcher Signature: _____

Date:

Appendix 16: Translator Confidentiality Agreement

Name of Translator_____

I am aware that in the course of any assignment by Katie Thorlby as a translator, I will have access to confidential information pertaining to research participants; and that in order to uphold the confidentiality offered to all research participants and the case study site, any such information must be kept in confidence by me and used only in connection with the work assigned to me by Katie Thorlby.

Therefore in consideration of my engagement as a translator, by Katie Thorlby I agree:

1. I will hold in strict confidence, and will not use, assist others to use, or disclose to anyone, without the prior written authorisation of Katie Thorlby, any information concerning such confidential information, including the name of the project and city in which the case study was carried out.
2. That I shall not derive any personal profit or advantage from any confidential information that I may acquire during my translation services assigned to me by Katie Thorlby.
3. That translated documents remain the property of Katie Thorlby.
4. At the time I terminate my relationship with Katie Thorlby, for any reason, I will deliver to Katie Thorlby all documents related to the research and I will erase any copies of the audio files and transcripts from my computer and destroy any hard copies I may have made to facilitate the translation process.
5. That I shall respect participants' confidentiality at all times and not seek to take advantage of, or pass on to any third party for any reason, other than where required by operation of law, information disclosed during this work.
6. I shall disclose immediately if I have any conflict of interest in carrying out this assignment, such as any business, financial, family or other interest, which may be connected with the audio files being translated.
7. That any personal use of the research data is strictly prohibited.
8. Access to the research data must be limited to myself.

It is understood that with exception to 4 above, there is no time limit on any of the obligations under paragraphs 1 - 8 above.

I certify that I have read and understood the foregoing agreement.

_____ _____

Translator Signature Date

Appendix 17: Timeline of development of Indian Case Study

1999 Founders arrived in India to 'work with the poor' and rented a flat which they later discovered to be situated on the edge of a large red light district.

2000 Founders met a local woman from a struggling NGO seeking to support women who wanted to leave the line.

2001 Founders first met with a group of women to discuss the idea of starting a business to provide alternative employment and 2 ½ months later they began renovations to rented premises and started training the 20 women who decided to take part.

2002 The business officially began to trade and completed its first order of 1000 bags.

2004 Documentary about the business is made and is broadcast in New Zealand and Australia and screened at film festivals in Canada and the USA.

A building was purchased and production moved to the new building. Renovation work was carried out alongside production and the total number of women employed increased to 30.

2005 The business employed a total of 50 women and made the switch to electric sewing machines.

2006 The business established its own in-house screen printing facility so that more jobs could be offered to women and so that this part of the production process no longer had to be outsourced.

A day-care nursery was established for the pre-school children of the women employed by the business.

2008 A General Manager was employed to take over more of the day-to-day running of the business from the founders and to introduce more formal business structures.

Development work into the production of T-shirts was commenced.

2009 T-shirt production launched.

A second building was purchased opposite the existing building and renovation work began.

2010 The business officially changed its company name so that it matched its trading name.

2011 The business employed a total of 180 women and introduced cotton bags into its range.

Launched a social and health outreach initiative under the Trust to run alongside the business.

A new business was registered with the intention of providing training and mentoring for new social enterprise start ups.

Free basic health checkups for all the women were carried out over 18 months.

2013 A third building was purchased and renovation work commenced.

Appendix 18: Timeline of development of US Case Study

Early 1990s The founder was involved in visiting women in jails and prisons. Saw the need for transition programmes and started interviewing women in jail to identify their needs. Provided some women with bunks in an established residential transition community for men but this was unsuccessful.

1996 Magdalene Inc incorporated as its own organisation - started renting a house and raising money.

1997 First Magdalene house opened its doors to 5 women released from the Tennessee women's prison on the grounds that they participated in the Magdalene program.

1998 Second residential home opened.

Asked to administer the Prostitution Solicitation School (John School) in collaboration with the Met Police Dept, the District Attorney's Office and the Public Defender's Office – this is run on a monthly basis.

1999 Third residential home opened.

2000 A plot of land was donated to the program and they began a capital campaign to build a fourth residential house, which is now the main house.

2001 Thistle Farms was started as a cottage industry in the kitchen of St Augustine's Chapel with Magdalene residents.

2002 Magdalene Arms was launched to reach out to women still on the streets.

2004 Fourth home completed providing accommodation for 8 residents.

Magdalene Homes LLC was organised and is 100% owned by Magdalene Inc for the purpose of purchasing real estate and building residential homes for graduates.

2008 Two of the residential houses leased by the project were donated to the project for their continued use.

2009 One of the original houses was declared structurally unsound and had to be torn down – fundraised to build a new 'green' house for 4 residents.

'Prison Tour' which involved visiting eight women's prisons in eight different cities over the course of 10 months.

2010 Thistle Farms moves into a new manufacturing building.

2012 The Paper Studio opened.

2013 The Sewing Studio opened and Thistle Stop Cafe opened.

References

Abebe, T. (2009) 'Multiple methods, complex dilemmas: negotiating socio-ethical spaces in participatory research with disadvantaged children', *Children's Geographies*, 7(4), pp. 451–465.

Agustín, L. (2003) 'Sex, gender and migrations: Facing up to ambiguous realities', *Soundings*, 23(1), pp. 84–98.

Agustín, L. M. (2007) *Sex at the margins: migration, labour markets and the rescue industry*, London, Zed.

Aiken, A. (2010) *Assessing the Impact of Faith: A methodological contribution*, INTRAC, [online] Available from: http://www.intrac.org/data/files/resources/690/Praxis-Note-55-Assessing-the-Impact-of-Faith.pdf (Accessed 11 July 2012).

Alter, S. K. (2008) 'Social enterprise models and their mission and money relationships', In *Social Entrepreneurship: New models of sustainable social change*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 205–232.

Bacq, S. and Janssen, F. (2011) 'The multiple faces of social entrepreneurship: A review of definitional issues based on geographical and thematic criteria', *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 23(5-6), pp. 373–403.

Bailey, A. R., Brace, C. and Harvey, D. C. (2009) 'Three geographers in an archive: positions, predilections and passing comment on transient lives', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34(2), pp. 254–269.

Baker, L. M., Dalla, R. L. and Williamson, C. (2010) 'Exiting prostitution: An integrated model', *Violence Against Women*, 16, pp. 579–600.

Baldwin, M. A. (2004) 'Living in longing: Prostitution, trauma recovery, and public assistance', *Journal of Trauma Practice*, 2, pp. 267–314.

