LEABHARLANN CHOLÁISTE NA TRÍONÓIDE, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH | TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN
Ollscoil Átha Cliath | The University of Dublin

Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin

Copyright statement

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

Liability statement

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

Access Agreement

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Risking Work and Working Risk:
A Phenomenology of the Risk Environment of Prostitution in Ireland

By

Kathryn McGarry, B.Soc.Sc., M.Sc.

Being submitted for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at
University of Dublin, Trinity College
2009

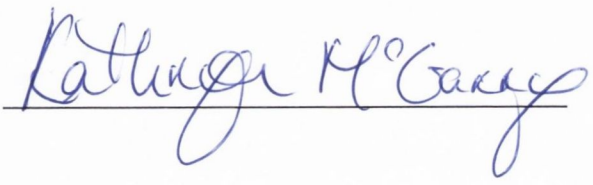
under the direction and supervision of
Evelyn Mahon, Ph.D

TRINITY COLLEGE
10 AUG 2009
LIBRARY DUBLIN
THOS
8848

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and that it is my own work except where acknowledged.

I agree that the University of Dublin, Trinity College may lend or copy this thesis upon request.



Kathryn McGarry

Summary

The focus of this thesis is on the lived experiences of women in prostitution in Ireland. The limited knowledge base on the lived realities of those engaged in prostitution in Ireland was a compelling rationale for undertaking this study. Previous Irish research (O'Connor, 1996) has pointed to the negative impact of the criminalised system of prostitution in Ireland on the experiences of those engaged in sex work. This study set out to explore how those engaged in prostitution negotiate their lives within this context through a phenomenological methodology.

The research developed around a broad discursive paradigm which considered the different contextual levels at which prostitution is understood, from macro level discourses of prostitution to the women's own discourses.

Snowball sampling recruited thirteen respondents with experience of prostitution in Ireland, eleven street workers and two indoor workers, and their accounts of their experiences were collected through qualitative in-depth interviewing. Additional 'context setting' data was obtained from qualitative semi-structured interviews with ten key informants working in the area of prostitution.

As 'risk' emerged as a widespread discourse at different interpretive levels, a risk analysis was undertaken for this study. the concept of risk in prostitution was 'problematised' for analysis and the 'risk' discourses which emerged from respondents accounts were in contrast to objective theorising of risk. A risk environment model was employed to understand the differing experiences in this study and it has been found that the study participants differ in their experiences of prostitution through differential risk exposure at the macro, meso and micro levels.

The social organisation of prostitution was found to be a crucial element in risk experiences. It has been found that the street working respondents presented with similar risk trajectories, which differed considerably to those working indoors. These varied experiences were explored by looking at pathways to prostitution and accumulated risk and how this implicates some individuals for burdening working conditions and heightened risk exposure. Yet, rather than passively experiencing risk

in prostitution, this research challenges normative assumptions of female risk passivity by illustrating that sex workers in Ireland actively respond to risks on a daily basis and execute risk minimisation strategies in order to manage physical, health and emotional risks associated with their work. The social construction of risk decision-making and risk actions emerges as a key theme and weakened social capital and street capital become crucial mediators of risk for those engaged in shared environments on the street.

Some key 'environmental' risks are identified which compound the experiences of some individuals within the risk environment of prostitution in Ireland. At the *macro* level the law, structural inequities and dominant abolitionist discourse in Ireland impact on *meso* level shared environments, interventions and law enforcement which in turn impacts on *micro* level experiences of prostitution. Thus, in a dialectical manner, the constraints experienced by some respondents in managing the risk environment simultaneously reproduce the risk environment of prostitution in Ireland.

This research provides new insights into the lived experiences of those engaged in prostitution through an illumination of the social construction of risk, the variability of experiences of prostitution and risk and the active and "reflexive" management of risk in prostitution. It is hoped that this phenomenological inquiry will create a space for a new discourse on 'risk environments' as opposed to 'at risk' individuals, which has been, to date, missing from Irish political rhetoric on prostitution.

Acknowledgements

Firstly and most importantly I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to all those who agreed to participate in this research. To the respondents themselves whose stories made this thesis possible. It is hoped that by presenting these experiences I have given a voice to those who have been too long unheard. To the professional key informants also who gave of their time and expertise to take an interest in my study and to assist me. I am most grateful.

I would like to give my heartfelt thanks to my supervisor Dr. Evelyn Mahon, whose invaluable advice, guidance and direction allowed me to steer confidently through this process and who was a constant source of encouragement throughout the course of my research.

To the staff of Chrysalis, particularly Carol Kinsella, the former Community Drugs Worker there, who became the lifeline of this project. To the staff of Ruhama, particularly Gerardine Rowley, for allowing me access to their library resources and for their assistance with my project. To Linda Latham, Emily Reaper, Erin Nugent, Detective Inspector Pat Lordan, Paul Reynolds and Kathleen McMahon for their interest in and assistance with my studies.

To the staff of the School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College, for their interest and guidance at various points in my research. A particular mention to Ms. Maeve Foreman for her kind assistance, as well as Dr. Marguerite Woods and Dr. Paula Mayock. Also a special thanks to Professor Joyce Outshoorn, University of Leidin for her interest in my work. In addition, I wish to thank my postgraduate colleagues in Trinity, particularly Elena, Jessica and Jemimah for putting up with me in the office and for coming up with good excuses to go for a drink! A word also to Noelle Cotter, my first 'room-mate' in Trinity and a great support!

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for putting up with me throughout this research and for remaining interested! A special word to my parents, Anne and Jim, who never stop believing in me and whose unwavering love and support has encouraged me to always follow my dreams. To Paul, Jacintha and Billy and Annette for keeping me entertained and for being there for me always. And a word to Stephen, for being you and for keeping a smile on my face everyday.

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Anne and Jim, for all their love

Table of Contents

Introduction.....**page (i)**

Chapter 1	**Context Setting**	**Page**
1.1	Introduction	1
1.1.1	What is known about Prostitution in Ireland Today?	1
1.2	The Changing Nature of Prostitution	2
1.2.1	The Global Context	3
1.2.2	Transforming Intimacy?	3
1.3	Sex Markets in Ireland	4
1.4	Talking about prostitution	6
1.4.1	*Prostitute* as Risk	6
1.4.2	*Prostitution* as Risk	8
1.4.3	Prostitute *At Risk*	9
1.4.4	Dealing with the Risks	10
1.4.5	Talking about prostitution in Ireland	10
1.4.6	Sex trafficking	11
1.5	The Legal Context and Prostitution	13
1.5.1	History of Official Irish Responses to Prostitution	13
1.5.2	The development of current legislation	16
1.5.3	Moral Order Origins	17
1.5.4	Political Discourse in 1993	18
1.5.5	The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act, 1993	23
1.5.6	The Criminal Justice (Public Order) Act, 1994	24
1.5.7	Political Climate around 1993 Legislation	24
1.5.8	The Context of 1993 Discourse	26
1.5.9	The (Non)Role of the Women's Movement	26
1.6	Operation of Prostitution Law	29
1.6.1	Local Regulation	29
1.7	Provision of Services and Supports	30
1.8	A Context of Risk?	32
1.8.1	Inevitability Discourse	32
1.8.2	Other Macro Elements of the 'Risk Environment'	33
1.8.3	Drugs and Sex Markets	33
1.8.4	Homelessness, Drug addiction and Prostitution	34
1.8.5	Juvenile Prostitution	35
1.8.6	Violence	35
1.9	What can be Learned from Other Countries?	37
1.10	Conclusion – Rationale for Study	38

Chapter 2 Overview of the Risk Literature Page

2.1 Introduction....41
2.1.1 Prostitution and Risk....41

2.2 Theorising Risk....41
2.2.1 Risk and Social Constructionism....42
2.2.2 Risk, Uncertainty and the Individual....43
2.2.3 Gender and Risk....44
2.2.4 Culture and Risk....45
2.2.5 Social Constructionist Theoretical Frameworks....46
2.2.6 Risk Structure or Risk Action?....47
2.2.7 Phenomenology and Risk....49

2.3 Knowledge and Risk....49
2.3.1 Reflexivity....50
2.3.2 Systems of Relevance....51

2.4 Risk Management....52
2.5 Theorising Sex and Drugs Risk Behaviour....53
2.5.1 The Risk Environment....54

2.6 Learning Risk....54
2.6.1 Risk Perceptions – Risk prioritisation?....55
2.6.2 Risk Decisions and Social Capital....55
2.6.3 Contested Notions of Social Capital....56

2.7 Risk and Prostitution....58
2.7.1 Risk Trajectories in Prostitution....58
2.7.2 Social Organisation of Risk for Sex Work....59
2.7.3 Organisation and Management of Sex Work Risk....61

2.8 The Risk Environment of Prostitution....61
2.8.1 Risk Prioritisation....62
2.8.2 Experiencing Risk in Prostitution....63
2.8.3 Emotional Risks....63
2.8.4 Physical Risks....64
2.8.5 Health Risks....65
2.8.6 Risk Management by Sex Workers....65
2.8.7 Sex Work Risk in the Irish Context....67

2.9 Conclusion – Presenting Questions....68

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction....69
3.1.2 Paradigm of Study....69

3.2 Methodological Challenges to Researching Prostitution.....70
3.2.1 Overcoming Methodological Challenges.....71

3.3 Aims and Objectives.....71
3.3.1 Primary Research Questions.....72
3.3.2 Research Design.....73

3.4 Theoretical Influences on Methodology.....73
3.4.1 Phenomenology.....73
3.4.2 Grounded Theory.....74

3.5 Methodology.....75
3.5.1 Field Work Planning and Access Negotiations.....75
3.5.2 Navigating Challenges.....76
3.5.3 Further Access Issues.....77
3.5.4 Use of Incentives.....78
3.5.5 The Access Career.....78

3.6 Sampling.....79
3.6.1 Study Sample.....81
3.6.2 Unsuccessful Recruitment Strategies.....83
3.6.3 Sample Characteristics – Range of Experiences.....85

3.7 Ethical Considerations.....87
3.7.1 Voluntary Participation.....87
3.7.2 Informed Consent.....88

3.8 Data Collection.....88
3.8.1 Qualitative Interviewing.....89
3.8.2 Qualitative In-Depth Interviews with Respondents.....89
3.8.3 Interview Schedule.....90
3.8.4 Asking Questions.....90
3.8.5 The Nature of Questions.....91
3.8.6 Experiencing the Interview.....92
3.8.7 Collecting Narrative Accounts.....92
3.8.8 The Interview as a Site of Knowledge Production.....93
3.8.9 The Interview as a Site of Cultural Learning.....94
3.8.10 Adequacy and Saturation.....96

3.9 Data Analysis.....97
3.9.1 Sex Work Risk Analysis.....98
3.9.2 Narrative Analysis.....98
3.9.3 Discourse Analysis.....99
3.9.4 Identifying Interpretative Repertoires – Coding.....99
3.9.5 Abstraction.....100
3.9.6 Finding Meaning.....101

3.10 Epistemological Obstacles.....102
3.10.1 Cultural Constraints.....102
3.10.2 Possible Limitations.....103

3.11 Conclusion.....103

Chapter 4 Prostitution Careers and Risk Exposure Page

4.1 Introduction.....105

4.2 Pathways into Prostitution.....105
4.2.1 Convoluted Routes.....106
4.2.2 Risk Pathways and the Social Organisation of Prostitution.....107

4.3 Prior to Prostitution – Stage One of the *Matthew Effect*.....108
4.3.1 Poorly Functioning Families of Origin.....108
4.3.2 Unstable Home Environments.....110
4.3.3 Early School Leaving.....111
4.3.4 Childhood Victimisation and Abuse.....112
4.3.5 Early Initiation of Drug use.....113
4.3.6 Juvenile Criminality.....116

4.4 Adult Life Phase – Second Stage of the Matthew Effect.....116
4.4.1 Continuum of Violence.....117
4.4.2 Partner's Drug Use.....117
4.4.3 Motivations for Engagement in Prostitution.....118

4.5 Shared Environments.....119
4.5.1 Networking on the Street.....120
4.5.2 Learning Risk.....122
4.5.3 Drugs/Sex Work Nexus.....123
4.5.4 How Central is 'Drug Use'?.....125

4.6 Street Prostitution Trajectories.....126

4.7 By Contrast - The Indoor Sex Worker Experience.....129

4.8 Conclusion.....131

Chapter 5 *Risking* Work Page

5.1 Introduction.....133
5.1.1 Can Sex be Work?.....133

5.2 Initiation into the Business.....134
5.2.1 "..I had a Friend..".....134
5.2.2 The Family Connection.....136
5.2.3 A Self-Starter.....137

5.3 Economic Motives.....137

5.4 Work Scripts....138
5.4.1 Indoor Recruitment....139
5.4.2 Initiation into the Street 'Code of Practice'....139
5.4.3 Advertisement....140
5.4.4 Smart Advertisement....140
5.4.5 Indoor Regulations....140
5.4.6 Street Rules....141
5.4.7 Professional Misconduct – "Trickin' and Dippin'"....141

5.5 Working It....142
5.5.1 Work Sites....142
5.5.2 Perceptions of Sex Work Sectors....143
5.5.3 Engagement with Work....145
5.5.4 Career Mobility....146
5.5.5 Services....146
5.5.6 Tricks of the Trade....147
5.5.7 Regular Clientele....147

5.6 Money....148
5.6.1 Removing Drugs, Removing Financial Need?....150
5.6.2 Prices and Price Wars....150
5.6.3 Business Negotiations....151
5.6.4 Drugs and Sex Markets....152

5.7 Working Relationships....153
5.7.1 Competition....154

5.8 Working it in Ireland....155

5.9 An Gardaí as an Occupational Risk....156

5.10 Conclusion....159

Chapter 6 **Reading Risk** **Page**
Risk Analysis in the Narratives of Respondents

6.1 Introduction....160
6.1.2 What are the Risks?....160

6.2 The Situated Nature of Risk....161
6.2.2 Social Organisation of Prostitution - Risky Environments....161

6.3 Risk Perceptions....164
6.3.1 Choosing Prostitution – 'Relativity of Risks'....165
6.3.2 Work Risk Perceptions – Hierarchy of Harms....166
6.3.3 Rationalisation of Risk....168
6.3.4 Perception of Risk prior to Sex Work....169

6.3.5 Perception of Risk upon Leaving Sex Work.....170

6.4 Risk Assessment.....171
6.4.1 Reliance on Instinct.....171
6.4.2 Assessment of Punters.....172
6.4.3 "Telling Risk".....173

6.5 Uncertainty of Risk.....173

6.6 Normalisation of Risk.....174
6.6.1 Working through Risk.....176
6.6.2 Meso-Level Risk Filter in Sex Work.....176

6.7 Reading the Risk Environment.....177
6.7.1 Risk Reduction and Legislative Change.....177
6.7.2 Risk Intervention - Calls for Legislative Change.....178
6.7.3 Conditions of Legalisation (Controlling Risks).....178
6.7.4 Legalisation as Risk.....179
6.7.5 Support and Protection.....180
6.7.6 How Would Legalisation Work?.....181
6.7.7 Implications of Legalisation.....183

6.8 Conclusion.....183

Chapter 7 Working Risk I **Page**
Physical Risks and Risk Management

7.1 Introduction.....185
7.1.1 Violence against Women.....185
7.1.2 Violence against Women in Prostitution.....187

7.2 The Social Organisation of Risk in Prostitution.....187

7.3 Experience of Physical Violence.....188
7.3.1 Experience of Violence from the Community.....192

7.4 Physical Risk Management.....194
7.4.1 Precautions.....195
(i) Money up front.....195
(ii) Safety in Numbers.....196
(iii) Selecting Clients.....197
(iv) Screening Clients.....197
(v) Regular Punters.....199
(vi) Sexual Boundaries.....200
(vii) Social Networks.....200
7.4.2 Precaution and Deterrent.....201
7.4.3 Deterrents.....202
(i) Managing persona.....202
7.4.4 Protective Strategies.....203

(i) Weapons.....204
(ii) Third party protection.....204

7.5 Risk management intervention – The role of An Gardaí.....207
7.5.1 Positive Relations.....207
7.5.2 Perpetuation of Inevitability Discourse.....209

7.6 Contexts of Risk.....211
7.6.1 Risk as Negotiated Behaviour.....212

7.7 Conclusion.....212

Chapter 8 **Working Risk II** **Page**
Health Risk and Risk Management

8.1 Introduction.....214
8.1.1 What are the Health Risks?.....215

8.2 Sexual Health Risk Awareness.....217
8.2.1 Public versus Private Health.....217

8.3 Sexual Health Risk Management.....218
8.3.1 "Telling Risks".....219
8.3.2 Sexual Health Education.....221
8.3.3 'Safe' Services.....222

8.4 Risk Thermostats.....224
8.4.1 Drug Use and Health Risks.....225
8.4.2 Drugs and Risk – Running to Stand Still.....227
8.4.3 The Impact of Homelessness.....229
8.4.4 Drug Use, Social Context and Risk.....232
8.4.5 Drug Treatment.....233

8.5 Mental Health Issues.....233

8.6 Service Engagement and Support Needs.....235
8.6.1 Prison Based Supports for Sex Workers.....239
8.6.2 Health Service Needs.....240

8.7 Web of Causation.....241

8.8 Conclusion.....242

Chapter 9 **Working Risk III**
Emotional Risks and Risk Management **Page**

9.1 Introduction.....245

9.2. Emotional Labour.....245

9.3. Stigma.....246
9.3.1 Self-stigmatisation.....247
9.3.2 Stigmatised Sex Markets.....249

9.4. Managing 'Emotion Work'.....249
9.4.1 Managing Persona.....253
9.4.2 Sexual Boundaries.....254
9.4.3 Emotional Crutches.....254
9.4.4 Managing Emotional Crutches.....255

9.5 Disclosure.....256

9.6 Concealment – Keeping Secrets.....257
9.6.1 Keeping it "Locked Up".....258
9.6.2 Fear of being Found Out.....258

9.7 Managing Private Relationships.....259
9.7.1 The Public/Private Divide.....261
9.7.2 'Transmuted' Feelings?.....264
9.7.3 Emotional Isolation.....265

9.8 Management of Stigma - Narratives of Rationalisation.....266
9.8.1 Sex Work Discourse.....266
9.8.2 Challenging Traditional Assumptions.....267
9.8.3 Functionalist Discourse.....269

9.9 Conclusion.....270

Chapter 10 Discussion **Page**
The Risk Environment of Street Prostitution in Ireland

10.1 Introduction.....273

10.2 Key Findings.....274
10.2.1 The Risk Environment of Prostitution in Ireland.....275

10.3 The MACRO Level.....278
10.3.1 Irish Prostitution Law.....278
10.3.2 Dominant Discourse on Prostitution in Ireland.....279
10.3.3 The Matthew Effect.....281

10.4 The MESO Level.....283
10.4.1 The Social Organisation of Prostitution.....283
10.4.2 The Drugs/Sex Work Nexus.....285
10.4.3 'Working it' Indoors.....287
10.4.4 Institutional Responses – Law Enforcement.....288
10.4.5 Community (Re)action.....289

10.4.6 Organisational Responses.....290

10.5 The MICRO Level.....291
10.5.1 Health Risks.....292
10.5.2 Managing Health Risks.....292
10.5.3 Physical Risks.....293
10.5.4 Managing Physical Risks.....293
10.5.5 Emotional Risks.....294
10.5.6 Managing Emotional Risks.....294
10.5.7 Narratives of Rationalisation.....295

10.6 Implications of these Findings.....295
10.6.1 Street Capital – Rethinking Risk and Social Capital.....295
10.6.2 Contesting 'Reflexivity'.....296
10.6.3 Risk Negotiation.....298
10.6.4 'Working Risk' Indoors.....299

10.7 Reforming Rhetoric and Risk.....301
10.7.1 Reconstructing the Risk Environment.....302
10.7.2 Macro Level – Legal Reforms.....302
10.7.3 What should be the Goal of Irish Prostitution Policy?.....302
10.7.4 Other Macro Level Structural Reforms.....303
10.7.5 Meso Level – Risk Reduction Interventions.....304
10.7.6 The Limitations of Current Organisational Interventions.....304
10.7.7 Potential MICRO Level Implications.....305

10.8 Conclusion.....305

References.....308

Appendices

Appendix A – Additional Methods of Data Collection (context setting)

Appendix B – Flyers and Poster

Appendix C – Information Sheet (for prison sample)

Appendix D – Profile of Respondents

List of Boxes and Figures

Boxes and Figures **Page**

Figure 1 (a)

The Risk Environment of Prostitution in Ireland.....v

Box 3 (i)

What is a Pimp?.....80

Figure 10 (a)

Findings – The Risk Environment of Prostitution in Ireland.....257

Figure 10 (b)

Reconstructing the Risk Environment.....281

Introduction

"*Some nights ya just, ya get so depressed, ya feel manky, dirty, scruffy. Like ya really, like if I was to get into thoughts, me own thoughts I really feel dirty about what I do d'ya know what I mean. Getting into a car from one bloke to the other to another to another. I might as well be givin it away for nothing, but I'm not, I'm getting paid for it which is totally different*" (Julie, 28 year old street worker)

This thesis is concerned with the question of prostitution, specifically the lived realities of prostitution in Ireland. Julie's story above, like the others collected for this study, provide an insight into the experiences of those engaged in prostitution and how the respondents seek to make their experiences understandable. The accounts presented in this study are coloured with the context within which these experiences of prostitution are located. What is crucial to this research is the situated nature of the respondents' discourse; how their narratives construct their subjective experience and how wider discourses around prostitution construct their understandings and lived realities.

A Phenomenological Inquiry

The primary aim of the study is to delve into the phenomenology of prostitution in order to uncover subjective meanings, understandings and presentations of lived experiences. This research is grounded in the stories of the respondents, the essence of their experience and how that experience is embodied in their discourse on prostitution. Through a grounded, phenomenological approach this study purports the notion that women in prostitution attribute particular meanings to their experiences of prostitution, they are agents in their own lives who act on the basis of those meanings and they produce and reproduce meanings on the basis of interactions in prostitution (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). As social actions do not occur in a vacuum, this research considers the phenomenology of prostitution within a particular socio-legal context. As Zatz (1997) contends, however, context is not unitary and is frought with heterogeneity that make the same "event" transpire differently for different individuals. The discourses of the respondents then are

considered within a context of other competing discourses where understandings of prostitution are found at the macro, meso and micro levels.

Discourses

A dominant 'abolitionist' discourse has existed in Ireland since the early twentieth century and has remained relatively unchanged. The rhetoric has evolved somewhat from saving 'wretched creatures' during the late nineteenth century to protecting women from 'human rights violations' in the late twentieth century to abolishing 'violence against women' in the form of prostitution in the 2000s. Yet the central ideology has remained a constant and to this day is the sole, 'official' voice on women in prostitution in Ireland. Critically, this dominant discourse has had a major influence on public debate, whilst critical of current government policy, it feeds into policy which seeks to repress, rather than officially recognise prostitution in Ireland.

Legal Discourse

Whilst any political debate on prostitution in Ireland, as mentioned above, is dominated by abolitionist ideas, little space is given for debate on the issue and the current prohibitionist legislation, enacted fifteen years ago, has not been revised nor, does it seem there are any immediate plans to do so. The legislation (which will be detailed further in Chapter 1) is largely public nuisance in orientation, although lauded when first introduced for criminalising both prostitutes and clients for soliciting offences, in effect law enforcement, when enforced, targets the women in street prostitution. Law enforcement is rather ad hoc and reactionary, the discretionary powers awarded to An Garda Síochána has largely resulted in 'blind eye' tolerance with episodic clampdowns during periods of resident protests over street prostitution activities. While a criminalised environment creates issues in the negotiation of the work for women in prostitution (Chapter 6), the mostly blind-eye approach by the law means that there is no 'official' protection for women (Chapter 7) when they are not 'officially' seen.

Can Sex be Work?

The issue of sex as work is tied to liberal feminist understandings of prostitution and emerged as a direct challenge to the abolitionist approach to sex selling. Sex work discourses view women in prostitution as rational agents who exercise *free choice* to undertake 'erotic labour' (Chapkis, 1997) and thus, they argue, that prostitution should be regarded as a legitimate form of work (Perkins, 1991; Doezema, 1998; Brewis and Linstead, 2000; 2000b). Such a contention raises a number of key issues which have shaped the nature of debates on prostitution and moral ideology. Firstly, the hotly contested notion of 'choice' is well-worn within the feminist battle ground. In ethical argumentation one could question whether 'free choice' really exists. For some sociologists and feminists the 'question of choice' is a question of choice for women in a patriarchal world.

The wider feminist counter challenge to the 'free choice' argument is that 'sex workers' and scholars who propagate such an argument are deluded by a 'false consciousness' which neglects the wider structural forces which are operating around the sale of sex (Barry, 1979; Dworkin, 1996). A critical structuralist risk perspective (Beck, 1992b, 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1996b; Giddens, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1994) on women in prostitution would relate to the economic system, constraining a person's situation in terms of their opportunity to participate in the formal economy and thus banishing them to the informal economy to earn money. Matthews (2008) argues that the very nature of prostitution is gendered and is not dictated by a woman's decision or choice to sell sex but is 'structured by relations of domination and subordination' as well as the ideology of the male sex right; that is, a man's right to sexual servicing and for women's bodies to be traded on the market for that purpose. This ongoing debate is rooted in the classic agency/structure debate in Sociology; one side refusing to be regarded as puppets, the other side bemoaning the limited view of the social order from the puppets vantage. For women in prostitution who advocate the issue of choice and express agency, some observers, like Miriam (2005: 13) describe their attempts at 'disembodied agency' as blinkered as they point to women's ability to negotiate over aspects of their working condition as proof that women in prostitution have agency. By failing to account for how this supposed agency is structured and

gendered, Miriam (2005: 14) contends that structure becomes 'a blind spot in this pro-sex-work theory'.

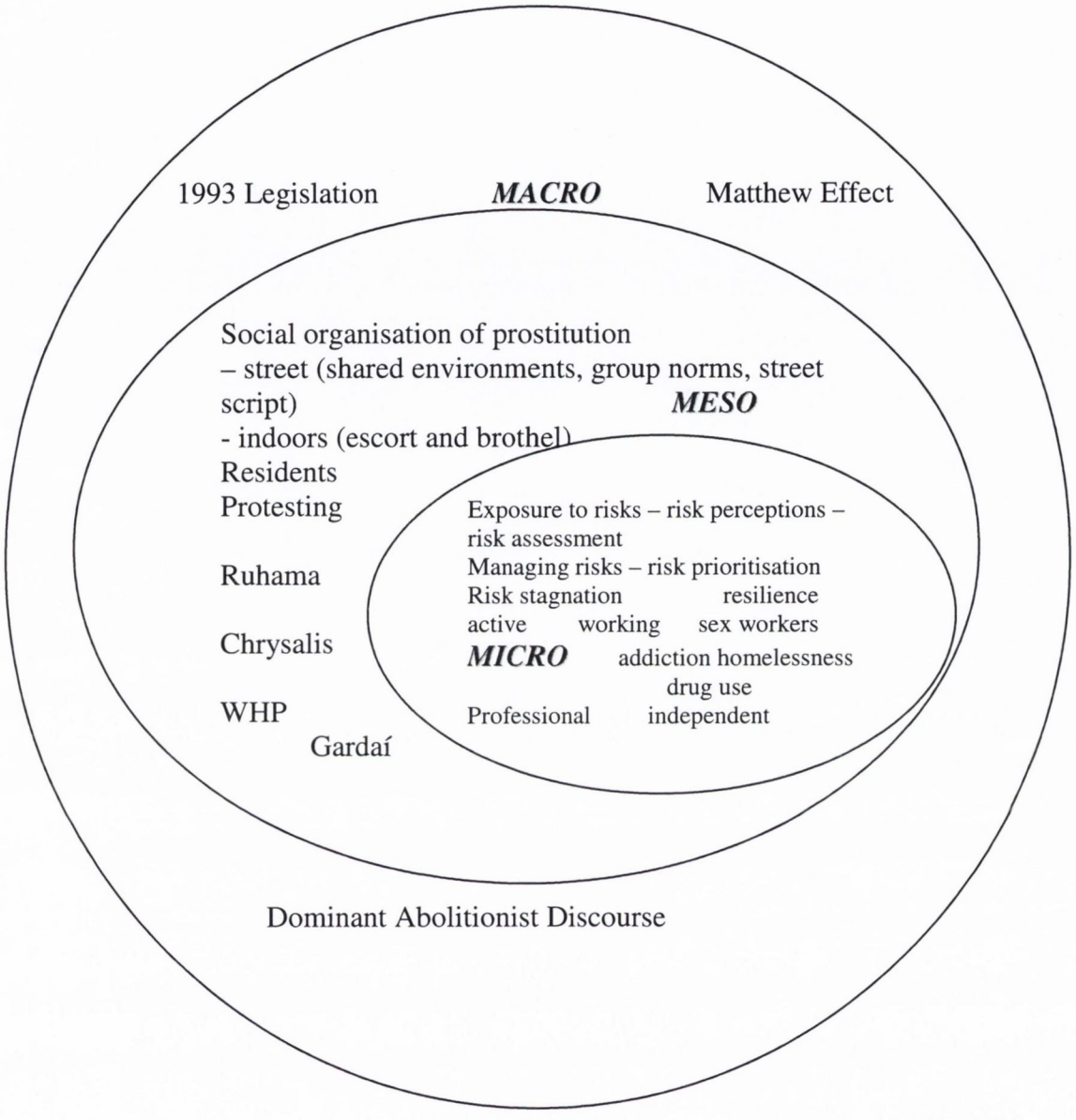
The competing discourses are alluded to throughout this thesis in terms of differing interpretations of the experience of prostitution. Without having to 'choose' sides in the feminist debate, I am more interested in how the women engaged in prostitution define their own realities. Do they perceive themselves as victims of circumstance? Do they identify as sex workers? What has emerged from this study are stories of lived experiences which challenge assumptions of passivity and provide new understandings of the lives of those engaged in prostitution in Ireland.

Risk

The concept of risk emerged as a crucial conceptual tool for this study and as a guiding framework for locating and understanding the accounts of the respondents. Whilst some social constructionist approaches to risk assume a universal notion of risk, a phenomenological approach to risk in prostitution allows for an exploration of subjective understandings of risk, how risk is perceived and negotiated by individuals within their social context and how these experiential discourses feed into cultural knowledge on risk and risk management.

What has emerged is a story of the phenemonology of the risk environment of prostitution in Ireland whereby the micro experiences of risk evident in the respondents' accounts are located within meso level and macro level risk contexts. This risk environment is illustrated in figure (i) below.

Figure (i) Lived Experiences of the Risk Environment of Prostitution in Ireland



This thesis will set out the story of the phenomenology of the risk environment of prostitution in Ireland. By locating the respondents' accounts within a risk framework it can be seen how their risk trajectories, implicated by structural issues at the macro level (Chapter1 and Chapter 4), serve to position respondents for different experiences of work at the micro level and the reproduction of different work environments at the meso level. Experiences of work at the meso level are also impacted by institutional and organisational efforts, as well as the 'social capital' available to individuals, (Chapter 5) and the work risks identified by respondents (Chapter 6), are responded to along a hierarchy of harms at the micro level (Chapters 7, 8 and 9). This thesis will

culminate with a discussion regarding this risk environment as evidenced in the data and suggests structural changes to 'enable' rather than 'disempower' individuals negotiating risk within this environment.

Chapter Plan

The first chapter, **Chapter 1**, will provide a description of the social and legal context within which the phenomenon of prostitution in Ireland is located. It will consider the legal context governing prostitution activities, the implications for working lives and the dominant discourses around prostitution in Ireland. This chapter will introduce the concept of the risk environment as a model for understanding prostitution at different contextual levels and as a guiding framework for this study

Chapter 2 will provide an *Overview of the Literature* which will focus on macro, meso and micro level risks in prostitution and provide a launch pad for this research. By considering specific theories of risk and broader risk discourses at different contextual levels, this review will critically assess the existing knowledge base on risk and identify the gaps in understanding in relation to prostitution and risk.

Chapter 3 will present the *Methodology* employed for this study. This chapter will consider the approach taken and how this was moulded by the objectives of this study. The qualitative research process and the associated reflexive exercise created a particular story for this thesis which will be presented in the subsequent analysis chapters.

Chapter 4 focuses on the initial part of the analysis *Prostitution Trajectories and the Matthew Effect.* This chapter considers variability in prostitution experience in the data by looking at pathways to prostitution and the possible existence of the Matthew Effect as an explanation for differential risk exposure and risk responses amongst respondents.

Chapter 5 presents an account of the 'work' of the respondents in *Risking Work*, including their articulation of 'sex as work', their experience of different working

environments, and 'risking work' in a criminalised context. This chapter will also consider the 'street capital' of respondents which facilitates sex work.

Chapter 6 considers the '*Risk Perceptions*' of respondents in terms of their constructions of risk, their analysis of risk along a risk continuum and the situated nature of risk. This chapter also includes assessments of the law and risk and calls for risk interventions. The remaining analysis chapters focus on responses to specific risks identified by the respondents and their risk management strategies.

Chapter 7 looks at the lived experiences of *Physical Risks* and the risk management strategies employed by respondents in order to minimise exposure to violence in their working lives.

Chapter 8 focuses on experiences of *Health Risks* and health risk behaviours, as well as the risk management efforts by individuals to avoid sexual health and other health risks. The compounding health risks associated with the drugs/sex work nexus is also highlighted in this chapter

Chapter 9 presents the *Emotional Risks* experienced by the respondents associated with their engagement in prostitution and their efforts to manage and minimise these risks in their 'public' and 'private' lives.

Chapter 10 draws together the story presented in this thesis in a *Discussion* on the lived experiences of risks in prostitution in the Irish context, the (forced) efforts to prioritise risks and the constraints upon risk management efforts. This chapter will argue that the social construction of risks, as evidenced in the data, has created a particular risk environment within which harm minimisation efforts by the most vulnerable are limited. This thesis argues for the reconstruction of this risk environment through recognition of risks in prostitution as socially constructed and understood.

Chapter One
Context Setting

1.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to detail the social context within which women in prostitution in Ireland negotiate their lives; the existing evidence base on prostitution in Ireland; the legislative backdrop and how dominant discourses of prostitution construct who they are and what they do in particular ways. The remainder of the chapter will consider the key 'contextual' areas of concern for this study.

1.1.1 What is Known about Prostitution in Ireland Today?

A compelling rationale for undertaking this study has been the dearth of knowledge in relation to the lived experiences of those engaged in prostitution in Ireland. Research into the phenomenon of prostitution was initiated following the establishment of service provision for women in prostitution in Dublin.[1] Anecdotally it is suggested that over seven hundred women have being working on the streets of Dublin since 1999[2]. As of yet, no organisation working solely with individuals in prostitution exists outside of Dublin, though there have been some localised studies on prostitution outside the Capital.

A handful of important studies have taken this issue out of the shadows in Ireland. Many have been largely health focused (O'Connor, 1994; 1995; O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999; McDonnell, McDonnell, O'Neill and Mulcahy 1998) with some interesting regional-based investigations (O'Sullivan, 1998; McElwee and Lalor, 1997) and some studies on male prostitution (Quinlan, Wyse and O'Connor, 1997; 1999). The most recent investigation was commissioned by Ruhama (Lawless and

[1] What is known about prostitution is largely due to commissioned research on the foot of health interventions by the Women's Health Project, a state-funded organisation set up in 1991, as well as by a private charitable organisation Ruhama who were set up by the Good Shepard Sisters in 1989. Both of these organisations work solely with women in prostitution in Dublin.

[2] Key informant interview with a representative from Ruhama, May 19th 2005, who indicated that since 1999, Ruhama have over 700 women on their database though, she notes that, those they meet are only the tip of the iceberg and also that figures must be interpreted with caution as there may be inconsistencies with their figures through duplicate entries etc – entries are made for each new contact; however, some women's engagement may be temporary or occasional.

Wayne, 2005) and has focused on the barriers affecting women in prostitution from taking their 'next step' in exiting the sex industry. Most of these investigations, however, are over ten years old and so the existing knowledge base on prostitution does not reflect the current climate of prostitution in this country.

Other information on the sex industry in Ireland stems from recent Garda operations[3] which have focused on brothel activities and the possible links between trafficking in women and lap dancing clubs, of which no link could be established. Garda operations have led to the prosecution of some of the "major" operators in the country (Reynolds, 2003), yet despite this regular media accounts detail the proliferation of the sex industry in Ireland pointing to the unknown scope of the industry which has changed form in the past decade. Such reports include "*The hidden sex trafficking trade is our real problem*" (Irish Independent 22/4/'07).

1.2 The Changing Nature of Prostitution

> "*The Irish girls would be in the minority in the brothel scene definitely. We'd have quite a lot of Latvians, Lithuanians, Polish girls, maybe a few Thai girls, South African girls, South American girls. At the moment within three hundred yards of where we're sitting there are three brothels operating*"
>
> (Inspector with 'Operation Quest'[4], Interview Dublin city December 2005)

Over the course of the last decade, changes in the nature of prostitution have been witnessed in Ireland. The prostitution industry itself has increased significantly while becoming increasingly covert. There are particular factors, unique to this country, which have played a role in transforming the face of prostitution in Ireland, while some of the major changes are to be seen globally.

---

[3] In 1999 Operation Gladiator, the first vice squad, was established to target those profiting from the organisation of prostitution i.e. brothel-keepers resulting in the prosecution of fourteen major brothel owners (Reynolds, 2003). Operation Quest in 2003 concentrated on the links between lap-dancing and prostitution and the second stage of Quest in 2006 reverted attention back to the brothels.

[4] This quote is taken from a face-to-face key informant interview with an Inspector involved with a Garda Investigation into brothel activity in Ireland 'Operation Quest'. The interview took place in North Dublin city centre on December 8th, 2005

1.2.1 The Global Context

The international sex industry has grown dramatically in recent years. On a broad level, the sex industry comprises organisations involved in commercial sexual enterprises including prostitution, pornography, lap dancing and telephone sex. Weitzer (2000a) attributes the rising trend in the privatisation of commercial sex to the proliferation of global communications and escort services. In Ireland, it is difficult to estimate figures, but it is suggested based on brothel-keepers earnings that yearly profits from the business would be over €75 million (Reynolds, 2003).

The internet is the industry's greatest resource and this has facilitated the advertisement of prostitution in Ireland and has made the buying of sex more accessible to men in Ireland. Advertisements through internet sites have opened up the world of prostitution to the e-punter (see "*Click for sex: Irish law powerless against the rise of online prostitution*", Irish Examiner 23/1/'07). An online survey of users of an Irish escort website found that the average client was a young, educated professional and in 61% was married or in a relationship (Irish Examiner 24/1/'07). Like other 'service' industries, the increasing number of punter sites online offer clients of prostitutes the opportunity to post their 'field reports' for other interested parties and give ratings and recommendations (Earle and Sharpe, 2006).
What has caused this major surge in demand for prostitution on a global scale? Some writers view the commercialisation of sexuality as a by-product of post-industrial society (Lawless and Wayne, 2005).

1.2.2 Transforming Intimacy?

O'Connell Davidson (1998) argues that commercial sexual encounters are devoid of social constraints on the client as the prostitute is symbolically excluded from the sexual community and does not have to be acknowledged as a full human subject. 'Obligations on the client are discharged upon payment' (O'Connell Davidson, 1998: 133). Payment for sexual services and the commodification of sexuality are clearly intertwined. Sex is analogous to a consumer product – men can select women to meet their sexual demands based on ethnicity, hair colour, body type and a range of options presented to a potential customer for his choosing (Monto, 2000). Blanchard (1994)

in his research with 'young johns' found that the concept of "McSex" was evident whereby the punters in his sample likened the buying of sexual services to a quick, cheap, dirty yet satisfying meal. These issues have not been explored in Ireland and client motivations or experiences are not part of the focus of this thesis. The 'demand side' of the sex industry, however, must be acknowledged in terms of changing engagement with the sex industry in Ireland over the past number of years and the idea of the eroticization of the exotic can be seen to be relevant to this context whereby the majority of the women working in the busy brothels today, as identified through Garda operations (noted above), are non-Irish.

1.3 Sex Markets in Ireland

Sanders (2005) offers a classification of prostitution based on her typology of sex markets. These markets for prostitution include licensed saunas, brothels, escorts, working premises, working from home and the street market. Changes to street prostitution in Ireland in recent years means that some women may work independently from mobile phones or together from a private flat. Nowadays widespread mobile phone use in Ireland means that contacts can be made without having to go out on the streets. These changes have led to a notable decrease of open soliciting by women – street prostitution has become less visible though it has not disappeared. Consequently, outreach and health services are finding it hard to reach an already covert group as they are not as visible as they once were[5].

A simplistic typology of indoor (brothels, escort services, parlours) and outdoor prostitution (street work) allows for a mapping of the visible aspects of prostitution in this country, whilst covert aspects of the sex industry become 'visible' through anecdotal evidence, media reporting and police operations.

Street prostitution is mainly a Dublin phenomenon as traditional 'street walking' is not as visible in other parts of the country. A study of prostitution in Waterford city by McElwee and Lalor (1997) found that 'street work' was mainly located in the Quay area where those involved in prostitution provided services aboard boats which

[5] Observations from several outreach workers during volunteer work with service provider described in more detail in Methodology

were docked. In a study of the mid-West, O'Sullivan (1998) identified eight particular streets which were associated with street prostitution. As the street workers participating in this study are all Dublin based, mapping their strolls is useful for understanding where their lived experiences of 'work' are geographically located.

The South side of Dublin city has a red-light area that stretches from the banks of the canal at Baggot Street and Mespil road to Burlington road and Fitzwilliam Square. Other Southside street areas include the Herbert Park area. In the North side, Benburb Street has been a long-established site for street prostitution as well as surrounding areas of Manor Street, Queen Street and Blackhall Place[6]. The works on the Luas tramline which began in 2000 and runs through Benburb Street impacted on the working lives of street women displacing them from this traditional red-light district. So the women moved from this street up to Arbour Hill and Montpellier Hill. Community protests in this Dublin 7 area called for the girls and their clients to move on. Street working women on the North side have not, therefore, been as visible as they were previously which has implications for street outreach efforts. Some of these displaced women may be working on the Southside or they may also be involved in some other, more covert, aspects of this informal economy[7]. This means that street prostitution may not be as obvious as it once was in the city.

Indoor prostitution in Ireland has maintained a steady growth over the century. The 1970's in Ireland evidenced women working out of houses and flats around Dublin with an established brothel scene emerging in the Wexford Street and Mountjoy Square areas around that time, as well thriving enterprises whereby women worked from 'passion wagons' around the country (Reynolds, 2003). The following decades witnessed an escalation in indoor sex markets in the country as brothel advertisement kept business booming and localised operations expanded to cater for demand outside of the capital city with transitory workers working around the country.

[6] These main red light areas in North and South Dublin city were mapped out as part of my outreach work as a volunteer with Ruhama from June-December 2005

[7] Anecdotal evidence from street outreach workers with Ruhama

1.4 Talking about Prostitution

Discourses of prostitution differ in their production of knowledge on prostitution through its conceptualisation (Ryan, 1997). The articulation and influence of discourses on prostitution can be seen through the domination of certain discourses and through linkages between discourses. 'Discourses do not simply exist, but are rather dynamic and changing' (Ryan, 1997: 15).

Broadly, contemporary feminist perspectives offer competing discourses of 'prostitution' and these differences can be tied to different conceptualisation of 'prostitution and risk'. From social historical accounts of nineteenth century thinking around the '*prostitute* as risk', to twentieth century and first wave radical feminist actions with a focus on '*prostitution* as risk' to late twentieth century liberal feminist discourses around the 'prostitute *at risk*'.

1.4.1 *Prostitute* As Risk

Historical responses to prostitution in Ireland as elsewhere in nineteenth century Europe involved a construction of the prostitute as an immoral outcast who needed to be controlled, contained and converted (Luddy, 1997, 2007; see also Walkowitz, 1980).

As an established social risk, prostitutes were also cast as a health risk to the public as the threat of venereal disease was associated with sexual promiscuity, and by definition, prostitution. Medical discourses around prostitution originated in the nineteenth century based on the perceived public health threat of the prostitute. Walkowitz (1980) considered the regulation, medicalisation, isolation and containment of women in prostitution through the Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s and 1870s, which permitted the inspection of prostitutes for venereal diseases in Ireland and Britain[8]. Through medicalised regulation a prostitute could be officially deemed a 'health risk' and officially registered as a 'prostitute' in Ireland (Luddy, 1997), thus constructing a formal link between the two labels. Spongberg

[8] If found to be infected the woman would be detained for up to a period of nine months in a Lock hospital and officially registered as a prostitute in Ireland (Luddy, 1997)

(1997) examined medical discourse on women's disease in particular in the nineteenth century. The medical literature, she argued, feminised venereal disease. Spongberg notes that there was a shift in nineteenth century medical literature from inscribing feminity as generally diseased to inscribing the prostitute's body as a site of venereal disease;

> *'The prostitute's body became not only the representative sexualised female body, but a site of abnormal indulgence...in contrast the body of the virtuous woman came to be desexualised, her sexual characteristics co-opted as maternal characteristics. In this way the body of the prostitute came to be synonymous with venereal disease. Prostitutes were not merely agents of transmission but somehow inherently diseased, if not the disease itself'.*
>
> (Spongberg, 1997: 45)

Clear parallels can be seen between nineteenth century medical discourse of prostitution and contemporary medical discourse of prostitution. The 1980s HIV/AIDS pandemic revived notions of prostitutes as vectors of disease and a threat to public health (Day, 2000). Most literature from the medical discourse camp fails to address the notion of the clients of prostitutes as vectors of disease. The medicalisation of prostitution through HIV/AIDS perspectives is seen as a continuity of the nineteenth century medical discourse which has legitimated the surveillance and regulation of certain categories of people (Day, 2000). This has entrenched the notion which synonymises the prostitute with disease (Alexander, 1988).

One of the variants of medical discourse is the psychopathological discourse of prostitution. Underpinning this discourse is a simple differentiation between prostitutes and non-prostitute women, with the conception that there is something inherently wrong with prostitutes which makes them different to *normal* women (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1895; Glueck and Glueck, 1934; Glover, 1943 and Benjamin and Masters, 1964). The problem with essentialism, as within this discourse, is that it did not open the theoretical space for questions relating to the social differences between prostitutes and non-prostitutes (Phoenix, 1999).

1.4.2 *Prostitution* As Risk

Where prostitution itself is regarded as a 'risk' the prostitute is regarded as the quintessential victim of patriarchy, who, through economic necessity, is forced to prostitute her body in order to survive (see Shrage, 1994). This view, which underpins abolitionism, views prostitution as a risk to those (largely focused on the female prostitutes) involved.

As a means for understanding how the abolitionist discourse dominates Irish discourse on prostitution, it can be considered that what constitutes the acceptance of a view as legitimate and ontologically acceptable is what leads to the production and reproduction of knowledge (Kuo, 2002: 22). The silencing of certain opposing voices to the abolitionist campaign is often facilitated by discursive techniques which seek to pathologize the sex work voice as arising from a false consciousness rooted in childhood victimisation (Kuo, 2002). It can be argued, however, that even if the sex work discourse is voiced by those who have been victims of child sexual abuse, their voices are still worthy of being heard and can still provide valuable insights for the development of prostitution policy.

Abolitionists consider prostitution as the 'absolute embodiment of patriarchal male privilege' (Kesler, 2002: 219) as it strips a woman's dignity reducing her to an object for the sexual consumption of men (Barry, 1979, Pateman, 1988; Overall, 1992; Dworkin, 1996; Farley, 2005). Pateman (1988: 208) argues that the prostitution/sexual contract is one in which the 'law of male sex right' is legitimated; 'the law of male sex-right is publicly affirmed, and men gain public acknowledgement as women's sexual masters – that is what is wrong with prostitution'.

An official abolitionist approach to prostitution can be seen to include policies that seek to eliminate prostitution, punitively target the organisation of prostitution and prevent the social conditions leading to prostitution (Mazur, 2004). Scoular and O'Neill (2007: 11), however, highlight the linear narrative of the prostitute as a victim of violence, drug abuse and povery evident in abolitionist discourse which 'constructs the prostitute as a partial subject/object', to be subject to welfare treatment and 'responsiblized' towards exit.

The dominance of this discourse in the Irish context, promoted as an ideal government response, will be detailed in *Section 1.4.5* below.

1.4.3 Prostitute *At Risk*

Associated with ideas of prostitution as 'free choice' (Chapkis, 1997), is the liberal notion of prostitution as work like any other. The sex work discourse emerged in the 1990s, reflecting the fight for rights amongst sex workers, the increased mobilisation of sex workers and attempts to challenge the use of stigmatising language (O'Neill and Campbell, 2006). Many sex work advocates call for prostitution, despite its perceived advantages or disadvantages, to be regarded as a legitimate form of work (Delacoste and Alexander, 1988; Pheterson, 1993; Chapkis, 1997; Nagel, 1997; Doezema, 1998). This discourse calls for actions to reduce risks for those who work in prostitution, rather than focusing on the individuals themselves or what they engage in as 'risky'.

Internationally, many sex workers rights organisations have evolved over the past twenty years to challenge traditional constructions of prostitution, to promote thinking on prostitution as genuine service work and to raise awareness of the rights of those who sell sex (e.g. COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics), the English Collective of Prostitutes and De Rode Draad (The Red Thread) in the Netherland). Mordaunt (2002) an ex-drug using sex worker, argues that celebrating sex as work misrepresents the experiences of disenfranchised groups in prostitution, thus their realities are often sidelined. While COYOTE and other prostitute rights organisations acknowledge that there are a number of abuses that can be associated with prostitution, such as violence, drug abuse and juvenile prostitution, they argue that 'most problems associated with prostitution are directly related to the prohibition of prostitution and the stigma attached to sex and especially sex work' (Jenness, 1990: 268). Sex work activists call for legitimizing sex workers as self-determining agents[9] (Pheterson, 1993) and for the redefinition of prostitution as sex work (Bindman, 1997). As a discourse, a sex-as-

[9] The first and second World Whores Congresses were staged as a backlash against the silencing of prostitute voices (Kuo, 2002) and organiser Gail Pheterson (1989: 3-4) contends that 'never have prostitutes been legitimized as spokespersons or self-determining agents, not by those who defend them against male abuse and not by those who depend on them for sexual service'.

work approach seeks to challenge prevailing stereotypes about women in prostitution which they argue leads to their stigmatisation and abuse (Lopez and Clamen, 2004). By officially endorsing a sex work approach through legal amendments, it is argued that the direct benefit for sex workers is that through the elimination of legal stigmatisation, violence against women in prostitution will no longer be justifiable.

The sex work discourse recognises prostitution as sex work and prostitutes as sex workers. Outshoorn (2001) notes that moral discourses framing the prostitution debate in the Netherlands have recently been displaced by a sex work discourse. She discusses the ambivalence of the sex work discourse. However, while prostitution is recognised as sex work in the Netherlands, it is deemed a special profession with certain nuances in that, for instance, the prostitute cannot be held to her contract and it could never be considered work a woman is required to do in order to retain her benefits (Outshoorn, 2001: 484).

1.4.4 Dealing with the Risks

Other 'prostitute at risk' discourses which seek to circumvent the pro/anti prostitution divide are harm minimisation approaches which have become the central philosophy of many sex worker projects in the U.K. (Pitcher, 2006; O'Neill and Campbell, 2001). This approach is derived from a health focused harm reductionist ethos to service delivery where a practical focus allows for the minimisation of harms associated with prostitution, as opposed to focusing on a minimisation of prostitution. Arguments for the liberalisation of prostitution laws, through such an approach for example, requires pragmatic acceptance of prostitution in society and thus allows for the channelling of efforts into making sex work and working environments safer for those involved (Hubbard, 2006). The manifestation of legal contexts around the different discourses of prostitute *as* risk, *at* risk and *prostitution* as risk will be discussed later in this chapter with reference to particular legislative systems in Europe and beyond.

1.4.5 Talking about Prostitution in Ireland

Abolitionism can be traced through twentieth century efforts in Ireland to 'save' women from a life of immorality and this perspective has developed around different

frameworks of understanding which regard prostitution as a 'human rights violation' to viewing prostitution as 'violence against women'.

As noted in the 'Introduction', abolitionism has dominated discourse on prostitution in the Irish context and one group in particular, Ruhama[10] a voluntary agency in Dublin working with women in prostitution, has been at the forefront of abolitionism since the 1990s. Whilst there are some other services working specifically with those engaged in prostitution (all Dublin based – detailed later in this chapter), Ruhama are the key, and it would seem, sole player on discourse on prostitution in Ireland. Among some of the other notable voices which harmonise with Ruhama's abolitionist stance are the National Women's Council of Ireland (NWCI)[11] (of which Ruhama are a member), the Rape Crisis Network Ireland (RCNI) and the Sexual Violence Centre Cork. Many of these organisations find common ground through 'violence against women' discursive framings. In this way, the issue of 'trafficking' in women for sexual exploitation has been a shared concern and the issue of prostitution has become subsumed into general discourse around combating trafficking and sexual exploitation in Ireland. The role of the women's movement in Ireland regarding the issue of prostitution is further explored in Section 1.5.9 below.

1.4.6 Sex Trafficking

Organised prostitution relies on networks to run effectively and local pimps are often associated with national and international networks (UK Home Office, 2004). The US State Department Trafficking in Persons (TIPS) Report 2008 estimates that 600,000 to 800,000 men, women and children are trafficked across international borders every year, 80% are female and up to 50% are minors. It is estimated that 120,000 women and children are trafficked into Western Europe each year (O'Connor and Healy, 2006).

[10] Ruhama are a voluntary, non-governmental organisation established by the Good Shepard Sisters in the late 1980s to work with and for women in prostitution in Dublin.
[11] The NWCI, with 153 affiliated women's groups/organisations, facilitates the national European Women's Lobby (EWL) Observatory on Violence Against Women in Ireland (see O'Connor and Healy, 2006; O'Connor, 2004)

Ruhama note that they had contact with their first victim of trafficking in 2000. Since then increasing numbers of women are presenting to their service as victims of trafficking, as many as 32 trafficked women in 2005. Their numbers, Ruhama argue, are only 'a drop in the ocean' (Fahey, 2007). The Criminal Law (Human Trafficking) Act recently came into effect in June 2008, in line with a Council of Europe framework and United Nations protocol on trafficking[12], and addresses the issue of trafficking in children and other persons including for reasons of prostitution with a maximum sentence of life imprisonment for such offences[13]. This legislation was largely in response to growing concerns regarding Ireland as a destination country for trafficking in women and children for sexual purposes (Ward and Wylie, 2007; O'Connor, 2004; Conroy, 2003; www.stopsextrafficking.ie). A study exploring the extent of trafficking into Ireland for the purposes of sexual exploitation, found thatat least 76 women had been trafficked into Ireland between 2000 and 2006 (Ward and Wylie, 2007). This legislation, however, has been critiqued by Ruhama for failing to provide safe refuge to victims of trafficking (www.breakingnews.ie). What can be noted in the Irish context is that, in recent years, the issue of prostitution has been largely collapsed into trafficking and 'violence against women' discourse and any question of 'forced versus voluntary' prostitution has been largely disregarded (see O'Connor and Healy, 2006) However, some observers argue that genuine victims of trafficking must be distinguished from female 'sex migrants', the latter group not being passive victims lured to the country under false pretences (Agustín, 2006; Kempadoo and Doezema, 2005). Agustín (2006: 135) argues that '[t]he social fixation on...the worst forms of commercial sex need to be combated by good, responsible research {...} The frame used should not begin by victimising...'.

[12] The Criminal Law (Human Trafficking) Act, 2008 gives effect to Council of Europe framework decision on 19 July, 2002 on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings. It also gives effect, in part, to the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime of 15 November 2000, and the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings on 16 May 2005 (Irish Statute Book, Acts of the Oireachtas, Criminal Law (Human Trafficking) Act, 2008)

[13] At the time of writing (October 2008), a dedicated 'Human Trafficking' Unit had just been announced, to become operational through An Garda Síochana as part of the Department of Justice and Law Reform

1.5 The Legal Context and Prostitution

Different typologies of current prostitution systems are offered in the literature. Broadly, three main legal positions on prostitution can be observed in the literature; criminalisation, decriminalisation and legalisation (Ditmore, 2005). *Criminalisation* is defined as the inclusion of prostitution or related activities in the criminal legal code. *Decriminalisation* is the removal of prostitution or related activities from the criminal legal code and permits activity without special regulation. *Legalisation* permits some activity with special regulation (Ditmore, 2005: 29; Kuo, 2002).

Furthermore, cultural context has important ramifications for the support of particular systems of prostitution (Kuo, 2002). The shaping of political culture around a society and its social ideals are general indications of the reasons for the development of particular approaches to prostitution in a specific context.

1.5.1 History of Official Responses to Prostitution in Ireland

Concern over the visibility of prostitution is not a new phenomenon, and efforts to remove women in prostitution from public view are rooted in common developments in nineteenth century Ireland and across Europe (Luddy, 1997; Wolkowtiz, 1980). Luddy (1997) argues that anxiety over the visibility of prostitution in Ireland at that time was associated with fears of their use of public space and, crucially, their contamination of that space. The discourse of contagion associated with prostitution at that time related to both disease and immorality (Luddy, 1997: 485). Ireland of the early twentieth century was characterised by a narrow moral code which equated immorality with sexual immorality (Kilcommins, O'Donnell, O'Sullivan and Vaughan, 2004). In fact, the public manifestation of sexuality, in the form of prostitution, was viewed as wanton immorality and served as a scapegoat of rhetoric for what should be hidden, lessons for each individual to bring home and leave at home.

For much of the twentieth century public attention to the phenomenon of prostitution was minimal aside from 'rescue work' in the guise of Catholic organisations such as the Legion of Mary, and the work of the established Magdalen Asylums with an

implicit remit to contain, control and reform "fallen women". 'Disposing of sexualized women and children in religious institutions rendered the compromising reality of their existence invisible. In return, the nation secured its identity as a Catholic and morally pure society' (Smith, 2004: 233). Any sexual activity outside of procreative teleology (Zatz, 1997) was deemed improper. Moreover, the female engaged in such activity was deemed improper regardless of the actions of her male co-conspirator. This vicious sexual double-standard was produced, reproduced and reinforced through public and political discourse which named and scapegoated female 'misconduct' and institutionalised responses to the social evils embodied by the misbehaving female in order to warn and protect the good people of Ireland (Smith, 2004).

The written history of Magdalen asylums in Ireland, according to Smith (2007), is almost exclusively confined to the nineteenth century in Ireland, yet these asylums have their origins in the eighteenth century with the first of these types of refuges opening in Dublin's Leeson Street in 1767. Earlier Magdalen institutes were established and operated by lay people, and it was not until the 1830s that Catholic female religious orders began assuming control of these asylums for the "moral reform and spiritual conversion of fallen women" (Smith, 2007: 25). The Magdalen asylums fulfilled an important social function in containing and controlling female sexuality. According to Inglis (1998: 29), the regulation of sex and desire in nineteenth century Ireland was imperative to the maintenance of marriage and the family and "essential ingredients in the formation of a moral, civilised society". The sexual double standard which existed became institutionalised through Irish society's response to women deemed guilty of sexual deviancy (sex outside of marriage, bearing illegitimate children, prostitution) or at risk of sexual deviancy through their circumstances, whilst turning a blind eye to male culpability. It is argued that this hegemonic discourse on female sexuality which prevailed

"disembodied sexual practice by obscuring social realities, especially illegitimacy, in discursive abstractions ...[and] concealed sexual crime, especially rape, infanticide, and abuse, while simultaneously sexualizing the women and children unfortunate enough to fall victim to society's moral proscriptions" (Smith, 2007: 2).

Smith (2007) describes how, in the early twentieth century, the newly established Irish Free State and the Church colluded in policing the sexuality of women to uphold a strict, Catholic morality. This culminated in a Church-State initiative, the Carrigan Committee, which produced recommendations to amend previous government statues on sexual offences as well as efforts to "deal" with juvenile prostitution: "[t]he Carrigan Report, I propose, was a formative moment in establishing an official state attitude toward "sexual immorality" and the subsequent legislation in authorizing the nation's containment culture" (Smith, 2007: 2). What ensued was a policy which legislated for an "architecture of containment" (Smith, 2007: 2) encompassing industrial schools and reformatories and Magdalen asylums as well as other affiliated institutions. Magalen asylums offered the opportunity of penance for fallen women through strict routines of prayer, sleep and duties – the latter which involved labour in commercial laundries operating within the asylums:

"The employment of women in laundry activities assumed symbolic significance in that the cleansing of society's dirty linen paralleled the individual cleansing of the moral stain on their souls. Hard labor, expended in washing, scrubbing, ironing, and folding laundry, was rendered virtuous precisely because it reflected a personal desire to attain a state of brilliant, and spotless, grace" (Smith, 2007: 38).

The continued operation of these Magdalen asylums throughout the twentieth century in Ireland[14] could be regarded as the institutional maintenance of the hegemonic patriarchal social order through the control of female sexuality and morality. Magdalen penitentiaries, then, represented the official effort to contain the sexual, immoral deviants in order to 'reform' them for re-entry to virtuous society. Finnegan (2004: 4) comments in disbelief at the longevity of these asylums in Ireland, even in the face of societal change: : "[c]ontinuing to operate even when the Women's Movement was at its height, the Magdalen System in Ireland lingered on unnoticed, its victims not, apparently, a matter of concern". The history of the Magdalen asylums in Ireland reveals much about the treatment of female sexuality and moral transgressions in Ireland and the legacy of this institutionalised containment provides

[14] The last Magdalen Asylum operating in Ireland closed it's doors in 1996

an important macro context within which to locate and understand Irish responses to prostitution.

Managing the risk of prostitution in nineteenth and twentieth century Ireland involved strategies such as concealment and containment. By taking impure women away from public view, the threats that these women posed to public morality and decency could be minimised, and thus, it appeared that the risk of prostitution in Ireland could be controlled and ultimately eliminated.

1.5.2 The Development of Current Legislation

The present policy concerning prostitution in Ireland was enacted in 1993. Prior to the enactment of the 1993 legislation on prostitution in Ireland, a woman only had to be identified as a "common prostitute" by a Garda who testified (Foran and O'Neill, 1996). The term "common prostitute" became inoperable in 1981 after it was ruled unconstitutional for prejudicing the case against the person[15,16].

The 1993 Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act in Ireland legalises homosexuality and also includes sections to deal with prostitution. It was quite a peculiar union of issues in legislation, as decriminalising homosexuality and criminalising aspects of prostitution would not seem to be complementary measures. Parliamentary debate around the Bill included some criticism from speakers who rejected the inclusion of sections dealing with prostitution with this particular legislation and called for more time to comprehensively debate the issue of prostitution. To avoid any political controversy over the homosexuality statute change, government debate over the proposed legislation was restricted to two days, giving no time to address concerns raised by groups working with women in prostitution (Bacik, 2004). The overriding

[15] As a result of the Supreme Court ruling in the case of King vs. Attorney General and the Director of Public Prosecutions in 1981, the identification of a female as a "common prostitute" by Gardaí could not be used as a basis for prosecution

[16] Following this, a major drop in convictions was witnessed. Deirdre Foran and Mary O'Neill from the Women's Health Project noted in their country report for EUROPAP that pre-1993 Gardaí had little contact in relation to law enforcement with women in prostitution and few cases were brought before the courts (Foran and O'Neill, 1996).

discourses evident in political debate on this legislation are those of public nuisance and moral order (Kantola and Squires, 2004a).

1.5.3 Moral Order Origins

The Minister for Justice, Máire Geoghegan-Quinn, who presented the Bill to the houses of the Oireachtas in June 1993, highlighted the recommendations of the 1993 Second Commission on the Status of Women as a rationale for measures relating to prostitution[17].

The Commission's second report in 1993 states that 'the lives of prostitutes are characterised by a sense of hopelessness, few opportunities, no voice in society, no choice in life and very little hope' (Second Commission on the Status of Women, 1993: 181).

Of the five hundred and seventy plus submissions received by the Commission, only one submission was in relation to prostitution which was from Ruhama, a voluntary organisation who work with and on behalf of prostitutes in Dublin (service detailed later in this chapter). Ruhama, an agency with abolitionist underpinnings, urged the Commission to recommend strategies to recognise the dignity of all women based on non-stigmatisation, non-victimisation and 'a woman's right to choose'. The language politics[18] (Meith, 2008) of prostitution is evident when one considers the use of a similar rhetoric for diametrically dissimilar agendas (i.e. the 'right to choose' as an implicit tagline of sex work discourse).

Fundamentally, the recommendations on prostitution propagate abolitionism and support strategies geared towards the reintegration of prostitutes into mainstream

---

[17] The Second Commission on the Status of Women was established by the Government on 1 November, 1990. The First Commission in 1972 did not deal in any way with the issue of prostitution.

[18] Professor Dietmar Meith (2008) argued that all ethical norms are to be found and forged in reason and reflection. The issue of *language politics*, then, is fundamental to ethical debate. Language politics are at the crux of discursive constructions of prostitution and the prostitute. Different conceptualisations and definitions are forwarded by different players in the public arena, and how issues are conceptualised, defined and interpreted are of ethical concern as different constructions of an issue impact differently at a societal, sub-cultural and individual level. Focusing on language politics allows for words and their utilisation to be deconstructed in order to identify the politicisation of concepts in prostitution discourse.

society. In relation to legislation, the Commission advocates an "even-handed" approach, and that prosecutions should, therefore, apply to both prostitutes and their clients.

1.5.4 Political Discourse in 1993

The background to this act lays in a European Court of Rights ruling which declared that present Irish legislation (Offences Against the Person Act, 1861 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885) violated Section 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights. The Act, then, primarily served to rid ourselves of the Victorian legacy permeating legislation which placed moral judgements on a person's sexuality; by decriminalising homosexuality.

Minister for Justice Máire Geoghegan-Quinn (on decriminalising homosexuality): "*We are recognising that we are in an era in which values are being examined and questioned and that it is no more than our duty as legislators to show that we appreciate what is happening by dismantling a law which reflects the values of another time*"(Dáil Éireann, Volume 432, 23rd June 1993).

Whilst the debate around this legislation predominately involved 'moral order' discourse, some opposition speakers in the Dáil communicated their concerns about the proposed law which provided for some additional discursive themes to be highlighted. In relation to the prostitution measures of the Bill, opposition T.D[19]. Gay Mitchell contends that "it is disingenuous to include in this Bill reactionary legislation dressed up as liberal legislation". He condemns the severe penalties that the Bill imposes for soliciting or importuning for the purposes of prostitution, and criticises the absence of measures in the Bill to assist prostitutes "or to discourage them from their activities". In addition, he notes that there is a failure on the part of legislation dealing with prostitution to protect the health of prostitutes.

Michael McDowell T.D. also criticises the bill for its draconian penalties, especially the punishment of imprisonment for soliciting and importuning. He makes reference

[19] Teachta Dála – Elected representative in the lower house of the Irish Government (Dáil Éireann)

to the shortage of space in prisons and the extremity of imprisonment as a penalty in this legislation. He states:

"Why should a man who, for whatever reason, asks for the services of a prostitute on the street be sent to jail for three months? I should like the Minister to explain that to me. Why should a prostitute, ***who is at the lowest end of the pecking order in society***, be jailed for three months for agreeing to give her services to this man?" (Dáil Éireann, Volume 432, 23rd June 1993 – emphasis added).

The public health implications of prostitution were discussed at Committee and final stage of the Bill (second day of Dáil debate on the proposed legislation) by Enda Kenny T.D., who spoke of prostitutes as the vectors of the AIDS virus:

*"I have some difficulty with this matter of prostitution. About two months ago a Sunday paper reported that a female prostitute in Dublin had AIDS...It caused me great personal distress that no action was taken in that regard because AIDS is like a time bomb in our midst...**the implications of which are horrendous not only for people who have sex with the prostitute concerned but also for the families involved and for the country as a whole**"* (Dáil Éireann , Volume 432 , 24th June, 1993 – emphasis added).

This discourse would appear to perpetuate traditional public health discourse of prostitutes *as* risk. The concerns noted refer to the "horrendous" implications that a prostitute with AIDS has for those who pay for her services, their families and wider society. The implications of health risks for women in prostitution themselves, and the need for measures to safeguard them, are ignored in this rhetoric.

Two typologies of prostitution are offered by Mary Harney T.D. which are implied as being high class and low class:

"*There are two different categories of prostitute: one is the higher class prostitute [...] who is kept in a house or luxury apartment by a well-off businessman.* ***Such a person could not be classified as a prostitute****. However, the category of prostitute who operates on the streets, soliciting and importuning, will continue to face the*

penalties and provisions of this legislation" (Dáil Éireann , Volume 432 , 24th June, 1993 – emphasis added).

What definitions are used then in relation to prostitution? The visibility and public nuisance factors of street prostitution make its associated activities of soliciting and importuning offences under the legislation. The "high-class prostitute" hidden in her luxury apartment can not be deemed to be a prostitute, according to Mary Harney T.D.. Only prostitution that is overt and has public manifestations can be deemed as constituting prostitution. The Minister highlights this view with her clean-up-the-streets aspiration:

"All of us wish to ensure that prostitution is eliminated from public streets, not just because of the ***nuisance factor*** and the degrading way in which women parade themselves in these areas, many of them on the south side of Dublin city, but because it ***causes offence and annoyance to innocent passers-by***. It is important that public streets and highways are not used for prostitution" Dáil Éireann , Volume 432 , 24th June, 1993 – emphasis added).

Within this political discourse, the 'innocent' passers-by are juxtaposed with the immoral prostitutes who cause offence, annoyance and nuisance. It is implied that the innocent public must be protected from the undignified behaviour of these women, and so these prostitutes must be removed from the streets. Obviously, it is anticipated that this legislation will make this possible.

A proposal for the establishment of a Task Force on prostitution is ruled out of order. The T.D. (Gilmore) who put forward the suggestion comments on the scarcity of information and research on prostitution in Ireland as well as the absence of interested parties in the debate, noting that only one submission was received in relation to prostitution by the Second Commission on the Status of Women (from Ruhama as noted earlier in this chapter). A more extensive approach to dealing with prostitution is called for, which would deal with prostitution as a form of exploitation, rather than the legalistic approach within the Bill.

One suggestion regarding possible legalisation was raised by a member of parliament during this debating period; "*I should make the point that prostitution should be legalised, that brothels should be licensed and that there should be none of this soul-searching. After all, it is the oldest profession in the world, older than politics itself*" (Dáil Éireann, Volume 432 - 24 June, 1993). The TD (Teachta Dála – Member of Irish Parliament) in question bemoaned the introduction of the legislation making reference to our international position; "*..this legislation serves no purpose other than to make us look even more ridiculous than at present in the eyes of the world*" (Dáil Éireann, Volume 432 - 24 June, 1993). This notion is refuted by a female TD (Liz O'Donnell) who contends that prostitution is not part of human nature, is exploitative of all women and can be eliminated. She supports legislation as a step towards "killing" the customer base over a certain period of time through an equalisation of penalties and "stigma" of prostitutes and their customers. O'Donnell associates prostitution with rape, incest and child abuse which all involve the common denominator of men exploiting women. "*I get very wary when I hear men saying that prostitutes should be legally entitled to sell their services. This endorses the premise that a woman can sell her body to a man*" (Dáil Éireann, Volume 432 - 24 June, 1993).

At the debate of the Bill in the Upper House, the Seanad[20], Senator David Norris, who instigated the legislation through his appeal of the criminalisation of homosexuality in Ireland in the European Court of Human Rights, famously rejected this legislation based on the measures dealing with prostitution which he perceives to be the victimisation of a vulnerable group. Speaking to Senator Norris as a key informant for this study he states that his rationale behind the rejection of the Bill was that "*I didn't want to achieve my freedom at the expense of the freedom of other people*" (footnote – Key informant interview Senator Norris, Nov. 30th 2005). At the time of the debates on the legislation he called for the unlinking of the two issues of prostitution and homosexuality, so that the matter of prostitution may be rationally considered at another date. Senator Norris disputes the criminalisation of prostitution as is appears in the Bill and calls for the recognition and regulation of prostitution: "Prostitutes should be registered, licensed, subject to health checks and the areas in

[20] The Seanad, or the Senate, the upper house of the Irish Oireachtas, does not hold executive powers

which they operate should be regulated" (Seanad Éireann, Volume 137 - 30th June 1993). Norris comments that he received a number of correspondences from citizens who espoused the notion of regularising and legalising prostitution on health and social grounds.

It is clear, however, from an exploration of the political debates in both houses of the Oireachtas at the time of proposed legislation in 1993 that Senator Norris' view was in the minority and that traditional, early twentieth century discourses around "saving fallen women" were still alive and well, as Ireland moved towards the twenty first century. A brief reference to the discourse of 'sex work' was made in passing during the course of the Dáil debates and quickly refuted by a Senate speaker. Senator Honan made clear her offence at the words of the Minister for Health in a sitting of the Dáil the week previous, who spoke of prostitutes as women sex workers: "I would not like the signal to go out that this is how we see these women. The exploitation of prostitutes is an exploitation of all women which we should be working towards ending" (Seanad Éireann, Volume 137 - 30th June 1993).

Trafficking discourse was not evident in the debates surrounding the 1993 legislation reflecting the wider lack of knowledge/invisibility of human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation into Ireland until the 2000s (Ward and Wylie, 2007). While debates on the issue of prostitution at EU-level during the 1990s included the notion of trafficking, as well as illegal migration for work in the sex industry (XX), there is no evidence in the Irish debates at the time to suggest that these new discourses had yet trickled into political discourse here. Across the water in Britain, the 1980s and 1990s witnessed the shaping of prostitution debates around a discourse of public nuisance, with kerb-crawling being the major focus of debate (Kantola and Squires, 2004). While Britain is referred to at times during the 1993 debates in terms of the issue of homosexuality, and in relation to historical British responses to sexual offences such as set out in the Wolfenden report in the 1950s (Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, 1957; Wolfenden Report, 1963), British debates on prostitution were not explicitly drawn upon during the Irish political deliberations of 1993. It is probable, however, that some of the legislative ideas expressed in relation to kerb crawling, influenced by the activism of residents which had entered public discourse in Britain at the time (Kantola and Squires, 2004), had a

similar impact in the Irish context in the 1990s. The Minister for Justice, presenting the prostitution legislation, explicitly notes the need to protect communities and deal with their concerns around prostitution.

1.5.5 The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act, 1993

The sections of the Act dealing with prostitution (Section 7 through to Section 14) are noted by the Minister for Justice as merely updating and strengthening present laws, which were enacted back in 1935. The Minister did not feel compelled to initiate a complete debate on the whole issue of prostitution in Ireland, rather this Act is presented without due concern for its intent or purpose.

"In dealing with prostitution in this Bill I am concerned only with updating and strengthening certain aspects of the present laws. It was not my intention to review in any comprehensive manner all the offences relating to prostitution".
(Minister for Justice, Máire Geoghegan-Quinn; Dáil Éireann - Volume 432 - 23 June, 1993, Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Bill, 1993: Second Stage)

Section 7 of the Act deals with the offences of soliciting or importuning for the purposes of prostitution, in a street or public place. The offence for the first time applies to both males and females, prostitutes and clients as well as third parties such as pimps. Section 7 and section 8 replace the repealed provisions of previous acts (19th century acts, 1912 and 1935). Section 8 deals with loitering for the purposes of prostitution, as prostitution itself is not deemed an offence by the Act[21]. An offence is committed if a person who is suspected of loitering by the Gardaí is directed away and fails to comply with this direction. The operation of this section of the Act is, therefore, location bound. Section 7 and section 8 replace the repealed provisions of previous acts (19th century Acts, and Acts of 1912 and 1935). Section 9 and section 10 deal with individuals who organise prostitution and live on the earnings of prostitution respectively. Penalties for such offences are a fine of up to €1,270 or a prison term of up to six months or both on summary conviction, while conviction on

[21] As a result of the Supreme Court ruling in the case of King vs. Attorney General and the Director of Public Prosecutions in 1981, the identification of a female as a "common prostitute" by Gardaí could not be used a basis for prosecution

indictment for organising prostitution means a person is liable to a fine of up to €12,700 or imprisonment for a term not exceeding 5 years or both (Government of Ireland, Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act, 1993). Under section 11 of the Act those involved in brothel keeping are liable to punishment[22].

1.5.6 The Criminal Justice (Public Order) Act, 1994

In the 1994 Criminal Justice Act, measures were taken to deal with the advertisement of prostitution in Ireland. Section 23 of the Act details the sanctions which apply to those who publish or distribute advertisements of sex for sale. 'Advertisement' for the purposes of this offence relate to all types of media both print and electronic including leaflets, cards, photography or through computers to advertise brothels or the services of a prostitute[23].

1.5.7 Political Climate around the 1993 Legislation

The political climate around the time of the 1993 Act is important for understanding the construction of prostitution and the potential for official responses at the time.

A comparative study under the RNGS (Research Network on Gender Politics and the State) considers the case of women's movements and their effect on prostitution politics in twelve countries spanning Western Europe, North America and Australia (Outshoorn, 2004). It found that profound differences among feminists on the issue led to widely different political demands: e.g. criminalisation of the client in Sweden

---

[22] Sanctions under this section apply to a person who manages or assists in the management of a brothel or a person who is a landlord, tenant, lessee or occupier of a premises and knowingly permits any part of it to be used as a brothel; for example, two or more women working in a house, even in separate flats constitutes a brothel. Penalties for a summary conviction include a fine of up to €1,270 and/or six months in prison while trial in a circuit court (if the Director of Public Prosecutions insists on a charge of indictment) could result in a fine of up to €12,700 and/or sentencing of up to five years in prison.

[23] Fines for this offence range from £1,000 to £10,000 on a fine of indictment. The first person to be charged for advertising prostitution under the Act was the editor of *In Dublin* and *Dublin* magazines Mike Hogan. In 2000, Hogan pleaded guilty to ten charges of advertising prostitution between 1997 and 1999 and was fined £50,000 (a £5,000 fine on each of ten counts). Hogan charged £400 per brothel advertisement in his magazine and netted a sizeable amount, earning £400,000 per annum on the advertisements. Advertisements in 'In Dublin' equivocally referred to health spas and parlours. However, the Censorship Board found the adverts to be obscene deeming the advertising of sexual services illegal. Every brothel that the Gardaí raided as part of Operation Gladiator advertised in *In Dublin* magazine. 64% of the clients found in the brothels said that they got their information from the magazine.

and Finland, regulating prostitution as labour in NSW and ACT and legalising brothels in the Netherlands. Outshoorn (2004) notes that assessment of women's movement success is challenging as differing feminist perspectives in different countries have hailed the diametrically opposed changes in the prostitution laws of their countries as feminist successes.

Clearly in the Irish context, there was a notable absence of any concerted efforts by women's movement in the area of prostitution during the introduction of the present laws. Only one voluntary, abolitionist organisation had anything to say at the time and the current legislation was constructed without any counter-debate. Outshoorn (2006) notes that both the political and social climates impact on how prostitution legislation is developed. Whilst Ruhama would reject the present legislation due to the criminalisation of 'victims' of prostitution (Lawless and Wayne, 2005), the political and social climate at the time of this legislation was tinged with intolerance of the phenomenon of prostitution and intentions to eliminate this scourge. There was no attention given to the protection of those engaged in prostitution, nor any reflection on the lived experiences of prostitution. The absence of any desire to understand the phenomenology of prostitution weakened the potential for any comprehensive debate in the area. The decision had been made to clampdown and remove from sight. The two-day parliamentary debate on prostitution in 1993 was a mere formality, and was the last time any dedicated time has been given to the issue in Government.

Primarily, the discourse of public nuisance was employed (Kantola and Squires, 2004a) to sell the proposed 1993 legislation to the houses of the Oireachtas[24]. It has been noted that public nuisance orientated prostitution laws have the dubious distinction of making it effectively 'legal' to be a prostitute but in reality impossible to engage in prostitution-related activities (Jeffrey, 2004: 83).

[24] Oireachtas na hÉireann, the Irish Governmental system comprises two houses, the lower house – Dáil Éireann and the upper house, Seannad Éireann. Dáil Éireann is the seat of Government and holds executive and legislative powers sending Bills through the Senate for debate as a formality

1.5.8 The Context of 1993 Discourse

Clearly, the limited scope of discourse on prostitution in Government debates in 1993 and the passing of legislation which sustained and strengthened the criminalised system of prostitution needs to be considered within the context of the socio-political climate in Ireland of that period. Inglis (1998) refers to the influence of the Catholic Church throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Ireland in the creation of Irish social norms which regulated sexuality for the maintenance of marriage and the family. The legacy of the moral monopoly (Inglis, 1987) which the Catholic Church held well into the second half of the twentieth century in Ireland provides clues for understanding constructions of the female role and expectations of the female in Irish society. Furthermore, the sentiments expressed through "catholic fundamentalism" during the abortion debates of the 1980s with the Pro-Life Amendment Campaign (see Tovey and Share, 2000), as well as similar oppositional fears to divorce during this period, served to safeguard Ireland's constitution into the 1990s from liberalist, pro-choice tendencies. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the extent to which the nature of discourse around abortion, divorce and prostitution in Ireland in the 1990s converged, it is clear that these three issues shared similar discursive themes; specifically, choice, marriage, the family, sexuality and moral order. Markedly, however, the extent of public debates on the questions of abortion and divorce were vast and tied to the rallying of social movements and women's movements on the issues (Tovey and Share, 2000), while the issue of prostitution was not aired publicly for debate, nor did there appear to be any interest on the part of the women's movements on the issue during the 1990s.

1.5.9 The (Non) Role of the Women's Movement

The women's movement at the end of the twentieth century in Ireland can be considered generally through Dahlerup's (1986) observation on such movements as a conscious attempt to join collectively in order to advocate for and bring about social change, focusing on the political system. Connolly (1996) argues that, while the resurgence of the women's movement in Ireland in the 1970s was connected to the global women's movement, that feminism was not a new idea to Ireland. Mahon (1995), however, gives greater consideration to the external context of the women's

movement at the international level and how the Irish women's movement was influenced by the ideology of women's liberation as well as the social structural changes around education and labour which allowed women to participate and mobilise. Primary elements in the development of the post-1970s women's movement in Ireland have been noted as: the 'modernising influence' of Ireland's accession to the then EEC, progressive changes in the participation of women in education and the labour force throughout the 1980s and the 1990s and resistance to the EC's 'modernising influences' in relation to the issues of abortion and divorce (Mahon, 1995; see also Tovey and Share, 2000: 409).

As noted above, the abortion debates in Ireland galvanised "catholic fundamentalism" in the 1980s and Mahon (1995) describes this as having a divisive impact on the women's movement, mobilising women to either side and thus, while empowering women, demolished the idea of a single, unified movement articulating values acceptable to all women (Tovey and Share, 2000).

Despite the strong voice of the women's movement noted throughout the 1980s, as well as the noted influence of the international women's movement on the mobilisation of Irish women (Mahon, 1995; Galligan, 1998a), the women's movement is notable by its absence on discourse around prostitution when it was officially addressed through revised legislation in Ireland in 1993. While women's movements were highly vocal around the various prostitution and trafficking debates throughout Europe in the 1990s (Outshoorn et al, 2004; Outshoorn, 2001), the Irish experience in this regard was qualitatively removed from what was happening internationally. Notwithstanding, the divisiveness caused through the clash of catholic ideology with the women's movements over the abortion and divorce debates, such divisiveness still managed to empower women to mobilise on the issues, as noted above. The absence of any apparent challenge to the dominant abolitionism which prevailed over the issue of prostitution in Ireland, as was the dominant discourse across Western Europe during this period (Outshoorn, 2001), might serve to explain, in part, why the women's movement did not mobilise around the issue of prostitution in Ireland in the 1990s as they had around the issues of abortion and divorce.

The relative silence of the women's movement in Ireland on the issue of prostitution continued throughout the 1990s, following the introduction of the legislation on prostitution. It has only being somewhat recently that this silence has been broken, as the issue of trafficking of women and children for the purposes of sexual exploitation has been evidenced in Ireland (Conway, 2001; Ward and Wylie, 2007), and is no longer an international phenomenon, removed from Irish experience and thus Irish interest. The women's movement in Ireland have aligned themselves with international women's organisations who support abolitionism and regard prostitution and trafficking similarly within a 'violence against women' framework. The National Women's Council of Ireland (NWCI), a representative organisation of women and women's groups in Ireland, is a member of the European Women's Lobby (EWL), which supports the abolition of all forms of prostitution and sexual exploitation of women (EWL, 1998). In fact, Ireland, through the NWCI, currently holds vice-presidency of the EWL for the period 2008 – 2010 and the NWCI is actively engaged in implementing abolitionist strategies around prostitution in line with EWL policy (NWCI, 2005; 2008). The recent work of the NWCI, through the EWL, in supporting the construction of prostitution as violence against women (O'Connor and Healy, 2006), as well as the discourse propagated by Ruhama (as an NWCI member) have sought to preserve and strengthen Ireland's position as a distinctly 'abolitionist' country into the twenty first century.

The legacy of silence on the issue of prostitution in Ireland would indicate few voices mobilising on the issue within the women's movement to challenge dominant abolitionism. Against such an historical context, the prospects of any 'radical' movements in gaining substantial support and mobilising feminists to create strident, alternative discourses to abolitionism in Ireland are undoubtedly limited, in the short term at least[25].

[25] At the time of writing a sex worker advocacy group, composed of interested individuals working in the area of health and harm reduction espousing a sex as work discourse, was in the process of being formed. I attended some initial meetings in my role as a postgraduate student researcher, in 2006/2007, whereby a manifesto and agenda were being developed but to date (October 2008) this group has not yet 'got off the ground' and thus, it would seem is still in the embryonic stage

1.6 Operation of Prostitution Law

The current prostitution legislation in Ireland is not implemented in a systematic fashion. The statute change in 1993 technically gave powers to the Gardaí to arrest both clients as well as prostitutes for soliciting. The practical reality, however, is not gender neutral. Between 7th July 1993[26] and 31st December 1994, 12 men and 116 women were prosecuted for various offences under the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act, 1993 (Dáil debates- volume 458; written answers). Garda figures for 2005 show a 70% decrease from the previous year in proceedings against individuals for prostitution offences, dropping from 320 proceedings in 2004 to 95 in 2005. 21 convictions were made in 2005 for soliciting and loitering with intent and 64 cases were pending for these two offences[27] (Annual Report of An Garda Síochána, 2006). It has been noted how the very nature of the offences are purposefully discriminatory towards women in prostitution (Bacik, 2004). While the offence for loitering with the intention of engaging with somebody for the purposes of prostitution is only deemed to be committed when a person fails to comply with a Garda order to leave a certain area, the offence is almost certain to affect women to a greater extent. While the client may be directed away and stay away, the female may have no choice but to return to her place of work or usual 'stroll area', therefore, leaving herself at risk of being arrested.

1.6.1 Local Regulation

Similar to Britain (Sharpe, 1998), the policing of prostitution is reactionary and community complaint led, with police sporadically mounting all out crack-downs on street prostitution for a period of time in the capital. Residents protest about the visible aspects of the sex industry in their communities from the nuisance of punters kerb-crawling (often mistaking female residents for street working women) to finding used condoms littering their areas. Community protests also affect not only women's working lives by instilling fear and displacing them, but very often impede outreach services in their work. Certainly, anecdotal evidence would suggest that residents'

[26] This is the date on which the new law came into operation

[27] Garda figures do not make any distinction between sex workers and clients in relation to the implementation of this legislation, thus it is impossible to determine whether figures for 'males' relate to male sex workers or clients

protests against street prostitution in the Dublin 7 area are regularly antagonistic towards outreach services as they are regarded as encouraging women to be around particular areas to engage with the services[28]. This situation further compounds the stigmatisation of those involved in prostitution in Ireland and the perception of negative societal attitudes by sex workers can impact upon their engagement with services and 'officialdom' (Lawless and Wayne, 2005). Lawless and Wayne (2005) note that residents' concerns and protests emphasise how ineffectual the current legislation is in Ireland. O'Neill and Campbell (2006: 33) advocate a participatory approach between local residents, street sex workers and local governance in order to develop inclusive 'discursive spaces' to manage street sex work.

1.7 Provision of Services and Supports

The prevailing, political discourses around prostitution as seen as being tied to official state responses in the area and thus the type and extent of services offered to those engaged in prostitution (Pitcher, 2006). The statutory response to prostitution is through the Health Services Executive (formerly the Health Boards) which is responsible for the provision of services to women in prostitution through the Women's Health Project (WHP[29]) as well providing services to males in prostitution under the Gay Men's Health Project (GMHP[30]). These services include harm minimisation through sexual health and drug treatment services.

Ruhama, a voluntary agency established by the Good Shepard Sisters in the late 1980s, works with, and for women involved in prostitution. Ruhama views prostitution as violence against women and a violation of a woman's human rights (Lawless and Wayne, 2005). Ruhama provides a range of services to women in prostitution including street outreach, befriending, counselling, exit programmes as well as the provision of assistance through advocacy and awareness raising.

---

[28] This anecdotal evidence was gathered from volunteer outreach work between June and December 2006 with Ruhama

[29] The WHP was established in Dublin in 1991 to provide health services to women in all sectors of prostitution. It is located in red light district in the South of the city and provides both sexual health and drug treatment services to women engaged in prostitution. It provides 'drop in clinics' and also engages in outreach on the street and to brothels

[30] The GMHP is located next to the WHP in Baggot Street Hospital and is also state funded. The project offers sexual health and harm reduction services to both men who have sex with men, including male sex workers and punters in Dublin, through both 'drop in' and outreach services.

Chrysalis, a community drugs project located on Benburb Street, in the red light district in the North of the city, has a dedicated Community Drugs worker for women engaged in prostitution. The services offered to women in prostitution include street outreach (by foot) and a 'drop in'[31], sexual health and drug harm minimisation services and information.

There are no dedicated services to women or men in prostitution outside of the capital[32]. A range of health focused programmes and projects around the country provide HIV/harm reduction services to individuals including sex workers (Dublin AIDS Alliance, UISCE, Open Heart House, AIDS Help West (Galway), Red Ribbon Project (Limerick) and Sexual Health Alliance (Cork). In addition, more mainstream drugs projects (such as the Merchants Quay Project) and homeless services (for example, Focus Ireland and the Simon Community) in Dublin and around the country are other contact points for many individuals, particularly those engaged in street prostitution.

There have been moves to remedy the often strained relationships between law enforcement and street sex workers in Ireland with the Gardaí appointing liaison officers linked with particular stations to develop better working relationships with the women. Following on from the 1995 research by the Women's Health Project, a female Garda liaison began attending the WHP every month to provide advice to women on reporting assault and to foster confidence in confiding to the Gardaí (O'Connor, 1996). The 1996 WHP research indicated the positive consequences of this relationship, as more women sought Garda assistance (O'Connor, 1996).

[31] An informal 'drop in' service operated in Chrysalis where the Community worker met with women without any appointment required as per their support needs. However, organisational changes during the period of this research saw the service shift to become 'appointment based' which, given the nature of chaotic drug use, was noted to have particular implications to engaging with women on the street in terms of their uptake of services. Many miss their appointments and thus the change to the operation of 'drop in' at this service has implications for services in reaching hard to reach groups.

[32] The Dorás Project was initiated in the Waterford area as a response to concerns regarding juvenile prostitution in 1998 but has since ceased its operations

1.8 A Context of Risk?

Alexander (2001) argues that a context of risk exists when governance limits the power a sex worker has over his or her work increasing the likelihood of risk behaviours; 'To the extent that the state apparatus ignores, or defines as illegal this "work", an individual has little room to exert control over the sex "work" activities' (Alexander, 2001: 3)

Research by the WHP in 1996 found that the new legislation had impeded the work of women on the streets, resulting in a stressful working environment and a decline in working conditions. The risk of being moved on or arrested meant women were dodging detection and often necessitated working longer hours in order to make enough money. The most serious implication has been the increased risk taking of women, anxious to make money while keeping an eye over their shoulder for the police. The women interviewed by O'Connor in 1996 reported taking more risks as they could not take the opportunity as they usually would have done to gauge clients (O'Connor, 1996). The women now have little time to negotiate the 'sexual contract' (O'Connell Davidson, 1998) with the client which limits their control over their work.

The high levels of violence experienced by women in prostitution has been highlighted through various empirical studies (Monto, 2004; Raphael and Shapiro, 2004; Barnard, Hart and Church, 2002; Church, Henderson, Barnard and Hart, 2001; Miller and Schwartz, 1995). Indeed, the 'atmosphere of violence' which has permeated the street scene in Dublin (Lawless and Wayne, 2005) has undoubtedly been strengthened by the legal context which virtually turns a blind eye to client activities.

1.8.1 Inevitability Discourse

While women have been deterred from reporting violence and victimisation in case of legal repercussions, this very deterrence feeds into an inevitability discourse around prostitution violence. Some police and law enforcement officials believe that a prostitute, by definition, cannot be raped (Alexander, 2001). Contexts of risk are compounded by blind eye tactics and the denial of redress for victims of violence in

the sex industry. A government discussion paper rejects the notion that the 1993 law on prostitution has increased the possibility of violence and avoids the issue of prostitution victimisation stating; 'it is difficult to understand how an increased level of assault could be the case; it may be a perception rather than a reality' (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 1998: 95). While the lack of comparative empirical evidence prior to 1993 makes it difficult to validly counter this argument, data collected in Ireland after the introduction of this legislation indicates significant levels of violence on the streets and extensive experience of violent attack (O'Connor, 1994; 1996; O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999; Lawless and Wayne, 2005).

1.8.2 Other Macro Elements of the 'Risk Environment'

The legal context, is one element of the risk environment. At the macro level other structural aspects need to be considered for locating the risk environment of prostitution in Ireland. It is difficult and impractical to look at any one aspect of the phenomenology of prostitution in isolation. However, by extracting some of the main factors which have impacted on the nature of prostitution in this country, the links which bind the issues become apparent.

1.8.3 Drugs and Sex Markets

It has long been purported that a relationship exists between prostitution and drug misuse (Goldstein, 1979; Inciardi, Lockwood and Pottieger, 1993). The intertwining of the drugs culture with street prostitution has meant concomitant transformations of sex work in this market.

One of the major changes to the nature of prostitution in Ireland over the past twenty years has been the emergence of a drugs culture on the streets[33] (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999). It has been suggested that injecting drug using (IDU) prostitutes are different to non-IDU prostitutes in that IDU prostitutes are working primarily to

[33] Since the 1980s, there has been an increased availability of heroin used intravenously by a growing number of young people prompting widespread alarm over its associated health risks, such as physical dependency and overdose. Behavioural problems were associated with the emerging heroin epidemic, notably acquisitive crime to feed drug habits, as well as prostitution, which was becoming a common activity to fund drug careers particularly for women (Butler, 2002).

feed their habit and would give up prostitution if they were not using drugs (McDonnell et al, 1998). The drugs/sex work nexus has been charged with violations of established street practices which have affected the expectations of punters, witnessed sex for drugs transactions and have also seen an increase in violence and victimization (Maher, 1997).

What is notable is that the drug use/prostitution nexus has been traditionally viewed as gendered in relation to drug users and it has been argued that amongst females; drug use and crime combine most often in the crime of prostitution (Goldstein, 1979). It has been noted that female heroin users are proportionally more likely than their male counterparts to live with a drug using partner (Lawless, 2002). This, coupled with the well documented issue of female drug users involved in prostitution supporting their partner's drug habit (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996) sets the scene for a complex drug misuse/sex work nexus.

Moreover, the female prostitute, unlike her male counterpart, is more visible to the authoritative gaze and police scrutiny when she engages in prostitution (Boyd, 1999; Lowman, 1991). This manifests itself as women in prostitution becoming officially visible through criminal records, which has 'far reaching effects' such as the burden of a prison sentence and weakening their ability to keep their family unit intact (Boyd, 1999: 189).

1.8.4 Homelessness, Drug addiction and Prostitution

It is argued that there are a number of interlinked social factors that make prostitution plausible as a choice for many (Phoenix, 1999) as well as interacting to implicate experiences of those engaged in prostitution. The triple jeopardy of the homelessness, drug addiction and prostitution has been documented in previous Irish research (Quinlan et al, 1997; O'Sullivan, 1998; O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999) painting a picture of the lives of many (street) sex workers as an inextricable mixture of instability, isolation, marginality and dependency. The Gay Men's Health Project conducted research in 1997 where it was found that the issues of homelessness and drug use were crucial factors in many of the respondents' engagement in prostitution, underlining the concern of 'survival sex'; that is sex in exchange for food, shelter, drugs, alcohol or money for drugs. Survival sex was also an issue emerging from the

study into prostitution in the Mid-Western Health Board region of Ireland (O'Sullivan, 1998). These macro level risk factors can be seen in terms of pathways to prostitution for some individuals (O'Sullivan, 1998) or as 'trapping' factors, particularly for juvenile engagement in sex work (Cusick and Hickman, 2005)

1.8.5 Juvenile Prostitution

In recent years the issue of juvenile prostitution has emerged as a worrying development in Ireland. Barnardos (1996) detected 42 children aged between twelve years and eighteen years soliciting in Dublin city during the projects outreach work. Juvenile prostitution was noted in the Waterford city study (McElwee and Lalor, 1997) with fifty juveniles believed to be involved in what appeared to be organised sex for drugs activities. A study commissioned by the Eastern Health Board (1997) found 57 youths were involved in prostitution (47 children and 10 young people). While a study by the Mid-Western Health Board which had a specific focus on juvenile concerns suspected at least 20 minors to be involved in prostitution in the region (O'Sullivan, 1998). An RTÉ Television *Prime Time Investigation* aired in May, 2000 revealed that juvenile prostitution is an increasing concern in Irish society and hidden well behind underground sex markets. The investigation highlighted homelessness as one of the major risk factors for initiation of minors into prostitution in this country. Legislation on juvenile prostitution was introduced in 2006 and updated in 2007 in order to close off legal loopholes regarding child sexual solicitation[34].

1.8.6 Violence

Women in prostitution are vulnerable to victimisation due to their occupational lifestyle, social vulnerability and isolation (O'Neill and Barbaret, 2000). Maher (1997) argues that the victimisation of women on the street extends a continuum of violence in the lives of these women. O'Neill and Barbaret (2000: 129; citing Edwards, 1990) contend that 'victimisation reflects women's lack of power to demand

[34] The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act 2006 deals with 'defilement' of child under 15 years and 17 years, and the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) (Amendment) Act 2007 revises this legislation in order to include issues of soliciting or importuning a child for sexual purposes

safe working conditions and police protection'. The murders of five street working women in Ipswich, England in 2006 as well as a number of unsolved murders of women in prostitution in Ireland, such as Lynette McKeown (2004) and Sabrina Kelly (1998) are well known. However, whilst Steve Wright was charged with the Ipswich serial murders, the perpetrators of violence against women in prostitution are rarely brought to justice (Maher, 1997). This reality is simultaneously compounded by women's reluctance to report attacks (O'Connor, 1996) thus feeding into the 'inevitability discourse' surrounding prostitute victimisation (McGarry, 2007). While it was encouraging to read recently of the imprisonment of a 'Waterford businessman' for the rape of a Croatian sex worker working with an escort agency in Ireland, ominously the Defence Senior Counsel was quoted as arguing that there were "different scales of rape" and that this case did not involve "the forceable removal of clothing from a stranger" (Irish Times, 22/5/'08). Such thinking reinforces dangerous assumptions regarding the prostitute as "unrapeable" (Alexander, 2001) thus compounding violent environments.

An 'atmosphere of violence' has been seen to now permeate life in street prostitution with women reporting being attacked and robbed by other women (Lawless and Wayne, 2005; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996). The majority of women interviewed in the WHP study in 1996 felt an increase in the levels of violence on the streets in Dublin and attributed this to the increasing number of young drug addicts working on the streets (O'Connor, 1996). As well as violent tension between women, violence at the hands of punters, pimps and partners is a fact of life for a large number of women in prostitution (O'Connor, 1994; 1996). While little is known about violence and victimisation in indoor prostitution in Ireland, it is erroneous to presume that street prostitutes are the exclusive victims of abuse, as the case above attests to. Furthermore, journalistic accounts of trafficking victims working in brothels and apartments in this country provide anecdotal evidence of client and pimp violence towards indoor workers[35].

[35] In recent years, press articles detail personal stories of victims of trafficking who experienced abuse and violence while forced to work indoors as prostitutes in Ireland - see Irish Times 6/5/'06 'Trafficking in Misery'

1.9 What can be Learned from Other Countries?

International policy developments in relation to prostitution in the past decade have been noted with interest.

The Swedish model of prostitution policy addresses prostitution through a 'violence against women' framework. This model, which decriminalised prostitution for sex workers but criminalises clients is rooted in an ultimately abolitionist agenda. By focusing criminalisation on the demand side, the goal is to drive prostitution out of the country. What has been found is that prostitution activities have now largely moved underground in Sweden; therefore becoming less visible rather than less common (Svanström, 2006; Europap, 2000: 16). The chameleon that is prostitution means that in the face of repressive policies, it does not retreat, it changes form (Kilvington, Day and Ward, 2001; Visser, Randers-Pehrson, Day and Ward, 2004).

As an apparently diametrically opposed policy, the Netherlands legalised prostitution in 2000 recognised sex as work and extended full rights to sex workers like any other worker in the country. The policy is operated through a licensing system administered by local authorities to brothels and sex clubs. The fundamental premise of the legislation is that prostitution will never be eradicated and rather than compounding issues for those engaged in prostitution, policies should seek to minimise the problems associated with prostitution. Ensuing protection is granted to registered sex workers. However, many sex workers are not officially recognised, such as migrant workers, and so, similar to the Swedish situation, an underworld of prostitution exists which is counterproductive to the provision of social and health services (Visser et al, 2004). Furthermore, legal recognition of prostitution does not automatically change public perceptions of prostitution. Sex workers in the Netherlands report that, despite official recognition and legitimisation through legal reform, they still feel stigmatised in society (Visser et al, 2004).

Research on legalised brothels in Nevada (Brents and Hausbeck, 2005: 272) reveals that risk reduction and safety are powerful legitimating tools for legalising prostitution and argue that the potential for legalised brothels to reduce the risk of three types of violence can be invoked to defend a legal, regulated sex market:

(1) reducing risk of violence against women in prostitution; (2) reducing the risk of violence against community order (prostitution as a threat to public order needs to be regulated and taken away from the streets); (3) the violence of disease (explained as a perspective which focuses on risks of latent violence via disease and STIs in particular) (Brents and Hausbeck, 2005).

'Zoning' as a pragmatic response by the toleration of street sex work in designated areas has been recently assessed as a possible approach in some British cities (van Doorninck and Campbell, 2006). This approach has been found to have been largely effective in the Netherlands, whereby 'tipplezones' have marked a decrease in 'nuisance' (Viet, 1996 cited in van Doorninck and Campbell, 2006). Zoning is promoted as a key harm minimisation approach, improving the safety of street workers and their access to health, social care, drugs and exit interventions (van Doorninck and Campbell, 2006). Furthermore, zoning allows for a response to 'public nuisance' by relocating street 'strolls' to non-residential areas (Hubbard, 1997). Some opponents of the idea of 'zoning' are cited in the literature as giving reasons such as the difficulty of identifying a suitable area, the 'ghettoisation' of sex workers in isolated areas (van Doorninck and Campbell, 2006) and the further stigmatisation of sex worker through their spatial exclusion (Hubbard, 1997). Furthermore, the Dutch model may not be easily transferable as it is intertwined with relaxed drugs policies which facilitate an easier 'management' of the informal street economy. Any potential policy change then needs to consider other correlated aspects of street sex work in order to respond effectively.

1.10 Conclusion – Rationale for Study

This chapter has sought to provide a context to the lived experiences of prostitution in Ireland through a 'macro' view of the phenomenon. By tracing the development of policy on prostitution in Ireland over the course of a century, it is clear that repressive measures to deal with visible aspects of prostitution have predominated. Whilst the underlying dominant discourse may have been altered over the years from viewing the prostitute as risk to viewing prostitution as a risk to the prostitute, official policies have merely sought to suppress prostitution activities. O'Neill (2006) argues for engaging and working with the complexity of sex work to promote social justice and

cultural citizenship (by valuing all voices), not merely partial justice and inclusion via 'exiting'. There has been no 'discursive space' given to the issue of prostitution at a national level and, as detailed in this chapter, the only officially recognised 'voice' on prostitution has been that of the abolitionist camp. Since there has been no active counter-discourse to abolitionism operating in the public arena, and no opportunity for any real debate on the issue, the issue of prostitution is not regarded as a 'hot topic' in this country.

Dominant discourses on prostitution are tied to policy constructions of prostitution. Ruhama and pro-abolitionists in Ireland would argue against the present legislation due to its criminalisation of the activities of women in prostitution, and support the Swedish model criminalising male clients. Kuo (2002: 152) notes that while feminist positions share a general preference for decriminalisation, this is often for very different reasons and 'differences in justifying this legal preference lead to different programs and legal support policies'. Therefore supporting partial-decriminalisation, like in Sweden, is underpinned by an intention to eliminate prostitution by targeting demand. Programmatic initiatives then supporting such policy change would remain consistent with an abolitionist approach, focusing on exit strategies and, thus, neglecting to deliver supports to those who choose to remain in prostitution.

Within this macro socio-legal environment, women engaged in prostitution must negotiate their lives without official recognition, without any rights and without any protection. The law as it stands in Ireland is not actively implemented, its enforcement left ambiguously to the 'discretion' of individual officers. Thus, the double conundrum of official blind-eye tactics may allow women to escape the authoritative gaze, but may also allow violence perpetrated against these women to escape notice. Thus, individuals working in the sex industry in Ireland are the least protected of any group of people in this country and the lack of social acceptance, signalled by prevailing stigma around prostitution in Irish society, renders their situation even more precarious. Without having a voice as a group, other people speak on their behalf and so the 'competition of rationalities' (Beck, 1992b) regarding the question of prostitution and its 'risks' in Ireland has been largely won (by default in the absence of any other official contenders) by abolitionism. But what is the relationship between macro discourses and experience of prostitution? Critically, what

has been neglected so far in Ireland has been an account of women's lived experience of prostitution in this country and how they experience risk at the macro, meso and micro levels. This study seeks to address this deficit in the knowledge base.

The next chapter will consider readings of risk in the literature, in order to theorise risk understandings with a focus on the social construction of risk. This will provide key questions of concern to guide this study in relation to the phenomenology of prostitution and risk.

Chapter 2 Overview of the Literature

2.1 Introduction

This review will consider the existing literature in relation to this research problem in order to develop a pertinent theoretical and empirical framework from which to launch this study. As this research is "risk infused", the following chapter will begin by exploring risk theories and how these apply to the experience of prostitution. In particular the review will draw attention to the knowledge base on the social construction of risk, empirical work employing a situated approach to risk analysis and ideas around the phenomenology of risk in prostitution.

2.1.1 Prostitution and Risk

The issue of 'prostitution and risk' is an important one in the consideration of both discursive issues and substantive issues relating to the experience of prostitution. By exploring broader sociological theorising on risk, it is possible to narrow the focus in order to locate the issue of prostitution and how it is addressed within risk literature and, conversely, to identify readings of risk within prostitution literature. Of most interest to this study, are risk infused studies of drug misuse (Rhodes, 1997; Rhodes and Quirk, 1998; Miller and Neaigus, 2001; Mayock, 2003; Rhodes, Singer, Bourgois, Friedman and Strathdee, 2005) and sexual behaviour (Holland and Ramazanoglu, 1992; Green, Mitchell and Bunton, 2000) and, particularly, risk and prostitution (Barry, 1979; Dworkin, 1996; Jeffreys, 1997; Shannon, Kerr, Allinott, Chettiar, Shoveller and Tyndall, 2008; Sanders, 2005; Plumridge, 2001; Whittaker and Hart, 1996; Bloor, McKeganey, Finlay and Barnard, 1992a; Bloor, Barnard, Finlay and McKeganey, 1992b).

2.2 Theorising Risk

Ideas around risk conceptualisation have received a considerable amount of attention in academic writing and there are myriad readings on risk and its implications. Some of the fundamental tenets of risk thesis, in its barest form, stem from concerns over late modernity and the arrival of a new age of dangers (Beck, 1992b). The new risk

society poses a challenge which has shaped institutional practices and individual identity (Castel, 1991: Ericson and Haggerty, 1997). While institutional practices have increased accountability to avoid risk, we ourselves have developed ways of governing our personal identities through a 'political economy of the self' (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997: 126; Ewald, 1991: 203).

The technical-objectivist conception of risk looks at risk as a calculable quantity which can be worked out thus;

> **Risk** = extent of damage (*multiplied by*) the probability of occurrence
> (Zinn, 2007)

This gives an approximate determination based on mathematical reasoning. However, as Wallman (2001: 76) argues, risk as uncertainty is much different to risk as a mathematical probability; 'risk as a personal choice "taken" is a far cry from risk as a danger imposed'. Important sociological and anthropological works have taken risk and risk analysis away from the strictures of mathematical modelling and have introduced the idea of contexts and with it the messy element of human agency (Douglas, 1992; Boeck, Fleming and Kemshall, 2006). Lupton (1999b) argues that an awareness and knowledge of these risks contribute to subjectivity and social life; 'those phenomena that we single out and identify as "risks", therefore, have an important ontological status in our understanding of selfhood and the social and material worlds' (Lupton, 1999b: 14).

2.2.1 Risk and Social Constructionism

By adopting a social constructionist view of risk, one can explore how risks are socially produced and culturally mediated and, thus, how responses to risk and reflexive thinking on risk are socially and culturally contextualised. Social constructionists share a number of general insights into risk, recognising that: risk has become an increasingly important concept of life in present-day Western societies; risk is integral to human subjectivity; risk is regarded as something which can be addressed through human intervention and risk is linked to concepts of 'choice', 'blame' and 'responsibility' (Lupton, 1999b: 25). Through modernity and concomitant ideas around individualisation, human agency has become more central to risk readings and the idea of people's choices and their impacts on risk knowledges

have come to the forefront of sociological inquiry. As Melucci (1996: 44) points out; '[c]hoosing is the inescapable fate of our time'. How we choose to act and what we choose to do have become fundamental to our understanding of knowledge and discourse. In relation to prostitution and risk, the dialectical nature of discourse as interaction and process requires a consideration of how risk is understood and responded to in the everyday lives of those engaged in prostitution.

2.2.2 Risk, Uncertainty and the Individual

In more recent sociological theorising, risk is understood in relation to the idea of uncertainty, shifting the focus in line with reflexive modernisation. Uncertainty is seen as a fundamentally modern experience and risk and uncertainty must be viewed together (Zinn, 2006). As knowledge in the modern age is being continually challenged and changed, this age is characterised by anxiety and 'ontological insecurity' (Giddens, 1991: 84). Within this atmosphere of uncertainty, risks are no longer local and community specific but global.

At a micro-level, however, late modernity is associated with increased individualisation and current cultural-theoretical perspectives of risk focus on individual risk management (for example Denzin and Lincoln, 2003a; 2003b). Individuals are viewed as self-critical actors who employ 'technologies of the self' (Foucault, 1988) through risk discourses. In late modernity, societies have been marked through moves towards individualisation and this means that people have come to choose their own biographies (Beck, 1997). Giddens (1991) refers to this as 'the reflexive project of the self' as risks are assessed and managed at an individual level. As people individually manage risk, ideas of blame and accountability are produced whereby risk takers are contrasted against risk avoiders (Douglas, 1990; 1992). Notions of choice and risk decision-making at the micro level are therefore crucial to explorations of risk in late modernity.

Giddens (1991: 18) contends that late modernity has meant that social relations have been lifted out of their local contexts and reinterpreted within a broader, global understanding, thus becoming 'disembedded'. This focus on an individual's shaping of his/her own world by "making decisions according to calculations of risk and

opportunity" (Petersen, 1996: 47) presumes individual strategic competence on risk (Giddens, 1991) but does not account for surrounding opportunities and how agency is bound by structure and context (Boeck et al, 2006). Furlong and Cartmel (1997), suggest that though young people, for instance, are living in an increasingly globalised world, the local is still a 'crucial mediator of lived risk experiences' and, consequently, the social and structural determinants of risk that remain within late modernity cannot be ignored (Green et al, 2000: 112).

Green et al (2000) note that the development of an individualised society has had profound effects on the social, political and economic spheres. As risks are seen to exist on a global level and at a global magnitude, traditional social divisions regarding class, race and gender are blurred within risk theories. Beck (1992b) claims there is an *interaction* between class inequalities and the risk society, while Green et al (2000) cite the example of 'a systematic relationship between extreme poverty and extreme risk' in order to highlight Beck's argument. Class, race and gender, however, in Beck's observations, are not taken as frameworks for analysis but merely risk factors among a range of others. Feminist writers rebuke gender neutral analysis of risk and argue that 'gender is one important constitutive determinant of how risk is negotiated and understood' (Chan and Rigakos, 2002: 756).

2.2.3 Gender and risk

Feminist analyses of risk seek to undercover the gendered nature of risk. Chan and Rigakos (2002: 743) argue that how women experience risk is coloured by gender politics and 'what constitutes 'risky behaviour' is filtered through a masculine lens which conditions what we identify and define as 'risky''. The feminist critique of risk theories is two-pronged. Firstly, there is the argument that most risk treatises involving gender emphasise risk avoidance for women rather than risk taking; '[t]hat women do seek risks but are not given recognition of doing so highlights the gendered understanding of risk-taking behaviour' (Chan and Rigakos, 2002: 750) . Secondly, the feminist argument seeks to challenge the gender neutral conceptualisation of risk. Risk itself is seen as gendered as the types of risky behaviours engaged in are often different for women and men and risk management is also gendered. Stanko (1997) argues that 'risk is not about modernity and the ontological insecurity people

experience, for women it is about misogyny and the continued perpetration of women's oppression through fear of crime and blame for their situation'.

Chan and Rigakos (2002) in their overview fail to draw adequate attention to the differing perceptions and experiences of risk by women based on their circumstances. While there is no one universal understanding of risk, there is no one universal experience of risk and perceptions and management tactics are socially constructed and context heavy. The nature of prostitution itself is already delineated along gender, race and class lines, therefore readings of risk need to be cautious of limiting risk analysis to essentialist notions of gender.

2.2.4 Culture and Risk

'The question of risk is ephemeral, contingent and merely a present form of cultural variation' (Boyne, 2003: 107)

The traditional objective/subjective divide in relation to risk perception and assessment is deconstructed, as Boholm (2003) problematises the link between culture and risk and argues that 'risk' implies values. Thus, as a notion including descriptive and normative elements, risk is inherently open to negotiation and contestation (Renn, 1998; Shrader-Frechette, 1991).

A subjective approach to risk acknowledges that people often think and act differently from objective, scientific knowledge directives. 'People understand and judge risks in terms of emic, locally defined, values and concerns' (Boholm, 2003: 161). As a critique of rational choice theory, cultural risk theory argues that people do not exist in a social and cultural vacuum, rather their risk perceptions, actions and management are socially embedded. Situated risks are viewed as risks as they are actually understood by people in social settings, mediated through 'the local' (Boholm, 2003; Rosa, 1998).

2.2.5 Social Constructionist Theoretical Frameworks

Three major approaches within the social constructionist school of risk can be identified. The cultural/symbolic approach is associated with Douglas (1966, 1992) and relates to symbolic uses of risks and subjective understandings and responses to risk as culturally constituted. The risk society theory proffered by Beck (1992b, 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1996b) and developed by Giddens (1990, 1991, 1992, 1994) and others looks at macro risk discourse through ideas around reflexive modernisation and individualisation. The 'risk society' school of thought purported by Beck and Giddens regards risk responses as personal responsibilisation as individuals reflexively respond to expert knowledge on risk and exercise rational choice in weighing up action with outcome in order to competently negotiate risk. The third approach relates to governmentality, as espoused by Foucault (1991), and focuses on self-discipline, governance and control as consequences of risk awareness and responses.

Whilst the above gives an overview of the broad social constructionist perspectives on risk, Lupton (1999b) identifies five key theoretical positions within the broad social constructionist paradigm of risk analysis, namely; structuralist, critical structuralist, post-structuralist, phenomenological and psychoanalytical. The first four of these approaches are particularly pertinent to this study and can be applied to understanding risk at different levels and from different perspectives in this study.

Drawing on functional theory, a structuralist view, for example, would consider how 'underlying cultural structures, hierarchies and categories serve to define risk knowledges and practices' and serve to order social practices and risk perceptions and responses through the construction of norms and 'deviance' from norms (Lupton, 1999b: 26). This pioneering sociological perspective on risk was advanced by the work of Mary Douglas (1992) and her team who sought to move away from a technical, objective understanding of risk to look more closely at the processes which give rise to risk being 'politicised'. Douglas argues, based on her anthropological studies in the Lele in Zaire, that danger perception is socially produced; "danger perception and management have to be understood as a fundamentally social construction process" (Douglas and Wildavsky, 1982: 6-7).

A second identifiable theoretical position, a critical structuralist perspective, focuses on the role of social institutions in using their power to constrain the agency and autonomy of an individual. The critical structuralist view is associated with Beck's (1992b, 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1996b) and Giddens' (1990, 1991, 1992, 1994) approach to risk and the risk society.

As opposed to critical structuralist views of power as coercive or oppressive, a poststructuralist view is that power can be productive and is an inevitable presence in any social interaction (Lupton 1999b). A poststructuralist perspective on prostitution and risk would focus on the concepts of power and knowledge, looking at how power relations, for instance between actors in the sexual contract or actors in shared environments on the street, are implicated with knowledge. Foucault's' (1991) 'governmentality' approach views social actors as self-regulating and competently reflexive in a constant monitoring of behaviour in order to negate risk. This approach implies a ubiquitous understanding of risk and fails to consider the dynamic processes of risk assessment and responses.

The final approach which is directly applicable to this study is a phenomenological understanding of risk. This approach considers the situated meanings of risk. A phenomenological approach to prostitution and risk, therefore, would focus on the lived experience of risk within the life of individuals engaged in prostitution through the articulation of their own understandings of and responses to risk. Integral to this approach is looking at 'how individuals experience their world as an interpretive reality with the use of shared commonsense meanings and knowledges' (Lupton, 1999b: 27).

2.2.6 Risk Structure or Risk Action?

One of the fundamental theoretical debates pervading traditions of social thinking in sociology is the question of structure versus agency. Structural-functionalist theorists argue that social structure has priority over human action (Durkheim, 1951; Parsons, 1937) with individuals making choices around means and ends within a physical and social environment which limits choices (Marshall, 1998). Individuals are viewed as

the product of relationships rather than actors in the creation of their own reality. This theoretical orientation has often come to explain the conceptualisation of individuals as the product of discourses and the relationships between discourses. Rather than phenomena existing 'out there', they are seen as being the end product processed through some underlying structure; e.g. masculinity or femininity (Marshall, 1998).

The theory of action, conversely, gives precedence to human agency by highlighting the rational actor and his/her actions, thoughts and relationships (Weber, 1947; Freund, 1969) thus drawing attention, not only to the nature of action, but to meaning, the individual's subjective meanings and interpretation. The social world is viewed as a dynamic and dialectical web within which individuals engage (Marshall, 1998). 'Interactionists are always concerned to study the ways in which people give meaning to their bodies, their feelings, their selves, their biographies, their situations, and indeed to the wider social worlds in which their lives exist' (Marshall, 1998: 657). Actions, therefore, are not rigidly bound but are 'streams of activity' (Marshall, 1998: 658), thus signalling adjustments and outcomes, associated, for example, with the concept of 'career'. The fluidity and context-specificity of meaning are clear from this orientation, as meanings are attributed to and derived from people's actions.

Structuration theory is an attempt to transcend the traditional dichotomy of structure and agency. This argument is associated with the work of Giddens (1984) who contends that rather than a prioritisation of structure or agency, what exists instead is a 'duality of structure' which means, in essence, structure and agency are two sides of the same coin. In his transcendence of the structure/agency divide he uses the idea of 'social practices' which, he argues, produce and are produced by social structures. In this way then, social structures are seen as open-ended and dialectically related to individual action. Individual actions are both creators and creations of structure. Some critiques of structuration theory accuse Giddens of 'reinventing the wheel' on sociological theorising (Clark et al, 1990). However, the usefulness of his theory can be seen in its application to the study of social practices, which allows one to consider, for social scientific purposes, individual actions and social structures together without the pressure to conform to rigid theoretical orthodoxy. Employing a 'structuration' framework for risk research allows for consideration of both structural

risk and risk actions by individuals and the dialectical relationship of structure and action evident in 'social practices'.

2.2.7 Phenomenology and Risk

Some argue that the rational assumptions underlying the risk society thesis are disconnected from the realities of being a living, embodied being in the world. Monaghan (2002: 442), in his ethnographic work on urban male sexualities with nightclub security staff, purports a social phenomenology which underpins an 'embodied sociology' viewing individuals as 'lived, sensuous, fleshy, emotional bodies', as opposed to the disembodied disconnected agents purported in rational, objective risk analyses. The reflexivity thesis assumes a universal understanding of risk messages and a common motivation for risk deterrence and harm minimisation. This implication neglects the idea of situated knowledges (Wynne, 1996) and how individuals construct notions of risks from their own position in the social world and respond to risks by drawing on these perceptions, allowing them to assess expert claims and knowledges. In the area of prostitution and risk, this begs the question then: 'who are the "experts"?'

2.3 Knowledge and Risk

While knowledge on what constitutes risky behaviour is perpetuated through medical, social and legal discourses on prostitution, understandings and constructions of risk and risk actions are played out at the micro level. What does 'expert' knowledge mean then in this sense? What construction of risk do people draw from in their everyday, private and intimate lives? 'Lay knowledges tend to be far more contextual, localised and individualised, reflexively aware of diversity and change, than the universalizing tendencies of expert knowledges' (Lupton, 1999b: 108-9; Wynne, 1996).

The social constructionist perspective considers all knowledge on risk as socially generated and so, scientific, 'expert' and lay knowledges are subject to the same cultural and social influences. Thus, no one knowledge source is more legitimate than another, as they are all value-laden, being continuously formed and negotiated

through cultural and social interactions and rooted in particular ways of seeing the world as subjectively experienced. Therefore what is deemed a danger or harm in one cultural context may not be perceived as a risk in another context. This has implications for how knowledge about risks and perceptions of risks evolve (Lupton, 1999b). Beck also argues that risks 'only exist in terms of the (scientific or anti-scientific) *knowledge* about them...and to that extent they are particularly *open to social definition and construction*' (Beck, 1992b: 23 – original emphasis).

Duff (2003: 291) notes that 'distinct risk knowledges arise at the point where risk itself is experienced'. Beck views this as a 'competition of rationalities' between objectivist, scientific accounts of risk and the more pragmatic, 'functional' accounts of lay populations (Beck, 1992b: 57-58). This competition, according to Beck (1992b), has created a new politics of risk whereby the battle for legitimacy between expert and non-expert risk rhetoric has become increasingly prominent in the practice of risk management (see also Duff, 2003 for a consideration of this in relation to Australian drugs policy debates). Beck (1992b) concludes that risk must be reconceptualised as 'social rationality' in order to converge objective determination and subjective perception of risk in order to, thus, socially rationalise risk management.

2.3.1 Reflexivity

Lupton (1999b) argues that there is an inference in Beck's and Giddens' work associating reflexivity with socio-economic privilege. This argument is developed by Lash (1994) in his ideas around 'reflexivity winners' and 'reflexivity losers'. The former group are differentiated from the latter by their access to social resources, such as education, to engage in self-reflexivity. Lash (1994: 20 – original emphasis) ponders 'Just how "reflexive" is it possible for a single mother in an urban ghetto to be?...Just how much freedom from the "necessity" of "structure" and structural poverty does this ghetto mother have to self-construct her own "life narratives". This view, however, in its pre-occupation with structural meanings, ignores the importance of situated constructed understandings. Whilst situated narratives can be structurally bound or mediated, might they not still be valid and individually "owned"? Can these same risk discourses not constitute a person's reflexive thinking? Reflexivity might

vary along socio-economic lines but should not imply that reflexivity (of some sort) does not occur. While the social constructionist camp goes far to advance understandings of risk and risk perceptions as socially produced, this perspective is weakened by the one-dimensional, normative understanding of 'reflexivity'. Does engagement in risk behaviour signal inability to engage in reflexive risk assessment, due perhaps to ignorance or inadequate knowledge of risks (as per 'official, expert information flows')? If risks are socially constructed, surely it must follow that 'reflexivity' is a situated activity, relative to the pressures the individual weighs up within their (structurally bound) context. Schutz's phenomenological ideas around 'systems of relevance' have been used by some observers as a means for bridging the short fall of social constructionist explanations of risk behaviour (see McKeganey and Barnard, 1992b; Bloor, 1995a; Monaghan, 2002).

2.3.2 Systems of Relevance

Some pertinent risk work in the social constructionist tradition has drawn on Schutz's (1970) thesis on 'systems of relevance' (Monaghan, 2002; Lupton, 1999b; Bloor, 1995a; 1995b). Schutz's (1970) interests lay in the cognitive and perceptual processes underpinning everyday life. He distinguishes people's perception between aspects which exist in the background of a person's awareness (horizon) and those aspects which are at the foreground of a person's awareness (theme) and thus, the project or 'problem at hand' (Schutz, 1970: 3). Monaghan (2002) argues for a phenomenology, after Schutz's work on systems of relevance, which explores the different ways in which interpretive social actors orient to perceptual stimuli (see also Bloor, 1995b). Thus, people's perceptions of risk can be seen to be mediated not through awareness of risk knowledges (which are at the horizon of consciousness) but within a thematic field dictated by presenting pressures (e.g. need for financial acquisition).

Structural influences (on systems of relevance) are seen as having evolved since early modernity from the family, government, social class etc with emphasis now on information and communication structures (Lupton, 1999b). Lash (1994: 20) contends that 'those who are not equipped to acquire new forms of information and access to knowledge flows, or who are excluded from acquisition, are those who are

'reflexivity losers''. Yet, as noted above, 'thematic fields' of perception are distinguished from 'fields of horizon' (Schutz, 1970) and risk knowledges implicate both fields through situated modes of communication. Thus, risk actions and risk management are directed at the 'project at hand' and relate to a person's 'degree of habituation to specific perceptual stimuli' (Monaghan, 2002: 446).

2.4 Risk Management

The notion of power relations impacting on risk management strategies is particularly evident in the context of marginalised groups, such as sex workers. Bloor et al (1992), for example, noted the awareness amongst sex workers on the street of risks associated with HIV/AIDS. However, despite their awareness, they lacked the power to insist on safe sexual practices in their negotiations with clients. This is particularly the case with street sex workers who use drugs (Gossop et al, 1995; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996, Cusick, 1998b; May and Hunter, 2006).

"People's social location and their access to material resources are integral to the ways in which they conceptualise and deal with risk. Rather than responding as autonomous agents to the risks they perceive, people act as members of social groups and social networks' (Lupton, 1999b: 117).

This idea is important as it regards a person's positionality as part of a social group in terms of their risk actions. How one perceives, assesses and responds to risk does not exist in a vacuum and messages on risk are culturally disseminated, filtered and individually received and acted upon through a culturally normative lens. Risk assessment and aversion are all part of the organisation of social groups and their system of norms on how risk is interpreted (Zinn, 2007). Participation in a particular social group or shared cultural environment has particular implications then for risk management, as Lupton (1999b: 117) argues; 'membership of these groups and networks [are]....influential in mediating the capacities of individuals to act as reflexive subjects in relation to risk'.

2.5 Theorising Sex and Drugs Risk Behaviour

Readings of risk have become a popular theme across various sociological domains. Marske (1991) notes how risk analysis studies emphasise the dialectical relationship between social structures and individuals in constructions of and responses to risk. 'Risk', 'risk behaviour' and 'risk groups' have become keywords in HIV and AIDS rhetoric. Risk behaviour has become an important determinant in the assessment of risk factors associated with HIV, viewed as a behavioural disease (Stimson, 1990).

Recent theories of risk behaviour in the area of HIV/AIDS look at how risk is socially constructed. Rhodes (1997: 208) discusses two major developments in risk behaviour theory; that of 'situated rationality' theory and 'social action' theory. The theory of situated rationality looks at rationality at the individual level and how risk behaviour is the product of individual decisions and actions (see Wynne, 1992; Singleton and Hoyden, 1994). Rhodes (1997: 208; original emphasis) argues that this is a limited analysis of the nature of rationality as it fails to account for the individual as a social actor and 'fails to capture the distribution and influence of power in negotiated actions and the *habituated* nature of risk behaviour'.

Social action theorists oppose behavioural theories which claim that choice assumes risks are rationally calculated by individuals by arguing that social relationships are power relationships and not often egalitarian (Rhodes, 1997). The dominance of individual, scientific understandings of risk in AIDS discourse has led many to call for the development of a more comprehensive, all-encompassing theory of risk in the area of AIDS (Rhodes, 1997; Susser and Susser, 1996; Strong, 1990).

A modern classic ethnographic account of risk practices amongst homeless heroin addicts in San Francisco (Bourgois, 1998) highlights the role of social networks in risk production and reproduction, and the social symbolism inherent in these networks which shape risk behaviour. Bourgois (1998: 2331) found that drug risk practices were largely facilitated through social networks as '[homeless injectors]...cannot survive on the street with dope fiend identities without engaging in risk sharing practices'. More recent contributions to understandings of risk behaviours related to drug misuse have further highlighted the influence of types of capital and social

networks on risk actions (Lovell, 2002), 'cultures' of drug users, micro-social and broader social impacts on risk behaviours (Friedman, Jong, Rossi, Touzé, Rockwell, Des Jarlais and Elovich, 2007), and the risk environment within which drug users operate (Rhodes et al, 2005).

2.5.1 The Risk Environment

The risk environment model comprises two key dimensions – the *type* and the *level* of environmental influence. Rhodes et al (2005) identify four major types of environmental influence as physical, social, economic and policy which occur within the context of three levels of environmental influence – the macro, meso and micro levels. Previous qualitative research has drawn attention to what Rhodes et al (2005) term the inseparability of micro, meso and macro level factors (Singer, 1997; Bourgois, Lettiere and Quesada, 1997). The risk environment emerges as a product of the interaction between these three different levels. As risk is assessed and responded to at the micro level, this feeds back into the construction of risk at the meso and macro levels. Whilst it is noted that a simple 'risk environment' model cannot serve to capture completely the various ways in which environmental factors interact in a given context, the interplay between the different levels can be understood as synergistic and 'locally produced' (Rhodes et al, 2005: 1028).

2.6 Learning Risk

Learning risk through risk pathways, journeys or careers is a useful way to consider the phenomenology of risk (see Goffman, 1959; Becker, 1963, and later Taylor, 1993; Dillon, 2002; Mayock, 2005 for applications in the context of drug use). The 'scripting' of risk journeys has been documented in relation to young people and drug use (Mayock, 2005). The perceptions of risk and the subjective logic guiding and sustaining perspectives on risk boundaries can read through 'scripts', which Mayock (2005) uses as an analytical tool to explore the ways in which young people produce and rationalise their drug stories.

2.6.1 Risk Perceptions – Risk Prioritisation?

Previous research into the risk perceptions of drug users found that risk was perceived as relative amongst drug users and that risk priorities emerged as a hierarchy of risk concerns (Rhodes et al, 1995). In effect then, overdosing from drugs was viewed as a greater risk than the HIV-risks of drug use (Rhodes, 1997). In relation to sex work, Sanders (2005, 2004a) argues similarly that women working in prostitution construct a 'hierarchy of harms' which places priorities on different types of behaviour judged by their potential outcomes and the assessment of the women over their ability to control the likelihood of the risk occurring. Her research shows how sex workers working in brothels construct their understandings of risk based on their personal situation and give precedence to risks perceived to have greater consequences for the women. The idea of risk prioritisation along a hierarchy of harms will be further explored in the prostitution literature below.

2.6.2 Risk Decisions and Social Capital

The issue of risk has received considerable attention in relation to youth research (Mayock and Carr, 2008; Kemshall, 2008; Boeck et al, 2006; Armstrong, 2004; Goldson, 1999). This risk infused arena of research presents some valuable ideas regarding the sociology of risk with "vulnerable groups". Boeck et al (2006) consider risk and risk decisions in relation to young people and highlight contextual and structural issues in risk analysis. Interestingly they employ the concept of "social capital" as a heuristic device in their analysis by focusing on the role of social capital in mediating risk decision-making, rather than a mere element of risk decisions.

By focusing on an individuals "power resources", defined as their ability and competency to take steps, choosing between different options and acting upon that (Bloor et al, 1992a; 1992b; Rhodes, 1997), one can consider the constraints on agency in terms of structural and contextual issues. The idea of the individual as a risk navigator is proffered by Boeck et al (2006). This idea could be charged with the presumption that the individual has the reflexive competence to constantly self-monitor, weigh up his/her options and potential outcomes in terms of risk (Giddens, 1990). For some, this carries a discriminatory implication of social and economic

privilege (Lupton, 1999b) as noted above. In this way then, it follows that those individuals lacking the personal and social resources to reflexively and (thus it is implied) effectively navigate risk decision-making would be rendered 'reflexive losers' relative to 'reflexive winners' (Lash, 1994: 141), differentiated by the possession of social capital in the navigation of risk.

2.6.3 Contested Notions of Social Capital

The development of ideas in relation to social capital can be largely attributed to the work of three major theorists in this area – Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam. Bourdieu (1972; 1986) developed his ideas on social capital around associated cultural, economic and symbolic capital. Social capital from Bourdieu's perspective can be a neutral concept in the abstract, however, can serve to foster or reproduce inequalities in terms of differential opportunities for accessing particular fields. Coleman's ideas around social capital are rooted in structural-functionalist theory existing in the structure of relations between individuals (Coleman, 1988).

The normative view of social capital synonymises social capital with socially cohesive, mainstream groups with the resources to reflexively assess, effectively respond to and thus mitigate risk. Boeck et al (2006) employ a contested notion of social capital in their consideration of its role in risk decisions. The traditional assumption, particularly in the field of criminology, is that social capital is a positive resource and the absence of strong bonds to social networks has negative implications for an individual's life trajectory (Sampson and Laub, 1993; Laub and Sampson, 1997; Putnam, 2000; Field, 2003). Boeck et al (2006) deconstruct the notion of social capital in order to consider how different forms of social capital can have different outcomes for individuals. They argue that the normative view of social capital presupposes that the existence of social capital will always facilitate conformity with pro-social norms.

As noted earlier, whilst certainly social capital can be understood as positively mediating risk by providing the resources for the effective negotiation of harm and management of risk (Lomas, 1998), then the 'dark side' of social capital must also be considered in terms of the facilitation of risk behaviours and the production of social

structural risk. Putnam's (2000: 19) notion of social capital is viewed simply as social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. He, however, warns against the "treacly sweet", "kumbaya" interpretation of social capital by making the distinction between types of social capital (Putnam, 2000: 21 citing Briggs, 1997), namely, 'bonding' social capital and 'bridging' social capital. The former is conceptualised as an 'exclusive' group providing inward social support, the latter as a more inclusive network with explicit linkages to wider networks and information and access to broader support structures. Normative understandings of 'social capital' regard it as something positive and, clearly 'social'. Yet Putnam's (2000) 'bonding' type of social capital can be applied to a more *anti-social* meaning of a social group, without links to wider networks representing a 'bounded', 'elite' solidarity. Halpern (2005: 118) notes the existence of 'negative' or 'perverted' social capital whereby, for instance, individuals become disconnected from the mainstream social fabric and engage with deviant social networks providing criminal social capital. Policy efforts and programmatic interventions to *bridge* 'bonding' groups (Putman, 2000) is regarded as a means to 'encourage at-risk individuals to connect to more mainstream networks' (Halpern, 2005: 119).

Pierre Bourdieu (1986), in his seminal work *The Forms of Capital*, argues that social capital is "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to a possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986: 249). His conceptualisation is focused on the advantages which are accrued for those who possess social capital and the intentional sociability for the purpose of generating this resource. The nature of the relationships within the social structure for the purposes of obtaining social capital is vital for consideration of the role of social capital. Granovetter (1973) highlights the differences between weak and strong social ties and, thus, emphasises the importance of the relational aspect in the examination of the role of social capital by focusing on the nature of connections between individuals. Group cohesion as well as the relationship between the group and society are core dimensions to readings of social capital (Coleman, 1988).

2.7 Risk and Prostitution

Reading risk in prostitution through a social constructionist lens allows for a consideration of how risk perceptions and actions are socially produced. As noted earlier in this review, women have been traditionally viewed as passive risk avoiders (Chan and Rigakos, 2002; Lupton, 1999b). Yet, "women involved in prostitution are placed outside acceptable conceptions of femininity and appear to be risk taking by the standards of others in the community" (Sanders, 2005: 43). Stanko (1996) argues that a moral code of conduct for women excludes women who do not abide by a gendered set of values and so in essence place themselves outside of expectations of public protection from risk and harm. However, taking or avoiding risks are not voluntary decisions made by individual women but are choices and behaviours affected by risk perceptions constructed within specific social, economic and legal contexts.

Risk behaviours are negotiated through social interaction with clients and this is a very specific power relationship. Foucault (1980) states that power is rarely the outcome of consensually determined acquiescence; therefore the power relations between prostitute and client has major implications for individual decision making around risk taking and risk avoidance. Bloor et al (1992a) emphasises the importance of gendered power relations in risk readings. As risk actions are situationally relative, not all individuals have equal power in sexual negotiations to act in a 'normatively' rational manner. If physical harm is threatened, some women may rationally calculate that to acquiesce to requests for non-use of condoms is safer than to risk violence (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996). In this way, rational individual decision making for women in prostitution is situationally relative and subject to negotiated actions reliant on the power dynamic of relations with clients.

2.7.1 Risk Trajectories in Prostitution

Vanwesenbeeck's (1994) work considers trajectories of risk and experience of prostitution by adapting the Matthew Effect thesis. This argument states that vulnerable starting points in life culminate over the life-time to continuously

disadvantage certain individuals. The 'Matthew Effect'[36] is described in the literature as the outcome of either fortunate or fatal interaction between an individual and her/his surroundings, reflecting more general processes of increasing social division and inequality (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994). Large differences between the experiences of women in prostitution were found to exist by Vanweesenbeeck (1994) which impinged on their well-being and sexual risk management. She found that five elements existed in the experiences of women in prostitution which intertwined to create a particular position for women in prostitution from which they were more or less inclined towards sexual risk behaviour. These elements were found to be; childhood experiences; economic situation; working conditions; survival strategies and interaction with clients (Vanweesenbeeck, 1994). Vanweesenbeeck (1994) cautions that this vicious cycle 'should not be viewed as a collective fate.., [h]owever, unfavourable starting positions enhance the *likelihood* of further burdening conditions and experiences piling up, both on and off the job'(p. 156: original emphasis).

2.7.2 Social Organisation of Risk for Sex Work

Earlier studies on prostitution and risk were limited to health risks and health risk behaviours (Padian, 1988; Bloor, Leyland, Barnard and McKeganey, 1991; McKeganey and Barnard, 1992a), reflecting the availability of funding for HIV/AIDS related research throughout the 1990s.

Rather than centre analysis of risk amongst women in prostitution on health beliefs and perceptions, Whittaker and Hart (1996) considered the social organisation of risk for women in prostitution. This followed from other studies which considered occupational health risks for women in prostitution (Day, 1990; Scambler, Peswani, Renton and Scambler, 1990; Barnard, 1993). Risks are seen to differ across contexts (Perkins and Lovejoy, 1996; Weitzer, 2000a), and women in street prostitution, for example, are seen to be subject to explicit contextual constraints which can leave them in a vulnerable position. The venue itself is outdoors, much of street sex work takes place in the dark and many women work alone (Barnard, 1993). In addition, as in the criminalised context of Ireland, there is no legal protection for women in

[36] St. Matthew wrote: 'For unto everyone that hath shall be given, and he shall abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath' (cited in Merton, 1988: 332)

prostitution and street working women are more visible and thus at greater risk of arrest for their activities. It is argued also that understanding experiences of prostitution should not be reduced to context (Plumridge, 2001). As Zatz (1997) maintains in the introduction to this thesis, context is experienced and responded to in different ways by different people.

Though safety strategies are employed to manage risk by individuals across contexts, these are not fail-safe as women in prostitution are often subject to violent physical and sexual attack and robbery (Whitaker and Hart, 1996). As Barnard (1993) argues, the law works against the safety of women increasing the likelihood of risk but limiting their negotiation time and offering little protection against assault. Whitaker and Hart (1996) develop the ideas of Barnard (1993) and others by looking at the implications of social context on occupational risk for those working in indoor prostitution. They consider how organisation and working conditions create a particular context through which women working indoors make sense of risk and how they develop protective strategies to manage this risk. They argue that 'it is through the social organisation of their [prostitutes'] work that we are best able to understand the nature of their risk exposure, rather than through an interrogation of their 'failure' to use condoms or 'allowing' clients to have unprotected penetrative sex' (Whitaker and Hart, 1996: 402). Whitaker and Hart (1996) emphasise the role of material resources in the social organisation of risk for women in prostitution and the power relations that they give rise to which have major implications for health risk behaviours and health outcomes.

Ideological arguments, either pro or anti- prostitution would argue that the experiences of prostitution are either always exploitative or empowering. Empirical analyses demonstrate however, that there is much variation among the experiences of those engaged in prostitution (Weitzer, 2000a; Monto, 2004).

A common thread linking all working environments, however, is the potential for client violence to which all women working are susceptible. Indeed physical locations have implications for harm potential and risk for women working in different environments and this is certainly one important mitigating factor in the perception of risk, sense of safety and effectiveness of strategies drawn on by women in prostitution. Yet there are other essential elements to the construction of and

responses to risk, such as social relationships and associated dynamics produced therein. Analysis of risk in sex work should not then limit itself to mere classifications of working environment and related safety issues. This would neglect some important social constructionist theorising around issues of negotiations and power, in conjunction with issues around physical space, as well as broader socio-economic and legalistic contextualisation which are required for a comprehensive analysis of risk in sex work. As Sanders (2005: 43) notes: "[i]n relation to the sex industry, the presence and response to risk must be understood as a dynamic between individual, social, economic and cultural factors that influence the illicit economy".

2.7.3 Organisation and Management of Sex Work Risk

Two dimensions of sex work and risk have been considered by Sanders (2005); the first takes account of the social organisation of sex work and the second identifies individual management of risk within this context. The first, meso level, relates to the organisation of the work regarding place, time and details of the sexual transaction which are structured around reducing harm (Sanders, 2005: 43); while on another, micro level, individual management of risk is impinged upon by social interaction and responsive risk reducing strategies. These responsive risk reducing tactics are dependent on the knowledge and perceptions regarding various risks, and their prioritisation of risks within a 'hierarchy of harms'. It is also largely dependent on the individual development of skills in a strategic reaction to potential threat, which evolves in a dialectical fashion with structural and contextual constraints.

2.8 The Risk Environment of Prostitution

Drawing on Rhodes et al's (2005) model of the risk environment (described earlier in this chapter), Shannon et al (2008) identified a number of environmental risk factors for women in prostitution at the different contextual levels which were found to mediate women's risk management efforts. At the macro level, constraints included drug withdrawal and drug funding motivations. At the meso level constraints included unsafe working environments and the negative impact of local policing and, at the micro level limits on risk management comprised interpersonal relations with partners, pimps and violent clients. Shannon et al (2008) call for sex work

environments to be 'enabling' and thus, move beyond an individual-level HIV prevention focus, to consider structural and environmental interventions. One apparent weakness with this study is that an over-emphasis on physical and health risk and their implications for HIV prevention has neglected the importance of emotional risk and its role in the response to risk along a perceived 'hierarchy of harms' (see Sanders, 2005). Shannon et al (2008) argue, however, that their application of the risk environment framework has been found to be especially valuable for understanding the broader structural and situational issues which impinge on the ability of women to implement active risk reduction strategies. The risk environment model is also useful in reconceptualising and reconstructing public health responses to HIV risk (Rhodes et al, 2005; Latkin and Knowlton, 2005).

2.8.1 Risk Prioritisation

As many authors note, in the wake of the AIDS pandemic of the 1980s, research on sex work was limited to AIDS risk behaviours and the focus was on female sex workers themselves, with little notice taken of the clients, portraying these women as vectors for disease (Walkowitz, 1980; Roberts, 1992; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Whitaker and Hart, 1996). While health risks are real for both parties involved in any sexual activity, commercial sexual exchange receives a great deal of attention in this area due to concerns regarding drug use and prostitution as well as vulnerability affecting health risk priorities. However, reducing risk analysis in sex work to health and drug use risks, disregards the lived realities for many women in the sex industry.

"Despite the plethora of media attention which has been focussed on prostitution as a result of concerns over the spread of HIV, the greatest risk to the health of such women (at least in the developed countries) comes not from a deadly virus but from the violent actions of many of their clients"

(McKeganey and Barnard, 1992b: 3)

Sanders (2005) suggests that while health risks are more controllable for the women by the systematic use of condoms with clients, other risks were given higher prioritisation by the women studied and called for the development of particular strategies in order to address them. Potential physical attacks from clients were an

unknowable risk and necessitated women guarding against such risk through the creation and employment of deterrent, precaution and protection tactics.

2.8.2 Experiencing Risk in Prostitution

The focus on risk within sex work has been granted much consideration over other types of occupational risk and this is understood as the 'paradox of attention' granted to the sex industry, reflecting more the fascination with the illicit nature of commercial sex and less the routine of everyday work for those selling sex (Scambler, 1997: 112). Sanders (2005) argues that the established link between physical health, prostitution and risky behaviour often over-emphasises the culturally visible aspects of sex work, such as street prostitution, and neglects other risks by emphasising sexually transmissible diseases and drug use in terms of health risks in prostitution. What must be viewed as decisive is not the existence of occupational dangers in the sex industry but how the women themselves assess the risks that they face and rank them in terms of risk priority.

Sanders (2005) argues that varying dispositions to risk taking and risk avoidance are not the sole determinants of risk actions. Risk perception and subsequent behaviours involve the consideration of particular preferences amongst sex workers, of which she notes three; the desire to stay physically safe, the desire to maintain sanity and the desire to earn money (Sanders, 2005: 559). Her study looked at the management of health, physical and emotional risks by female sex workers on a continuum of risk. While health risks, relating to sexually transmissible disease, and physical risks, focusing on violence as an occupational hazard, attract much consideration in sex work risk analysis, Sanders (2005) includes emotional risks in sex work as an important factor of risk perception, assessment and management by sex workers.

2.8.3 Emotional Risks

The emotional risks of sex work include, firstly, the implications of the separation of business from pleasure, the public from the private. Separating sex work from a woman's private life means the construction of strict boundaries around what is permissible within the sexual encounter and what is off limits (for example kissing as

an intimate activity reserved for private sexual relationships) and this separation between sex and sex as work has been noted by numerous authors (Pateman, 1988; Warr and Pyett, 1999; Brewis and Linstead, 2000b; Oerton and Phoenix, 2001; Høigård and Finstad, 1992). The symbolism attributed to condom use is often key to demarcation between work and private intimacy and non-use of condoms with sexual partners outside of sex work has major ramifications in terms of increased health risks for female sex workers (McKegney and Barnard, 1992b; Warr and Pyett, 1999).

Other emotional risks of sex work include fear of being 'found out' and the risks of keeping sex work secret. The danger of negative emotional issues regarding sex work being unmanaged means that some individuals risk low self-esteem and/or engagement in substance misuse (Sanders, 2005). While physical and health risks are obvious within sex work, the perception and management of such amongst sex workers are subject to their assessment of risks within their personal risk continuum which may prioritise emotional risk management. Based on her evaluation of risks within indoor sex work, Sanders (2005: 568) argues that risk management occurs on a continuum and that '[t]he threat of emotional risks is placed above that of health or the threat of violence because emotional strategies have to be created and sustained in the private sphere as well as the public work arena'.

2.8.4 Physical Risks

Previous research has found that the relatively vulnerable positionality of some sex workers renders them less in control in encounters with clients and more susceptible to physical attack (Whitaker and Hart, 1996; Barnard, 1993; Day, 1990). Although it is erroneous to suggest that all male customers are violent or potentially violent, they are seen by some as contributing to the endorsement of a system that leaves women vulnerable to violence (Monto, 2004). Anti-prostitution advocates would argue that clients are inherently violent as they are perpetuating violence against women by purchasing sexual services from women (Barry, 1979). The discursive contexts around prostitution signal the fact that some men do not view their own or others' behaviour as constituting violence (Miller and Schwartz, 1995). There is a widespread assumption that prostitution is inevitable and that men have a natural drive which forces them to seek out women for sex (Carpenter, 1998; Plumridge,

Chetwynd, Reed and Gifford, 1997). This male sexual supremacy discourse supports the notions of the sexual entitlement of men to women and feeds into the inevitability of violence discourse. Monto (2004: 176) found that the endorsement of the 'rape myth' was strongly associated with sexual conservatism and an attraction to violent sexuality, consistent with patriarchal violence against women. While research has found that some men justify their use of prostitutes through a market-orientated rationale (Prasad, 1999); there is also an evidence-base suggesting that male customers seek to ignore the economic aspects of prostitution encounters (Plumridge et al, 1997). Monto (2004) notes how some qualitative accounts reveal punters showing frustration or anger towards prostitutes who are nonchalant, indifferent, cold, hurried or seemingly do not care (Monto, 2004: 173; Carpenter, 1998; Plumridge et al, 1997).

2.8.5 Health Risks

As detailed above, emotional management strategies employed by sex workers often impact on their exposure to occupational health risks. The health risks associated with emotional risk management in sex work are not indiscriminate and Warr and Pyett (1999: 305) found that 'street sex workers, who faced the most frequent and serious risks of violence in their working lives, were those who engaged in the highest risks of STDs and HIV in their private lives'. McKegney and Barnard (1992b: 87) note that while the use of condoms amongst sex workers within private sexual relationship should be addressed, it should be a harm reduction intervention which is sensitive to the symbolism attached to non-condom use outside of sex work; 'condoms are valued by the female prostitutes in their dealings with clients, it seems, for the very same reasons that they are devalued by people generally in private relationships'.

2.8.6 Risk Management by Sex Workers

The idea of risk management is rooted in the notion that human beings respond to anxieties created by uncertainty in order to develop strategies for dealing with known and unknown risks and dangers. Lupton (1999b) argues that our anxieties over risk lie both in the perceptions of the risks themselves as well as the symbolic role these

risks pose to us, potentially stripping us of control over our lives; "the symbolic basis of our uncertainties is anxiety created by disorder, the loss of control over our bodies, our relationships with others, our livelihoods and the extent to which we can exert autonomy in our everyday lives" (Lupton, 1999b: 3). Systems for managing risk on an individual and on a cultural basis, therefore, can be seen as a response to uncertainty and an assertion by sex workers, as autonomous beings to maintain control over their lives.

Kemshall (2002b: 5) notes that '[g]etting risk right is down to individual calculation, and the types of choices which are made'. The management of risk then becomes a personal, rather than a collective exercise, and effective management entails a high competence for self-monitoring or 'reflexivity'. Giddens (1998a: 28) argues that 'people have to take a more active and risk-infused orientation to their relationships and involvements'. Therefore, in our everyday lives we have to make risk-infused decisions and choose what we see as risky or not. Individuals' choices on risk then have their 'own logic and rationale, and makes eminent sense...as part of their views on life' (Lupton, 1999b: 106).

Beck (1992b: 75) contends that denying the existence of risks or 'interpreting away' risks is one coping technique when the elimination of risk is impossible. Warr and Pyett (1999) attribute Beck's theory to the possibility that living with high levels of danger has the effect of normalising risk for sex workers who engage in high risk behaviours, such as health risks in their private lives. Yet sex worker passivity to risk is certainly not evident in the literature. Research has found that, as dangers present themselves, different strategies are employed by sex workers, at the micro level, to convert dangers into manageable risks and attempt to assert greater control over their situation (see Plumridge, 2001). Sanders (2005) argues, based on an indoor study sample, that sex workers create and employ active strategies at an individual level as well as drawing on establishment rules to manage health and physical risk in their work and this includes taking precautions (which become ingrained working rules and routine); screening clients; employing deterrents (such as reliance on a third party or monitoring systems) as well as resorting to protective measures, such as weapons, as a last choice. Yet many health and physical risks are viewed by sex workers as an integral part of their work, while more subtle, emotional risks are granted more

attention on the risk continuum as sex workers interviewed felt that very often 'they had little control over the emotional risks in prostitution, and therefore these pitfalls were to be guarded against over what has been considered in the literature to be more obvious harms' (Sanders, 2005).

Risk management is also part of the operation of meso level in-house safety mechanisms in brothels and parlours. Brents and Hausbeck (2005) note brothel policies which promote indoor sex work safety in Nevada such as guidelines for the negotiation process between prostitute and punter, audio room monitoring and call buttons, limiting out-of-brothel services and the movement of sex workers and the implementation of health regulations. These procedures could also be argued to be in the better interests of the owner in terms of supervision and monitoring of sex workers and enhancement of profits (Brents and Hausbeck, 2005). However, the existence of these procedures can be deterrents to dangers and threats and allow the sex worker a sense of safety and a degree of control within her work environment.

2.8.7 Sex Work Risk in the Irish Context

Irish research on prostitution is largely orientated towards the health needs and health risks of males and females in prostitution (O'Connor, 1995; 1996; Quinlan et al, 1997; Donoghue, 1999) and mainly confined to the Capital, although there have been some limited regional investigations in the past decade. Regional studies in both Waterford and the mid-Western region have highlighted predisposing and precipitating factors for those 'at risk' of engagement in prostitution as well as the increasing risks of exploitation of juveniles in prostitution (McElwee and Lalor, 1997; O'Sullivan, 1998). Changes to the nature of street prostitution, with evidence of increasing violence and victimisation (Lawless and Wayne, 2005), highlight the ineffectiveness and moreover detrimental effect of current government policy on the lives of the already marginalised street workers. While changes to the indoor sex industry here have highlighted transformations to globalised sex markets and the ramifications of global risks in the Irish context are unknowable.

The dearth of evidence in the Irish context on the phenomenology of risk for those engaged in prostitution is striking. While the Ruhama commissioned study highlights

the 'risk of prostitution' and the damage of engagement (Lawless and Wayne, 2005), little is known about prostitution as a lived experience or everyday efforts by those engaged in sex work to minimise harms and to negotiate risks. Fundamentally this gap in knowledge needs to be filled with the voices of women on their accounts of their every day existence. Risks in prostitution in Ireland need to be understood through subjective accounts by those who face them and manage them on a daily basis, rather than an 'imposed', 'outsider' risk assessment of lived realities.

2.9 Conclusion – Presenting Questions

This chapter has considered readings of risk in the literature, from general risk theories to readings of risk in prostitution. By engaging with the literature to create a suitable base on which to conceptualise, problematise and operationalise risk for this research, this review has raised a number of key issues of concern for this study. Primarily this review has highlighted the question of '[h]ow .. the discourses and practices around risk operate in the construction of subjectivity and social life?' (Lupton, 1999b: 35), and, conversely, how subjective experiences of prostitution produce and reproduce discourses of prostitution and risk? Flowing from this are a number of pertinent presenting questions:

1. By taking a phenomenological approach to risk, what are the lived experiences of prostitution and risk amongst women in prostitution?
2. Is there a variability of risk experiences amongst women in prostitution? And if so, how does this affect engagement with the work?
3. How are risks subjectively understood? How are risks identified? How are risks managed and negotiated by individuals within their social context?
4. What role does social capital play in lived experiences?
5. Regarding risk knowledges as socially produced and reproduced, what are the knowledge flows on risks from which women in prostitution draw their understandings and how are 'risks' communicated amongst women in prostitution?
6. To what degree can lived experiences of prostitution, presented through situated narratives, be viewed as 'reflexive'?

Chapter 3
Methodology

3.1 Introduction

"*No matter how carefully one plans in advance the research is designed in the course of its execution. The finished monograph is the result of hundreds of decisions, large and small, whilst the research is underway*"

(Becker, 1965: 602)

This chapter will document the decisions Becker alludes to above which led to the initiation of this investigation, the framework and design of this project and the direction this project took in order to meet the overall objectives of the study.

3.1.1 Paradigm of Study

I developed a paradigm for my study which considers the diverse ways in which prostitution is understood at different contextual levels. I adapted this paradigm from a review of the work of Duncan and Edwards (1999) on lone-motherhood in the United Kingdom[37]. The researchers developed a framework for understanding the different discursive contexts of lone motherhood; from dominant, official discourses to the discourses of lone mothers themselves. I found this paradigm to be highly valuable and I especially welcomed the ease at which I could explore discursive influences and the perceptions of same, in the narratives of those whose discourses have been largely ignored in the public arena.

[37] The work of Duncan and Edwards (1999) on lone-motherhood in the United Kingdom was seen as as a useful resource in developing a paradigm for my study. Their work, entitled 'Lone Mothers, Paid work and Gendered Moral Rationalities' was concerned with how lone mothers neogitiate their lives through motherhood and paid work. An overriding ideas of the work is how lone motherhood is conceptualised and the heterogeneous perspectives attached to this concept in different contexts. One chapter of their work is devoted to an exploration of the competing positions and discourses around lonemotherhood and this is nicely investigated through a framework which considers official, dominant discourses of the single mother, public and media discourses as well as the discourses of lone mothers themselves. They investigated how they perceived themselves and how they perceived other (dominant) discourses of lone mothers and lone motherhood.

As I began formalising the aims of the research, I was conscious of some of the methodological difficulties of researching the area of prostitution as faced in previous empirical work.

3.2 Methodological Challenges to Researching Prostitution

According to Shaver (2005), one challenge when researching prostitution is the treatment of sex workers as a homogenous group, which includes associating sex work with victimization and exploitation and associating sex worker with victim. Shaver (2005) argues that when researching prostitution it is vital that strategies are developed which will help reveal diversity within and between sectors.

According to Lee (1993), the sensitivity of research is not inherent in the topic itself but in the relationship between the topic and the social context. He advises considering the conditions under which sensitivity arises in the research process rather than looking at 'sensitive topics'. The issue of prostitution is a minefield of sensitivity and one needs to look no further than the feminist debates on prostitution to conclude that research into this area is not straight-forward. The language one employs is often an indication of the underlying intention/agenda of the research. Weitzer (2005: 934) criticises much literature on the sex industry in which he contends that knowledge is 'contaminated' by ideology in an effort to skew research in support of a particular political agenda; specifically abolitionism. By employing the language of 'prostitution' rather than 'sex work' in my study I might be charged with a particular, abolitionist perspective. To clarify, however, the reason for my use of this term as opposed to 'sex work' is because this term has been so far largely unheard of in the Irish context[38]. So, following Lee's (1993) advice I felt it would be most appropriate to employ the familiar rhetoric as part of my access negotiations with services. It was found, however, when I began talking to women involved in street prostitution that many identified themselves as 'working women'. The indoor workers I spoke to identified as sex workers. Therefore, I felt in both cases it was appropriate to respect their self-identification, rather than impose my own label and I

[38] While Monaghan (2002) alludes to the knowledge we produce and reproduce through our research and the 'discourse' of our research, it was felt in this instance that 'pioneering' a sex work language would be 'insensitive' without having first spoken to women about how they see themselves and what they do and also 'insensitive' in terms of access negotiations with service providers who do not use the term 'sex work'.

employed their own rhetoric when I spoke with them regarding my study. Other critical challenges I faced when conducting this research included access negotiations, sampling and ethical considerations. The strategies I employed to overcome these challenges are discussed below.

3.2.1 Overcoming Methodological Challenges - Modifying methods

Each research study has its own specific concerns and set of issues to be overcome. Barnard (1992: 154) argues that these issues should be dealt with through 'a judicious mix of pragmatism and flexibility and a concern not only for the best interests of the research but also the researched'. Johnson (1975) calls for the adoption of a progressive entry strategy in order to minimise the construction of 'fronts' by research participants. This is achieved by 'defocusing' (Johnson, 1975: 64) the study; starting with a general research topic and allowing those within the setting to define the research according to their own concerns (see also Schatzman and Strauss, 1973). I began focusing on my own aims and objectives for the research which would be sensitive to the methodological challenges noted above.

3.3 Aims and Objectives

The overall aim of this project was to explore the experiences of women involved in prostitution in Ireland. To achieve this end, I developed the paradigm, as detailed above, which would serve as a conceptual skeleton for my investigation. The main objectives of my study are situated within this discursive framework and investigate the interpretation of prostitution at different contextual levels. The primary objectives of the study are divided into specific sub-objectives;

1. **To establish the dominant interpretative discourses through which prostitution can be viewed**
    a. To identify the official discourses and associated state policies which provide the generalised context in which prostitutes negotiate their lives
    b. To determine which players are participating in the official discursive play on prostitution

2. **To ascertain the discourses of the women themselves**
    a. To examine their perceptions of the dominant discourses of prostitution
    b. To explore their own meanings and understandings of prostitution
3. **To explore the phenomenology of prostitution through the accounts of the women**
    a. To discover the stories of their lived experiences of prostitution
    b. To focus on how they 'work it' as work
    c. To examine how they work in a criminalised context
    d. To explore their strategies for negotiating their lives in prostitution

3.3.1 Primary Research Questions

I identified three primary research questions, in line with my research objectives, which operationalised my research problem. For each of the primary research questions I also extracted the related sub-questions.

1) **How is prostitution understood at the macro level in Ireland?**
    a) What are the dominant discourses around prostitution in Ireland, how are these discourses espoused and who are the major players in this discursive play?
2) **How do women engaged in prostitution receive and respond to macro level discourses?**
    a) What are the discourses presented by women in prostitution?
    b) How do they present their experiences?
    c) How do they perceive the current legal context regarding prostitution?
    d) What legal discourse do they advocate?
3) **What are the lived experiences of women in prostitution in Ireland?**
    a) What are their trajectories towards prostitution?
    b) How do they experience 'sex work'?
    c) How do they operate within a criminalised context?
    d) What risks do they encounter?
    e) What strategies do they employ in order to stay safe and negotiate their lives?