Bandyopadhyay, N., Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee and University of Sussex. Institute of Development Studies (2008) *Streetwalkers show the way: reframing the global debate on trafficking from sex workers' perspectives*, Brighton, Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, [online] Available from: http://www.ids.ac.uk/files/dmfile/Wp309web.pdf.

Barry, K. (1996) *The Prostitution of Sexuality*, New York, New York University Press.

Baxter, J. (2010) 'Case Studies in Qualitative Research', 3rd edn. In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Ontario, Oxford University Press Canada, pp. 81–97.

Benedetti, C. (2006) 'Islamic and Christian inspired relief NGOs: between tactical collaboration and strategic diffidence?', *Journal of International Development*, 18(6), pp. 849–859.

Benoit, C. and Millar, A. (2001) *Dispelling myths and understanding realities: working conditions, health status, and exiting experiences of sex workers*, Canada, Prostitution Empowerment, Education and Resource Society (PEERS), [online] Available from: http://www.hawaii.edu/hivandaids/Working%20Conditions,%20Health%20Status%20and%20Exiting%20Experience%20of%20Sex%20Workers.pdf (Accessed 30 November 2011).

Berman, R. C. and Tyyskä, V. (2010) 'A Critical Reflection on the Use of Translators/Interpreters in a Qualitative Cross-Language Research Project', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 10(2), pp. 178–190.

Bernstein, E. (2010) 'Militarized humanitarianism meets carceral feminism: The politics of sex, rights, and freedom in contemporary antitrafficking campaigns', *Signs*, 36(1), pp. 45–71.

Bernstein, E. (2007a) 'Sex work for the Middle Classes', *Sexualities*, 10(4), pp. 473–488.

Bernstein, E. (2007b) 'The sexual politics of the "New Abolitionism"', *differences*, 18(3), pp. 128–151.

Bielefeld, W. and Cleveland, W. S. (2013) 'Defining Faith-Based Organizations and Understanding Them Through Research', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 42(3), pp. 442–467.

Bindel, J. (2005) *No Escape? An Investigation into London's Service Provision for Women involved in the Commercial Sex Industry*, POPPY Project, [online] Available from: http://www.eaves4women.co.uk/Documents/Recent_Reports/poppysurveyfinal.pdf.

Bindel, J., Brown, L., Easton, H., Matthews, R. and Reynolds, L. (2012) *Breaking down the barriers: A study of how women exit prostitution: Executive Summary*, Eaves and London South Bank University, [online] Available from: http://i1.cmsfiles.com/eaves/2012/11/Breaking-down-the-barriers-a37d80.pdf (Accessed 23 January 2013).

Bornstein, D. and Davis, S. (2010) *Social Entrepreneurship: what everyone needs to know*, OUP USA.

Bowen, E. (2011) 'An overview of partner violence risk assessment and the potential role of female victim risk appraisals', *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 16(3), pp. 214–226.

Bowen, R. R. (2013) 'They Walk Among Us: Sex Work Exiting, Re-entry and Duality', MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University.

Brents, B. G. and Hausbeck, K. (2005) 'Violence and Legalized Brothel Prostitution in Nevada: Examining Safety, Risk, and Prostitution Policy', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 20, pp. 270–295.

Bryman, A. (2008) *Social Research Methods*, 3 edn. Oxford; New York, OUP Oxford.

Buzdugan, R., Copas, A., Moses, S., Blanchard, J., Isac, S., Ramesh, B. M., Washington, R., Halli, S. S. and Cowan, F. M. (2010) 'Devising a female sex work typology using data from Karnataka, India', *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 39(2), pp. 439–448.

Cameron, H. (2004) 'Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs—A European Response', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 33(1), pp. 146–150.

CASE (2008) 'Developing the field of social entrepreneurship', [online] Available from: http://www.caseatduke.org/documents/CASE_Field-Building_Report_June08.pdf (Accessed 28 March 2012).

Centre for Social Justice and Community Action (CSJCA) and National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement (NCCPE) (2012) *Community-based participatory research: A guide to ethical principles and practice*, CSJCA, Durham University, [online] Available from: https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/beacon/CBPREthicsGuidewebNovember20121.pdf (Accessed 16 September 2014).

Chapkis, W. (1997) *Live sex acts: women performing erotic labor*, New York, Routledge.

Chronic, D. (2009) 'What do we mean by "Evangelism?" « Word Made Flesh', [online] Available from: http://www.wordmadeflesh.org/the-cry/the-cry-vol-9-no-4/evangelism/ (Accessed 17 April 2014).

Cimino, A. N. (2012) 'A Predictive Theory of Intentions to Exit Street-Level Prostitution', *Violence Against Women*, 18(10), pp. 1235–1252.

Cimino, A. N. (2013) 'Developing and Testing a Theory of Intentions to Exit Street-level Prostitution: A Mixed Methods Study', Doctoral Thesis, Arizona State University, [online] Available from: http://repository.asu.edu/attachments/110692/content/Cimino_asu_0010E_13111.pdf (Accessed 13 November 2013).

Clarke, G. (2010) 'Faith Matters: Development and the Complex World of Faith-Based Organizations', In *Poverty: The Malaise of Development?*, Chester, Chester Academic Press.

Clarke, G. (2006) 'Faith matters: faith-based organisations, civil society and international development', *Journal of International Development*, 18(6), pp. 835–848.

Cloke, P., Johnsen, S. and May, J. (2003) '"What the f***'s the point of that?" The cultural geographies of homelessness', In *Cultural geographies at the coalface: discussions on applied cultural geography*, London, [online] Available from: http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/homeless/homelessplaces/whatthef.pdf (Accessed 8 January 2012).

Collins, A. and Judge, G. (2008) 'Client participation in paid sex markets under alternative regulatory regimes', *International Review of Law and Economics*, 28(4), pp. 294–301.

Cosgrove, F. and O'Neill, M. (2011) *The impact of social enterprise on reducing re-offending*, School of Applied Social Sciences, Durham University, [online] Available from: http://www.serif-foundation.org/pdf/The%20Impact%20of%20Social%20Enterprise%20on%20Reducing%20Re-offending.pdf (Accessed 1 February 2013).

Coy, M. (2012) 'Introduction: Prostitution, Harm and Gender Inequality', In *Prostitution, Harm and Gender Inequality*, Farnham, Surrey, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., pp. 1–11.

Coy, M. (2006) 'This Morning I'm A Researcher, This Afternoon I'm An Outreach Worker: Ethical Dilemmas in Practitioner Research', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 9, pp. 419–431.

Coy, M. (2008) 'Young Women, Local Authority Care and Selling Sex: Findings from Research', *British Journal of Social Work*, 38, pp. 1408–1424.

Coy, M., Horvath, M. and Kelly, L. (2007) *'It's just like going to the supermarket': Men buying sex in East London*, London, Child & Woman Abuse Studies Unit, London Metropolitan University.