3.3.2 Research Design

'A research design is the logic that links the data to be collected (and the conclusions to be drawn) to the initial questions of study' (Yin, 2003: 19).

As noted above, the study objectives seek to situate women's accounts around a conceptual scaffold in order to derive greater meaning from their lived experience. The overall research design, therefore, is an exploratory qualitative study drawing on the interpretive tradition of social research. As a qualitative researcher, I endeavour to explore the experiences of women to discover how they see the world, how they define their situation and what it means to them. As this study is data driven, the overall methodology will draw on the fundamental tenets of phenomenology in social inquiry[39]. I apply a phenomenological research design to view how women in prostitution construct meaning from what they do through their intersubjective experience of the world. This design will be a fitting blueprint for setting out the above objectives and so will provide me with an appropriate methodology to deliver the required research evidence.

3.4 Theoretical influences on methodology

There are a number of theoretical influences guiding the development of this methodology. As a qualitative project, the underlying elements are a subjective understanding of the phenomenon under investigation; that is, the experiences of women in prostitution in Ireland. Striving, therefore, to become an 'active learner' researcher (Creswell, 1998: 18) and to present the research from the perspective of those engaged in prostitution, two key theoretical components are evident in influencing the research plan – phenomenology and grounded theory.

3.4.1 Phenomenology

Applying a phenomenological approach to this research is an attempt to understand 'the hidden meanings and the essence of the experience' together with how those

[39] Drawing on the work of founding fathers of this philosophy Husserl (1920) and Heidegger (1927) and later Schutz (1966) in the sociological tradition

engaged in prostitution 'make sense' of these (Grbich, 2007: 84). Crucially, the articulation of their understanding of their realities is the basis of this approach. 'Entering the field of perception of participants to see how they experience, live and display the phenomenon and looking for the meaning of the participants experience' (Creswell, 1998: 31). This orientation is of particular interest to this study as it concentrates on a single phenomenon; the experience of prostitution, and it allows for a greater understanding of how the participants themselves understand what they engage in.

3.4.2 Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is "a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived theory about a phenomenon" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 24). The value of grounded theory for this study was its conceptual guidance in building ideas in an attempt to explain and interpret meaning from the data. Some of the central tenets of grounded theory have a particular resonance for this particular study and have influenced the development of the methodology in response to the research questions. Some of the pertinent principles underpinning the grounded theory approach applicable to this study are:

- the complexity and variability of phenomena and human action
- the belief that persons are actors who take an active role in responding to problematic situations
- the realisation that persons act on the basis of meaning
- the understanding that meaning is defined and redefined through interaction
- a sensitivity to the evolving and unfolding nature of events (process)
- an awareness of the interrelationships among conditions (structure), action (process) and consequences

(Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990)

The value of this grounded theory approach within a phenomenological inquiry was clear as data collection and analysis developed around a risk framework.

3.5 Methodology

This study was underpinned by a qualitative methodology as a means of delivering the appropriate research evidence and a number of different methods of delivery were required. As this research is concerned with the experiences of women in prostitution, their voices were required in order to provide raw data as conducive to a phenomenological orientation to the research. Qualitative in-depth interviews were found to be the most appropriate means of collecting data on the 'essence' of their experiences.

Supplementary methods of data collection were also employed which were used both as 'context' setting as well as 'discursive' material. This involved:

- Qualitative semi-structured interviews (with ten key informants)
- Documentary analysis (of Government policy and official debates)
- Ethnographic research (through personal diaries as an outreach volunteer and through observations whilst conducting fieldwork)

As this data was used primarily as context setting for Chapter 1 and was not included in the formal analysis of this study, a detailed account of the methods used to collect and analyse this data will appear in Appendix A.

3.5.1 Field Work Planning and Access Negotiations

In the planning and preparation phase for field work I was conscious that accessing a sample for my study would not be a straightforward task. I had anticipated negotiations for securing access would be a challenge given the nature of the research, the relative 'invisibility' of the women in prostitution and the social vulnerability of my target population.

As I began making contact with various individuals and organisations which were engaged directly with women in prostitution I was hopeful that building positive relations and rapport with well positioned professionals would perhaps lead to access to women in prostitution. I began my access negotiations in tandem with key informant interviewing of individuals working with organisations directly involved with women in prostitution. Ruhama were very helpful and facilitated my access to their library where I had space to review literature relating to prostitution and

trafficking in Ireland, as well as videos of the organisation's work and compilations of prostitution discourse in Irish media. This provided the opportunity to gather supporting data regarding Ruhama's discursive stance. However, access to a sample of women in prostitution was denied. I was informed that the organisation had a policy to protect its client base and would not be in a position to facilitate every person who was researching prostitution. I understood their obligation to maintaining the trust of the women they worked with but I was also conscious of the paternalistic perspective towards the women they worked with that pervaded their discourse and, obviously, their stance towards outside research. While I respected their principles I felt that, in some ways, protective strategies deny some people a voice of their own and take away their autonomy to make decisions for themselves. Speaking on behalf of already vulnerable people, can in some cases further compound their vulnerability and shielding them behind an organisational front, in the spirit of protection, in some ways erases their agency and rejects their right to ownership of their own experiences.

3.5.2 Navigating Challenges

I made positive use of my experience, however, by becoming an outreach volunteer with the organisation for a number of months. Ruhama were aware of my research and I assured them that I would not be exploiting the outreach programme for the purposes of my studies. The decision to conduct outreach was for a number of reasons: to engage with prostitution at a practical level to offer social support to women working on the street in often marginalised conditions; to allow me a personal insight into the street economy in Dublin which could not be gleaned from texts; and ultimately to confront my own preconceptions of prostitution prior to conducting my fieldwork. Whilst clearly my role as an outreach volunteer was separate to my role as a researcher, and outreach activities and contacts were treated confidentially, I did keep a personal diary of my outreach experiences which anonymized any contacts but detailed my observations of the context within which Dublin street prostitution takes place (see Appendix A). I was an outreach volunteer for six months but I made the decision to end my engagement with Ruhama prior to conducting my fieldwork as I did not wish to jeopardise the work of Ruhama through my own research, nor did I wish to compromise my own research through others' confusion over my 'dual' roles (outreach volunteer and researcher). Furthermore, as Ruhama is an abolitionist

organisation, I did not wish to become known as affiliated with a particular agenda and, thus, deter potential respondents from speaking with me.

3.5.3 Further Access Issues

I faced another challenge when I contacted the Women's Health Project regarding my research. I was happy to conduct a key informant interview with one of the service providers in the organisation. However, negotiating access would be difficult and I needed to have a clear plan as to how I would secure a sample through the WHP. The co-ordinator was happy to contact the Ethics Committee on my behalf in order to informally inquire about the possibility of advertising my study through the project. I was willing to formally apply to the Ethics Committee to request permission to advertise. This was not necessary and I was approved for advertisement through the project. I created a poster as well as flyers which could be distributed. While the WHP could not actively advocate my research, and a disclaimer accompanied my posters which distanced the WHP from the research, the organisation were most helpful in displaying my advertisement and distributing my flyers in the 'drop in' clinic as well as on the mobile bus (see Appendix B for an example of the poster and the flyers). My efforts attracted one potential respondent who texted me on mobile number provided. She expressed her interest in the research and her willingness to talk to me and I subsequently called her to arrange a meeting. Unfortunately, we made two attempts to meet and on both occasions the participant did not arrive at the arranged meeting place. I was disappointed. Nontheless, I used the small contact I had with this woman over the phone to revise my method of recruitment to hopefully attract more people to the study. Advertisement can be a successful strategy when trying to secure a hard to reach sample. However, some difficulties which I encountered were firstly, literacy issues. Potential respondents need to be able to read the advertisement and the advertisement should be clear, simple and succinct. Also, as the onus is on the respondent to contact the researcher, they should be facilitated in this regard. I had provided a telephone number that I could be contacted at; however, I revised the advertisement to advise the reader to send a text message from their mobile phone either. I also included details of an incentive for participation, an ethical issue I grappled with, as detailed below.

3.5.4 Use of Incentives

The issue of reciprocity is a contested issue in social research. The underlying intention behind the use of incentives, in order to acknowledge the participation of respondents in research, is the effort to be non-parasitical as a researcher, yet often this reciprocity reinforces power differentials between researcher and 'researched' and, in some cases, there is a risk of exploitation of researcher's good will. However, in some fields of research, particularly in the area of drug use, incentives are common research practice, despite reservations by some that inducements may precipitate drug use (Fry and Dwyer, 2001; Koocher, 1991) or coerce participation (Macklin, 1981; Dickert and Grady, 1999). Having reviewed the various debates regarding the use of incentives for research, I decided that it would be more unethical not to acknowledge participation and value the input of each of my respondents. At the same time I was mindful of being non-coercive, particularly with regard to people who were drug using and drug funding. Therefore, I rationalised that a gift voucher would be a more appropriate acknowledgment of participation than financial reward. Furthermore, as my sampling was reliant on a 'chain referral' system, the gift voucher was a token of appreciation for assistance with further recruitment of respondents. As some of the respondents who participated in this study were in prison at the time of interview, gift vouchers were not an appropriate token of appreciation. In consultation with the governor as to common practice (from previous research conducted in the prison setting), it was decided that cigarettes and toiletry/beauty products would be the most appropriate tokens to use.

3.5.5 The Access Career

Johnson (1975) contends that gaining access is unpredictable and situationally specific. He recommends viewing the issue of access as an ongoing process and so this continual renegotiation in the field gives rise to the idea of access careers (Johnson, 1975; Lee, 1992). Lee (1993: 123) makes reference to *physical access* and *social access* in access negotiations. This can be likened to Cassell's (1988) two stage access process; 'getting in' (physical) and 'getting on' (social). For my study, I understood that however challenging gaining physical access would be; once 'inside' so to speak, social access is tenuous and requires constant attention.

The next phase of my access 'career' for entry to the field involved broadening out my 'pool' of key informants and potential gatekeepers in order to reach those professionals who were engaged with women in prostitution in a less direct way, i.e. drugs projects. I made contact with a number of drugs projects in Dublin and I was successful in arranging to meet with the community drugs worker in Chrysalis Community Drugs Project, based in Benburb Street in north Dublin city. This contact proved to be the lifeline for my study, as the key informant worked specifically with women in prostitution who were drug using. She was happy to act as a key informant for my study, allowed me to advertise with the agency, was willing to facilitate any interviews on site in the project as well as inviting me to visit the project for a week to conduct semi-ethnographic research and analyse outreach records. All of this occurred over repeat visits to the community drugs project, and being there allowed me to immerse myself in one particular shared environment for women in prostitution. Access to this project further afforded me the opportunity to move towards social access with clients of the project who were involved in prostitution. With the community drugs worker advocating my project, my gatekeeper legitimated my presence in the field and facilitated trust building and rapport amongst my potential sample. After leaving flyers with my gatekeeper in the project, I was delighted the following week to hear from two interested potential respondents who were given access to the phone in the project to call me. From these initial contacts I initiated my sampling strategy.

3.6 Sampling

Quantifying the numbers involved in prostitution in Ireland is an insurmountable task and, having unknown boundaries to a population, makes researching an onerous challenge. Clearly, hidden populations cannot be accounted for on a sampling frame. Nonetheless, representativeness was not a suitable objective for this particular study and non-probability sampling was employed in this exploratory research.

The sample of respondents for my research came about as a 'snowball' of different 'chains' (see Table 3.1 below). 'Snowballing' (Atkinson and Flint, 2001) was viewed as the most appropriate sampling strategy in order to access a largely 'hidden' population for this study. Identifying one respondent could initiate a 'chain' of

referrals by drawing on the social networks of respondents with similar experiences[40]. After being granted access to the physical field to a sample of drug using women in prostitution, I could begin rapport building with initial contacts and this lead to 'chain referrals' or 'snowballing' within this site. Two phases of 'snowballing' over a period of six months in Chrysalis resulted in the recruitment of seven individuals for in-depth interview who were engaged in prostitution and who were also drug using. This sample included one male. Although not part of the remit of the study I was happy that a chain referral led to a male prostitute, and though opportunistic, I did not want to discount his experience at an early stage of data collection[41].

I began recruitment through my second field site, the Dóchas Centre, Mountjoy Women's Prison, after data from my first phase of collection in Chrysalis pointed to some experience of engagement with the criminal justice system. I felt that, though there were some ethical considerations to be addressed when researching a 'captured' sample, that the prison as a shared environment for some women with experience of prostitution could not be overlooked. This was particularly the case as the research was progressing inductively and this particular cohort would be of interest to the developing theory from the study. After contacting the gatekeeper, the Governor of the Women's Prison, and interviewing her as a key informant, I was granted access to the prison by the governor to recruit women with experience of prostitution[42]. The 'chain' initiated from this site yielded three respondents for interview. As noted, prison research carries particular dilemmas in terms of ethics and my first obstacle to negotiate was how to handle recruitment in an incarcerated environment. Clearly, the nature of the research necessitated a sensitive approach and, and especially when

[40] It is noted that there are some limitations to the 'snowballing' strategy. As the researcher is reliant on the respondent for further contacts, potential respondents will be part of the social network of the original respondent and this could mean that some individuals who are outside of some networks or more marginalised will not be included in the study (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). Furthermore, further 'snowballing' is reliant on the subjective interpretations of respondents as to 'others' eligibility for participation in the research (Atkinson and Flint, 2001).

[41] The account of the one male respondent is used illustratively throughout this thesis. While the primary focus of this research is on the experiences of women in prostitution, and it is acknowledged that there are some differences between the social organisation of male and female prostitution which implicates engagement with and experiences of prostitution (Quinlan et al, 1997; Donoghue, 2001), the account of the male respondent serves an important purpose in the analysis of this study. While the overall 'story' emerging is pertinent to female prostitution, key aspects are also shared in the male respondent's experience. This is not to suggest that one male account is indicative of the experiences generally of male sex workers in Ireland, however, the analysis becomes a broad and inclusive reading of lived experiences of sex workers in Ireland with a particular focus on female sex work

[42] Sampling from this site is decribed in more detail further in this chapter

some women may not wish to identify as having experience of sex work, the desire by the women for privacy would have to be anticipated and respected (see below for expansion on this point).

In addition to sampling through 'snowballing' in Chrysalis and the Dóchas Centre, three other women with experience of prostitution in Ireland were recruited. These respondents were 'sampled' in an 'ad hoc' manner from three separate contacts. I met one ex-sex worker through networking at a conference networking where she attended and identified as an ex-sex worker. After discussing my research, she agreed to participate as a respondent in my study. Another respondent was recruited through a key informant in An Garda Síochána. I was initially dubious about using this contact in order to recruit anybody. However, I was assured that this particular woman, who worked as a 'touring escort' around Ireland had a good relationship with the Gardaí and would be more than happy to meet with me. The key informant in question rang the woman, in my presence, and explained my research and asked whether she would be interested in participating. The woman was willing and granted permission for me to take her number from the Garda to arrange a meeting. After this, the Garda was not involved in any part of the research and simply facilitated introductions. The final respondent was recruited through a social work contact. This woman was well known to the social worker. She previously engaged in sex worker and currently worked as a peer worker in a drug project. She was more than happy to oblige my contact and we arranged an interview.

3.6.1 Study Sample

In total my sample of respondents came to thirteen (nine current[43] and four ex-sex workers[44]) and Table 3 (a) below indicates the sampling process through which each of the respondents came to be involved in this study.

---

[43] The nine 'current' include two sex workers who are currently serving sentences in Mountjoy Women's Prison.

[44] The length of time since leaving prostitution amongst 'ex' workers ranged from two years to eight years. Whilst my focus is on the lived experience of prostitution, the accounts of 'ex' sex workers is important also from a phenomenological perspective as they describe the essence of their experience. It is noted that this retrospective account differs from the accounts of 'being-in the world' by current sex workers yet the data emerging from both current and 'ex' accounts were compatible under a phenomenology of 'risk' framework.

Table 3 (a) Sampling Strategy

Chains I & II **Field site – [redacted]** **(Community Drugs Project)**	*Chain III* **Field site – Dóchas** **(Mountjoy Women's Prison)**	*Additional Non-Referrals* **(recruited through various contacts)**
----------	----------	----------
Phase One		
Julie	**Sarah**	**Charlotte** **(contact through conference networking)**
↓	↓	
Lena	**Donna**	**Carla** **(contact through An Garda Síochana)**
↓	↓	
Matt	**Anna**	**Laura** **(contact through social worker)**
↓		
Chris		
Phase Two		
Tina		
↓		
Sonia		
↓		
Fiona		

The sample for this study included six female sex workers (including one 'ex') and one male sex worker recruited through Chrysalis. Of the current street sex workers in the Chrysalis cohort, all were drug using and four were homeless. The 'ex' street worker was drug using whilst working and is currently homeless. Drug use and homelessness was also a feature of the experience of three (one 'ex') street workers in the Dóchas Centre cohort directly prior to their imprisonment, while one of these women was no longer working in prostitution, she was homeless prior to imprisonment. Additional recruitment from various contacts yielded three respondents, one current independent 'sex worker' escort, one 'ex' sex worker and another 'ex' street worker (and 'ex' drug user). The length of time engaged in prostitution for all of the respondents in the sample ranged from six months to thirteen years. While an obvious divide between 'street' workers and 'indoor' workers is made in the study, there is some overlap evident in the experiences of the workers. Two respondents who began working on the streets were involved in 'indoor' work for a time before returning to the streets. Fiona worked for a while in brothels in Dublin city, while Anna worked independently from her flat for some time before returning to the streets (profile of respondents in Appendix D).

3.6.2 Unsuccessful Recruitment Strategies

I attempted a number of avenues in order to increase the sample of women in indoor prostitution for this study. With my first indoor contact who was an ex-sex worker, I enquired as to whether she knew of anyone who may be willing to talk to me. She informed me that since she has been away from the sex industry in Ireland for the past number of years she has not remained in contact with any of her indoor colleagues. While she told me that she did not have any contact numbers, she would have a think about where I might be able to approach these women and talk to them about possible participation in my study. Upon speaking with this respondent again she suggested I try ringing some of the numbers advertised online for Irish escorts in a bid to contact the women. She felt, however, that the women would possibly be reluctant to speak to me but that if I 'posed' as someone interested in working for in a background role for an agency (e.g. answering phones to set up appointments) that this might give me the opportunity to approach some of the women to recruit for my study. I felt,

however, that this approach would not be an option for me. I did not think covert strategies would go in my favour for talking to women for this study and I preferred to be upfront about what I was doing. Furthermore, I personally felt, as a young female researching alone, that my safety could not be assured if I was to boldly approach brothels or agencies in an attempt to recruit respondents.

My second opportunity came with the recruitment of my second 'indoor' respondent. As a 'touring escort' in Ireland, Carla worked alone from hotels around the country. She did, however, have contact with other 'touring' sex workers around the country through private member message blogs on escort sites. I enquired as the possibility of meeting with or talking to any of these women about my research. Carla said that she believed some of the other escorts would be reluctant but that she would pass the word on for me and call me. Unfortunately, further contacts did not transpire for this contact. As a touring escort, Carla was only working in one place for a short time before returning to her home in Portugal and thus the escort 'colleagues' she was in contact with were known to her through a virtual community and thus it was harder for her to refer contacts for this study.

My opportunity for recruiting Carla for my study came through a key respondent in An Garda Síochána, as detailed earlier in this chapter. This key respondent was very accommodating with my study and when I enquired about the possibility of recruiting additional contacts he attempted to make other calls to one or two sex workers he had contact with through his operations and who he and the other Gardaí had developed good, trusting relationships with. However, he was unable to contact one of the women and the other woman declined to participate.

Other routes I attempted for recruiting women in indoor prostitution was through the WHP as detailed in the 'Further access issues' section above. While the WHP kindly agreed to display my study poster in the drop-in clinic and the outreach bus, as well as to leave my study flyers in the clinic, I was informed that due to their 'tenuous' link with the small number brothels they conducted outreach to, they did not think it would be in the best interests of the project to distribute my flyers to the brothels. While I was disappointed that I did not manage to recruit more indoor sex workers for this study, as my study progressed I was confident in the adequacy of data I had

collected and in the ability for the overall theoretical framework to 'fit' the data. While I was limited in the comparability potential between indoor and street working accounts, as the 'story' of my thesis began to develop I was not reliant on a dichotomy between the experiences of different types of workers and so my findings, whilst limited to a small sample, sought more so to be 'conceptually generalizable' (Green and Thorogood, 2004).

3.6.2 Sample Characteristics – Range of Experiences

A number of the respondents also have experience of working in different countries. Of the street working respondents, three (Julie, Fiona and Laura) have experience of working in street prostitution in England also, which operates a similar system of prostitution as in the Irish context. The two 'indoor' workers are both non-nationals and have experience of working both in Ireland and internationally. Charlotte is from New Zealand and has experience of working in brothels in New Zealand and Australia (working under legalised systems in both), and has some 'escort' experience prior to working in brothels in Ireland where she now resides. Carla is a "touring" escort from Portugal and has experience of working independently and in brothels in Portugal and worked in brothels in Ireland, and is currently working as an independent "touring" escort from hotels around Ireland[45]. It must be stated that while the study distinguishes between 'street' and 'indoor' workers for ease of analysis of the accounts presented, it is not suggested that these accounts are representative of the experiences of women engaged in street or indoor sex work in Ireland. Clearly, representativeness is not a concern with a qualitative study and the search for meanings attributed to lived experiences is, instead, crucial. Furthermore, I am conscious that a broad simplification is made by reducing the experiences of the brothel worker and the independent escort to the shared category of 'indoor'. This is not to imply a shared experience as clearly, working alone can be regarded as an isolating experience that the 'brothel' worker and, perhaps also the 'street' workers, do not experience in their shared work environments. However, their self-identification as 'sex workers' and their shared experiences of both brothel and escort

[45] Carla works in Ireland for two week stints – She advertises her 'tours' of Ireland online and works from hotels in Dublin, Galway, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, Sligo and Belfast before returing home to Portugal.

work rendered it more practical to regard their accounts within the same broad category.

While the sample may appear wide-ranging in terms of their experiences, I was happy to yield variability of experiences and to, perhaps, challenge prevailing notions of homogeneity of prostitution experience in Ireland. Furthermore, by being systematic and transparent with the methods employed at each stage of the research process allowed for differing accounts to be drawn together within a common 'risk analysis' framework as detailed below.

While it can be argued that 'street sex workers' are over-represented in research because they are more visible and that little is known about indoor workers, the very visibility of women on the street is a rationale for a focus on their experience as well as women in other sectors. While the limited research on prostitution in the Irish context has largely focused on street workers, this study is the first to consider their lived experiences of risk in prostitution and, furthermore, their stories challenge claims of passivity and inherent vulnerability thus presenting a new framework for considering the experiences of women in street prostitution. Drawing together different experiences of prostitution across different sectors allows for a more comprehensive picture of the lived experiences of prostitution to emerge, and whilst acknowledging the analytic limitations with small samples, some important comparative issues can be noted in the data.

A final comment on the sample must acknowledge that the street/indoor dichotomy employed is not a suggestion of a relatively unsafe/ relatively safe division. Indeed, groups like Ruhama would argue that 'indoor' workers are invisible and hidden and thus face greater risks (Lawless and Wayne, 2005). This argument is specifically applied to discourse on trafficking where victims of trafficking into Ireland would be 'hidden' within brothels and 'forced' to have sex with men as part of their debt bondage to their traffickers for transporting them to Ireland for a new life. The issue of trafficking is beyond the scope of this study as it is not part of the lived experiences of those engaged in prostitution in this sample. The issue is important in terms of the context setting for this study (see Chapter 1). However, 'indoor' sex work

experiences, as part of the analysis and discussion for this study, does not incorporate the experiences of trafficked victims working indoors.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Researchers have an ethical responsibility towards researching women in prostitution, or indeed any other marginalised group, and cannot risk further stigmatising or exploiting women through the research process. Ethics can not be seen as rules of conduct, rather as codes of conduct as 'each new piece of research can give rise to its own special circumstances and these can call for different solutions' (Denscombe, 2002: 176).

3.7.1 Voluntary Participation

As a vital, and often taken for granted ethical consideration, voluntary participation came to the fore in this study when I began sampling through the women's prison. While advertisement as a method of recruitment would not obviously work in the prison environment, another strategy was required. In consultation with the gatekeeper, it was agreed that she would act as a go-between and personally approach women in the prison who had identified to her as having experience of sex work to explain the research and to inquire 'discreetly' whether they would be willing to participate. While I was conscious of the potential for implicit coercion in this recruitment strategy, I understood that this may be the only option open to me, in the absence of an alternative approach for reaching the women in the Dóchas in a sensitive manner. The gatekeeper approached one woman in the prison who was more than happy to participate in the research and contact with this woman led to two additional respondents who volunteered to the Governor to participate after the first contact had been interviewed. In this way, I was satisfied that participation had been voluntary. This strategy made access to a marginalised group possible and legitimated my presence within the setting, as well as facilitating the collection of the relevant data. Similar to the previous experience of other researchers in the field of prostitution research (see McKeganey, Barnard and Bloor, 1990); I felt I successfully negotiated ethical considerations to secure quality data without adversely exploiting

the participants. However, the nature of the 'consent' given by participants to be involved in the research was another consideration as detailed below.

3.7.2 Informed Consent

I was conscious that the particular sampling I used in my research might be questioned in terms of the principle of informed consent. I was anxious to address this at the outset. I met with each individual recruited in Chrysalis in the company of the gatekeeper at that site and explained the nature of the research, my role as researcher and gave assurances of anonymity and confidentiality regarding the handling and use of the data. Each of the respondents were happy to proceed and gave verbal consent in the presence of the gatekeeper. Before the beginning of each interview I reiterated the ethical assurances and the voluntary nature of participation and only after getting verbal agreement on record I was happy to proceed with the interviews.

With the sample of women recruited through Dóchas, I followed a similar routine regarding informed consent in the presence of the Governor and I also provided each respondent with an information sheet regarding the research and my role as researcher (see Appendix C). This sheet distanced the research from the Dóchas centre also detailed that I, as researcher, did not have any association to the Dóchas centre or to the Irish legal or criminal justice systems. A copy of this information sheet was given to each of the respondents and was read out in the presence of the Governor. Prior to signing the consent forms, the respondents were reassured of the voluntary nature of the research, that they were free to terminate the interview at any time, that they would remain anonymous and that the data would be treated confidentially.

3.8 Data Collection

As a mixed methods approach was employed to address the primary research questions set out in this study, different types of data were required and, thus, the data collection process for this study comprised various strands. While I gathered crucial evidence for context setting and for discursive analysis from ten key informant interviews, documents and ethnographic observations, these were secondary to my

aim (detailed in Appendix A). What was at the heart of my inquiry could never be gathered from other people's perspectives of someone's experience. I needed to speak to women in prostitution themselves. The following section will detail, specifically, the qualitative, in-depth interviews conducted to collect data for this study.

3.8.1 Qualitative Interviewing

"One has to learn when to question and when not to question as well as which questions to ask....As I sat and listened, I learned the answers to questions that I would not even have had the sense to ask" (Whyte, 1955: 303)

Though Whyte's 'interviews' were informal conversations in the field, his ethnographic ideas have currency also for more formal, exploratory, in-depth interviewing which can be viewed as both a learning process as well as a method of data collection. Taking the role of the 'acceptable incompetent' allows the researcher to approach data collection in the spirit of learning and by listening, as in Whyte's experience, one can hear that which otherwise would have been missed amid the clammer of questioning.

3.8.2 Qualitative In-Depth Interviews with Respondents

Thirteen in-depth interviews were conducted with respondents who had experience of engaging in prostitution in Ireland. A tentative interview guide was used to give a broad structure to the interview, however, I was interested in allowing the respondent emphasise what was important to them in terms of their experience of prostitution and so my data collection instrument was necessarily flexible to accommodate this. As the interviews progressed, I was able to concentrate on specific aspects of the experience of prostitution as was emerging from the data, thus, allowing me to gradually focus my interviews without having to lose any important data from initial interviews. Each of the interviews were recorded using a digital Dictaphone recorder and transcribed verbatim.

3.8.3 Interview Schedule

The areas covered in the interviews with current and ex-sex workers in both indoor and street working environments followed the same general format tracing in chronological order; background, initiation into prostitution, experience of work, punters, violence and safety, lifestyle, the legal context, perception of dominant discourses, own perceptions of prostitution, experience of working in prostitution outside of Ireland.

3.8.4 Asking Questions

The questioning for the interviews sought to remain in line with the overarching objectives of the research in order to deliver the relevant data whilst being broadly consistent across all interviews for data comparability purposes for analysis. The type of questioning employed in each of the interviews was used in an effort to ease the respondent into the interview while being open-ended and flexible enough to allow the respondent to guide the interview according to their own concerns. The opening question for each of the interviewees was used as a means of relaxing the interviewee into the interview and to obtain some background information on the respondents. I asked each of the respondents to "Tell me a little bit about yourself" and used probes regarding their background, family, growing up etc as necessary. By establishing the respondent's life prior to entering prostitution I could then use transitory questioning in order to move towards their initiation into prostitution. This then led on to enquiring about their experience of prostitution. Non-direct questioning techniques became useful here as 'verbal diaries' were obtained from respondents about their experiences – "Can you describe a typical day when you're working". The other areas of questioning detailed above were then covered in each of the interviews, with probes used as required. Probing was employed at various stages in the interviews in order to clarify what was said, in order to obtain an example of the respondent's meaning or in order to direct the respondent on to a new area of questioning. After the main body of the interview was covered, some wind-down questions were used in order to bring the interview to a close, such as enquiring about plans for the future as well as obtaining any demographic information which may not have been obtained during the information. The final questions for the interviewee invited them to add

anything else which they wanted to add as well as acknowledging each interviewee as a resource and inquiring whether there was anything I did not ask them which they think I should have. These final questions became useful for refining my interview guide and developing questions for further interviews.

The topic of future plans was an area addressed as a wind-down question with all respondents, with the object of it's inclusion as part of the interview guide being to obtain a sense of where the respondents saw their lives going. While I was cautious about the interpretation of such data, wrapped in discourses around aspirations and dreams, as well as being implicated by the respondent's mood at the time of the interview, I felt it gave the interviewee the opportunity to envisage the next steps along their life stories. At times throughout the interviews, the respondents indicated future plans or their perceptions of their futures; however, the question was explicitly articulated again towards the end of the interview with all of the respondents in order to provide the opportunity for participants to give an insight into how they see their futures unfolding, as the next stage of their life story.

3.8.5 The Nature of Questions

While the main body of questioning was the same for street and indoor worker, there was some differences in relation to questions about their working environment and associated issues. For example, issues of drug use and homelessness were prominent in the street workers interviews and questioning was relevant to their experience and how this impacted on their working lives. Also, questions regarding relations with An Garda Síochána as well as their engagement with outreach service providers[46] were more applicable to the street workers as a 'visible' group. It was important, however, that the main body of questioning was consistent for indoor and street workers as questions regarding initiation into prostitution, experience of working, perceptions of punters, experience of violence and safety and perceptions of prostitution should not be tainted with researcher assumptions for those in either working environment.

[46] While the WHP does conduct outreach health services to certain indoor sex work premises in Dublin, the two indoor workers in the sample did not report any engagement with specific service provision for those working in prostitution

3.8.6 Experiencing the Interview

The interviews were all conducted in as relaxed a way possible for each respondent. It was important that each person I spoke with felt comfortable enough to talk at length and that my questions and behaviour during interviews were conducive to creating an atmosphere where each respondent felt at ease. I envisaged that some respondents may feel reluctant perhaps to discuss some aspects of their work, however, the respondents were all more than happy to talk extensively about their experiences. Interestingly, family background and personal life were more 'sensitive' topics for the interviewees as these were 'private' rather than 'public' experience. While I did not wish to probe into private issues, as the interviews progressed and respondents began to relax more they also began to talk more easily about partners/family as related to their experience of prostitution. My role as researcher was to ensure that questions were not perceived to be needlessly intrusive, that they were related to the key research objectives and that I was 'actively listening' in order to fully engage with the respondent during the interview. This was achieved by talking the respondent through the main areas of the interview prior to beginning, by expressing my interest throughout the interview through my posture and demeanour as well as by reiterating what was said and probing and questioning to keep the interview as a 'conversation with a purpose'.

3.8.7 Collecting Narrative Accounts

Taking the view of accounts as stories rather than random sequences, narrative explanations can be seen as providing a sense of coherence and directionality to both one's story and one's life (Gergen, 1988; Kohli, 1981; Cohler, 1979). Seemingly isolated events in an account gain significance once tied to the grander story; 'life events are made intelligible by locating them in a sequence or 'unfolding process' (Gergen, 1988: 94 citing de Waele and Harré, 1979).[47]

[47] A certain fundamental universality to account telling is suggested by Gergen (1988), who notes an underlying male-orientation which has shaped social narratives. It is argued (Gergen, 1988) that the ideal narrative from a Western perspective is framed around the prototypical male performance during sexual intercourse – linear motion, with increasing intensity, directed to an endpoint, with a climax and fade out; yet Gergen (1988: 95) envisions narrative which is based more on prototypical female sexuality 'that might be less goal directed and more episodic and have less emphasis on the climax and more on the foreplay, that is, the process of the interactions'. It is relatively simple to puncture this

On an individual level, the narrative is important in people's construction of their lives[48] (Gergen and Gergen, 1983). The social actor in the world has at his/her deployment 'a range of culturally shared forms of employment, or narrative forms' (Gergen, 1988: 96). These narrative forms allow the individual to express himself and simultaneously define his reality; 'When the individual attempts to understand him/herself, these culturally embedded forms furnish a repertoire of sense making devices' (Gergen, 1988: 96). The researcher, then, as interpreter, has an important role in the presentation of narrative constructions.

3.8.8 The Interview as a Site of Knowledge Production

Grbich (2007) highlights the co-construction of knowledge between respondent and researcher as part of a phenomenological approach. The impact of the researcher on the interview dynamic and the subsequent data collected became clear to me at different stages of the interview process. In preparation for the interview I devised a guide which set out the primary issues to explore with the respondent. The type of questioning, therefore, would impact on the type of discourse to emerge. For example, if I emphasise the work aspect of the women's experience and talk in those terms I am affecting and formulation of thoughts, responses and wording. Similarly, if I inquire about keeping safe, I am turning the interview around to consider danger which will emerge through the narratives. Clearly the presentations of accounts need a launch pad and the researcher's role in the guiding of responses and the various probes place emphasis on experience which may otherwise have not been revealed.

---

twenty year old view. It can be argued that the social conditions that have led to the emergence and sustainment of the dominant narrative of the prototypical male are the same conditions which ignore the importance of the female climax. Therefore, envisioning a shift in the gendered narrative would only serve to further entrench male sexual primacy.

[48] The narrative as a discursive account has been of particular interest to anthropologists, linguists, folklorists, developmental psychologists and philosophers. It is regarded as a representation of a person's reality and much academic interest has focused on the ways in which narratives can define reality for groups of people (White, 1980; Sarbin, 1986; Gergen and Gergen, 1983; Gergen, 1988).

3.8.9 The Interview as a Site of Cultural Learning

The possibility of missing important data through 'cultural incompetence' almost became a reality in this study when redundant terminology was identified and, fortunately, revised. The learning experience for the study was immense as I could revise the articulation of questions in order to understand and to be understood in a culturally appropriate way. The practical lesson for the study is illustrated by my field notes in Box 3 (i) below:

Box 3 (i): "What is a pimp?"
As data collection progresses data emerges about 'protection' and the role of 'protector' which may not have emerged if the question was posed in different terms – explicitly inquiring about a pimp has been found in this study to be inappropriate and futile. While the women themselves don't perceive themselves to be pimped in any way and articulate their independence in their working lives, the presence of a personal friend or partner to act as a 'look out' is common and this protection is rewarded with money or drugs. For example, when I inquired with Donna as to her use of people to act as a look out she said that the "odd time" she'd have a friend only to help her in this way. As the interview progressed she revealed that a number of her partners have helped her out in this way also. This led me to contemplate what influences the data that is produced through interaction in the interview context, why some things are revealed and other things are not and how conditional adjustments to accounts as the interview progresses can put a different colour on the data. How and why these adjustments occur and the consequent production of data is interesting and attests to the dynamic of the interview and the roles of the research actors. (Field notes, April 2006)

3.8.10 Reading Discourse – Proto-professionalisation

Whilst this research advocates the presentation of the experiences of women in prostitution *in their own words*, consideration must be given to the degree to which

the accounts of the respondents, in particular the street working respondents, are filtered through the discourses and knowledge systems of the health and social work professionals with whom they have regular contact through their work. This idea, termed proto-professionalisation, was first developed by de Swaan in the late 1980s to describe the process by which 'lay' narratives become internalised constructions of medical or other professional rationalities:

"The internal process of professionalization creates external effects among ever widening circles of laymen, who adopt the basic stances and fundamental concepts of the professions as a means of orientation in their everyday life: it is a process of 'proto-professionalization'" (de Swaan, 1990: 14).

As noted earlier in terms of the sampling strategy for this study, seven of the respondents were recruited through their engagement with Chrysalis Community Drugs Project and the remaining 'street working' respondents in the sample also indicated their engagement with particular services for sex workers. In obtaining accounts from these respondents, I was conscious, therefore, of what Shaw (2002: 289) describes as 'lay accounts that have been filtered through medical or other professional health rationality and then 'owned' by patients'. To this end, I was aware of the possibility of conducting interviews with 'experienced clients' of a service, 'recycling' therapeutic and professional discourse (Shaw, 2002), rather than experienced individuals presenting their stories in their own words. I envisaged that some vocabulary could overlap with professional 'talk' and I could certainly 'test' for this within the interviews, such as that with Fiona who talks about issues of self-esteem in a manner which presents 'proto-professional' rhetoric around problem identification and therapeutic rehabilitation:

"...your self esteem your self worth....ya know...em your self respect ya know we we loose all that nobody else does ya know {I: mm}and I think ya know that rebuilding that kinda..that confidence and self belief..." (Fiona)

While language may be a more obvious 'test' for the effects of proto-professionalisation, Hak and de Boer (1996: 96 – emphasis original) raise the issue of

a more internalised presentation of self based on the re-formulation of accounts in line with perceived professional expectations:

"...he [sic] learns which behaviors and experiences are considered relevant by therapists and, more specifically, how they are to be formulated in order to count as evidence for a specific professional designation [...] ..the patient learns how to be a competent patient, i.e. how to present experiences competently. In this way the patient becomes a *proto-professional*".

The task of attempting to avoid proto-professional rhetoric and constructions in the respondents' accounts then would appear to be an arduous, if not unattainable, challenge. While it is likely that the respondents' interpretations of their experiences have been filtered through medical and/or other professional rationalities, my aspiration was to side-step typical 'professional' chronological ordering of accounts and to provide opportunities for respondents to comment on dominant professional, legal or medical discourses of prostitution. In this way, the professional view is explicitly examined by the respondents and their own perceptions of services and other professionals' engagements with them are considered. Through this process, then, it was hoped that a clearer focus in terms of the 'ownership' of discourse could be achieved. Whilst the presence of this proto-professionalisation effect does not make respondents' accounts any less valid, it is important to be aware of the narrative influences on the data. I am confident, however, that throughout the research design and fieldwork stages, steps were taken to anticipate and thus minimise this effect. Central to these efforts to obtain 'personally owned' accounts rather than 'client history descriptions' was the emphasis placed throughout the interviews on respondents' own understandings. As the research progressed, analytic ideas around knowledge systems became important and the analysis and conclusion drawing allowed me to dispel concerns about data 'contamination' by rehearsed, recycled professional discourse.

3.8.11 Adequacy and Saturation

As a qualitatively-driven study, the parameters of the investigation were not pre-determined, in order to allow for flexibility and for the research to be data driven,

inductive and iterative (Grbich, 2007). As I began interviewing, I was able to assess the quality and richness of the detail I was gathering, as well as the theoretical questions that were emerging which begged for further evidence. In this vein then, data collection and data analysis proceeded in tandem and were interactive, rather than sequential stages in the research. This allowed me to assess the emerging data in terms of the picture that was being formed and what needed further clarification/evidence. While this inductive exercise continued, the building blocks of analysis were being tested to ensure that the emerging story was data driven. While the account of access negotiations for sampling highlights the difficulties encountered securing both physical access and social access; I was fortunate to have had collected such valuable data collected regardless of issues of adequacy. Yet, I was confident as my analysis moved towards abstraction that I had saturated the issues which I was, on one hand disaggregating in my data, and on the other hand reconceptualising in order to move from individual lived realities to grander reflections. In this way then, I was able to finish recruitment for my research and conclude the data collection stage, and move towards formal analysis of my data.

3.9 Data Analysis

"The ideas that we have in research are only in part a logical product growing out of a careful weighing in evidence. We do not generally think problems through in a straight line...I am convinced that the actual evolution of research ideas does not take place in accord with the formal statements we read on research methods. The ideas grow up in part out of our immersion in the data and out of the whole process of living" (Whyte, 1984: 279-280)

The broad aim of qualitative analysis is to discover meaningful insights in the data and to produce reliable findings (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Hence, the analysis process for this study sought to be systematic, thorough and consistent while remaining flexible.

The analysis of the different types of data collected for this study necessitated the application of particular types of analytical strategies. In line with the paradigm of this study, I am primarily interested in discursive understandings at different levels.

3.9.1 Sex Work Risk Analysis

Over the course of overlapping literature reviewing, data collection and data analysis, a framework for analysis developed around 'risk discourse'. As this framework became more 'formalised' as an analysis and interpretive exercise, particular models of risk were referred to in order to adopt a paradigm to best "fit the data" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998)

Analysis of risk as an academic exercise takes place at three levels. Macro level analysis focuses on structural threats and relates to out-of-personal control dangers. The micro level is concerned with personal and individual choices in relation to risk management and behaviours; while the meso-level, the often ignored middle ground, looks at the local filters through which macro level dangers are passed in order to be interpreted at the micro level. The analysis of accounts took place through the adaptation of Rhodes et al (2005) model of the 'risk environment' in order to understand the lived experiences of risk in prostitution at the micro-level and how these were produced by and simultaneously reproduced meso-level and micro-level risk understandings.

3.9.2 Narrative Analysis

Narrative analysis was undertaken with the respondent data, and to a lesser extent with the key informant data, in order to look at understandings of lived realities, constructions of prostitution and discursive readings in the data.

Giddens (1991) contends that a person not only 'has' a biography but also 'lives' that biography and so narrative accounts are 'reflexively organised' and can become determinants of future behaviour (see also Plumridge, 2001). Plumridge (2001: 201) argues that the narratives of sex workers that she gathered for her research were 'instalments' of a biography which each respondent created to account for their experience as a sex worker. The major constraint for the narrator is the form that the narrative must take (Gregen, 1988) and, within empirical research this is undoubtedly shaped by the interview context. Thus, the narrative which emerges within the qualitative interview cannot be viewed, from a social constructionist perspective, as

the definitive 'truth' but as the product of interaction within the interview context. This epistemological framing of methodology emphasises the importance of the interview context as a site of knowledge production; that is, the roles of researcher and respondent in shaping the representation of a person's reality.

3.9.3 Discourse Analysis

The consideration of narrative as a fluid, social product allows for a consideration of the use of narrative as a means of channelling discourse. Narrative then becomes alive signalling "the essential and inescapable 'action orientation' of discourse" (Heritage, 1984). Discourse, far from being a neutral transmission, is then viewed as a social practice in itself (Wetherell and Potter, 1988).

Discourse analysis was chosen as an appropriate method for this study as it is regarded as a method which stays true to the 'subtlety and complexity of lay explanations as they are deployed in natural contexts... in discourse analysis the language used is a constitutive part of the explanation, not a medium that the explanation is translated into' (Wetherell and Potter, 1988: 1983). In this way then, the data, as it is presented, is respected as a particular representation, and the complexities are teased apart in order to bring representations to a higher form of abstraction. Its usefulness then for this study is that it seeks to identify the interpretative repertoires through which experience of prostitution is constructed, justified and understood (Wetherell and Potter, 1988) and in this way it can lead to a greater understanding of both methodological and grander epistemological features which can limit or transform these explanations.

3.9.4 Identifying Interpretative Repertoires – Coding

In order to consider regularity in language across interpretative repertoires (Wetherell and Potter, 1988: 177) within the formal stage of data reduction, the coding of transcript data becomes refined. Certain prescribed methods come into play in order to provide a systematic analysis of the data. Codes are links between the raw data and the researcher's concepts enabling the researcher to think about the data *with* the data (Seidel and Kelle, 1995; Tesch, 1990). The first stage of discursive analysis involves

preliminary coding. This involved moving the data around to reassemble the information into themes and arguments. Adapting a grounded theory approach to coding, the open or preliminary coding was followed by 'axial' coding which involved looking at relationships between categories and cases; and lastly, the data was subjected to 'selective' coding which allowed the analysis to move towards more theoretically informed categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). This intellectual exercise allowed me to assess the conceptual appropriateness of the developing story.

Each of the transcribed respondent interviews was subjected to preliminary coding in order to organise the narrative around broad themes. The key exploratory questions which guided the interviews provided initial general pointers for codes. This was facilitated by the flow of the narrative which at times was chronological in terms of:

- Background history
- Pathways to prostitution
- Initiation into prostitution
- First experiences and trajectories in prostitution
- Work routines and work experiences
- Issues impacting on current work experiences
- Work management strategies

After this was completed on a case by case basis, comparative analysis across cases was undertaken in order to consider patterns as well as to identify deviant cases.

Once these preliminary codes were identified in the data, a more conceptual approach was taken whereby the fractured data was put back together in order to observe the evident discourses in the narrative. For this purpose it was necessary to look beyond statements in order to discover insights in the data. This process was a complex undertaking which involved thinking about the data with the data (Seidel and Kelle, 1995; Tesch, 1990), to uncover perceptions and to thread and link discursive plays in each case.

3.9.5 Abstraction

After 'reducing' the data through coding, the next stage of analysis consisted of data complication whereby I asked questions of my data; what broader questions can it answer? What insights can my analysis provide? This allowed me to consider the theoretical implications of my research and inductively bring my research through the final stages of analysis, in order to effectively tell the story of my research whilst staying true to the data.

Whilst generalisability was not a consideration for this research, the application of qualitative findings were and so the process of moving to abstraction with my data meant that I could perhaps identify how my story may have ramifications within this context, or how the developed concepts may be used to advance a greater understanding of the issue of prostitution in Ireland;

"Qualitative research captures multiple versions of multiple realities. We do need to reconcile the particular and the universal, moving from the uniqueness of an individual case or setting to an understanding of the more general processes at work". (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 163)

3.9.6 Finding Meaning

'*Is there any logical way of reconciling the contradictory positions*?' (Rubin and Rubin, 1995: 252). The paradigm of this study allowed me the scope to explore different discourses of prostitution and the challenge that faced me in the final stages of analysis was to find a thread to draw it all together. The discursive framework I worked under allowed me to draw together different perspectives yet challenged me to find meaning and present a story based on the various strands and snapshots of the phenomenon I had captured[49]. Before telling this story, some further challenges faced (additional to the methodological challenges detailed earlier in this chapter) when researching prostitution are discussed below. Addressing these limitations within this study has allowed for the development of reflexive research practice.

[49] One major challenge was reconciling the one male account with the accounts of the female respondents, particularly in relation to discourses of prostitution as 'violence against women'. As the primary focus of this research was with women in prostitution, the male respondent's account is used illustratively throughout the analysis, and to strengthen the presenting argument. While at times throughout the thesis, women in prostitution and sex workers are used interchangeably in the general narrative; any analytical reference to the 'respondents' or the 'street workers in the study/street respondents' refers explicitly also to the male respondent's experience.

3.10 Epistemological Obstacles

Qualitative researchers ultimately have the power to define the "truth" in their study, perhaps rejecting participants own accounts (Miller, 1997). Epistemological constraints in researching prostitution in Ireland involve trying to reconcile traditional feminist framings of the issue with blatantly complex realities which have not being explored at great lengths. Researching the realities of life for women across different types of prostitution in Ireland can provide the required knowledge base in order to substantiate discursive framings of the issues and to challenge normative assumptions about women who work in prostitution in Ireland. Offering a voice to women in prostitution to define their own realities and present their own meanings of their work may provide fresh discourses of prostitution in Ireland which have so far been excluded from 'official' rhetoric. Chapkis (1997) argues that the competing and conflicting stories from prostitutes means that prostitutes do not speak with one voice. In this way, it is important not to reduce them to 'competitors for the status of truth' (ibid: 212) but to listen carefully to their stories for meaning, not simply fact.

3.10.1 Cultural Constraints

Maher (1997: 232) notes that feminist commitments to empowering women through research cannot take away from 'the inequities and hierarchical ordering which inhere in researching dispossessed women'. In my own experience I felt that I consciously made efforts to address any potential perception of a "power differential" between myself and respondents (by engaging in extended visits to my field sites to establish, develop and maintain rapport, by being conscious of my dress, my attitude and my language) and I perceived that largely, the encounters I had with the women (and man) in my research were relaxed, open, cordial and comfortable. However, at particular times I could not help feeling that my efforts to actively limit any possible "power differentials" in the research were superficial. Most notably, this was felt when interviewing respondents in prison, where after the interview I was free to leave, whilst they were not. Furthermore, whilst interviewing homeless, drug using respondents, I could finish my work and go home, whilst the harsh lived realities of

marginalisation for some could not be packed away for the night. 'The complexity in the researchers' positionality ..[is].. a constant reminder of the significance of cultural identity in the research process' (Kempadoo, 2004: 45).

3.10.2 Possible Limitations

Some academics argue that because researchers have their own frames of reference about social life, they should be members of the group that they study in order to make legitimate knowledge claims, particularly when researching a marginalised population. This, however, brings its own problems in terms of 'native' analysis and what is encouraged is reflexive practice so that over time researchers may become aware of their changing perspectives on the issue so as to make explicit the cultural lens through which they previously looked through.

The relatively small sample in this study may be questioned in terms of the potential knowledge contribution of their stories. The rich detail collected in all of the accounts would make even one story an important contribution to the phenomenology of prostitution and even one lone voice counter-challenging existing dominant discourses on the prostitution has the right to be heard. Given the absence of a strong evidence base on prostitution in Ireland, this research contributes important new understandings on the lived realities of those engaged in prostitution which have been deficient in the Irish discursive context. The denial of 'entry' to the field by some gatekeepers set on 'protecting' women in prostitution in effect denies these women a voice of their own. I am happy that my determination to bypass this paternalism was successful and I found a way to allow these women to present their own stories through my study.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed all the decisions, small and large (Becker, 1965; see also Hammond, 1964), which were taken in order to initiate and undertake this inquiry into the experience of prostitution in Ireland. What has emerged is a methodology which was flexible for the purposes of the research, whilst being bounded within the overall paradigm of the study. The resolution of issues of physical access and sustained

social access was 'specifically targeted to the circumstances' of the study in question (Leviton, 1989:2; Barnard, 1992). Being reflexive at each phase will, I hope, contribute to a greater body of knowledge on the methodological limitations of researching prostitution and the individual tactics I employed to overcome both ideological and practical obstacles. Though my methodology cannot contribute to a blueprint design for researching prostitution, it does however foster reflexive practice around the decisions which ultimately affect the course the research takes. The following chapters of this thesis will present the story of risk which emerged from the application of my methodology in a quest to deliver on my research objectives.

Chapter 4

Prostitution Careers and Risk Exposure

"I'm a single mum, three boys .. I'm homeless the last ten to fourteen years, homeless just..off the streets and then em I went on drugs, started smoking cannabis first and then em then went to drink and from the drink to heroin and..you know so forth on to different things and then, then I started...I was shopliftin first for me money and then I was gettin caught and I was gettin ya know put into prison and things like that so em I started in prostitution"

(Donna, street worker, currently incarcerated)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter considers trajectories of prostitution and concomitant risk experiences. By drawing together theories of prostitution pathways from the literature, ideas around 'predisposing', 'marginalising' and 'facilitating' factors for prostitution will be considered and the relevance of 'careerist' explanations will be assessed in light of the emerging data. As Donna's account, above, illustrates, the pathways to prostitution for many are complex and the focus of this chapter on the 'how' and the 'why' of prostitution experiences will illuminate the social organisation of risk trajectories in prostitution.

4.2 Pathways into Prostitution

A range of sociological and criminological theories have been adapted in the literature in an attempt to understand routes into prostitution. Cusick (2002: 236), in her review of youth prostitution literature, considers some of the classic theorising relevant to this field of study such as social disorganisation (Shaw and MacKay, 1969); anomie (Merton, 1964); blocked opportunities (Agnew, 1985); reaction formation (Cohen, 1955); differential opportunity structure (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960); differential association (Sutherland and Cressey, 1978); 'drift' theory (Matza, 1964); interactionist and labelling theories (Becker, 1963; Lemert, 1951); radical views of

young people's economic opportunities (Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1976) and female delinquency and emancipation (Adler, 1975).

Trajectories or pathways into prostitution have been described and analysed in various forms and often mirror underlying discourses around prostitution (e.g. psychopathological discourse, abolitionist perspectives etc., detailed in Chapter 1).

4.2.1 Convoluted Routes

More recent studies on prostitution have highlighted the complex, multi-factorial modes of entry to prostitution (Hester and Westmarland, 2004; Cusick, 2002; May, Edmunds and Hough, 1999). Research by O'Sullivan (1998) in the mid-west region of Ireland found a number of factors which were seen as influencing involvement in prostitution; these included – poorly functioning families of origin; parents and siblings involved in prostitution; running away from home, homelessness and placements in care; poverty, social isolation and long term unemployment; physical and sexual abuse in childhood or teenage years and alcohol/drug abuse and addictions. What is noted is that, whilst the vast majority of individuals who experience many of these circumstances do not become involved in prostitution, there is an increased probability of those entering or involved in prostitution as having experienced one or more of these life events (O'Sullivan, 1998).

Focusing on street prostitution, Williamson and Folaron (2003) found that women move through a series of phases in their prostitution career and each phase has its own benefits, risks and losses: enticement into the lifestyle; learning the lifestyle: caught up in the lifestyle (accumulating burden) and leaving the lifestyle.

Much of the contemporary observations of prostitution underline both 'predisposing' and 'precipitating' factors associated with entry to prostitution. Predisposing factors are seen as fundamental and necessary to engagement in prostitution, whilst the 'precipitating' factors are used to explain why only a percentage of those with the predisposing factors end up in prostitution (Matthews, 2008). Some of this work however, fails to draw attention to the social organization of prostitution and its relationship to prostitution trajectories.

4.2.2 Risk Pathways and the Social Organisation of Prostitution

Some valuable work on prostitution trajectories has considered 'predisposing' and 'facilitating' *risk* factors to prostitution, whilst distinguishing between different types of prostitution. May and Hunter (2006) undertook research into the links between drug use and street sex markets and regard pathways to prostitution in terms of 'risk factors'. They note that, whilst there is difficulty in demonstrating a causal relationship between drug use and sex work on the street, there are certain associative risk factors common to both.

Taking Vanwesenbeeck's (1994) theory on interaction of elements to explain variability of prostitution experience (as described in the literature overview in Chapter 2), it can be argued that those who 'fare better' in prostitution, are likely not to have been sexually abused as children, not to have been in a violent, intimate relationship and to have more favourable economic conditions. Following from this, they will not settle for poor working conditions and thus when it comes to interactions with clients they will be in a more commanding position to execute effective risk management strategies. 'In connection to all of this, they are more likely to eventually work in the better protected, less socially isolated forms of prostitution, to have a more relaxed working routine, to serve fewer clients, to earn more per client and to experience less violence on the job' (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994: 153). On the other side, and through a similar interactive effect, women with poor starting points into prostitution through negative childhood experiences and accumulated economic need will be more likely to settle for poor working conditions which will place them in a weak negotiating position in interactions with clients and thus, limit their ability to manage risk or employ effective harm reduction techniques in their working lives. 'These women, who have the most burdened histories, the weakest sense of self and self-worth, and the least supportive networks to fall back on, also happen to be the hardest pressed. It seems that the women who are least fortunate at the start, who are in fact the least fit to do the work, have the most burdening conditions which keep piling up' (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994: 153 – 4).

The Matthew Effect[50], then, in prostitution can be interpreted as the fortunate or fatal interaction between the woman and her surroundings; adverse positions for entry into prostitution (emanating from exposure to risk and vulnerability in childhood) can be seen to increase the likelihood of poor working conditions, limited coping strategies and vulnerability with clients (Vanweesenbeeck, 1994).

The remainder of this chapter will consider the evidence in the data which may signal the existence of initial indicators of the 'Matthew Effect'. This will concentrate on the nature of pathways to prostitution. A clear pattern is evident in the trajectories of drug using street-based sex workers along a continuum of risk exposure. As a contrast to these experiences, the two non-street working, non-drug using sex worker accounts in the data are also considered at the end of this chapter. Whilst I have acknowledged the limitation of such data comparison given the small size of the samples involved (see Methodology Chapter 3), the analysis presented here paints a clear picture of how risk is socially organised in prostitution and how trajectories to prostitution are dependent on risk exposure and accumulation of risk.

4.3 Prior to prostitution – Stage one of the *Matthew Effect*

The findings from this study reflected the process of increasing social division and inequality referred to as the 'Matthew effect'. Even a cursory glance of the data provides evidence of vulnerable starting points for the sample of drug using street working respondents. Prior to engagement in prostitution, exposure to risk and vulnerability can be seen through a number of accumulated vulnerabilities in childhood.

4.3.1 Poorly Functioning Families of Origin

By tracing respondents' accounts of family background and their lives preceding prostitution, key risk experiences prior to engagement in sex work are evident. The family is the social relationship which has received the most attention in terms of risk factor research (Rhodes, Lilly, Fernandez, Giorgino, Kemmesis, Ossebaard, Lalam,

[50] Merton (1988: 332) – St. Matthew wrote 'For unto everyone that hath shall be given, and he shall abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath'

Faasen and Spannow, 2003). The primary foci in terms of the family and risk are family structure and quality (Simsons and Robertson, 1989; Ripple and Luthar, 1996).

Take for example the case of Julie - Julie grew up in an area of Dublin which is officially designated as disadvantaged. She grew up in a home where both of her parents were diagnosed with HIV. She began taking drugs at the age of eleven years and she was fourteen years of age when she first engaged in prostitution. Her motivation at that stage was, in her own words, "money for drugs". She had previously shoplifted in order to fund her increasing drug habit but found that there was a greater risk of arrest with this activity and so she looked to sex selling in order to generate income.

Analysis of the data shows that Julie's case is not unique and that patterns of early risk experiences have emerged from this study that have clearly positioned the street working cohort at a vulnerable starting point into prostitution.

Fiona describes her upbringing where she lived with her grandparents after her mother left her at nine months old; "*me father was in an out of me life ya know not on a regular basis but every couple a weeks he'd pop his head in or whatever*". She describes her home environment as a child as being a "shambles"; "*there was no money in my house eh ya'd be lucky if there was any food in the fridge em the place was in a fuckin shambles..d'ya know the house filthy an things like that*".

At the age of fourteen, without a secure home environment, Fiona describes being "off the rails":

"*When I was fourteen..em at this stage I was just like runnin, runnin riot..I'd gone kinda off the rails so to speak in the house an different things had happened like me grandmother had died an me grandfather was basically drinkin very heavily an whatever else an I was in and out of care an stuff like that an em..me Mam turned up an she seen me as a kind of business opportunity so to speak*".

Fiona's mother was working as a prostitute and she came back into her daughter's life, leading Fiona into prostitution. This idea of job inheritance is evidenced in other

Irish studies (O'Sullivan, 1998; Eastern Health Board, 1997; McElwee and Lalor, 1997) which highlight 'mothers introducing daughters to the trade' as a risk factor in entry routes for juveniles into prostitution.

4.3.2 Unstable Home Environments

Tina talks about a childhood without a stable long-term home: "*I've been in homes..I've been given to people..like a rag doll yeah.. been taken back and forth to me Mam*". Anna also talks about her experience of growing up in care: "*I was in care most of me life like, from the age of six cos I was abused by me brother and me Ma*". It was while she was living in and out of hostels that she was introduced to work on the streets by another girl:

"*I was thirteen when I first started workin, em I ended up smokin heroin an ended up on the street an a girl introduced me to it like, she just brought me down to the street and I didn't have a clue what I was doin and I just ended up doin it an ever since I haven't stopped like*".

As a vulnerable child brought up in various forms of local authority care and foster rooms, which she eventually ran away from, Anna was initiated into the informal economy which became a way of life for her ever since. Cusick, Martin and May (2003) found that 78% of the most vulnerable sex workers had experience of local authority care and three quarters of these were living in or running away from local authority care when they began engaging in prostitution. The majority were found to work 'outdoors' or as 'independent drifters'.

Research by Focus Ireland has found that 66% of minors who leave care are homeless within two years which corroborates with previous findings which have shown that 21% of those who have been found to be homeless in Dublin are between 16 and 25 years of age (Kelleher, Kelleher and Corbett 2000). Within two years 17% of those leaving care were identified in this Focus Ireland study as being involved in prostitution. A Mid-Western Health Board study found that motivations for juveniles involved in prostitution was tied to drug funding behaviours, 'where sex is exchanged or drugs or money for drugs' (O'Sullivan, 1998: 23).

4.3.3 Early School Leaving

In terms of educational attainment, many spoke about leaving school early. Previous studies have found that many women in prostitution have relatively low levels of educational attainment, with little opportunity for economic gain (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994). Julie left school at the age of thirteen. While she acknowledges that she has considerable intellectual capability, an embarrassment about her situation holds her back and she resigns herself to the idea that she would not be able to leave the streets:

" *13 I left school at but like I'd like I'd watch an awful lot of the discovery channel and all and into things like that and what have ya like I have a good education .. d'ya know that way and like a lot of people after talking to me they'd say well like you're very very intelligent, why don't ya use it but I feel too embarrassed to go in and try and get a job nine to five because I know I'd end up back out on the street*".

Sonia also speaks about regretting not having gone on further in school. She left school when she was in third year and began a vocational course. While she enjoyed her vocational training, she was sorry at not having the chance to go on to complete her Leaving Certificate. A WHP study in Dublin found that 52% of women left education between the ages of 14 and 16 years[51] (O'Connor, 1996). Low levels of education, combined with financial need in terms of childcare and family and/or drug dependency often create a situation whereby engagement in prostitution is associated with harsh economic need, lower levels of well-being and increased risk taking (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994).

Chris reveals that she was expelled from school at the age of thirteen. This was the age that her drug use progressed from smoking hash to taking heroin. She worked in a number of different jobs in the service industry before engaging full-time in prostitution. She explains that prostitution became a way to make "easy money" to fund her increasing addiction.

[51] 16 years of age is the legal school leaving age in Ireland. Those who leave school prior to that age are most likely to have done so without having any formal educational qualifications (WHP, 1999; 1996).

4.3.4 Childhood Victimisation and Abuse

'Having been traumatized in private life before entering prostitution determines to a large extent how one fares once one works in prostitution, and accounts strongly for differences between prostitutes in that respect' (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994: 148).

Some of the respondents disclosed experiences of childhood sexual abuse while speaking about their backgrounds. Sonia revealed that she suffered years of abuse by her father in the home from a young age:

"*I had been abused from the age of seven til I was thirteen at home by my Dad so...em I was sent off to England when I was thirteen and a half to have an abortion... over me Dad but that was all kept...all kept under the carpet ya know so I left home when I was fourteen to this day I never went back*".

Sonia explains that her mother did not believe her when she told her what she was being subjected to: "*I was tellin her through the years about what was happenin ..an she kept makin out that it wan't that I was tellin lies*". After Sonia got away from home she reveals that her mother never forgave her for driving her father out of the house due to her accusations of sexual abuse against him. Tina also speaks about her childhood experience of persistent sexual abuse at the hands of a family member: "*I've been abused all me life..sexually abused since I was two.. and he's <u>still</u> around*". Laura, in a similar vein, discloses that she was affected by sexual abuse in the home from a young age: "*a lot of abuse and sexual abuse went on in the home and...me Ma died when I was quite young so I had to learn how to defend for meself*".

While it is not the intention of this analysis to draw causality, respondents' accounts of childhood experiences are valuable for a consideration of cumulative oppression and disadvantage in order to appreciate vulnerable starting points into prostitution. It has been found that women working in prostitution who report childhood sexual abuse present with higher risk profiles in terms of poor adult physical and emotional health (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994). A study of drug using women in prostitution in Ireland by O'Neill and O'Connor (1999) found that 21% of women indicated childhood sexual abuse had a bearing on their decision to enter prostitution. Early

childhood victimisation is linked to risk takers in prostitution who appear as powerless or indifferent to active harm reduction and HIV protection (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994; Allers and Benjack, 1991).

4.3.5 Early Initiation of Drug use

"Drug use does not occur within a social vacuum – the social world of the users and their perceived place within that world, their interactions and the meanings they attach to their drug use and related activities all provide a framework for understanding drug use" (Dillon, 2002: 20).

Early initiation of drug use and progression onto harder drugs is frequently evident in the data. Chris notes how she grew up around drugs: "*me mother an' father were both on drugs and I went on drugs when I was..well me first time to try drugs was when I was eleven em..hash*". Chris moved on to heroin at the age of thirteen. Her parents were not aware of her drug habit until a year or two later she explains. A number of studies point to parental drug use as a risk factor for problem drug use (Swadi, 1988), even within a context of 'healthy' parental relationships (Andrews, Hops and Duncan, 1997).

Matt describes how he first began using drugs recreationally at the age of eleven when he started smoking cannabis. He traces the progression of his drug use from soft drugs until eventually he began taking heroin:

"*from then I started yunno takin ecstasy an..takin acid an things like that so ya know..that kind of got out of hand..well I, I left school at fifteen too I left after fourth year and I was workin as a chef then so..it was like..I always kept up me job, ya know that way but I was goin out on the weekends like this was when I was around seventeen and doin a lot of E an em..an a lot of eh acid as well an from then I used to smoke a lot of hash comin down off them but then I started em smoking heroin to come down well one or two friends were doin it so..I started doin it*"

Routes into drug use are facilitated for many by exposure to drug taking and availability of drugs within their social circles (Maher and Hudson, 2007; Cusick and

Hickman, 2005; Mayock, 2000a; Dillon, 2002; Taylor, 1993; Rosenbaum, 1981). Facilitation of initiation into drug use through social networks is evident in the respondents' accounts, as Tina explains how she began smoking heroin with a friend:

"*a friend got me into a bit of the heroin first ..I'd seen her with the tinfoil I said what the fuck is that d'ya know what I mean an she goin "sssh" like that an I says look I'm not gonna rat on ya look ya probably have a problem ya probably need a bit of helpin hand*".

However, concern soon turned to experimentation with her friend and Tina's drug habit escalated: "*Of course I get stuck into it with her .. an then that's where it started from there..on ya know what I mean with the heroin stuff like that... so I've got too heavy into it oh I've started really really really really likin it*".

Fiona explains that her grandfather suffered from alcoholism and the exposure to alcohol in the house was her first introduction to substance misuse: "*from a very young age I can remember..I started to drink the the alcohol when I found it meself.*".

She explains her progression along different drugs of choice as she moved "*I woulda smoked hash an taken acid an that from the time I was about maybe twelve or thirteen*". Fiona moved onto taking heroin at the age of thirteen. She recounts how she was going out with an older man whom she told she was sixteen years old and that this older male influence facilitated Fiona's progression onto hard drug use:

"*I got me first taste of heroin when I was about thirteen..em I was goin out with this fella who was twenty eight I didn't know at the time like {KMc: And you were thirteen?} I told him that I was sixteen an he believed me*..[smiles], *ya know, as they do like ..I think they believe what they want to believe but .. anyways he took out this thing this thing of tinfoil with a brown blob on it ya know...I didn't know what it was an although I thought I knew it all at that age I really knew very very little em.. an he got me to smoke it an I smoked it an it made me sick ya know for the first for the first couple of times..but it made me relaxed an me inhibitions went and whatever else..I mean I liked it ya know .. from the very beginning*".

What once began as a weekend activity became a central feature of Matt's life threatening his professional and personal life. He managed to maintain his work for a period of time, however, his drug use had implications for his relationships within the family home and his behaviour became intolerable for his parents and this rendered him homeless.

His account of his escalating drug use is described in tandem with his life circumstances and gives a powerful insight into the lived reality of problem drug use:

"*It took me a good year to realise I was getting..strung out after the weekends it came to one day durin' the week an then it came to two days ya know that way..so it was like..it got out of hand and an it never affected me me job if ya know that way I was always able to..keep up with me work..but the money was gone ya know it was just goin an..I'd be left with nothing ..so I started ya know robbin from the parents an..gettin lends of money from here an there an not payin it back an..goin out an not comin back for a few days so eh me Ma and Da got sick of it they got really sick of it an…ya know they couldn't trust me..me Ma couldn't leave her handbag there or leave anythin lyin around so I em...I was eventually asked to leave..out of the home so I was thrown out then by I was..nineteen..so..I moved into town then..so I was ya know livin didn't know where to go an {KMc: Did you've anywhere to move to?} no I hadn't..didn't know where to go or ya know or what to do*"

The drugs/crime nexus is a common theme within the literature (Preble and Casey, 1969; Coombs, 1981; Silverman, 1982; Faupel, 1991; McCullagh, 1996; Parker and Bottomley, 1996; Dillon, 2001, Furey and Browne, 2002; Edmunds et al, 1999; Seddon, 2000; Connolly, 2006). A 'chicken and egg' argument rages, with some arguing that, through 'economic necessity', problematic drug use leads to criminal behaviour (Jarvis and Parker, 1989) and others argue that criminal behaviour exposes individuals to other illicit activities in the black market such as drug use (Auld, Dorn and South, 1986). A third explanation for the relationship sees the two developing in parallel or simultaneously, as introduction to crime happens at the same time as introduction to drugs. This more aptly describes the experiences of the street working respondents in this study.

4.3.6 Juvenile Criminality

Early exposure to criminality has been a feature of some of the respondent's experience. Laura describes being raised within an environment which exposed her to crime from a young age: "*I came from a lot of crime..like I grew up with crime that went on in the family home*". Anna, who at the time of interview was currently on remand awaiting a Circuit Court hearing for an undisclosed offence, explains that she has "*been comin in an out of prison since I've been seventeen*". Anna also detailed how she has lived in care since the age of six, due to subjection of abuse in the family. In her teenage years she describes being "*in and out of hostels and stuff, children's hostels*". It is claimed that most of those who run away from local authority care or from home will resort to crime/or prostitution for survival within six weeks (Matthews, 2008; Green et al, 1997; Kirby, 1995).

Juvenile criminality has been a feature of many of the respondent's early lives. Criminal behaviour (aside from illicit drug use) often preceded engagement in sex work, either with or without detection and subsequent official sanctioning. Experience of the criminal justice system for others occurred in tandem with engagement with sex work. Prior to engagement in prostitution, Donna was shoplifting in order to fund her drug habit and found that this carried a greater risk of arrest and imprisonment and she served time in prison for this criminal activity: "*I was shopliftin first for me money and then I was gettin caught and I was gettin ya know put into prison*".

Criminal careers' typically involve drug funding behaviours and are invariably gendered with females engaging in shoplifting and prostitution as the primary criminal methods of income generation.

4.4 Adult Life Phase – Second Stage of the Matthew Effect

As accounts move from childhood experiences to the adult life phase, the second stage of the Matthew Effect in the lives of the street working cohort is revealed in the data. This stage signals continuous disadvantage throughout the life course characterised by a continuum of physical violence in the home, pressures from own

and partners' drug use and 'trapping' within the drugs/sex work nexus through shared environments.

4.4.1 Continuum of Violence

A history of violence within the home has been a feature of some respondents' experience. Lena, who began working in prostitution at a later age than some of the other respondents, describes how she suffered abuse at the hands of her partner of 22 years. While she began working in street prostitution during a temporary split with her partner, he forced her to go out working after they got back together and she describes nights when she returned home with money for him and he forced her to have sex with him: "*there was times I didn't want sex and he forced me so I put that down myself as rape by him as well*"

This situation underlines the continuum of violence and intimidation that many respondents experience, being subjected to abuse both on the street and in the home. Abusive relationships were a feature of many of the respondent's stories. Sonia reveals that, at the age of fourteen, she had a relationship with a twenty eight year old man who pressurized her into prostitution:

"*I felt very very pressured from him yeah...I was only fourteen when I met him...an he was twenty eight..an all his life he'd been been in an out of prisons in institutions an he was eh..was pushin drugs as well...em very violent man.....he more or less put the idea into me head...*"

Vanwesenbeeck (1994; 148) notes that 'women who report having been abused in childhood are physically or sexually victimized by private partners more often later in their life, including being forced into prostitution'.

4.4.2 Partner's Drug Use

Previous research in Ireland has indicated that the majority of drug using women in street prostitution have a drug using partner (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999). Whilst this research did not explicitly enquire as to partners drug habits, it emerged that two

of the women, Sonia and Fiona, who were drug using (injecting drug users) and had current partners indicated that their partners were also 'using'. It also emerged that these partners did not work and further probing revealed that the women funded both their own habits and their partners drug habits through their work:

KMc: Do you've a partner at the moment or
Fiona: No well I do and I don't
KMc: Kinda casual at the moment is it?
Fiona: Yeah it's kinda casual
KMc: And is he workin at the moment?
Fiona: No
KMc: And is he..usin?
Fiona: No well yeah yeah god he is yeah yeah
KMc: ..and would you ever use your money to buy your..both your drugs
Fiona: Yeah

4.4.3 Motivations for Engagement in Prostitution

It became clear from the data that the overwhelming motivation for initial engagement in prostitution amongst the street working cohort was money to acquire drugs and sustain their drug habits. Previous research on drug using women in prostitution (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999) found that 83% of women citing making money for drugs as their primary motivation for engagement.

One of the respondents, Sonia, notes how she first began engaging in prostitution to pay back debts her partner had accrued from drugs. It was after this that she developed a drug addiction herself and she has remained in street prostitution for the past nine years. Chris explains how she began using drugs at the age of eleven and moved on to heroin at the age of thirteen. By the age of fifteen she was working on the streets. Anna describes similarly, '*Well I was thirteen when I first started workin, em I ended up smokin heroin an ended up on the street*'. Julie describes her initial motivation for working in street prostitution: '*I started prostitution at the age of fourteen {KMc: how did you get into that?}..money for drugs*'.

However, all of these accounts involved a 'friend' or an 'introducing person' who facilitated their access to the illegal street economy. This is consistent with international findings on young people's routes to prostitution which show that introduction to prostitution via a friend is the most common method of entry (Jesson, 1993; O'Neill, Goode and Hopkins, 1995). Both Donna and Matt describe their motivation for their first experience of prostitution when accompanying friends out on the streets as 'spotters'[52] and being 'sick from drugs'; their drug withdrawal and their proximity to the street sex scene through social networks became a fateful combination for their initial engagement in prostitution.

The early engagement in prostitution by many of the street working cohort as noted in this study is consistent with the increasing recognition in the literature of the young average age of first engagement in prostitution (Matthews, 2008; Hester and Westmarland, 2004; Cusick, 2002; May et al, 1999). This study shows that five of the respondents, all in the street working cohort, first engaged in prostitution while underage. All of these respondents initiated prostitution between the ages of thirteen and fifteen years. For all of these respondents, drug use preceded prostitution with age of first drug use ranging from eleven to fifteen years of age. Research on drug using women in prostitution in Dublin conducted by the WHP in 1999 found that 45% of women (n=35) started prostitution between 13 and 19 years of age (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999). This supports the view that drug using women are more likely to engage in prostitution at a younger age (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999; McDonnell, McDonnell, O'Neill and Mulcahy, 1998).

4.5 Shared Environments

The Matthew Effect thesis can be tied to classic sociological theorising on anomie[53] (Durkheim, 1951) and deviance (Merton, 1964) and opportunities for accessing illegitimate means (Lemert, 1964). Lemert (1964: 59) argues that the social structure prevents some people from competing for universally inculcated cultural goals, and he

[52] The 'spotter' is a friend who may or may not be involved in street sex work who 'keeps' an eye out for those conducting business with clients by keeping note of car registration numbers and descriptions of clients. This is noted as a valuable risk management resource in other research (Shannon et al, 2008).

[53] The idea of anomie first purported by Durkheim with his study of suicide in 1951; later developed by Merton (1957) in the structuralist tradition

sees their 'modes of adaptation' to their 'anomalous' position in the social structure as deviant.

At the meso level, it is noted that women in street prostitution participate in shared environments in the informal street economy. The data suggests that this form of 'social capital' gave access to resources, knowledge, norms and practices (the 'street risk script') to women in prostitution as well as intersecting with other activities in the street scene such as drug use and homelessness.

The idea of social networks (Putnam, 2000) as a sociological concept, deviant street networks (Cohen, 1980) or more specifically, in socio-criminological literature, shared environments on the street (Laub and Sampson, 1993; Anderson, 1999) have been considered as important mediators of risk experiences. Street networks, therefore, are rooted in social relationships rather than particular locations.

4.5.1 Networking on the Street

"*I've met most of my friends through drugs and through prostitution*"

(Julie, 28 years old, working on the street for thirteen years)

The overlapping sectors of sex work and drug use are evident in respondents' narrative in terms of social networks. The forms of social capital visible in the data, in the Putnam (2000: 22) sense, could be viewed as "bonding" networks which are 'inward looking and tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups'. However, the nature of these 'bonds' are questionable and are limited to a weaker form of street capital.

Matt, who is living on the street, notes how this shared environment afforded him the opportunity to learn the street 'script'. He met certain people on the street and this social networking enabled him to become familiar with how the street scene operated: "*then ya know ya start to know..gettin into knowin a lot of people in town an ya know an eventually kinda ya knew where to go an..ya know became kind of street wise*". Sutherland (1937) regards 'selection' and 'tutelage' as necessary elements of access to illegitimate means through deviant roles. In this way then, motivations for and

pressures towards deviant behaviour are not sufficient for accessing illegitimate means. The street capital which allows an individual entry into the informal street economy allows for the individual to develop 'street competencies' which are seen as the skills and actions emerging from the accumulation of street capital which allow the person to survive in the street economy (Lankenau, Clatts, Welle, Goldsamt and Gwadz, 2005) and which develop through embeddedness in a social network (Granovetter, 1985). For those involved in street prostitution, peers are integral to the development of street competencies and these street networks facilitated the street working cohort in developing street survival skills through adherence to group norms and street practices.

Both Julie and Matt are good friends and Matt explains how this friendship was forged within a shared context:

"*One of my friends now she works on the street..there as well she did an interview with you as well* [referring to Julie's participation in the research] *and, em, she works on the street as well and me and her are very good friends ya know we used to live with eachother in the B+B too ya know we used to share a B+B and she'd go out and I'd go out ya know so we used to share money like*".

While having prior knowledge of the drug using habits of the friend Matt refers to, on the basis of her own interview account, it is clear that the shared environment within which they bonded is one of homelessness, sex work and drug use. The nature of their friendship within the street environment both challenges traditional, gendered assumptions about the nature of relationships within the informal economy[54] whilst simultaneously reinforcing risk exposure and vulnerability to trapping. The view of street capital as a 'fraternal' network is illustrated in this dynamic. This complex amalgam of issues is a recipe for the creation of a particular social context within which risk exposure is heightened and vulnerability to 'trapping' is often compounded. The social networks which facilitate this 'trapping' within shared

[54] Matt, as a self-identified gay sex worker details his friendship with Julie within the shared street environment. This friendship challenges traditional notions about gendered roles and relationships within the urban, informal economy (see Maher, 1997; Steffensmeier, 1983). Both are drug using and both are engaging in sex work as a means for funding this drug use. They then share their earnings from sex work between them. Whilst a counter-argument to gendered readings of the street economy, these accounts also reinforce the 'trapping' within 'dependent' street networks.

environment are emphasized in Matt's account of his friendship with Julie, above. He continues that, "*she* [his friend involved in sex work] *even said, ya know, it is an addiction too ya know and and it is a bit hard to break away from*".

For Chris, her home environment became a shared environment similar to that on the streets. While it is noted earlier that both of her parents were active drug users and that she herself began taking drugs at an early age, she was also exposed to sex work within her home environment. She explains that a female friend of her mother's was staying in their house after her father passed away and Chris deduced that she was working on the street: "*I used to always see her comin in with loads of money all the time and..somethin just said like she's on the game .. I followed her and like I saw what she was doin so..em that's what..got me into it*". Lankenau et al (2005: 11) describe how this form of 'street capital' is learned through the meso level, as latent knowledge gained through observations and experiences within a family or household; these experiences then expose young people to early risk in the home – alcohol, drug misuse, criminality; and the knowledge gained enable the young person to develop survival skills upon becoming homeless. This street capital enables entry to an exclusive environment and the opportunity to learn particular street competencies.

4.5.2 Learning Risk

The situated accounts of young people's drug taking were used previously by Mayock (2005: 349) to highlight the 'complex social negotiations involved in the construction of drug journeys'. The phenomenology of risk for women in prostitution in Ireland can be traced through their 'risk scripts'. Childhood experiences such as exposure to drug use and criminality in the home, as evidenced in this study, highlight the inculcation of street capital (Lankenau et al, 2005) at an early age for many of these respondents. Flows of knowledge in the home regarding drug misuse, criminality and the street economy allowed for early apprenticeships in 'street capital' to emerge which produce particular risk scripts. This street capital, through early accumulation of risk experiences, can be viewed as a passport for entry to the street scene and the shared environments of the street allow for the development of street competencies

(Lankenau et al, 2005). The employment of these competencies will be considered in Chapters 6 - 9.