Crisp, B. R. (2013) 'Social work and faith-based agencies in Sweden and Australia', *International Social Work*, 56(3), pp. 343–355.

Crisp, B. R. (2014) *Social Work and Faith-based Organizations*, Routledge.

Cui, R. R., Lee, R., Thirumurthy, H., Muessig, K. E. and Tucker, J. D. (2013) 'Microenterprise Development Interventions for Sexual Risk Reduction: A Systematic Review', *AIDS and Behavior*, 17(9), pp. 2864–2877.

Curtis, T. (2010) 'The challenges and risks of innovation in social entrepreneurship', In *Social Entrepreneurship: A Skills Approach*, Bristol, Policy Press, pp. 83–98.

Cusick, L., Brooks-Gordon, B., Campbell, R. and Edgar, F. (2011) '"Exiting" drug use and sex work: Career paths, interventions and government strategy targets', *Drugs: Education, Prevention, and Policy*, 18, pp. 145–156.

Daggers, J. and Neal, D. (eds.) (2006) *Sex, gender, and religion: Josephine Butler revisited*, American university studies, New York, Peter Lang.

Dalla, R. L. (2000) 'Exposing the "pretty woman" myth: A qualitative examination of the lives of female streetwalking prostitutes', *Journal of Sex Research*, 37(4), pp. 344–353.

Dalla, R. L. (2006) '"You can't hustle all your life": An exploratory investigation of the exit process among street-level prostituted women', *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30, pp. 276–290.

Dandona, R., Dandona, L., Kumar, G. A., Gutierrez, J. P., McPherson, S., Samuels, F., Bertozzi, S. M. and the ASCI FPP Study Team (2006) 'Demography and sex work characteristics of female sex workers in India', *BMC International Health and Human Rights*, 6(5), [online] Available from: http://www.biomedcentral.com/1472-698X/6/5 (Accessed 25 October 2012).

Dasgupta, S. (2014) 'Sovereign Silence: Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act and Legalizing Sex Work in Sonagachi', *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 37(1), pp. 109–125.

Dasra (2013) *Zero Traffick: Eliminating Sex Trafficking in India*, Dasra, [online] Available from: http://www.dasra.org/research/flip/report/zero-traffick-full-report#features/29 (Accessed 25 April 2014).

Defourny, J. and Kim, S.-Y. (2011) 'Emerging models of social enterprise in Eastern Asia: a cross-country analysis', *Social Enterprise Journal*, 7(1), pp. 86–111.

Defourny, J. and Nyssens, M. (2010) 'Social enterprise in Europe: At the crossroads of market, public policies and third sector', *Policy and Society*, 29(3), pp. 231–242.

Dempsey, M. M. (2010) 'Sex trafficking and criminalization: In defense of feminist abolitionism', *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 158(6), [online] Available from: http://www.pennumbra.com/issues/pdfs/158-6/Dempsey.pdf (Accessed 24 October 2011).

DeWalt, K. M. and DeWalt, B. R. (2011) *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers*, 2nd ed. Lanham, Md. ; Plymouth UK, Alta Mira Press.

Dickson-Swift, V., James, E. L., Kippen, S. and Liamputtong, P. (2007) 'Doing sensitive research: what challenges do qualitative researchers face?', *Qualitative Research*, 7, pp. 327–353.

Dierckx, D., Kerstens, W. and Kerstens, J. (2011) *Faith-based organisations and social exclusion in Belgium*, FACIT, Leuven, Acco, [online] Available from: http://www.facit.be/main.aspx?c=*FACIT&n=69794 (Accessed 5 July 2012).

Ditmore, M. H. (2010) *Prostitution and Sex Work*, Santa Barbara, California, Greenwood Press.

Dodsworth, J. (2012) 'Pathways through Sex Work: Childhood Experiences and Adult Identities', *British Journal of Social Work*, 42(3), pp. 519–536.

Doezema, J. (1998) 'Forced to Choose: Beyond the Voluntary versus Forced Prostitution Dichotomy', In *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*, London, Routledge, pp. 34–50.

Doherty, B., Haugh, H. and Lyon, F. (2014) 'Social Enterprises as Hybrid Organizations: A Review and Research Agenda', *International Journal of Management Reviews*, [online] Available from: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/ijmr.12028/abstract (Accessed 29 May 2014).

Ebaugh, H. R. F., Chafetz, J. S. and Pipes, P. F. (2006) 'Where's the Faith in Faith-based Organizations? Measures and Correlates of Religiosity in Faith-based Social Service Coalitions', *Social Forces*, 84(4), pp. 2259–2272.

Edwards, R. (1998) 'A critical examination of the use of interpreters in the qualitative research process', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 24, pp. 197–208.

Ellis, T. (2010) *The new pioneers: sustainable business success through social innovation and social entrepreneurship*, John Wiley & Sons.

ESRC (2012) 'ESRC Framework for Research Ethics (FRE) 2010: Updated September 2012', [online] Available from: http://www.esrc.ac.uk/_images/framework-for-research-ethics-09-12_tcm8-4586.pdf (Accessed 19 August 2014).

FACIT (n.d.) 'Faith-based Organisations and Social Exclusion in European Cities', *Faith-Based Organisations and Exclusion in European Cities*, [online] Available from: http://www.ua.ac.be/main.aspx?c=*FACIT (Accessed 15 August 2012).

Farley, M. (2004) '"Bad for the Body, Bad for the Heart": Prostitution Harms Women Even if Legalized or Decriminalized', *Violence Against Women*, 10, pp. 1087–1125.

Farley, M. (2009) 'Theory versus reality: Commentary on four articles about trafficking for prostitution', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 32(4), pp. 311–315.

Ferris, E. (2011) 'Faith and humanitarianism: it's complicated', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 24(3), pp. 606–625.

Fielding-Miller, R., Mnisi, Z., Adams, D., Baral, S. and Kennedy, C. (2014) '"There is hunger in my community": a qualitative study of food security as a cyclical force in sex work in Swaziland', *BMC Public Health*, 14(1), p. 79.

Flowers, R. B. (2011) *Prostitution in the digital age selling sex from the suite to the street*, Santa Barbara, Calif, Praeger.

Fowler, D. N., Faulkner, M., Learman, J. and Runnels, R. (2011) 'The Influence of Spirituality on Service Utilization and Satisfaction for Women Residing in a Domestic Violence Shelter', *Violence Against Women*, 17(10), pp. 1244–1259.

Gangoli, G. (2006) 'Prostitution in India: laws, debates and responses', In *International approaches to prostitution : law and policy in Europe and Asia*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp. 115–139.

Gangoli, G. and Westmarland, N. (2006) *International Approaches to Prostitution: Law and Policy in Europe and Asia*, Bristol, Policy Press.

Ganiel, G. and Mitchell, C. (2006) 'Turning the Categories Inside-Out: Complex Identifications and Multiple Interactions in Religious Ethnography', *Sociology of Religion*, 67(1), pp. 3 –21.

GEMS (n.d.) 'About | Girls Educational & Mentoring Service (GEMS)', [online] Available from: http://www.gems-girls.org/about (Accessed 15 August 2014).

Ghose, T. (2012) 'Politicising Political Society: Mobilization among Sex Workers in Sonagachi, India', In *South Asian Feminisms: Contemporary Interventions*, Durham, Duke University Press, pp. 285–305.

Ghose, T., Swendeman, D., George, S. and Chowdhury, D. (2008) 'Mobilizing collective identity to reduce HIV risk among sex workers in Sonagachi, India: The boundaries,

consciousness, negotiation framework', *Social Science & Medicine*, 67(2), pp. 311–320.

Ghose, T., Swendeman, D. T. and George, S. M. (2011) 'The Role of Brothels in Reducing HIV Risk in Sonagachi, India', *Qualitative Health Research*, 21, pp. 587–600.

Giampapa, F. and Lamoureux, S. A. (2011) 'Voices From the Field: Identity, Language, and Power in Multilingual Research Settings', *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 10(3), pp. 127–131.

Gooptu, N. and Bandyopadhyay, N. (2007) '"Rights to Stop the Wrong": Cultural Change and Collective Mobilization - The Case of Kolkata Sex Workers', *Oxford Development Studies*, 35(3), pp. 251–272.

Grills, N. (2008a) '"Believing" in HIV: The effect of faith on the response of Christian Faith Based Organisations to HIV in India', Doctoral Thesis, St John's College, University of Oxford.

Grills, N. (2008b) 'Researching faith-based organisations in India', In *Anthropologists Inside Organisations: South Asian Case Studies*, London, SAGE, pp. 15–35.

Groom, T. M. and Nandwani, R. (2006) 'Characteristics of men who pay for sex: a UK sexual health clinic survey', *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 82, pp. 364–367.

Gunn, R. and Durkin, C. (eds.) (2010) *Social entrepreneurship: A skills approach*, Bristol, Policy Press.

Hakala, S. and Keller, M. (2011) '"I can't carry on like this": A feminist perspective on the process of exiting sex work in a South African context', Honours Thesis, Department of Psychology , University of Cape Town, [online] Available from: http://www.knowledgeco-op.uct.ac.za/usr/knowledgeco-op/downloads/6_Thesis_Exit_strategies.pdf (Accessed 13 November 2013).

Hefferan, T., Atkins, J. and Occhipinti, L. (2009) 'Faith-Based Organisations, Neoliberalism and Development: An Introduction', In *Bridging the gaps: faith-based organisations, neoliberalism and development in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Plymouth, Lexington Books, pp. 1–34.

Hester, M. and Westmarland, N. (2004) *Tackling street prostitution: towards a holistic approach*, Home Office Research Study, London, DU, [online] Available from: http://dro.dur.ac.uk/2557/.

Hickle, K. E. (2014) 'Getting out: A qualitative exploration of the exiting experience among former sex workers and adult sex trafficking victims', Doctoral Thesis, Arizona State University, [online] Available from: http://repository.asu.edu/attachments/134784/content/Hickle_asu_0010E_13637.pdf (Accessed 17 June 2014).

Holmes, P., Fay, R., Andrews, J. and Attia, M. (2013) 'Researching multilingually: New theoretical and methodological directions', *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 23(3), pp. 285–299.

Hopkins, P. E. (2009) 'Women, Men, Positionalities and Emotion: Doing Feminist Geographies of Religion', *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 8(1), pp. 1–17.

Hotaling, N., Burris, A., Johnson, B. J., Bird, Y. M. and Melbye, K. A. (2004) 'Been There Done That: SAGE, a Peer Leadership Model Among Prostitution Survivors', *Journal of Trauma Practice*, 2, pp. 255–265.

Hugen, B. and Venema, R. (2009) 'The Difference of Faith: The Influence of Faith in Human Service Programs', *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought*, 28(4), pp. 405–429.

Huybrechts, B. and Defourny, J. (2010) *Exploring the diversity of fair trade social enterprises*, EMES Working Paper Series, 10/02, Liège, EMES European Research Network.

IMF (2012) *World economic outlook, April 2012: Growth resuming, dangers remain*, Washington, D.C., International Monetary Fund, [online] Available from: http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2012/01/ (Accessed 13 September 2012).

Ingabire, M. C., Mitchell, K., Veldhuijzen, N., Umulisa, M. M., Nyinawabega, J., Kestelyn, E., Van Steijn, M., Van De Wijgert, J. and Pool, R. (2012) 'Joining and leaving sex work: experiences of women in Kigali, Rwanda', *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 14(9), pp. 1037–1047.

Ingvarsdotter, K., Johnsdotter, S. and Östman, M. (2012) 'Lost in interpretation: The use of interpreters in research on mental ill health', *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 58(1), pp. 34–40.

Jain, A. K. and Saggurti, N. (2012) 'The Extent and Nature of Fluidity in Typologies of Female Sex Work in Southern India: Implications for HIV Prevention Programs', *Journal of HIV/AIDS & Social Services*, 11(2), pp. 169–191.

James, R. (2009) *What is distinctive about FBOs? How European FBOs define and operationalise their faith*, INTRAC, [online] Available from: http://www.intrac.org/data/files/resources/482/Praxis-Paper-22-What-is-Distinctive-About-FBOs.pdf (Accessed 10 July 2012).

Janzen, R. and Wiebe, D. (2011) 'Putting God in the Logic Model: Developing a National Framework for the Evaluation of Faith-Based Organizations', *The Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation*, 25(1), pp. 1–26.

Jeavons, T. H. (2004) 'Religious and Faith-Based Organizations: Do We Know One When We See One?', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 33(1), pp. 140–145.

Jobe, A. (2008) 'Accessing Services: Trafficking Victims'/Survivors' Experiences in the UK', Doctoral Thesis, Newcastle University.

Jodhka, S. S. and Bora, P. (2009) *Mapping faith-based development activities in contemporary Maharashtra, India*, Religions and Development, International Development Department, University of Birmingham, [online] Available from:

http://www.religionsanddevelopment.org/files/resourcesmodule/@random454f80f60b3f4/1249395995_working_paper_28.pdf (Accessed 9 July 2012).