Lupton (1999b) emphasises social processes as integral to the production and reproduction of risk and, thus, implies different risk experiences in different social contexts. Details on the shared environments within which the street working individuals operate can provide some important insights into subjective experiences of prostitution within a situated context of risk.

4.5.3 Drugs/Sex Work Nexus

Shared environments are opportunities for some respondents who are using drugs to become introduced to sex work through social networks and so a link between the two activities becomes established in one's life, as part of their cultural milieu. Cusick et al (2003) argue that outdoor sex workers are characteristically vulnerable to trapping in the drug use/sex work nexus, as drugs and sex markets share the same pavement space thus compounding risk exposure.

Sara, who worked for a short period of time on the streets, describes how she was educated on the benefits of using sex as work to fund her drug habit: "*I was using drugs and I was, hadn't enough money and friends were tellin me about workin on the street and what it's like workin on the street and how quick you can get your money so that's how I got introduced to it*".

For many of the respondents, sex work is explicitly a drug funding behaviour. As a means for generating income to sustain drug addictions, sex work is often inextricably linked to drug use in a mutually reinforcing nexus. As Julie states: "*I'm trying to beat a drug habit so basically that's what every girl works for*". Studies have found that, once dependent, users tend to place greater importance on avoiding withdrawal symptoms which becomes their motivation for continuing their drug use and 'grafting' to maintain their habit (Rubington, 1967; Coombs, 1981; Taylor, 1993).

As well as a method of financing drug addiction through the generation of income, prostitution has been evidently used by respondents in a direct exchange of sex for drugs. This will be detailed further in the next chapter.

The mutual reinforcement of drug use and sex work is evident in Matt's account when he details how the scale of his drug habit increased as he began earning more and more money through prostitution. This 'trapping' situation undoubtedly led to the need to earn more money in order to fund the increasing habit while, conversely more available funds allowed more access to drugs: "*the money was so easy an..I was c...like the first summer I was just earnin I was gettin so much money.. an then me habit was gettin bigger an bigger ya know that way*". McKeganey (2006), however, offers a clearly limited interpretation of the drug use/sex work nexus. He contends that since maintaining a drug habit was more prominent in the reasons cited by women in their explanations for continuing to work in street prostitution than in their reasons for initiating prostitution, then this would suggest that many women had acquired a drug habit in the course of their work (McKeganey, 2006). However, although the experience of a male outdoor prostitute, Matt's account above highlights the vicious circle which leads to mutually sustaining drug use and sex work careers. Rather than drug use indicating a change of primary motivation for engagement in sex work as 'sex work career' progresses, this study shows that sex work career often progresses in tandem with the progression of 'drug use career'.

The duality of 'careers', as evidenced in the data, points to a particular risk positionality implicating the experiences of the respondents. Whilst vulnerable experiences precede and are found to influence prostitution trajectories, the interlinking drug use trajectories simultaneously colour and compound trajectories of risk. This symbiotic relationship is difficult to disentangle in respondents' accounts in order to assess individual risk factors and influences for 'drug use' and 'sex work' in isolation from eachother. In relation to the risk 'scripts' of young drug users, Mayock (2003: 283) argues 'Where drug transitions and status passages are not linear and are...characterised by fluidity, synchronicity and reversibility, the question of how individuals negotiate the risk situations to which they are exposed becomes increasingly important'.

4.5.4 How Central is 'Drug Use'?

Matthews (2008) questions the primacy awarded in the literature to the role of drug use as a propellant to engagement in sex work arguing that many studies fail to differentiate between experimental, casual/recreational, habitual and problematic drug use prior to sex work. In addition it is argued that, when the experiences of women involved in the 'indoor' sex sector are accounted for, the contributory role attributed to drug use as a motivation for sex work may be less than is commonly implied (Sanders, 2005; Weitzer, 2000a). This leads Matthews (2008) to argue that, as with cumulative vulnerabilities, many women with a history of drug misuse may have become involved in prostitution irrespective of their drug use.

In the analysis of data for this study it is clear that amongst the street working cohort what began as experimental and recreational early drug use progressed to harder drugs, often prior to engagement in prostitution. With many of the respondents describing injecting drug use and use of hard drugs in tandem with initial engagement with prostitution, this study argues that a mutually sustaining relationship exists between drug use and sex work for the street workers in this study. This is not to argue that these respondents would not be involved in prostitution if drug use was not an issue in their lives. Yet the evident sex work/drug use nexus in the data has created particular risk experiences and *positions* individuals in specific shared environments of their 'dual' engagements from which risk is assessed and responded to.

However, there is evidence in the data to suggest that drug use is not a defining feature of sex work for all of those engaged in street prostitution and that there is more than one kind of addiction. While certainly drug use and sex work careers can evolve simultaneously, as Matt alludes to, controlling one's drug issues does not equate to a lesser engagement in sex work. While certainly decreasing drug use can mean less motivation for involvement in prostitution: "*I don't kinda have a need to do it as much anymore because I'm not usin as much anymore*". Matt explains that, while he is no longer 'using' heroin, it is not easy to break clean from prostitution:

"*it is a bit of an addiction too ya know {KMc: the prostitution?} Yeah it is I think it is now some would say it isn't I think it is because even though I'm gettin meself clean*

and I haven't really being usin I'm still doin it ya know that way and it is hard to break away because the money is so easy".

Residential drug detoxification has been noted as a period providing opportunity to move away from prostitution. However, Julie notes that upon her discharge from residential detoxification she returned to the streets. Chris had a similar experience after leaving drug treatment. She explains that when she left Coolmine Therapeutic Community[55] she went back to the streets:

"*I graduated Coolmine yunno and I relapsed then yunno so but like I didn't pick up a new addiction, I picked up from where I left fuckin off that's being honest don't mean to curse but I picked up from where I left off yunno, I went straight back workin for my money like that*".

This highlights the limitations of some of the current drug treatment services on offer in Ireland, which may not be appropriate to the complex circumstances of those involved in prostitution. May and Hunter (2006: 184) argue that 'the co-ordinated multi-agency approach to service provision is the "gold standard" for providing services to sex workers' and they promote that any treatment intervention should be delivered through a 'holistic' approach with 'longer-term help with housing, health and other social issues.

4.5.5 Street Prostitution Trajectories

The inevitability of certain trajectories of prostitution, reinforced through earlier exposure to vulnerability, is alluded to by many of the respondents. It was perceived as inevitable in some respondents' lives, who saw it as the only 'career' available to them. Julie describes, quite powerfully, how her prostitution career has been normalised in her life:

[55] Coolmine Therapeutic Community offers a range of addiction services including men's and women's residential drugs rehabilitation programmes. The female residential programme is located at 'Ashleigh House' and offers a six-month, abstinence based rehabilitation programme (Coolmine Therapeutic Community Annual Report, 2007).

"..[Prostitution] that's all I've known. I wouldn't know how to go in and work nine to five.. the hostel that I'm in now, before that I was bookin, payin into B+B's every night, I'd be out all night and I sleep all day that's all I know and that's all I've ever known"

The normalisation rhetoric permeates many of the narratives. Some of the respondents talk about prostitution becoming easy. For Julie, after spending time off the street while serving prison time and for residential drug detoxification, she found herself back on the streets selling sex after being discharged:

"*The night I actually split Coolmine, I went back on workin on the street..that was like it's just after a while it just comes natural when ya need money, what do ya do go down to the street, like one car ya've between 50 and 160 Euro, why wouldn't ya, do ya know what I mean like, most people wouldn't even get that in a day or two days, three days workin*"

Chris also employed this type of discourse when she explained that when she became pregnant she was not in a position to reconsider her prostitution 'career' as it had become a normalized lifestyle for her in order to fund her drug addiction: "*I was strung out on heroin ya know what I mean and I just yunno...it was the only way I knew how to be, way I knew how to fuckin make money ya know what I mean*".

The complex corollary of the Matthew Effect in normalising vulnerable experiences in the lives of the street working cohort can be seen to colour the lens through which those engaged in prostitution view their actions. The presence of the Matthew Effect, then, can be seen as a considerable influence in the production and reproduction of risk understandings (further detailed in Chapter 6).

Sara, who has since left prostitution having worked for a brief period on the streets, notes how she sympathises with the girls on the street for whom prostitution has become a normal part of their lives: "*some of the girls down there are just you'd feel sort of sorry for them because...they're used to it and they don't think there's anything wrong with it*"

Sonia describes how she feels stuck in her current situation as she is homeless and feels this is an obstacle to her accessing work in the formal economy: "*I have the height of respect for people who have jobs....when you're homeless.....with no address an you go to get a job or a CE scheme ...straight away you're turned down because there's no address*". Sonia hopes, however, that this situation will change as she does not plan on remaining in prostitution for much longer. She wishes to change her trajectory and mourns the fact that her life has accumulated much disadvantage: "*I don't plan on stayin much longer on as a prostitute please God, I want to be able to reach me goals because so much in me life has been taken from me already*"

Tina offers an account of the impact of a history sexual abuse on her later life and associates this with her prostitution career:

"I'm gettin used to it and d'ya know what I mean I'm gettin well used to it I know I was very hurt and very depressed ya know what I mean but as I was sayin like with me being abused I don't care anymore d'ya know what I mean me body's after being abused all me life d'ya know what I mean since I was a kid like being sexually abused an..I said why not like relations knew..why not go out an get d'ya know what I mean".

This powerful rhetoric exposes notions of inevitability with implications of being "used to" abuse throughout her life. While Tina did not explicitly equate prostitution with sexual abuse, she suggests a resignation towards abuse and normalises abuse within her life. McMullen (1987) argues that there is a direct causal link between child sexual abuse and prostitution and that abuse is perceived as a rehearsal for prostitution as abuse produces a loss of self-worth and apathy to how one is treated. Others purport a 'indirect causation' model and argue that other factors, such as running away and living in local authority care, have an associating role (West and de Villiers, 1992; Cusick, 2002). It has been argued that those exposed to early childhood trauma, such as childhood sexual abuse, may be more inclined to subject themselves to further burdening and victimising experiences (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994; Draijer, 1988). 'Traumatized people may repeat the trauma and re-engage in burdening situations, hoping to be able to control them this time' (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994: 154-5). They may have required a 'learned helplessness' (Vanwesenbeeck,

1994) and may have fewer options to draw on in order to reduce harm in their lives and defend themselves. In this way, women who have endured childhood trauma and who engage in burdening situations with low expectations of positive outcomes may experience a fatal interaction within their environments. With little social support to draw on and few coping strategies it is argued that '[a] fatal interaction between a less demanding individual and less sustaining surroundings manoeuvres the more vulnerable women down-slope' (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994: 155).

In Laura's situation, her trajectory turned a corner when she was imprisoned for shoplifting. She explains that she did not choose to leave prostitution; in essence an imposed prison sentence afforded her the opportunity to assess her situation and she took this as an opportunity to change her lifestyle - "*I'd be off the streets about ten years now.. I didn't decide I ended up gettin a five year sentence*". By seeking help with her addiction, she found that upon release she did not need to work on the streets. This period signals 'career exit' in drug using pathways (Coombs, 1981; Faupel, 1991). Laura highlights the link between prostitution and drug use as she contends that exiting prostitution is easy in the absence of an addiction: "*it is that easy if you're away from addiction d'ya know what I mean, it's not that easy if you're still caught up in addiction...d'ya know what I mean to walk away cos it's always easy money*". Anna echos this notion by explaining that her engagement in sex work is solely tied to her need for money for drugs: "*See I was doing it mostly for me drug habit ya know, and like when I'm off drugs I don't do it*". The normalisation of prostitution trajectories for many drug using street workers then would appear to be intertwined with drug use careers. Earlier it was noted that prostitution itself was regarded by Matt as an addiction, and so in some cases motivations for engaging in sex work are not always tied to drug use. However the data suggests that, for many of the respondents, when 'career breaks' in drug use or a complete cessation of drug use activities occur this impacts on prostitution careers, as prime motivations have been removed and sex work no longer becomes the necessity it once was.

4.7 By Contrast - The Indoor Sex Worker Experience

As a crude comparison, the accounts of the two 'indoor' sex workers are also considered which are drastically dissimilar to the trajectories of the street working

cohort. Neither of the sex workers reported dysfunctional childhood experiences or early risk experiences. Whilst this is not to say that brothel or escort workers do not have such experiences (certainly the respondents may have withheld this type of information), the data shows that both of these individuals had pathways to their careers in prostitution which appear in stark contrast to the street working individuals. Sanders (2005: 37) argues that, in relation to experience of prostitution, 'subjective outcomes of risk depend on individual biography and the environment of the market'.

Charlotte did not report any early family dysfunctionality, abuse, juvenile criminality, drug taking or early risk experiences. She had a stable upbringing which was not affected by disruption to her care nor any periods of homelessness. She was educated to postgraduate level and she initiated prostitution in order to support herself through college.

Carla similarly presented with a relatively stable family environment and did not report any early risk experiences, drug taking, family dysfunctionality, abuse or juvenile criminality. Again, like Charlotte, she did not report any periods of homelessness or institutionalisation. She was educated to degree level. She describes, however, an unsuccessful marriage and being threatened with exposure by her ex-partner as regards her prostitution. She began a business after the collapse of her marriage but accrued debts and she explains how she engaged in sex work through 'desperation', to acquire funds to pay back her debts.

Whilst certainly it is acknowledged in this study that these experiences of the two 'indoor' workers are not in any way representative of the pathways of other indoor workers, the marked difference in the accounts of these respondents in relation to the street working respondents must be noted. Vanwesenbeeck (1994: 153) found that those engaged in prostitution who are not subject to the burdening effects of the 'Mattthew Effect' are likely to have not been sexually abused as children, have not been in a violent private relationship or been forced into prostitution and are likely not to have to continue working out of economic necessity. They are also found to have less inclination to employ strict 'internal coping strategies' and are seen as less likely to have developed drug dependencies (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994). Furthermore, the two indoor workers noted access to "bridging" rather than "bonding" social capital

(Putnam, 2000), as their social networks are not tied to their work and they have access to wider social support networks. This noted difference in terms of trajectories to prostitution has major implication for positionality in interactions with clients, risk understandings and control over 'work scripts'. The findings from this small-scale qualitative study certainly reflect the existing evidence base which distinguishes between the pathways to prostitution of street and indoor workers (Weitzer, 2007; Vanwesenbeeck, 1994). How these differences in pathways to prostitution between the indoor and street working respondents implicate positionality and engagement in the 'work' will be elaborated on in subsequent chapters.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the existence of early vulnerability experiences as one significant element of the 'Matthew Effect' (after Vanwesenbeeck, 1994) in the lives of the drug using street based sex workers in this study. By analyzing the details of early lives and pathways to prostitution in the accounts of these individuals, it was clear that early disadvantage had culminated to create a distinctly disadvantaged starting point for prostitution amongst the street workers. Though each person revealed different backgrounds and family circumstances which they negotiated in various ways, common features of early vulnerability and subsequent risk exposure can be traced across cases. Whilst, certainly, different issues have complex interactional relationships with each other, an accumulation of disadvantage over the lives of these respondents can be clearly observed and manifests itself into a weak and marginalized position for them within the shared environment of the informal market. The bonds of street capital, as a street resource, can be seen to create opportunities for a shared environment for individuals sharing similar risk pathways.

The second stage of the Matthew Effect is viewed as continuously disadvantaging individuals throughout the life course. Working outdoors and with early experience of hard drug use were two of the key factors Cusick et al (2003) identified factors which 'trap' young people in problem drug use and sex work, combined with experiencing one or more vulnerabilities such as convictions, homelessness and/or being 'looked after' by the local authority. The more 'trapping factors' those engaged

in sex work have been exposed to, the greater their potential to reinforce vulnerability in the lives of these individuals (Cusick et al, 2003).

When 'career exits' occurred with drug use, sex work becomes a nonessential activity in the perception of those who moved away from this lifestyle. For some who are currently in a vulnerable situation, with lives admittedly dominated and compounded by the nexus of drugs and sex selling, normalization rhetoric is evident which implies inevitability within their trajectories.

While the social bonds in shared environments observed in the street respondents' accounts could be viewed as destructive from a socially normative perspective, this form of street capital provides street based support in a fraternal way. The next part of this thesis will consider how early indications of the 'Matthew Effect' may position these individuals in their working environment, and how street capital can be translated to street competencies in order to manage occupational risk. For the indoor workers, the absence of early cumulative risk experiences in their accounts signals a relatively stronger position for entering prostitution (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994) and their access to "bridging" social capital indicates broader social support networks in their lived experiences, with implications for risk understandings and risk management in prostitution.

The next chapter will look at perceptions of the 'work' as described by the clients. Observable aspects of the Matthew effect will be used to draw comparisons between indoor and outdoor sex work experiences.

Chapter 5 - "Risking Work"

"I would be very professional with them and I mean the way I I look at it is that it's a business d'ya know and if I give them what they want and they like it they'll come back..eh I don't rob me clients....and as I says it doesn't matter if I'm havin a shit day or not I'm there to make them feel good ya know so I'll always be nice I'll always have a smile on me face ya know..em...I give them the best service ya know that I know how to.. they always seem to be happy..ya know..and I get me money and everyone's happy ya know..obviously it doesn't always work out like that ya get wankers and ya have to deal with that too"

(Fiona, aged 26, street worker)

5.1 Introduction

Sex as work is a one of the key discourses in the study of prostitution. This chapter considers prostitution as work through the words of the study respondents by examining the varying degrees to which the discourse of work is evident in the respondents' narratives. Similar to Murphy and Venkatesh (2006: 132), this thesis focuses on individual-level career analysis as 'a subjective experience in which actors develop their own understanding of work based on their work history, ambitions, expectations of work and, the value placed on their labour'. Fiona's account, above, exemplifies the professional outlook that some of the respondents uphold in relation to their engagement in prostitution. What is certainly discernible is that, similar to McLeod's (1982) findings and many more recent inquiries, the respondents in this research viewed what they engaged in as work, not a crime. The following chapter traces the articulation of prostitution as work in the accounts of the women and men involved in this study.

5.1.1 Can Sex be Work?

Proponents of the sex work discourse argue that, as sex can be bought and sold, it should be regarded as a legitimate form of work and, by extension, those selling sex should be regarded as sex workers (Delacoste and Alexander, 1988; Chapkis, 1997; Doezema, 1998). O'Connell Davidson (1998) suggests however that this discursive

reading of prostitution is limited to the type of 'worker' who is not coerced into the job and viewing those engaged in prostitution as 'sex workers' perceives of them as labouring under a capitalist system in the same manner as other workers.

As the commoditisation of the body conceptually leads to the commercialisation of sex, Brewis and Linstead (2000b) regard developments in our understandings of consumption as underpinning our understanding of prostitution. They see the development of self-identity through consumer consciousness as illuminated through Hawkes (1996: 117): 'clients buy what they need...facelift, Armani suit, liposuction, phalloplasty, Porsche, blowjob, a whipping or bondage session...to enhance their self-esteem in the most appropriate way' (cited in Brewis and Linstead, 2000b: 170).
The issue of consumption and the client as consumer lends to the sex work discourse, yet the question remains as the whether the 'sex worker' can be regarded as any other worker in any other industry? Pateman (1988: 207 – emphasis original) cannot reconcile sex with work arguing that, as sexuality and the self are intimately connected, 'when a prostitute contracts out use of her body, she is thus selling *herself* in a very real way'. The data will reveal the extent to which the respondents themselves view sex as work, or whether they perceive what they do as Pateman does.

5.2 Initiation into the Business

Social networks allowed many of the respondents the opportunity to join the trade and often, as the data will illustrate, provided a training ground for the new apprentices. For those with experience of working in brothels and parlours, social networks also have a part to play in introducing them to the business.

5.2.1 "..I had a Friend..."

Most of the respondents mention 'friends' who helped them get into the business. Social networks, as mentioned in the previous chapter, are regarded as one of the primary ways that individuals are introduced to prostitution (McLeod, 1982; Jesson, 1993; O'Neill et al, 1995; Sharpe, 1998; Murphy and Venkatesh, 2006). Sonia, a twenty nine year old, began working on the streets through the help of a friend at the age of nineteeen: "*I asked a girl who was already up there eh a prostitute em bring*

me down and show me what to do and that". This connection is important for someone new to the business and learning the ropes from someone is a common thread throughout the respondent's stories. Tina, a thirty year old street prostitute, began working at the age of fifteen. She had sporadic engagement and left the street but returned to working when she was eighteen years old. When she first began working, at fifteen, it was once again a friend who introduced her to the streets: "*Well em there was a friend of mine she's dead...she kind of helped me get onto it an kind of do things an like she was workin years..*". Sharpe (1998) notes from his work that, not only do social networks serve as the primary nexus through which women enter prostitution, but that most women would not have ever regarded sex work as a possible means of acquiring income had it not been first suggested by some contact within a person's social network.

For Donna, her initiation into prostitution came about when she was engaged as a 'spot' (Shannon et al, 2008) for her friend: "*At first I used to go up with a friend of mine and take the regs down for her..she was workin and I was just takin the regs down*". This apprenticeship through 'spotting' also mirrors Matt's initiation into the street scene. This role, in friends occupational risk management allowed them the necessary social capital to gain entry to the street scene as they first served their apprenticeships in street competence (see Lankenau et al, 2005).

Laura, an ex-sex worker, was initiated into prostitution through a friend, a fellow drug user. She was sixteen when she started working and worked for some time on the streets in Dublin ten years ago. Interestingly, in Laura's experience, she began working by invitation to a particular site which was perceived as being at the more exclusive end of the street scene in Dublin at the time.

"*It was the Pepper Canister it was called and you just couldn't go and stand on the corner there you had to be invited on to it..by the women who already had worked there for years d'ya know what I mean it..it wasn't one of eh like Benburb street or Baggot Street ya know what I mean like ya had to be invited on to it and I suppose that's where I started workin was the eh.. Pepper Canister*".

By analysing 'career' pathways, some seminal sociological and criminological theorising on socially organised access to illegitimate means can be applied. Considering operation through illegitimate means implies accessing appropriate learning environments for the acquisition of the values and skills necessary for a particular role and, after this, having the opportunity to act out the deviant role once one has successfully prepared for it within the learning environment (Cloward, 1959). In short, as Laura's account attests to, just as access to legitimate means is not equally available to everyone, a similar differential is evident in access to illegitimate means.

Carla is an independent touring sex worker in Ireland and began working as a sex worker in her home country of Portugal. Her entry into sex work was facilitated by a friend, whose wife ran a brothel. In fact, her friend offered to be her first client and, as Carla explains: "*I did it and I thought my god this is easy money*". 'Easy money' was a common theme for many of the respondents as a motivation for continued engagement in sex work.

5.2.2 The Family Connection

Some of the respondents mentioned family members who helped them to get into the business. Lena, an ex-prostitute, worked for eight months on the streets in Dublin approximately eight years ago. Lena had a sister who was engaged in prostitution and Lena saw the money her sister used to bring home: "*Seein' the money me sister was bringin in, she'd be only gone for an hour and she'd come back with so much money, and she [would say] "ah no it's easy it's easy*". Having someone, such as her sister, who knew the streets helped Lena initially as she explains: "*I had the sister, she was doin the same thing.. that's how I really knew exactly what to do cos I was nervous at first and then, I went where she was, I used to follow her you might as well say*". The influence of a family member, such as a sibling in the introduction of an individual to prostitution has been found in previous Irish research (O'Sullivan, 1998)
As noted in the last chapter, Fiona was introduced to prostitution by her mother at the age of fourteen. As Fiona describes below, her own youth and naivety was exploited by her mother who viewed her daughter as a commercial prospect.

"*Me Mam turned up an she seen me as a kind of business opportunity so to speak..me Mam was a workin girl all her life an I was this young girl ya know em.. just developin ya know eh...kind of wild up for anything sort of thing an she introduced me to prostitution*"

The notion of 'job inheritance' has been found in previous Irish studies (O'Sullivan, 1998; Eastern Health Board, 1997; McElwee and Lalor, 1997).
In a study of sex work in Chicago, Raphael and Shapiro (2002) found that 71% of respondents reported that someone they knew first suggested prostitution to them. However, entry through social networks or family connections was not a feature of all the respondents' experience.

5.2.3 A Self-Starter

Charlotte began working in the sex industry at the age of eighteen in her home country of New Zealand. Unlike the other respondents, curiosity, along with financial need, was the primary motivation for Charlotte initiating engagement with the sex industry, a finding mirrored elswewhere (Petro, 2006). When an economic need arose she saw this as an opportunity for her to become a sex worker. Her engagement, therefore, was less through social networks and more through her own initiative and inquisition.

"*I was moving cities and I needed some money and so it seemed an ideal time to have a go at it and so I rang and made some calls and had a go and realised that I could do it very easily and it wasn't difficult in any sense at all and I quite enjoyed the novelty of it I always had an intense curiosity about the sex industry*".

5.3 Economic Motives

Whilst the experience of the facilitation of entry to prostitution may differ amongst the respondents, the primary motivation of economic need is common to all accounts and this has been a consistent finding throughout academic research in this field (James, 1974; McLeod, 1982; Høigård and Finstad, 1992; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996). However, the occupational motivations as stratified by type of prostitution is

noted by Weitzer (2007) who contends that, whilst the economic need of many street prostitutes is for 'survival sex', the economic motives of indoor workers are centred on financial independence and upward mobility. This disparity in motivations can be seen as impacting on the experience of sex work, with those in street prostitution found to face greater risks and experience more burdensome working conditions than those working indoors (Weitzer, 2007).

O'Connell Davidson (1998) alludes to a 'hierarchy of prostitution' by identifying the environment within which the sexual contract is specified, negotiated and executed, and notes that the power differentials apparent in different working environments serve to differentiate women in prostitution in terms of their control of the encounter in their work. Vanwesenbeeck's thesis (1994) would argue that since, as the last chapter concluded, considerable difference in the trajectories of individuals to prostitution means some individuals are vulnerably positioned in prostitution, it should follow that their experience of work is more burdensome and difficult than those without accumulated risk trajectories. What does the data tell us?

5.4 Work Scripts

The accounts of lived experiences of prostitution through work rhetoric are evident in much of the data and emergent themes and patterns in the data culminate in the presentation and symbolic production and reproduction of 'work scripts'. Crucially these 'scripts' are socially organised and differ according to working environments. Script theory and specifically sexual script theory (Laumann and Gannon, 1995; Mutchler, 2000) view scripts as a means of conceptualising the social construction of sexual behaviour. Such theories lay emphasis on context as a filter of lived experience, and have been usefully applied to other fields to consider accounts of behavioural practices (e.g. Mayock's 2004 thesis drawing on the 'risk' scripts of young drug users). While the 'work scripts' of those engaged in prostitution are evidence of their work practices and how these are mediated by the working environment in which they are located, these work scripts also allude to a 'strictly scripted' routine (Murphy, 2003: 320) and an 'etiquette of the market' (Hobbs, 1997: 60) which is understood by both prostitute and client.

A structuralist approach to prostitution and risk would focus on sub-cultures such as social networks within street or indoor prostitution as sites within which risk and risk practices are defined and 'learned' (see Douglas, 1992). The following will detail the make-up of the 'work scripts' of the respondents in terms of work norms and practices and experience of the work. By scripting their work as *work* these respondents are also symbolically reading and responding to 'risk' scripts.

5.4.1 Indoor Recruitment

The strategy which led to Charlotte acquiring work in the sex business in Ireland was through submitting her interest in work on a site on the internet. She met for an interview with the owner of the business and the manager of the business who inquired as to her work approach. She was then informed of the structure of the business, business regulations and service details:

"*Well the first time I was interviewed it was by a man and a woman now the woman was under the title of manager but the guy was actually the owner I found out later and they quizzed me about what kind of services I provided they gave me the rundown of the rules how it was structured what the prices were all that kind of stuff ...I started work that night*"

5.4.2 Initiation into the Street 'Code of Practice'

Many of the respondents learned the code of practice on the streets through their peers "*I knew a girl that worked she told me what to do and when she told me what to do I continued on*" (Julie, current street worker, working 13 years). Fiona's mother brought her down on the streets and explained the street practices to her daughter. "*she brought me down..explained..she explained to me how much to charge, what to do where to bring them*". Initiation and information sharing regarding 'tricks of the trade' for novice workers has been found in similar inquiries (McLeod, 1982). As Sonia describes, for her, an explanation of how business is conducted, who does what and how it is charged was also needed at the beginning:

"*I asked her* [her friend] *to show me where to stand and I had to ask her who approaches who and do I have to approach the men or the men have to approach me and what do I say to them em and how much em different sexual acts would would cost how long you'd spend with people*".

5.4.3 Advertisement

Advertising in the sex industry, is not limited to printed promotion of indoor sex workers services and establishments; advertisement is also utilised by street workers, albeit in a more creative manner. Sanders (2006: 102) notes how the very presence of street workers in an identified red light area is an advertisement for sex for sale, or through street workers directly soliciting a man to see if he is 'looking for business'. In this study, however, street workers discreetly advertise their availability for sexual service. Anna explains her advertising style: "*ya'd nod at them [men in cars]..like just say there's a punter drivin around in a car on his own, ya just go like that* [Anna nods head] *and let them know you're workin like*". Some of the respondents, such as Julie and Lena and Chris, describe how their very presence on their stroll was a signalling process as punters would approach them for 'business'.

5.4.4 Smart Advertisement

When Carla first began working in Ireland, she worked through an escort agency, to which she gave half of her earnings. She quickly learned how the business operated and where the escort agency advertised. She decided to opt for independent work and gross all of her earnings herself. There has been evidence in recent years of a major shift in advertising as many independent escorts and sex work entrepreneurs use online resources (Sanders, 2006). Carla advertises her services as a "touring escort" through online websites, *Escort Ireland* and *Independent Irish Escorts*. From here, clients get in touch with Carla and she works from hotels around the country.

5.4.5 Indoor Regulations

When Charlotte secured work, she found that while working in a brothel here in Ireland, she had little face-to-face contact with management who would be rarely "on

site". She described how each of the girls would "check in" with management when they were meeting a client and then again when the client left. In this way, the brothel supervisors would be able to keep account of day-to-day business: "*you had contact all the time you'd ring Natalie to say you had a client and then you'd ring out to say you had finished so that was their way of kind of controlling*".

5.4.6 Street Rules

Laura states that there were a number of street rules in the "upper class" area of the street where she worked: "*you could look after yourself, you couldn't take someone else's punter eh..ya looked after each other an but that was it...ya don't invite anyone on that you don't know*". These rules related to street etiquette and networks. Street norms were evident in some of the other accounts as some respondents noted professional misconduct by 'other' women.

5.4.7 Professional Misconduct – "Trickin' and Dippin'"

Many of the respondents spoke about street practices and norms and how these were maintained and at times violated. Julie advocates a 'code of practice' amongst street prostitutes:

"*There's girls throwin condoms around, like there's office blocks and there is houses around there* [south side stroll area] *d'ya know what I mean and ya don't do that ya go out of the area, if you're in a car ya go out of the area...Right if ya have to do business down a lane or something, just wrap it in tissue and throw it in a bin but it's bringin trouble on the rest of the girls anyways*"

Some of the respondents regard a major violation of norms as stealing from clients. Julie differentiates from other women in street prostitution by noting how some are not providing a proper service if they thieve. "*At the end of the day, now there is girls down there robbin, don't get me wrong, but at the end of the day, the girls that are not robbin and are providing a proper service*"

While there were a number of street rules where Laura worked, she admits to a degree of professional misconduct while she worked: "*A lot of them I'd have robbed as well now I'm not goin to sit here and tell ya I didn't d'ya know what I mean, a lot of them I'd have ripped off left right and centre, the way it was I needed to feed me habit*". She notes how she would have "dipped" the punters: "*When their trousers was off I'd dip their pockets eh I'd be after dippin their wallets and puttin it into my bag ya know eh...like there's manys a night I have to say I came out with some money out of it*". Other respondents talk about the unprofessional behaviour of people they work with and the affect this has on their own work, as Julie notes above. Structuralist risk theory (after Douglas, 1992) would consider the sub-cultural arena of social practices, risk understanding and production and how 'deviance' from group norms are regarded and addressed. Douglas (1966) notes that one type of threat to the social order of a sub-culture comes from transgressing the internal boundaries of a community. This could be seen as violating established price structures or stealing from clients as noted by the respondents.

5.5 Working It

Through the respondents' accounts of "working it", a particular picture of the 'sex market' in Ireland, and specifically Dublin, is presented. As in McLeod's (1982) study, this market, like any other, is subject to general market forces as detailed below.

5.5.1 Work Sites

For the women with experience of working on the street in Dublin, there is an interesting distinction made between the North side and South side stroll areas (see Chapter 1 for 'stroll' descriptions). It is clear that the South side stroll is regarded as at the higher end of the street sex market and this is explained in different ways, from the work attire to the clientele. Chris explains that she always works in the Baggot Street area, differentiating it from the North side stroll in terms of the particular work attire worn by the women in the two areas: "*It was always Baggot Street because that would be more high class ya know and ya'd have to wear like skirts and things like that whereas around in Benburb Street around that way ya'd wear tracksuit bottoms*".

When Fiona was queried as why she chose to work on Baggot Street, she explained it in hierarchical terms as Baggot Street provided the opportunity to earn more money than other street sites. Some of the women move between the north side and the south side strolls when they work. Julie explained why she moves between the two work sites - "*mostly where I work is Baggot Street, I don't work around this side [*Benburb street area*] at all...unless I'm stuck for money that's the only time I go around there durin the day or in the evenin at this time* [5pm]".

Carla's sex work tours take in the main cities of the country; Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Galway and she was also beginning 'tours' to Waterford and Sligo. She states that the touring venues are all different; whereas in Dublin there is a bigger concentration of girls, elsewhere in the country there is less competition.

5.5.2 Perceptions of Sex Work Sectors

Notable distinctions were made by the respondents between theirs and other sex work environments. This serves to present particular 'sex worker' identities which are constructed in part by an explicit articulation of what they are not – a discursive move away from 'the other'. For women working on the street a distinct 'independent street worker' discourse was evident in which they presented a particular construction of their own identities by removing themselves from 'managed' workers indoors. Julie illustrates this argument:

"*I have a choice of what I do and they don't, so there is absolutely no way, I work for myself, I don't work for anyone else and god forgive me I'm not about to go out and sell my body to pay for someone else's drug habit, I go out at night and do it for me own and that's it*".

This view is shared by Chris, who contends that she would not be prepared to work in a brothel and hand over money to anyone else: "*I wouldn't work for anyone else {KMc: would ya not?} no way and have to give them half your money like after you, like after your body being like abused and give them half or more no way I wouldn't ... that's my body like...no* ".

Fiona, a street worker, has previous experience of working in brothels in two city centre locations and in a North city suburb. She maintains that she did not enjoy the loss of professional autonomy while working in a brothel:

"How did I find workin inside?{KMc: yeah} ...em it was ok but I didn't like the fact that I was told ya know what time to come in what time to..ya can't refuse punters ya know ya have to do them if they turn up at the door an the fact that ya have to give somebody a percentage of whatever ya earn ya know I don't like and just the thing of actually havin to work for somebody else when I could easily work for myself it's a no-brainer ya know I'd much rather be workin for meself"

This perceived advantage of street work over brothel work as allowing flexible working hours and occupational self-determination has been found in previous Irish research (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999). It is noted that the conditions of street work may suit drug using women and it, furthermore, may be difficult for them to obtain or maintain a job in a brothel or massage parlour (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999).

From the perspective of indoor workers, Charlotte maintains, however, that "*no ones better than anyone else but you work within the context of what you need and so often if you have a drug addiction then working indoors within an organised environment .. is not an option*". Charlotte alludes to some of the differences, in the aggregate, which she perceives as setting street prostitution apart from indoor prostitution (Weitzer, 2007).

Carla notes, similar to Charlotte, that, as an independent escort working indoors that she is not any better than women working on the street yet she perceives the type of client as one major differentiation between the sectors: '*well I'm not gonna say that you know you don't find like a a huge business man or a good business man ever visiting one of those girls but this probably are the chances are very unlikely".*

5.5.2 Engagement with Work

All of the respondents have had different levels of engagement with sex work. Some of the street working cohort, such as Tina, began working in prostitution at a young age and left, returning again when older. Others, such as Julie and Matt, have worked consistently in street work, since they started. Chris and Fiona have worked in street work from a young age and have also worked in other jobs sporadically. Lena and Laura, who worked in prostitution eight years ago and ten years ago respectively, had a full-time engagement with the work at the time.

Charlotte worked three shifts a week in a brothel while studying in Australia and worked full-time here in Ireland before moving on to a new job outside of the sex industry. For Carla, her engagement has also been interrupted with work in other formal ventures and studies abroad. She now oversees the running of her retail business in Portugal while she earns money as a sex worker in Ireland. Her engagement with sex work as an independent "touring" escort in Ireland means that she works "stints" in the country and returns home for a week or so before returning again: "*Yeah I go back home every roughly every two weeks three weeks em..and sometimes I take a week there and other times I go for the weekend and come back to Ireland and just keep touring..*"

The level of engagement while working in the sex industry also differed amongst the street worker respondents and there are varied reports of working hours and frequency of work. Thursday to Sunday were noted to be the busiest days and busier periods included Christmas, Easter and bank holidays. Day (1996) found that, from accounts of those working in prostitution in London, women respond to the ambiguity of the law by flexible work in the non-mainstream sector. For the street workers, engagement is often ad-hoc and work days may be dependent on financial need or on busy periods.

Laura, an ex-street worker, explains that she worked as needed in order to keep herself above board with her drug habit: "*I always made sure I got the money for what I needed, does that make any sense for the next couple of days*". Engagement with sex work, therefore, for many of the street working cohort was often on an "as

needed" basis. Julie describes her motivation for engagement in sex work as usually for drug funding reasons. However, she later explains how she requires money when she has access visits with her son: "*I went over to Baggot Street..Friday night I had me son Saturday so I needed money*".

5.5.3 Career Mobility

It has been noted that most sex workers remain at one echelon for the duration of their career (Weitzer, 2007; Plumridge and Abel, 2001; Benson and Matthews, 1995). Most of the respondents in the study remained at the stratum at which they entered – i.e. street work or brothel work. Some however, like Fiona, experienced upward mobility from street work to brothel work. She did not enjoy the regulations of indoor work however, as noted earlier, and returned to the street. While not explicitly mentioned, she was also drug using at the time and this perhaps was not conducive to engagement in an indoor regulated work environment. Weitzer (2007) notes how mobility is usually lateral, and this was certainly evidenced in the data amongst the indoor workers. Charlotte, who worked in brothels, engaged for a time in 'escort' work and Carla began in brothel work before moving to escort work where she remained.

5.5.4 Services

For most of the women working on the streets, the services they offered were commonly hand relief and oral sex and sexual intercourse. This was consistent with reports of drug using women in the 1999 WHP study (n=77) in which 92% provided vaginal and oral sex and 96% provided hand relief (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999). Julie states: "*I just do straight hand, oral and if they're lucky they might get sex*"

The indoor workers noted "specialities" they provided for extra money. Certain services were not offered and 'sexual boundaries' as an explicit emotional risk management strategy is detailed in Chapter 9.

5.5.5 Tricks of the Trade

Like McLeod (1982) found with the experiences of women involved in prostitution in the United Kingdom in the 1980's, the respondents in this study describe an active approach to their sex work and thus seek to challenge 'victimology'. The 'tricks of the trade' disclosed by some of the respondent allude to control in encounters with clients and challenge assumptions of passivity.

Some of the women describe strategies employed while working to avoid sex with punters. Julie notes how she can allude to having sex with intoxicated clients and they are unaware of her ploy: "*if they're not drunk, I'll have to do sex but otherwise I'll put me hand there* [J places hand over genitals to demonstrate] *and it feels like it's goin in and they're havin sex and that's all they get if they're lucky*". Charlotte also used similar tricks to appear to have sex in performances with her with co-workers: "*you'd fake having sex with another worker you like you could always fake and they wouldn't know like there's certain things you can do just basically putting fingers over vaginas and just kissy kissy pretendy pretendy and so that that would be a good extra additional service to sell*".

The verbal sell of services for particular prices are not always the service the client receives and as Chris describes below, she employs some strategies in order to attract clients for business, though the service provided is not often the service promised.

"*Well it's....fifty for hand and ya say a good feel around but ya don't give that ya just fuckin give hand and that's it..eh...seventy for oral and ya say a good feel around but ya don't give it ya just give oral and that's it and if they don't come like within a few fuckin minutes that's it you're gone or they pay more money and they always pay more money*"

5.5.6 Regular Clientele

Most of the respondents with experience of street prostitution discussed their clientele and spoke of regular service users who they did business with. Working with regular clients is viewed as a precautionary measure in risk management repertoires (Sanders,

2005). The use of a regular client base for risk management purposes is further detailed in Chapter 7.

5.6 Money

As stated earlier, economic need is the oft cited primary motivation for engaging in sex work by sex workers in previous research. Financial acquisition due to economic need was found to be the main incentive for engaging in prostitution by all of the respondents in this study, irrespective of sex work market. While prostitution has been consistently found to be a question of money (Høigård and Finstad, 1992; O'Connor, 1994, 1996; O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999; Lawless and Wayne, 2005), it is the reason for requiring the money that varies (Lawless and Wayne, 2005). Furthermore, as prostitution can be employed either on a sporadic basis as a response to pressing economic need or on a regular basis (McElwee and Lalor, 1997), the level of engagement with prostitution is thus tied to particular financial need. As described above in terms of 'levels of engagement', most of the street working respondents describe irregular working hours and working when needed.

The relationship between money and experience of prostitution has emerged as an interesting facet of this research. In the previous chapter it was noted how, in Matt's case, increased availability of funds through sex work led to an increased drug habit and, thus, a need for an increased engagement with sex work in order to fund the increasing habit. This is a clear example of the role of money in compounding the effects of sex work and drug use. Many of the street working cohort alluded to the money they earned through prostitution as being 'addictive'. In describing her experience of working, Chris notes that while her drug use has a significant role in her engagement with prostitution, the money is also a major draw: "*the drug habit is a big [motivation]..but the money gets addictive then it's like you've another addiction, for money ya know*". The addiction to the money earned through prostitution has been found in previous international (Thorbek and Pattanaik, 2002) and national research (Lawless and Wayne, 2005). Chris also likened money to a drug as she alluded to the 'high' she received from the money she earned "*the money kind of gives me an adrenaline as well*". Fiona also describes the money as an addiction and describes the autonomy it provides her: "*it's the money that keeps drawin me back and too it's*

the sense of em ya know independence ya know never havin to ask anybody for anything".

Julie refers to the importance of the money she earns in prostitution in affording her the opportunity to provide materially for her son:

"I know at the end of the day I've got me money in me pocket. I can buy me drugs, I can go out and buy me son whatever he wants and that's more important to me, being able to buy me son what he needs and what he wants when he wants it".

This situation is mirrored in findings from previous Irish research (Lawless and Wayne, 2005) in which one respondent in the Ruhama commissioned study notes "*I give my child everything. Spoil her. If she wants a video, she has it*".

Fiona also makes reference to the impetus for spending her earnings from prostitution: "*whatever money I've made I, it just burns a hole in me pocket ya know...it's almost like eh I can't wait to get rid of it like even though I know I need it*". According to McLeod (1982), the money accumulated through prostitution extends to women in prostitution the ability to increase material spending. They play out dyadic roles, then, in consumerist society – as part of the products of sexual consumption enabling them then to engage as particular consumers themselves from this particular consumption process. 'For many [prostitutes], the end product of all their determination, all their hard work and the vilification they suffer is to be locked into conventional patterns of consumerism' (McLeod, 1982: 57). Thukral (2006) notes, as the money made through prostitution is quickly made and quickly spent, this monetary dynamic often serves to keep women in prostitution.

While many of the respondents' accounts draw attention to their engagement with prostitution in order to alleviate financial need, this is often a provisional and repeated measure. Høigård and Finstad (1992: 117) found that amongst the street working women they interviewed, 'to save up a lot of money and then give up prostitution and live a normal middle class life is not a dream that is widely shared among the women. It is too unrealistic'. However, this research found that for women working indoors, that this was not an unrealistic dream, as Carla hopes her present engagement in

prostitution will enable her to safeguard herself financially in the future in order to avoid a situation of debt which implicated her decision to engage in prostitution in the first instance: "*my intention now is just to to make as much as I can now and just start investing in something now cos I never ever wanna be..never wanna go through what I went through a few years ago{I: yeah} you know it just took like fifteen years off me*". While Charlotte did report that she spent a lot of money over her years in prostitution, she did describe being able to enjoy a good standard of living, "*I have three houses now and I bought one quite young*".

5.6.1 Removing Drugs, Removing Financial Need?

An implication from a cursory glance of some of the literature in relation to, in particular street prostitution, is that engagement with sex work for many is purely drug motivated and thus ceasing drug use would for many remove the incentive for engaging in street sex work to acquire funds. This idea, however, is refuted by Julie's account as illuminated below:

KMc: Do ya think if you weren't on drugs would ya still be in prostitution?

Julie: I probably would cos of the money that's in it ..I mean I know that I could go out on a good night and probably pull in fifteen hundred Euro d'ya know what I mean, fifteen hundred Euro is nearly four weeks wages …so if I can pull that in in one night, why would I need to work .. weeks for it

5.6.2 Prices and Price Wars

On the street, prices are charged per service and prices are competitive. Established price structures are evidence of social norms within sex work (Sanders, 2005).
Many of the women currently working on the street discuss different prices for different services. Fiona is aware that other women may charge below her prices she does not seem worried by the lowering of prices as she still manages to earn well.

"*Thirty for a hand and fifty for a blow job..ninety for full sex.... other girls are changin chargin it like .. twenty forty and sixty ya know .. that's them undercuttin me ya know like but ..it doesn't bother me cos I still get me money like ya know*".

Working from a brothel means that business is priced on time rather than service. The prices, as Charlotte recalls when she worked, were two hundred and forty euro for an hour, of which half would be given to management; and one hundred and forty for half an hour, of which, again, she would receive half. She details, however, how additional money could be earned with each client: "*Any extras that you did you'd keep if you did an additional service that you charge more for like say bondage or ah I dunno girl on girl and to have a lesbian act..*"

Similar to charging for extras in brothels, Carla also provides supplementary services at an added price. Her rates while touring Ireland stand at, "*two seventy an hour .. one sixty for half and that's not including extras*". Carla explains the difficulty she encountered when touring Northern Ireland and has since stopped working in Belfast due to price wars between with other foreign workers there: "*the Brazilian workers come over here and they're not very intelligent so they lower their price down not you know so they get all the work without thinkin that in a week or two everybody's gonna lower their price to compete and then you just go around in circles*"

5.6.3 Business Negotiations

Some of the respondents assert that they do not negotiate with clients in terms of prices or services. Others, however, note that in certain circumstances they may negotiate on their prices for a particular reason. The circumstances in which these decisions are made are described in more detail in Chapters 7 and 8. Sonia, who works on the street, says she would bring her prices down if she was in need of money for drugs.

"*if I'm stuck I'll drop it down a bit...but not that much..if I'm sick from heroin I will drop it down but that would be just to give me me first bag of heroin to get rid of me sickness an I'll go off an I'll inject it an then I'll come back down an me prices will go back up*".

Women working in prostitution who are feeding a drug habit have been found to expose themselves to increased risks whilst working under the influence of drugs and

to work excessively in order to acquire enough money to buy drugs (Campbell, Coleman and Torkington, 1996; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; May and Hunter, 2006). The pressures of 'dopesickeness' as a 'macro' risk factor for sex workers (Shannon et al, 2008), can be seen as culminating in the 'Matthew Effect' (detailed in Chapter 4) which continuously disadvantages individuals whilst they engage in sex work.

Matt explains that he has a set price and that some punters try to bargain him down. Sometimes he will negotiate on the price if, as he says, he is in desperate need of the money but there is a limit to what he will bargain for and he maintains he will not go past ten euro under his set price.

"*I have a set price..if I'm really desperate for money ya know or if I'd say ok ya know it'd probably be only a ten euro or somethin short of the price I'd say yeah.. but sometimes ya know someone might say twenty euro I'd say fuck off ya know .. what d'ya think I am I'd get out of the car and then some they come back and say oh I have the rest of the money ya know what I mean they're just tryin to bargain me down*"

The set prices stated by some of the street women are often subject to fluctuation in certain circumstances and as Chris explains that she may raise her prices on assessment of the client: "*ya kinda know what cars to ca..ya kind of know what people to charge more money to as well*".

5.6.4 Drugs and Sex Markets

The changing nature of drug misuse over the past number of years, and the advent of crack cocaine use, has had ramifications for street sex work scenes internationally (May and Hunter, 2006; Green, Day and Ward, 2000; May, Edmunds and Hough, 1999; Maher, 1997; Goldstein, Ouellet and Fendrich 1992; Ouellet, Wiebel, Jiminez, and Johnson 1993). Heroin is the reported drug of choice amongst all of the street workers[56]. Four of the street respondents report cocaine use, Donna, Fiona, Julie and Sonia.

[56] Sara and Lena both reported problematic drug use but did not specify their drug of choice

Past findings have pointed to a market correspondence between the minimum price for a sexual exchange and the retail unit price of drugs (Maher, 1997; Goldstein et al, 1992; Høigård and Finstad, 1992). This has meant that established street prices as well as established street norms have been undermined and lowered due to increased drug availability. As Sonia described she would often accept "*the price of a bag*" when "sick" from drugs. Lena also describes how often, when she worked, a client would sell her drugs, after they had paid her for sex, and in effect the client would get his money back. On some occasions, the street market price of drugs would be offered in exchange for sexual services:

"I'd get money and then, they'd turn round after havin sex to give me money and say "right I'm sellin drugs", so I end up buyin the drugs so they'd end up gettin their money back ..they'd gimme the money or whatever and I'd end up buyin them the drugs back off them so they'd end up gettin their money back ..there was a lot that used to do that d'ya know what I mean, a lot of them used to do that and then sometimes I used to go over in an awful state for money for drugs, I'd be dyin sick so the first punter'd pull up and they'd say "oh I've only so much", then to me that was like "oh well then that's the price of a bag", get that into me and then I'll be grand (Lena, ex-street prostitute)

Donna explains how she has engaged in sex for drug exchanges (detailed further in Chapter 8) with clients. Her requirement for drugs and the demands this creates for her engagement with work is evidence of the continuous disadvantage created by the Matthew Effect at the macro, meso and micro levels. Experiences of this Effect, and its implications for risk decision-making and actions, often undermines work practices at the meso level. This illuminates how macro, meso and micro risk elements combine to produce and reproduce the risk environment of prostitution.

5.7 Working Relationships

There was a mix of both positive and negative experiences for the respondents working alongside other sex workers. While some had made good friends and enjoyed the companionship this offered in the work environment, others experienced

work environments that were not always inviting and related this to the competitive and aggressive nature of some of their fellow workers.

Sonia enjoys a positive working relationships with other women, she does not mix too much as this will affect her work. "*I do see the girls but...it does just be a quick chat for a minute and then I go...do me own thing cos the quicker I get off the street the better..if I'm standin around talkin I'm not gonna get business*"
Julie talks about three other women who work alongside her on the street. She emphasises the importance of working together for safety reasons.

"*There's four of us that stick together down on Baggot Street. If one goes on a job we know where she's goin, the other we like yunno we'll and ten minutes, that's as long as they get ten minutes or and I'm up the road, or one of us is up the road "are ya alright?", we always go the same place*"

Charlotte notes that there was a high turnover of staff in the brothels in Ireland which made working relationships difficult. For independent sex workers, working alone would appear to be often isolating and lonely work. Carla describes, however, how a community of independent sex workers keep in contact online and how this communication exchange provides valuable information for business. Carla explains how the site is used by other sex workers: "*you know it's just em on the site there's like we all use the site you know for bad clients for this that..they're they're mainly in Dublin*".

5.7.1 Competition

Newcomers are not always well received and this is clear in some of the women's accounts of their first experience working. The first night Lena went to Baggot Street she was not welcomed by some of the established workers, even though her sister was already working on the streets. She remembers how she was asked to move off the girls' designated work sites.

"*two or three girls came up and asked me what I was doin* [laughs] *standin on the street and I said the same thing as what youse doin an "well your not allowed" so I*

says why, "you're not allowed, this is our patch" so there was an argument cos I was there "this is our patch, you'll have to go to the opposite side of the road", so I went over the opposite side of the road".

Similarly, Fiona, working for a time in brothels before returning to the streets, found brothel workers to be very competitive. She explains that there was "*a lot of competition.. a lot of bitchiness ya know ... a lot of two facedness*". She surmises that this could have been due to the fact that she made a lot of money working indoors and this was not received well by some of the other women: "*when you go into a brothel ya know the client will go in and pick whichever girl he wants an I used to get quite a bit more business then they did an they didn't like that ya know*".

5.8 Working it in Ireland

Getting connected to the business in New Zealand was much easier for Charlotte than it was in Ireland. In her home country, she explained how brothels are quite visible and well appointed making locating one and finding work in one a relatively simple task. In Ireland, the situation is drastically opposed to what Charlotte was used to and the underground nature of the industry here meant that she had great difficulty in securing a job when she first arrived: "*it was quite scary for the first couple of days just thinking oh my God is there even a sex industry and knowing of course that there's no country in the world that doesn't really have one but it was so underground*".

Aside from her initial amazement at the difficulty in locating the sex industry here, Charlotte compares Ireland in unfavourable terms to Australasia specifically due to the unprofessionalism of the industry here as places were not as clean as she had experienced in Australia.

Charlotte also was unimpressed with the unprofessional conduct of the women she worked with in Ireland. While she was used to adopting a service driven approach to sex work abroad, she was shocked at the phone manner of her colleagues. As the phone is the primary life-line of indoor businesses, she was accustomed to speaking to customers in a particular way:

*"All the women were very unprofessional in Ireland they'd pick up the phone and they'd be like 'Yeah?' {I laughs} which drove me crazy laughs because you know in Melbourne it'd be like {*adopts flirty tone*} 'oh hey how you goin here's my friend and how have you been and would you like a drink' and 'oh look at you isn't that a lovely tie' ..but .. it was service driven".*

Carla notes that while she is still relatively new to the sex industry in Ireland she is learning every day and the online forum provides a lifeline to what is going on in the business *"I hear things from the girls..like the girls say January is really quiet like the agency I used to work for I looked on their website and they're even on holidays for January and they told me it was really quiet but this has been one of my best months so I just you know I think it all depends"*

The online community she is part of, as mentioned earlier, will undoubtedly provide the crucial link to happenings in the sex industry in Ireland to allow her negotiate her way through "working it" here.

5.9 An Gardaí as an Occupational Risk

The discretionary nature of Garda intervention and the impact this has for working in street prostitution is clearly highlighted in Anna's account of working the different strolls in Dublin. While, in her experience, Guards in Benburb street on the North side tend to take an official reactive approach to the women, Gardaí patrolling the South side red light district around Baggot Street are reported to be more interested in keeping the girls safe rather than subjecting them to the rigours of the law:

"They [Guards] give ya hassle on Benburb street whereas on Baggot Street they don't like..they give ya hassle on Benburb street [....] just tellin ya to move away from the area, arrestin ya an...ya know they just don't leave ya alone like.. whereas on Baggot Street they're more concerned for your welfare than catchin ya out an doin anything, like they'd be makin sure you're alright an all ya know".

Some of the respondents note the negative impact of law enforcement on their working lives. Donna reports the difficulties of negotiating her working life within a criminalised context: "*if the Guards are around like, if they see ya talkin at a car like they'll pull straight up an ya know you could get arrested*". She also notes how Garda presence on the street and the threat of arrest has an impact on business, "*he could get arrested, it frightens the punters off as well like*". She continues, however, that the presence of the Guards is not a deterrent for girls on the streets as, she explains, many of them feel they have to go out to work:

"*I was lucky I had my kids out with my family, they're in care but they're with me family like they're well looked after like, but there's some girls that have their kids with them and have to go out workin at night because they can't support their kids, they can't live on the weekly money*[57]".

In this way then, the risk of arrest may be assessed by some as less of a danger than the risk of having less than sufficient funds to support their children and consequently losing their children. Donna expresses relief at having her children in relative care where they are provided for, as she does not feel the same type of pressures to work as some other women.

Many of the respondents have been formally cautioned, arrested and charged for prostitution related offences. Engagement with the criminal justice system varied for those in the sample with some having been merely formally cautioned or moved on, while others have appeared in court and some have served time in prison for prostitution related offences and other offences concurrently.

While Matt noted how he enjoyed a good relationship with the regular Guards who patrolled Phoenix Park, he was also at the whim of verbal abuse and threats from some individual officers:

"*one car now they were ya know they really gave me a lot of hassle ya know started sayin to me ya know do ya spit or swallow ya know givin me a lot of hassle an grief*

[57] The 'weekly money' Sara refers to is the unemployment assistance payment

{KMc: And how did you feel about that then?} It wasn't nice ya know it hurt me an sayin if ya don't get out of the park we'll find a reason to arrest ya we'll plant somethin on ya".

Some of the respondents perceive Banguardaí[58] to treat the girls on the street differently to the way their male counterparts do. Julie contends that Banguardaí have a low opinion of the girls and that this manifests itself in differential treatment by female officers:

"*Most of the Banguardas don't like us, they can't stand us they can't stand the ground we walk on the men Guards are grand, but the Banguardas no {KMc: And why do you think that is?} I don't know, I really really don't like they really look down on us and if ya haven't got a drug habit and you're down there working, say to pay your rent or kids or whatever, they look down on ya twice as bad.*"

While the remit of the police force is to enforce the law as it stands and some report good relations, this is based on discretionary powers and on the goodwill of individual Gardaí. While the women who participated in this study reported generally having trust in the Guards and enjoying a positive relationship with them, there were some incidents noted whereby individual Gardaí abused their positions of authority and exploited the relative powerlessness of some of the women. A number of the women report being asked to service officers in order to avoid arrest.

Fiona explains being exploited in this way: "*put it this way like I look..some of them make ya look after them d'ya know so ya don't...ya don't d'ya know..so they...to avoid a charge or whatever ya'll give them a blowjob an they'll let it go*". She notes, however, that while she has not experienced this in recent times it was a previous issue on the street: "*I haven't come across it in awhile but em I'm sure I know for a fact that it used to happen...and that's not so long ago*".

The Guards also pose an occupational hazard for those working indoors in Ireland. Charlotte describes working in a brothel here one day and narrowly evading a police

[58] Bangardaí are the female officers of the Irish police force

raid. Similarly, Carla was ejected from a hotel in Limerick when her escort activities came to the attention of hotel management and as the Guards were notified, Carla was forced to move her 'touring' work to another location.

5.10 Conclusion

Prostitution can be viewed from a careerist or work-orientated perspective and the data suggest that the respondents view their engagement in prostitution as work. This work chapter has illustrated ideas around social practices and group norms, both for 'communities' of street and indoor workers, and how these norms serve to 'contain disorder' and 'create unity in experience' (Douglas, 1966: 2) in specific cultural settings. 'Professional misconduct' and cultural contraventions are viewed critically by many of the respondents, with only one (ex) street worker admitting to violating street norms and stealing from clients. Douglas (1966: 113) points to the stigmatising and contaminating position of a person who transgresses cultural boundaries: 'He [sic] has developed some wrong condition or simply crossed some line which should not have been crossed and this displacement unleashes danger for someone'. The risks and dangers of sex work and responses to these will be considered in the remaining part of this thesis.

Like other types of work, occupational routines and rhetoric permeate the respondents' accounts, as the respondents view what they do through a 'work' perspective. Managing aspects of the work/life divide will be considered in Chapter 9. Prostitution, however, differs from other occupations in being banished to the informal economy whereby the workers are officially non-existent and therefore not protected, subject to discretionary Garda powers. How they then identify, assess and respond to risks in their working lives is awarded special consideration in this thesis given their isolation from formal risk management structures. Lupton (1999b: 35) ponders 'How do the discourses and practices around risk operate in the construction of subjectivity and social life'? The next chapter will locate respondents' readings of risk in terms of how they identify and perceive risks in their working lives and the meanings they attach to risks.

Chapter 6 'Reading Risk'

Risk Analysis in the Narratives of Respondents

"They think they pay you they own you and sometimes if ya don't do what they say, you can either get a beatin, or raped or tortured or whatever so .. it's easier just to do it, if ya haven't got someone parked outside, if someone doesn't know where you are it's easier just to do it {KMc: to go along with what they want} yeah... I've had to go along with it many a time because that's cos I felt so unsafe... if there's nobody there, what do ya do? Ya just have to go along with what they want otherwise it's your life" [Julie, 28 years old, street worker]

6.1 Introduction

This phenomenology of risk allows for an exploration of 'the ways in which people construct their risk knowledges in the context of their everyday lives' (Lupton, 1999b: 104-5). The risk analysis presented in this chapter will focus on the social organisation of prostitution and its implications for risk exposure and perceived dangers; risk perceptions amongst sex workers, rationalisation of risk behaviours and negotiated risk behaviours and the Irish context of risk for those engaged in prostitution and calls by respondents for official risk minimisation interventions.

6.1.1 What are the Risks?

"Nothing is a risk in itself: there is no risk in reality. But on the other hand, anything *can* be a risk; it all depends on how one analyses the danger, considers the event" (Ewald, 1991: 199 – original emphasis).

A theoretical overview of risk was presented in the Literature Review Chapter 2. For the purposes of this analysis, risk can be understood as a danger imposed, such as health, physical and emotional risks for sex workers as well as a choice taken such as health risk behaviours. The risks identified by the respondents in this study are not objective facts but are, as Fox (1999) maintains 'in the eye of the beholder'. Yet, for the respondents in this study, this does not imply that risk perception is a mere individual-cognitive function. How risks are recognised, understood, assessed and

responded to at an individual level are, as the data shows, inextricable from the social context of sex work.

6.2 The Situated Nature of Risk

Lupton (1999b: 35) argues that risk is "inevitably mediated through...social processes and can never be known in isolation from these processes". This begs a number of important questions around how risk is understood in different socio-cultural contexts; What is the *situated context of risk*? and 'How do the discourses and practices around risk operate in the construction of subjectivity and social life?' (Lupton, 1999b: 35). Lupton (1999b) sees awareness of risk and risk decisions as inextricably linked to constraints on personal choice, limited opportunities for alternative actions and shared norms and group influence (Boeck et al, 2006; Bloor, 1995a; 1995b; Grinyer, 1995; Rhodes, 1997; France, 2000, Kemshall, 2003). As Chapter 4 reveals, the Matthew Effect is evident in the lived experiences of the street working respondents and this cumulative social process, mediating at the macro, meso and micro levels is significantly influential in filtering risk understandings. Other key factors at the meso and micro level can be identified in the respondents' accounts and point to the social processes which mediate their understandings of risk, from the socially organised work environments to interactions within those environments. These risk discourses and responses to risk are located within a particular socio-legal framework and the respondents' narratives of their lived experience of this illuminate the situated context of risk.

6.2.1 Social Organisation of Prostitution - Risky Environments

An exploration of experiences of different sex work environments allows for a consideration of the social organisation of risk in prostitution. Weitzer (1999) notes that there are systematic differences between types of prostitution, with street prostitution being more problematic, violent and exploitative than indoor prostitution. Collectively, the thirteen respondents involved in this study have experience of the broad spectrum of sex work environments. While the majority have worked primarily in outdoor/street prostitution (the street sample), some respondents had experience of both street work and indoor/brothel work, and others had experience of street work

both here in Ireland and in the UK, one respondent had experience of brothel work both here in Ireland and internationally and some escort work here also and another respondent had experience of brothel work internationally and escort/independent sex work here in Ireland.

Pyett and Warr (1997) argue that brothel workers are considerably less exposed to risk than women working on the streets. This finding has been consistently presented in various international studies on prostitution (Perkins, 1991; Lowman and Fraser, 1995; Whittaker and Hart, 1996; Church et al, 2001). The presentation of the varying experiences of working environments in this research has signalled the importance of the social organisation of prostitution in terms of exposure to risk for sex workers and their perception of risk within differing work environments. The working environment for women in prostitution, be it indoor (brothel or escort) or street, can be seen as mitigating, enhancing or limiting potential for harm to individuals.

For Charlotte, the social organisation of sex work often dictates the level of risk exposure as well as risk perception amongst sex workers. She maintains that while working indoors in New Zealand she did not feel unsafe, even without the presence of security personnel in establishments:

"*no never felt physically unsafe no and funnily enough in the brothels where I worked in New Zealand there was never any security they are all women led operations you'd have a woman manager and and or reception you maybe have a bar tender or somebody floating and then you'd just have the women but because it was a public space often there was CCTV I don't think there was .. any danger*".

She attributed feeling safe to the fact that she was not isolated from fellow workers and worked in a public space with cameras and so on, while she perceives that outdoor workers are more vulnerable to harm:

"*if someone wants to harm a sex worker they're gonna pick someone up on the street whose probably eh possibly a little bit more vulnerable and they're gonna take them somewhere where they're a little isolated and they're gonna harm them that way so it doesn't really generally seem to happen indoors...escorting now it can happen in*

escorting which is where you know you go to their hotel or their house now the places where I worked you would only go to a hotel".

In terms of escort work in Australia and New Zealand, risk was minimised for Charlotte as she only worked with known clients on "call outs" to hotels and she felt relatively safe as the client had paid the hotel therefore his details were on file: "*unless the client was very well known to the service it would only be to a hotel which you're actually in a it's a public private space but you know the person is known to the hotel by paying providing you with that little more security I guess*".

Some of the respondents revealed risk perceptions associated with particular locations of work. As a "touring" escort around Ireland, Carla explains that "*I'd prefer to work in Dublin I feel safer in Dublin yeah but I also know I have to tour cos I have regulars everywhere so yeah and I depend a lot on them*". Charlotte did some escort work in Ireland also, and reveals that she was not very comfortable with the situation as "call outs" were to clients homes rather than to hotels: "*it's a lot more dangerous cos you're in someone else's environment I mean it's also a bit more exciting and a bit more novel cos you are going to another environment ..but yeah it wasn't ideal*"

The dimness of outdoor environments can present situations of risk for sex workers. For Matt, working as a male prostitute in the Phoenix park means that often his ability to escape danger may be limited due to the darkness of the park at night and this necessitates having to be on greater guard against harm: "*ya know up there ya, ya've nowhere to run ya know that way it's pitch black ya know that way and ya just have to be so careful*"

There were perceptions of the relative safety of different sex work environments observed in some of the narratives. Lena surmises that indoor work would be much safer than working on the street: "*You're safer indoors..than ya are out on the street yeah..you're well safer indoors..ya won't be like raped indoors but out on the street ya can*". Though Sara, an ex-street worker, never worked in brothels, she notes that she considered it as an occupational choice: "*I often thought about it but it never happened...cos at least you'd know well you'd be safe there*". Her assessment of different working environments was tied to her reading of associated dangers.

Whittaker and Hart (1996) researched women working from flats and found that, concurring with sociological perspectives on the link between structural location and people's exposure to risk in their working lives, perception and management of risk by sex workers in flats was largely determined by the organisation of their working environment. Indoor work was perceived as being safer to the women as the environment itself was inside, lit and contained; it was the woman's own territory and the women worked alongside another person in this environment (Whittaker and Hart, 1996: 407).

However, individuals with experiential knowledge refute the notion that the indoor environment is inherently safe. Fiona has experience of working both indoors and on the street. She reveals that working indoors was not always a very positive experience and the madam who ran the brothel often placed her in situations with clients that she was not comfortable with: "*she'd put me in positions where I'd have to do things that I wouldn't normally do because they were regular clients*"

Donna, however, argued that working in a brothel for a third party would mean putting herself at risk. She describes how working under someone could have serious negative implications as it may be difficult to break away from their control and she perceived this to be a risky alliance for her in terms of relinquishing control:

"*I wouldn't have someone work over me, ya know havin to work for someone .. I wouldn't work for anyone like that cos once you get on the the turn by someone like that it's very hard to get away from them and if you wanted to give up, they're not gonna let you go that easy ya know ...I wouldn't em.. I wouldn't let a man take control over me like that...or anybody*"

6.3 Risk Perceptions

The readings of risk amongst the different respondents revealed varying understandings of risk, and the placement of different risks along a hierarchy of harms often rationalised risk behaviour or 'interpreted away' risk (Beck, 1992b). Risk perceptions pervade various stages of respondents' accounts and are revealed during

descriptions of motivations for entering sex work, the work environment, negotiations and engagement with clients and the social context within which each individual negotiates their lives. According to Lupton and Tulloch (2002: 324), 'risk is a way of seeing rather than an objective fact". In this sense then, risk is not a static phenomenon, nor, by extension, a fixed perception. Risk perceptions are shifting and dynamic. As Gratz (2001) argues, in his study of the risk management of gold-miners in West Africa; '[r]isk-taking or risk–avoiding behaviour is related to an ongoing social process; it is a matter of knowledge and participation in everyday communication. It is not something fixed or definite'.

6.3.1 Choosing Prostitution – 'Relativity of Risks'

For many of the respondents their choice to engage in prostitution was viewed positively in terms of an evaluation of the risk involved relative to other illicit funding ventures. This 'relativity of risk' exercise (Rhodes, 1997) can be seen as the risk associated with the illegality of prostitution is assessed, not as a stand-alone risk, but compared to other risky ventures. As a rationalisation of initial engagement in prostitution, Julie explains her choice in terms of a perceived lower risk of arrest. Her motivation for working in prostitution was to make money for drugs, and shoplifting in order to fund this was found to be more risky: "*money for drugs...I'd a bad bad drug addiction and getting money for drugs and gettin sick of gettin arrested shop liftin*". Dillon's (2002) study of drug users in Ireland found that many viewed themselves as 'reluctant criminals' and engaged in petty crimes that they perceived to carry a low risk of arrest (Dillon, 2002). Donna describes how her drug funding initially came from shoplifting. However, this became a risky venture as she was arrested and imprisoned on a number of occasions and so, as an upshot, she turned to prostitution to generate money instead: "*...I was shopliftin first for me money and then I was gettin caught and I was gettin ya know put into prisonss and things like that so em I started in prostitution*"

In terms of risk behaviours for drug funding, Laura had experience of engaging in prostitution and shoplifting. Interestingly, in her assessment, prostitution was "easier", as the money was quicker to come by and she perceived there to be less risk involved than there was waiting around with stolen goods to sell:

"It would have been a lot easier to prostitute than it would have been to shoplift..cos the money was there and then...you're you're robbin the stuff..you're goin lookin for buyers an to take it an then..with prostitution the money was always there there was no waitin around for somebody to come back with the money for ya d'ya know what I mean the money was always .. basically there"

Sonia describes how her initial engagement in prostitution was in order to protect herself and her daughter against threats of physical harm which were looming due to her boyfriend's drug debts. Sonia assessed the risk involved in engaging in prostitution in order to pay back her boyfriend's drug debt and perceived the risk involved in working on the streets as less than that involved with shoplifting:" *to stop meself an me daughter from being hurt by anybody I said I'd be afraid to go in an rob a shop or a bank or so the only other quickest way to get money was to go down on the street*".

For Carla, an independent sex worker from Portugal, debt was also an issue in her motivation initially for engagement in prostitution. She revealed that "*desperation*" was a key factor in her decision making and so on a continuum of risk priorities, not paying back her debts rated higher than engagement in prostitution.

6.3.2 Work Risk Perceptions – Hierarchy of Harms

The assessment of risk is often subject to risk prioritisation along a 'hierarchy of harms' (Sanders, 2005). The choice to engage in risk behaviour is frequently the result of the consideration of risk by each individual along a low to high continuum of dangers. Tina explains how often, upon assessment of the threat of harm for non-compliance, one feels forced to reconsider engaging in behaviours with a client which they normally refuse: "*say if you're if they ask you to do somethin an ya don't wanna do it or you're forced into doin it like an ya say no no no d' ya know what I mean that's where it starts getttin heavy ... an yer sayin will we walk away or will we just..dunno what to do..*"

The hierarchy of harms applies also to sex workers in other environments and Carla explains how her very first client sought to take advantage of her, knowing she was new to "the game", and demanded sex without protection. While Carla has since developed greater confidence in interactions with clients, stating unequivocally "*I don't negotiate*"; her first experience was a different matter and she felt she could not challenge the client as "*I was a bit, you know, I was a bit intimidated with everything*". Carla's early experience highlights the possibility of novice sex workers having a weakened negotiation position with clients if they are not familiar with or competent in risk management strategies and this could leave them in danger of engaging in sexual health risk behaviour or being physically or sexually harmed.

Fiona recounts a harrowing experience of being subjected to a brutal rape by a punter. On a continuum of risk, her initial instinct about the potential harm of the encounter was superseded by her desire to 'score' heroin, as she had just been through a particularly traumatic personal episode:

"I was raped about four years ago..em I was dyin I was dyin sick just up in em..ya know by Arbour Hill there em..I was livin on the streets at the time an eh so eh.. I was very very low to say the very least of it I was only after givin up the child ... and I'd gotten very badly strung out on heroin an eh I was extremely extremely sick, money had gone stolen on me the night before so I'd no money to score nobody'd look after me like..an eh I had to eh come down here..it was about five o'clock in the evenin or something like that it was startin to get dark em..to cut a long story short this fella on a fuckin motorbike ya know pulled up an somethin didn't feel right ya know but I was so fuckin sick I just ignored it"

On a continuum of risk prioritisation, alleviating her "sickness" took higher precedence. This risk prioritisation proved to be a tragic 'miscalculation' and she was subjected to a brutal rape.

Sara describes how, when she was working, she felt that she often had to go along with client demands as she assessed her need to score drugs with the money earned from acquiescing as more important than putting up a fight.

"I don't know whether it was just me they [punters] were pushy with 'cos some girls would say to me no I wouldn't let that happen and I wouldn't let this happen and...but I found them very pushy {KMc: and in what way, what would they be saying?}...Like I'd say no I'm not doing that and they'd say ah...ya know talk you into it and you'd do it just, just for the money 'cos you'd be sick..ya know so"

6.3.3 Rationalisation of Risk

Both Donna and Matt had similar experiences of initiation into the street scene, acting as 'spots' as friends (as detailed in the previous chapter). Their move from 'spotting' to sex working, in the first instance was motivated by money for the acquisition of drugs. Sex work was rationalised as less risky than not acquiring drugs to eliminate the "sickness". In essence their rationality of risk was pitched on a hierarchy of harms.

The risks associated with prostitution are often assessed in lesser terms than the risks associated with 'sickness' from drugs. When Sonia spoke about her experience of violent attack from punters she said that this did not prevent her from returning to the streets as she had no other way of raising money for drugs.

KMc: *Did it ever put you off goin to work when that happened to you*?
Sonia: *..It did yeah..but I still had to come back down...because em..I've no other way of feedin me addiction*

By the same token, Fiona also describes how she returned to work directly after being raped by a punter, the episode she described above. Whilst money for drugs was prioritised over her negative assessment of this client which resulted in her being subjected to rape; she returned to work after this attack in order to secure the money for drugs she required to begin with: *"As soon as I got off that bike..an eh an drove off...I basically stood there an got a client..straightaway after been raped like..I had to go straight back to work like cos I was so sick"*.

Sara describes how frightened she was when she began working. She rationalised that the potential danger she felt was easier to deal with than the prospect of self-harm

without money for drugs: "*I used to be terrified getting into a car and I'd see some girls and they'd just be bouncing in and out of cars and I'd say how the fuck I remember but I did it cos I really really had to do it it was either that or fuck meself in the Liffey*[59]". She only worked on the street for a short period of time. She explained how her initial motivation was money for drugs. She was, however, subjected to rape and sexual assault one night on the street and could not return to work after this happened. In other words, the harm she experienced and the risk of this reoccurring took a higher priority than the risk of not being able to fund her drug habit:

Sara: *I was only out there a few nights and I was raped so … so I wasn't out there too long*

KMc: *And you didn't go back after that*

Sara: *No I tried but I couldn't..I couldn't…the money was the, you know the main, I needed the money for drugs so I tried to go back out after I was raped and I couldn't, some girls can but I just couldn't*

6.3.4 Perception of Risk prior to Sex Work

The risk of harm or even death prevented Matt from engaging in prostitution at the beginning. He was fearful of the unknown and the risk of going off with a stranger: "*I was afraid to* [get into a punter's car] *ya know..like then ya know thinkin to meself like it was a stranger ya know..kinda someones car I thought..might be murdered*"

The perception of risk of physical harm which she associated with prostitution was on Sonia's mind prior to her first time working on the streets. She was fearful due to the portrayal of the experiences of prostitutes in films:

"*I was very afraid …even before I got to the street I was getting flashes in..in me head of em what happens to prostitutes in films..an I was thinkin that this is the first night I'm goin down an it could be the last night that anybody would..would see or hear of me again I just I basically thought that.. I was gonna be gonna be found dead somewhere*".

[59] The river Liffey in Dublin

Tina sensed the risk involved in engaging in prostitution on her first night and she explained that she was nervous with the punter and on guard against attack: "*I was kind of nervous ..I'm thinkin to meself an I'm watchin his eyes an watchin ya know what I mean focusin on his eyes an what the fuck is he gonna do he's not gonna take out a blade that's all I was worried about*".

6.3.5 Perception of Risk upon Leaving Sex Work

Some of the respondents who have since left prostitution, assessed the risks they felt and faced in hindsight. Sara talked about the brutal experience which prompted her to leave prostitution and ponders whether she would still be working if she had not assessed staying in prostitution as top of a hierarchy of harms after this episode: "*I do think back and say what if I wasn't raped would I be still at it..ya know or, what would I have did, what if I hadn't if I hadn't have been raped ya know...*". After being subjected to a vicious sexual attack, Sara could not return to working on the streets. Lejeune and Alex (1973) refer to this as 'vulnerability conversions' as dramatic shifts in risk perceptions or behaviours occur in response to critical experiences.

For Laura, risk assessment was not a major concern to her when she worked on the street. She describes her main priority was "*where am I going to get my fix*" and she had an indifferent attitude towards potential harms she could face while working:

"*I suppose like that's a chance ya take eh..again for me it was me thinkin .. this could be..the fella I could get me money off and then I could go home..does that make any sense to ya eh I suppose what it was I never gave a fuck..which is mad .. like .. when I think about it and see the dangers that I put myself into I do be like phew*!

Laura's identification of the risks she exposed herself to while engaged in sex work reflects what Mayock (2003) calls 'retrospective risk assessment'. During her time in prostitution she was drug using and she perceives her motivation to acquire drugs was stronger than her desire to keep safe. Reviewing work such as Bloor (1995a; 1995b), who has drawn on Schutz (1970) and his theorising on the social world, an application

of risk habituation can be seen. Schutz (1970: 26) argues that two types of social action can be observed; 'the world of considered alternatives' and 'the world of routine activities'. Routine activities are differentiated from the former in that the process of decision-making is no longer active; it is 'collapsed, concertina like: interpretation is no longer problematic but instantaneous' (Schutz, 1970: 97). The notion of a hierarchy of risks is offered by Rhodes (1997), in relation to substance users, considering how risks become normalised over time. Practices once perceived by an individual as risky become routinised over time and thus, the meaning and influence of risk and risk practices changes over time. Looking back now, Laura perceives her experiences in prostitution as placing herself at risk. However, while she was engaged in prostitution she recounts that she did not actively engage in risk decision-making and what she now perceives as risky activities, were routine for her.

6.4 Risk Assessment

The respondents describe different ways in which they assessed risk whilst working including 'instincts' and client assessment.

6.4.1 Reliance on Instinct

Some of the respondents spoke about '*gut instinct*' in their assessment of clients and how they have come to trust this inner feeling about a person or a situation while working. Sonia describes how she often relies on an instinct she may get in order to identify potential harm and therefore offset risk.

"*If I get a say if I get a cold feelin about somebody ...I won't go with them {KMc: kind of an instinct} an instinct yeah... ...cos em I've often been in either a car or a truck or walkin with somebody an it could be the way they speak to me or...as I said I'm afraid of lads that are big cos as you can see I'm..very thin an that..an over the drugs I don't have very much strength so...puttin up a fight against somebody who's ....twenty times your size is..is hard ya know....*"

Chris remarks "*just always go with your gut instinct your gut will never put ya wrong I don't think*". She maintains that her length of time working on the street (13 years)

has allowed her to develop a reliable perception regarding her reading of risky punters "*ya go with your gut instinct and ya know who's fuckin bogie and who's not ya do, ya do get to know ya know when you're so long*". However, this intuition is not failsafe as Chris's experience shows. Chris had already mentioned previous to this that she knew 'safe places' where she brought clients but an offer by a client to go to Dollymount strand went against her "gut instinct" on the risk involved yet she still went: "*usually I always go on me gut and say fuckin no but I went and anyway and..say like he was after payin for business and all that and he has was on top of me but he was after stranglin me*". She recounts how a car pulled up on the beach beside them and she believes that if that car had not come along she would not have survived: "*only for a car pulled up beside it he fucked me out, fucked me out of the car and he says you are so fuckin lucky that car came up or you were dead... like I was, I was*".