Johnsen, S. (2014) 'Where's the "Faith" in "Faith-Based" Organisations? The Evolution and Practice of Faith-Based Homelessness Services in the UK', *Journal of Social Policy*, 43(02), pp. 413–430.

Johnson, E. M. (2014) 'Buyers Without Remorse: Ending the Discriminatory Enforcement of Prostitution Laws', *Texas Law Review*, 92(3), pp. 717–748.

Jones, S. (2000) *Feminist Theory and Christian Theology: Cartographies Of Grace*, Guides to theological inquiry, Minneapolis, Fortress Press.

Jordan, A. (2011) *The Sanghamitra Sex Worker Collective: Challenging stereotypes and discrimination*, Program on Human Trafficking and Forced Labor, Center for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law: American University Washington College of Law.

Jordan, J. and Sharp, I. (eds.) (2003) *Josephine Butler and the prostitution campaigns: diseases of the body politic*, The history of feminism, London; New York, Routledge.

Kantola, J. and Squires, J. (2004) 'Discourses Surrounding Prostitution Policies in the UK', *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, 11, pp. 77–101.

Karandikar, S., Gezinski, L. B. and Meshelemiah, J. C. A. (2013) 'A qualitative examination of women involved in prostitution in Mumbai, India: The role of family and acquaintances', *International Social Work*, 56(4), pp. 496–515.

Karras, R. M. (1989) 'The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England', *Signs*, 14(2), pp. 399–433.

Kearns, R. A. (2010) 'Seeing with Clarity: Undertaking Observational Research', 3rd edn. In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Ontario, Oxford University Press Canada, pp. 241–258.

Kempadoo, K. (ed.) (2005) *Trafficking and prostitution reconsidered: New perspectives on migration, sex work, and human rights*, London, Paradigm.

Kempadoo, K. and Doezema, J. (eds.) (1998) *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*, London, Routledge.

Kennedy, M. A., Klein, C., Bristowe, J. T. K., Cooper, B. S. and Yuille, J. C. (2007) 'Routes of Recruitment', *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 15, pp. 1–19.

Kerlin, J. A. (2013) 'Defining Social Enterprise Across Different Contexts A Conceptual Framework Based on Institutional Factors', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 42(1), pp. 84–108.

Kindon, S. L., Pain, R. and Kesby, M. (2007a) 'Introduction: Connecting people, participation and place', In *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place*, London ; New York, Routledge, pp. 1–6.

Kindon, S. L., Pain, R. and Kesby, M. (2007b) 'Participatory Action Research: Origins, approaches and methods', In *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place*, London ; New York, Routledge, pp. 9–18.

Kinnell, H. (2008) *Violence and Sex Work in Britain*, Cullompton ; Portland, Or, Willan.

Klubben, L. M. (2014) 'A narrative exploration of the process of transitioning out of street sex work', Doctoral Thesis, The University of British Columbia, [online] Available from: http://circle.ubc.ca/handle/2429/46564 (Accessed 29 April 2014).

Kootstra, T. (2012) *Move Forward: Career Development for Sex Workers*, Amsterdam, Soa Aids Nederland, [online] Available from: https://www.soaaids.nl/nl/MOVE-Forward-project (Accessed 25 April 2014).

Kotiswaran, P. (2011) *Dangerous Sex, Invisible Labor: Sex Work and the Law in India*, Princeton University Press.

Kotiswaran, P. (2010) 'Labours in Vice or Virtue? Neo-liberalism, Sexual Commerce, and the Case of Indian Bar Dancing', *Journal of Law and Society*, 37(1), pp. 105–124.

Kramer, L. A. and Berg, E. C. (2003) 'A Survival Analysis of Timing of Entry into Prostitution: The Differential Impact of Race, Educational Level, and Childhood/Adolescent Risk Factors', *Sociological Inquiry*, 73(4), pp. 511–528.

Kurtz, S. P., Surratt, H. L., Kiley, M. C. and Inciardi, J. A. (2005) 'Barriers to Health and Social Services for Street-Based Sex Workers', *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 16(2), pp. 345–361.

Lamoureux, S. A. (2011) 'Navigating Pre-, In-, and Post-Fieldwork: Elements for Consideration', *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 10(3), pp. 206–211.

Law, T. (2011) 'Not a Sob Story: Transitioning Out of Sex', MA Thesis, University of Ottawa.

Leadbeater, S. (2013) 'Third sector perspectives versus business sense: one charity's quest for social enterprise to help London's homeless', *Voluntary Sector Review*, 4(2), pp. 265–274.

Limoncelli, S. A. (2009) 'The trouble with trafficking: Conceptualizing women's sexual labor and economic human rights', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 32(4), pp. 261–269.

Lunn, J. (2009) 'The role of religion, spirituality and faith in development: a critical theory approach', *Third World Quarterly*, 30(5), pp. 937–951.

MacKinnon, C. A. (2011) 'Trafficking, prostitution, and inequality', *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, 46, p. 271.

Magar, V. (2012) 'Rescue and Rehabilitation: A Critical Analysis of Sex Workers' Antitrafficking Response in India', *Signs*, 37(3), pp. 619–644.

Majumdar, I. and Panja, S. (2008) 'The invisible: A study on Kolkata's call girls', In *Prostitution and Beyond: An Analysis of Sex Workers in India*, SAGE Publications India, pp. 156–165.

Manopaiboon, C., Bunnell, R. E., Kilmarx, P. H., Chaikummao, S., Limpakarnjanarat, K., Supawitkul, S., St. Louis, M. E. and Mastro, T. D. (2003) 'Leaving sex work: Barriers, facilitating factors and consequences for female sex workers in northern Thailand', *AIDS Care*, 15, pp. 39–52.

Månsson, S. A. and Hedin, U.-C. (1999) 'Breaking the Matthew effect – on women leaving prostitution', *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 8(1), pp. 67–77.

Martin, L., Hearst, M. O. and Widome, R. (2010) 'Meaningful Differences: Comparison of Adult Women Who First Traded Sex as a Juvenile Versus as an Adult', *Violence Against Women*, 16(11), pp. 1252 –1269.

Matthews, R. (2008) *Prostitution, Politics and Policy*, London, Routledge-Cavendish.

Mayhew, P. and Mossman, D. E. (2007) *Exiting Prostitution: Models of Best Practice*, Prepared for the Ministry of Justice, New Zealand, Crime and Justice Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, [online] Available from: http://www.chezstella.org/docs/ExitingProstitution.pdf.

McCarthy, B., Benoit, C. and Jansson, M. (2014) 'Sex Work: A Comparative Study', *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 43(7), pp. 1379–1390.