Barnard (1993) notes how reliance on instinct is a limited means of assessing whether or not to provide services to particular men, and her study also showed that this method employed by street workers is not foolproof.

.

6.4.2 Assessment of Punters

As the above highlights, some respondents note how they rely on instinct in their assessment of potential harm in interactions with clients. Other perceived indications of imminent danger from clients reported include the relative size of the men and observations of 'dodgy' punters. Sonia explains how she associates danger with punters who are a larger size. She talks about her first night and how she was fearful due to the large size of the punter relative to her: "*I was also thinkin as well that he was gonna do danger on me cos he was he was a very big..big man an...men that are are a fairly big size in their body em..I'm I'm very scared of still til today I do be do be scared*"

6.4.3 "Telling Risk"

Lena notes how, on her first night on the street, she was inducted by the other girls into the code of practice for risk assessment when approaching/being approached by clients:

"*the first night with me that's what happened the first night ...ya do meet girls that's after been over there longer than you right and they'd say, yunno they'd pull up in the car they'd just say "right...if em if ya think he looks eh if ya think he looks a bit bogie, don't go in the car with him*".

The advice Lena received and how this impacted on her understanding of risk and risk decision-making reflect her experience of accumulating 'street competencies' (Lankenau et al, 2005) through social capital on the street. Sonia also describes how she "tells risks" to other street workers:

"*I don't try scare them..I will tell some of the girls about some serious rape attacks that I've gone through and..hopin that that would even make them think.."god ya know this could happen to me"... an it might actually put them off goin to work if they could find another way to get money....*"

6.5 Uncertainty of Risk

Uncertainty is regarded as fundamental to the construction and response to risk. For something to be framed as a risk, an assessment of the danger takes place and '..conceptually translates uncertainty from being an open-ended field of unpredicted possibilities into a bounded set of possible consequences' (Boholm, 2003: 167). One must question the idea of a 'bounded set' of probable outcomes. For women in prostitution, a perceived risk cannot be entirely knowable in terms of its ramifications for the person physically, health-wise, emotionally, sexually, psychologically, socially etc. Whilst Boholm (2003: 168) acknowledges that real life, everyday situations are not always sites for a 'razor sharp' boundary between certitude and uncertainty, she contends that the 'dynamic shifts between certitude and uncertainty constitute the core of the matter of any cultural conceptualisation of risk'.

The uncertainty of the risks associated with prostitution is a concern for many working outdoors as there is potential danger to be aware of with each new client. Douglas (1985: 29) maintains that when actions are familiar, there is an inclination to underrate the probability of negative outcomes: "people underestimate risks which are supposed to be under their control. They reckon they can cope with familiar situations". Such as in encounters with clients, the 'work script' or the 'etiquette of the encounter' (see previous chapter), sets out routine expectations for each commercial sexual exchange.

6.6 Normalisation of Risk

A normalisation of the risks associated with working in prostitution and the experience of physical and sexual harm have been observed in some of the respondents' narratives. Cox and McKellar (1999) note that when 'risk' is in the background, it is not awarded a high degree of relevance and, thus, becomes normalised in a persons life (see also Mayock, 2003).

Julie describes how she is uncomfortable working on the street, yet this way of life is all she has ever known and that the risk of abuse is habituated through this way of life, while a 'nine to five' is perceived as an unfamiliar environment:

"*I make more money then, workin the street it's not that I feel comfortable with it cos I've been attacked, I've been raped, I've this that and the other I've been robbed what have ya, d'ya know what I mean but that's all I've known. I wouldn't know how to go in and work nine to five*"

Chris worked on the streets while she was pregnant up until two weeks before her baby was born. She noted that she was only a small size eight, and her weight only went up marginally to a size ten so clients did not know she was pregnant. When questioned as to whether it was a difficult decision to make she referred to the fact that it was the only thing she knew and the only way she knew how to make money.

KMc: "*And what about when you were pregnant was it hard to make a decision to go out on the streets or did that come into it at all?*"

Chris: *"Ah yeah it did come into it yeah, yeah it did yeah but yeah...I was strung out on heroin ya know what I mean and I just yunno.. it was the only way I knew how to be, way I knew how to fuckin make money ya know what I mean like"*

The logic of risks, as read by individuals, are often portrayed by experts as perceptions which are false, inaccurate or irrational (Lupton, 1999b). However, Lupton (1999b: 111) argues that these 'alternative rationalities...make sense in the context of an individual's life situation, including the cultural frameworks and meanings that shape subjectivity and social relations and the institutions and social structures within which individuals are placed'. As noted in the Chapter 2, the readings of risk by various 'experts' in the field of prostitution and the readings as perceived by those engaged in prostitution often show a 'disconnect'. Beck (1992b) argues for reconceptualising risk as 'social rationality' in order to unite objective views of risk and subjective experience of risk. In this way it will be possible to 'socially rationalise' responses to risk and risk management.

Geertz (1983) makes the distinction between 'experience far', which can be likened to risks which are beyond the compass of everyday experience, and 'experience near' which relate to risks which are 'real' to a person and rooted in everyday lived experience. Yet, risk experience is still embedded within 'experience-far' discourses even if experience-near is the system of relevance. 'Social relationships, power relations and hierarchies, cultural beliefs, trust in institutions and science, knowledge, experience, discourses, practices and collective memories all shape notions about risk and safety' (Boholm, 2003: 175). In this way then, risk is seen as a relational concept through which links between peoples, 'things' and 'outcomes' are constituted (Boholm, 2003). Certainly, constructing risk as dynamic rather than static concept is welcomed. However, this idea of Boholm requires further elaboration. If risk is taken to be a relational order through which people's socially constructed risk perceptions feed into risk management which impact on risk outcomes, this further reconstructs risk perceptions. Boholm's work, though providing some interesting conceptual resources, is weakened then by a limited exploration of risk as a relational order.

6.6.1 Working through Risk

It has been found that assessments of risk and perceptions to risk associated with sex work by sex workers are oftentimes reconciled with a range of outside factors in the women's lives (Pyett and Warr, 1999). The major occupational risks to female sex workers are client violence and client non-compliance with condom use. Variations in risk perceptions and risk management strategies by sex workers have been found to be mitigated by the psychological and social circumstances of each individual woman (Pyett and Warr, 1999; Whittaker and Hart, 1996; Vanwesenbeeck, 1994). As Chapter 4 argues, clear evidence of a 'Matthew Effect' in the lives of the street working respondents upon entering prostitution, through accumulated vulnerabilities, positions them in a particular way for understanding and responding to risk. Pyett and Warr (1999) conducted a qualitative study of female sex workers who were identified as being particularly vulnerable to risks to their personal safety[60]. They found that, '[t]he degree of control individual women were able to exert during sexual encounters with clients was affected not only by the legal context of sex work but also by the age, experience, self-esteem and self-confidence of the women and their drug use at the time of the encounter' (Pyett and Warr, 1999: 183).

6.6.2 Meso-Level Risk Filter in Sex Work

The sex industry is viewed simultaneously through a macro lens, in terms of sex work migration and trafficking, and through a micro level analysis of sexual contract negotiations. At the meso level, some of Rhodes' et al (2005) ideas regarding structural risk production relate to social networks and group norms. Wallman (2001) concerned herself with the meso level of risk analysis as a vital indicator of the interpretation of risk. The meso level relates to the cultural filters through which risk assessments are made by individuals and Wallman (2001: 77) builds a theory of risk on a notion of a risk thermostat, the setting of which varies depending on the person/group/culture. A person will adjust his/her risk quotient as appropriate to the thermostat which is maintained through cultural filters. The existence of filters through which risk is interpreted at the local/cultural level allows a connection

[60] This was based on a purposive sample of young, inexperienced, homeless, substance dependent or illegal brothel working or street prostitutes (Pyett and War, 1999).

between perceived out-of-personal-control risks related to sex work and personal agency (Wallman, 2001). The meso level risk filters evident in the data are the shared environments within which street workers operate and, risk decisions are invariably filtered through this local risk thermostat.

6.7 Reading the Risk Environment

Previous international empirical research on prostitution has found that those who work in prostitution under criminalised regimes are negatively affected by the law and have diminished capabilities to execute risk management strategies, thus exposing them to greater risk (Day, 1990; Scambler et al, 1990; Barnard, 1993; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Pyett and Warr, 1999; Brewis and Linstead, 2000a; Day and Ward, 2004; Visser et al, 2004). The respondents in this study consider the Irish context of prostitution and the perceived risks associated with the legality of 'doing business'. Through their narratives in relation to the law and working, it is clear that many perceive the current macro level legislative framework as placing them at risk and most of the respondents call for the government to implement legislative change for safer working environments.

6.7.1 Risk Reduction and Legislative Change

A critical structuralist view of risk in prostitution focuses on the legal system as an institution which would be regarded as constraining women in prostitution. Drawing on the work of Beck (1992b, 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1996b) and Giddens (1990, 1991, 1992, 1994) it can be argued that, for those engaged in prostitution in Ireland, their essentially 'criminalised' status under legislation in Ireland limits their autonomy over their choices in life and could also be regarded as weakening their ability to keep safe.

All of the current street working respondents call for legislative change in order to make their working environment safer through the intervention of the Gardaí to monitor risk. This idea turns Foucauldian notions of governmentality on its head (Foucault, 1991) by using the idea of surveillance not as an observance of prostitution as crime but to observe crimes within prostitution and to mitigate risk.

6.7.2 Risk Intervention - Calls for Legislative Change

All of the respondents interviewed had a view on the legal context governing prostitution in Ireland under which they previously or currently operate. Matt argues that people should not ignore the fact that prostitution exists in this country and he believes that legalisation would be the best option: "*it [prostitution] is there people can't deny it if ya know that way ..it is there but I'd say they should to me I think they should legalise prostitution*".

Julie argues that if prostitution were to be legalised in Ireland it would make her working environment much safer: "*..like if they legalised it, it'd be ten times safer {KMc: indoors or on the street?} indoors, out on the street, it didn't matter where it was, if they legalised it, it would be ten times safer*". She continues her argument by noting that legalisation would make her job on the street and the Guards' job less problematic: "*if they legalised it, even the Guards have said it, if they legalised it it would make their job and our job ten times easier*". Similarly, Chris believes that legalisation would mean greater police protection: "*I just think that it should be legalised ... but the police like should be able to watch us, rather than harassin us all the time*". She feels official safeguards are much needed in certain stroll areas:

"*if it became more legalised and an awful lot of the police down on Baggot Street do look out for ya I will say but I think it should become legalised like and the police will look out for ya ya know..more..like ya'll get the odd police that will look out for ya but like they should look out for ya a bit more and ya know especially up this way as well like ya know* [referring to Benburb Street and the Northside]".

6.7.3 Conditions of Legalisation (Controlling Risks)

While Laura argues for the legalisation of prostitution for functionalist reasons, she contends that there should be conditions surrounding legalisation explaining: "*I think women should be allowed to work ...an I remember doin this at a work conference with Ruhama.. I think women should be allowed to work but I think there should be an age limit on it*". When probed, Laura believed the lower age limit for engaging in prostitution should be eighteen years of age and relates this to her own personal

experience of initiating prostitution at a young age: "*I think it should be from eighteen upwards {KMc: yeah, what age did you start?} I started when I was about sixteen ah.. but I look at the younger crowd now that are on it they're only twelve, thirteen, fourteen, I don't agree with that .not that I don't agree I understand where they're comin from....but I think there should be an age limit on it*".

Sara contends that brothels should be legalised, though street prostitution should not. She explains her reasoning by commenting on the risks of working on the street: "*brothels, I think that should be legalised {KMc: but not the street?} no {KMc: why not?} It's too dangerous it's very dangerous.....no I don't know I don't think the streets should be, but I think brothels and places like that or you know houses they go into, think it's safer or if they could make it anyway any safer on the streets*". While Sara considers the idea of making the streets safer for women, she believes, like Sonia comments in the section below, that legalising prostitution on the street would encourage younger women to go out working and that this would be dangerous: "*no I don't think it should be legalised on the streets cos there's girls and all going down all young ones going down now ya know what I mean fuckin fifteen and sixteen years of age it's horrible to see, and then if it's legalised there'd be more down there and...I don't know but I think brothels should be*".

6.7.4 Legalisation as Risk

Others hold a different view regarding legal change in relation to prostitution policy and one of the few participants to voice an anti-legalisation perspective is Sonia. She explains how she would not be in favour of legalising prostitution as she feels that this would encourage younger women to come out on the street and that this would be putting more lives at risk: "*I wouldn't like to see it legalised cos a lot of young girls would probably think oh I'd like to go out and do this ...so it would be puttin a lot of young lives at serious..danger*". While some see legalisation as minimising risk, Sonia believes that legalisation would increase risk exposure, particularly by encouraging younger women to engage in prostitution. Sonia continues by arguing that rape of sex workers by clients could go unnoticed if prostitution were legalised, thereby increasing sexual risk to women in prostitution: "*plus at the same time if it is legalised it means that you could be in a car with somebody..and he is actually rape*

rapin you and the police go by an they look..and.. they did think it was a prostitute with a customer..but they didn't actually cop what he was doin..well that's another problem".

While Fiona would be in favour of legal change in order to decrease police harassment of women on the street, she would be personally against legalisation as she would be unable to work due to her HIV status: "*well on one hand I would say yeah and on the other hand I would say no because if the law was changed I wouldn't be able to work {KMc: you wouldn't?} No because I'm HIV positive..em but...at the same time ya know as I said I think there should be.....I think..I think yeah the police are very hard on the girls and at least we're not out robbin fuckin people the only people we're hurt hurtin are..is ourselves*".

6.7.5 Support and Protection

In advocating legalisation, Tina refers to women who are struggling to cope without any means to get by and believes that legalising prostitution could address this: "*it should be legal....because there's women out there who can't cope haven't got a penny d'ya know what I mean an they're stuck for money an they've got kids d'ya know what I mean no one else is helpin them an they're tryin to feed their kids or their own habit*".

Julie maintains that, while legalisation may not be ideal it is necessary in order to protect herself and other women in prostitution: "*we'd rather see it legalised, than have to keep puttin our life on the line cos I know right I could go out there now, which I'm goin now, I don't know whether I'm gonna get out of the next car... if it was legalised none of that would happen*".

Lena contends that legalisation should mean that women working on the street would have to be looked after and would be provided with a space to work indoors: "*they should have somewhere then for the girls instead of them walkin around the streets [...] they should have somewhere indoors..definitely definitely somewhere indoors yeah..that's the main thing, instead of them out standin on the street*".

Lena argues that legalisation would mean that there would be less sexual victimisation of the women and, importantly, that women would who are abused in prostitution would have recourse to justice rather than deterred from reporting attacks, as was Lena's experience: "*there wouldn't be as many rapes* [if prostitution was legalised] *because there is a lot of girls that get raped..can't report it..like I didn't report it..I couldn't afford to report it ya say say right ya report it it's it's your word against his ya know what I mean and then go to court gettin dragged through the courts and all*".

6.7.6 How Would Legalisation Work?

In terms of the operation of a legal system, Julie offers the idea of a tolerance zone in the city which could be monitored by Guards. She maintains that, on principle, by clients knowing that prostitution was legal and that the prostitution activities on the street were being monitored in order to protect the women there would be a decrease in the amount of violence and victimisation on the streets.

"*If they put a street say there for instance* [pointing behind her] *right it's a red light district only d'ya know what I mean. One street outta the whole of Dublin isn't gonna kill the Government and even like the Guards drive around every fifteen minutes or every half an hour .. They're not gonna find them dead, they're not gonna find them raped, why, cos the fellas know that the Guards are gonna be drivin around. They know it's legalised. So there'd be less of the abuse, the torture, the mental torture alone d'ya know what I mean there's be less of all that*"

Julie contends, above, that legalisation or a regulated zone for street workers, as well as limiting physical risk, would also limit the 'mental torture' street workers are subjected to. Matt also shares Julie's idea for a tolerance zone as a safer legislative alternative for those working in street prostitution in Ireland:

"*ya know they should have maybe an industrial estate or somethin ya know where people can do it ya know where out of people's way and ya know it's not a neighbourhood and things like that and it's more careful and it's more watched if ya know that way*".

Matt emphasises the conditions for an effective tolerance zone where it is away from residential areas but also where those who operate from the zone are monitored for their safety. He calls, in this way, for prostitution to be "*more watched*" officially and thus safer for him and others who work in an "unwatched" way. A number of cities, like in the Netherlands, have established official street walking zones yet some observers caution against a simple 'cut and paste' of legislation from one country to another without considering local factors (Visser, 1998 cited in van Doorninck and Campbell, 2006).

Lena believes that prostitution should be legalised so that women on the streets would have a safe environment to work from indoors: "*they should have somewhere then for the girls instead of them walkin around the streets [...] I think they should have somewhere for the girls like that*". Tina echoes Lena's perspective and describes an indoor setting where women could socialise together and perhaps work from:

"*I think the government should help like...the government should kind of help them in ways like not get them off the streets but put them just build ..like a kind of a house ya know what I mean a house where .. we can all go in and have a chat and have a cuppa tea or have a d'ya know what I mean and bring people back or whatever d'ya know what I mean like not a brothel like but something like that*".

Anna's idea of legalisation would mirror the Dutch system of operation and provide safety and security to women working indoors.

"*If they provided more like..like Amsterdam where there's places to go there wouldn't be as much attacks on girls and..d'ya know what I mean, ya know and there wouldn't be as much violence or anything, whereas they had, if they had brothels like in Amsterdam for girls where it's safe or where there's security and stuff ya know, it'd be a lot better than havin to go out on the streets and work because, every car you get into you don't know if you're gonna get out alive d'ya know what I mean*"

6.7.7 Implications of Legalisation

While many of the respondents discussed the perceived benefits as well as the negative aspects associated with introducing legalisation of prostitution in Ireland, Charlotte had experiential knowledge of legalised systems, having worked in both New Zealand and legalised territories in Australia. She notes that while legalisation often has implications for the social organisation of prostitution, the perceived implications of this can be different in different legalised contexts:

"*In Melbourne say because it was legalised there were women working outdoors because they couldn't work indoors .. if you had a drug conviction or obviously if you were under eighteen .. those were the main two things and you had it was almost in Melbourne you had a doubly vulnerable population there because there was no one supporting them and helping them whereas in New Zealand .. it perceived more to be a choice to work on the street and often the police were quite supportive of women's safety ...some women as well might just work on the street because they do it occasionally they want to be in full control they only work for two hours and they want all the cash*".

6.8 Conclusion

'Phenomenological accounts examine how specific actors (or sub-groups) within a certain socio-cultural setting construct their risk understandings as part of their interactions with others, albeit within the broader frame of social structures. Meaning is not simply drawn from the social environment, therefore: it also works the other way, with social actors influencing their environments'.

(Lupton, 1999b: 27)

Contexts of risk, therefore, are created through a dialectical relationship between macro and meso level social processes as well as the interactions between individuals at a micro level. The meso level of shared environment has been found to be an important factor in the perceptual coding on risk (Douglas, 1992). Further chapters will investigate the actions of individuals at the micro level in shaping risk environments.

As a clear critique of situated rationality theory, the risk perceptions of those in prostitution as presented in this chapter cannot be assumed to rely on universal understandings of risk. As argued above, understandings of risk are socially constructed based on social norms and context; therefore assuming a particular reading of risks for women in prostitution is a biased imposition. What an 'outsider' may deduce as 'risky' may not be regarded as such by the women. Wynne (1996) argues that through private reflexivity, lay people construct their own expert knowledges on risk, with or without the use of professionals' knowledge. For some respondents then, actions which may be seen as risk behaviours by others may actually be routine activities to these individuals and thus rather than being rationally calculated assessments of harm, these actions are more 'socialised habituation' (Rhodes, 1997: 217).

This chapter has also considered how the respondents in this study perceive the current legal context of prostitution in Ireland. The narratives of the street working cohort point to the challenges of navigating risk in a criminalised context as they call for safer working environments. They propose varied ideas around legalisation, regulation and street zoning as well as other alternatives for promoting sex worker safety. Crucially, the respondents affirm that official recognition would mean their safety would be an institutional priority at the meso level, serving to deter violent clients, legislating formal protection and safety and fundamentally making street workers *feel* safe. As the street respondents unanimously call for official risk minimisation intervention, the next chapters will consider how the current ambiguous policy environment constrain agency and risk decision-making and the possible implications this may have for the effective execution of risk management strategies. The following part of this thesis will consider the current climate of risk for those engaged in prostitution in Ireland and their efforts to mange risk as part of their everyday lived experiences.

Chapter 7

Working Risk I - Physical Risks and Risk Management

7.1 Introduction

The physical risks which threaten those involved in prostitution are risks of physical and sexual violence and victimisation at the hands of punters as well as physical violence and victimisation from protestors, partners and other third parties. This illustrates the continuum of violence which many of respondents negotiate on a daily basis.

7.1.1 Violence against Women

The violence and victimisation experienced by women in prostitution can be understood broadly within a general violence against women framework. Smart and Smart (1978) maintain that, through structural and symbolic violence, women experience social control regarding a number of issues including: the double standard of morality; social and legal subordination; the separation of public and private spheres (relegating a woman's place to the private sphere)[61].

Previous research on violence against women has pointed to the gendered inequities in the distribution of power and control and the ways in which the structural subordination of women manifests itself in the perpetration of violence against women (Scully, 1992; Dobash and Dobash, 1979). Hegemonic assumptions regarding gender consider *male* as synonymous with power, agency and aggression while the *female* is rendered powerless, passive and vulnerable. When exploring the issue of violence, normative gender notions imply women to be weak, vulnerable and unable to protect themselves from violence. These gendered ideas are played out, constructed and reconstructed through media and public discourses which portray women as inherently susceptible to male victimisation and violence (Hollander, 2001; Stanko, 1996; 1997). Conversely, men are perceived to be physically competent

[61] Social control is see to be experienced by women through the reproductive cycles (Smart and Smart, 1978)

agents 'capable of violating women or, paradoxically, protecting them from danger' (Hollander, 2002: 476; Connell, 1987; Stanko and Hobdell, 1993).

Dobash and Dobash (1979), considering domestic violence, argue that a prime motivation for violent attacks is linked to ideas around 'keeping a woman in her place'. More generally, Boyd (1997: 6) argues that 'women who do not conform to familial ideology are regulated and punished'.

A woman engaged in prostitution is seen to be explicitly violating normative gender expectations by selling something which should only be confined to the private sphere of a loving, intimate, (heterosexual) relationship (Barnard, 1993). By operating outside of the acceptable female sex role, women in prostitution are dichotomised from other 'respectable' women along a Madonna/whore continuum (Stanko, 1985). While many feminist commentators would charge oppressive systems of patriarchy as excluding women in prostitution from equal membership of the sexual community, Julia O'Connell Davidson (1998: 113) regards women themselves as also responsible for the exclusion of women who work in prostitution; '"Good" women are often among the most vociferous defenders of the existing sexual status quo, and the most unforgiving of those who transgress gendered and 'racialised' sexual codes'.

If violence against women may be justified around ideas of 'keeping a woman in her place', what kind of a place is a prostitute perceived to hold in the social hierarchy? Pheterson (1988: 225) comments that women in prostitution 'serve as models of female unchastity. As sexual solicitors they are assumed to invite male violence'. O'Connell Davidson (1998: 133) argues that commercial sexual exchanges remove normative expectations of the sexual encounter:

> As a client; the social constraints on sexual interaction are removed because the prostitute, who is symbolically excluded from the sexual community, does not have to be acknowledged as a full human subject. All obligations are discharged through the simple act of payment in cash or kind.

This lends itself to the idea of prostitution as 'social death' and the prostitute herself as socially dead (O'Connell Davidson, 1998: 134; Patterson, 1982[62]). This conceptualisation is embedded in the notion that, as female prostitutes already violate the established gender and sexual order, they cannot be further violated (Barnard, 1993). While clearly dangerous and problematic ideas, these may help to explain the much higher incidence of violence against women in prostitution, and their general vulnerability, further compounded when they operate outside of mainstream society.

7.1.2 Violence against Women in Prostitution

There is an increasing body of international literature on the nature and extent of violence against women in prostitution (Monto, 2004; Raphael and Shapiro, 2004; Barnard et al, 2002; Church et al, 2001; Miller and Schwartz, 1995). While prostitution as symbolic violence against women is a discursive theme amongst some feminist anti-prostitution activists who argue that prostitution *is* violence (Barry, 1979: Dworkin, 1996), empirical research has also been carried out which investigates the scope, prevalence and experience of abuse and violent incidents against those who sell sex (Kinnell, 2006; Church et al, 2001; Lowman, 2000; O'Neill and Barbaret, 2000). UK research has found that sex workers are twelve times more likely to die from violent attacks than other women of a similar age profile (Ward, Day and Weber, 1999), while in a similar vein in the US, Potterat et al (2004) state that active prostitutes were eighteen times more likely to be murdered than women in comparable demographic groups. Nonetheless there remains a major gap in the evidence base and a lack of systematic data on the nature and extent of violence against women in prostitution which further compounds the invisibility of this phenomenon (Barnard et al, 2002).

7.2 The Social Organisation of Risk in Prostitution

The manner in which sex work is socially organised is seen as affecting experience of sex work and Sanders (2005: 72) argues that:

[62] Patterson (1982) argues that a person who is socially dead is without power, natality or honour

'[r]esisting violence is described as a defining feature of the social organisation of prostitution that affects the manner in which markets are informally regulated and experienced for both providers and purchasers of commercial sex'.

Risk perceptions and actions are assessed in terms of an individual's wider social environment as individual decision-making and behaviour is seen to be limited by the physical context within which they negotiate their working lives and the resources that they have available (Whittaker and Hart, 1996). Weitzer (1999) argues that there are systematic differences between typologies of sex markets, with street prostitution being more violent and exploitative than indoor prostitution. Church et al (2001), in a study of violence by clients in different working environments in the U.K., found that women working on the street were subject to six times the level of violence than women working indoors. It has been consistently noted that there are substantial differences in the experience of physical and sexual abuse and victimisation between street workers and indoor workers (Perkins, 1991; Plumridge and Abel, 2001, Whittaker and Hart, 1996). Weitzer (2007: 145) argues that, as well as there being significant differences between street and indoor workers in terms of *ever* being victimised, there are also differences in the *frequency* and *severity* of victimisation between the two sectors. One must argue, however, that it is much easier to observe levels of violence and victimisation from a street sample. Sampling bias in many studies may mean that comparative results are skewed as the most vulnerable indoor workers may not be identified. While nobody suggests that indoor working environments are safe from risk, certainly Raphael and Shapiro (2004) highlight a higher prevalence of indoor violence than is often assumed; it is, however, argued that 'street workers are significantly more at risk of more violence and more serious violence than indoor workers' (Plumridge and Abel, 2001: 83).

7.3 Experience of Physical Violence

All of the respondents working on the street recount being subjected to random acts of violence at the hands of clients. Their stories highlight their vulnerabilities to targeting by violent men and detail frightening and horrific experiences of abuse.

Anna attributes the violent atmosphere on the streets to the illegality associated with street prostitution in Ireland as she perceives clients to perversely enjoy being involved in illegitimate encounters:

KMc: Why do you think it's so violent on the streets?

Anna: .... I don't know.. cos I think some men like the buzz of being illegal, sneakin around and... dunno, just....

Julie explains how she has become accustomed to the violent context within which she operates, as she has not worked outside of prostitution: "*I've been attacked, I've been raped, I've this that and the other I've been robbed what have ya, d'ya know what I mean but that's all I've known*".

Sonia, who has worked on the streets for the past nine years, recounts the abuse she has experienced over that time: "*I was gang raped by eight men eight Romanians ..em that was in the first year I was down here...and then I've been raped an battered an robbed down here nine times*". Chris describes in explicit detail the abuse she suffered on one particular occasion after herself and her friend went back to a punter's house:

"*Me and friend went back to a house there was meant to be only two people there, two Russian fellas there and I was three months pregnant and em so..we went back we got paid and we done what we had to do and eh next of all they all start comin out of the fuckin woodworks..ya know like there was meant to be only two and there was about bleedin seventeen eighteen of them there, all Russians and eh I was sayin to me friend try and get your em skirt on and em..pair of boots and your man got me and flung me across the whole kitchen and the kitchen was huge and was bootin and bootin and bootin the stomach outta me, windin me that much no and the cuts on me head and the blood was comin down and the blood was all in between me legs there and..they were diggin the back garden up to bury us out the back garden, that is one experience I'll never forget*".

Lucky to escape, this harrowing experience might perhaps deter some from returning to the streets, however, Chris explains that she returned to work the next night as she

required money for drugs. The previous chapter highlighted the pressures of drug use as implicating risk prioritisation.

For Sara, however, her experience of a brutal rape and assault had such a traumatic effect on her that she felt unable to return to prostitution: "*I was only out there a few nights and I was raped ... I needed the money for drugs so I tried to go back out after I was raped and I couldn't, some girls can but I just couldn't... I was found on the street with no clothes on me, with me arms tied and me legs tied..the police drove by me lucky enough and found me like all no clothes and marks all over me*".

Matthews (2008) states that no other occupation could compare to prostitution given that the risks and experiences of interpersonal violence are so manifest and that the protection offered to those involved in this occupation in so many contexts is negligible. Despite some accounts, like Sara's experience, of being unable to return to prostitution after being subjected to violent assault, Matthews (2008: 47) notes, '[w]hat is remarkable...is that despite the continuous nature of the violence directed at street prostitutes many continue working'.

Chapter 4 detailed the continuum of violence in many of the respondents' lives as early experiences of childhood victimisation led to the experience of violence at the hands of partners, or family members in the adult life phase.

Matthews (2008) notes how the threat of violence and abuse from other women in prostitution is another occasional concern. While the risk of client, partner, pimp and other male perpetrated violence is clear, the added risk of violence in the working environment from other sex workers is another danger which many on the street have to be aware of, manage and seek to minimise. Sara notes how disagreement over 'patches' could erupt into a fight, '*you'd be like a bleedin animal tryin to fight*'. Similarly, Donna notes how two girls from the travelling community who work on the street created some tension on the streets[63]:

[63] Prior to Donna's incarceration

"*there's two travelling girls up there an they were always bullying girls an takin their money off them an tellin them not to work on the side of the street they were workin on.. it is rough out there*".

The risk of random acts of violence perpetrated against those working in prostitution is portrayed by Matt who explains that "rent boys" are often prey for 'gay bashing' by prowlers in Phoenix Park and often abuse is perpetrated against those in the park who are not involved in prostitution in cases of mistaken identity.

"*there was a van goin around a silver car they bet up two fellas an they smashed a few cars up an..so they were really in for people ya know there so an they em..I bumped into the Guards, they stopped me one day an they warned me about this van an car they said they're very dangerous ... they threw acid out at em someone who was joggin they thought it was someone..a rent boy as well*"

These random acts of violence are not solely perpetrated against men working in Phoenix Park. Donna recounts how she was subjected to a brutal, random assault early one morning after she finished work. She details the episode and how she was in a particularly vulnerable position as she was homeless. While awaiting her methadone clinic to open, she was targeted and accosted and subjected to hours of terror.

The experience of violence cited by the street workers is in contrast to that reported by Charlotte, from her experience as a brothel worker. She notes how the only risk she was exposed to was indirect violence when a client tried to pull off a condom during intercourse, '*that happened to me maybe once or twice and he got booted out of the place let me tell you with his clothes thrown after him*'. Whilst one account is clearly not indicative of the level of violence of brothel workers, Charlotte's experience of risk management, as detailed later in this chapter, certainly emphasises how working environments can support rather than hinder individuals in mitigating risk.

Carla, as an independent escort, highlights the potential dangers of working alone as she reports her experience of being imprisoned by a client with whom she was engaged in business with in her home in Portugal.

"*I had a gun to my head you know in my room..if it wasn't for my dog in my spare room I probably you know I probably wouldn't have got out of there..Eh this guy well I found out [later] he had just been let out on good behaviour for rape..two when he was let out for two..it was his second day out of prison yeah and ah locked me in my room and held a gun to my head and I just managed to get..get out cos like the door from my bedroom to the spare room was just like this* [indicates short space with her arms] *I just opened the door flashed open the door and my dog come in..*"

Carla was fortunate in that she managed to escape from this potentially fatal situation and she could lock herself in a room to call the police. Ominously, it has been found that a high percentage of murders of sex workers are committed by men with previous convictions for violence, including sexual violence[64] (Kinnell, 2006; Brooks-Gordon, 2006). Again, as Carla's experience highlights, the working environment emerges as a factor in exposure to and potential to manage risk. As an independent sex worker working indoors, Carla is more vulnerable to physical risk in the absence of relative safety of having other workers/brothel managers etc sharing her work environment. For brothel workers; '[b]ecause they work in an environment with a gatekeeper and other workers present, they are at lower risk of customer violence than are individuals who work alone' (Weitzer, 2007: 145).

7.3.1 Experience of Violence from the Community

Street workers are also subjected to abuse from the community and many of the respondents in this study describe the hostile and confrontational tactics of residents who protest in a particular red light area of Dublin city. Miller and Schwartz (1995)

[64] It is noted that a high number of those who have murdered sex workers have previous convictions for violence, not only against sex workers and not only against women (Kinnell, 2006; Brooks-Gordon, 2006). Brooks-Gordon (2006: 200) contends that '[t]here is a common assumption that people who murder sex workers do not usually murder other people, that sex workers live lives which expose them to the criminally insane, and therefore that the rest of us are safe. It is perhaps far less comfortable to recognise that those who attack and murder sex workers frequently attack others, and are rarely classed as insane by the courts, so they are regularly released back into the community, where they reoffend'

argue that women in prostitution are uniquely positioned to experience the brunt of many of those attitudes which contribute to the perpetration of violence against women as well as those attitudes which allow us to turn a blind eye to that violence.

Risks of verbal and in some cases physical abuse associated with community protestors are described by Julie:

"*Around on Benburb street you have the residents giving out cos a lot of the girls are doin business with fellas outside houses and throwin condoms around and what have ya so they're tryin to stop prostitution around here altogether...they've left two girls in hospital ... like the way they look down on us is like "oh what tramps selling their body" excuse the language but that's the way they look at it*"

Fiona recounts her own personal experience of victimisation from the general public: "*I've had people spit at me out the cars..shout abuse at me..throw things at me*". Whilst experience of verbal abuse may not be deemed as violent as physical and sexual attacks, nonetheless, the existence of these reactions by the general public to street prostitutes render street workers as easy targets (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996) and perpetuate indifferent views on their treatment (Brooks-Gordon, 2006). Verbal and physical abuse directed at street workers by the public feeds into the atmosphere of violence which colours the experience of those working on the street.

Sonia's story reveals how she was left helpless as two men attacked her and a community witness stood by and watched, without intervening:

"*..One woman who protests in Arbour Hill actually witnessed me being attacked by two fellas..they were kickin me on the ground and she drove by in the car with a neighbour..the same woman points out working girls to her grandchildren and I can hear her tellin the children things about them*".

Compounding this distorted picture is a noted reluctance by women and men engaged in sex selling in a criminalised environment to report violence and victimisation to the authorities for fear of reprisal (Ditmore, 2001; Pyett and Warr, 1999). Church et al (2001) found that only one in three in their respondents who experienced violence

reported it to the police. This situation reinforces the 'inevitability of violence' discourse, which will be detailed further in this chapter.

The prevalence and frequency of violent attacks against those engaged in prostitution in Ireland at the hands of punters, partners and the public at large is difficult to gauge without official records or a comprehensive evidence base on violence experienced by prostitutes in Ireland.

However, while the large body of literature on violence against women and against women in prostitution elsewhere, which takes many forms, is testament to the prevalence of victimisation and abuse of women at the hands of men across societies, little attention is given to the notion of women who resist violence (Hollander, 2002). The next section of this chapter will look at the ways in which those engaged in prostitution challenged normative expectations of submission to victimisation by men by actively employing strategies to minimise and eliminate risk of violence in their working lives.

7.4 Physical Risk Management

Empirical evidence points to the idea that women are not inherently vulnerable to men's violence. It has been argued that women who forcefully resist attempts at sexual assault are more likely to escape the assault (Bart and O'Brien, 1985; Ullman, 1997), and doing so without sustaining increased injury (Ullman, 1998; Ullman and Knight, 1992 cited in Hollander, 2002). What has been largely ignored in scholarly and public discourse is that women successfully resist at least 75% of all attempted rapes (Gordan and Riger, 1989; Riger and Gordan, 1981; Hollander, 2001, 2002: 476). Hollander (2002) argues that the reason that women's resistance to men's violence is often overlooked is that it contravenes traditional ideas about gender and gendered vulnerabilities. This female resistance to violence, as an act of opposition to conventional gender expectations, is regarded as gender resistance (Hollander, 2002).

Resistance to violence is certainly evident in the data and respondents account for their techniques for reducing the likelihood of violence in their daily lives. Lupton (1999b: 3) regards risk management systems as necessary as 'to lack such systems is

to throw oneself upon the mercy of fate, to relinquish any sense of control'. Whilst the evidence base is replete with varied discursive combinations of prostitution *as* risk and prostitution *and* risk, there is a dearth of knowledge on the specific, active risk management practices of those engaged in prostitution. Management of risk by those engaged in prostitution can be viewed by adapting Sanders' (2005) model which looks at the individual and organisational responses to risk in sex work and looks at the rational strategising employed in order to minimise risk in this industry, which particularly relate to client encounters. The three major strategies comprising this model are: precaution, deterrent and protection techniques. Although based on a model developed from research on women specifically engaged in indoor prostitution, Sanders' (2005) work on risk management provides a useful framework for exploring the existence of such strategising amongst all of the respondents in this study.

7.4.1 Precautions

Precautions can be viewed as self-imposed safety procedures by women engaged in prostitution and employment of 'methodologies of control' (Manning, 1977: 173) in order to anticipate and respond to potential risks.

(i) Money up front

By taking the money prior to the service, the respondents reveal how they sort out the business element at the outset. Getting money first allows the respondents to caution against price arguments or refusal to pay after the sexual act. Chris describes the routine in this way: *"I'd have normal chitchat with them and like it'd be just money and business and then we're finished and they'd drop me back, that'd be it*". Previous research has shown that this tactic can be an effective way to avoid the threat of non-compliance with unsafe sex and also to work from the work script in sequential terms of money, description of services and business (McKeganey, Barnard and Bloor, 1990; Bloor et al, 1992a).

(ii) Safety in Numbers

As a precautionary means of keeping safe, many of the respondents explained how they worked with others emphasising the value of "bonding" within their limited social capital as a risk management resource. Julie emphasises the importance of working together for safety reasons:

"*There's four of us that stick together down on Baggot Street. If one goes on a job we know where she's goin, the other we like yunno we'll and ten minutes, that's as long as they get ten minutes or and I'm up the road, or one of us is up the road "are ya alright?", we always go the same place*".

In Chapter 4, some of the respondents noted how their initiation into prostitution was through their friends who they helped by 'spotting' for them (see Donna's and Matt's accounts). Spotting, where one individual 'spots' for another by taking down car registration numbers and noting descriptions of punters, is cited as an important, informal safety initiative amongst street workers (Shannon et al, 2008). Mayock's (2003) ethnographic study on young drug users in Dublin included accounts from two girls who used sex work as a drug funding activity. They also cited 'spotting' as their initial route into the street scene. As well as 'spotters' taking vital information on the 'punter', their presence can also act as a deterrent against violence (Shannon et al, 2008). Barnard (1993) argues however, that though some of the respondents in her study used 'spotting' as a physical risk management strategy, this strategy cannot be effective in preventing violence attack[65].

While some of the respondents had a cooperative approach to their work, other street workers who were interviewed were not collaborative. Donna and Sonia describe working alone: "*I go do.. me own thing cos the quicker I get off the street the better..if I'm standin around talkin I'm not gonna get business an then it's gonna be too late*" (Sonia). This emphasises the tension between street support networks and the need to sell services quickly.

---

[65] As the spotter has vital information regarding the car details and registration, as well as a description of the client, this information becomes valuable perhaps *after* something happens.

(iii) Selecting Clients

Many of the respondents spoke about their strategies for minimising risk and how, as a general working rule, they avoid certain clients as a precautionary measure. Both Julie and Chris explain how they avoid any foreign clients:

"*I don't go with black fellas, I don't go with foreigners*" (Julie)

"*If anyone was ever goin to go out workin on the streets I'd tell them not to go with any foreigners to stick to their own*" (Chris)

For Chris, this bias undoubtedly reflects her own negative experience with a particular group of foreign clients as detailed previously. Phoenix (1999) found similarly that many of the respondents in her study had strict rules about who they would and would not conduct business with.

Fiona discusses the precautions she takes in her selection of clients:

"*I'm gonna sound racist now..I won't go with foreigners and I won't go with blacks...the Egyptians and .. the Indians ...the Polish ..I won't go with the blacks purely because I don't trust them and I know how violent and that they can be and I don't like goin with travellers either*".

The respondents, then, are selective in their choice of client depending on their own previous experiences in the course of their work. For some, like Fiona, she draws on particular discourses of racial differentiation which sees some men, like black men, as inherently violent 'others' (Hall and Gieben, 1992; Phoenix, 1999).

(iv) Screening Clients

In the previous chapter, the value of fraternal social capital in the lives of the street workers was emphasised as some of the respondents noted how they received advice on screening clients.

In her assessment of clients, Sara states she often worked by first impressions and if she did not like what she saw she would not get into a car to do business: "*ya had to go by the look of them [punters]...some of them now some of them I used to say no you're alright, if I didn't like the look of them*". Fiona also discusses her initial judgement of clients and how she uses this as part of her harm limitation repertoire. She recognises that this tactic may not always be successful but she employs it as a precautionary measure nonetheless: "*Normally what I'll do is if I don't like the look of someone I won't get into the car with them and I know that's no..that's no foolproof..thing to say that ya know that they wouldn't hurt ya*".

Similarly, Julie notes that judging somebody on first impressions is not always a reliable risk management tactic even if you err on the side of caution:

"*ya get to know by looking at them, if ya don't like the look of someone ya don't go with them but yet if ya don't like the look of someone they could be the nicest person in the world d'ya know what I mean like so it kinda works too different ways .. but you won't know until you get into that car*".

Julie explains that she may tentatively agree to do business with a client, but assesses the potential client when she gets into the car and is on guard for any sign of trouble. This precautionary tactic means that if she is unconvinced after entering the car, she may be able to escape prior to engaging in the sexual contract: "*I'll get into the car and I'll say "right drive around the block while I'm talking to ya", if their attitude changes towards me I'll say right I'll wait til they pull up in traffic lights*".

Hastening to avoid detection by the Guards, Julie is placed in a highly vulnerable position for risk decision-making. The negative implications of Irish prostitution law on experiences of prostitution has been previously found as women reported taking more risks as they could not take the opportunity as they usually would have done to gauge clients (O'Connor, 1996). The women have little time to negotiate the 'sexual contract' (O'Connell Davidson, 1998) with the client which limits their control over their work.

Matt describes how he assesses the potential risk in an encounter before he agrees to get into a car with a punter. He does this by looking in the car to see if there is anyone hiding in the back. Tina describes similarly:

"*if someone asked are ya gettin into the van I'd ask yer man to open the van just to have a look to see whoever else is in behind the van .. ya don't be so stupid to get into the van ya know that someone else is hidin under something*"

(v) Regular Punters

As mentioned in the previous chapter, by working with regular punters, sex workers are actively managing risk in their working lives by limiting dangers from the unknown. Regulars are frequent customers who have passed initial risk assessments and are not perceived as a danger to the sex worker. The use of regulars is cited in various studies as a common risk management tactic amongst sex workers (Shannon et al, 2008; Sterk, 2000; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996).

Anna, who has worked on the streets for the past eleven years, describes how she previously worked independently from home:

"*I had me own flat for a while, well an apartment down in Blackrock so I used to work from there as well like I'd bring them back there, or if they'd ring me I'd say come out to the apartment or whatever but there'd be only certain ones I would like cos ya don't want people knockin on your door either d'ya know what I mean*"

Here, Anna highlights the association between risk and the social organisation of prostitution. While working on the street, the location is a public space, though when working independently from home, punters are allowed to enter into the private domain of the sex worker. Therefore, strategies must be executed in order to diminish danger and the selection of particular, known clients as a precaution is an important aspect of this risk management.

(vi) Sexual Boundaries

General rules around permissible services were evident in many of the respondent's narratives, as mentioned in Chapter 5. In this way then, the sex worker was able to limit the service provided to a particular form. Limits to the provision of services can be seen as strategies to reduce risk to the sex worker during the sexual act. Sara's account of her time on the street reveals her own precautionary risk management techniques in which she rejected requests for engagement in what she perceived to be deviant sexual acts:

"*Well a few mad things like came up lookin for me to spank them and all this crap* [laughs] *and I was sayin no thanks go to someone else or spit on me or treat me like a baby or change underwear over or no, sickos*"

Whilst sexual boundaries may serve to confine services provided as any service provider may do, these boundaries may be viewed as sex workers attempts to exert control over the sexual contract as well as separating private and professional sexual activities. This will be elaborated upon in Chapter 9.

(vii) Social Networks

The social organisation of prostitution, as observed in the data, has major implications for harm reduction opportunities and obstacles. While social networks on the street would be seen as a valuable resource for risk management amongst the women, independent escorts have also the opportunity to avail of a social network, albeit in a different form. Working independently could be seen as an isolating experience. However, Carla, a "touring girl" from Portugal working in Ireland, explains how she connects with other independent escorts online and they share information:

"*On one of the sites there's a private, we have a private section the escort, so we can communicate [...] {KMc: really and where are they mainly from, who are you contacting?}... like we all use the site you know for bad clients for this that eh ..they're [escorts] mainly in Dublin and they're..like you get them from all over the place*"

This cyber networking allows those who work independently from apartments or hotels or who "tour" Ireland as sex workers intermittently, to keep up-to-date with what is happening on the scene and to be informed of any dodgy customers. This idea is mirrored in U.K. initiatives which raise awareness about violent clients, such as the London Ugly Mug List (Kinnell, 2006), which is a compilation of reports by sex workers of violent attacks with descriptions of attackers distributed throughout sex work projects. Risk management then is very often dependent on the communication of information and maintaining links with peers, and this medium of communication is a vital connection for those who would be otherwise isolated from a similar social group.

7.4.2 Precaution and Deterrent

As a precautionary practice in brothels in Australasia where Charlotte worked there were emergency buzzers in all of the rooms in case of any trouble with clients. The presence of round-the-clock security men deterred violent incidences, as they assessed clients coming in and out of the brothel and were on call in the event of a sex worker using the buzzer: "*there's buzzers in all the room that's they're hidden so if something happens in the rooms you ring a buzzer and a security guard comes knocking on your door or breaking down the door if needed in probably ..ten seconds*".

Risk management is a regular part of the operation of in-house safety mechanisms (such as buzzers and audio room monitoring) in brothels and parlours (Brents and Hausbeck, 2005). The existence of these procedures can be deterrents to dangers and threats and allow the sex worker a sense of safety and a degree of control within her work environment[66].

[66] Brents and Hausbeck (2005) note brothel policies which promote indoor sex work safety in Nevada such as guidelines for the negotiation process between prostitute and punter, audio room monitoring and call buttons, limiting out-of-brothel services and the movement of sex workers and the implementation of health regulations. These procedures could also be argued to be in the better interests of the owner in terms of supervision and monitoring of sex workers and enhancement of profits (Brents and Hausbeck, 2005), yet the existence of such procedures minimise risks for indoor sex workers.

Charlotte notes in Chapter 5 that logging calls to management before and after each client was part of the indoor regulations while working in Ireland. While this could be seen as in management interests for 'monitoring' worker activities (Brents and Hausbeck, 2005), these regulations serve as a security for brothel workers.

The unfortunate disparity in risk management strategies available to brothel and street workers is illuminated above. The street workers participating in this study do not have these harm reduction resources to hand, and this illustrates the argument of the relative safer working environments afforded by brothels.

7.4.3 Deterrents

Seeking to deter violent incidents necessitates creating clear messages which signal that the cost of breaking the sexual contract outweigh the benefits of such a move for the punter.

(i) Managing Persona

By presenting a particular persona, some of the respondents describe how they actively strategise to deter violent incidents. This persona may be overly assertive in some cases, or it may be laid-back and easy going as is evidenced in other people's accounts.

Julie describes how she manages to maintain an assertive and firm personality with clients in order to control the encounter and deter clients from taking advantage or harming her.

"*once they hand you the money they think they own you, they literally think they own you and that they can do what they want but unless like if ya don't stand up to them, like if they see you backin down in the slightest they're gonna walk all over ya and I learned that the hard way and that was after being raped, abused, robbed, tortured d'ya know what I mean and now I won't back down from someone and when they see me not backin down it's like well she knows what she's talking about she's not a walk over*"

Chris reiterates this assertiveness. She explains firmly that she will not be easily fooled by a punter and this presentation of a strong working persona would imply that it has served her well as a deterrent against risk:

"*I'm not a fuckin eejit being out on the street like I like, I won't be fucked about like in them ways like ya know like it was different when I was in the house with the Russians ya know [referring to her experience of a violent incident] but like I know I won't be takin for a fuckin fool like by a punter*"

The management of persona, however, must be interpreted within the context of accounts and, as Julie maintained at the outset of the previous chapter, without formal protection, sex workers are often forced to acquiesce to client demands. While management of persona then is by no means a fail-safe deterrent of violence or abuse, as the accounts of respondents with considerable experience of the street and 'street talk' reveals, diffidence regarding professional dealings would certainly appear to be perceived as negatively implicating management of occupational danger.

7.4.4 Protective Strategies

Protection is often called for as a remedial risk management strategy. Protecting one's self against violence or abuse could include strategies such as carrying a weapon (which can also act as a precaution and/or a deterrent) or the use of a third party.

(i) Weapons

Some of the respondents report that they carry a 'weapon' on their person while working. For Julie, this weapon is precautionary and is either a knife or a needle: "*I always carry something in my bag, I either have a knife or a syringe in my bag and it's something that you have to do*". However, as she explained elsewhere in her interview, she would be capable of using the weapon for protection if needs be "*if I had to pull whatever I had to pull outta my bag I will, I won't think twice about usin it now*". Donna also explains how she would sometimes keep safe by carrying

something with her in case of being harmed: "*Well usually I'd carry a hairspray or somethin in me bag..ya know if I was being attacked or anything...but most times I'd have nothing*".

Barnard (1993) notes that, as the practice of carrying weapons is legally constrained, the range of risk management measures that can be employed by women on the street is limited.

(ii) Third Party Protection

The notion of third party protection conjures images of the stereotypical male pimp controlling street workers and living off their earnings. Few of the respondents who worked on the street spoke about working under a "pimp". Laura explains how she did have a pimp when she worked on the streets in London as this was common practice for street workers in the UK: "*they're a different breed like.. work wise and...it's a pimp over there, ya have to work through a pimp*". Though she does not emphasise the protective element of the relationship, instead she describes the mutual reciprocity that was part of the agreement: "*The deal was eh..I gave him half of what I ever earned..but it was vice versa cos he fed me on me crack*". Ratner's (1993) ethnographic study of crack use in the US entitled *Crack Pipe as Pimp* highlights the dependence of many women on crack (see also Sterk, 2000), and so, those like Laura who also worked under a third party could be seen to be doubly 'pimped'.

The reality of protection, however, in the lives of street prostitutes in Ireland is described in terms of friends as 'look outs'. The protectors' role in the street workers risk management is rewarded with money for drugs or a share of the worker's drugs. Indeed, the stereotypical male 'pimp' image was challenged by the data which shows that some of the female respondents themselves were involved in the risk management of others, in exchange for a share of drugs, prior to the initiation of their own prostitution. Donna describes how she initially became involved in prostitution through a friend whom she used to accompany out on the streets for protection: "*At first I used to go up with a friend of mine and take the regs down for her..she was workin and I was just takin the regs down*". As a third party, Donna's role in her friend's danger minimisation was to note the registration numbers of the punter's cars

for her friend as a precautionary measure. Donna did not mention having a third party to do the same for her now.

Protective associates for those engaged in street prostitution are not always directly participating in the urban informal economy as drug dealers or pimps. For some, opportunities for third party protection are offered through relationships forged in wider networks, such as with taxi drivers, who are often indirect witnesses and accomplices to the commercial sexual encounter. As they play an important role in dropping off and picking up sex workers from various locations with punters, their chauffeuring role has been expanded upon for some of the women to include a protective function. "*I have twelve different taxi drivers, now if one's not out I can ring another they're friends of mine like... sometimes if they had not come back and collected me I wouldn't be sittin here talkin to you*" (Julie)

Partners, friends and acquaintances are more commonly cited as protectors. Donna explains how she has, on occasion, brought someone along with her in order to feel protected on the streets. The price for this protection, however, is funding her protector's habit as well as her own: "*The odd time I did bring a chap up an I'd leave him sittin on the canal ya know an then I'd throw him a few bob at the end of the night or I'd buy him his his gear like, he'd be sick or whatever I'd buy him his gear, his drugs like for the night*". When questioned further about the nature of her relationship with her protector, she revealed that it would often be "*just be a friend or someone I'm pallin' around with*".

Sara highlights her experience of employing her partner for protection while working. Again the nature of this relationship was based on reciprocity – protection was bartered for drugs or money for drugs: "*I'd make so much and he take it and go off and I'd still be doin what I'm doin and make so much and go home then with money for him*". This working relationship later became problematic as Sara's partner became jealous of her engagement with punters: "*me fella was with me and I was havin sex in a car with a fella..me fella ended up getting into the car and..he was sayin to your man I was jealous and all this, there was murder they were boxin the heads off eachother and all this .. he was jealous because he seen the car movin*". Clearly there is a danger of personal relationships impacting on the contract between

protector and sex worker. Similarly, Shannon et al (2008) found that micro-level factors such as 'boyfriends as pimps' can have a significant impact on the woman's sex work environment and her interactions with clients. As the above incident shows, the ironic upshot of this protective relationship could mean that sex workers could be further exposed to the violent incidents and harm they are seeking to minimise, as partners may find it difficult to distinguish between sex as work and sex as intimacy.

Sonia discloses that her partner John comes down to keep an eye on her for protection:

"it's only in lately that..I've allowed John to come down eh..if he's finished doin what he's doin an I'm still down he'll come up to me and..if I go down a lane with somebody he'll stand at the top of the lane now don't get me wrong...he hates doin it"

Interestingly, respondent rhetoric around being 'pimped' or 'ponced' which features predominantely in other studies (Matthews, 2008; Sterk, 2000; Phoenix, 1999) is conspicuously missing from this study. Instead, descriptions largely articulate the employment of male third parties as "protectors"; an active strategy executed by the woman in an effort to enhance control over her working micro-environment. On the other hand, reliance on third party male protection can be seen to reinforce normative assumptions regarding women's apparent innate vulnerability to male violence by upholding the dominant patriarchal order which awards power and control to men. This is through the maintenance of thinking which renders women helpless to male violence and thus, dependent on men for protection due to their perceived weaker position; "perceived gender differences in aggression maintain women's subordination to, dependence on, and fear of men. If women are weak and non-aggressive, they must depend on men for protection and fear harm from men against whom they cannot defend themselves" (White and Kowalski, 1994: 492).

These conventional assumptions and gender expectations are a form of social control of women, as fear of male violence becomes a normative experience for women. The implications of this perceived gender differential inhibits women's freedom of movement, and restricts them from political and economic equality (Connell, 1995; Stanko, 1997). Whilst, the risk management strategies of the women on the street are

indeed constrained by the environment in which they work, they are not solely reliant on male protection, and the data shows that female workers are often reliant on other females in their risk management repertoires. Their active efforts to deal with risk on a daily basis through habitual techniques point to their developed 'street competencies' (Lankenau et al, 2005) and their desire to maintain control of their 'work scripts'.

7.5 Risk management intervention – The role of An Gardaí

Previous research reports that most sex workers are not assisted by the police when subjected to violence and rarely report attacks (Barnard et al, 2002; Wojcicki and Malala, 2001). Sharpe (2000) and Roberts (1994) imply that those engaged in prostitution do not report attacks as they would not be treated in the same way as other women. Some believe that they will not be taken seriously by the authorities or will be arrested for prostitution-related offences if they report violence.

This argument is not supported by my findings with many of the respondents who work on the street advocating the reporting of violent attacks and, in general, highlighting a positive relationship with An Gardaí Síochána.

7.5.1 Positive Relations

Positive intervention from the Guards has been noted in many of the respondents' accounts as an often crucial component of risk management: "*The Guards know where we go, so if they're around they'll come around and check, make sure that we're alright*" (Julie)

Julie explains how the Guards often wait for the women to negotiate with a client and receive their money before pouncing on the encounter, giving the clients a verbal warning and pretending to arrest the women. She believes that the Guards are generally concerned for the girls and want to prevent any tragedies from occurring: "*like they just make it easier for us so we don't have to go through it because they know what it's like, they've seen like that girl Sabrina Kelly that was murdered on the canal, d'ya know what I mean and like, they don't want that happening again so*

that's why a lot of them wait and watch money being changed hands and then they'll come up then".

Similarly, for male prostitutes in Phoenix Park, Matt describes how a positive relationship with the local officers has developed and they have advised him of health supports and services that he may wish to avail of, highlighting their often informal role in promoting safety and limiting health risks: "*the Garda ya know they never really gave me hassle ya know that way they'd kind of look out for ya..they'd stop an have a chat an ask me if I was ok an give me advice for ya know the Gay Men's Health Project an ya know things like that an always very nice..*"

Lena, who worked eight years ago, describes safety interventions by the Guards and explains how the Gardaí often warned the girls of risky situations giving the example of a reported rape by one of the women on the street:

"*they used to put you wise, they used to say now be careful..especially if they knew there was someone bogie goin around, they'd come around and they'd they'd warn all the girls or if one of the girls was after been raped...an reported it..and she knew the colour of the car whatever, they'd come around and they'd put you wise*"

For Carla, an independent "touring" sex worker, being ejected from hotels for engaging in prostitution has been an occupational hazard. She, however, calls on a particular member of An Garda Síochána whom she is acquainted with through police operations to assist her in times of difficulty like this: "*whenever I have a problem I actually contact X and he's been great so just knowing that he's there you know and I know he's he's not supposed to be there for us or whatever but just knowing he's there .. and he has he has helped me out a lot*". She appreciates that, while officially she does not have recourse to police assistance or protection and would be liable to legal sanctions for her engagement in sex work from hotels, she is lucky to be acquainted with a particular Garda who is interested in assisting the escorts to safety rather than subjecting them to the rigours of the law.

Whilst an overwhelmingly positive relationship with the Guards was noted amongst respondents, this also must be considered in light of the discretionary nature of their

powers which impacts on individuals working on the street reported in Chapter 6. Typically, as Chapter 6 shows, street prostitutes experience the brunt of the authoritative gaze and in some incidences are subjected to abuses by individual officers. Negotiating this environment, whereby their legal status renders relations with Gardaí 'inherently fragile' (McKeganey, 2006), can be seen in the data to discourage street workers from reporting violent incidences and victimisation. Ironically, this non-reporting allows for a flourishing of the 'inevitability of violence against prostitutes' discourse with its manifestations in increased risks to the lived realities of those engaged in prostitution.

7.5.2 Perpetuation of Inevitability Discourse

While women have been deterred from reporting violence and victimisation in case of legal repercussions, this very deterrence feeds into an inevitability discourse around prostitution violence. Some police and law enforcement officials believe that a prostitute, by definition, cannot be raped (Alexander, 2001). This view mirrors the rigidity of gender role definitions on the Madonna/whore continuum as detailed earlier in this chapter, embedded in an underlying notion that 'nice girls don't get raped' (Russell 1984, 1982). Contexts of risk and blind-eye tactics are compounded by the denial of redress for victims of violence in the sex industry. A government discussion paper denies that the 1993 law on prostitution has increased the possibility of violence and discredits the issue of prostitution victimisation stating; 'it is difficult to understand how an increased level of assault could be the case; it may be a perception rather than a reality' (Government of Ireland, 1998: 95).

Many of the abusive incidents experienced by women in prostitution go unreported and without having recourse to legal protection, as many sense that they do not have the dispensation of legal safeguards and thus do not report attacks. The narratives of some of the women elucidate, and as a consequence reinforce, the 'inevitability of violence against women in prostitution' discourse.

Sonia explains how she has previously reported some violent incidents to the police, however: "*nobody was ever taken in for them*".

While most of the respondents reported a positive relationship with the police, there was still a reluctance to report violent attacks to the authorities, which must be considered in terms of perceived 'illegal' status of sex work activities. Fiona argues that reporting attacks is a pointless exercise as, she contends, the police will not listen to her and the judiciary are biased against women in prostitution:

"*They [the guards] don't listen to prostitutes I just don't think they listen to us...I mean it's always one of those things ya know ya turn up in court and they're all like ya know ..this prostitute ya know got raped the other night..what's the judge gonna say..well she put herself at risk ya know...how can you prove this man didn't pay money an she's only tryin to pull a fast one.. so I never did anything about it*".

Laura describes her attitude towards violence whilst she was working on the street and maintains that she did not see any point in reporting anything to the police: "*I never seen any thing in it..in goin to the police over it {KMc: ya didn't see any} no any point in it .. I suppose the way I looked at it, I was out there to do a job*". Her implication that violence was an occupational hazard to be individually managed is echoed in McLeod's (1982) study where she found many of the women had a fatalistic attitude towards client violence.

Sonia describes her perception of the role of the media in perpetuating particular discourses and how attacks on female sex workers rarely make the news: "*even on the news an the radio an paper ya never actually hear the bad things that happen to prostitutes ya know ...ya never hear about any of the lads that have done them bad things*".

Chris however, rebukes the notion that violence against women in prostitution is officially ignored or unaddressed and, by consequence, goes unreported. She actively challenges the inevitability discourse while she recounts a violent experience she had while working. Chris called on the Guards for protection after one particularly violent attack by a client while she was pregnant, as noted earlier in this chapter. When asked whether she was comfortable reporting that violent incident to the Guards, Chris asserted that she would not have any problem talking to the Guards and seeking legal redress for physical attack or victimisation while working. She presents a resolved

rhetoric while she discusses this: "*Ah yeah .. they were charged and that {KMc: were they?} ah definitely yeah no matter what I'm a working girl but like I work the streets but like..ya know I'm no different to anyone else when it comes to something like that*". She reiterates her argument by stating, regardless of one's role as a sex worker, recourse to justice is advisable and worthwhile: "*Ah yeah ya get justice, ya do get justice yeah..even though you're a working girl like it doesn't matter*". What is clear is that there are conflicting accounts from respondents regarding their reporting of violence to the authortities and the relunctance of some to do so would appear to compound their victimisation.

7.6 Contexts of Risk

Alexander (2001) makes the distinction between 'risk behaviours' and 'contexts of risk' in relation to sex work. She argues that the combined effect of legal, social and economic context create specific situations within which decisions are made. Research by the WHP found that the 1993 legislation had impeded the work of women on the streets resulting in a stressful working environment (O'Connor, 1996). The most serious implication has been the increased risk taking of women, anxious to make money while keeping an eye over her shoulder for the police.

Women in prostitution face a disproportionately high level of violence (including murder) compared to women in the general population (Robertson, 1999 cited in Jeffrey, 2004: 83). Indeed, the 'atmosphere of violence' which has permeated the street scene in Dublin has undoubtedly been strengthened by the legal context which virtually turns a blind eye to client activities. A study by Quinlan (2005) of women in prostitution in Dublin (N= 22) found that more than half had been raped at least once, while eighty percent had been attacked at least once. All but one of the respondents in Quinlan's study were heroin addicted and this correlates with previous findings indicating how drug using women in prostitution are especially defenceless to violence; O'Neill and O'Connor (1999: 27) note that drug using women in prostitution often feel powerless in their lives which leaves them in situations where they are more vulnerable to health risks and violence.

7.6.1 Risk as Negotiated Behaviour

As this thesis has detailed, risks associated with certain sexual behaviours have been previously found to be socially constructed in interaction, and risk behaviours with clients are negotiated behaviours mitigated by the power dynamic evident in the prostitute/client encounter. While many of the respondents spoke about their sexual boundaries with clients, and how they placed limits on what they would and would not engage in, the risks of crossing their own established sexual boundaries was assessed relative to the risk of non-compliance with clients demands. As Julie noted in the previous chapter: "*sometimes if ya don't do what they say, you can either get a beatin, or raped or tortured or whatever so .. it's easier just to do it*".

Barnard (1993: 695) notes how the process of negotiation between prostitutes and clients is neither fixed nor static; '[R]ather it can be seen to be highly dynamic and liable to change according to different contingencies and pressures'. The reports from the respondents in this study point to a degree of uncertainty in every encounter which they seek to control through the execution of particular harm reduction strategies. The very possession of this arsenal is evidence of a challenge to claims of 'victimhood' and 'passivity' and 'vulnerability'. Whilst their effectiveness every time may be questionable, the reflexive awareness of the sex workers in managing risk in a limited environment must be highlighted.

7.7 Conclusion

The idea of reflexivity as a "response to conditions that arouse fear or anxiety that is active rather than passive" is regarded as a means for responding to risk (Lupton, 1999b). This chapter contests normative ideas around reflexivity by highlighting evidence of "reflexive" responses to physical risk through a range of active risk management strategies by sex workers in Ireland.

What can be argued at this juncture is that the limited data that exists on prostitution in Ireland underlines exposure of males and females engaged in street sex work to risks, risk which are compounded by the criminalised status of prostitutes in Ireland.

The perception, assessment and response to risk then, within this context, are thwarted by the system itself.

What becomes apparent, as a running theme through this thesis, is the social organisation of risk in sex work in Ireland. Whilst the illustrative data from the two indoor workers is limited in terms of its comparative value, their ability to manage risk relative to the street workers (both and male and female) is evident. Both 'sectors' ('indoor' and 'outdoor') are exposed to violence and victimisation, and clearly from Carla's account, an independent worker may be regarded as particularly vulnerable in terms of her relative isolation in her working environment. However, consistent with other findings, street workers' accounts reveal violence as a daily risk to be anticipated and, due to their limiting environment, risk management efforts may not be as effective as in other environments where sex work is managed and 'supervised'. In addition, established fora for risk management communication, such as through 'dodgy punter' details like Carla exchanges through 'blogs' with other escorts online, are not available to street workers who must rely on their social networks on the street for risk management information. Some Guards have been credited with advising those on the street about 'dodgy punters', yet the reliance on the goodwill of individual officers for this vital risk management communication points to the deficiency of protection for those engaged in prostitution.

Clearly, the legal context is compounding the context of risk as experienced by street workers. While physical risks and risk management is one concern, the experience and management of violence is seen to implicate health risks and risk management as well as emotional risks and risk management (Alexander, 2001). Health and emotional risks will be considered chapters 8 and 9 respectively. Of particular concern is the management of these risks through a perceived 'hierarchy of harms' (Sanders, 2005) and the implication this has for the lived experiences of those engaged in prostitution in Ireland.

Chapter 8

Working Risk II

Health Risks and Risk Management

8.1 Introduction

The contention that prostitutes are a danger to public health was a popularised and accepted discourse over the course of the last two centuries. Their assumed threat as disease vectors with the potential to infect the innocent public, and the associated legal responses since Victorian times, have been well documented internationally (Bristow, 1977; Walkowitz, 1980; Hobson, 1987; Alexander, 1988; Roberts, 1992; Bell, 1994; Spongberg, 1997; Day, 2000; Davidson and Hall, 2001; de Vries, 2001) and nationally (Luddy, 1997, 2007). Luddy (1997: 485) describes how the prostitute in nineteenth-century Ireland became 'a site of possible contagion, both physical and moral'[67]. This discourse of contagion continued into the twentieth century, as visibility and containment became primary concerns in response to the prostitute as a health (and moral) risk to the innocent public in Ireland (Luddy, 1997). In contrast to this, the men purchasing sexual services were ignored, if not pitied for being ensnared by these predatory, diseased, "fallen" women.

Over the course of the twentieth century and the widespread availability of antibiotic medication, the threat of prostitutes associated with bacterial sexual diseases subsided. Yet history was to repeat itself towards the end of the twentieth century when HIV/AIDS, as a blood borne virus, emerged as a global wide health danger. Prostitutes once again became a public health risk, this time charged with spreading HIV. Even yet, certain medicalised discourses uphold a double standard and as McKeganey and Barnard (1996: 58) argue, 'one does not need to scratch too far below the surface of many reports on the links between prostitution and HIV to recognise that the true object of concern is not prostitutes themselves but heterosexual society symbolised in the 'innocent victims' – clients' wives, girlfriends and children'. Little attention is paid to the risk of women in prostitution contracting HIV

[67] As noted in Chapter 1, the Contagious Diseases Acts from 1864, as applied in the Irish context, permitted the compulsory inspection of prostitutes for venereal diseases often resulting in their containment in Lock hospitals for a period of up to nine months and officially registered as a prostitute (Luddy, 1997).

from their clients, despite the higher rates of transmission of the virus from male to female than from female to male (Sterk, 2000; Delacoste and Alexander, 1988).

Morgan Thomas (1992: 71) advocates a move away from the conceptualisation of prostitutes as a 'high risk group' arguing that 'it is how people engage in specific high risk activities that can put them at risk'. She rejects the notion that the inclusion of payment renders a commercial sexual exchange a high risk activity and particularly denounces the conventional attribution of health risk labelling to women in prostitution, with blatant disregard for the client in the transaction:

'It would appear that clients bear no responsibility for their actions and are merely victims of the 'evil and predatory' sex workers. Yet no sex worker forces a client to have sex, protected or unprotected, whereas threats of, or actual, physical violence including rape in order to obtain unprotected penetrative sex are a far from rare experience, especially for women working on the streets' (Morgan Thomas, 1992: 72).

This chapter will explore the contexts within which the respondents are exposed to health risks and highlight their efforts to manage and minimise health risks as part of their everyday lived experiences. The degree to which the social organisation of prostitution, as evident in the data, impacts on the experience of health risks will also be considered.

8.1.1 What are the Health Risks?

The health risks associated with engaging in prostitution can be categorised thus; the risks of sexually transmitted infections (STIs), violence/physical risks, drug use risks and mental health risks (Spice, 2007). As the previous chapter looked in detail at physical risks and risk management, this chapter will focus on sexual health risks, drug use risks and mental health risks.

In terms of the acquisition of STIs from engagement in prostitution, there are risks of contracting bacterial[68] (including syphilis, Chlamydia and gonorrhoea and) and viral[69] (including human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and hepatitis A, B and C) STIs mainly through unprotected vaginal, anal or oral intercourse[70]. HIV, hepatitis B and C and syphilis can also be contracted through injecting drug use. Spice (2007: 323) states that '[i]ndividuals who are both CSW [commercial sex workers] and intravenous drug users have a dual risk of acquiring these infections'.

A recent longitudinal study in the UK published in *Sexually Transmitted Infections* examining the health and career paths of 130 sex workers over fifteen years associates sex work with excess mortality[71] and morbidity including long-term sequelae of STI, mental health problems and substance misuse (Ward and Day, 2006). Whilst assumptions still exist about the role of commercial sex work in the spread of STIs in society (Spice, 2007; Sterk, 2000), it is argued that this may relate to particular contexts such as the developing world (Wojcicki and Malala, 2001; see also Pickering, Okongo, Nnalusiba, Bwanka and Whitworth, 1997) or particular settings, such as street sex work where condom use may not be consistent (Cusick, 1998b).

Literature in the area of health and prostitution broadly considers both health risks and reported health problems. Some observers argue that there is no difference in the range or scale of health problems reported by women working in indoor prostitution or on the street (Parriott, 1994). However, such an assertion fails to account for consistent findings regarding problematic drug use related to a particular sex work sector (i.e. the street) (May and Hunter, 2006; Hester and Westmarland, 2004; Taylor, 2003; Church et al, 2001; O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999), and the concomitant implications this has for health risks in within this particular sex work environment. Pyett and Warr (1999) argue that the social organisation of prostitution has

---

[68] Other bacterial STIs as a risk within this category include Mycoplasma genitalium

[69] Other viral STIs which are an acquisition risk through commercial sexual encounters include herpes simplex virus (HSV) and human papilloma virus

[70] 'Some STI, such as Chlamydia and gonorrhoea, cause mucosal inflammation, while others, including primary syphilis and HSV, produce ulceration' (Spice, 2007: 323)

[71] While a 1985 Canadian report found that females engaged in prostitution have a mortality rate which is forty times the national average (Leidholt, 1999); an American study by Potterat et al (2004) estimated that the mortality rate of a cohort of nearly 2,000 women in prostitution was 18 times greater than for non-prostitute women of the same age.

implications for reported health issues amongst women in prostitution, with those in brothels reporting fewer health problems. They attribute this to the higher prevalence of problematic drug use amongst street workers. A clinical study of one hundred and fifty women working in prostitution in Ireland found that those who were injecting drug users (IDUs) had a higher health risk profile than those who were non-IDUs and the use of injectable drugs by the prostitute was the main determinant of HIV, hepatitis B and hepatitis C amongst the sample (McDonnell et al, 1998).

Four of the respondents in this study report being HIV positive (Laura, Donna, Fiona, Anna), and one of these respondents, Donna, also has Hepatitis C[72].

8.2 Sexual Health Risk Awareness

Awareness of sexual health risks was evidenced in all the respondents' accounts. Sara discusses health risks and the issues around protection when engaged in sex work. She maintains that, since leaving sex work, "there's a better way" than risking contracting diseases through engagement in prostitution: *"there's a better way, d'ya know what I mean, than going out and doing that because.. all the diseases they can catch and all the diseases you can catch..".*

She perceives the health risk behaviours associated with prostitution in terms of the personal implications for punters and argues that there is no excuse for ignorance:

"there's girls going out there and they have HIV, hepatitis and they're being with married .. men that have children ya know and no protection so that would be another thing, protection.. there should be more..like the girls knows as well and the men know as well I suppose"

8.2.1 Public versus Private Health

Condoms have often been found to symbolise a demarcation between the public lives and private lives of women in prostitution and much has been written about condom

[72] This information emerged as part of the interview, as offered by these respondents. Questions on health problems were not specifically part of the in-depth interview guide

use in private relationships as a 'risk factor' for women in prostitution (McLeod, 1982; Day and Ward, 1990; Venema and Visser, 1990; McKeganey and Barnard, 1992b; Pyett and Warr, 1997; Cusick, 1998b). This research did not explore experiences of private sexual activity. However, past research reveals that 'the organisation of sexual risk behaviour is influenced by the social relationships in which sexual interaction occurs' (Rhodes and Quirk, 1998: 158). Linda Cusick (1998b: 133) explored the issue of non-use of condoms by women in prostitution and found that, rather than an 'aid to relationship interpretation as either private or commercial' as some may suggest, non-use of condoms in private sexual relationships was more to do with relational issues such as familiarity or 'a desire to communicate trust'. Both the 1995 and 1996 WHP studies (O'Connor, 1994; 1996) on the health needs of women in prostitution in Ireland found high condom use with clients but low condom use with private partners. The 1996 study found that while over 90% (n= 78) of respondents always use condoms with clients, over 75% 'never or sometimes' use condoms with partners in their private lives (O'Connor, 1996: 25). The subsequent WHP study focusing on drug using women in prostitution found markedly similar numbers engaging in condom use with clients and non-use with private partners (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999). Rhodes and Quirk (1998: 158) point to the dialectical nature of risk and how it is important to understand 'how particular relationships influence risk behaviour as well as how risk behaviour communicates meaning about the nature of the relationships'.

8.3 Sexual Health Risk Management

The management of sexual health is actively pursued by all sex workers while working, as is evidenced in the data, as the respondents note their 'risk-infused' (Giddens, 1998a) practices for occupational health and safety management. Many of the respondents explicitly emphasise the importance of protecting their sexual health in their working lives.

Many of the respondents detailed their attempts to guard against sexually transmitted diseases. For those who reported on their condom use[73], condoms were almost always reported to be used by all of the female respondents, across both street and indoor sectors, for vaginal intercourse with clients. Condoms have been found to signify routine 'tools of the trade' for women in prostitution and are emblematic of prostitution (Cusick, 1998b). Some of the street respondents, such as Tina and Anna, report that they use condoms consistently for both oral and vaginal sex. This was similarly found in previous Irish research (O'Connor, 1996; O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999).

Chris explains how she practices safe sex in her work and would not consider having sex without a condom for fear of contracting HIV from a punter:

"*Oh I no I always use condoms, I will not do it without condoms because say if you're working the streets you're a working girl you could have AIDS, HIV, I don't have HIV ya could have HIV.. so how do I know that man if he's askin me to do it without a condom of course he's after askin the person with HIV to do it without a condom and she's not gonna care cos she's already got that disease d'ya know what I mean so he has that so obviously he has that disease and what he's probably gonna pass it onto me no way there's no way, even if ya get offered more money there's no way that it's not worth more money*".

8.3.1 "Telling Risks"

Tina stresses that she is very careful about condom use, even when performing oral sex. She describes how she warns the other girls of the dangers of non-use of condoms for this activity:

"*I've said it to girls d'ya know what I mean I'm like Jesus what kind of girl are you to I mean that's protectin your mouth {KMc: mm..so the other girls wouldn't do that} no they wouldn't d'ya know what I mean like what they do they do it without protections*

[73] This information was missing from two of the respondents' accounts, and one other respondent spoke about her condom use but did not report that she used condoms regularly. Again these respondents could all have used condoms consistently but there was not an opportunity to follow up on this

an I always brought protections with me no matter where I am...so that's the way I do it like"

She has been tested for HIV/AIDS and has been cleared and attributes this to her safe practices.

Carla, an independent sex worker, argues that many girls give oral sex without the use of condoms and questions how they could engage in this behaviour given the associated health risks.

"*Oh condoms yeah a lot of girls don't...eh they do for the intercourse this is like this one got to me you know and especially a friend of mine she does C I M..come in mouth ...quite a lot of girls do that you know and when I questioned her about it you know how can you risk that you know cos I won't even do oral without a condom.. I said how can you just risk that and em...and she said ... but I don't swallow and I was thinkin my god do you have an education you know she doesn't swallow but she still of course everything gets into your blood stream even if it's in your mouth you know or she has a sore gum or something*".

As Donna has contracted both HIV and hepatitis C, she actively seeks to protect herself and others and raise awareness of health risks through her work. Yet, she reveals that many clients on the street offer more money for sex without a condom. She maintains that while she declines, other girls on the street regularly engage in unsafe sex with clients for a higher negotiated price.

Donna: Yeah some of them [punters] that'd say em..just give us oral an I'll give you an extra twenty quid or an extra thirty quid or fifty quid or whatever it may be ya know if you do it without a condom I'd never do it but

KMc: Would you not

Donna: No... there's too many diseases out there you can catch .. I already have HIV ya know so, Hepatitis C ..oh I'd always, even I've often had someone ask me for intercourse without a condom and I wouldn't cos I have a disease ya know, even though it's very very hard for a girl to

give it to a man but it's very easy for a man to give it to a woman ya know like it'd be very hard for me to pass it to a man but at still it's not because that because I have that I'm not usin that I wouldn't use protection, I'm usin protection so as that I don't catch anymore diseases than what I already have ...ya know... so I won't get pregnant as well

KMc: Would there be some girls who wouldn't use protection

Donna: Yeah... a lot of them yeah like a guy would show you an extra fifty quid, an extra hundred quid and yeah give ya they'd be just thinkin of more drugs .. I know girls that do do it

What is notable in the data is that very often sexual health risk behaviours are attributed to a 'generalised other' by respondents, while their own personal behaviours and perceptions are portrayed through their denunciation of others unsafe practices. Maher (1997), in her ethnographic study of drug using sex workers in New York City, found that, initially, she was unable to locate these unspecified 'others' who were relayed in stories of cut-prices and sex-for-drugs exchanges. As field work progressed and relationships with the women developed, she found that 'the other' was in fact 'the self'. She argues that women's difficulty in talking about their experiences in this way was due to occupational norms, maintaining a positive self-identity and maintaining an image that they could control their drug use; that they did not need to do 'anything' to get a fix (Maher, 1997: 224). This is not to question the 'truth' of Donna's or any other respondents' account. What is interesting for this research is how risk is presented in narratives, how it is read by respondents in their words and how they describe their risk management in the context of what they perceive as 'others' risk behaviours.

8.3.2 Sexual Health Education

In addition to being aware of and practicing their own sexual health management, some of the respondents reveal a role they also play with punters as sexual health educators. This finding is mirrored in an ethnographic study on female indoor sex workers in the U.K. who advocated 'customer care' practices through health education to clients (Sanders, 2005). Other studies have also highlighted the role of

female sex workers as health educators to their clients (Wahab, 2004; Bell, 1994). The findings in this study, however, relate to street workers. Tina explains how she often educates her punters about safe sex and the importance of safety for both parties. Furthermore, she acknowledges the implication of her sexual health management for the safety of the punters' partner:

"*I was sayin like at the end of the day I was sayin to him like sayin to them like it's..the two of us are gonna be in danger like I mean he could have somethin I could have...like god forbid an if he has a wife or d' ya know what I mean an he went home an gave her some affection d' ya know what I mean he obviously you're gonna snap d' ya know what I mean that's kind of the way I am I'm just kind of safe an make sure everything's in order d'ya know what I mean*"

Sanders (2005: 2439) contends that '[s]ex workers transmit knowledge of sexual health infections and transmission to ensure that clients comply with their own codes of conduct which aims to safeguard their own physical and mental health'.