McCray, K., Wesely, J. K. and Rasche, C. E. (2011) 'Rehab Retrospect: Former Prostitutes and the (Re)construction of Deviance', *Deviant Behavior*, 32, pp. 743–768.

McGuire, M. B. (2008a) *Lived religion: faith and practice in everyday life*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

McGuire, M. B. (2008b) *Religion: the social context*, 5th edn. Long Grove, Ill, Waveland Press.

McKenna, G. R. (2013) 'Tackling labour market exclusion of homeless people: the role of social enterprise', Doctoral Thesis, Middlesex University, [online] Available from: http://eprints.mdx.ac.uk/12471/1/GRMcKenna_thesis.pdf (Accessed 2 June 2014).

McNaughton, C. C. and Sanders, T. (2007) 'Housing and Transitional Phases Out of "Disordered" Lives: The Case of Leaving Homelessness and Street Sex Work', *Housing Studies*, 22, pp. 885–900.

Van der Meulen, E. (2011) 'Action research with sex workers: Dismantling barriers and building bridges', *Action Research*, 9(4), pp. 370 –384.

Milbank, A. (ed.) (2007) *Beating the Traffic: Josephine Butler and Anglican Social Action on Prostitution Today*, Winchester, George Mann.

Monto, M. A. and McRee, N. (2005) 'A Comparison of the Male Customers of Female Street Prostitutes With National Samples of Men', *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 49, pp. 505–529.

Murphy, A. and Venkatesh, S. (2006) 'Vice Careers: The Changing Contours of Sex Work in New York City.', *Qualitative Sociology*, 29(2), pp. 129–154.

Nicholls, A. (ed.) (2008) *Social entrepreneurship: New models of sustainable social change*, Paperback. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Nolland, L. S. (2004) *A Victorian feminist Christian: Josephine Butler, the prostitutes and god*, Studies in evangelical history and thought, Carlisle, Paternoster.

Odek, W. O., Busza, J., Morris, C. N., Cleland, J., Ngugi, E. N. and Ferguson, A. G. (2009) 'Effects of Micro-Enterprise Services on HIV Risk Behaviour Among Female Sex Workers in Kenya's Urban Slums', *AIDS and Behavior*, 13(3), pp. 449–461.

O'Neill, M. (2001) *Prostitution and Feminism: Towards a Politics of Feeling*, Malden, MA, Polity Press.

O'Neill, M. and Campbell, R. (2011) 'Desistence from sex work: feminist cultural criminology and inter-sectionality – the complexities of moving in and out of sex work!', In *Theorizing intersectionality and sexuality*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 163–190.

Oselin, S. S. (2009) 'Leaving the streets: Transformation of prostitute identity within the prostitution rehabilitation program', *Deviant Behavior*, 30, pp. 379–406.

Oselin, S. S. (2008) 'Unhooked? An analysis of role exiting among prostitutes in prostitution-helping organizations', Doctoral Thesis, University of California, Irvine.

Oselin, S. S. (2010) 'Weighing the consequences of a deviant career: Factors leading to an exit from prostitution', *Sociological Perspectives*, 53(4), pp. 527–550.

Oselin, S. S. and Weitzer, R. (2013) 'Organizations working on behalf of prostitutes: An analysis of goals, practices, and strategies', *Sexualities*, 16(3-4), pp. 445–466.

Outshoorn, J. (2005) 'The political debates on prostitution and trafficking of women', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 12, pp. 141–155.

Overs, C. (2014) *Sex Workers, Empowerment and Poverty Alleviation in Ethiopia*, Sexuality, Poverty and Law, Evidence Report, England, Institute of Development Studies, [online] Available from: http://mobile.opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/4095/ER80%20Sex%20Workers,%20Empowerment%20and%20Poverty%20Alleviation%20in%20Ethiopia.pdf?sequence=3 (Accessed 1 July 2014).

Palmer, V. (2011) 'Analysing cultural proximity: Islamic Relief Worldwide and Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh', *Development in Practice*, 21(1), pp. 96–108.

Pearce, J. (2003) *Social Enterprise in Anytown*, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Pheterson, G. (1993) 'The Whore Stigma: Female Dishonor and Male Unworthiness', *Social Text*, (37), pp. 39–64.

Phoenix, J. (2012) 'Violence and prostitution: beyond the notion of a "continuum of sexual violence"', In *Handbook on Sexual Violence*, Oxon, Routledge, pp. 218–236.

Potterat, J. J., Brewer, D. D., Muth, S. Q., Rothenberg, R. B., Woodhouse, D. E., Muth, J. B., Stites, H. K. and Brody, S. (2004) 'Mortality in a Long-term Open Cohort of Prostitute Women', *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 159(8), pp. 778–785.

Rabinovitch, J. (2004) 'PEERS', *Journal of Trauma Practice*, 2, pp. 239–253.

RaD (n.d.) *Religions and Development Research Programme*, [online] Available from: http://www.religionsanddevelopment.org/index.php?section=1 (Accessed 15 August 2012).

Rakodi, C. (2011) *A guide to analzying the relationships between religion and development*, Religions and Development, International Development Department, University of Birmingham, [online] Available from: http://www.religionsanddevelopment.org/files/resourcesmodule/@random454f80f60b3f4/1315399993_working_paper_67___complete_for_web.pdf (Accessed 10 July 2012).

Ramazanoğlu, C. and Holland, J. (2002) *Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices*, Sage Publications Ltd.

Raphael, J. and Shapiro, D. L. (2004) 'Violence in Indoor and Outdoor Prostitution Venues', *Violence Against Women*, 10, pp. 126–139.

Ridley-Duff, R. and Southcombe, C. (2012) 'The Social Enterprise Mark: a critical review of its conceptual dimensions', *Social Enterprise Journal*, 8(3), pp. 178–200.

Ritche, J., Spencer, L. and O'Connor, W. (2003) 'Carrying out Qualitative Analysis', In *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, London, SAGE Publications, pp. 219–262.

Roe-Sepowitz, D. E. (2012) 'Juvenile Entry Into Prostitution The Role of Emotional Abuse', *Violence Against Women*, 18(5), pp. 562–579.

Roe-Sepowitz, D. E., Gallagher, J., Hickle, K. E., Pérez Loubert, M. and Tutelman, J. (2014) 'Project ROSE: An Arrest Alternative for Victims of Sex Trafficking and Prostitution', *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 53(1), pp. 57–74.

Roe-Sepowitz, D. E., Hickle, K. E. and Cimino, A. (2012) 'The Impact of Abuse History and Trauma Symptoms on Successful Completion of a Prostitution-exiting Program', *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 22(1), pp. 65–77.