8.3.3 'Safe' Services

As stated previously in this thesis, clear boundaries on sexual services are noted as part of work scripts (Chapter 5) and as part of physical risk management strategies (Chapter 7). Many of the respondents spoke about the sexual services they provide and how their sexual tactics often serve to minimise health risks. One respondent details a precautionary technique she uses with clients who are drunk (also noted in Chapter 5). She simulates sexual intercourse and so enhances her own sexual safety.

"*I just do straight hand, oral and if they're lucky they might get sex..if they're now if they're not drunk, I'll have to do sex but otherwise I'll put me hand there* [places hand over genitals to demonstrate] *and it feels like it's goin in and they're havin sex and that's all they get if they're lucky*" (Julie)

The data reveals that brothel workers must also actively manage risk. Charlotte describes the activities she did not engage in for both health and personal reasons:

"I would not let them go down on me and I would not kiss them em...and that was for two reasons one was health cos obviously herpes is is an issue for both of those activities and the other one was just that those were activities that I felt I didn't feel that comfortable in in selling".

Interestingly, however, Charlotte worked with female clients and she engaged in 'services' with them which were off limits for male clients. As a self-identified 'bi-sexual', I questioned Charlotte as to her rationale for this difference in service provision:

Charlotte: With women I would let them do the things that I said I wouldn't let the men do which is to kiss and to go down on me if they wanted and that's because really to work with a woman you need to be much more tactile and emotional and like to make love to a woman without kissing her would just really not be an ideal scenario

KMc: So you wouldn't have the same fear of STDs with a woman?

Charlotte: Em..I mean that's a possibility but I mean god if you get herpes you get herpes I mean it's not that it's not that big but I guess really yeah that's an interesting question if you put it to me in that way

Whilst health risk management with male clients was prioritised, it was less of a concern with female clients. There is a dearth of knowledge on 'females' as clients and the experience of females negotiating risk away from traditional 'gendered' risk readings of the prostitution encounter.

Charlotte describes a risk management strategy she employed in order to prevent a punter from removing a condom during sexual intercourse:

"there are a lot of precautions that you take to stop that happening like pretty much most of the time if you're having sex and you have your hands kind of on the base of the condom but occasionally someone manages to you know be a bit slyer than you for some reason"

Charlotte's account highlights the need to be active in continuing to take precautions while "on the job". Vigilance is required at all times in order to manage and minimise risk. These 'proactive strategies' to minimise health and other risks are seen as becoming ingrained and routinised as occupational practice (Sanders, 2005; Hart and Barnard, 2003). The evidence of this routinised risk management of both health and physical risk is clear in the narratives presented in this chapter, and in the previous chapter, which create specific 'risk infused work scripts' for those working on street and working indoors. As detailed below, however 'risk boundaries' as part of sexual health management, can be seen, as social constructs, to be contingent and thus sometimes open to adjustment (Mayock, 2003).

8.4 Risk Thermostats

Many respondents report that the use of condoms with clients is non-negotiable as sexual health is perceived to be a major priority. For others, however, condom use with clients is not always consistent and, as Matt's account shows below, sometimes clients bargain successfully to engage in sexual activities without condoms:

KMc: Would they [punters] ever try and negotiate a price without using a condom?

Matt: Yeah ah they would yeah

KMc: But would you..?

Matt: Sometimes I would now yeah but most times it's with a condom no matter what

A study by the Quinlan et al (1997) found inconsistent condom use amongst male sex workers in Dublin, with one of the main reasons cited being the offer of extra money. Although Matt's account relates to his experience as a *male* 'street' prostitute, a similar finding emerged from O'Neill and O'Connor's (1999) study on drug using women in prostitution. They also found that the main reason/motivation cited by the 11% who reported non-use of condoms on occasion was 'if more money was offered'. Power dynamics are seen, in a socio-cultural perspective, as fundamental to risk management and risk actions (Rhodes, 1997; Marske, 1991; Bloor, 1995a; 1995b). If awareness of risk is not a guarantee of non-engagement in risk behaviours, then what

other factors are at play? As risk behaviours are socially constructed and negotiated, commercial sexual activity may in fact be a high risk context for those selling sex as their negotiation power may be limited by dangers from clients or other pressures/priorities and thus risk is assessed by individuals as filtered through the 'risk thermostat' of this meso level (Wallman, 2001).

The next section will look at the issue of drug use and sex work, the implications this has for exposing individuals to health risk and how this reinforces the social organisation of risk in prostitution.

8.4.1 Drug Use and Health Risks

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, the links between drug use and health risks in sex work have received increasing attention in the literature as the focus has shifted from all sex workers at equal health risk to particular sex workers facing particular risks. A study in Dublin by O'Neill and O'Connor (1999) examined the health needs of female drug users engaged in prostitution in Ireland, responding to mounting concerns over the increasing numbers of drug addicted women on the streets. The study found that drug users' motivation for engaging in prostitution was primarily to feed their habit. The study found such women tended to be younger and have the least favourable health risk profile of the total sample of women working in prostitution.

As Chapter 4 details, the drugs/sex work nexus often serves to 'trap' individuals as a complex relationship between 'using', 'earning', 'spending', 'using', and need for more 'earning' leads to perhaps increased funds and more frequent 'using'. This situation clearly has a cyclical, compounding quality and some of the respondents refer to their experience of this 'trapping' in Chapter 4. In addition, and compounding their relatively lower health risk profile in comparison with non-drug using prostitutes, drug using prostitutes are found to neglect their health more and less likely to use conventional medical services than non-drug using prostitutes (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999: 27).

The relative vulnerability of drug using street workers in negotiations with clients has been previously noted (Pyett and Warr, 1997). Many of the respondents who are or were drug using while working denied ever exchanging sexual services for drugs. Donna explained that on two occasions punters have offered her drugs as payment:

"*I think twice that happened to me, I got a fella that sold cocaine and he offered me cocaine.. and then another time I got a coloured guy an I think he went out an bought just a oner bag himself, an he was sayin "look I have coke I have coke" an I thought he'd loadsa coke but he hadn't, he'd only a little bag of it but he was tryna ya know get around me, keepin havin sex with me ya know an I'll give ya a little bit, have sex with me again an I'll give ya another little bit ya know all this an ya know it was only like one bag*".

Lena, describes how, she would receive payment for sexual services but then she would give the money straight back to the client when he offers to sell her drugs:

"I'd get money and then, they'd turn round after havin sex to give me money and say "right I'm sellin drugs", so I end up buyin the drugs so they'd end up gettin their money back d'ya understand like they said "right I am sellin drugs" instead of sayin in the beginning "right will ya have sex for drugs" but no they'd gimme the money or whatever and I'd end up buyin them the drugs back off them so they'd end up gettin their money back..there was a lot that used to do that d'ya know what I mean, a lot of them used to do that"

This situation has implications for the risks women on the street are exposed to. When drugs are offered and accepted as payment for sexual services, this highlights the vulnerability of the sex worker who may not be in a position to demand payment and so, as the narrative above shows, some punters may take advantage of women by controlling sexual negotiations through the promise of drugs. The role of 'dopesickness' and the need to alleviate withdrawal symptoms is seen as severely comprising the ability of drug using sex workers to control their interactions with clients and to execute effective health risk management practices (Shannon et al, 2008).

8.4.2 Drugs and Risk – Running to Stand Still

The street working cohort all report drug use, as detailed in Chapter 5. Two of the respondents, Matt and Chris, report receiving methadone maintenance, while Sonia reports missing her methadone for the past three weeks and was hopeful of getting back on the methadone bus[74]. In terms of drug use and health risks, analysis of the narratives focused on their engagement with the drug in terms of the reported physiological effects of drug taking. Many of those who had heroin addictions, such as Laura, described using '*to not feel sick*' (i.e. to prevent withdrawal symptoms).

Sonia also describes this feeling as less about a pleasurable feeling from the drugs anymore and more about deterring withdrawal symptoms:

"the only thing it does for me is take the sickness away ...when I started injectin first em.....I thought oh yeah this is nice I'm really gonna like this an but now I've no enjoyment takin it ....because all eh...all the stress an...the misery it can cause ya ...it takes a lot of your..self-esteem away...as well...there is no good feelin from takin heroin..."

Later Sonia reveals that heroin makes her "feel human" and that she perceives her dependence on the drug to have worsened:

"*the first thing I have to do in the mornin is get rid of me sickness to be..able to get up to feel human ...I've come to depend on the drugs now...more than ever*".

Chapter 5 details the impact of drug use on 'work scripts' whereby established street prices structures are breached by some individuals on the street as they require immediate funds to alleviate 'sickness'. Therefore, prices are dropped in line with the street unit price of drugs (Maher, 1997). After they get their 'fix', respondents reported that they raise their prices back up again. This practice is evidence of the effect of health risks on the 'work scripts' and working conditions of drug using street workers.

[74] St. Stephen's mobile methadone clinic

It has been found, in the Irish context, that homelessness exacerbates drug use and is related to increased risk behaviour (Lawless and Corr, 2005). The shared environments on the street can compound problematic drug use and facilitate risking injecting practices such as sharing injecting equipment and paraphernalia (Goulden and Sondhi, 2001) and poly drug use (Wright, 2002). While not a primary focus of the research, risk behaviour associated with drug use is evident in some of the respondent's accounts. Tina describes how she smokes heroin, rather than injecting (or "using"). However, over the course of the interview, she revealed that she had injected heroin a number of weeks previous, although it was her friend's boyfriend who had injected her: "*I used there about two weeks ago..me arm well I didn't do it me friends fella did d'ya know what I mean*"

Of particular interest to this study are the shared environments within which many sex workers are initiated into, negotiate through and operate from, and the implications this has for risk perceptions and responses. These environments are often contexts of risk and shared spaces foster sharing risk behaviours. For those without a home, living amongst peers within a shared risk environment increases the likelihood of engaging in injecting risk behaviour due to the lack of predictable safe and private places to inject, a chaotic and depressing lifestyle and increased dependence on peers (Klee and Morris, 1995: 841; Lawless and Corr, 2005). Bourgois (1998), commenting from the American context, notes that, on the homeless scene, drug injecting paraphernalia are shared habitually and so HIV risk practices become normalised.

Donna notes how some of the women working on the street engage in drug risk behaviours as they do not have access to a needle exchange. She argues that something should be put in place for drug using women in prostitution, as many of the girls on the street share drug injecting equipment:

Donna: I dunno maybe if they could try get a clinic for some of the girls cos there's a lot of girls up work up there cos they've no methadone clinics or anything an they need to buy their drugs like, the way I was.. but em I'm on a clinic an all now so.. some girls, the waitin list out there is two and three years long.. ya know maybe if they had a clinic

especially for workin girls somethin like that, an evening clinic or somethin or an exchange where people can go for their needles an that..cos they do ask each other for needles an all when they're up there..

KMc: So they'd be sharin them and that

Donna: Yeah….. so if they had a place you know where people could go where they could exchange and… things like that…maybe..I don't know people there to talk to…

In terms of the health risks of injecting drug use, the evidence base suggests that HIV prevalence amongst sex workers is relatively low, with the exception of sex workers who are IDUs (May and Hunter, 2006; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Harcourt, 1994). May and Hunter (2006) note that the indiscriminate sharing of needles and injecting paraphernalia is uncommon, however, needle sharing is more common with sexual partners who are also using or those defined as 'close friends' by sex workers (Hunter et al, 2000).

8.4.3 The Impact of Homelessness

Homelessness was a feature of the experience of eight of the street working respondents: Julie (currently homeless), Lena (currently homeless), Matt (currently homeless), Sonia (currently homeless), Fiona (currently homeless), Tina (referred to previous homeless experience), Donna (homeless prior to her imprisonment) and Anna (history of homelessness from the age of thirteen; circumstances immediately prior to incarceration not disclosed). Certainly, what is notable is that the majority of these respondents could be described as "long-term" homeless[75] according to the definition set out by the Homeless Agency (2007). The connection between homeless, drug use and street working is explicit in many of these accounts.

[75] According to the Homeless Agency; "long-term homeless is when a person has been homeless for over six months. A repeat experience of homelessness will be counted as long-term if a person has been homeless for over four weeks and his/her cumulative experience of homelessness exceeds six months in duration over the last five years. This includes people leaving prison or other institutions. However, the six month period does not include time spent in a transitional programme, as long as it has not exceeded its agreed duration (typically six months to two years). Where a person is unable to access long-term housing after the agreed duration of a transitional programme he/she will be considered long-term homeless even if he/she remains in transitional accommodation" (Homeless Agency, 2007: 26).

The particularly harsh reality of homelessness for one of the respondents, Sonia, came to my attention prior to collecting her account for this study, during the period I spent in Chrysalis talking with the staff and service users. My field notes from that period in June 2006 describe concern within the organisation over the situation of two of the service users: "*One particular couple who were engaged with Chrysalis were going through a very difficult time; they had been evicted from private-rented accommodation because of drugs and they are presently sleeping in a burnt-out car. Later on that day as I stayed around the project, meeting and talking with some of the clients and eventually arranging an interview with Sonia, it transpired that Sonia was part of that couple*" (Field notes, 21st June 2006). Sonia describes during her interview how she and her partner are living together in car and how she negotiates her everyday life as a homeless person:

"*we're livin in a car ...but the mobile bus for the homeless people if they have a bed they put us into it they'd book us in some nights to the different B and B's or hostels or em ...or if if they haven't got a bed we stay in the car [...] because we've no washin facilities em..I have here in Chrysalis if I want to use the shower or if I want to wash clothes an that em..other than that the only other way is by goin into pubs sneakin into the toilets or hotels an washin from them the hand basins an..and like ya know or or as I said a mobile bus picks us up so if they book us in I can have a shower in the B&B an might handwash me clothes*".

Sonia explains that if she gets a bed for the night through the mobile bus the curfew means that she would not be able to go back down to the street, however, she implies that she is sometimes drawn to staying out on the street in order to obtain drugs:

"*with the mobile bus when they book ya in at half ten you're not allowed back out so that's a benefit for me..cos I know I can't go back out to get money so that's helpin me addiction as well {I: mm}...em if I miss the bus...I dunno..I can take cocaine an heroin all night if I wanted to {I: mm}..because I'm out on the street em.....I do be sneakin back down to the street over the coke ya know*".

Other respondents have a history of habitual homelessness, such as Anna, who described her pathway to prostitution in Chapter 4 around juvenile homelessness and

early initiation into drug use and sex work. As the respondents' risk trajectories in this earlier chapter reveals, some like Anna and Fiona experienced unstable home environments and homelessness in their childhoods. Others like Matt, Jenny, Sonia and Donna became homeless around the same time as their drug use began as young people, while Lena describes only recently becoming homeless following the breakdown of a long term relationship. The complex relationship, then, between drug misuse and sex work is further complicated within homeless environments and it can be difficult to ascertain the exact influence one has on the other. What can be noted, however, is that sex workers who use drugs are in particular situations whereby risk decisions are made relative to the other, additional pressures in their lives and this is further exacerbated for those who are without a home.

Sonia describes how, with the money she makes after working each night, she purchases the drugs she requires for that night and the next day. She either returns to the car she is currently living in or waits for the mobile bus to come along. However, as her narrative above highlights, if she misses the bus, she is drawn to the streets for the night:

"*I go..with whatever money I have and...I buy....em me heroin for that night me heroin for the next mornin an me cocaine for that night...an I either go back wait in the car or else... wait up at the chipper an go in an ge get somethin to eat..an I go back down to where the where the bus pulls in*".

For Matt, his first summer making money working in Phoenix Park whilst he was homeless meant that his drug habit was escalating (as noted in Chapter 4). However, his increased finances also enabled him to make enough money to move from homeless hostels to bed and breakfast accommodation: "*like the first summer I was just earnin I was gettin so much money.. an then me habit was gettin bigger an bigger ya know that way so I was able to...not havin to live in the hostels I was able to pay for me own B+B an I was livin in the B+Bs an that*". What must be noted, however, is that Matt is now currently back living in hostels. He describes, as illustrated in previous chapters, that as is he using drugs less at the moment, he has less requirement to engage in sex work as often. While this could explain why he has less money available to pay for bed and breakfast accommodation, his account described

previously notes how his drug misuse and sex work began when he was living in these hostels and meeting with others in similar circumstances. Therefore, the impact of homeless environments as shared environments in which risks are mediated must be considered in light of Matt's return to the homeless hostels. The precariousness of a person's living circumstances is, therefore, central to their exposure to, reading of and responses to risk.

The issue of risk in terms of the social context of drug misuse is addressed by Mayock (2003) in her thesis investigating drug use and non-use among young people in a 'high risk' social environment in Dublin. With her ethnographic study, she makes the case for "a situated account of drug use and non-use that acknowledges both subjective experience and social location, thereby integrating different levels of structural constraint and individual agency within the context of young people's changing social and economic lives" (Mayock, 2003: iii). These ideas are important for considering the social context of risk for homeless, drug using sex workers.

8.4.4 Drug Use, Social Context and Risk

The social context within which drug use occurs can be seen to create risk for those drug users engaged in prostitution in this research.

As noted in the literature review chapter, risk perceptions are socially constructed, and so risk boundaries are contingent and are open, therefore, to modification (Mayock, 2003: iv). Reading risk in this manner allows for a clearer understanding of the changing risk assessments of a drug user over the course of their 'career'. Within the initial stages of the drug using career, the risks of taking drugs are outweighed by the perceived social and personal rewards of pleasure and sensation (Mayock, 2003). However, at the later stages of habit maintenance, it would appear from the empirical evidence base, that risk taking becomes an everyday necessary activity and risk becomes normalised within a lifestyle consumed with drug taking (Taylor, 1993; Faupel, 1991; Coombs, 1981; Agar, 1973; Rubington, 1967). Whilst this study was not longitudinal, and therefore could not 'follow' the risk scripts of the drug using sex workers over a particular period, the accounts of the individuals in this research point towards a particular context within which risk behaviour occurs. As risks are socially constructed, the risk boundaries of these individuals who currently do not report

'sharing needles' may indeed be subject to change over the life course, while they remain within a shared environment where needle sharing is a habitual behaviour.

8.4.5 Drug Treatment

Some of the respondents discuss their experience of drug treatment. In the case of Julie, her recidivism post-drug treatment was reportedly due to her tie to the streets. "*I went to Coolmine for ten months and then the night I actually split Coolmine, I went back on workin on the street.. like it's just after awhile it just comes natural when ya need money, what do ya do go down to the street*".

She describes how she went back working on the streets and back to using drugs, as her drug treatment only temporarily took her away from her familiar environment. When she returned, she went back to what she knew and this led to her relapsing in her drug treatment. Julie was also homeless and this situation compounds her efforts to manage her drug treatment. Once she returned to the 'shared environment' of the streets where she, in effect, lives, the potential for her drug treatment to be effective was clearly limited. For those seeking treatment for drug use, secure accommodation is highlighted as essential in order to counteract recidivism (Seddon, 1998; Bessant et al, 2002). Otherwise, upon leaving treatment individuals merely return to the same shared environments exposing them to the same risks again. This situation is further compounded when shared environments incorporate homelessness, drug use and prostitution. As has been previously noted in UK, street sex workers have specific needs in addition to and interlinked with their drug misuse problems and there is 'official' acknowledgement that drug problems cannot be addressed in isolation from other issues, such as homelessness (May and Hunter, 2006; Home Office, 2004).

8.5 Mental Health Issues

Some empirical work has alluded to the possible connection between prostitution and psychological distress (Farley, Baral, Kiremire and Sezgin, 1998; Bagley, 1999). Mental health risks related to commercial sex have been found to include the long term psychological effects of the 'trauma' of engagement in prostitution (Farley and Kelly, 2000). As noted in Chapter 4, the compounding nature of the Matthew Effect

could be argued to have particular psychological consequences through cumulative vulnerabilities which serve to position individuals for an accumulation of trauma whilst engaging in prostitution which they may be ill-equipped to cope with (Vanwesenbeeck, 1994). The issue of emotional risk and emotional risk management will be explored in the next chapter. However, this section will focus on some of the mental health issues that respondents have reported they experienced while engaging in prostitution. Clearly, it is not intended to imply any causative relationship between engagement in prostitution and mental health issues. It is necessary, however, to include these issues in the context of the health risks that some individuals have had to negotiate as part of their lived experiences. Some of the accounts refer to experiences when an accumulation of circumstances led to periods of mental health difficulties and self-harming behaviours. Previous Irish research has found that 38% of drug using women in prostitution have attempted suicide, while 25% suffered from diagnosed depression and had received treatment from either a psychiatrist or a GP (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999).

The risk of mental and psychological distress owing to the experience of sexual abuse and physical harm is something that Julie describes in harrowing detail about her experience of working in street prostitution in London and how she was subjected to severe physical abuse: "*I was raped over there five times .. I got cigarette burns put..I'll show ya my back* [Julie turns around and pulls up her top to show me the top of her back] *see all the white blotches on the top of me back {KMc: oh yeah}, cigarettes put out on the top of me back*". Subsequent to this she explains the effect it had on her life: "*When I came back I nearly took a nervous .. I was found hanging from a window that's how bad it is...That's what it came to me takin a nervous breakdown*". Lena describes similarly how an amassing of violent incidences, both in her private life and through her engagement in prostitution, meant that she found herself mentally unstable and attempting suicide:

"*...like I was scarred, like in there* [Lena points to her head] *I was scarred right mentally, like I..I tried to hang meself loadsa times, to get away from me partner aswell, I pumped meself loadsa times and...when I went to hospital d'ya know talk to the psychiatris'es and all and explained it them what happened and they put me into Vincent's, they really thought I was makin things up*".

This accumulation of victimisation and the resulting adverse impact for mental health can be seen as the ultimate manifestation of the Matthew Effect in respondents' lives as cumulative experiences of vulnerability reportedly result in mental instability.

After a period of residential treatment in a mental health institution, Lena notes how she went straight back to working on the streets again: "*I was in there for about six weeks, got out..back to the same thing again..strung out back out..still the same thing*". Sonia also recounts episodes in hospital for depression and feeling suicidal. While experiences of mental health difficulties were not comprehensively explored for the purposes of this study, many of the respondents described 'feeling down' and being affected by past experiences, for which some have not received any formal supports or interventions and this perpetuation of vulnerability necessitates addition as part of this analysis. Whilst the inclusion of particular reported mental health issues was deemed appropriate in terms of health risks, emotional risk management will be explored further in the next chapter.

8.6 Service Engagement and Support Needs

An overview of service provision for those engaged in prostitution was detailed in Chapter One. All of the street respondents discussed their level of engagement with different services in the city and the types of supports they are currently receiving. As the majority of the street working respondents were recruited through Chrysalis, this was clearly one of the main services that these respondents linked in with. In addition to this they note their engagement with other services working with individuals engaged in prostitution in the city.

Julie notes that Ruhama's service is a welcome break from the streets:

"*If they* [girls on the street] *don't make money they've a hot cup of tea, d'ya know what I mean, ya know ya need somewhere... [I] like enjoy [it] though d'ya know what I mean cos ya get into the van and there could be another three or four girls sittin in the van, sit there and have a conversation with them*".

Donna also notes the welcomed service provided by Ruhama: "*it's great for the girls like.. we used to anytime they seen us like I'd always get into the van an talk to them an that, ya know cold nights an all, ya know get a nice cup of hot soup down ya an things like that... yeah I think that's good what they do for the girls*".

One of the respondents, who engages with all three services with a specific remit for working with women in prostitution in Dublin, notes that the quantity of existing services are still insufficient to deal with the support needs:

"*This is [Chrysalis] about the only basic one that is for..people that are on drugs and for women in prostitution. There's this and there's the Baggot Street clinic they go round they give condoms, there's oh sorry there's Ruhama as well They go round givin tea, something hot to eat, soup or whatever...They're the only three places that I know of that can..that actually link in with women and prostitution, three places and there's god knows how many people working in Dublin*" (Julie)

Matt is aware of the Gay Men's Health Project and their services for males in prostitution but he does not link in with them, he engages with the community worker for sex workers in Chrysalis, as well as more general homeless services such as Focus Ireland.

Sonia notes how she links in with both Chrysalis and Ruhama in terms of support. She highlights an important, often overlooked issue, however, in terms of her ability to engage with services as a homeless, drug using, street worker: "*Oh I link in with Ruhama yeah...I haven't been with them a while either because as I said being homeless can cause a lot of other..problems..ya know me clothes an havin a wash an tiredness an stuff like that ya know*". Her homeless situation makes it difficult for her to maintain engagements with particular services and she also notes that her ability to keep appointments is constrained by her drug use: *it's a big job for me to be able to get up in the mornin an to just even to be able to make to an appointment...I have to miss appointments if I've no heroin cos I'm too sick...ya know"*. This issue presented itself in previous Irish research as a problem for service providers attempting to engage with drug using individuals in prostitution (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999)

Flemen (2001) found that homeless drug users may conceal their drug using activities in order to circumvent exclusion criteria regarding drug use when accessing homeless services: yet to what degree do women in prostitution similarly conceal aspects of their lifestyles? One of the respondents drew attention to the risks of an uncoordinated approach to service provision to women in prostitution. Julie explains how she is often reluctant to reveal her prostitution to other, more generic services.

"*It depend on where it was like if it was anything about my drug addiction or anything like that I've no problem telling them..but if it was like anywhere else that had nothing got to do with my addiction I wouldn't turn around tell them I was in prostitution {KMc: right, why's that?} because I dunno I think prostitution and drug addiction come together, as a package, that's the way I feel anyways d'ya know that way but I just wouldn't feel comfortable*"

While she explains that she would not feel comfortable revealing this information, the lack of a co-ordinated approach to services for women in prostitution is evident from the data and reveals a particular vulnerability amongst some women while engaging with generic health services. Lack of confidence in accessing health services was found in previous Irish research as many women were reluctant to disclose the nature of their work (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999). Later in the interview, Julie discloses how her 'drug using' status has meant negative reception in some services.

KMc: And have you ever felt that you were treated in a negative way by any services?

Julie: Ah a lot of places.. a lot of places.. like I was in hospital for three months over of a cocaine habit, I got..both sides of me groin blocked up, I got an infection in me heart but because I'm a drug addict, I get treated totally different

Lawless and Corr (2005) advocate a comprehensive approach to service provision to homeless drug users in Ireland. Whilst they neglected to consider the 'triple jeopardy' of homeless, drug-using sex workers accessing services with multiple needs, their

work highlights the danger of using an 'either/or' approach[76] (Hamilton, 2001) to service provision to vulnerable groups.

In addition to increased drug treatment service provision for women in prostitution, Fiona makes an important point about the lack of awareness of existing services amongst women on the street. This clearly has an important bearing on health risk management, when individuals in need of service support are isolated from services:

"*Chrysalis does a very good job* [coughs] *em but like a lot of the working girls don't know about the likes of Chrysalis {KMc: do they not?} no I mean I only found out about it a little while ago ya know..so I mean and mm* [sighs] *they've done so much good work for me here ya know that, eh, it's a pity that some more people don't know about it ya know*".

The two 'indoor' sex workers in the study did not report accessing any services whilst they engaged in sex work in Ireland. While drug misuse is not an issue for either of these individuals, other services and supports for indoor workers may not be reaching this "hidden" group, who may choose to remain isolated from services for women in prostitution in Ireland[77]. In this way then, it is difficult for these services to assess the support needs of 'indoor' workers, if engagement is limited.

Charlotte argues that abolitionist discourses and practices are preventing the 'real victims' who engage in prostitution from receiving proper supports:

"*They're saying well everyone's trafficked, everyone's a victim rather than actually looking at the true victims which can't be seen between the clammer and all this noise of people saying every woman every woman here is completely disempowered so the ones that genuinely are in a vulnerable situation aren't receiving any support or any help and that is a tragedy*"

---

[76] Either you are a drug addict or you are homeless. This situation is clearly more complex in the case of homeless, drug-using sex workers. Either you are a homeless person, a drug user or a sex worker. Clearly such a blinkered approach which takes each issue in isolation creates a 'triple jeopardy' for those in need of service provision

[77] These individuals are engaging perhaps instead with mainstream health services

8.6.1 Prison Based Supports for Sex Workers

Some of the respondents who were incarcerated at the time of interview for this study remarked that supports for women in Irish prison who have experience of sex work would be welcomed. It has been previously highlighted that, whilst sex workers are not any more unique in their needs than other female prisoners, specialist projects working alongside more general projects should be delivered to these women while in prison and upon release to deal with particular issues for positive resettlement; such as drug/alcohol dependence, suitable move-on accommodation and issues related to poverty and social exclusion (Clark, 2006). Anna suggests, '*there should be even group meetings or something*'. However, she envisages the difficulties with the provision of supports to sex working women in prison: '*you couldn't really talk about it around people cos some girls don't want people to know d'ya know what I mean so.. it's not something we'd all talk about*'. This is mirrored in the interview with Governor Kathleen McMahon of the Dóchas Centre[78], who observes that the women in the prison with sex work experience do not generally disclose this information: "*the women wouldn't be open about it and there still would be a huge stigma attached to it*". Clark (2006) argues that there may often be a reluctance by sex workers to identify as such in the prison environment and lack of awareness in the prison system can impact on provision of appropriate support needs. Even when Governor McMahon is aware of their sex work it is not something that would be raised in front of the prison population:

"*I never would ask them in front of anybody else never… I would not dream of asking one of the women, like I wouldn't even ask them what they did to arrive in here I wouldn't ask them what their crime was you know because it's not any of my business at the end of the day, I'm just here to take care of them while they're here, their punishment is actually being here*".

While Ruhama do visit the prison on a weekly basis, and Kathleen notes that there are full-time medical and counselling services available to the female prisoners, she comments on the necessary supports upon release: "*the supports I would see that*

[78] Mountjoy Women's Prison, North Circular Road, Dublin

you'd offer to women in prostitution is to first get them into some sort of stable accommodation and trying to maybe link them up to various services in the community".

8.6.2 Health Service Needs

Specific health service needs were noted by some of the street working respondents in terms of supports which are currently lacking. Laura maintains that peer support work is more valuable than mere professionals without any personal experience of the issue. She also makes an important suggestion about support intervention which should consider risk trajectories rather than merely responding to immediate need:

"*There should be a lot of services eh...supports there eh..like ya just don't wake up one mornin and say right I'm goin to work on the streets, it doesn't work like that, d'ya know what I mean like ya have to look at someone's background and where they're comin from eh...so yeah I think there should be a lot more support there an I think the support should be done by people that's after being there, d'ya know what I mean not and don't quote me wrong on this is what I'm gonna say, not someone who's readin it out of a textbook d'ya know what I mean that has a degree in this and a degree in that, I do not believe in that*".

Fiona notes the need for more service provision, particularly for drug-using women in prostitution. She feels that the dearth of services may be a hindrance to those who 'want to get clean':

"*a lot of the girls who are out workin wanna get clean ya know not all of them..but there are a percentage and I feel that there should be some sort of support there for for women that you know obviously like you can't set up a fuckin treatment centre for prostitutes but what I'm sayin is like ...I think that there should .. ya should be able to do a lot more for the girls that do want to kinda get themselves stabilised or off or whatever and offer maybe a little bit more counsellin and stuff like that*".

Julie argues that there should be more condoms available to those working on the street through outreach provision: *"I think I think they should give out condoms as*

well but Ruhama doesn't". Anna also calls for increased availability of condoms as well as listing a number of essential services which need to be made available to women in prostitution which are currently lacking in Ireland.

Anna: More places to go like for smears and...like em....ya know more needle exchanges and... I don't think you should have to pay for condoms either ya know I think they should be free, like it's six euro for a pack of condoms and you only get three in it... d'ya know what I mean and that puts people off buyin them so they're goin around, like I know there's ya have Merchants Quay and all that gives them out an all, but when that's closed what do ya do d'ya know what I mean especially for young girls ya know..like teenagers who don't have the money, who wouldn't have the money to buy them so...

KMc: mm and needle exchange as well {Anna: yeah} you were sayin {Anna: yeah} would there be many sharin or..

Anna: Em....yeah like I caught HIV from sharing

The issue of non-availability of condoms was also found to be a risk factor in the 1999 WHP study, as it was cited as one of the primary reasons for non-use of condoms with clients in the commercial encounter (O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999).

8.7 Web of Causation

The interlinked relationship between prostitution, drug use and homelessness is something that has received little attention in Irish literature and large gaps in knowledge are clearly visible upon a review of what is known about drug use and drug use behaviour in Ireland. A study commissioned by the National Advisory Committee on Drugs (NACD) considered the issue of drug use among the homeless population in Ireland (Lawless and Corr, 2005). A glaringly obvious omission from this study was any reference to the role of prostitution in the lives of those coping with homelessness and problematic drug use.

Unfortunately, while the report argues the complex relationship that exists between drug use and homelessness, this argument is ineffective without a reflection on the interactive effects of prostitution within this relationship. Various theories are

espoused which seek to explain the relationship between homelessness and drug use – social selection theory argues that problematic drug users often become a higher risk for homelessness due to their gradual diminishing resources (Spinner and Leaf, 1992; Baum and Burnes, 1993). Another theory considers social adaptation arguing that homeless individuals may turn to drug use in order to cope with their lives on the street (Johnson, Freels, Parsons and Vangeest, 1997; Neale, 2001). However, these theories fall short of effectively explaining the nature of the complex relationship between homelessness and drug use (Lawless and Corr, 2005), and others have noted that the relationship is more of a mutual reinforcement or a 'web of causation' (Lloyd, 1998). This begs the question then – what about prostitution in this web? Previous studies, both nationally and internationally, point to homelessness as exacerbating drug use and leading to increased risk behaviours, including the sharing of drug using equipment and polydrug use (Lawless and Corr, 2005; Wright, 2002; Goulden and Sondhi, 2001; Bourgois, 1998; Klee and Morris, 1995). As this chapter has shown, needle sharing is a commonly reported activity within street sex work networks.

Lawless and Corr (2005) highlight the importance of services to meet the needs of homeless drug using clients in a multi-disciplinary, holistic, flexible, non-judgemental way. For this to happen, and for drug use harm minimisation strategies to be effective there needs to be an awareness of all aspects of a person's engagement in the street scene, as well as how the street scene impacts on a person's behaviours. A harm reduction approach should be all-encompassing rather than isolated to one or two issues in a person's lifestyle.

8.8 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the experience of respondents to health risks and their attempts to manage these risks as part of their everyday lives. What has emerged is a clear indication, as with the previous chapter on physical risks, that experience of health risks are socially organised and that street working individuals, through their drug use in particular, have increased pressures on their work. This may mean that they are exposed to greater risks as some respondents reported they may engage in health risk behaviours, such as non-use of condoms for additional money or sex for drug exchanges.

Rhodes (1997) considers the dynamics of social relationships in sexual risk behaviours. In the social action tradition, individual perceptions are seen to be filtered through social norms and concomitant risk construction; 'social interaction presumably does a large part of the perceptual coding on risks' (Douglas, 1966: 66). What may be regarded as risk behaviour to one person may be an everyday activity to another: 'because risk perception is socially organised, in part by social norms and context, they are also socially calculated' (Rhodes, 1997: 216).

Furthermore, this research has found that the shared environments that the street workers operate in facilitate risk taking through needle sharing. There are calls amongst respondents for specific harm reduction services for women in prostitution in addition to the services currently available. Additionally, as part of harm reduction approaches such as clean needles and needle exchange, increased availability of condoms is also called for amongst some of the respondents.

The experiences of 'multiple needs' around drugs misuse, homelessness and sex work amongst respondents in the sample point to the need for co-ordinated service provision particularly for those engaged in street prostitution. As the data shows, the compounding effects of each of these issues on the other means that addressing one of these issues in isolation (e.g. drug treatment for problematic drug use) is futile without an understanding of the shared environments within which these individuals negotiate their lives.

The risk environments within which street workers negotiate their lived realities is becoming clear throughout this thesis as this chapter builds another layer to the story of their limited capabilities in effectively managing risks in contrast to the indoor workers who participated in the research. Structural inequities leading to the visible presence of the Matthew Effect in their accounts have vulnerably positioned many of these individuals, as they move through 'meso level' understandings of health risk in their shared environments and then attempt to manage risk at the 'micro level' through a particular dynamic with clients. In this way, health risk behaviour can be understood, not as a calculated individual action, but as a socially negotiated action, interpreted through the risk filters of shared environments relative to other pressures.

While some active, resilient efforts are noted in terms of health risk management repertoires, these strategies and their effectiveness must be understood within the risk environment that individuals are located.

The final risk analysis chapter will explore emotional risks and risk management in the data. This thesis will culminate in a discussion which draws together risk perceptions and risk experiences within a context of the respondents' working lives and their 'vulnerable positionality'. What has become apparent is that '[r]isk behaviour is not simply the outcome of individuals' knowledge, beliefs and behaviours, but is influenced by interpersonal interactions with others which take place in the context of ongoing social relationships' (Rhodes, 1997; Gabe, 1995; Kane, 1991). The importance of the "local" at the meso level for risk decision-making and for risk prioritisation in the lives of the respondents will become clearer as we move towards the concluding part of this story.

Chapter 9

Working Risk III - Emotional Risks and Risk Management

9.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the emotional risks experienced by the respondents associated with their engagement in prostitution, their efforts to manage and minimise these risks and the synergistic dynamic emotional risks and risk management create for their experience of their work. The impact of 'emotion work' on the respondents' private lives as well as their attempts to manage these effects will be illustrated through their narratives below.

9.2 Emotional Labour

The 'emotion work' involved in sex work has been documented by a number of observers (Weitzer, 2007; Sanders, 2005; Brewis and Linstead, 2000a; Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; Chapkis, 1997; McLeod, 1982). The idea of 'emotional labour' is nicely illustrated in Hochschild's (1983) classic study on emotion work in mainstream occupations[79]. She defines emotional labour as being sold for a wage and, therefore, having exchange value and 'requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others' (Hochschild, 1983: 7). This type of labour requires a person to coordinate their mind and their feelings[80].

It has been noted, by Hochschild (1983: 11), that emotional labour is gendered as 'women more than men have put emotional labor on the market, and they know more

[79] Hochschild's (1983) study focuses on the emotional labour of airline attendants and debt collectors. Hochschild estimates that, at the time of her study in the 1980s roughly one third of American workers were employed in jobs requiring a high degree of emotional labour, and over one half of all women working were involved in substantial emotional labour;

[80] While a display of feeling is sold, actual feelings can be strained over the long term. Emotional dissonance is at work in emotional management when one attempts to maintain a difference between feeling and feigning. However, this can be difficult to sustain; 'maintaining a difference in the long term leads to strain. We try to reduce this strain by pulling the two closer together either by changing what we feel or changing what we feign' (Hochschild, 1983: 90). However, when display is required for a particular occupation, it is often feelings that become transmuted.

about its personal costs'. She argues that emotional labour is gendered as women have the opportunity to commoditise emotions in order to secure material resources they do not have; that women and men are involved in different types of emotional labour which means that their feelings becomes transmuted in different ways through emotional management and that women engaged in emotional labour are more defenceless to emotional attack, 'with a weaker "status shield" against the feelings of others' (Hochschild, 1983: 163). It could be argued, however, that Hochschild's gender differentiation cannot be appropriately applied to emotional management in sex work. If males and females are involved in the same sex work market, are they surely not selling the same thing? Are they not involved in the presentation of display for commoditisation in commercial exchange? And are they not called upon to impart with particular emotional capacities during the course of their work, capacities that they may become estranged from due to the strain of emotional dissonance? Also, quite importantly, are the 'status shields' of male and female prostitutes that different? Are male prostitutes less likely to be subordinated, targeted and attacked? As Chapter 7 revealed, Matt was as vulnerable to physical risks and attack as the female street workers. Though he may be physically matched to his assailant, is he emotionally stronger to cope with having a weaker 'status shield' to his client?

While offering pioneering analysis in *The Managed Heart*, Hochschild (1983) looks solely at emotional work in the formal sector, neglecting the complexities of emotional management in informal occupations. In the black market, those providing emotional labour have less negotiation capability within the social exchange and their weakened 'status shield' can leave them vulnerable to targeting. The degree to which 'emotion work' and its implications are evident in the respondents' accounts will be considered below.

9.3. Stigma

As Goffman (1963) contends, stigma relates to a discrediting attribute when an individual's social identity deviates from their expected, normative social identity.
The perceived stigma associated with being identified as a prostitute by others is evident in many of the respondents' narratives. Julie describes her perception of the residents' view of her and other women working in prostitution in their

neighbourhood: "*like the way they look down on us is like "oh what tramps selling their body*". Sonia perceives that public discourse on prostitution relates to the stigma associated with prostitution for women in society in general: "*I think people dislike ya because em....when women hear of girls down a lane doin..sexual acts for money...I think a lot of women feel that it's actually discriminatin every woman*". Crocker, Major and Steele (1998: 505) suggest that stigmatisation occurs when a person is perceived to possess "some attribute or characteristic that conveys a social identity that is devalued in a particular social context". In this way then, the stigma is not within the person but within the social context.

For some of the respondents, the perceived stigma of prostitution is less pronounced in their experience than the stigma of other issues they are living with. Julie implies that being a prostitute who is also a drug addict is a double jeopardy and maintains that her drug addiction is more stigmatising than is the prostitution: "*once it comes up that you're a drug addict that's it, people turn their head they don't have time for ya..they really do not have time for ya*". For Fiona, her HIV status means she feels a certain stigma which affects her and her relationships with other people: "*it affected me relationships with everyone really ya know to an extent and plus the shame an the stigma of havin HIV is also a very big thing ya know*".

9.3.1 Self-Stigmatisation

Lena powerfully describes how she felt self-stigmatised by her involvement in prostitution:

"*I hated it bleedin hated meself yeah, hated it, hated it..I really did, if I went back to eh say I went back to a gaff or back to a hotel with someone after havin sex I'd say right, that's it I'd jump into the shower, thinkin that I'd scrub whatever I'm after doin but I'd be after havin sex with them like ya can't scrub yer inside*".

Her partner's treatment of her in the presence of their children served to foster further self-stigmatisation for Lena. While he called her names, she felt she was deserving of these derogatory labels:

"When we'd be fightin he'd say "go on..go on out and do what you used to do"..like gettin called whores and..ya razzay yunno names like that an eh..they'd be listenin and the eldest young fella "don't mind him Ma" yunno he'd say "don't mind him"..but behind it all I used to say he's he's tellin the truth yunno what I mean..he is tellin the truth I was out on the game I was a prostitute".

After leaving "the game", the self-stigmatisation still lives with Lena and she describes how she may not show it but she will never be able to forget what she was involved in:

"*it was definitely horrible ...it was it wasn't nice at all..to go out to have to do that d'ya know what I mean ...it was horrible..I'll never forget it that's one thing I'll never forget...cos it'll be always up there {Lena points to her head} ya know what I mean it'll be always in there like...I mightn't show but it'll be always in there the back of my mind for the rest of me days*"

Experience of guilt and shame associated with engaging in prostitution has been found elsewhere (Høigård and Finstad, 1992) and such feelings may serve to highlight Pateman's (1988) notion that the prostitute is a fundamental part of what she is selling and cannot be removed from that.

Some of the respondents' perception of self in prostitution is tainted with stigma. Julie (as noted in the introduction to this thesis) explains how sometimes she feels "dirty" for what she does: "*some nights ya just, ya get so depressed, ya feel manky, dirty, scruffy. Like ya really, like if I was to get into thoughts, me own thought I really feel dirty about what I do d'ya know what I mean.*" While she explains that she sometimes feels down about what she does, she justifies her involvement in prostitution in relation to the money she makes.

An after-work intervention for the management of stigma is proposed by Fiona who contends that a programme should be offered to women in prostitution who leave the work in order to support them in rebuilding their lives: "*self esteem your self worth....ya know...em your self respect ya know we we loose all that nobody else does ya know and I think ya know that rebuilding that kinda..that confidence and self belief*

is a hard job...but I feel there should be somethin somewhere..ya know like almost like an after care programme ya know only for prostitutes"

9.3.2 Stigmatised Sex Markets

Julie feels that women who work indoors in brothels "look down" on women in the street. Julie, however, rebukes this perceived hierarchical ordering and argues that, as opposed to indoor brothel workers, street workers are independent and get to keep all the money they earn:

"*They look down on us, they look down on us a lot and a lot..they think we're dirt cos we work on the street but at the end of the day..we're not..we make more money than they do, we don't hand it over to anyone and we work for ourselves and we work when we want to wo..work not when we're told to work, what to pay over, when to do it, how to do it ...so at the end of the day they're makin a laugh outta themselves*".

Fiona reiterates this perceived hierarchical ordering and stigmatisation from other sex workers:

"*even girls that work indoors look down on the girls that work on the streets .. cos we're all considered the junkies an the lowlifes the one's that can't get in to brothels or whatever when in actual fact I'd have no problem gettin into a brothel I've been offered jobs in them but I won't take them*".

She has experience of working in a brothel but explains that she prefers to work independently: "*it's a no-brainer ya know I'd much rather be workin for meself*".

9.4 Managing 'Emotion Work'

The psychological effects of emotional labour and risks to mental health were detailed in the previous chapter, as some of the respondents report periods of inability to manage their experiences and the impact this has had on their lives. All of the respondents, however, report engaging in management of emotion work in order to

minimise broader emotional risks for themselves and these experiences will be detailed below.

Hochschild (1983) argues that a change of three basic elements of emotional life is necessary in order to engage in emotional work, which will be considered below in terms of the presenting data.

Firstly, emotional work becomes a public commodity rather than a private act. For those engaged in prostitution, the demarcation between 'private sexual activities' and 'public sexual activities' is vital in terms of the management of emotion work. While many of the respondents mentioned having a regular client base, for "business" purposes in Chapter 5, and for risk management purposes in Chapter 7; Dalla (2002: 67 – original emphasis) notes in her research with street workers, that some of the women preferred not to work with regular clients as they felt '*dating* the same man on a regular basis personalized the work to a level beyond which they were comfortable'. The respondents in this study, however, did not note any difficulty in maintaining 'working relationships' as such. Regular clients were still, in their eyes, clients.
The only deviation from this was Carla's account of indoor sex work, where she actually began a romantic relationship with an "ex-client" in Portugal and eventually married him. This marriage, however, did not last. Crossing the boundary from the commercial into the personal by engaging in intimate relationships with clients is a finding echoed in other research (Sanders, 2005; Warr and Pyett, 1999). Managing sex-as-work in one sphere and intimate relationships in another involves the interpretation of sex for sale through a different lens than sex in a private relationship (Sanders, 2005), which can be understood through Goffman's (1974: 319) ideas around the 'reframing of experiences'. In this way, 'sex-as-work becomes disembodied from the emotions and bodily pleasures associated with sex-for-pleasure' (Sanders, 2005: 149). Charlotte strongly articulates a sex as work perspective and the ability to maintain a demarcation between parts of the body as 'instruments of work' in one sphere and elements of the love-making experience in another sphere.

"*Really what is the difference between your genitals and your hands when it comes to that connection to your soul or to your mind or to your personality or whatever it is*

that you wanna call yunno wanna call your essence? and I think society for many years has situated women's especially women's but society's as a whole connection with sexuality in the genitals as a hooker what you learn is that that's actually untrue there's nothing that connects your genitals more to you than say your hands so when you make love say most people if they're any good at it would be doin that you know with lots of parts of their body their eyes and their hands and their genitals and all of those are intrinsic and their mouth ya know they're all intrinsic to that love making experience but em and so as a whore you learn that the vagina can also be used as a instrument of work" (Charlotte, ex-brothel worker)

Charlottte's narrative above is a direct reflection of early sex work advocates rhetoric with an explicit demarcation between the body *at work* and the body *as pleasure*. Pheterson (1988) makes an unequivocal attempt to challenge arguments (such as Pateman's, 1988) which discount sex as work due to the fact the individual is part of the product they are selling:

'I think women and men and feminists have to realise that all work involves selling some part of your body. You might sell your brain, you might sell your back, you might sell your fingers for typewriting. Whatever it is that you do you are selling one part of your body. I choose to sell my body the way I want to and I choose to sell my vagina' (Pheterson, 1988:146)

Monaghan (2002), however, contests the notion of a disembodied experience as a lived experience and argues that 'sensuous, fleshy, emotional bodies' cannot be removed from conceptualisations of body work as the lived and emotional body is integral to socioerotic interaction (Monaghan, 2002: 442).

Secondly, Hochschild notes that 'feeling rules' are governed by professional codes of conduct. For those engaged in prostitution, however, the social organisation of prostitution determines established normative behaviour for particular working environments and 'feeling rules' often differ between different sex work sectors. Charlotte, a former brothel worker, describes working in prostitution as essentially getting into character as you would for any another type of job:

"it's like in between performing and any kind of workplace where you take on the character of that job... so if you were a student you'd take on the character of a student or you'd act as your peers would act and you would give certain parts of yourself over which are appropriate to that role".

Weitzer (2007: 146) argues that street and indoor workers differ in the services they offer in that those working in indoor prostitution 'offer a larger menu', and engage in emotion work. He argues that indoor workers are more likely to 'counsel and befriend' clients and that there is an onus on them to provide more of a semblance of romance and dating in the encounter which can be emotionally demanding (Weitzer, 2007: 146). However, the account presented from Fiona in Chapter 5 refutes Weitzer's notion – as Fiona, a street worker, succinctly posits her approach to her work: *"it doesn't matter if I'm havin a shit day or not I'm there to make them feel good ya know so I'll always be nice I'll always have a smile on me face".* Sara also notes that when she worked on the street some clients were lonely and just needed someone to talk to. When emotion work becomes a commodity that can be bought and sold in a commercial exchange, Hochschild (1983: 89-90) argues that it becomes transmuted; 'When worked up warmth becomes an instrument of service work, what can a person learn about herself from her feelings? And when a worker abandons her work smile, what kind of tie remains between her smile and her self?'. Managing the public/private divide will be detailed later in this chapter.

Thirdly, Hochschild (1983) argues that social exchange in emotion work becomes narrowly defined, with little expectation of reciprocity. This issue is a major aspect of the emotional risk management of those engaged in sex work. Non-reciprocal sexual exchange allows for a stricter demarcation between 'sex work' and 'private sexual activities'. By 'selling' rather than 'receiving' sex, the women (and male) can seek to manage emotional risks and minimise their 'active' engagement in the sexual act. While O'Connell Davidson (1998: 102) maintains that the essence of prostitution is that the woman 'surrenders certain freedoms over her person'. Some of the respondents attempt to manage this loss of 'freedom over their person' in different ways.

Some of the women described dealing with sex selling by 'switching off': "*Switch off yeah .. get through it and hopefully it will only last five minutes and no longer*" (Julie). This idea is mirrored in other Irish research which describes the method of 'switching off' as a 'dissociation technique' (Lawless and Wayne, 2005: 84).

Charlotte, however, rebukes the notion that women who work in prostitution need to put on an act or switch off from what they are doing:

"*I have this big huge problem with the idea that people are kind of putting on this mask or, you know, that they're going into character and removing themselves from themselves, I've never known a woman to do that and I think if there was one she shouldn't be working because obviously, emotionally, she couldn't cope with the reality of it*".

Some of the respondents, however, detail below how they manage to preserve parts of their person in sex work through managing persona, establishing sexual boundaries and employing emotional crutches.

9.4.1 Managing Persona

The management of persona was detailed in Chapter 7 as one weapon in the arsenal of physical risk management techniques. As part of 'emotion work', the management of persona can be regarded as an important strategy by respondents in minimising the potential dangers to 'self' and 'identity'. Sonia explains that she retains her own name and can be herself with regular punters, yet with new punters she presents a different persona: "*I do try an be somebody I'm not like lettin on to them that I'm enjoyin doin business with them*". In this way, Sonia can manage her emotions in encounters with new clients by feigning enjoyment. Whittaker and Hart (1996: 412) note how the indoor workers in their research engage in 'emotion work' by managing emotions to achieve outcomes such as non-violent, happy punters. For Fiona, she manages her emotions by keeping the encounter with clients on a professional level: "*I have a philosophy when I work I try an keep it on a very professional level I'm very..I cut off completely my emotions*". In this way she does not allow her feelings about her work to interfere with her work.

9.4.2 Sexual Boundaries

Sexual boundaries (as detailed in chapters 7 and 8 regarding physical and health risk management) are also explicit emotional risk management strategies which allow women to delineate between public and private sexual acts and preserve aspects of their own sexual expression which are not for sale. Sexual boundaries have been consistently noted by sex workers in other studies (Lawless and Wayne, 2005; Sanders, 2005; O'Connell Davidson, 1998; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Edwards, 1993). Høigård and Finstad (1993: 63-4) wonder how women can 'avoid prostituting themselves when they prostitute themselves?' Edwards (1993: 150) maintains however that certain body exclusion zones enable women to 'sell their body and keep their soul'. This idea could be traced in accounts of services that the respondents reportedly refused to provide. Julie notes: "*I don't kiss, I don't let them touch me, I don't do anal*". In terms of 'kissing', it has been noted that this is 'too personal, too intimate and too close to the women's sense of self' (Lawless and Wayne, 2005). All of these activities are too personal or personally uncomfortable for the individual. Anal sex as a banned activity amongst the women can be seen as an attempt to conform to normative sexual acts, with their disapproval of such an activity reflecting wider cultural and social attitudes towards anal sex (Miller, 1997). In this way then, sex workers are engaging in emotion management to protect their perceived 'identity' as sex workers, by their assertion that certain things are off limits and selling sex does not mean selling non-normative sexual acts.

9.4.3 Emotional Crutches

The complex relationship between drug use and sex work has been detailed at various stages throughout this thesis (see specifically Chapters 4, 5 and 8 for the role of this nexus on accumulated vulnerabilities, experience of work and exposure to health risks). The experience of risk as mediated through drug use combined with limited capacities for the management of risk due to drug use is variously presented through street respondents' accounts. Highlighting the 'paradoxical role' which drug use plays in prostitution (Brewis and Linstead, 2000a: 86), many of the street respondents report working in order to manage a drug habit while also reporting requiring drugs in order to manage work. Coupled with this the assertion that injecting drug users

(IDUs) report an escalation of their drug use (and hence the cost) when they are engaged in prostitution (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996), creates a highly intricate dynamic between drug use and sex work which casual theories (James, 1976; Miller, 1995) fall short of explaining. Using drugs as an emotional risk management mechanism employed by sex workers is noted in previous studies, particularly for those engaged in street prostitution (Cusick, 1998a; Taylor, 1993).

Using drugs to manage emotions on the job is a recourse explicitly described by some of the respondents. Chris describes how she uses valium to enable her to work: "*I feel ok cos I have me valium an all inside me*"; without which she exclaims "*Oh I wouldn't go down! {KMc: would ya not?} I wouldn't, no way the shame of it no*". Drug use for 'role disengagement' in street prostitution was also found by Cusick (1998a). The valium is used by Chris, then, in the management of stigma and also in the emotional management in prostitution: "*I do block everything ..even without work like I do need it to block everything out for me mother and father [who passed away through HIV/AIDS infection] and ya know I don't want to think of all that ya know*". The use of drugs as a 'numbing' mechanism was noted in previous Irish research with women in prostitution (Lawless and Wayne, 2005). Laura also explained how, when she worked on the streets a number of years ago, she needed to take drugs or alcohol before she went out to work for the night: "*I needed to be stoned..if it was through drink or drugs I needed something in me before I went out workin*".

9.4.4 Managing Emotional Crutches

Fiona maintains that she actively seeks to manage her drug use in order to enable her to work safely:

"*I have to be..not out of it.. I like to have me faculties about me in case anything goes wrong but I can't be one hundred percent normal {KMc: why?} because me body language gives off this thing which says I'm uncomfortable here don't come near me and I don't want to send that off either ya know that kind of way try and be friendly but keep it in a kinda ..business sort of*'

This management of drug use is a crucial balancing of keeping alert and in control of the situation, while at the same time being sufficiently relaxed in order to attract clients. Boeri, Sterk and Elifson (2006) present a typology of drug use careers based on a consideration of a person's ability to sustain mainstream, conventional and legitimate social roles and their ability to maintain control over their addiction. While those in the 'drug using sex worker' phase are well placed within the illicit economy and have 'moved away from a number of mainstream social roles'[81], they are differentiated from the 'junkie' in that they have control over their drug use to such a degree as to allow them to successfully maintain their role as a sex worker (Boeri et al, 2006: 279). Fiona's management technique allows her to suitably disengage in order to engage with 'business' as 'business'.

9.5 Disclosure

The issue of disclosure of their prostitution to various individuals in their social network is an issue to be negotiated by the respondents. While disclosure to family and friends is a source of anxiety for some, others also note the emotional risks of disclosing 'discrediting attributes' (Goffman, 1963) when accessing services. Disclosing her involvement in prostitution to service providers is a problem for Julie when her service engagement is unrelated to her addiction. As mentioned in Chapter 8, she feels that the stigma she experiences is as a result of her drug addiction: "*it's the fact that you're a drug addict that is a prostitute, d'ya know what I mean..they know like they know both go like both things go hand in hand*".

Goffman (1963) contends that the issue at hand for the 'discreditable' individual, as not having an obvious mark of their difference,[82] is the constant deliberation regarding disclosure of their 'failing':

---

[81] They have often 'lost' or 'given up' some mainstream social roles – e.g. role of 'mother' as children were taken or given voluntarily into care. The accounts of the respondents who have children in care or relative care point to the implication of drug use for this mainstream role

[82] Goffman (1963) in his seminal text *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* differentiates between the "discredited" and the "discreditable". The former usually possesses a visible or apparent mark of his stigma to be managed on a daily basis as face-to-face contact often means immediate exposure of his stigma. The latter "discreditable" individual does not face this problem but is subject to constant deliberation regarding concealment or disclosure.

'The issue is not that of managing tension during social contacts, but rather that of managing information about his [sic] failing. To display or not to display, to tell or not to tell; to let on or not to let on; to lie or not to lie, and in each case, to whom, how, when and where' (Goffman, 1963: 57).

Matt explains how he has not, as yet, revealed his involvement in prostitution to his parents and has to negotiate emotional risk by keeping this secret: "*they know I'm gay and that but they didn't know I was involved and that.. {KMc: would ya tell them?} I couldn't tell them yet now ya know*". He believes his mother may have suspicions as to how he is funding his drug habit. He rationalises, however, that he will tell his mother in time, confident that she will understand his motives: "*I think maybe she [Matt's mother] does know a bit ya know but I eventually will tell her ya know but she'll she'll understand ya know that's what I had to do to survive if ya know what I mean*".

Sonia chose to disclose her involvement in prostitution to her mother as she felt that it would have been unfair if she was to hear it from somebody else: "*I rang her [Sonia's mother] an told her yeah cos ...I thought she deserved to hear it from me rather than someone pull her on the street and embarrass her*". When the consequence of this disclosure was probed, Sonia explained that her mother was unwilling to support her daughter in finding a way out: "*I told her I was gone really bad on drugs I was livin on the streets..an...I was workin on the streets as a prostitute....an I asked could I come home an I'd make a..a new start..but she wouldn't let me...so that knocked me back*"

9.6 Concealment – Keeping Secrets

Many of the respondents conceal their engagement in prostitution from people within their social network. For Fiona, certain friends, family members and boyfriends have been unaware of her involvement in sex work, although she notes that concealment can be difficult at times as: "*ya can't fool all of them*". Concealment can be viewed as an active attempt to manage the "courtesy stigma" (Goffman, 1963) attributed to family and friends because of an individual's sex work. Julie notes how she kept her involvement in prostitution secret from her parents while they were alive, and since

they have both passed away she is no longer worried about concealing her secret, "*I always kept that from them but now like I've no one to answer to so I don't mind who knows*".

Donna concealed her prostitution from her family because, she explained, she was "*ashamed*". She was wary of her mother finding out as she lived in an area near Donna's place of work but she rationalises that "*me mother wouldn't be out at that hour of the night anyway*".

Carla revealed that her family in Portugal are not aware of her engagement in sex work in Ireland: "*I told them I'm here doing translations yeah as you do*".

9.6.1 Keeping it "Locked Up"

As noted in the previous chapter, for those respondents who were incarcerated at the time of the interview, some concealed their engagement in prostitution. While Anna notes that she is open with her circle of friends in prison about her sex work, Donna explains that "*I wouldn't even tell the girls in here*". For women who are serving a prison sentence, keeping their prostitution secret from the women inside with them may be an isolating experience. While some of the women in the Dóchas Centre may have similar experiences, the concealment of this while inside, and their unwillingness to share this part of their lives with each other, often mirrors and compounds vulnerabilities and marginalisation experienced out on the streets[83]. The evident taboo over this subject in prison, as the previous chapter illustrates, certainly presents an obstacle to any potential targeted support provision for incarcerated women with experience of prostitution.

9.6.2 Fear of being "Found Out"

Fear of her children finding out and being bullied for what their mother was involved in was the impetus which spurred Lena on to leaving prostitution: "*I was goin to see the kids and lookin at them gettin bigger and if anyone seen me then them getting*

[83] It is important to acknowledge, however, that the three respondents who were incarcerated at the time of interview have undoubtedly vastly different experiences, and issues such as reason for imprisonment, length of sentence and previous experience of incarceration could have implication for their disclosure of experience of prostitution.

jeered..ya know what I mean "oh I seen your Ma she's out on the game" and all that, I said they're gonna have to go through that so dunno I just snapped I said that's it". The assessment of this emotional risk was the incentive Lena required to seek help with her drug addiction and to leave commercial sex work. Coming to the attention of the criminal justice system for some respondents made them fearful of their activities being disclosed.

In addition to this, Lena explains how she now faces an additional emotional risk, in case her past is exposed to her children. She tells how her two sons have been in minor trouble with the law growing up and she dreads that some of the Gardaí will recognise her from her time on the street and use this as a weapon against her boys:

"*Ya know the way the police like gettin their own back on the young fellas {KMc: would you be worried about that still?} yeah on the young fellas d'ya know what I mean...probably say to them ah..."I remember your Ma she was out on the game" .. ya know to make them go mad whatever eh that's always on the back of me mind that that's gonna come out some day..to one of them d'ya know what I mean*"

Tina describes how she keeps what she does secret from her mother as she is fearful of disclosure coming to the attention of social workers and of this affecting her custody rights to her children, who are in relative care (see Chapter 4): "*no she'd [Tina's mother] blank me altogether like it'd make things worse for me an then if I told her she'd get on to the social workers an tell them the social workers would go on to me that's it your not gettin the kids back an that's the way it'd work {I: mm}ya know what I mean so I wouldn't say anything to them*"

9.7 Managing Private Relationships

Private relationships have been found to be a contested site for sex workers and choices made in the private arena are more about competing needs around romance and intimacy than competing risks (Warr and Pyett, 1999). As Western societies place considerable significance on trust and sexual exclusivity in intimate relationships (Giddens, 1992; Luhmann, 1986), this creates extreme difficulties for sex workers, who are sexually available to many partners through their work, while

trying to manage private relationships (Warr and Pyett, 1999; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996). Similar to findings by Warr and Pyett (1999) on the management of love and intimacy by sex workers in Victoria, Australia, all of the respondents in this study noted the tensions they faced, in varying degrees, with reconciling their work with their private relationships. Of the respondents in this study who are currently working, two are currently in relationships. Fiona is engaged in a '"casual" relationship, as noted in Chapter 5, where her prostitution also funds the drug habit of her partner. Sonia is in a long-term relationship, and as she explains in Chapter 7, her partner has recently begun providing "protection" for her while she works on the streets. The other respondents all note the difficulties they faced in maintaining private relationships and discuss how their work impinged on private intimacy and how private intimacy impinged on their work. Julie notes how working in prostitution has affected her own personal sexual relationships:

"*you don't even enjoy sex, like even when I was goin out with a fella, I didn't enjoy sex because of the prostitution. Ya can't have a relationship and d'ya know what I mean it's like you're lying there "come on will ya hurry up hurry up please just let this hurry up and be over" like that's all you're doin d'ya know what I mean*"

Julie describes how working in prostitution means that she is unable to enjoy personal relationships with partners, and likewise, she perceives that their intentions within the relationship are motivated by resource acquisition and maintenance of their own drug habits (supported by findings in Taylor's (1993) study on female drug users):

"*I was with a fella for two years and not once did I have sex with him I'd get into the bed beside him, I'd give him a kiss and a cuddle and that's as far as it went, put his hands near me and I'd break him yeah I couldn't and he'd know I'd be out workin now he never pushed me, he'd never push me but that's it's like how can you have sex with your partner after being working on the street and having sex with every Tom, Dick and Harry, ya can't do it, ya just cannot do it. So you're better off not in a relationship and any bloke that I have been with that knows that I work is only with me there for the money and for the drugs, that's all they're with you for. They're not with you cos they want anything else. So no, as I say 99% of the time sex doesn't even*

come into it. They just want to know how much money you have got in your pocket and what drugs you have in your pocket comin in that door and that's all it is".

Anna, who identifies as gay, explains how her sexuality can affect her work in prostitution. She explains: "*I'm gay..I know it sounds mad workin on the streets*". When this issue was probed, Anna reveals that, from her perspective, being gay makes it "*harder*" to be with male clients. While she is currently single, it has affected her personal relationships with previous partners especially when her prostitution has being used against her during an argument. Goffman (1963: 43) argues that the effort to avoid courtesy stigma, 'provides a reason why such relations tend either to be avoided or to be terminated, where existing'

Charlotte, who also identifies as gay, explains that she did not have any difficulty separating her private sexual relationship from her professional work: "*I didn't find it put me off sex really because it was quite a different thing like the sex I was having at home was an emotional experience and was personally satisfying and I was involved in it and engaged in it in a totally different way than at work where it was yunno a pragmatic exercise*". She does acknowledge, however, that individuals have different ways of dealing with this and also other relationships have different dynamics.

9.7.1 The Public/Private Divide

For Charlotte, her partner was initially unhappy with her involvement in prostitution. However, over time she began to accept what she did and came to see prostitution as a form of empowerment for women. While interviewing Charlotte, I had the opportunity to speak to her partner, Kelly who was happy to go on record to speak about how it feels to be involved in a personal relationship with someone engaged in prostitution[84].

KMc: Did you have difficulty with what your partner was doing?

[84] Kelly was present in the house they shared at the time of the interview. I was introduced to her and she stayed in another room while I conducted the interview with Charlotte. However, when I began asking questions about the impact on private relationships whilst working, Charlotte suggested Kelly give her perspective also. Kelly was happy to come and she talked for a few minutes about how she felt as a 'partner' of a sex worker before leaving the room again.

Kelly: Not really initially I did but that was even before I was em before I was Charlotte's partner it was when I was Charlotte's friend but again you just grow up with a total stereotypical vision of prostitution is that it's only sort of desperate drug addicted women who are prostitutes you know so I guess it took me a while to come to terms with the fact that you can actually do it as choice and from a position of empowerment and then em I guess in terms of when we got together and everything it was I I was fine with it really because it was just {Charlotte: I was making a lot of money} yeah {Charlotte *laughs*} mainly and it was giving me a lifestyle to which I was happily becoming accustomed to and yeah it was just so different you know I mean it's not like it's threatening in any kind of way

KMc: So you wouldn't mind even if it was female clients?

Kelly: That was the one thing and I guess that's why I said it was different you know I could easily separate it and that was kind of our own rule was that you know I need separation via I guess in the obvious kind of way so that was the one rule we had

Warr and Pyett (1999: 300) contend that 'sex work practices, in so far as they simulate or even parody the features of love-making, can profoundly disrupt the special characteristics of intimate sexual relationships'. This became an issue in Charlotte and Kelly's relationship in terms of female clients and was later deemed out of bounds as one of the 'rules' for Charlotte's emotional risk management in her private relationship. This highlights the boundaries of the public/private divide as socially constructed through this private relationship.

There was not any such opportunity to talk to partners of any of the street working women. The blurred line of partners' roles in the work of those engaged in street prostitution was highlighted in Chapter 7. While some of the respondents talk about working in prostitution to fund their own and their partners' habits, others talk about their partners accompanying them down to the streets 'for protection'. The divergence between this relationship dynamic and its impact on the work of some the women on the street is in clear contrast to that described by Charlotte and her partner Kelly and makes any comparison problematic, if not inapt. One perceptible parallel in all of the respondents' accounts is that private relationships are an essential site of

emotional risk management which can affect 'working', while equally 'working' can become a site of construction of 'risk' for private relationships.

Carla, who works as an independent escort, explains how she cannot have a relationship while she's involved in sex work. After leaving her husband she notes: "*after the head screws I went with dealing with my husband and havin you know workin well he was my boyfriend at the time and workin at the same time it was just like couldn't handle it so no I won't get into a relationship when I'm doing this there's just no way*".

For other women who were working on the street, their experience was often of a controlling and manipulative partner who coerced them into submission to their demands. Lena notes how her partner would force her to go out on the street working until she had earned enough money: "*He had me out then doin it himself 'don't come back unless you've so much money*'". Gagnon and Simon (1973) argue that the 'boyfriend-pimp' relationship is best understood in terms of women's deprived emotional relationships with other men (see also Sterk, 2000). Again this indicates the burdening effects of the Matthew Effect in some of the respondents' lives, leaving them isolated from wider, "bridging" social capital. She explains how, after coming home, he would expect her to have sex with him on demand. Partner resentment for lack of desire for sexual intercourse was also a theme found elsewhere (McKeganey, 2006; Warr and Pyett, 1999). Lena's partner would use her prostitution against her if she refused:

"He'd take the money yeah and then "well you're after doin it with them out there so you can do it with me....do I have to pay for it?"..some nights I'd come in, it wouldn't be nights, it'd be about six in the morning whatever and I'd just wants to get in and go to sleep yunno to bed, have a wash, get into bed [he'd] go.."What do ya think yer gettin in to go to sleep? Don't even think yer goin to sleep, you're havin sex with me before ya go to sleep"..so he was as bad as them [punters] when I looked at him I said you're as bad as them...if it was anyone else, I was with him years right and if it was anyone else they'd say "right you're not doin that anymore we're gonna start afresh again", three kids together right, twenty two year with him but no he was as bad as them"

Lena's narrative is mirrored in Warr and Pyett's (1999) study, whereby one respondent exclaimed "I don't believe a guy can love you and expect that you can work" (Warr and Pyett, 1999: 295). This idea is brought to the extreme in what Elster (1979), and elsewhere Sanders (2005), refer to as the 'Groucho paradox', where the self-stigmatisation in romantic encounters is illustrated by the notion that; 'I would not dream of loving someone who would stoop so low as to love me' (Elster, 1979: 199).

For Laura, her prostitution impinged less on her personal sexual relationships than her drug addiction did. She explains how her drug use meant that she had a depleted sexual drive: "*I've a very very sort of well I suppose I still have a very very sex high drive* [sic] *eh..an when you're usin ya don't, d'ya know what I mean eh... I suppose cos you're too interested in gettin stoned..it's just that you want to get out of your head*". In effect, then, her drug use meant Laura had little interest in intimate sexual relationships while she was preoccupied with satisfying her cravings for drugs. Rhodes and Quirk (1998: 163) found, in their qualitative study on illicit drug users in London, that regular heroin use was reportedly associated with loss of sexual drive in private relationships[85]. Sexual communication then in private relationships, while working in prostitution, can become compounded by the impact of drug use which can diminish sexual desire and further detach those engaged in prostitution from their private partners, despite their efforts in emotional risk management.

9.7.2 'Transmuted' Feelings?

Involvement in prostitution, for some, affects perceptions of personal relationships. Matt reveals how he has little faith in intimate relationships since he became involved in prostitution. He explains that witnessing punter's dishonesty in their private relationships makes him question trust in relationships in general and this deters him from engaging in intimate relationships outside of prostitution:

[85] This was seen as being primarily due to two major factors; the first was that regular heroin use often meant that users became more interested in scoring heroin than having sex, whilst the physiological effects of heroin use meant that penetrative sex was often difficult, uncomfortable or impossible (i.e. male unable to achieve or sustain an erection) due to a number of reasons (related in part to the individual, quantity, duration and timing of drug use) (Rhodes and Quirk, 1998: 163).

"It is a bit hard really ya know it's hard for me to get into a relationship too ... because like..even seein other relationships because like some of them are married and girlfriends and that it makes me think that nobody's honest in a relationship ya know that way in any..well not most relationships to me it makes me think like ya know they're all cheatin on people ya know there's people up there with people probably wives wouldn't have a clue ya might think married twenty years and think they've a grand relationship or and there's their husband up in the Phoenix park".

Chris feels that she would not be able to maintain a relationship while working in prostitution as she contends that this would be akin to cheating on her partner: *"I think if I was with a fella like I wouldn't be doin this I wouldn't do it like if I was goin out with a fella because it'd be like me just goin off with all different men all the time but like I haven't got any interest in men at the moment no".*

This discourse reveals a perceived incongruity between private lives and public lives whilst working in prostitution. This renders many of the respondents without the emotional support of a private relationship.

9.7.3 Emotional Isolation

Compounding their experiences, as noted previously, is that many engage in prostitution unbeknownst to, or against the wishes of their families. Some of the respondents note that their parents have passed away, others have no contact with their families, or are in conflict with them, or are supporting a family member through their prostitution (as in the case of Julie, noted in Chapter 7). The burden of managing 'emotion work' in sex work in the absence of solid emotional support in their private lives is a feature of the experiences of many of the street respondents. While some talk about their friendships with other workers on the street, Fiona refutes the notion that shared environments can foster friendships when she is questioned about other working women being "friends": *"I wouldn't call them friends..they're only acquaintances ya know.. em I don't think anybody that lives the life I live or that anyone else like that lives can honestly say they have any friends".* This pronouncement is supported in other qualitative investigations of street sex work

which sees tight-knit networks of street workers as unfounded, with many street workers reporting the perception that 'everyone on the streets is out for themselves' (Dalla, 2002: 68). This very statement is echoed in my study by Julie, who mentions that although she has a small network of friends on the street (see Chapter 5), she perceives the dynamic between women on the street to have changed dramatically in recent times: "*In the last ten years, all the girls used to look out for one another, now they don't, it's every girl for themselves out there*". These accounts serve to further highlight the social isolation of many of those engaged in prostitution, particularly on the street. Without the informal support of family, a private partner or, indeed, other working women, emotional risks and weakened capacities to manage them will undoubtedly be exacerbated for these individuals.

9.8 Management of Stigma – Narratives of Rationalisation

The social stigma associated with prostitution, as noted above, is not passively accepted by the respondents and, as part of their emotional risk management repertoires they engage in a counter offensive through 'narratives of rationalisation' (Sanders, 2005: 153). The experience of stigma has serious implications for individual stress and well-being and those affected draw on personal resources to manage stigma (Major and O'Brien, 2005). These narratives of rationalisation include the sex as work discourse, functionalist discourse and challenging traditional assumptions.

9.8.1 Sex Work Discourse

By conceptualising prostitution as work, sex workers are seen as engaging in a 'technique of neutralization' (Matza, 1969) by seeking to 'manage one aspect of their sexual identity that transgresses what is considered acceptable' (Sanders, 2005: 149). Evidence of sex as work discourse is extensively discussed in Chapter 5 where respondents' 'presentation of self' (Goffman, 1959), in terms of their engagement in prostitution, is expressed through work rhetoric.

9.8.2 Challenging Traditional Assumptions

The discourses of many of the respondents point towards how they address other peoples perceptions and perceived stigma of their sex selling through a justification of their position "*like it's up to me whether I wanna sell my body or whether I wanna work a job nine to five*" (Julie). Tina similarly justifies her decision to engage in prostitution. While, initially she self-stigmatised, she considered her situation and rationalised that she had nobody else to help her with money and needed to do this in order to help herself:

"*at first ya know I've..I kind of was disgusted with meself kinda..yeah I'm ashamed of me body I'm this I'm lettin everyone touch..ya know that kind of way..an I was sayin no but this is ya know what I mean this is what I'm doin..I suppose this is what I have to do if I need to get money...no-one else is gonna help me*".

Donna also rebukes the stigma associated with prostitution. She explains how people's negative reactions to those engaged in sex selling are hurtful: "*I just I get very angry and annoyed with people cos people don't understand some people's circumstances ya know...well I went down and done it for drugs cos I'd no other way of earnin me money*". This justification of involvement in prostitution is a management of stigma as it highlights a lack of choice of resource acquisition for addiction maintenance.

For Fiona, she also initially, like Tina, felt a stigma when she began working but she rationalised that she was making money through sex work, while there are other people who are living promiscuously:

"*At the end of the day we're only human beings and ya know god only knows half of them at the weekend they're givin it away for nothing..ya know they're goin out gettin pissed..and sleepin with a complete stranger or girls goin out an gettin feckin pissed d'ya know what I mean an bringin strangers home d'ya know but yet we're not allowed make ends meet by doin what we do an gettin paid them to pay..pay for it and doin it in a civilised and..whatever manner ya know*".

For many of the women, the money differentiates 'sleeping around' from business. Julie notes how the money she makes allows her to maintain her drug habit but also to maintain an important social role as mother:

"*Getting into a car from one bloke to the other to another to another. I might as well be givin it away for nothing, but I'm not, I'm getting paid for it which is totally different d'ya know what I mean. Where there is girls out there that are goin round sleepin with young lads for nothing but I know at the end of the day I've got me money in me pocket. I can buy me drugs, I can go out and buy me son whatever he wants and that's more important to me, being able to buy me son what he needs and what he wants when he wants it. It doesn't matter what it is or what price it is cos like he's in voluntary care at the moment, and because I handed him into voluntary care that hurts me more so the prostitution blocks that out*"

Interestingly, Julie notes that while her involvement in prostitution allows her a certain financial security which allows her to treat her son on her access visits, she also implies that prostitution provides an emotional crutch for her in dealing with the fact that her son is in voluntary care.

Similar to Fiona and Julie, Laura rebukes the notion that sex work should be stigmatised. She feels, considering her years spent working in prostitution, that she is not any different today because of her experience: "*I don't look back on it...the way I look at it is it's what I had to do to survive...I don't look at it like I'm any different to anyone or anyone who works it's any different to me*". She argues, like Fiona above, that "selling yourself" is not solely a commercial enterprise and believes that there are implicit ways of doing this which is not normatively considered 'prostitution':

"*There's all different ways of sellin yourself ...the only difference is with me sellin meself is I stood on the street corner and I made money, it's the same with women that stand on the street corner and there's all different ways of just sleepin with a fella...cos he buys ya a drink or sleepin with a fella cos he gives ya a bag a drugs d'ya know what I mean there's loads of different ways of sellin yourself an I remember that been put to me..cos I'd a carried a lot of shame around when I got clean an I remembered it been put to me.. the only difference with you Laura and*

anyone else..here is you stood on a street corner an made money out of it..they stood..with someone else .. an got nothing..does that make any sense so..I admire anyone that can stand on the street corner an do it .. at least this is my thinking, at least I'm gettin money out of it..than fuckin..goin to bed with someone just for the sake, does that make any sense? cos he's after buyin ya a drink"

This finding is similar to that found elsewhere as respondents 'reframe' their sex work experience by comparing it to other types of sexual behaviour (Sanders, 2005). Similar to Laura above, Katrina in Sanders' (2005) study of indoor sex workers found that sex work was more respectable than countless "one-night stands".

9.8.3 Functionalist Discourse

As detailed in the Literature Review in Chapter 2, the functionalist approach to theorising on prostitution (Davis, 1937; Benjamin and Masters, 1964) regards prostitution as a metaphysical safety valve for society. This safety valve, in the guise of prostitutes or 'promiscuous' women, must be made available for the sexual use of men, or, it is warned, frustrations will result in sexual assaults.

Some of the respondents note the 'safety valve' they are providing through prostitution. Julie presents a functionalist perspective through her narrative; "*Well it was on the radio there about four weeks ago that a lot of them think that it should be legalised, because we're providing a service and there's less rapes goin on*". Sanders (2005) found it disturbing in her study with indoor workers that some respondents maintained that their sex work contributed to a reduction in violent crime against women and children. Feminists attack this assertion that prostitutes act as a safety valve for men, and without their available sexual services there would be an increase in sexual attacks and rape. Rape is seen as an act of violence not of sexual urge, and the idea of males with an 'uncontrollable' sexual drive is perpetrated through such discourse (Rape Crisis Network Europe, 2003).

9.8 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the emotional risks experienced by respondents as an element of their lived realities. These risks involve the stigma attributed to prostitution as deviating from normative sexual behaviour in society and the stigmatising of prostitutes as 'discreditable' individuals. Furthermore, a hierarchal ordering evident in prostitution means that certain sex work sectors are more 'stigmatised than others' (e.g. the street) by those engaged in the sex industry, as an 'us and them', rather than an homogenous sex worker identity, is evident. However, relative to physical and health risks, emotional risks were similarly distributed amongst street or indoor workers, albeit in different ways.

Indeed, the effort to keep *public* and *private* separate was found to be the major emotional risk management exercise amongst respondents. As 'discreditable' individuals, banished through social and legal discourse to outside of the margins of mainstream society, individuals many manage the concealment of their 'stigma' in order to protect family and friends from "courtesy stigma" (Goffman, 1963).
The idea of private, intimate relationships as a mode of symbolic exchange is highlighted by Luhmann (1986) who maintains that these relationships are sites of communication providing a means of self-validation for individuals in an increasingly anonymous world. Sexual boundaries are one such strategy which allows sex workers control over the parts of their bodies which are for sale and delineating that which is off limits as reserved for the private sexual sphere. Ideas around 'discourses of meaning' (Oerton and Phoenix, 2001) can seek to understand how women experience sex and sexuality as both 'public and private embodied experiences' (Sanders, 2005: 145).

The difficulties of this was illustrated in this chapter whereby the private realm often impacted on public activities, in terms of partner involvement in sex work or in terms of constraints on sex work activities due to private partner demands/wishes. Furthermore, the 'public' aspect of some respondents' lives was found to negatively impact on the 'private' sphere as they felt unable to engage in an intimate relationship whilst working, ironically limiting their emotional risk management capacities for emotional risk management reasons. Sanders (2005) 'hierarchy of harms' model is

useful for understanding the difficulties in managing public and private identities and how emotional risk management may be prioritised over other occupational risks.

Evidently, unlike the mediation of physical and health risks perceptions, street capital is not a major feature of emotional risk management as respondents individually respond to and manage risks. The management of emotional risk is regarded by some commentators as taking precedence over other risks, such as health and physical, in the risk management repertoires of sex workers (Sanders, 2005). This is noted as being due to the fact that the sex worker is less equipped to control emotional risks and thus they are perceived to be at the top of the hierarchy of harms by those engaged in prostitution. Their responses highlight a reflexive competence in seeking to assess the potential emotional dangers to their 'private' selves and thus demarcating public from private in an effort to minimise emotional risks. The absence of "bridging" social capital in the street working respondents' lives, however, highlights their vulnerability in "bonded" networks with limited social support.

Notably, Hochschild's (1983: 163) ideas around the gendered nature of emotional labour are absent in the data as the male respondent reports largely similar account of managing the public/private divide and did not present with a stronger 'status shield' against emotional dangers than the female respondents.

Narratives of rationalisation are a key emotional risk management strategy engaged in by all of the respondents irrespective of sex work sector. Rationalisations can take the form of sex as work narrative, a powerful 'status shield' (Hochschild, 1983) amongst all respondents, as detailed in Chapter 5. Other narratives of rationalisation were evident in functionalist discourses or in active challenges to traditional assumptions regarding prostitution by comparing sex work to other types of sexual behaviour. These discourses, as evident in the data, are explicit attempts by respondents to make sense of and respond to what Jackman, O'Toole and Gilbert (1963) refer to as the social anathema of prostitution.

The use of 'emotional crutches', such as drug dependence, by street respondents in order to manage 'emotion work' is highlighted as an additional risk in a paradoxical effort by these individuals to manage risks. While some of the street working

respondents report using drugs carefully to relax them enough to engage in the work whilst remaining alert to harm aversion, the effectiveness of this balancing every time is questionable and the added risk burden of these 'emotional crutches' in the accumulated risk trajectories is underlined here. Clearly, the complexities of the role of drug misuse in the street workers' experience of prostitution pervade each aspect of this thesis, and, thus, managing prostitution through drug misuse is undoubtedly fanning the flames of risk for these individuals.

Lupton's (1999b: 35) quandary as to how the 'discourses and practices around risk operate in the construction of subjectivity and social life' has being a guiding question for the analysis of this research. The accounts presented in this chapter seek to understand how respondents make sense of their prostitution through narratives of rationalisation, how they read and respond to emotional risk and how this feeds into their experience of work. The next and final chapter will draw together the discourses and practices of risk presented by the respondents in this study in an attempt to understand their construction of their lived realities of prostitution.

Chapter 10 Discussion

The Risk Environment of Street Prostitution in Ireland

10.1 Introduction

This research set out with the aim to explore the experiences of women in prostitution in Ireland. Such a broad overall study goal necessitated clear objectives set within a suitable exploratory paradigm. To this end the three primary objectives of the study have been addressed:

1. To establish the dominant interpretative discourses through which prostitution can be viewed
2. To ascertain the views of women working in prostitution regarding these political and popular discourses
3. To explore the meanings of prostitution for women in prostitution based on their experiences

A framework for understanding and analysing the respondents' perceptions of discourse at different contextual levels was chosen as an appropriate means to locate women's voices amongst competing discourses on prostitution (adapted from Duncan and Edwards, 1999).

An inductive approach to the research allowed the primary research question of the experiences of women in prostitution in Ireland to be kept to the fore, and for discursive readings to remain grounded in the respondents' accounts. The methodology presented in Chapter 3 details the research process and challenges negotiated in the course of access to and recruitment of a sample for this study. The 'sampling' for this study comprised of two phases. The final sample consisted of eleven street workers (eight current and three ex-street workers) and two 'indoor' workers (one independent 'touring' escort and one ex-brothel worker)[86]. While the focus of this research is primarily on the experiences of women engaged in prostitution, the opportunity arose to interview a male 'street' sex worker who was

[86] While distinctions are made throughout the thesis between the accounts of the current and past sex workers, at times 'street workers' is used to denote patterns evident amongst all of the streey accounts. Similarly, at times in the thesis the two 'indoor workers' are referred to which indicate the accounts of a current and past 'indoor' sex worker

keen to take part in the research. His account became vital in terms of the analysis of the data. The accounts of the 'indoor' workers were used illustratively throughout this thesis in order to highlight issues regarding the social organisation of prostitution which became a critical aspect of the analysis. The implications of the findings of this investigation are appraised in relation to current theoretical debates in the field, in order to locate this study within competing discourses. At a practical level, the reading of the experiences of women in prostitution presented in this thesis will have particular ramifications for discourses regarding the legal context of prostitution in Ireland.

10.2 Key Findings

"How do the discourses and practices around risk operate in the construction of subjectivity and social life" (Lupton, 1999b: 35)

This phenomenological account has provided a story of the 'lived conditions' of respondents' lives and choices; the 'structural and material conditions' facilitating entry to and mitigating experience of sex work; the experience of violence, victimisation, health and emotional risks and the pragmatic choices made within a limited environment in order to negotiate the work (Scoular and O'Neill, 2007: 776). This study has found that the variability of prostitution experiences can be traced through respondents' accounts of trajectories to prostitution (Chapter 4), different working environments and working conditions and interactions with clients (Chapter 5), readings of risk (Chapter 6) and exposure and management of risks along a 'hierarchy of harms' in terms of physical risks (Chapter 7), health risks (Chapter 8) and emotional risks (Chapter 9).

Vanwesenbeeck's (1994) Matthew Effect thesis as adapted for prostitution analysis was considered for use as a model for understanding the variability in the data. It was found, however, that the Matthew Effect thesis, alone, was insufficient as a framework for the story emerging from the data. The Matthew Effect must be incorporated within a risk environment framework. A risk environment of prostitution in Ireland has been found to exist which mediates risk experiences for sex workers at the micro, meso and macro levels as illustrated throughout each analysis

chapter. Within this risk environment street workers were found to be more vulnerable to risk and more constrained in their abilities to manage risk than other sex workers.

10.2.1 The Risk Environment of Prostitution in Ireland

'The risk environment' model, adapted from the work of Rhodes (2002) and Rhodes et al (2005), has been found to be the most appropriate framework for locating respondents' accounts and presenting the 'story' of this research at the macro, meso and micro risk contexts. Clear patterns in the street workers experiences became evident which signalled similarities in experiences of the risk environment amongst this group. While a definitive 'indoor' experience of the risk environment could not be presented based on two accounts, the presence of these accounts in the data serve to strengthen the argument of variability of sex worker experiences within the risk environment through evidently distinctive 'indoor' and 'street' work experiences, as emerging from the findings of this study

An illustration of the risk environment emerging from the findings of this research is presented in Figure 10 (a) below. It considers the production and reproduction of risk at three different environmental levels.

Figure 10 (a) Findings - The Risk Environment of Street Prostitution in Ireland

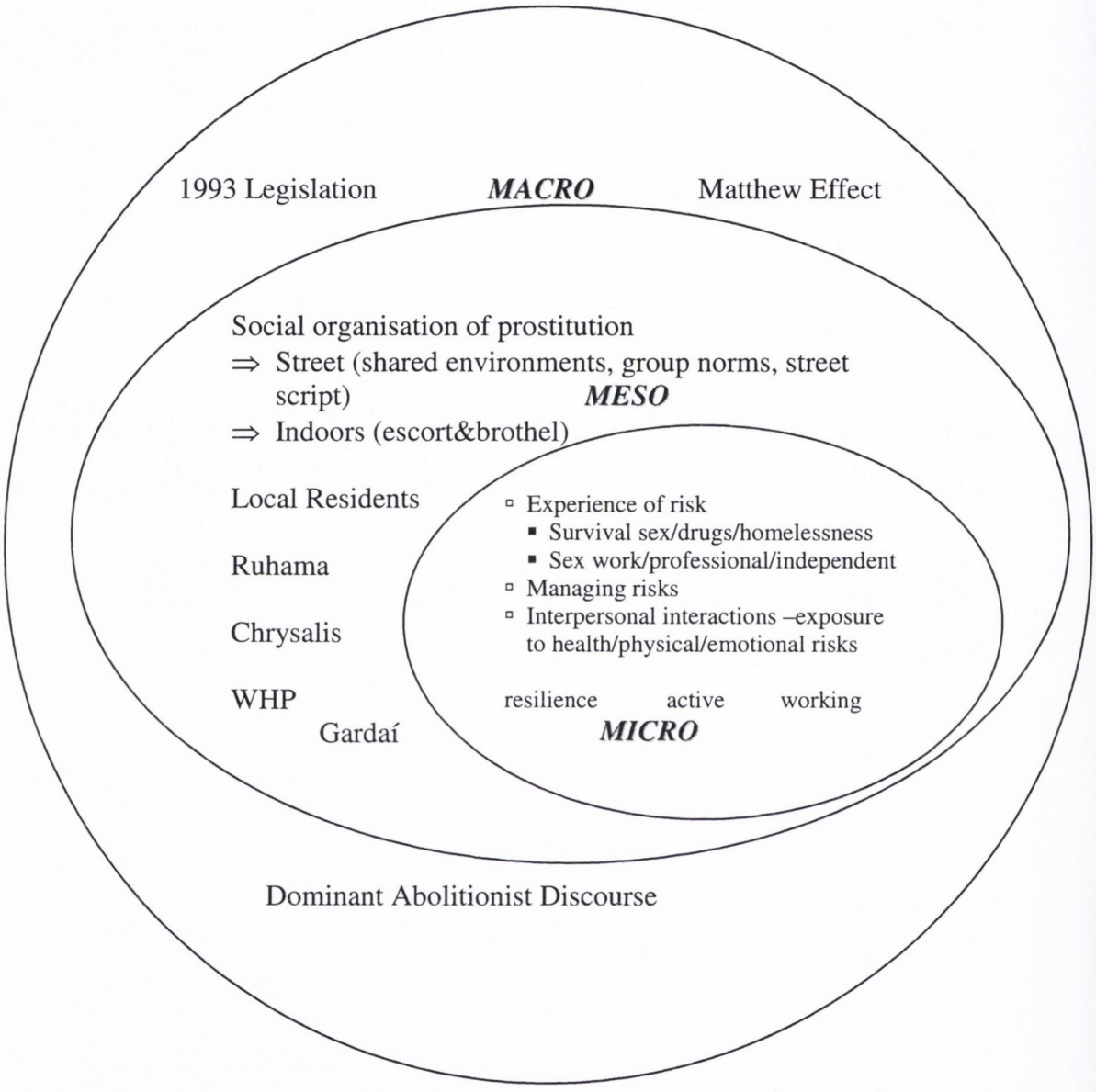


Figure 10 (a) – The Risk Environment of Prostitution in Ireland

This study has found that lived experiences of prostitution are situated within a risk environment manifested through three levels – the macro, the meso and the micro. Broadly, the types of risk at each level can be classified as either structural (social, economic or policy-related) or interpersonal. As can be seen from Figure 10 (a), each of the levels are embedded in one another, thus, risk factors enjoy a dialectical

relationship with environmental risks on the other levels, as both structural processes and human agency interact in the maintenance of the risk environment of street prostitution in Ireland.

At the macro level, the legal context and the dominant abolitionist discourse created a broad socio-legal setting for understanding the experiences of sex work in Ireland (as set out in Chapter 1). Also at this level, predisposition to the Matthew Effect was evident through the accumulation of early 'vulnerability' experiences (illustrated in Chapter 4).

Critically, at the meso level, the social organisation of prostitution mediated risk experiences for those involved in prostitution in Ireland in terms of their working environment, experiences of work and interactions with clients (as seen in Chapter 5). Risk readings by respondents at the micro level were seen to be filtered through their acquisition of 'social capital' (however limited) at the meso level (illustrated in Chapter 6). The implications of the current institutional responses and organisational responses at this level were also evident (detailed in Chapters 7 and 8 respectively).

At the micro level the lived experiences of risk were evident as respondents reflexively responded to risks along a perceived 'hierarchies of harms' in terms of physical (Chapter 7), health (Chapter 8) and emotional (Chapter 9) risks. Whilst challenging notions of passivity by actively confronting and negotiating risks through their 'situated knowledges' (Wynne, 1996), sex workers, in particular street workers, are ultimately constrained by the risk environment itself. Their restricted 'agency' through structural influences serves to produce and reproduce risk meanings, risk behaviour and, thus, the risk environment of prostitution.

What is highlighted is the *inseparability* of risk factors at the macro-, meso- and micro-levels (Rhodes et al, 2005: 1028 – original emphasis), as evidenced in other qualitative and ethnographic studies (Singer, 1997; Bourgois, Lettiere and Quesada, 1997). Consequently, the manifestations of risk, and its effects on one level, determine the nature of risks on other levels. While it is acknowledged that the simplicity of the risk environment model cannot serve to exhaustively capture all of the various permutations of how different environmental factors interact in a given

context (Rhodes et al, 2005), the model seeks to understand the operation of different factors at different levels which serve to produce and reproduce risk.

The findings from this study in terms of risks presenting at the macro, meso and micro levels and the implications of this risk environment for the experiences of street and indoor workers will be discussed below.

10.3 The MACRO Level

At the macro level, risk factors include the legislation governing prostitution in Ireland, structural inequities and discursive elements.

10.3.1 Irish Prostitution Law

The legal context was central to the reading of the construction of what prostitution is in this country and how prostitution is experienced and so, like Hubbard (2006), the law in Ireland was not viewed in terms of an abstract legal discourse as, 'it is more meaningful to explore the way that legal relations of power are constructed and reproduced through police practices that code, exclude, enable, locate and repress particular forms of sex work in particular places at specific times' (Hubbard, 2006: 1). The social construction of prostitution is identified through perceptions of legal discourses, 'official' constructions of prostitution and its enforcement in Ireland and the responses and experiences of those engaged in sex work within this criminalised system.

As discussed in Chapter 1, The 1993 Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act which governs prostitution can be viewed as a risk factor as it criminalises activities associated with prostitution. Public nuisance orientated prostitution laws have the dubious distinction of making it in effect 'legal' to be a prostitute but in reality impossible to engage in prostitution-related activities (Outshoorn, 2004; Jeffrey, 2004: 83). This then has implications for the social organisation of prostitution at the meso level and the experience of prostitution at the micro level (as revealed in Chapter 5). Those working in street prostitution are visible and thus risk arrest from the Gardaí on a daily basis. The data reveals how the women working in prostitution

often risk conducting "business" in unsafe locations to avoid detection which has concomitant limitations for their risk management. This is a direct implication of the criminalised system currently in operation, which places women in prostitution in situations where they are forced to 'risk risk', thus weakening their ability to negotiate their work safely. Women who work from indoor locations are not safe from the authoritative gaze either. However, the data also shows how most of the respondents experience a good relationship with the Gardaí, contrary to the findings in other research (Shannon et al, 2008; Dalla, 2002). Micro level experiences of prostitution are filtered through this macro level environmental risk as the legal context in Ireland creates a criminalised environment for women on the street, manifested in unpredictable enforcement at the meso level, which women must negotiate as part of their risk management repertoire.

10.3.2 Dominant Discourse on Prostitution in Ireland

Another identified risk factor at the macro level is the dominant abolitionist discourse on prostitution in Ireland. The evolution of this discourse as a dominant voice on prostitution and in prostitution politics in Ireland was discussed in Chapter 1. Outshoorn (2004) questions the degree to which women's movements have challenged states over the past thirty years to deal with women's status. The issue of prostitution has not been regarded as a 'hot topic' for consideration over the last thirty years in Ireland since 'second wave feminism' and so, women's movements have not mobilised around this issue in any concerted way to address the 'official' status of those engaged as sex workers. Accordingly, similar to the situation in US politics (Stetson, 2004), discussions on prostitution have been absent from public debate. The issue of prostitution has been effectively commandeered by the abolitionist camp, manifested through Ruhama, a voluntary organisation working with women in prostitution. They call for an adoption of the 'Swedish model' of prostitution policy which criminalises the demand side of prostitution. Findings from Sweden, however, point to the 'risk environment' this has created for sex workers forced to work 'underground' (Svanström, 2006). The divisive feminist minefield on the issue of prostitution means that women's policy agencies in different countries may diverge as 'vehicles to movement goals' (Stetson and Mazur, 1995). Yet this divisiveness at least creates opportunities for debates at a policy level. The dominance of one

abolitionist voice means that one 'vehicle' travels towards one ultimate goal – abolitionism, and without any other traffic to negotiate, it would appear that this is an easy journey. The relative absence of real debate and movement on this issue over the past thirty years then in the Irish context is unsurprising given the absence of any challengers to the abolitionist perspective.

The dominance of abolitionism in Ireland, whilst responsible for supporting worthy exit programmes for women who wish to leave prostitution, may ironically reinforce the alienation of many women who do not wish to leave prostitution. This argument is supported elsewhere (Pitcher, 2006; Sloan and Wahab, 2000) whereby limiting services to those who wish to leave prostitution neglects the social and other support needs of women who wish to remain in prostitution. O'Neill (2006) argues that many women in prostitution are symbolically socially excluded when 'inclusion' in mainstream society is only possible via exiting. Furthermore, abolitionist perspectives are seen as sidelining social structural understandings of risk in favour of an individualized application of risk (Scoular and O'Neill, 2007). Thus, this dominant perspective in Irish prostitution politics neglects to understand the social production of risk, by constructing those involved as 'risky subjects' to be reformed 'rather than recognising them as sentient subjects who manage risks' (Scoular and O'Neill, 2007: 770).

Viewing *all* women in prostitution as 'at risk' blurs the picture and does not allow for targeted interventions where needed. The abolitionist perspective is based upon the assertion that prostitution 'is in and of itself, violence against women' (Jeffreys, 1997). This contention is argued as reducing prostitution to heterosexual exchange between a female prostitute and male client[87] and also failing to 'distinguish between acts to which the sex worker has consented (however mistakenly), and acts which leave her physically harmed or dead, thus denying any opportunity to reduce or deny the later kind of violence' (Kinnell, 2006). Brooks-Gordon (2006) echoes this point by arguing that when there is no qualitative difference made between the 'violence' of society which forces someone into the sex industry, and the violence that manifests

[87] Thus ignoring the experiences of male sex workers, transgender/transsexual sex workers or the issue of female clients of male sex workers, a phenomenon documented by research in the Caribbean (Kempadoo, 2004)

itself in beatings, rape and murder, then there is no incentive to recognise, understand or reduce this latter type of violence. Furthermore, the needs of indoor workers are often ignored in abolitionist debates (Soothill and Sanders, 2004), while male sex workers are often invisible when prostitution is viewed through a 'violence against women' lens. While abolitionism is at the root of some valuable efforts and interventions to address risks for those working in prostitution, such as street outreach, the abolitionist agenda impacts on the experience of the meso and micro level risk environments for women in prostitution in Ireland in terms of the services they do not receive.

In addition to legal and discursive structural elements implicating experiences of the risk environment, a critical, divisive 'Effect' is notable in the data which serves to explicate inconsistency in prostitution experience across respondents' accounts, as detailed below.

10.3.3 The Matthew Effect

Another environmental risk factor identified at the macro level is the 'Matthew Effect' which reinforces risks at the meso level and locates individuals in vulnerable positions where they are exposed to further risks at micro level. The visible Matthew Effect in the lives of the respondents was illustrated in Chapter 4 of this study. By employing Vanwesenbeeck's (1994) adaptation of the Matthew Effect for women in prostitution, it has been found in this study that vulnerable starting points for all of the street working prostitutes have appeared to culminate over the life-course to continuously disadvantage the individual, whereby a combination of structural inequities (at the macro level) and negative childhood experiences have lead to an accumulation of early risk experiences. The 'effects' of the 'Effect' are seen as an incessant disadvantage throughout the life course. Economic need vulnerably positions the individual upon initiation of sex work, exposes them to burdening working conditions (at the meso level), and to a limited range of survival strategies, thereby leaving the individual in a vulnerable position in interactions with clients (at the micro level).

A culmination of structural inequities at the macro level interlinks to invite the fatal (as opposed to the fortunate[88]) Matthew Effect into the lives of the street working respondents. The effect can be traced from childhood risk experiences (childhood poverty, dysfunctional family background, unstable care giving, physical and sexual abuse, experience of statutory care, early exposure to criminality and drug and alcohol misuse, juvenile homelessness and juvenile criminality) right through to risk experiences in prostitution.

The evidence of the 'Effect' in the lives of the respondents clearly has a role in mitigating their perceptions of risks and risk taking and their consequent management of risks. Their exposure to risks and accumulation of risk experiences throughout their lives means that risks within prostitution are not unique risks in their lives and, thus, their approach to risks and risk management is mediated by the presence of this cumulative vulnerability in their lives. Vanwesenbeeck's (1994) interpretation of this cumulative disadvantageous effect is useful for identifying general patterns in the data. However, the lived experience of risk has been found to be a complex amalgam of individual positioning, context, social interaction and power dynamics and risk perceptions of which the Matthew Effect is an interacting element rather than an overarching explanation. The role of the Matthew Effect and the other macro-level risk factors at the meso level are detailed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 in terms of the sub-cultural production and reproduction of risk

This study has shown that, despite the cumulative Matthew Effect, which leave street workers with little opportunity to participate fully in the formal economy, they engage in 'modes of adaptation' (Lemert, 1964) which are active and resilient efforts to participate in the informal economy (illuminated in the accounts of 'work' in Chapter 5).

[88] According to the Matthew Effect thesis, he who has shall continuously have whilst those who have nothing are continuously without – in this way, the 'fortunate' effects of the Matthew Effect are seen as the constant advantages awarded to an individual throughout the life course

10.4 The MESO Level

At the meso level, environmental risk factors identified by this study focus largely on 'community' in terms of the communal organisation and interventions at the community level. A number of crucial risk factors were identified at the meso level, which can both augment and minimise risk experiences for those engaged in street prostitution; including the social organisation of prostitution, institutional responses (law enforcement) and organisational responses (services and official supports).

10.4.1 The Social Organisation of Prostitution

One of the major risk factors emerging from this study and recognisable at the meso level is the social organisation of prostitution. Broadly, the social organisation of prostitution in Ireland can be viewed as that which is visible, as in street prostitution, and that which is invisible, as in indoor prostitution (brothel and escort). Through a risk analysis of the data it emerged that the social organisation of prostitution organised risk differently for women working in street and indoor prostitution.

For those working in street prostitution, the existence of shared environments within which they engage was identified at the meso level. These shared environments are where networks operate within the informal street economy. The social organisation of prostitution, as noted, was found to be a key element in the mediation of risk. It became clear that risk and risk perceptions and responses to risk varied. Cross-case analysis suggested a socially organised variation in the perceptions and experience of risk. Street workers differed from indoor workers. The lived realities of the street working cohort of respondents in the sample revealed that they were more exposed to risks than those working indoors. This finding is consistent with findings internationally (Weitzer, 1999; Whittaker and Hart, 1996; Pyett and Warr, 1997; Church et al, 2001). Whilst it is not possible to generalise from the small sample, the qualitative nature of the study revealed certain patterns amongst one group of workers which were non-existent in the other. The presence of elements of cumulative risk experiences, or the Matthew Effect for women in prostitution, is evident in the accounts of street workers which is not evident in the accounts of the indoor workers.

The effect of this macro level 'Matthew Effect' was observed in the data as an accumulation of disadvantage or risk experiences which socially locates individuals in prostitution in different vulnerable positions in prostitution (differentiating those with evidence of accumulated risk experiences and those without). The extent of vulnerabilities experienced by individuals (the existence of the Matthew Effect) was a decisive factor in different risk understandings (as detailed in Chapter 6) and in different competencies in responses to risk amongst the street and indoor workers (illustrated in Chapters 7, 8 and 9).

At this meso level, it was noted that women in street prostitution participate in loose shared environments in the informal street economy, encompassing drug using, sex working and homeless street scenes. It was found that this limited form of 'social capital' gave access to resources, knowledge, norms and practices (the 'street risk script') to women in prostitution as well as intersecting with other activities in the street scene such as drug use and homelessness. As a weak and limited 'bonded' form of social capital, information sharing is largely insular rather than 'bridged' from other meso level sources (Putnam, 2000). Therefore, risk meanings articulated at the micro level are mediated through the meso level of the risk environment and risks are understood and responded to as filtered through 'shared' understandings at the meso level. Lankenau et al (2005: 11) describe how this form of 'street capital' is learned through the meso level, as latent knowledge gained through early observations and experiences. This street capital served as a street passport and the opportunity for engagement in the informal economy through street networks (seen in risk trajectories in Chapter 4 leading to initiation of sex work in Chapter 5). The accumulation of street capital was seen as leading to an inculcation of 'street competencies' as skills and actions allowing individuals to survive in the street economy (Lankenau et al, 2005), described in Chapters 6 – 9). Furthermore, drawing on work from Schutz (1970) on systems of relevance, it can be argued that these shared environments act as an 'information and communication structure' (Lupton, 1999b) which mediate specific perceptual stimuli (Monaghan, 2002) for street workers in their knowledges and readings of risk.

10.4.2 The Drugs/Sex Work Nexus

The overlapping sectors of sex work and drug use were explicit in the data through respondents' accounts of their social networks. This nexus has been noted in the literature as intertwined trajectories of cumulative vulnerabilities. 'Drug use and street sex work largely share the same set of interconnecting risk factors including disrupted family lines, socio-economic deprivation, child sexual abuse, experience of local authority care, homelessness, involvement in crime, disrupted schooling and low self-esteem' (May and Hunter, 2006: 172).

The notion of shared environments was important for understanding the association between homelessness, drug misuse and sex work. This particular social context has left many of these individuals susceptible to being 'trapped' within a sex work/drug misuse nexus as progression of the drug use career directly impacts on the progression of the sex work career, as found in other studies (Cusick and Hickman, 2005). Evidence of exchange of sexual services for the street unit price of drugs emerged and engagement with sex work as a drug funding behaviour is both explicitly reported and implicitly observable through the trajectories of the street working cohort. The mutual reinforcement of drug use and sex work has evidently heightened risk exposure and has, thus, left those engaged in street sex work in a relatively weak position in their interactions with clients. This study has found that many of those engaged in sex work report engaging in risk behaviour whilst suffering from withdrawal ('feeling sick') in order to acquire sufficient funds to buy more drugs. This supports findings from other research (Campbell et al, 1996; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996), highlighting the potential risks to women's safety whilst under the influence of drugs, with the added pressure of making money to feed their addiction.

However, this study has also found that while problematic drug use was a major motivating factor for all of the respondents in street sex work, it is not the whole story and it is important to avoid a reductionist argument which merely isolates one major factor for consideration. Clearly, other mitigating issues impact on each individual's engagement with sex work which can not be easily interpreted away so as to fit with traditional stereotypes of the drug use/sex work nexus. It was noted by many of the respondents in the research that the money from prostitution is 'addictive' (supported

by other findings in Irish research e.g. Lawless and Wayne, 2005). One of the respondents noted that if drug use was not an issue for her she contends she would still be working on the streets because of the money she earns. This illuminates the notion that opportunities for participation in the informal economy through receipt of social capital are a highly significant factor in risk environments. Drug use alone is an insufficient argument for explaining lived experiences of prostitution for street workers.

The changing nature of problematic drug misuse in Ireland, and its implications for the street scene has also been alluded to (see Chapter 1). As concerns rage regarding the increase in crack cocaine use and poly drug use on the streets (Nugent, 2006), this study has found that the perceived implications of these developments for the women has been an observed increase in violence on the street and a younger cohort of women selling sex who use drugs.

At this meso level, limitations to risk management are evident in the shared environment where group norms, (established by occupational and street practices – see Chapter 5) can impede harm minimisation efforts e.g. exclusion from particular 'street patches' and mean that some respondents may have to attract business in an even more isolated location. Street price structures may be perceived as a risk to some women who are in need of enough money to acquire drugs to cure their 'sickness', however, lowering the price of sexual services in line with street unit price of drugs would contravene group norms. Street norms, such as needle sharing on the street, may also impede individual risk management efforts, as emerged from this study.

In addition to the production of risk in shared environments for those who are currently working on the street, similar risk exposure is an issue for those who have since left street prostitution. Social networks in shared homeless environments means that these individuals are still exposed to the sex market on a daily basis, and those who have left both sex work and drug use behind are observed as still remaining in environments where they are exposed to both of these underground activities and their risk exposure from these vulnerable environments is heightened. The theory of social adaptation is often used to explain how homeless people turn to drug use to cope with their unstable situation (Johnson et al, 1997; Neale, 2001). Homeless individuals who

have left sex work and drug use are still vulnerably positioned, within shared environments, at the threshold to a 'web of causation' (Lloyd, 1998).

For the respondents who were incarcerated at the time of interview, similar vulnerable trajectories to the drug using street workers are evident in their accounts. Whilst their incarcerated situation means that their lives are in limbo, their noted homeless situations prior to imprisonment means that it is quite likely that they will return to shared environments where they are immediately vulnerable to social influences. They also lack the supports necessary to allow them to move away from the street scene as was explicitly expressed as a hope by these respondents. Clark's (2006) study of imprisoned sex workers calls for positive resettlement through needs-centred service delivery upon release.

10.4.3 'Working it' Indoors

While the relatively small sample for this study included two 'indoor workers' for which drug use was not an issue in their sex work; this is not to suggest that drug use does not exist in indoor sex work environments, as argued elsewhere (Cusick 1998a; May et al, 1999; Church et al, 2001; Sanders, 2005; May and Hunter, 2006: 169). This suggested that the indoor workers' engagement with sex work is under less demanding conditions, or at least without the pressures of drug addiction, which minimises exposure to certain risks and allows them more 'autonomy' in their risk trajectories. For the 'indoor' workers, then, a different picture of 'work' emerged at the meso level. What is certainly apparent is that, as found by O'Connell Davidson (1998), positive life experience and experience of careers held outside of prostitution, serve to afford these individuals greater control and stronger positionality in their work. This contrasts with the narratives of the street working respondents who carry the ongoing repercussions of the Matthew Effect. The accumulation of vulnerabilities, as noted in the street workers accounts, was not observed in the accounts of the two indoor respondents, which has implications for their positionality upon entering prostitution and the nature of the shared environments within which they are located.

The 'shared environments' within which indoor workers engage are clearly of a different nature. One of the respondents, an ex-sex worker who worked in both Ireland and Australasia, describes the different working environments within which she worked. In the legal brothels where she worked in Australia and New Zealand she was involved in a professional operation regulated through health and safety specifications. The community of workers and their clients then operated from a 'script' dictated from macro level policy. Norms and practices for regulated brothels follow standard guidelines and protect workers safety by room buzzers and security men as standard business practice in these establishments (Brents and Hausbeck, 2005). By contrast this sex worker details a different experience in the brothels in Ireland which are very much underground and inconspicuous. While a clear occupational 'script' is managed by the brothel operators who run services 'in absentia' with standard procedures for the operation of services and cash transactions/management profit; the 'safety' script is less explicit given the absence of the reported features of the regulated experience.

The other 'indoor' respondent, as an independent sex worker escort, would appear to be without the social element of a shared environment as she works alone from hotels around the country and advertises her services online. Her 'script' for advertising is dictated by the escort website operators; however, she operates independently and thus invokes her own practices on a daily basis, in the absence of shared group practices. She did report, however, that she was part of an 'online' community of independent escorts who regularly communicate regarding work and safety issues; for example exchanging information and warnings regarding 'dodgy' clients. The importance of this 'virtual' community at the meso level for risk management at the micro level is a noted finding in this study.

10.4.4 Institutional Responses – Law Enforcement

The institutional responses at the meso level can be seen through law enforcement efforts by An Garda Síochána. Responses at this level are experienced at the micro level by women in prostitution. The law on prostitution, as it stands, criminalises females and males (clients) equally. However, official statistics at the level of institutional response paint a very different picture. In the first year of the enactment

of the current 1993 legislation (1994), 112 women in prostitution were arrested for soliciting as contrasted with only 12 men. These figures continued to dwindle for both males and females, or rise significantly during periods of increased vice reactivity, often in tandem with public and media calls for action. Notably, however, the figures remain disproportionate and gendered and reflect the discretionary powers of the Gardaí in the interpretation of macro level governance, a situation paralleled with Canadian 'public nuisance' laws (Jeffrey, 2004; Shaver, 1993). An overview of Garda reactivity to prostitution in Ireland is described as part of the context setting of Chapter 1.

This study does not support findings from previous research which report that most sex workers are not assisted by the police when subjected to violence or that they rarely report attacks (Barnard et al, 2002 and Wojcicki and Malala, 2001). On the contrary, it has been found that most of the street workers note a positive relationship in general with An Gardaí Síochána and their narratives include experiences of and endorsement of reporting violent incidences to the police. The findings also reveal, however, that despite largely positive interactions with the Gardaí patrolling the streets, there are still power imbalances evident as women working on the street are at the whim of individual officers. It was reported that policing was mostly of a positive and compassionate nature, yet there were still incidents of arrest and displacement which impact on the ability of women to work safely, as noted above in terms of the environmental risk of macro level governance, mirrored in other studies in the U.K. (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003; Campbell and Storr, 2001). Institutional responses at the meso level, in the form of law enforcement and the discretionary powers of the Gardaí mean that often the risk management strategies of women working on the street are thwarted as they attempt to avoid the official gaze, as noted earlier in this discussion

10.4.5 Community (Re)action

The adverse effects of community action against street prostitution are also noted as an environmental risk at the meso level. This fear of victimization has forced women to rearrange their working routine and work outside of their regular hours in order to avoid the wrath of local communities, with clear implications for heightened physical

and health risk exposure (isolation from stroll and from street networks, later working times, increased vulnerability). The emotional risks at the micro level of this community response to street prostitution for women are also evident in this study and some of the respondents noted the hurt and shame they felt because of their treatment by locals. Anecdotally, community protests have been found to thwart street outreach efforts, a finding mirrored in some areas of the U.K. (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003; Sanders, 2004a). Community unrest and its implications for the experiences of street workers signals the ineffectiveness of current legislation in the area, as argued elsewhere (Lawless and Wayne, 2005) and requires moves for a new 'discursive space' to consider the positive ways of addressing street prostitution embracing all relevant concerns (van Doorninck and O'Neill, 2006).

10.4.6 Organisational Responses

One of the major findings of this research is the lack of comprehensive, targeted health and social interventions for women involved in prostitution. It has been noted in this study that the lack of interagency collaboration or co-operative interventions across services in the area of prostitution has limited organizational responses to women in prostitution (as argued in Chapter 8). The dominance of the abolitionist discourse in the Irish context, as noted earlier, has meant that harm reduction approaches to prostitution have been argued from this perspective to encourage prostitution or 'send the wrong message' and thus, has deterred the development of targeted harm reduction across prostitution sectors. In addition to these meso level response limitations, the lack of consideration of the social construction and situated habituation of risk for women in prostitution within macro policy-making mean that any meso level responses will be ineffective in their aims to minimize risk behaviours or to encourage alternative lifestyles. Respondents note that shared environments on the street facilitate drug risk behaviours, as needle sharing occurs in the absence of clean needles, and the lack of available condoms means that some of the respondents report unsafe sexual practices with clients. Organisational responses need to be aware of the dynamic of this meso level context where risk is understood and filtered for risk decision-making at the micro-level.

Whilst some degree of interlinking occurs between organisations and between organisations and institutions (Gardaí, prisons, voluntary outreach), this collaboration, however, has been found to be inadequate. Pitcher (2006: 250) argues that an integrated, holistic approach to service delivery is 'optimum in supporting sex workers'. While resources may limit what services can be offered, interagency working, referrals and information-sharing should promote a working partnership between sex workers agencies and local communities. In addition, other more general service providers who offer supports to women in prostitution as part of their client base disregard their prostitution and offer generalised drug use or homeless services. This 'either or approach' (see Lawless and Corr, 2005) to service provision has constrained supports to women in prostitution when it is provided in an ad hoc, isolated manner.

What has been noted in this study is that, similar to findings elsewhere (Shannon et al, 2008), there is a dearth of service provision based on gender-focused harm reduction and violence prevention for those involved in prostitution.

10.5 The MICRO Level

The *lived experiences of risk* for women in prostitution in Ireland were observed through their accounts of their everyday lives and their interpersonal relationships with clients, other sex workers, service providers, Gardaí, wider community as well as partners and families. All of these types of interpersonal relations were potential sites of risk production or minimisation, and the accounts of the women have revealed how their lived experiences and interpersonal relationships are at once sites of physical (Chapter 7), health (Chapter 8) and emotional (Chapter 8) risk exposure and risk 'negotiation'.

Risk perceptions at the micro level are evidently 'filtered' through meso level shared environments as 'risk scripts' are learned and communicated in a symbiotic fashion (Chapter 6). Similar to Marske (1991), this study emphasises the dialectical nature between social structures and individuals in constructions of and responses to risk. These 'risk scripts' are evident through accounts of the lived experiences of women in prostitution. Therefore, risk was found to be normalised for women in street

prostitution, and risk management became an everyday, routine activity. Risk decision-making can be seen as tied to systems of relevance (Schutz, 1970) and mediated through group norms for interpreting risk (Douglas, 1992; Zinn, 2007).

This study has found, however, that rather than the implicit passivity implied by the 'Matthew Effect' thesis, the respondents in this study actively address risk and challenge inevitable vulnerability in their everyday lives. Their active efforts, however, have been found to be constrained by the environmental risks at different contextual levels as described above, and this feeds back into the reproduction of the risk environment. Adopting a model of risk management developed by Sanders (2005) allowed for the consideration of risk exposure and risk management in terms of health, physical and emotional risks.

10.5.1 Health Risks

Health risks within their work were evident in encounters with clients and unsafe sexual practices and drug use with clients; amongst peers it included drug use risk behaviour such as sharing equipment and within personal relationship it included both sexual risk practices (non-use of condoms) and drug use risk behaviours (sharing equipment, addiction equalisation between drug using partners, financing partners drug habit). This study found that prostitution itself does not equate with health risks but, as Ruth Morgan Thomas (1992: 71) argues; ''it is how people engage in specific high risk activities that can put them at risk'.

10.5.2 Managing Health Risks

The findings of this study in relation to health risks show that the respondents are aware of the major health risks which they face as an occupational hazard and many of them reported attempts to implement strict working rules for the protection of their health. Condom use was *largely* reported as consistent, as in other studies both in Ireland (O'Connor, 1996; O'Neill and O'Connor, 1999) and elsewhere (Cusick, 1998b; Pyett and Warr, 1997). Drug use as a health risk was also highlighted and various risk behaviours in prostitution emerged through the drug use/sex work nexus, reflecting other previous findings (Gossop, Powis, Griffiths and Strang, 1995;

McKeganey and Barnard, 1996, Cusick, 1998b; May and Hunter, 2006). Shared environments were a pivotal context in this regard for the reinforcement of risk and the normalisation of risk behaviours. Specific drug using risk behaviour were noted in the data, specifically in relation to unsafe injecting practices and sharing of needles which one respondent noted was quite common amongst girls working on the street. Drug use as a function in sex work was also evident in the data as some of the respondents noted using drugs in order to enable them to work on the streets. Using drugs as an emotional risk management technique highlights the 'hierarchy of harms' argument whereby the risks associated with working in prostitution were 'interpreted away' (Beck, 1992b) by the perceived need to make money, while the 'risk' of drug taking was 'interpreted away' by the need to manage emotions while on the job. In addition, the implication of risk behaviours in sex work specifically tied to drug use weakens physical health risk management capabilities and consequently leaves some individuals more susceptible to health, sexual health and physical risks.

10.5.3 Physical Risks

Physical risks within the work environment included risk of violence and abuse from clients, whilst, amongst peers, physical risks were evident in shared environments with violent altercations and victimisation regarding 'patches', clients and street price structures. Physical risks were also evident in personal relationships as well as from the wider community in the form of community protests.

10.5.4 Managing Physical Risks

The findings of this study reveal that rather than been viewed as passive victims or naïve risk takers, all of the respondents were active managers of physical risk and make explicit efforts to implement precautionary, deterrent and protective strategies against physical risk in their working lives. This study has found that the social organisation of prostitution impacts on the opportunities to execute particular strategies, as found elsewhere (Sanders, 2005; Whittaker and Hart, 1996; Barnard, 1993; Day, 1990). However, risks are negotiated actions and the habituated nature of risk behaviours means that risk outcomes are often implicated by power dynamics in negotiated actions (Rhodes, 1997). This is clear in the accounts of the vulnerable

positionality of many of the respondents which exposed them to risk and weakened their control of encounters. While habitual attempts to offset and challenge risks on a daily basis were often successful by those on the street, their weak positionality, which is legally ratified, systematically undermined their risk management objectives.

10.5.5 Emotional Risks

While exposure to physical and health risks were very much delineated by the social organisation of prostitution, emotional risks were a feature of the experience of all of the respondents (indoor and street). Emotional risks within the work environment include risks in the client/sex worker encounter such as the psychological effect of sex selling; within the sex work industry risks include stigmatisation of street sex workers by other facets of the sex industry and other emotional risks are evident in accounts of stigmatisation of sex workers by wider society. Emotional risks are also evident in accounts of risks to personal relationships by disclosure, risk of exposure, dual-identities through concealment and secrets and the risks of sex work to identity and self-identity.

10.5.6 Managing Emotional Risks

Emotional risks are often pivotal to the perception and response to other risks in the lives of sex workers (Sanders, 2005) and the implication of emotional risk management has been noted in this study, as it has been found to be crucial to how the respondents 'work through' other risks in their lives. The separation of public activities and private sexual relationships are noted as a strain for all of the respondents, and a number of strategies were used in order to manage emotional risks so respondents could "sell the body but keep the soul" (Edwards, 1993). The interpretive lens through which emotional risks are viewed can colour the experience of prostitution for each individual as they prioritise other risks in relation to their emotional security.

10.5.7 Narratives of Rationalisation

One of the key emotional risk management techniques employed by all of the respondents was their 'narratives of rationalisation', also found in a study of indoor workers in the UK (Sanders, 2005: 153); the most widespread rationalisation discourse was the 'work discourse' which was evident in all of the respondents' accounts (detailed in Chapter 5). As a 'presentation of self' (Goffman, 1959), sex as work, as opposed to sex as exploitation or sex as coercion was detailed by all of the respondents, across both sectors. By 'working it' discursively as work, all of the respondents, not solely the street working cohort, highlighted an emotional risk management strategy which allowed them to understand their engagement in prostitution on a professional level and which sought to challenge the stigmatising rhetoric around 'victimology'. This work discourse, then, was a strong 'status shield' (Hochschild, 1983) in respondents' accounts. McLeod's (1982) ground breaking work on women in prostitution in the 1980s found, similarly, that women in prostitution were not passive victims of circumstance and took an active approach to their sex work.

10.6 Implications of these Findings - Lived Experiences within the Risk Environment

The lived experiences of physical, health and emotional risks and the management of these risks challenge normative risk theories (overviewed in Chapter 2) and call for a reconceptualisation of key notions associated with risk in order to understand experiences of the risk environment of prostitution in Ireland.

10.6.1 Street Capital – Rethinking Risk and Social Capital

For the women involved in street prostitution, peers were found to be integral to the development of street competencies and these street networks facilitate the street working cohort in developing street survival skills through the adherence to group norms and street practices. The specific occupational norms followed were detailed in Chapter 5, and street practices related to risk management were described in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. A lack of 'social capital' in the normative sense ensures that

those who enter the informal street economy are under the influence of other macro level processes, namely the 'Matthew Effect'. This research, by considering normative ideas regarding 'social capital' (Rhodes et al, 2005; Putman, 2000; Lomas, 1998), argues for a consideration of the 'dark side' of social capital as both environmental *risk* and *risk minimisation* factors at the meso level for those engaged in street prostitution. While the development of social capital is seen as necessary for entry into the informal street economy, the nature of the relationships within which social capital is created is key to understanding the role of social capital in negotiating their lives. There is little evidence in the data of strong ties to social networks or group cohesiveness amongst the street workers. However, their 'weak' social capital at the meso level enabled them to translate street capital into practical street competencies as street working individuals become embedded within street networks. These competencies include risk perceptions and responses to risk, which are inculcated by these embedded experiences. Far from being a deviant condition, these experiences are a habitual way of life. However, the nature of relationships within these street networks did not appear to be either strictly 'bonded' or 'bridging' (Putnam, 2000). What can be observed from the data is that fragile bonds exist for many of the respondents in these shared environments and that this weak form of social capital implicates the decisions they make and their management of risk. Crucially, however, some traditional sociological ideas about the process by which risk decisions are made are contested with this study, as described below.

10.6.2 Contesting 'Reflexivity'

The literature suggests a rational, individual understanding of reflexivity as an effective means of risk negotiation based on a competent assessment of present dangers, possible actions and potential outcomes (Beck (1992b, 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1996b; Giddens, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1994; Lash, 1994). The inference is that without successfully 'bypassing' risk, risk decision-making cannot be seen to be reflexive. However, can active risk management as part of every day life ever be non-reflexive? If effectiveness of active risk minimisation efforts are culturally understood rather than universally determined, then reflexivity is socially constructed rather than objectively measured. Similar to challenging normative assumptions of 'social capital', this study calls for a reconceptualisation of reflexivity. Reflexivity is not, as

this study shows, purely delineated along socio-economic lines; rather it is a ubiquitous exercise amongst all sex workers, albeit differentiated in nature according to culturally situated perceptions of risk. If risk perceptions are socially constructed, surely it must follow that reflexive understandings and responses to risk are socially and culturally mediated – thus reflexivity cannot be a static, one-dimensional exercise.

The social constructionist and critical structuralist approaches to risk insinuate that expert information and knowledge flows are the only legitimate communication acquisitions – but what about sub-cultural, situated information and communication? Are there not flows of knowledge within particular cultural contexts and shared environments? Are 'reflexive' responses based on this knowledge less valid/legitimate than reflexivity based on expert, professional knowledge? When talking about 'reflexivity winners' and 'reflexivity losers' (Lash, 1994), in what fora are we talking about them? Certainly through the dominant, discursive lens on prostitution in Ireland we can see who is seen as a 'reflexive winner' and who becomes a 'reflexive loser'. Though what about the localised discursive forum? Are the winners and losers the same in the formal and the informal economy?

This study found that, whilst embedded in particular social networks at the meso level, risk knowledges and information are filtered through these shared environments and thus risk decision-making and action is 'reflexive' in terms of locally produced knowledges and shared meanings regarding risk understandings and risk management (illuminated in Chapters 6 – 9). Whilst 'reflexivity' in response to risk suggests 'effective risk navigation', navigating local knowledge and immediate risks as prioritised along a hierarchy of harms (i.e. eliminating 'sickness' from drugs) may be hailed as effective risk management within a particular context. It is argued that, whilst risk knowledges are being espoused by 'experts' in the public sphere; '[risks] are being dealt with by most individuals at the level of the local, the private, the everyday and the intimate' (Lupton, 1999b: 108).

10.6.3 Risk Negotiation

Regardless of ever experiencing physical, emotional or health threats, all women working in prostitution are affected by risk and employ risk management strategies in response to their perceptions of the risk involved in what they engage in (Sanders, 2005). This risk perception is filtered through the particular environment from which they work and this has implications for risk exposure, risk management and risk behaviours (Wallman, 2001). The perception of risk for women in prostitution is measured by means of a risk thermostat (Wallman, 2001) which is adjusted according to the positionality of the individual within a particular sex work environment.

This research challenges prevailing stereotypes about females as passive risk avoiders (Chan and Rigakos, 2002; Lupton, 1999b), as the situated 'political economy of the self' (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997: 126; Ewald, 1991: 203) is evident in individual accounts of active risk management strategies. The particular trajectories that individuals travel to their current positionality implicate their perceptions of what constitutes risk and the social context within which they operate facilitates their risk assessment. While perceptions of risk are socially constructed, risk management strategies are socially mitigated.

The accounts in this study presented a form of resilience to risk in the lives of the respondents, yet their reflexive approach to risk was not always effective and their risk management was an individually negotiated process which assesses risks along a 'hierarchy of harms' as specific to each context within which risk occurs; for example, individuals may prioritise 'sickness from drugs' as a risk over the risk to street capital through the contravention of street practices and group norms (i.e. undercutting established street prices for sexual exchange in order to secure money for drugs to alleviate withdrawal symptoms from drug). Or in an interaction with a client, health risks (e.g. non-use of condoms) may be engaged in as physical risks (the threat of violence for non-compliance) may be prioritised in the sex workers assessment of risk along a hierarchy of harms.

Furthermore the emotional risks of fear, relinquishing control of the encounter, powerlessness and submission in this instance are rationalised as less important than

avoiding physical abuse at the hands of a client. This mirrors Foucault's (1980) notion that power is rarely the outcome of consensually determined acquiesce and so the relative powerlessness of sex workers in interactions with clients has implications for sex workers' risk management capacities. Crucially the macro level 'legal' risks in Ireland, as noted earlier, compound this power dynamic and constrain the effectiveness of risk management of individuals who do not have recourse to official protection. Other notable dynamics impeding risk management are between the sex worker and their peers (in terms of pressure to adhere to group norms) as well as between sex worker and their private, sexual partner and families (efforts by the sex worker to conceal secrets and to protect their families from 'courtesy' stigma).

10.6.4 'Working Risk' Indoors

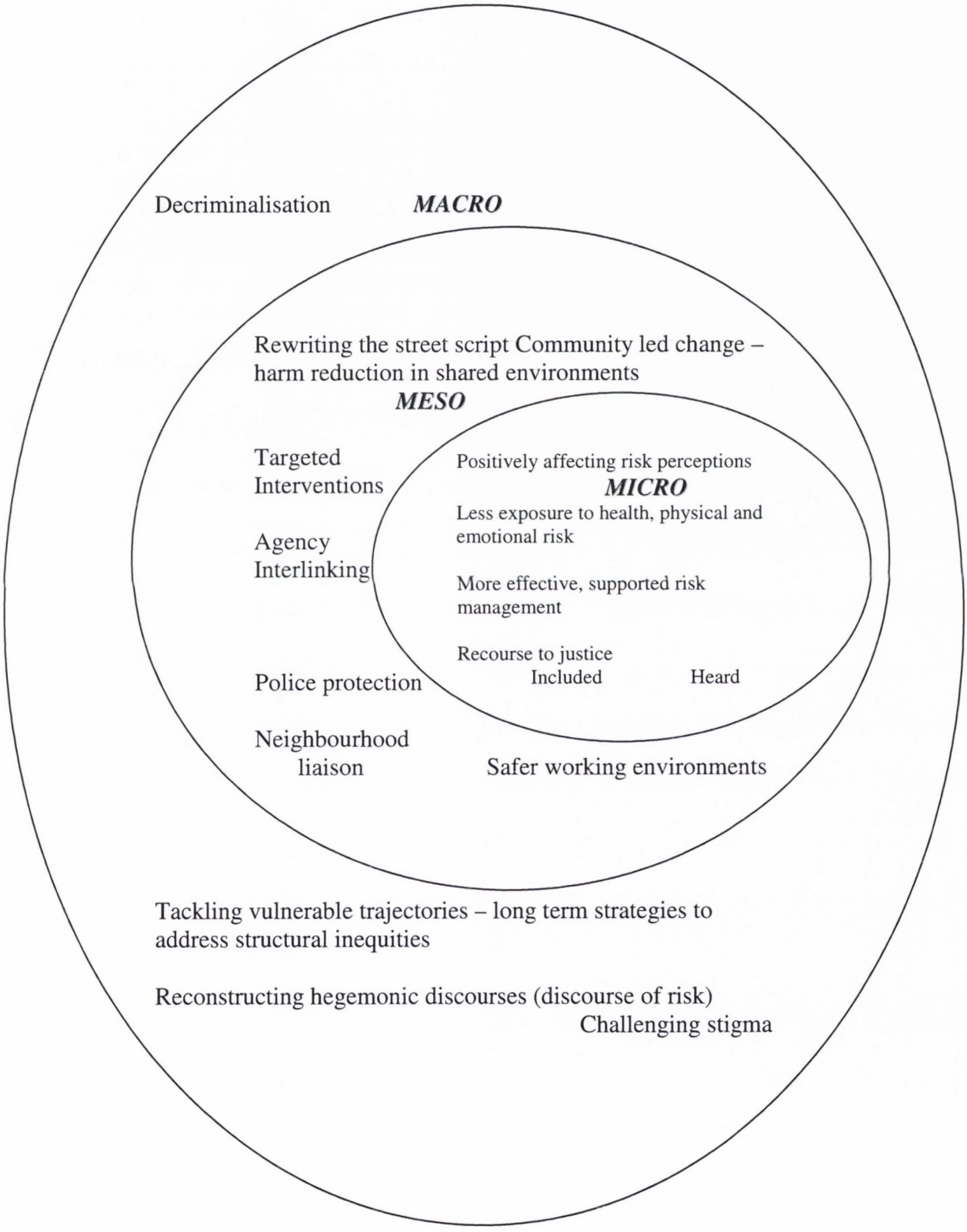
For the women who participated in the study who were involved in indoor prostitution, different types of risk management techniques were observed at the micro level. As described above, different 'scripts' were available at the meso level for these respondents through their working environments; therefore, their risk perceptions and responses to risk was socially organised in a different way. Risk management strategies then, were often fixed, through indoor brothel practices, or through individual sex work practices. One major difference is the absence of the negative aspects of the 'Matthew Effect', meaning respondents identifying as 'sex workers' were not vulnerably positioned in their prostitution and thus, risk was not a normalised presence in their lives. Whilst, certainly the indoor workers engaged in active risk management to deter against potential physical and sexual harms, the 'hierarchy of harms', as evidenced within the risk management techniques of the street working cohort was not an issue for the indoor workers in this study. Therefore, risks did not have to be prioritised in order of importance, and health, physical and emotional risks were addressed concurrently in the course of the working day. The effectiveness of risk management with these two respondents was clear, and whilst they experienced the risk environment in a different way, there were some barriers to their risk management and these respondents were not immune to risks at the micro, meso and macro levels. Their risk management efforts were both constrained by and simultaneously reproduced the risk environment of indoor prostitution in Ireland. In addition, the disparity in risk outcomes between the indoor

sex workers and the street working women; with more favourable risk outcomes noted for indoor workers in this study, further compounds the experiences of street working women within the risk environment of prostitution in Ireland.

Through the respondents' narratives, the lived experiences of the risk environment of prostitution emerged. The adverse implications of this environment call for a reconstruction of rhetoric and a reframing of responses to prostitution in Ireland in order to renovate this risk environment.

10.7 Reforming Rhetoric and Risk

Figure 10 (b) Reconstructing the Risk Environment



10.7.1 Reconstructing the Risk Environment

Figure 10 (b) above presents an illustration of the possible means by which the risk environment could be restructured in order to address lived experiences of risk in prostitution. For any changes to be effective, risk needs to be addressed at the three contextual levels at which they are currently produced; the macro-, meso- and micro-levels.

10.7.2 Macro Level – Legal Reforms

The findings reveal that there is not one general consensus amongst respondents on the ideal legalistic approach to addressing prostitution in Ireland. Some advocate a legalisation of prostitution to make working conditions safer for those engaged in sex work, while others were against legalisation as they believed that this would mean women in prostitution would be more vulnerable to client violence as it was legally recognised and thus, abuses would go unnoticed. Yet, what was unanimously observable in the data, were calls for risk management intervention and for the safety for those working to be explicitly addressed by the government through the introduction of pragmatic interventions which would be in the best interests of the most vulnerable working on the streets. The unknowable is an ever-present danger in the lives of those working in prostitution, thus, by amending legislation to provide for the safety of women in prostitution, the '*mental torture*' of feeling unsafe, alluded to by one of the respondents, would indisputably be lessened.

10.7.3 What should be the Goal of Irish Prostitution Policy?

Prostitution policies need to guard against negative implications for the public health and human rights of those working in prostitution (EUROPAP, 2000; TAMPEP, 2000). The official stigmatization of those in prostitution through the present legislation has isolated, sanctioned, arrested and further marginalised women and men who sell sex. A context of risk, as Alexander (2001) has alluded to, has been formed as a consequence of the legal situation in this country. The findings of this work concur with previous international research which argues that those who work in prostitution under criminalised regimes are negatively affected by the law and have

diminished capabilities to execute risk management strategies, thus exposing them to greater risk (Day, 1990; Scambler et al, 1990; Barnard, 1993; McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Pyett and Warr, 1999; Brewis and Linstead, 2000; Day and Ward, 2004; Visser et al, 2004).

Yet, as O'Connell Davidson (1998) argues, simple statute change will not transform the power relations that women in prostitution experience. Though law enforcement is 'iniquitous and hypocritical' constraining the freedoms of the most vulnerable people in prostitution i.e. street prostitutes; the 'unfreedoms' of prostitution run much deeper arising from systematic forms of social and economic marginalisation (O'Connell Davidson, 1998: 73). It is clearly flawed to suggest that a change in legislation will eliminate violence and engagement in risk behaviours, yet it is imperative that contexts are supported in not making the position of those involved in prostitution any more insecure (Bindel and Kelly, 2003).

10.7.4 Other Macro Level Structural Reforms

It is not possible, within the context of this research, to detail exhaustively all of the intertwining structural issues which have implicated the experiences of the respondents. However, the presence of accumulated disadvantage manifesting in the Matthew Effect for the street working respondents signals the need for structural changes which legal reform alone cannot address. Wider structural reforms are required to tackle early disadvantage and to focus on circumventing cumulative risk trajectories, evident in the lived experiences in this study, through integrated social, economic and educational interventions. Such positive, targeted macro level change could present the opportunity to 'break' the Matthew Effect (Månsson and Hedin, 1999), to forestall 'trapping' in a drugs/sex work nexus and to avert fatalistic risk pathways and continuous disadvantage in prostitution.

10.7.5 Meso Level – Risk Reduction Interventions

The ambiguity of the operationalisation of the current system was apparent when it came to many of the respondents recounting their experiences of the discretionary powers of individual Guards. There was no evidence from the respondents' narratives

of clients being arrested for soliciting, however, the women were never far from the legal gaze and many noted numerous arrests, cautions or 'move ons' from their usual stroll areas.

While the legal status of prostitution in Ireland determines the official police response to be one of law enforcement, the accounts of the respondents involved in street prostitution signal a broadly amicable relationship with the Guards in which they have shown concern for the street workers safety and welfare. The Guards then hold a potentially significant role as risk management interveners for those working on the street and are a powerful resource in the sex worker's harm reduction operation. However, the role of the Gardaí as positive harm minimisers is quite tenuous under a prohibitionist regime and, as the data illuminates, those who are most visible are at the whim of individual officers. Their arbitrary powers can be used both positively, in terms of risk reduction messages and interventions, or it can be a negative power in the lived realities of the respondents who are moved on from their usual stroll areas and risk arrest on a daily basis. Ironically, Guards can informally minimise harm for those engaged in prostitution on the streets or formally increase risk behaviours through strict adherence to the legal gaze.

10.7.6 The Limitations of Current Organisational Interventions

The existence of meso-level risk filters, such as sex work intervention projects like the Women's Health Project in Ireland, as mechanisms for increasing risk awareness and supporting risk management strategies for sex workers, are viewed as being ineffective if sex workers remain disempowered. Empowerment is argued to be key to reduction and prevention of health risk by allowing sex workers more control in their contractual position with clients, pimps and brothels (Wallman, 2001). When sex workers are working within a criminalised environment, their economic and social position is insecure and 'they cannot afford the luxury to pay special attention to some of the risks they are facing, isolate these specific risks and pay extra attention to them' (Wolffers, 2001: 2).

Furthermore, the role of weak 'social capital' in mediating risk understandings and risk experiences evidenced in this study highlights the potential for using 'social

capital' as a positive, 'enabling' resource at the meso level. Through shared environments on the street, social capital can be harnessed as a harm minimisation vehicle and weakly 'bonded' social capital can be converted through co-ordinated efforts to "bridging" social capital, which would be ultimately peer led. While street networks would have access to wider information and communication networks, alternative risk messages would be promoted by peers and risks understandings would be filtered environments which empower rather than constrain individuals.

10.7.7 Potential MICRO Level Implications

Understanding lived experiences of prostitution through the social construction of risk and the socialised habituation of risk experiences, would mean responsive meso level interventions with positive implications for risk management at the micro level. Moreover, the reflexive competencies of sex workers as active, risk navigators, which emerged from this study, could be drawn on in order to formulate harm reduction strategies in collaboration with sex workers 'on the ground'. Abandoning a 'victim' approach and recognising sex workers as resilient agents of their own lives who have negotiated a stark risk environment without any formal protection or official acknowledgment as a group will go some way to repairing and reconstructing this risk environment for supported and thus more positive micro level experiences.

10.8 Conclusion

While a legislative change is imperative in order to safeguard a marginalized population, this in and of itself will not result in a change to the underlying discourses which have been entrenched within the Irish context and have festered into an acceptance of violence against women in prostitution. Social and cultural aspects, which have shaped understandings of prostitution in the Irish context, are deeply ingrained and are not easily malleable to mere legislative change. Yet the first steps need to be taken to open up a forum to comprehensively debate prostitution legislation in Ireland, making place at the table for all of the key stakeholders, primarily the women themselves, whose views have long been neglected. This study has sought to legitimate sex workers as speakers, who 'own' their experiences and whose constructions of prostitution are necessary for any public debate. Such a

development could then mark a new era in the Irish context whereby the blindfolds of the past could be lifted and a new awareness of the realities facing women implicated by the law can be acknowledged. In this way, steps can be taken to move away from a criminalized system of prostitution to one which acknowledges human rights and respects the dignity of the women who operate within its boundaries. Whilst it was not remit of this study to exhaustively review the different systems of prostitution and their parallel effects on the lives of those working within those systems, the evidence presented here highlights the failings of current policy in Ireland and it is hoped that this could lay the groundwork for calling for an alternative approach which values the rights of the women for which it is devised.

Essentialist agendas need to be set aside to make room for practical harm reduction supports and strategies which protect those who are vulnerable, intervene for those at risk and acknowledge those who do not conform to the 'victim' identity. While the elimination of prostitution is a far-fetched abolitionist ideal, minimisation of harm for those engaged in prostitution is practical, achievable and long overdue in Ireland.

Boyne (2003: 108) notes that key research frontiers are moving from macro-sociological to micro-sociological perspectives to explore 'how do people live with risk'? – concluding that, 'at this point, we just do not know enough'. In an effort to address this gap in knowledge, this study has presented the stories of how the participants in this study live with and manage risk, within the risk environment in Ireland. Further phenomenological investigations on the social construction of risk in prostitution in Ireland are necessary in order to understand: the disconnect between expert and lay discourses at the macro level; the role of social capital at the meso level in mediating risk readings and the active and "reflexive" situated experiences at the micro level, in different sex work sectors.. By recognising these risk contexts and the dialectical relationship enjoyed between all three allows for a greater understanding of the production and reproduction of risk environments of prostitution, and crucially for implementing appropriate responses.

A social ecological approach to risk analysis has highlighted that legal change alone will not reform the risk environment of prostitution, yet this will present the opportunity for reframing official rhetoric and reconstructing lived realities of risk.

Fundamentally, a person's human rights should be at the forefront of any debate on prostitution. As MacKinnon (1993) notes: 'the gap between the promise of civil rights and the real lives of prostitutes is an abyss which swallows up prostituted women'. Devising comprehensive policies and practice interventions which can ultimately reduce harm and potential risk for those in prostitution is a way of perhaps narrowing that gap in the Irish context.

References

Adler, F. (1975) *Sisters in Crime*. NY: McGraw-Hill

Agar, M. (1973) *Ripping and Running: A Formal Ethnography of Heroin Addicts*. NY: Academic Press

Agnew, R. (1985) 'A revised strain theory of delinquency'. *Social Forces*, 64: 151 – 167

Agustín, L.M. (2006) 'The conundrum of women's agency: migration and the sex industry' in Campbell, R. and O'Neill, M. (eds.) *Sex Work Now*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing

Alexander, P. (1988) 'Prostitutes are being scapegoated for heterosexual AIDS' in Delacoste, F. and Alexander, P. (eds.) *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*. London: Virago

Alexander, P. (2001) 'Contextual Risk versus Risk Behaviour: The Impact of the Legal, Social and Economic Context of Sex Work on Individual Risk Taking'. *Research for Sex Work* 4: 3 – 4

Allers, C.T. and Benjack, K.J. (1991) 'Connections between childhood abuse and HIV infection'. *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 70 (2): 309 - 313

Amaro, H. and Raja, A. (2000) 'On the margin: power and women's HIV risk reduction strategies'. *Sex Roles*, 42 (7-8): 723 – 749

Anderson, E. (1999) *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. NY: Norton and Co.

Andrews, J.A., Hops, H. and Duncan, S.C. (1997) 'Adolescent modelling of substance use: the moderating effect of the relationship with the parent'. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 11: 259 – 270

Annual Report of An Garda Síochána, 2006 – downloadable at: http://www.garda.ie/angarda/statistics/Report2006/annualreport2006.pdf

Antaki, C. (1988) 'Explanations, communication and social cognition' in Antaki, C. (ed.) (1988) *Analysing Everyday Explanation: A Casebook of Methods.* London: SAGE (Chapter 1, pp. 1 – 14)

Antaki, C. (ed.) (1988) *Analysing Everyday Explanation: A Casebook of Methods.* London: SAGE

Antonovsky, A. (1991) *Hälsans mysterium* [Unravelling the mystery of health]. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur cited in Månsson, S.A. and Hedin, U.C. (1999) 'Breaking the Matthew effect – on women leaving prostitution'. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 8: 67 – 77

Armstrong, D. (2004) 'A risky business? Research, policy and governmentality and youth offending'. *Youth Justice*, 4 (2): 100 – 116

Atkinson, R. and Flint, J. (2001) 'Accessing hidden and hard-to-reach populations: snowball research strategies. Social Research Update (online), Issue 33 (Summer)

Auld, J., Dorn, N. and South, N (1986) 'Irregular work, irregular pleasures: heroin in the 1980s', in Matthews, R. and Young, J. (eds.) *Confronting Crime.* London: Sage

Bacik, E. (2004) *Kicking and Screaming: Dragging Ireland into the 21st Century.* Dublin: O'Brien Press

Bagley, C. (1999) 'Adolescent prostitution in Canada and the Philippines'. *International Social Work*, 42(4): 445-54

Barnard, M. (1992) 'Working in the dark: researching female prostitution' in Roberts, H. (ed.) *Women's Health Matters.* London: Routledge pp. 141 - 156

Barnard, M. (1993) 'Violence and vulnerability: conditions of work for streetworking prostitutes'. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 15 (5): 683-705

Barnard, M., Hart, G. and Church, S. (2002) 'Client Violence against Prostitute Women Working from Street and Off Street Locations: A Three City Comparison'. *Violence Research Programme, ESRC*

Barnardos (1996) *Children on Inner City Streets in Dublin.* Dublin: Barnardos

Barnes, J.A. (1954) 'Class and Communities in a Norwegian Island Parish', *Human Relations* 7 (1) cited in Ianni, F.A.J. (1974) *Black Mafia.* NY: Simon and Schuster

Barry, K. (1979) *Female Sexual Slavery.* New York: New York University Press

Bart, P and O'Brien, P. (1985) *Stopping Rape: Successful Survival Strategies.* NY: Pergamon Press

Baum, A.S. and Burnes, D.W. (1993) *A Nation in Denial: The Truth about Homelessness.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press

Beck, U. (1992a) 'Modern Society as a Risk Society' in Stehr, N. and Ericson, R. (eds.) *The Culture and Power of Knowledge.* NY: Walter de Gruyter

Beck, U. (1992b) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity.* London: Sage

Beck, U. (1994) 'The reinvention of politics: towards a theory of reflexive modernisation' in Beck, U., Giddens, A. and Lash, S. (1994) *Reflexive Modernisation: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Beck, U. (1995) *Ecological Politics in the Age of Risk.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Beck, U. (1996a) World risk society as cosmopolitan society? Ecological questions in the framework of manufactured uncertainties. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 13 (4): 1 – 32

Beck, U. (1996b) 'Risk society and the provident state' in Lash, S., Szerszinski, B. and Wynne, B. (eds) *Risk, Environment and Modernity*: Towards a New Ecology. London: Sage

Beck, U. (1997) *The Reinvention of Politics*. London: Sage

Becker, H. (1963) *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. NY: Free Press

Becker, H. (1965) 'Review of "Sociologists at work: essay on the craft of social research" (ed. Hammond, P.E.)'. *American Sociological Review*, 30 (4): 602 - 603

Bell, S. (1994) *Reading, Writing and Rewriting the Prostitute Body*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press

Benjamin, H. and Masters, R. (1964) *The Prostitute in Society*. N.Y: Julian Press Inc.

Bennett, P. (1999) 'Understanding responses to risk: some basic findings' in Bennett, P. and Calman, K. (eds.) (1999) *Risk Communication and Public Health*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Benson, C. and Matthews, R. (1995) 'Street Prostitution Control'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 23: 395 – 415

Bernstein, E (2001) 'The Meaning of the Purchase: Desire, Demand and the Commerce of Sex'. *Ethnography,* 2 (3): 389-420

Bessant, J., Coupland, H., Dalton, T., Maher, L., Rowe, J. and Watts, R. (2002) *Heroin Users, Housing and Social Participation: Attacking Social Exclusion Through*

Better Housing. New South Wales: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI)

Bindell, J. and Kelly, L. (2003) *A Critical Examination of Responses to Prostitution in Four Countries: Victoria, Australia; Ireland; the Netherlands; and Sweden.* London Metropolitan University: Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit

Bindman, J. (1997) 'Redefining Prostitution as Sex Work on the International Agenda'. Anti-Slavery International, London

Blanchard, K. (1994) 'Young Johns', *Mademoiselle*, 100 (5): 130-133, 183 cited in Monto, M. A. (2000) 'Why Men Seek out Prostitutes' in Weitzer, Ronald (ed.) *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry*. U.K: Routledge

Blee, K. (2003) 'Studying the enemy' in Glassner, B. and Hertz, R. (eds.) *Our Studies, Ourselves: Sociologists' Lives and Work*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Bloor, M. (1995a) 'A user's guide to contrasting theories of HIV-related risk behaviour' in Gabe, J. (ed.) *Medicine, Health and Risk: Sociological Approaches.* Oxford: Blackwell

Bloor, M. (1995b) *The Sociology of HIV Transmission*. London: Sage

Bloor, M., McKeganey, N., Finlay, A. and Barnard, M. (1992a) 'The inappropriateness of psycho-social models of risk behaviour for understanding HIV-related risk practices among Glasgow male prostitutes'. *AIDS Care*, 4 (2): 131 – 137

Bloor, M., Barnard, M., Finlay, A. and McKeganey, N. (1992b) 'HIV-related risk practices among Glasgow male prostitutes: reframing concepts of risk behaviour'. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 7: 1 - 19

Bloor, M., Leyland, A., Barnard, M. and McKeganey, N. (1991) 'Estimating hidden populations: a new method of calculating the prevalence of drug-injecting and non-injecting female street prostitution'. *British Journal of Addiction*, 86: 1477 – 1483

Boeck, T., Fleming, J. and Kemshall, H. (2006) 'The context of risk decisions: does social capital make a difference?'. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (online), 7 (1) Art. 17 [http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/55/113 - last accessed 26/10/'08]

Boeri, M.W., Sterk, C.E. and Elifson, K.W. (2006) 'Baby Boomer Drug Users: Career Phases, Social Control and Social Learning Theory'. *Sociological Inquiry*, 76(2): 264 – 291

Boholm, A. (2003) 'The Cultural Nature of Risk: Can there be an Anthropology of Uncertainty'. *Ethnos*, 68 (2): 159 – 178

Bourdieu, P. (1972) Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Bourdieu, P. (1986) 'The forms of capital' in Richardson, J. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education.* New York: Greenwood, pp. 241-258. (trans. Nice, R.)

Bourgois, P. (1998) 'The moral economies of homeless heroin addicts: confronting ethnography and HIV risk and everyday violence in San Francisco shooting encampments'. *Substance Use and Misuse*, 33: 2323 – 2351

Bourgois, P., Lettiere, M. and Quesada, J. (1997) 'Social misery and the sanctions of substance use: confronting HIV risk among homeless heroin addicts in San Francisco'. *Social Problems*, 44: 155 – 173

Boyd, S.C. (1999) *Mothers and Illicit Drugs: Transcending the Myths.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Boyne, R. (2003) *Risk.* Buckingham: Open University Press

Brents, B.G., and Hausbeck, K. (2005) 'Violence and Legalised Brothel Prostitution in Nevada: Examining Safety, Risk and Prostitution Policy'. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 20 (3): 270-95

Brewis, J. and Linstead, S. (2000a) *Sex, Work and Sex Work.* London: Routledge

Brewis, J. and Linstead, S. (2000b) '"The Worst Thing is the Screwing" (1): Consumption and the Management of Identity in Sex Work'. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 7 (2): 84 – 97

Brewis, J. and Linstead, S. (2000c) '"The Worst Thing is the Screwing" (2): Context and Career in Sex Work'. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 7(3): 168 – 180

Bristow, E.J. (1977) *Vice and Vigilance: Purity Movements in Britain since 1700.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan

Brooks-Gordon, B. (2006) *The Price of Sex: Prostitution, Policy and Society.* Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing

Browne, J. and Minichiello, V. (1996b) 'The social and work context of commercial sex between men: A research note'. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 32, 86 – 92

Buseh, A.G. and Stevens, P.E. (2006) 'Constrained but not determined by stigma: Resistance by African American women living with HIV'. *Women and Health*, 44 (3): 1 – 18

Campbell, R. and Storr, M. (2001) 'Challenging the kerb crawler rehabilitation programme'. *Feminist Review*, 67 (Spring): 94 - 108

Campbell, R., Coleman, S. and Torkington, P. (1996) 'Street Prostitution in Inner City Liverpool'. Liverpool: Liverpool City Council

Carpenter, B. (1998) cited in Monto, M.A. (2004) Female Prostitution, Customers and Violence. *Violence Against Women*, 10; 160-188

Cassell, J. (1988) 'The relationship of observer to observed when studying up' in Burgess, R.G. (ed.) *Studies in Qualitative Methodology: Volume 1: Conducting Qualitative Research.* Greenwich, CT: JAI Press

Castel, R. (1991) 'From "Dangerousness" to Risk' in Burchell, G., Gordan, C. and Miller, P. (eds.) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Chan, W. and Rigakos, G.S. (2002) 'Risk, Crime and Gender'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 42: 743 – 761

Chapkis, W. (1997) *Live Sex Acts: Women Performing Erotic Labour.* New York: Routledge

Choisey, M. (1961) *Psychoanalysis of the Prostitute.* NY: Philosophical Library

Church, S., Henderson, M., Barnard, M. and Hart, G. (2001) 'Violence by Clients towards Female Prostitutes in Different Work Settings: Questionnaire Survey'. *British Medical Journal*, 322: 524 – 525

Clark, J. (ed.) (1990) *Anthony Giddens – Consensus and Controversy.* London: Falmer Press

Clark, F. (2006) 'Provision of support for imprisoned adult female street-based sex workers'. *The Griffins Society Visiting Research Fellowship Programme*, Research Paper 2006/01

Cloward, R.A. (1959) 'Illegitimate means, anomie and deviant behaviour'. *American Sociological Review*, 24: 164 - 176

Cloward, R.A. and Ohlin, L.E. (1960) *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*. NY: Free Press

Coffey, A. and Atkinson, P. (1996) *Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Research Strategies*. Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage

Cohen, A. (1955) *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*. NY: Free Press

Cohen, B. (1980) *Deviant Street Networks: Prostitution in New York City*. NY: Lexington Books

Cohler, B.J. (1979) 'Personal Narrative and Life Course', unpublished manuscript, University of Chicago cited in Gregen, M.M. (1988) 'Narrative structures in social explanation' in Antaki, C. (ed.) (1988) *Analysing Everyday Explanation: A Casebook of Methods*. London: SAGE (Chapter 7, pp. 94 – 112)

Coleman, J.S. (1988) 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital'. *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 94 (supplement): s95 - s120

Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution (1957) *Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution.* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office (Reprinted 1963 as *The Wolfenden Report: Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution*. New York: Stein and Day)

Connell, R.W. (1987) *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. CA: Stanford University Press

Connell, R.W. (1995) *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Connolly, J. (2006) *Drugs and Crime in Ireland.* Dublin: Health Research Board

Connolly, L. (1996) 'The women's movement in Ireland 1970 – 1995 – a social movements analysis'. *Irish Journal of Feminist Studies*, 1 (1): 43 – 77

Conroy, P. (2003) *Trafficking in Unaccompanied Minors in Ireland.* Dublin: International Organization for Migration

Coombs, R. (1981) 'Drug use as a career'. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 11 (Fall): 369 - 387

Cox, S.M. and McKellar, W. (1999) '"There's this thing in our family": predictive testing and the construction of risk for Huntington disease'. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 21 (5): 622 - 646

Creswell, J.W. (1998) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among five traditions.* California: Sage

Crocker, J., Major, B. and Steele, C. (1998) 'Social Stigma' in Fiske, S., Gilbert, D. and Lindzey, G. (1998) (eds.) *Handbook of Social Psychology*, vol. 2. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Crum, R.M., Lillie-Banton, M. and Anthony, J.C. (1996) 'Neighbourhood environment and opportunity to use cocaine and other drugs in late childhood and early adolescence'. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 43: 155 – 161

Cusick, L. (1998a) 'Female prostitution in Glasgow: drug use and the occupational sector'. *Addiction Research*, 6: 115-30

Cusick, L. (1998b) 'Non-use of condoms by prostitute women', *AIDS Care*, 10: 133 – 46

Cusick, L. (2002) Youth Prostitution: A Literature Review. *Child Abuse Review*, 11: 230 – 251

Cusick, L., Martin, A. and May, T. (2003) 'Vulnerability and Involvement in Drug Use and Sex Work. Home Office Research Study No. 268'. London: Home Office Downloadable at http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/

Cusick, L. and Hickman, M. (2005) 'Trapping in drug use and sex work careers'. *Drugs, Education, Prevention and Policy*, 12 (5): 369 – 379

Dahlerup, D. (1986) *The New Women's Movement: Feminism and Political Power in Europe and the U.S.A.* London: Sage

Dáil Éireann, Volume 432 Debate: 23rd June 1993 (Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Bill, second stage)

Dáil Éireann, Volume 432 Debate: 24th June 1993 (Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Bill, committee and final stages)

Dalla, R.L. (2002) 'Night moves: a qualitative investigation of street-level sex work'. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26: 63 - 73

Danna, Daniela (2000) 'Organisations active in the field of prostitution in a comparative Western European Perspective'. Paper for the Workshop in the ECPR Joint Session 2000: "Prostitution and International Trafficking as Political Issues"

Davidoff, L. (1983) 'Class and gender in Victorian England' in Newton, J., Ryan, M. and Wolkowitz, J. (eds.) *Sex and Class in Women's History*. London: RKP

Davidson, R. and Hall, L. (eds.) (2001) *Sex, Sin and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society since 1870.* London: Routledge

Davis, K. (1937) 'The Sociology of Prostitution'. *American Journal of Sociology*, 746, 744 – 755

Davis, N.J. (1971) 'The Prostitute Developing a Deviant Identity' in Henslin, J.M. and Sagarin, E. (eds.) *Studies in the Sociology of Sex.* NY: Appleton

Day, S. (1990) 'Prostitute women and the ideology of work in London' in Felman, D. (ed.) *Culture and AIDS.* New York: Praeger

Day, S. (1996) 'The law and the market' in Harris, O. (ed.) *Inside and Outside the Law*. London: Routledge

Day, S. (2000) 'The Politics of Risk among London Prostitutes' in Caplan, P. (ed.) *Risk Revisited*. London: Pluto Press

Day, S. and Ward, H. (1990) 'The Praed Street Project: a cohort of prostitute women in London' in Plant, M. (ed.) *AIDS, Drugs and Prostitution*. London: Tavistock Routledge

Day, S. and Ward, H. (2004) (eds.) *Sex Work, Mobility and Health in Europe*. London: Kegan Paul

De Graaf, R., Van Zessen, G., Vanwesenbeeck, I., Staver, C. and Visser, J. (1996) Segmentation of heterosexual prostitution into various forms: a barrier to the potential transmission of HIV, *AIDS Care*, 8: 417–431.