Roe-Sepowitz, D. E., Hickle, K. E., Loubert, M. P. and Egan, T. (2011) 'Adult Prostitution Recidivism: Risk Factors and Impact of a Diversion Program', *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 50(5), pp. 272–285.

Rosen, E. and Venkatesh, S. A. (2008) 'A "Perversion" of Choice Sex Work Offers Just Enough in Chicago's Urban Ghetto', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 37(4), pp. 417–441.

Saggurti, N., Sabarwal, S., Verma, R. K., Halli, S. S. and Jain, A. K. (2011) 'Harsh realities: Reasons for women's involvement in sex work in India', *Journal of AIDS and HIV Research*, 3(9), pp. 172–179.

Sahni, R. and Kalyan Shankar, V. (2011) *The First Pan-India Survey of Sex Workers: A summary of preliminary findings*, The Center for Advocacy on Stigma and Marginalisation, PLRI, [online] Available from: http://sangram.org/Download/Pan-India-Survey-of-Sex-workers.pdf (Accessed 19 October 2012).

Sahni, R. and Shankar, V. K. (2008) 'Markets, histories and grass-root evidences: Economics of sex work in India', In *Prostitution and Beyond: An Analysis of Sex Workers in India*, SAGE Publications India, pp. 169–194.

Saint Thomas Health (2014) 'About Us', [online] Available from: https://www.sths.com/Pages/About-Us.aspx (Accessed 23 June 2014).

Sanderson, E. R. (2012) 'Emotional engagement in the context of development and spirituality research', *Emotion, Space and Society*, Emotional methodologies – The emotional spaces of international development, 5(2), pp. 122–130.

Sanders, T. (2007) 'Becoming an ex-sex worker: Making transitions out of a deviant career', *Feminist Criminology*, 2, pp. 74–95.

Sanders, T. (2008) *Paying for Pleasure: Men who Buy Sex*, Willan.

Sanders, T., O'Neill, M. and Pitcher, J. (2009) *Prostitution: Sex Work, Policy and Politics*, London, SAGE.

Saphira, M. and Herbert, A. (2004) *Exiting commercial sexual activity*, ECPAT NZ, [online] Available from: http://www.ecpat.org.nz/Other/Researches/ExitingCommercialSexualActivity.aspx (Accessed 30 November 2011).

Schwab Foundation (2012) 'Schwab Foundation for Social Entrepreneurship - About the organizational models', [online] Available from: http://www.schwabfound.org/sf/SocialEntrepreneurs/Profiles/Abouttheorganizationalmodels/index.htm (Accessed 21 April 2012).

Seanor, P., Bull, M., Baines, S. and Ridley-Duff, R. (2013) 'Narratives of transition from social to enterprise: you can't get there from here!', *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 19(3), pp. 324–343.

Şen, M. (2011) *Faith-based organisations and social exclusion in Turkey*, FACIT, Leuven, Acco, [online] Available from: http://www.facit.be/main.aspx?c=*FACIT&n=69794 (Accessed 5 July 2012).

Sepulveda, L. (2009) *Outsider, missing link or panacea? Some reflections about the place of social enterprise (with)in and in relation to the Third Sector*, Birmingham, Third Sector Research Centre, [online] Available from: http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/documents/tsrc/working-papers/working-paper-15.pdf (Accessed 6 June 2014).

Shahjahan, R. A. and Haverkos, K. (2011) 'Revealing the secular fence of knowledge: Towards reimagining spiritual ways of knowing and being in the academy', In *Indigenous Philosophies and Critical Education: A Reader*, New York, Peter Lang, pp. 367–385.

Shdaimah, C. and Bailey-Kloch, M. (2014) '"Can You Help With That Instead of Putting Me in Jail?": Participant Insights on Baltimore City's Specialized Prostitution Diversion Program', *Justice System Journal*, 35(3), pp. 257–270.

Shdaimah, C. S. and Wiechelt, S. A. (2012) 'Converging on Empathy: Perspectives on Baltimore City's Specialized Prostitution Diversion Program', *Women & Criminal Justice*, 22(2), pp. 156–173.

Sherman, S., German, D., Marks, M. and Bailey-Kloch, M. (2006) 'The evaluation of the JEWEL project: an innovative economic enhancement and HIV prevention intervention study targeting drug using women involved in prostitution', *AIDS care*, 18(1), pp. 1–11.

Sherman, S., Srikrishnan, A., Rivett, K., Liu, S.-H., Solomon, S. and Celentano, D. (2010) 'Acceptability of a microenterprise intervention among female sex workers in Chennai, India', *AIDS and Behavior*, 14(3), pp. 649–657.

Shimpuku, Y. and Norr, K. F. (2012) 'Working with interpreters in cross-cultural qualitative research in the context of a developing country: systematic literature review', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 68(8), pp. 1692–1706.

Shivdas, M. (2008) 'In the interest of business and health: Women sex workers' efforts to protect themselves from HIV', In *Prostitution and Beyond: An Analysis of Sex Workers in India*, SAGE Publications India, pp. 261–267.

Showden, C. R. (2011) *Choices Women Make: Agency in Domestic Violence, Assisted Reproduction, and Sex Work*, Minneapolis, Minn.; London, University of Minnesota Press.

Sider, R. J. and Unruh, H. R. (2004) 'Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 33(1), pp. 109–134.

Sircar, O. and Dutta, D. (2011) 'Beyond compassion: Children of sex workers in Kolkata's Sonagachi', *Childhood*, 18, pp. 333–349.

Skeggs, B. (2001) 'Feminist Ethnography', In *Handbook of Ethnography*, London, SAGE, pp. 426–442.

Skilbrei, M.-L. and Holmström, C. (2013) *Prostitution Policy in the Nordic Region*, Farnham, Surrey, Ashgate.

Social Enterprise Mark Company (2011) 'Qualification Criteria, Issue 6', [online] Available from: http://www.socialenterprisemark.org.uk/the-mark/get-the-mark/ (Accessed 22 March 2012).

Social Enterprise UK (2012) 'About social enterprise / About / Social Enterprise UK', [online] Available from: http://www.socialenterprise.org.uk/about/about-social-enterprise#what%20are%20ses (Accessed 18 April 2012).

Spalek, B. (2008) *Religion, spirituality and the social sciences: challenging marginalisation*, The Policy Press.

Spear, R. and Bidet, E. (2005) 'Social enterprise for work integration in 12 European countries: a descriptive analysis', *Annals of Public & Cooperative Economics*, 76(2), pp. 195–231.

Spickard, J. V., Landres, J. S. and McGuire, M. B. (eds.) (2002) *Personal knowledge and beyond: reshaping the ethnography of religion*, New York ; London, New York University Press.

Squires, A. (2009) 'Methodological Challenges in Cross-Language Qualitative Research: A Research Review', *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 46(2), pp. 277–287.

Suiter, S. V. (2012) *Magdalene House: A Place about Mercy*, Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press.

Sullivan, B. (2003) 'Trafficking in Women', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5, pp. 67–91.

Surratt, H. L., Inciardi, J. A., Kurtz, S. P. and Kiley, M. C. (2004) 'Sex Work and Drug Use in a Subculture of Violence', *Crime & Delinquency*, 50(1), pp. 43–59.

Sutherland, K. (2004) 'Work, Sex and Sex-Work: Competing Feminist Discourses on the International Sex Trade', *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, 42, pp. 139–167.

Swinton, J. and Mowat, H. (2006) *Practical theology and qualitative research*, London, SCM Press.

Teasdale, S. (2012a) 'Negotiating Tensions: How Do Social Enterprises in the Homelessness Field Balance Social and Commercial Considerations?', *Housing Studies*, 27(4), pp. 514–532.

Teasdale, S. (2012b) 'What's in a name? Making sense of social enterprise discourses', *Public Policy and Administration*, 27(2), pp. 99–119.

Teasdale, S., Lyon, F. and Baldock, R. (2013) 'Playing with Numbers: A Methodological Critique of the Social Enterprise Growth Myth', *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 4(2), pp. 113–131.

Temple, B. (2002) 'Crossed Wires: Interpreters, Translators, and Bilingual Workers in Cross-Language Research', *Qualitative Health Research*, 12(6), pp. 844–854.

Temple, B. (2005) 'Nice and Tidy: Translation and Representation', *Sociological Research Online*, 10(2), [online] Available from: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/10/2/temple.html (Accessed 12 November 2013).

Temple, B., Edwards, R. and Alexander, C. (2006) 'Grasping at Context: Cross Language Qualitative Research as Secondary Qualitative Data Analysis', *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 7(4), p. Art. 10.

Temple, B. and Young, A. (2004) 'Qualitative Research and Translation Dilemmas', *Qualitative Research*, 4(2), pp. 161–178.

Tomalin, E. (2007) *Sociology, Religion and Development: Literature Review*, Religions and Development, International Development Department, University of Birmingham, [online] Available from: http://www.religionsanddevelopment.org/files/resourcesmodule/@random454f80f60b3f4/1202734346_WP4.pdf (Accessed 9 July 2012).

Tomalin, E. (2012) 'Thinking about faith-based organisations in development: where have we got to and what next?', *Development in Practice*, 22(5-6), pp. 689–703.

Torri, M. C. (2014) 'Micro-entrepreneurship programs and sexual health prevention among sex workers in Cambodia: is an integrative approach the way forward?', *International Journal of Health Promotion and Education*, 52(3), pp. 153–162.

Torry, M. (2005) *Managing God's business: religious and faith-based organizations and their management*, Aldershot, Ashgate.

Tsai, L. C., Witte, S. S., Aira, T., Altantsetseg, B. and Riedel, M. (2011) 'Piloting a Savings-Led Microfinance Intervention with Women Engaging in Sex Work in Mongolia: Further Innovation for HIV Risk Reduction', *The Open Women's Health Journal*, 5, pp. 26–32.

Tyler, K. A. (2009) 'Risk Factors for Trading Sex among Homeless Young Adults', *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 38(2), pp. 290–297.

UK Network of Sex Work Projects (2008) *Working with Sex Workers: Exiting*, Good Practice Guidance, [online] Available from: http://www.uknswp.org/wp-content/uploads/GPG5.pdf (Accessed 14 November 2011).

Valandra (2007) 'Reclaiming their lives and breaking free: An Afrocentric approach to recovery from prostitution', *Affilia*, 22, pp. 195–208.

Vidal, A. C. (2001) *Faith-Based Organisations in Community Development*, U.S. Department of Housing and Community Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, [online] Available from: http://www.huduser.org/portal/publications/faithbased.pdf (Accessed 10 July 2012).

Wad, M. and Jadhav, S. (2008) 'The legal framework of prostitution in India', In *Prostitution and Beyond: An Analysis of Sex Workers in India*, SAGE Publications India, pp. 207–217.

Wahab, S. (2003) 'Creating Knowledge Collaboratively with Female Sex Workers: Insights from a Qualitative, Feminist, and Participatory Study', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9, pp. 625–642.

Wallin, A.-M. and Ahlström, G. (2006) 'Cross-cultural interview studies using interpreters: systematic literature review', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 55(6), pp. 723–735.

Waltman, M. (2011) 'Sweden's prohibition of purchase of sex: The law's reasons, impact, and potential', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 34, pp. 449–474.

Ward, H. and Day, S. (2006) 'What happens to women who sell sex? Report of a unique occupational cohort', *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 82, pp. 413–417.

Weitzer, R. (2009) 'Sociology of Sex Work', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 35(1), pp. 213–234.

Weitzer, R. (2010) 'The Movement to Criminalize Sex Work in the United States', *Journal of Law and Society*, 37(1), pp. 61–84.

West, J. (2000) 'Prostitution: Collectives and the Politics of Regulation', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 7(2), pp. 106–118.

Wiles, R., Crow, G., Charles, V. and Heath, S. (2007) 'Informed Consent and the Research Process: Following Rules or Striking Balances?', *Sociological Research Online*, 12, [online] Available from: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/12/2/wiles.html (Accessed 19 October 2011).

Williams, A. (2012) 'Geographies of faith, welfare and substance abuse: From neoliberalism to postsecular ethics', Doctoral Thesis, University of Exeter, [online] Available from: https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/bitstream/handle/10036/3751/WilliamsA.pdf?sequence=2 (Accessed 16 July 2014).

Williamson, C. and Folaron, G. (2003) 'Understanding the Experiences of Street Level Prostitutes', *Qualitative Social Work*, 2(3), pp. 271 –287.

Women of Magdalene and Stevens, B. (2008) *Find Your Way Home: Words from the Street, Wisdom from the Heart*, Nashville, TN, Abingdon Press.

Woodman, S. (2007) 'Mentorship and the experiential voice: Transitioning from sex work to mainstream employment', MA Thesis, Royal Roads University, [online] Available from: http://search.proquest.com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/docview/304816278?accountid=14533 (Accessed 6 October 2011).

Yadav, P. (2008) 'Ground realities of the legal framework', In *Prostitution and Beyond: An Analysis of Sex Workers in India*, SAGE Publications India, pp. 229–231.

Yorgason, E. and della Dora, V. (2009) 'Geography, religion, and emerging paradigms: problematizing the dialogue', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 10(6), pp. 629–637.