Degenhardt, L., Day, C., Conroy, E. and Gilmour, S. (2006) 'Examining Links Between Cocaine Use and Street-Based Sex Work in New South Wales, Australia'. *Journal of Sex Research*, 43 (2): 107 – 114

Delacoste, F. and Alexander, P. (eds.) (1988) *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*. London: Virago

Denscombe, M. (2002) *Ground Rules for Good Research: A Ten Point Guide for Social Researchers*. Buckingham: Open University Press

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2003a) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*, 2nd ed.. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2003b) *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*, 2nd ed.. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Des Jarlais, D. (2000) 'Structural interventions to reduce HIV transmission among injecting drug users'. *AIDS*, 14 (Supplement 1): s41 – s46

de Swaan, A. (1990) *The Management of Normality: Critical Essays in Health and Welfare*. New York: Routledge

de Vries, P. (2001) 'The shadow of contagion: gender, syphilis and the regulation of prostitution in the Netherlands 1870-1914' in Davidson, R. and Hall, L. (eds.) *Sex, Sin and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society since 1870*. London: Routledge

de Waele, J.P. and Harré, R. (1979) *Personality*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell cited in Gergen, M.M. (1988) 'Narrative structures in social explanation' in Antaki, C. (ed.) (1988) *Analysing Everyday Explanation: A Casebook of Methods*. London: SAGE

Dickert, N. and Grady, C. (1999) 'What's the price of a research subject? Approaches to payment for research participation'. *New England Journal of Medicine,* 341**:** 198–203

Dillon, L. (2001) *Drug Use Among Prisoners: An Exploratory Study*. Dublin: The Health Research Board

Dillon, L. (2002) *Drug Use as a Career: The Irish Heroin Users' Perspective*. Unpublished M.Litt Dissertation submitted to the Department of Sociology, Trinity College Dublin

Ditmore, M. (2001) 'Report from the US: do prohibitory laws promote risk?' in Wolffers, I., van Beelen, N. and Brussa, L. (eds.) Violence, Repression and Other Health Threats: Sex workers at Risk, *Research for Sex Work*, June 2001 (Issue 4) [www.researchforsexwork.org]

Ditmore, M. (ed.) (2005) 'Research for Sex Work: Sex Work and Law Enforcement', *Research for Sex Work*, June 2005 (Issue 8) [www.researchforsexwork.org]

Dobash, R. and Dobash, E.R. (1979) *Violence against Wives: A Case against the Patriarchy*. London: Open Books

Doezema, J. (1998) 'Forced to choose: beyond the voluntary vs forced prostitution dichotomy' in Kempadoo, K. and Doezema, J. (eds.) (1998) *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*. New York: Routledge

Dominelli, L. (1986) 'The power of the powerless: prostitution and the reinforcement of submissive femininity'. *The Sociological Review*, Feb pp 66 – 92

Donoghue, B. (2001) 'Such a taboo: an analysis of service need and service provision in the Eastern Region'. Irish Network of Male Prostitution (INMP) and East Coast Area Health Board

Douglas, M. (1966) *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Douglas, M. (1985) *Risk Acceptability according to the Social Sciences*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Douglas, M. (1990) 'Risk as a forensic resource'. *Deadalus*, 119: 1 - 16

Douglas, M. (1992) *Risk and Blame: Essays in Cultural Theory*. London: Routledge

Douglas, M. and Wildavsky, A. (1982) *Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technical and Environmental Dangers*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Draijer, N. (1988) *Sexueel Misbruik Van Meisjes Door Verwanten [child sexual abuse in the family]*. Den Haag, The Netherlands: Ministerie van sociale zaken en werkgelegenheid

Draper, S.W. (1988) 'What's going on in everyday explanation?' in Antaki, C. (ed.) *Analysing Everyday Explanation: A Casebook of Methods*. London: SAGE (Chapter 2, pp. 15 – 31)

Duff, C. (2003) 'The importance of culture and context: rethinking risk and risk management in young drug using populations'. *Health, Risk & Society*, 5 (3): 285 – 299

Duncan, S. and Edwards, R. (1999) 'Understanding lone motherhood: competing discourses and positions' in Duncan, S. and Edwards, R. (eds.) (1999) *Lone Mothers, Paid Work and Gendered Moral Rationalities*. U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan

Durkheim, E. (1951) *Suicide*. Translated by Spaulding, J.A. and Simpson, G. Glenco, Illinois: Free Press

Dworkin, A. (1996) 'Pornography' in Jackson, S. and Scott, S. (eds.) *Feminism and Sexuality*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Earle, S. and Sharpe, K. (2006) 'Punters in Cyberspace' paper presented at the joint British Criminological Society and British Sociological Association *"Sex as Crime"* Conference, Birmingham, 5th April 2006 (Open University and University of Gloucestershire)

Eastern Health Board (1997) *Report of Working Party on Children in Prostitution*, September 1997 (Internal Report).

Edmunds, M., Hough, M., Turnbull, P. and May, T. (1999) *Doing Justice to Treatment: Referring Offenders to Drug Services*. DPAS Paper 2. London: Home Office

Edwards, S. (1990) 'Violence against Women: Feminism and the Law' in Gelsthorpe, L. and Morris, A. (eds.) *Feminist Perspectives in Criminology*. Philadelphia: Open University Press

Edwards, S. (1993) 'Selling the body, keeping the soul': Sexuality, power, and the theories and realities of prostitution' in Scott, S. and Morgan, D. (eds.) *Body Matters: Essays on the Sociology of the Body*. London: The Falmer Press

Ericson, R.V. and Haggerty, K.D. (1997) *Policing the Risk Society.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press

EUROPAP (2000) *The European Network Final Report 1998-2000*

Ewald, F. (1991) 'Insurance and Risk' in Burchell, G., Gordan, C. and Miller, P. (eds.) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press cited in Chan, W. and Rigakos, G.S. (2002) 'Risk, Crime and Gender', British Journal of Criminology 42: 743-761

EWL - European Women's Lobby (1998) "EWL Position on Prostitution", EWL Position Paper: Theme – Violence Against Women, May 1998 [downloadable at http://www.womenlobby.org/SiteResources/data/MediaArchive/policies/Violence%20against%20women/MotionProstitution-en.pdf - *retrieved October 2008*]

Fahey, K. (2007) 'Presentation on Trafficking from Ruhama'. Presented at the National Women's Council of Ireland (NWCI) Seminar on *The Global Sex Industry*, Dublin 27th November 2007

Farley, M. and Kelly, V. (2000) 'Prostitution: a critical review of the medical and social sciences literature'. *Women and Criminal Justice*, 11 (4): 22 - 64

Farley, M., Baral, I., Kiremire, M. and Sezgin, U. (1998) 'Prostitution in five countries: violence and post-traumatic stress disorder'. *Feminism and Psychology*, 8, 405-26

Farley, M. (2005) 'Prostitution harms women even if indoors: reply to Weitzer'. *Violence Against Women*, 11 (7): 950 - 964

Farrell, G., Ellingworth, D. and Pease, K. (1996) 'High crime rates, repeat victimisation and routine activities' in Bennett, T. (ed.) *Preventing Crime and Disorder: Tackling Strategies and Responsibilities.* Cambridge: Cropwood Series

Faupel, C.E. (1991) *Shooting Dope: Career Patterns of Hard-Core Heroin Users.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press

Festinger, D.S., Marlowe, D.B., Croft, J.R., Dugosh, K.L., Mastro, N.K., Lee, P.A., DeMatteo, D.S. and Patapis, N.S. (2005) Do research payments precipitate drug use or coerce participation? *Journal of Drug and Alcohol Dependency*, 78 (3): 275 – 281

Field, J. (2003) *Social Capital.* Abingdon, Oxon and NY: Routledge

File, K.M. (1976) 'Sex roles and street roles'. *International Journal of the Addictions*, 11 (2): 263-8

Finnegan, F. (2004) *Do Penance or Perish: Magdalen Asylums in Ireland.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Fischhoff, B., Lichenstein, S., Slovic, P., Derby, S.L. and Keeney, R.L. (1981) *Acceptable Risk.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Fischhoff, B., Slovic, P., Lichtenstein, S., Read, S. and Coombes, B. (1978) 'How safe is safe enough? A psychometric study of attitudes towards technological risks and benefits'. *Policy Sciences*, 9, 127 – 52

Flexner, A. (1914) *Prostitution in Europe.* NY: Century

Foran, D. and O'Neill, M. (1996) *Country Report on Ireland.* Part of EUROPAP Country Reports

Foster, J. (2000) Social Exclusion, Crime and Drugs. *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 7(4): 317 – 330

Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972 – 1977* (ed. Gordan, C.). NY: Pantheon Books

Foucault, M. (1981) *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (S. Rendall Trans.), vol. 1. UK: Penguin/Pelican

Foucault, M. (1988a) 'Technologies of the self' in Martin, L., Gutman, H. and Hutton, P. (eds) (1988) *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault.* London: Tavistock

Foucault, M. (1988b) 'The dangerous individual' in Kritzman, L.D. (ed.) *Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture.* New York: Routledge

Foucault, M. (1991) 'Governmentality' in Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (eds.) (1991) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality.* Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf

Fox, N. (1999) 'Postmodern reflections on "risks", "hazards" and life choices' in Lupton, D. (ed.) *Risk and Sociocultural Theory: New Directions and Perspectives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

France, A. (2000) 'Towards a sociological understanding of youth and their risk taking'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 3 (3): 317 – 331

Freund, J. (1969) *The Sociology of Max Weber.* NY: Vintage Books

Friedman, S.R. and Aral, S. (2001) 'Social networks, risk-potential networks, health and disease'. *Journal of Urban Health*, 78: 411 – 418

Friedman, S.R., Curtis, R., Neaigus, A., Jose, B. and Des Jarlais, D.C. (1999a) *Social Networks, Drug Injectors' Lives and HIV/AIDS.* New York: Kluwer/Plenum

Friedman, S.R., de Jong, W., Rossi, D., Touzé, G., Rockwell, R., Des Jarlais, D.C. and Elovich, R. (2007) 'Harm reduction theory: users' culture, micro-social indigenous harm reduction, and the self-organization and outside-organizing of users' groups'. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 18: 107 - 117

Fry, C. and Dwyer, R. (2001) 'For love or money? An exploratory study of why injecting drug users participate in research'. *Addiction*, 96: 1319–1325

Furey, M. and Browne, C. (2002) *Opiate Use and Related Criminal Activity in Ireland 2000 & 2001*. Garda Research Unit, Templemore, Research Report No.4/03

Furlong, A. and Cartmel, F. (1997) *Young People and Social Change: Individualisation and Risk in Late Modernity*. Buckingham: Open University Press

Gabe, J. (1995) Health. medicine and risk: the need for a sociological approach' in Gabe, J. (ed.) *Medicine, Health and Risk: Sociological Approaches*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers

Galligan, Y. (1998a) *Women and Politics in Contemporary Ireland*. London: Pinter

Gannon, I. (1980) *Prostitution the Oldest Male Crime*. Dublin: Jig Publications

Gardner, G.T. and Gould, L.C. (1989) Public Perceptions of the risks and benefits of technology. *Risk Analysis*, 9, 225-42

Geertz, C. (1983) *Local Knowledge*. New York: Basic Books

Gelsthorpe, L. (2000) Social Exclusion. Work in Progress Seminar. University of Cambridge, January cited in Seddon, T. (2006) Drugs, Crime and Social Exclusion: Social Context and Social Theory in British Drugs-Crime Research. British Journal of Criminology, 46: 680 – 703

Gergen, K.J. and Gergen, M.M. (1983) 'Narratives of the Self' in Sarbin, T.R. and Schiebe (eds.) *Studies in Social Identity*. NY: Praeger

Gergen, M.M. (1988) 'Narrative structures in social explanation' in Antaki, C. (ed.) *Analysing Everyday Explanation: A Casebook of Methods*. London: SAGE

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Giddens, A. (1992) *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Giddens, A. (1994) 'Living in post-traditional society' in Beck, U., Giddens, A. and Lash, S. (eds.) *Reflexive Modernisation: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Giddens, A. (1998a) 'Risk society: the context of British politics' in Franklin, J. (ed.) *The Politics of Risk Society*. Oxford: Polity Press in association with the Institute for Public Policy Research

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. New York: Aldine

Glenn, E. (1999) 'The social construction and institutionalization of gender and race: An integrative framework' in Marx Feree, M., Lorber, J. and Hess, B. (eds.) *Revisioning Gender*. California: Thousand Oaks

Glover, E. (1943) 'The psychopathology of prostitution' in Glover, E. (1960) *The Roots of Crime*. NY: International Universities Press

Glueck, S. and Glueck, E.T. (1934) *Five Hundred Delinquent Women*. N.Y: Knopf

Goffman, E. (1959) 'The moral career of the mental patient'. *Psychiatry*, 22: 123 - 142

Goffman, E. (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Simon and Schuster

Goffman, E. (1974) *Frame Analysis*. NY: Harper

Goldson, B. (1999) 'Youth (in)justice: contemporary developments in policy and practice' in Goldson, B. (ed.) *Youth Justice: Contemporary Policy and Practice.* Aldershot: Ashgate

Goldstein, P.J. (1979) *Prostitution and Drugs.* NY: DC Heath and Company

Goldstein, P.J., Ouellet, L.J. and Fendrich, M. (1992) 'From bag brides to skeezers: A historical perspective on sex-for-drugs behaviour'. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, 24 (4): 349 – 361

Gordon, M. and Riger, S. (1989) *The Female Fear: The Social Cost of Rape.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press

Gossop, M., Powis, B., Griffiths, P. and Strang, J. (1995) 'Female prostitutes in South London: use of heroin, cocaine and alcohol and their relationship to health risk behaviours', *AIDS Care*, 7: 253 – 60

Goulden, C. and Sondhi, A. (2001) "At the Margins: Drug Use by Vulnerable People" in the 1998/1999 Youth Lifestyles Survey. *Home Office Research Study 228.* London: Home Office

Government of Ireland (2008) Criminal Law (Human Trafficking), Act. Irish Statute Book, Acts of the Oireachtas No.8/2008
[www.irishstatutebook.ie/2008/en/act/pub/0008 *last accessed 21/10/'08*]

Government of Ireland (2007) Criminal Law (Sexual Offences), Act. Irish Statute Book, Acts of the Oireachtas No.6/2007
[www.irishstatutebook.ie/2007/en/act/pub/0006 *last accessed 21/10/'08*]

Government of Ireland (2006) Criminal Law (Sexual Offences), Act. Irish Statute Book, Acts of the Oireachtas No.15/2006
[www.irishstatutebook.ie/2006/en/act/pub/0015 *last accessed 21/10/'08*]

Government of Ireland (2006) Report of Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform and An Garda Síochána Working Group on Trafficking in Human Beings, May 2006. Dublin: The Stationery Office [downloadable at www.justice.ie]

Government of Ireland (1998) *The Law on Sexual Offences: A Discussion Paper.* Dublin: The Stationery Office

Government of Ireland (1994) Criminal Justice (Public Order) Act. Irish Statute Book, Acts of the Oireachtas No.
[www.irishstatutebook.ie/1994/en/act/pub/0002 *last accessed 22/10/'08*]

Government of Ireland (1993) Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act. Irish Statute Book, Acts of the Oireachtas No.20/1993
[www.irishstatutebook.ie/1993/en/act/pub/0020 *last accessed 21/10/'08*]

Granovetter, M.S. (1973) 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (6): 1360 - 1380

Granovetter, M. (1985) 'Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness'. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91: 481 – 510

Gratz, T. (2003) 'Gold-mining and risk management: a case study from Northern Benin'. *Ethnos*, 68 (2): 192 - 208

Grbich, C. (2007) *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Introduction.* London: Sage

Green, A., Day, S. and Ward, H. (2000) 'Crack cocaine and prostitution in London in the 1990s'. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 22: 27 – 39

Green, E., Mitchell, W. and Bunton, R. (2000) 'Contextualising risk and danger: An analysis of young people's perception of risk'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 3 (2) 109 – 126

Green, J. (1997) *Risk and Misfortune.* London: UCL Press

Green, J. and Thorogood, N. (2004) *Qualitative Methods for Health Research.* London: Sage

Green, J., Mulroy, S. and O'Neill, M. (1997) 'Young People and Prostitution: From a Youth Service Perspective' in Barrett, D. (ed.) *Child Prostitution in Britain.* London: The Children's Society

Greenwald, H. (1958) *The Call Girl: A Social and Psychoanalytical Study.* NY: Ballantine Books

Grinyer, A. (1995) 'Risk, the real world an naïve sociology: perceptions of health from occupational injury in the health service' in Gabe, J. (ed.) *Medicine, Health and Risk: Sociological Approaches.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. pp. 31 - 51

Hacking, I. (1990) *The Taming of Chance.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hak, T. and de Boer, F. (1996) 'Formulations in first encounters', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 25: 83 – 99

Hall, S. and Gieben, B. (eds.) (1992) *Understanding Modern Societies Book I: Formations of Modernity.* Oxford: Polity Press/Open University

Halpern, D. (2005) *Social Capital.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Hamilton, M. (2001) '"Still searching for the pathways". Pathways, causes and consequences'. *Parity*, 14 (8): 8 – 14

Hammond, P.E. (ed.) (1964) *Sociologists at Work: Essays on the Craft of Social Research.* NY and London: Basic Books

Harcourt, C. (1994) 'Prostitution and public health in the era of AIDS' in Perkins, R., Sharp, R., Lovejoy, F. and Prestage, G. (eds.) *Sex Work and Sex Workers in Australia.* Sydney: University of New South Wales Press

Harcourt, C. and Donovan, B. (2004) 'The Many Faces of Sex Work'. *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 81: 201 – 206

Hart, G. and Barnard, M. (2003) 'Jump on top, get the job done': Strategies Employed by Female Prostitutes to Reduce the Risk of Client Violence' in Stanko, E.A. (ed.) *The Meanings of Violence*. London: Routledge

Hawkes, G. (1996) *The Sociology of Sex and Sexuality*. London: Open University Press

Healy, G. and O'Connor, M. (2003) 'Briefing on current trends within the sex industry in the Republic of Ireland' in Bindel, J. and Kelly, L. (eds.) *A Critical Examination to Prostitution in Four Countries: Victoria, Australia; Ireland; the Netherlands; and Sweden*. Child and Women Studies Abuse Unit, London Metropolitan University

Heritage, J.C. (1984) *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Hester, M. and Westmarland, N. (2004) 'Tackling Street Prostitution: Towards a Holistic Approach'. London: Home Office

Hobbs, D. (1997) 'Professional Crime: Change, Continuity and the Enduring Myth of the Underworld'. *Sociology*, 31 (1): 57-72

Hobbs, D. (1998) 'Going Down the Glocal: The Local Context of Organised Crime', *Howard Journal*, 37: 407-22

Hobson, B. (1987) *Uneasy virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition*. NY: Basic Books

Hochschild, A.R. (1983) *The Managed Heart: The Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley, California: California University Press

Høigård, C. and Finstad, L. (1992) *Backstreets: Prostitution, money and love.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Holland, J. and Ramazanoglu, C. (1992) 'Risk, power and the possibility of pleasure: young women and safer sex'. *AIDS Care*, 4 (3): 273 - 283

Hollander, J.A. (2001) 'Vulnerability and dangerousness: The construction of gender through conversation about violence'. *Gender and Society*, 15: 84 – 110

Hollander, J.A. (2002) 'Resisting vulnerability: The social reconstruction of gender in interaction'. *Social Problems*, 49 (4): 474 – 496

Homeless Agency (2007) *A Key to the Door: The Homeless Agency Partnership Action Plan on Homelessness in Dublin 2007 – 2010.* Dublin: Homeless Agency

Home Office (2004) 'Paying the Price: A Consultation Paper on Prostitution'. London: Home Office

Hubbard, P. (1997) 'Red-light districts and toleration zones: geographies of female street prostitution in England and Wales'. *Area*, 29: 129 – 140

Hubbard, P. (2006) 'Out of touch and out of time? The contemporary policing of sex work' in Campbell, R. and O'Neill, M. (eds.) *Sex Work Now.* Cullompton: Willan Publishing

Hubbard, P. and Sanders, T. (2003) 'Making space for sex work: female street prostitution and the production of urban space'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27 (1): 73 - 87

Hughes, P.H., Crawford, G.A., Barker, A.M., Schmann, A.M.S. and Jaffe, J.H. (1971) 'The Social structure of a heroin copping community'. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 128 (5): 551-8

Hunter, G., Stimson, G.V., Judd, A., Jones, S. and Hickman, M. (2000) 'Measuring injecting risk behaviour in the second decade of harm reduction: a survey of injecting drug users in England'. *Addiction*, 95: 1351 - 1361

Inciardi, J., Lockwood, D. and Pottieger, A. (1993) *Women and Crack Cocaine.* Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan

Inglis, T. (1987) *Moral Monopoly: the Catholic Church in Modern Irish Society.* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan

Inglis, T. (1998) *Lessons in Irish Sexuality.* Dublin: University College Dublin Press

Irish Examiner, 23rd January 2007, "Click for sex: Irish law powerless against the rise of online prostitution"

Irish Examiner, 24th January 2007, "Prostitute users: young, married and professional"

Irish Independent, 22nd April 2007, "The hidden sex trafficking trade is our real problem"

Irish Times, 22nd May 2008, "Businessman jailed for raping prostitute"

Jackman, N., O'Toole, R. and Gilbert, G. (1963) 'The Self Image of the Prostitute'. *Sociological Quarterly*, 4 (2): 150 – 161

Jackson, L., Highcrest, A. and Coates, R. (1992) 'Varied potential risks of HIV infection among prostitutes'. *Social Science and Medicine*, 35: 281–286.

James, J. (1974) 'Motivation for Entrance into Prostitution' in Crithes, L. (ed.) *The Female Offender.* London: Heath

James, J. (1976) 'Prostitution and addiction: an interdisciplinary approach'. *International Journal of the Addictions*, 2: 601 - 618

Jarvis, G. and Parker, H. (1989) 'Young heroin users and crime: how do the "new users" finance their habits?'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 29: 175 - 185

Jeffrey, L.A. (2004) 'Prostitution as public nuisance: prostitution policy in Canada' in Outshoorn, J. (ed.) *The Politics of Prostitution: Women's Movements, Democratic States and the Globalisation of Sex Commerce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Jeffreys, S. (1997) *The Idea of Prostitution*. Melbourne: Spinifex Press

Jenness, V. (1990) 'From sex as sin to sex as work: COYOTE and the reorganisation of prostitution as a social problem'. *Social Problems*, 37: 403 - 420

Jesson, J. (1993) 'Understanding adolescent female prostitution: a literature review'. *British Journal of Social Work*, 23: 517 – 530

Johnson, J. (1975) *Doing Field Research*. New York: Free Press

Johnson, T., Freels, S.A, Parsons, J.A. and Vangeest, J.B. (1997) 'Substance abuse and homelessness: social selection or social adaptation?'. *Addiction*, 92 (4): 437 – 445

Jones, E.E., Farina, A., Hastorf, A.H., Markus, H., Miller, D.T. and Scott, R.A. (1984) *Social Stigma: The Psychology of Marked Relationships*. NY: Freeman

Kane, S. (1991) 'HIV, heroin and heterosexual relations'. Social Science and Medicine, 32: 1037 -

Kantola, J. and Squires, J. (2004a) 'Discourses surrounding prostitution policies in the U.K.'. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 11, 77 - 101

Kantola, J. and Squires, J. (2004b) 'Prostitution Policies in Britain, 1982 to 2002', in Outshoorn, J. (ed.) *The Politics of Prostitution: Women's Movements, Democratic*

States and the Globalisation of Sex Commerce. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kaufmen, E. (1985) *Substance Abuse and Family Therapy.* NY: Grune and Stratton

Kelleher, P., Kelleher, C. and Corbett, M. (2000) *Left Out on Their Own: Young People Leaving Care in Ireland.* Dublin: Oak Press in association with Focus Ireland

Kemp, T. (1936) *Prostitution: An Investigation of its Causes.* Copenhagen: Levin

Kempadoo, K. (2004) *Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, Race and Sexual Labour.* NY and London: Routledge

Kempadoo, K. and Doezema, J. (eds.) (1998) *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition.* London: Routledge

Kemshall, H. (2002b) *Risk, Social Policy and Welfare.* Buckingham: Open University Press

Kemshall, H. (2003) *Understanding Risk in Criminal Justice.* Buckingham: Open University Press

Kemshall, H. (2008) 'Risks, rights and justice: understanding and responding to youth risk'. *The National Association for Youth Justice*, 8 (1): 21 - 37

Keogh, E. (1997) 'Illicit Drug Use and Related Criminal Activity in the Dublin Metropolitan Area'. Dublin: An Garda Síochána

Kesler, K. (2002) 'Is a Feminist Stance in Support of Prostitution Possible? An Exploration of Current Trends.' *Sexualities* 5 (2): 219 - 235

Kilcommins, S., O'Donnell, I., O'Sullivan, E. and Vaughan, B. (2004) *Crime, Punishment and the Search for Order in Ireland.* Dublin: Institute of Public Administration

Kilvington, J, Day, S. and Ward, H. (2001) 'Prostitution Policy in Europe: A Time of Change?'. *Feminist Review*, 67: 78 – 93

Kinnell, H. (2006) 'Murder made easy: the final solution to prostitution?' in Campbell, R. and O'Neill, M. (eds.) *Sex Work Now*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing. pp. 141 - 168

Kirby, P. (1995) 'Word from the Street: Young People who Leave Care and Become Homeless'. London: Centerpoint/Community Care/Reed Business Publishing

Klee, H. and Morris, J. (1995) 'Factors that characterise street injectors'. *Addiction*, 90: 837 - 841

Kobasa, S. (1982) 'The hardy personality: towards a social psychology of stress and health' in Sanders, G. and Sals, I. (eds.) *Social Psychology of Health and Illness*. Princeton, NJ: Erlbaum

Kohli, M. (1981) 'Biography: Account, Text, Method' in Bertaux, D. (ed.) *Biography and Society*. London: SAGE

Koocher, G.P. (1991) Questionable methods in alcoholism research, *J. Consult. Clin. Psychol*, 59: 249–255

Kuo, L. (2002) *Prostitution Policy: Revolutionizing Practice through a Gendered Perspective*. N.Y.: New York University Press

Lankenau, S.E., Clatts, M.C., Welle, D., Goldsamt, L.A. and Gwadz, M.V. (2005) 'Street careers: homelessness, drug use and sex work among young men who have sex with men (YMSM)'. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 16: 10 – 18

Larsen, N.E. (1996) 'The effect of different police enforcement policies on the control of prostitution. *Canadian Public Policy*, XXII (1): 40 – 55

Larsson, (1983) Kønshandein. Om prostitutuedrades vikor. Stockholm: Skeab cited in Høigård, C. and Finstad, L. (1992) *Backstreets: Prostitution, money and love.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Lash, S. (1994) 'Reflexivity and its doubles: structure, aesthetics, community' in Beck, U., Giddens, A. and Lash, S. (1994) *Reflexive Modernisation: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order.* Cambridge: Polity Press pp. 110 - 173

Latkin, C.A. and Knowlton, A.R. (2005) 'Micro-social structural approaches to HIV prevention: a social ecological perspective'. *AIDS Care*, 17 (Suppl. 1): S102 – S113

Latkin, C.A., Forman, V., Knowlton, A. and Sherman, S. (2003) 'Norms, social networks and HIV-related risk behaviours among urban disadvantaged drug users'. *Social Science & Medicine*, 56: 465 – 476

Laub, J.H and Sampson, R.J. (1993) 'Turning points in the life course: why change matters to the study of crime'. *Criminology*, 31 (3): 301 - 325

Laumann, E. and Gannon, J. (1995) 'A sociological perspective on sexual action' in Parker, R. and Gagnon, J. (eds.) Conceiving Sexuality: Approaches to Sex Research in a Postmodern World. NY: Routledge pp. 183 - 213

Lawless, M. and Corr, C. (2005) *Drug Use among the Homeless Population in Ireland. A Report for the National Advisory Committee on Drugs.* Dublin: Stationery Office

Lawless, K. and Wayne, A. (2005) *The Next Step Initiative: Research Report on the Barriers Affecting Women in Prostitution.* Dublin: Ruhama and TSA Consultancy

Lawless, M. (2002) *Private Lives – Public Issues: An investigation into the Health Status of Female Drug Users.* Merchants Quay Project: Dublin

Lee, R.M. (1993) *Doing Research on Sensitive Topics.* London: Sage

Leidholt, D.A. (1999) 'Demand and the Debate' in Demand Dynamics: The forces of Demand in Global Sex Trafficking. Conference report available at http://www.law.depaul.edu/institutes_centres/ihrli/_downloads/demand_dynamics.pdf [- downloaded on ***]

Lejeune, R. and Alex, N. (1973) 'On being mugged: the event and its aftermath'. *Urban Life and Culture*, 2 (3): 259 - 287

Lemert, E.M. (1951) *Social Pathology*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Lemert, E.M. (1964) 'Social structure, social control and deviation' in Clinard, M.B. (ed.) *Anomie and Deviant Behaviour*. NY: Free Press

Levine, J. and Madden, L. (1987) *Lyn: A Story of Prostitution*. Dublin: Attic Press

Leviton, L.C. (1989) 'Theoretical foundations of AIDS-prevention programs' in Valdiserri, R.O. (ed.) *Preventing AIDS: The Design of Effective Programs. Brunswick*, NJ: Rutgers University Press

Link, B.G. and Phelan, J.C. (2001) 'Conceptualising stigma'. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27: 363 – 385

Lippman, S. (1986) "Nothing but the facts ma'am: The impact of testimony construction and narrative style on jury decisions', unpublished senior thesis, Swarthmore College cited in Gergen, M.M. (1988) 'Narrative structures in social explanation' in Antaki, C. (ed.) (1988) *Analysing Everyday Explanation: A Casebook of Methods*. London: SAGE (Chapter 7, pp. 94 – 112)

Lloyd, C. (1998) 'Risk factors for problem drug use: identifying vulnerable groups'. *Drugs, Education, Prevention and Policy*, 5: 217 - 232

Lomas, J. (1998) 'Social capital and health: implications for public health and epidemiology'. *Social Science & Medicine*, 47: 1181 – 1188

Lombroso, C. And Ferrero, W. (1895) *The Female Offender.* London: Fisher Unwin

Lopez, A. and Clemen, J. (2004) 'Why we need a sex workers' union' in Day, S. and Ward, H. (eds.) Sex Work, Mobility and Health in Europe. London: Kegan Paul

Lovell, A.M. (2002) 'Risking risk: the influence of types of capital and social networks on the injection practices of drug users'. Social Science and Medicine, 55: 803 - 821

Lowman, J. (1991) 'Prostitution in Canada' in Jackson, M. and Griffiths, C. (eds.) *Canadian criminology: Perspectives on crime and criminality.* Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Lowman, J. (2000) 'Violence and the outlaw status of (street) prostitution in Canada'. *Violence Against Women*, 6 (9): 987-1011

Lowman, J. and Fraser, L. (1995) 'Violence against People who Prostitute: The Experience in British Columbia'. Ottawa: Department of Justice

Luddy, M. (1997) 'Abandoned women and bad characters: prostitution in nineteenth century Ireland'. *Women's History Review*, 6 (4): 485–504

Luddy, M. (2007) *Prostitution and Irish Society 1800 – 1940.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Luhmann, N. (1986) *Love as Passion: The Codification of Intimacy.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Lupton, D. (ed.) (1999a) *Risk and Sociocultural Theory: New Directions and Perspectives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Lupton, D. (1999b) *Risk.* London: Routledge

Lupton, D. and Tulloch, J. (2002) '"Risk as part of your life": risk epistemiologies among a group of Australians'. *Sociology*, 36 (3): 317 - 334

MacKinnon, C. (1993) Prostitution and Civil Rights: A speech given at the Michigan Journal of Gender and Law Symposium entitled *Prostitution: From Academia to Activism*, October 31, 1992

Macklin, R. (1981) '"Due" and "undue" inducements: on paying money to research subjects'. *IRB*, 3: 1–6

Magee, W.J. and Carr, D. (1998) 'The effects of early adversity on midlife competence and resilience'. Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco. August 1998 cited in Månsson, S.A. and Hedin, U.C. (1999) 'Breaking the Matthew effect – on women leaving prostitution. International Journal of Social Welfare, 8: 67 – 77

Maher, L. (1996) 'Hidden in the light: discrimination and occupational norms among crack using street-level sex workers'. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 26 (1): 145 – 175

Maher, L. (1997) *Sexed Work: Gender, Race and Resistance in a Brooklyn Drug Market*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Maher, L. and Hudson, S. (2007) 'Women in the drug economy: a metasynthesis of the qualitative literature'. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 37 (4): 805 – 826

Mahon, E. (1995) 'From democracy to femocracy: the women's movement in the Republic of Ireland' in Clancy, P. et al. (eds.) *Irish Society: Sociological Perspectives*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration/Sociological Association of Ireland

Major, B. and O'Brien, L.T. (2005) 'The social psychology of stigma'. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 56: 393 – 421

Manning, P. (1977) *Police Work*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

Månsson, S.A. and Hedin, U.C. (1999) 'Breaking the Matthew effect – on women leaving prostitution'. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 8: 67 – 77

Maracek, J. (1999) 'Trauma talk in feminist clinical practice', in Lamb, S. (ed.) *New Versions of Victims: Feminists Struggle with the Concept.* NY: New York University Press

Marske, C. (1991) *Communities of Fate: Readings in the Social Organisation of Risk.* Lanham, ML: University Press of America

Marshall, G. (1998) *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Matthews, R. (2008) *Prostitution, Politics and Policy.* Oxon: Routledge-Cavendish

Matza, D. (1964) *Delinquency and Drift.* NY: Wiley

May, T. and Hunter, G. (2006) 'Sex work and problem drug use in the UK: the links, problems and possible solutions' in Campbell, R. and O'Neill, M. (eds.) *Sex Work Now.* Cullompton: Willan Publishing. pp. 169 - 189

May, T., Edmunds, M. and Hough, M. (1999) 'Street Business: The Links between Sex and Drug Markets'. London: Home Office Policing and Reducing Crime Unit

Mayock, P. (2000a) *Choosers or Losers? Influences on Young People's Choices about Drugs in Inner-city Dublin.* Dublin: The Children's Research Centre, Trinity College Dublin

Mayock, P. (2003) *Young People, Drug Use and Risk: An Ethnography of Drug Use in a Dublin Inner- City Community.* Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College Dublin

Mayock, P. (2005) 'Scripting' risk: young people and the construction of drug journeys'. *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 12 (5): 349 - 368

Mayock, P. and Carr, N. (2008) *Not Just Homelessness...A Study of 'Out of Home' Young People in Cork City*. Health Services Executive, South: Brunswick Press Ltd.

Mazur, A. G. (2004) 'Prostitute movements face elite apathy and gender-biased universalism in France' in Outshoorn, J. (ed.) *The Politics of Prostitution: Women's Movements, Democratic States and the Globalisation of Sex Commerce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

McClintock, A. (1995) *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. London: Routledge

McCorkel, J.A. (1998) 'Going to the crackhouse: critical space as a form of resistance in total institutions and everyday life'. *Symbolic Interactionism*, 21: 227 – 252

McCullagh, C. (1996) *Crime in Ireland: A Sociological Introduction*. Cork: Cork University Press

McDonnell R.J., McDonnell P.M., O'Neill M. and Mulcahy F. (1998) 'Health risk profile of prostitutes in Dublin'. *Inernational Journal of STD & AIDS*, 9 (8): 485 – 488

McGarry, K. (2007) '"Tragic but inevitable": Confronting inevitability discourse in relation to violence against women in prostitution – a case for legislative change in Ireland. Paper presented at the *British Sociological Association Violence Against Women Seminar*, University of Newcastle, June 28th 2007

McElwee, N. and Lalor, K. (1997) *Prostitution in Waterford City: A Contemporary Analysis*. StreetSmart Press: WIT

McGivern, Yvonne (2003) *The Practice of Market and Social Research*, 1st edition. Essex: Pearson Education Ltd

McKeganey, N. (1995) 'Quantitative and qualitative research in the addictions: an unhelpful divide'. *Addiction*, 90: 749-51

McKeganey, N. (2006) 'Street prostitution in Scotland: the views of working women'. *Drugs, Education, Prevention and Policy*, 13 (2): 151 – 166

McKeganey, N. and Barnard, M. (1992a) 'Selling sex: female street prostitution and HIV risk behaviour in Glasgow'. *AIDS Care*, 4: 395 – 407

McKeganey, N. and Barnard, M. (1992b) *AIDS, Drugs and Sexual Risk: Lives in the Balance*. Buckingham: Open University Press

McKeganey, N. and Barnard, M. (1996) *Sex work on the Streets: Prostitutes and their Clients*. Buckingham: Open University Press

McKeganey, N., Barnard, M. and Bloor, M. (1990) 'A comparison of HIV-related risk behaviour and risk reduction between female street-working prostitutes and male rent boys in Glasgow'. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 12 (3): 274 - 292

McLeod, E. (1982) *Women Working: Prostitution Now*. London: Croom Helm

McMullen, R. (1987) 'Youth prostitution: a balance of power'. *Journal of Adolescence*, 10: 35 – 43

Meith, D. (2008) 'Ethics and law in the European Union – bridging or fudging different traditions of moral and legal argumentation'. Paper presented at the *SIF Research Ethics Course for Graduate Researchers*, May 15th 2008, Trinity College Dublin

Melrose, M., Barrett, D. and Brodie, I. (1999) *One Way Street? Retrospectives on Childhood Prostitution*. Luton: University of Luton Press

Melucci, A. (1996) *The Playing Self: Person and Meaning in the Planetary Society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Merton, R.K. (1957) *Social Theory and Social Structure.* Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press

Merton, R.K. (1964) 'Anomie, anomia and social interaction: contexts of deviant behaviour' in Clinard, M.B. (ed.) *Anomie and Deviant Behaviour.* NY: Free Press

Miles, M.B. and Huberman, M. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*, 2nd ed. London: Sage

Miller, J. (1995) 'Gender and power on the streets'. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 24 (2): 422 - 446

Miller, J. (1997) 'Researching violence against street prostitutes' in Schwartz, M. (ed.) *Researching Sexual Violence Against Women.* London: Sage. pp. 144 - 156

Miller, J. and Schwartz, M.D. (1995) 'Rape myths and violence against street prostitutes'. *Deviant Behaviour*, 16, 1 – 23

Miller, M. and Neaigus, A. (2001) 'Networks, resources and risk among women who use drugs'. *Social Science and Medicine*, 52: 967 - 978

Millett, K. (1970) *Sexual Politics.* London: Hart-Davis

Millett, K. (1975) *The Prostitution Papers.* N.Y: Avon

Miriam, K. (2005) 'Stopping the traffic in women: power, agency and the abolition of feminist debates over sex-trafficking'. *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 36 (1): 1 – 17

Monaghan, L.F. (2002) 'Opportunity, pleasure and risk: an ethnography of urban male sexualities'. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 31 (4): 440 - 477

Monto, M. A. (2000) 'Why men seek out prostitutes' in Weitzer, Ronald (ed.) *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry*. U.K: Routledge

Monto, M.A. (2004) 'Female prostitution, customers and violence'. *Violence Against Women*, 10; 160 – 188

Mordaunt, A. E. (2002) 'Dialogue: Sex working drug users: out of the shadows at last'. *Feminist Review*, 72: 82 - 83

Morgan Thomas, R. (1992) 'HIV and the sex industry' in Bury, J., Morrison, V. and McLachlan, S. (eds.) *Working with Women and AIDS: Medical, Social and Counselling Issues*. London: Routledge

Morgan, P. and Joe, K. (1997) 'Unchartered terrain: Contexts of experience among women in the illicit drug economy'. *Women and Criminal Justice*, 8 (3), 85 -109

Murphy, A. (2003) 'The dialectical gaze exploring the subject-object tension in the performances of women who strip'. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 32(3): 305 – 335

Murphy, A.K. and Venkatesh, S.U. (2006) 'Vice careers: the changing contours of sex work in New York city'. *Qualitative Sociology*, 26: 129 – 154

Mutchler, M.G. (2000) 'Seeking sexual lives: gay youth and masculinity tension' in Nardi, P. (ed.) Gay Masculinities. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. pp.12 - 43

Nagel, J. (1997) *Whores and Other Feminists*. London: Routledge

Neale, J. (2001) 'Homelessness amongst drug users: a double jeopardy explored'. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 12: 253 – 269

Nugent, E. (2006) *Vigilantes, anti-drug movements, and community empowerment: A Dublin case study*. Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College Dublin

NWCI – National Women's Council of Ireland (2005) *Strategic Plan 2006 – 2010.* Dublin: NWCI
[downloadable at http://www.nwci.ie/highlights/strategic_plan_2006_2010 - retrieved October 2008]

NWCI – National Women's Council of Ireland (2008) *Strategic Work Programme 2009.* Dublin: NWCI
[downloadable at http://www.nwci.ie/highlights/strategic_work_programme_2009 - retrieved October 2008]

O'Connell Davidson, J. (1998) *Prostitution, Power and Freedom.* London: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

O'Connor M. and Wilson, N. (2005) 'The Experiences and Needs of Women in the North West Inner City Who Experience Violence, NWICWN

O'Connor, A.M. (1994) 'The Health Needs of Women Working in Prostitution in the Republic of Ireland'. First Report prepared by the Women's Health Project for EUROPAP. Dublin: Eastern Health Board

O'Connor, A.M. (1996) 'Women Working in Prostitution: Towards a Healthier Future'. Second Report prepared by the Women's Health Project for EUROPAP. Dublin: Eastern Health Board

O'Connor, M. (2004). National Observatory on Violence against Women: First Country Report from the Republic of Ireland. Dublin, Irish National Observatory on Violence against Women.

O'Connor, M. and Healy, G. (2006) 'The Links between Prostitution and Trafficking: A Briefing Handbook'. Prepared for the joint project co-ordinated by the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women and the European Women's Lobby on promoting preventative measures to combat trafficking in human beings for sexual exploitation:

A Swedish and United States Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisation Partnership

O'Connor, M. and Wilson, N. (2004) *Safe Home: Sonas Housing Association - Model of Supported Transitional Housing*. Dublin: Sonas

O'Neill, M. (2006) 'Services to sex workers and public policy reform' paper presented at the Joint British Society of Criminology and British Sociological Association *"Sex as Crime" Conference*, Birmingham, 5th April 2006

O'Neill, M. (1996a) 'Researching prostitution and violence: towards a feminist praxis' in Hester, M., Kelly, L. and Radford, J. (eds.) *Women, Violence and Male Power*. London: Open University Press

O'Neill, M. and Barbaret, R. (2000) 'Victimisation and the social organisation of prostitution in England and Spain' in Weitzer, Ronald (ed.) *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry*. U.K: Routledge. pp. 123 - 137

O'Neill, M. and Campbell, R. (2001) *Working Together to Create Change: Walsall Prostitution Consultation Research*. Walsall: Staffordshire University/Liverpool Hope University/Walsall Health Authority

O'Neill, M. and Campbell, R. (2006) 'Street sex work and local communities: creating discursive spaces for genuine consultation and inclusion' in Campbell, R. and O'Neill, M. (eds.) *Sex Work Now*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing

O'Neill, M. and O'Connor, AM. (1999) Drug Using Women Working in Prostitution. Report prepared by The Women's Health Project. Dublin: Eastern Health Board

O'Neill, M., Goode, N. and Hopkins, K. (1995) 'Juvenile prostitution: the experience of young women in residential care'. *Childright*, 113: 14 – 16

O'Sullivan, M. (1998) *Prostitution in the Mid-West Region*. Limerick: Mid-Western Health Board

Oerton, S. and Phoenix, J. (2001) 'Sex/Bodywork: discourses and practices'. *Sexualities* 4 (4): 387-412

Ouellet, L.J., Wiebel, W.W., Jiminez, A.D. and Johnson, W.A. (1993) 'Crack cocaine and the transformation of prostitution in three Chicago neighbourhoods' in Ratner, M.S. (ed.) *Crack pipe as pimp: An ethnographic investigation of sex-for-crack exchanges*. New York: Lexington Books

Outshoorn, J. (2006) 'Public women and public policy: changing prostitution in the Netherlands'. Paper presented at the *The Two Faces of Prostitution Course*, 25th October 2006, Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies NOV, Utrecht

Outshoorn, J. (2001) 'Debating prostitution in parliament: a feminist analysis', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 8, 473 – 491

Outshoorn, J. (ed.) (2004) *The Politics of Prostitution: Women's Movements, Democratic States and the Globalisation of Sex Commerce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Overall, C. (1992) 'What's wrong with prostitution?'. *Signs*, 17 (4): 705 - 724

Overs, P. (1994) 'Prostitution'. *New Internationalist*, 252 (Feb), 114 - 121

Padian, N.S. (1988) 'Prostitute women and AIDS: epidemiology'. *AIDS*, 6: 413 – 419

Parker, H. and Bottomley, T. (1996) *Crack Cocaine and Drug Crime Careers*. London: Home Office Publication Unit

Parriott, R. (1994) *Health Experiences of Twin Cities Women Used in Prostitution*. Unpublished survey by WHISPER, Minneapolis, MN

Parsons, T. (1937) *The Structure of Social Action*. NY: Free Press

Pateman, C. (1988) *The Sexual Contract.* Oxford: Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell Ltd, Cambridge

Patterson, O. (1982) *Slavery and Social Death.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Perkins, R. (1991) *Working Girls: Prostitutes, Their Life and Social Control.* Canberra, ACT: Australian Institute of Criminology

Petro, M. (2006) '"I did it...for the money": Sex work as a means to socio-economic opportunity' in Ditmore, M. (ed.) *Sex Work and Money.* Research for Sex Work 9

Petersen, A. (1996) 'Risk and the regulated self: the discourse of health promotion as politics of uncertainty'. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 32 (1): 44 - 57

Pheterson, G (1988) 'The social consequences of unchastity' in Delacoste, F. and Alexander, P. (eds.) *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry.* London: Virago

Pheterson, G. (1993) 'The whore stigma.' *Social Text*, 37: 37-64

Phoenix, J. (1999) *Making Sense of Prostitution.* U.K: Palgrave

Pickering, H., Okongo, M., Nnalusiba, B., Bwanka, K. and Whitworth, J. (1997) 'Sexual networks in Uganda: Casual and commercial sex in a trading town'. *AIDS Care*, 9 (2): 199 – 207

Pitcher, J. (2006) 'Support services for women working in the sex industry' in Campbell, R. and O'Neill, M. (eds.) *Sex Work Now.* Cullompton: Willan Publishing. pp. 235 - 262

Plumridge, L.W., Chetwynd, S.J., Reed, A. and Gifford, S.J. (1997) 'Discourses of emotionality in commercial sex: the missing client voice'. *Feminism & Psychology*, 7, 165 – 181

Plumridge, L.W. and Abel, G. (2001) 'A segmented sex industry in New Zealand: sexual and personal safety of female sex workers'. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, 25: 78 – 83

Plumridge, L.W. (2001) 'Rhetoric, reality and risk outcomes in sex work'. *Health, Risk and Society*, 3 (2): 199 – 215

Porter, J. and Bonilla, L. (2000) 'Drug use, HIV and the ecology of street prostitution' in Weitzer, R. (ed.) *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry*. U.K.: Routledge

Potterat, J., Brewer, D., Muth, S., Rothenberg, R., Woodhouse, D., Muth, J., Stites, H. and Brody, S. (2004) 'Mortality in a long-term open cohort of prostitute women', *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 159(8): 778 – 85

Prasad, M. (1999) cited in Monto, Martin A. (2004) Female Prostitution, Customers and Violence. *Violence Against Women*, 10; 160-188

Preble, E. and Casey, J. (1969) 'Taking care of business: the heroin users' life on the street'. *International Journal of the Addictions*, 4: 1 - 24

Putnam, R.D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. NY: Simon and Schuster

Pyett, P.M and Warr, D.J. (1997) 'Vulnerability on the streets: female sex workers and HIV risk'. *AIDS Care*, 9 (5): 539 – 547

Pyett, P.M. and Warr, D.J. (1999) 'Women at risk in sex work: strategies for survival'. *Journal of Sociology*, 35 (2): 183-197

Quinlan, M., Wyse, D. and O'Connor, A.M. (1997) *Men in Prostitution.* Dublin: Gay Men's Health Project and Eastern Health Board

Quinlan, S. (2005) 'High level of drug use among Dublin prostitutes' (National Documentation Centre, News 15th September 2005)

Rape Crisis Network Europe, RCNE (2003) 'Conference Proceedings – Sexual Violence: Issues and Responses Across Europe'. Dublin, 3rd October 2003

Raphael, J. and Shapiro, D. (2002) *Sisters speak out.* NY: Center for impact research

Raphael, J. and Shapiro, D. (2004) 'Violence in indoor and outdoor prostitution venues'. *Violence Against Women*, 10 (2): 126-139

Ratner, M.S. (ed.) (1993) *Crack pipe as pimp: An ethnographic investigation of sex-for-crack exchanges.* NY: Lexington Books

Reddy, S. (1996) 'Claims to expert knowledge and the subversion of democracy: the triumph of risk over uncertainty'. *Economy and Society*, 25 (2): 222-54

Renn, O. (1998) 'Three decades of risk research: accomplishments and new challenges'. *Journal of Risk Research*, 1 (1): 49 – 71

Reynolds, P (2003) *Sex in the City: The Prostitution Racket in Ireland.* London: Pan Books

Rhodes, T. (1997) Risk theory in epidemic times: sex, drugs and the social organisation of "risk behaviour"'. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 19(2): 208-27

Rhodes, T., Lilly, R., Fernandez, C., Giorgino, E., Kemmesis, U.E., Ossebaard, H.C., Lalam, N., Faasen, I. and Spannow, K.E. (2003) 'Risk factors associated with drug use: the importance of 'risk environment'. *Drugs: education, prevention and policy*, 10 (4): 303 – 329

Rhodes, T., Singer, M., Bourgois, P., Friedman, S.R. and Strathdee, S.A. (2005) 'The social structural production of HIV risk among injecting drug users'. *Social Science and Medicine*, 61: 1026 – 1044

Riger, S. and Gordon, M. (1981) 'The fear of rape: a study in social control'. *Journal of Social Issues*, 37: 71 – 92

Rhodes, T. and Quirk, A. (1998) 'Drug users' sexual relationships and the social organisation of risk: the sexual relationship as a site of risk management'. *Social Science and Medicine*, 46 (2) : 157 - 169

Ripple, C.H. and Luthar, S.S. (1996) 'Familial factors in illicit drug abuse: an interdisciplinary perspective'. *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*, 22: 147 – 172

Roberts, N. (1992) *Whores in History: Prostitution in Western Society*. London: Harper-Collins

Roberts, N. (1994) 'The whore, her stigma, the punter and his wife'. *New Internationalist* 252 (February)

Rosa, E. A. (1998) 'Metatheoretical foundations for post-normal risk'. *Journal of Risk Research*, 1 (1): 15 – 44

Rosenbaum, M. (1981) *Women on Heroin*. Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press

Rubin, H.J. and Rubin, L.S. (1995) *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. London: Sage

Rubington, E. (1967) 'Drug addiction as a deviant career'. *The International Journal of the Addictions*, 2 (1) Spring: 3 - 20

Ryan, L. (1997) *Reading "The Prostitute": Appearance, Place and Time in British and Irish Press Stories of Prostitution*. U.K.: Ashgate

Sampson, R.J. and Laub, J.H. (1997) 'A life-course theory of cumulative disadvantage and the stability of delinquency' in Thornberry, T.P. (ed.) *Developmental Theories of Crime and Delinquency.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. pp. 133 - 162

Sanders, T. (2004a) 'Controllable laughter: managing sex work through humour'. *Sociology*, 38(2): 273-291

Sanders, T. (2004c) 'A continuum of risk? The management of health, physical and emotional risks by female sex workers'. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 26 (5): 557-574

Sanders, T. (2005) *Sex Work: A Risky Business.* Cullompton: Willan

Sanders, T. (2006) 'Behind the personal ads: the indoor sex markets in Britain' in Campbell, R. and O'Neill, M. (eds.) *Sex Work Now.* Cullompton: Willan

Sarbin, T.R. (ed.) (1986) *Narrative Psychology: The Storied Nature of Human Conduct.* NY: Praeger

Scambler, G. (1997) 'Conspicuous and inconspicuous sex work: Neglect of the ordinary and mundane' in Scambler, G. and Scambler, A. (eds.) *Rethinking Prostitution: Purchasing Sex in the 1990s.* London: Routledge

Scambler, G., Peswani, R., Renton, A. and Scambler, A. (1990) 'Women prostitutes in the AIDS era'. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 12(3): 260 – 73

Schatzman, L. and Strauss, A. (1973) *Field Research: Strategies for a natural sociology.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall

Schutz, A. (1970) *Reflections on the Problem of Relevance.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

Schwendinger, H. and Schwendinger, J.R. (1976) 'Delinquency and the collective varieties of youth'. *Crime and Social Justice*, 5: 7 – 25

Scoular, J. and O'Neill, M. (2007) 'Regulating prostitution: social inclusion, responsibilisation and the politics of prostitution reform'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 47: 764 – 778

Scully, D. (1990) *Understanding Sexual Violence: A Study of Convicted Rapists.* London: Harper Collins

Seanad Éireann, Volume 137 Debate: 30th June 1993 (Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Bill, Committee stage)

Second Commission on the Status of Women (1993) *Report to Government.* Dublin: Stationary Office

Seddon, T. (1998) 'Out in the cold: drugs, homelessness and social exclusion'. *Drug Link*, 13 (5): 21 - 23

Seddon, T. (2000) 'Explaining the drug-crime link: theoretical, policy and research issues'. *Journal of social policy*, 29: 95 - 107

Seddon, T. (2006) 'Drugs, crime and social exclusion: social context and social theory in British drugs-crime research'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 46: 680 – 703

Seidel, J. and Kelle, U. (1995) 'Different functions of coding in the analysis of textual data' in Kelle, U. (ed.) *Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis: Theory, Methods and Practice.* London: Sage

Shannon, K., Kerr, T., Allinott, S., Chettiar, J., Shoveller, J. and Tyndall, M.W. (2008) 'Social and structural violence and power relations in mitigating HIV risk of drug-using women in survival sex work'. *Social Science & Medicine*, 66: 911 – 921

Sharpe, K. (1998) *Red Light, Blue Light: Prostitutes, Punters and the Police.* Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing Co.

Sharpe, K. (2000) 'Sad, bad and (sometimes) dangerous to know: street corner research with prostitutes, punters and the police' in King, R. and Wincup, E. (eds.) *Doing Research on Crime and Justice.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Sharpe, K. and Earle, S. (2003) 'Cyberpunters and cyberwhores: prostitution on the internet' in Jewkes, Y. (ed.) Dot Cons. *Crime, Deviance and Identity on the Internet.* Cullompton: Willan

Shaver, F. (2005) 'Sex work research: methodological and ethical challenges'. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 20 (3): 296 – 319

Shaver, F. (1993) 'Prostitution: a Female Crime?' in Adelberg, E. and Currie, C. (eds.) *In Conflict with the Law: Women and the Canadian Criminal Justice System.* Vancouver: Press Gang. pp. 153 - 173

Shaw, C.R. (1931) *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Shaw, C.R. and MacKay, H.D. (1969) *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Area*, revised edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Shaw, I. (2002) 'How lay are lay beliefs?', *Health*, 6 (3): 287 – 299

Shrader-Frechette, K.S. (1991) *Risk and Rationality.* Berkeley: University of California Press

Shrage, L. (1994) *Moral Dilemmas of Feminism: Prostitution, Adultery and Abortion.* N.Y: Routledge

Sibley, D. (1995) *Geographies of Exclusion.* London: Routledge

Silbert, H. and Pines, A. (1982) 'Entrance into Prostitution'. *Youth and Society*, 13 (4): 471 – 500

Silverman, I. (1982) Women, Crime and Drugs. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 12 (2): 167 - 183

Simsons, R.L. and Robertson, J.F. (1989) 'The impact of parenting factors, deviant peers and coping style upon adolescent drug use'. *Family Relations*, 38: 273 – 281

Singer, M. (1997) 'Forging a political economy of AIDS' in Singer, M. (ed.) *The Political Economy of AIDS*. New York: Baywood

Singer, M. (2001) 'Toward a biocultural and political integration of alcohol, tobacco and drug studies in the coming century'. *Social Science & Medicine*, 53: 199 – 213

Singleton, W.T. and Hoyden, J. (1994) *Risk and Decisions*. Chicester: Wiley

Skidmore, P. (2000) *Researching Youth Prostitution*. London: Guildhall University

Sloan, L. and Wahab, S. (2000) 'Feminist voices on sex work: implications for social work'. *Affilia*, 15 (4): 457 - 79

Slovic, P. (1986) 'Informing and educating the public about risk'. *Risk Analysis*, 6, 403-15

Smart, C. and Smart, B. (eds.) (1978) *Women, Sexuality and Social Control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Smith, J.M. (2004) 'The politics of sexual knowledge: the origins of Ireland's containment culture and the "Carrigan Report" (1931)'. *The Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 13: 208 – 233

Smith, J.M. (2007) *Ireland's Magdalen Laundries and the Nation's Architecture of Containment*. Indiana: University of Notre Dame

Soothill, K. and Sanders, T. (2004) 'Calling the tune?: some observations on "Paying the Price: A Consultation on Prostitution"'. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology*, 15 (4): 642 - 659

Spice, W. (2007) 'Management of sex workers and other high-risk groups'. *Occupational Medicine*, 57: 322 – 328

Spinner, G.F. and Leaf, P.J. (1992) 'Homelessness and drug abuse in New Haven'. *Hospital and Community Psychiatry*, 43: 166 - 168

Spongberg, M. (1997) *Feminizing Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth Century Literature*. London: Macmillan Press

Stanko, E. (1985) *Intimate Intrusions: Women's Experiences of Male Violence, Rape, Child Sexual Abuse and Sexual Harassment*. London: Routledge

Stanko, E. (1996) 'Warnings to women: Police advice and women's safety in Britain'. *Violence Against Women*, 2 (1): 5 - 24

Stanko, E. (1997) 'Safety Talk: Conceptualising Women's Risk Assessment as a "Technology of the Soul"'. *Theoretical Criminology Quarterly*, 1 (4): 479 - 499

Stanko, E. and Hobdell, K. (1993) 'Assault on men: masculinity and male victimisation'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 33: 400 – 415

Sterk, C. (2000) *Tricking and Tripping: Prostitution in the Era of AIDS*. NY: Social Change Press

Stetson, D.M. and Mazur, A. (eds.) (1995) *Comparative State Feminism*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage

Steuer, M. (1998) 'A little too risky'. *London School of Economics Magazine*, 10: 15 – 16

Stimson, G.V. (1990) 'AIDS and HIV: the challenge for British drug services'. *Addiction*, 85: 329 - 39

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Strong, P. (1990) 'Epidemic psychology: a model'. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 12, 249-59

Susser, M. and Susser, E. (1996) Choosing a future for epidemiology: eras and paradigms. American Journal of Public Health. 86: 668-73 cited in Rhodes, T. (1997) Risk theory in epidemic times: sex, drugs and the social organisation of 'risk behaviour'. Sociology of Health and Illness, 19(2): 208-27

Sutherland, E. and Cressey, D. (1978) *Criminology*, 10th ed. NY: Lippincott

Sutherland, E.H. (1937) *The Professional Thief.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Svanström, Y. (2004) 'Criminalising the john – a Swedish gender model?' in Outshoorn, J. (ed.) *The Politics of Prostitution: Women's Movements, Democratic States and the Globalisation of Sex Commerce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 225 - 244

Svanström, Y. (2006) 'Prostitution in Sweden: debates and policies 1980 – 2004' in Gangoli, G. and Westmarland, N. (eds.) *International Approaches to Prostitution: Law and Policy in Europe and Asia*. Bristol: The Policy Press. pp. 67 - 90

Swadi, H.S. (1988) 'Adolescent drug taking: role of family and peers'. *Drug & Alcohol Dependence*, 21: 157 – 160

Sweetman, R. (1979) *On our Backs: Sexual Attitudes in a Changing Ireland.* London: Pan Books

TAMPEP (2002) 'Beyond Tolerance and Compassion for the Recognition of Human Rights', organisational position paper (online) [http://www.tampep.com/documents/beyondtolerance_ror_en.pdf *last accessed 26/10/'08*]

Taylor, A. (1993) *Women Drug Users.* Oxford: Clarendon Press

Taylor, D. (2003) *Sex for Sale: New Challenges and New Dangers for Women Working On and Off the Streets.* London: Mainliners

Tesch, R. (1990) *Qualitative Research: Analysis Types and Software Tools.* NY: Falmer Press

Thorbek, S. and Pattanaik, B. (2002) *Transnational Prostitution: Changing Global Patterns.* London: Zed Books

Thukral, J. (2006) 'Sex workers and finances: A case study of New York city' in Ditmore, M. (ed.) (2005) *Sex Work and Money.* Research for Sex Work 9

Tovey, H. and Share, P. (2000) *A Sociology of Ireland.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan

Ullman, S.E. (1997) 'Review and critique of empirical studies of rape avoidance', *Criminal Justice & Behaviour*, 24: 177 – 204

Ullman, S.E. (1998) 'Does offender violence escalate when women fight back?', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 13: 179 – 192

Ullman, S.E. and Knight, R.A. (1992) 'Fighting back: women's resistance to rape', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 7: 31 – 43

US State Department (2008) Trafficking in Persons Report (TIPS) [www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2008/ *last accessed 22/10/'08*]

Van Doorninck, M. and Campbell, R. (2006) '"Zoning" street sex work: the way forward?' in Campbell, R. and O'Neill, M. (eds.) *Sex Work Now*. Devon: Willan Publishing

Vanwesenbeeck, I. (1994) *Prostitutes' Well-Being and Risk*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press

Vanwesenbeeck, I. (2001) 'Another decade of social scientific work on sex work: a review of research 1990 – 2000'. *Annual Review of Sex Research*, 2001;12: 242 - 289

Venema, P.U. and Visser, J. (1990) 'Safer prostitution in Holland' in Plant, M. (ed.) *AIDS, Drugs and Prostitution*. London: Tavistock Routledge

Venicz, L. and Vanwesenbeeck, I. (2000) 'Something is going to change in prostitution: Social position and psychological well being of indoor prostitutes before the law reform'. Utrecht/The Hague, The Netherlands: NISSO/Ministry of Justice

Visser, J., Randers-Pehrson, A., Day, S. and Ward, H. (2004) 'Policies towards the sex industry in Europe: new models of control' in Day, S. and Ward, H. (eds.) *Sex Work, Mobility and Health in Europe*. London: Kegan Paul

Wahab, S. (2004) 'Tricks of the trade'. *Qualitative Social Work*, 3 (2): 139 – 160

Walkowitz, J. (1980) *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Walkowitz. C. (2002) 'The social relations of body work'. *Work, Employment and Society*, 16 (3): 497 – 510

Wallman, S. (2001) 'Global threats, local options, personal risk: dimensions of migrant sex work in Europe'. *Health, Risk & Society*, 3 (1): 75-87

Warburton, F. (1998) 'Tackling Social Exclusion: The work of NACRO' in Marlow, A. and Pitts, J. (eds.) (1998) Planning Safer Communities. Lyme Regis: Russell House Publishing cited in Foster, J. (2000) Social Exclusion, Crime and Drugs. Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy, 7(4): 317 – 330

Ward, E. and Wylie, G. (2007) 'The nature and extent of trafficking of women into Ireland for the purposes of sexual exploitation 2000 – 2006'. *SSCR Research Papers and Reports no. 39*, SSCR, NUI Galway

Ward, H. and Day, S. (2006) 'What happens to women who sell sex? A report of a unique occupational cohort'. *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 82: 413 – 17

Ward, H., Day, S. and Weber, J. (1999) 'Risky business: health and safety in the sex industry over a 9 year period'. *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 75 (5): 340 - 343

Warr, D.J. and Pyett, P.M. (1999) 'Difficult relations: sex work, love and intimacy'. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 21 (3): 290 – 309

Weber, M. (1947) *Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*, trans. Parsons, T. and Henderson, A.M. Lexington: Lexington Books

Weisberg, D.K. (1985) *Children of the Night: A Study of Adolescent Prostitution.* Lexington: Lexington Books

Weitzer, R. (1999) 'Prostitution control in America: rethinking public policy'. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 32: 83 - 102

Weitzer, R. (ed.) (2000a) *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry*. U.K: Routledge

Weitzer, R. (2000b) 'The Politics of Prostitution in America' in Weitzer, R. (ed.) *Sex for Sale*. London: Routledge

Weitzer, R. (2005) 'Flawed theory and method in studies of prostitution'. *Violence Against Women*, 11: 934 - 949

Weitzer, R. (2007) 'Prostitution as a form of work'. *Sociology Compass*, 1 (1): 143 – 155

West, D.J. and de Villiers, B. (1992) *Male Prostitution*. London: Duckworth

West, J. and Austrin, T. (2002) 'From work as sex to sex as work: networks, "others" and occupations in the analysis of work'. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 9 (5): 482 – 503

Wetherell, M. and Potter, J. (1988) 'Discourse analysis and the identification of interpretative repertoires' in Antaki, C. (ed.) *Analysing Everyday Explanation: A Casebook of Methods*. London: SAGE (Chapter 12, pp. 168 – 183)

White, H. (1980) 'The value of narrative in the representation of reality', *Critical Inquiry*, 7: 5 – 28

White, J.W. and Kowalski, R.M. (1994) 'Deconstructing the myth of the nonaggressive woman'. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 18: 487 – 508

Whittaker, D. and Hart, G. (1996) 'Managing risks: The social organisation of indoor prostitution'. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 18: 399 – 414

Whyte, W.F. (1955) *Street Corner Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Whyte, W.F. (1984) *Learning from the Field: A Guide from Experience*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Williamson, C. and Folaron, G. (2003) 'Understanding the experiences of street level prostitutes'. *Qualitative Social Work*, 2 (3): 271 – 287

Wojcicki, J.M. and Malala, J. (2001) 'Condom use, power and HIV/AIDS risk: sex workers bargain for survival in Hillbrow/Joubert Park/Berea, Johannesburg'. *Social Science and Medicine*, 53: 99 – 121

Wolfenden Report (1963) *Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution*. New York: Stein and Day

Wolffers, I. (2001) 'Violence, repression and other health threats: sex workers at risk' in van Beelen, N., Wolffers, I. and Brussa, L.(eds.) *Research for Sex Work*, 4: 1 – 2

Wright, N. (2002) *Homelessness: A Primary Care Response*. London: Royal College of General Practitioners

Wynne, B. (1992) 'Risk and social learning: reification to engagement' in Krimsky, S. and Golding, D. (eds) *Social Theories of Risk*. Westport, CT: Praeger

Wynne, B. (1996) 'May the sheep safely graze? A reflexive view of the expert-lay knowledge divide' in Lash, S., Szerszinski, B. and Wynne, B. (eds.) *Risk, Environment and Modernity: Towards a New Ecology*. London: Sage

Yin, R. (2003) Case Study Research: Design and Methods. California: Sage Publications

Zatz, N.D. (1997) 'Sex work/sex act: law, labor and desire in constructions of prostitution'. *Signs*, 22 (2); 277 - 308

Zinn, J. (2007) 'Risk, Social Change and Morals. Conceptual Approaches of Sociological Risk Theories'. *Social Contexts and Responses to Risk Network (SCARR)* Working Paper 2007/17

Zinn, J. (2006) 'Recent developments in sociology of risk and uncertainty. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (online). Jan 2006, 7(1), Art. 30

Appendix A

Additional Methods of Data Collection and Analysis (context setting)

Context Setting – Mixed Methods

Additional Methods of Data Collection

While the primary focus of this research is the experiences of women in prostitution in Ireland addressed through qualitative in-depth interviewing, a mixed methods approach was required to deliver the appropriate "context setting" evidence. To this end then, three additional methods of data collection were employed.

Qualitative Semi-Structured Interviews with Key Informants

In order to address the research questions regarding different discourses surrounding prostitution in Ireland, key informant data are required. Key informants in this case broadly refer to key individuals who are well placed within a community, with a group of individuals or with an issue in order to provide information on a phenomenon from their perspective. The relevance of key informant data for this study is that it can feed into the collection of evidence on discourses of prostitution from different contextual levels.

For this study, ten key informant interviews were conducted. Individuals were selected based on their association with prostitution within the community or at a national level. All of the interviewees were contacted informally by email/telephone in order to explain the nature of the study and my wish to meet with them, for the purposes of research, in order to talk to them about their professional involvement with women in prostitution. I was fortunate to receive a positive response from these professionals regarding my research. As I contacted the potential key informants at the first stage of my fieldwork, the importance of a positive response was not to be underestimated for a number of reasons. Firstly, in order to gather information to set the context of my study, I required the views and perspectives of a number of well positioned individuals. Secondly, a range of key informant perspectives was also necessary in order to address my objective of ascertaining the various discourses surrounding prostitution in Ireland. Thirdly, and ultimately for the progression of my research, I would require access to a sample of women through a key informant and

'gatekeeper'. A positive response and willingness to facilitate my research at the outset would be crucial, then, to my first stage of access negotiations.

Key informants included three members of An Garda Síochána (involved in different operations), four service providers (one from a statutory agency working with women in prostitution, one from a voluntary agency working with women in prostitution and two from community drugs projects, one of whom has a remit to work specifically with drug using women in prostitution), two politicians (both members of An Seannad who were involved in political discourse regarding the introduction of the present legislation governing prostitution in Ireland) and one professional engaged with criminalised women who engage in prostitution (Governor of Dóchas Centre).

Interviews took place at various locations, mainly places of work which included Ruhama, the Women's Health Project, Chrysalis, Dublin AIDS Alliance (UISCE), Store Street Garda Station, The Bridewell Garda Station, Leinster House, Mountjoy Women's Prison and in one case, for convenience, a café in the city centre. The café location proved the most fruitful in terms of additional data as a member of An Garda Síochána was involved in a stake-out operation of a nearby brothel when we arranged the interview. The recorded interview includes snippets of the Garda Detective, who was leading the operation, informing me of how the stake out was progressing as he received information of each client that was viewed entering and approached upon leaving the brothel. In the matter of forty five minutes, I had, by chance, collected second-hand data on the operations of a bustling lunch-time brothel.

I conducted the key informant interviews at various stages over the first year of my fieldwork, depending on the availability of the individual. The interviews were semi-structured and I developed an interview schedule as relevant to the organisation's or individual's work/engagement with the issue of prostitution. Each of the semi-structured interviews conducted was recorded using a digital Dictaphone recorder and transcribed verbatim (one of the respondents, however, I met over several occasions and the 'interviewing' was less formal and was not transcribed). The key informant interviews varied in length from thirty five minutes to one hour. Key informant interviewing was a highly valuable part of the research as it involved chain referral to other professionals who I may have not had the opportunity to talk to otherwise. It

was also a necessary part of access negotiations for my research as detailed below. Nonetheless, key informant data had a limited use for this project.

Both the respondent narrative and the accounts of the key informants were subjected to discursive analysis. The data collected from documentary sources was also subjected to discursive analysis. The key informant data was furthermore analysed for thematic content to inform the context setting of this project, and the ethnographic data was also analysed to set the scene for this research.

Thematic Content Analysis

The key informant data was subject, in the first instance to thematic content analysis to provide some context setting information. This involved analysing the data in order to extract and categorise the recurring themes around development of service, service provision, engagement with women in prostitution, picture of prostitution in Ireland and working within the current legal context. Transcripts were coded as appropriate to the key informant in question and a broad coding scheme was developed which allowed the extraction of the primary context setting data from the key informant evidence base. As an exploratory study, given the dearth of empirical knowledge of the Irish context, it is sufficient to report the common issues, using extracts from the interviews for colour (Green and Thorogood, 2004: 179) as a basic analysis in order to set the scene for this study.

Documentary Analysis

In order to ascertain data on macro level discourses for the context setting of this study, it was necessary to review specific documents which would provide information on the legal context of prostitution in Ireland and associated political discourses.

Data was ascertained from particular documents for discursive analysis in order to deliver specific data to address specific background research questions. The documents in question were transcripts of political debates from the upper house (Seannad) and the lower house (Dáil) regarding the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences), Bill in 1993 which contains sections regarding the current legal context of

prostitution. This data was necessary to deliver political discourse that would not be available through primary data collection today.

Prior to conducting analysis of these documents, I compiled a number of key questions to 'ask' of the documents;

1) Who were the key 'players' involved in the construction of the present legislation?
2) What debates were held at the time (1993)?
3) What dominant discourses can be identified within the political debates?
4) How is the issue of prostitution 'problematised'?
5) What kind of language is employed in these debates?
6) Is there any notable opposition?
7) How does this legislation construct prostitution?
8) How does this legislation construct the 'prostitute'?

By posing these questions I was able to analyse these documents in a particular way so as to address some key concerns for this study. This allowed me to build the macro level context of the law and the dominant discourses in Ireland which appear in Chapter 1.

Ethnographic Data Collection

Two valuable opportunities presented over the course of this study to collect 'thick' ethnographic data which was employed opportunistically for context setting in this study.

Personal journals formed part of the background/context setting for this study. Prior to the initiation of field work for this study, I worked as an outreach volunteer with women in prostitution and I kept a personal diary of my engagement with women on the street. This experience afforded me the personal opportunity to observe the reality of street life for many women and to take my academic learning from abstract theories to hands-on outreach engagement. This ethnographic data was limited, yet it provided rich, thick description of my observations of life on the streets and fed into the context setting for this inquiry. Whilst the contacts/activities on outreach remained confidential as part of my ethical responsibilities to the clients and the organisation as

a volunteer, the general insights I gleaned from my outreach experience were used to colour the background to this research and allowed me to a better insight into 'street life' in Dublin prior to conducting my own fieldwork.

Another opportunity for ethnographic data collection presented itself when I spent a week 'researching' in Chrysalis Community Drugs Project. I was kindly permitted access to their literature and outreach records and I also learned a vast amount by simply 'hanging around', talking to clients, particularly 'working women' and also observing interactions within a shared environment. I kept detailed field notes of my observations every day and these notes provided an important reference when I began recruiting respondents through Chrysalis. Furthermore, the research experience in Chrysalis became a crucial way of gaining 'social access' to a group of individuals for my research.

Whilst the 'ethnographic' data was not formally analysed, the diaries from the street outreach and the Drugs Project proved an invaluable resource for this study, providing an insight which would otherwise have not have been available to me and allowing me to develop a greater understanding of the experiences of street workers and drug using street workers.

Appendix B

Flyers and Poster

Study on Women's Experience of Prostitution

Would you be interested in sharing your story?

- **What is it like to work in prostitution under Irish law?**
- **Is the street a different experience to working indoors?**
- **What do you think people in Irish society feel about prostitution?**
- **Should prostitution be made legal?**
- **Have you ever experienced violence or intimidation?**
- **What is your experience of the Gardaí?**

If you would like to share your thoughts on some of these issues and take part in an anonymous, confidential interview for this study, please call or text Kathryn McGarry on **087 9696752** (I'll be happy to call you back)

Your participation would be very much appreciated. Thank You
Gift vouchers will be offered to each participant as a token of appreciation

Study on Women's Experience of Prostitution

Would you be interested in sharing your story?

- **What is it like to work in prostitution under Irish law?**
- **Is the street a different experience to working indoors?**
- **What do you think people in Irish society feel about prostitution?**
- **Should prostitution be made legal?**
- **Have you ever experienced violence or intimidation?**
- **What is your experience of the Gardaí?**

If you would like to share your thoughts on some of these issues and take part in an anonymous, confidential interview for this study, please call or text Kathryn McGarry on **087 9696752** (I'll be happy to call you back)

Your participation would be very much appreciated. Thank You
Gift vouchers will be offered to each participant as a token of appreciation

Study on Women's Experience of Prostitution

Would you be interested in sharing your story?

- **What is it like to work in prostitution under Irish law?**
- **Is the street a different experience to working indoors?**
- **What do you think people in Irish society feel about prostitution?**
- **Should prostitution be made legal?**
- **Have you ever experienced violence or intimidation?**
- **What is your experience of the Gardaí?**

If you would like to share your thoughts on some of these issues and take part in an anonymous, confidential interview for this study, please call or text Kathryn McGarry on **087 9696752** (I'll be happy to call you back)

Your participation would be very much appreciated. Thank You
Gift vouchers will be offered to each participant as a token of appreciation

Study on Women's Experience of Prostitution

Would you be interested in sharing your story?

- ***What is it like to work in prostitution under Irish law?***
- ***Is the street a different experience to working indoors?***
- ***What do you think people in Irish society feel about prostitution?***
- ***Should prostitution be made legal?***
- ***Have you ever experienced violence or intimidation?***
- ***What is your experience of the Gardaí?***

If you would like to share your thoughts on some of these issues and take part in an anonymous, confidential interview for this study, please call Kathryn McGarry on 087 9696752

Your participation would be very much appreciated.
Thank You

athrvn's Study Call: 0879696752

Appendix C

Information Sheet
(for prison sample)

Study on Women's Experiences of Working in Prostitution in Ireland

This study is focused on the experiences of women engaged in prostitution in Ireland and is part of my PhD research in Trinity College Dublin. I would like to assure you that I have no connection to the Dóchas Centre, the Irish Prisons Service or the Irish Justice System in any way.

You are being asked to participate in an interview regarding your experiences of working in prostitution in Ireland. Your participation is entirely voluntary and there is no obligation on you to take part. There are no right or wrong answers and you are free to refuse to answer any questions or to terminate the interview at any point.

Interviews will be approximately one hour in length and will focus on your experiences of prostitution. Interviews will be fully transcribed and stored safely. Your interview will be anonymous, there will be no identifying details attached to it and the information will be stored in a confidential manner. The Governor or the staff at the Dóchas Centre will not have access to the interview data. Although quotes will appear in the final report for this project, your name and other identifying information will not appear in any reports or documents published from this study.

If you have any questions or wish to have me clarify any aspect of this research for you, please do not hesitate to contact me at any time.

Thanking you,

Kathryn McGarry (School of Social Work and Social Policy, Trinity College Dublin)
087 9696752/ mcgarryk@tcd.ie

I have read and I understand the nature of my involvement in this research.
I give my permission to participate in this research and have my interview recorded.

Signed _____ Date _____

Appendix D

Profile of Respondents

Profile of Respondents

Julie

Julie is 28 years old and has worked in street prostitution in Dublin for the past thirteen years. She also has experience of engaging in street prostitution in London. She has a ten year old son who is in care. She is currently drug using and she is currently homeless.

Lena

Lena is 38 years old and is an ex-street worker. She worked in street prostitution in Dublin eight years ago for less than a year. She is currently homeless, is separated from her partner and has three children. She is an ex-drug user. Two of her children are in care and one teenage son lives with her in a hostel.

Matt

Matt is a 23 year old street worker. He has been engaged in prostitution in Dublin for the past three years. He is currently drug using and he is currently homeless. Matt identifies as gay.

Chris

Chris is 28 years old and a street worker. She has been engaged in prostitution for the past thirteen years. She has two children who are both in care. She is currently drug using.

Sonia

Sonia is 29 years old. She has been engaged in street prostitution for the past nine years. She has one daughter who is in relative care. She is currently drug using and currently homeless.

Tina

Tina is 29 years old. She began working in street prostitution at the age of fifteen. She has two children who are both in relative care. She is currently drug using.

Fiona

Fiona is 26 years of age. She first engaged in prostitution at the age of fourteen. She has two children who are both in relative care. She is currently drug using. She is HIV positive. She has experience of working for a time in brothels in Dublin before returning to the streets. She is currently homeless

Anna

Anna is 25 years of age and a street worker. She first engaged in prostitution at the age of thirteen. She is HIV positive. She is currently incarcerated. She identifies as gay. She has experienced juvenile homelessness after running away from residential care as a child.

Donna

Donna is 27 years of age and a street worker. She has worked in prostitution in Dublin since she was nineteen years of age. She is currently incarcerated. She has three boys who are all in care. She was homeless prior to her imprisonment. She is HIV positive.

Sara

Sara is thirty nine years old and an ex-street worker. She worked for a number of months in Dublin some years ago. She is currently incarcerated. She has two children who are in relative care.

Laura

Laura is thirty eight and an ex-street worker. She began working at the age of sixteen and worked for seven years in both Dublin and London. She is an ex-drug user. She is HIV-positive. She was pregnant at the time of the interview.

Charlotte

Charlotte is thirty years of age and an ex-brothel worker. She is originally from New Zealand. She began working in prostitution at the age of twenty two. She has worked in brothels in New Zealand, Australia and Ireland. She identifies as gay.

Carla

Carla is a thirty two year old independent "touring" escort from Portugal. She has been working in prostitution for the past five years. She comes to Ireland for two week touring "stints" and works in hotels in the major cities. She has one daughter who is in relative care.