

An Exploration of How Sex Workers Who Identify as Religious or Spiritual
Manage Their Identities Within Their Everyday Lives

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ABSTRACT

“Theoretical explanations of sex work are rich at the societal level yet sparse and underdeveloped at the individual level” (Gerassi, 2015 p.79) and research on religious and spiritual sex workers is even more limited. I address these limitations by exploring religious and spiritual sex workers’ complex and multifaceted everyday experiences.

The aims of my research are to i) explore the complexities of co-existing identities through the lens of religious and spiritual sex workers. ii) explore the roles and impact of religion and spirituality, offering new understandings of lived religion. iii) advance knowledge of everyday experiences of religious/spiritual sex workers at the individual level. My research addresses these aims by producing unique, qualitative research evidence about the experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers.

To address my research aims, I employed participant-driven photograph elicitation, diaries, and semi-structured interviews with 11 religious and spiritual sex workers across the UK (nine participants) and America (two participants). Participants held different religious and spiritual identities (Christian, Catholic, Muslim, Norse Pagan, and Spiritual) and engaged with various forms of sex work (escort, online content creator, phone sex work, porn star, stripper/dancer, sugar baby, and webcamming).

Goffman’s (1959) dramaturgy analysis served as my theoretical framework to understand and analyse participants’ different identities; and I discuss how sex workers negotiate their identities to achieve harmony within their everyday lives. “Harmony” is an identity concept which has emerged from this research. Harmony encapsulates the complex and multifaceted identity negotiations of religious and spiritual sex workers, and I exemplify experiences of harmony through consideration of an array of lived experiences.

Drawing on my findings about the complexities of my participants’ identities and experiences, I argue that religion, spirituality, and sex work can co-exist. I showcase this co-existence through the analysis of rich data about participants’ experiences of sex work, religion and spirituality, family, friends, communities, and private partners. I push forward academic understandings of both lived religion and sex work by elucidating ways religious/spiritual and sex worker identities are performed at the micro-level within spaces used for sex work and elsewhere.

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

My research explores the everyday life experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers in the UK and America through creative research methods: participant-driven photograph elicitation, diaries, and semi-structured interviews. My research contributes to discussions of lived religion, sex work, and the sociology of identity, alongside challenging stigma against the sex work community. I offer unique contributions to existing sex work related literature and bridge significant gaps in the micro-level understandings of the everyday lives of sex workers. I do this by explicating how sex workers' religious and spiritual identities can enhance their experiences both as sex workers and in other parts of their everyday lives. I demonstrate how religious and spiritual sex workers manage and reflect upon their different identities to create positive and meaningful lived experiences. My research also analyses the impact of space on identity management. I do this by drawing out identity conflicts within different spaces which religious and spiritual sex workers navigate through. Not only do I focus on the relationship between sex work and religious/spiritual identities, but my thesis also offers detailed analysis of other identities such as parent, child, migrant, and partner, which are analysed through intersectional analysis (Crenshaw 1989).

It is important to outline how I define sex work in my thesis. My preferred definition is offered by Open Society Foundations (an organisation which funds human rights groups), as it illustrates the diversity of sex work, clearly differentiating between sex work as an autonomous career and individuals who are victims of sex trafficking. "Sex workers are adults who receive money or goods in exchange for consensual sexual services or erotic performances, either regularly or occasionally" (Open Society Foundations 2019, p.1). Sex work can be categorised as street-based or indoor-based. Street-based sex workers are individuals who operate on roads for business. Indoor-based sex workers include individuals who work as, amongst other things, cam and phone sex workers, escorts, strippers/dancers, and sugar babies (Harcourt and Donovan 2005). When researching with sex workers, it is essential to adopt a broad understanding of how individuals engage with the industry. Although I use this definition in my exploration of the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers, I also acknowledge the variances in how sex workers define themselves as, for some, prostitute is the preferred label. My use of the term sex worker is not intended to exclude other sex workers' preferred identity labels but is used because I am an 'outsider' to the sex industry (I am not a sex worker) and see sex work as work.

Due to distrust between academic spheres, society, and the sex industry because of existing prejudices, new research concerning the sex industry must adopt a critical lens and consider the limitations of existing research. However, survey data can offer a starting point into assimilating

knowledge of the diverse lived experiences of sex workers. The House of Commons (2016) released research which details that within the UK, it is estimated that there are 72,800 sex workers, and the average age at which individuals enter the industry is 20-24 years old. Although this research offers insight into the UK's sex industry, many sex workers will not have participated in the survey the statistics are generated from, so such statistics may provide inaccurate data. Therefore, statistics must be used with caution as quantitative data can overlook the complexities of sex workers' experiences (Huysamen and Sanders 2021).

Within my research, religion and spirituality are terms that also need careful definition. Religion is understood as a system of beliefs, rituals, rules, and practices associated with a higher power which are centred within an organised group and community (Hood and Spilka 2003). Spirituality concerns belief in a higher being but is focused on inner experiences and feelings which offer meaning and purpose of the 'self', society, and others as well as the universe and beyond (Baumsteiger and Chenneville 2015). Although there are overlaps between the definitions, as Austin et al (2018) propose, commonly religion more often concerns rules and standardised practices individuals adhere to whereas spirituality is more personal and independent. However, in this research religion and spirituality will be understood in terms of how participants see their own identity, irrespective of how this is expressed. This project adopts a flexible and fluid approach towards religion and spirituality to highlight variances of religious and spiritual identities and the influence this has on lived experiences (Cronshaw 2019). Thus, this project does not seek to dissect all religions and spiritualities but instead, draw out religious or spiritual sex workers' experiences of conflict and agreement between their identities. Throughout my thesis, I explore narratives of a range of different identities participants had regarding religion and spirituality which exemplifies the diverse and fluid nature of how sex workers engage with and tailor religiosity and their religious/spiritual identities within contemporary, Western society.

My understanding of everyday life "is where we make our worlds, and our worlds make us... Everyday life is a context of human creativity, innovation and change" (Pink 2012, p.5). Everyday life concerns activities at the individual level which on the surface are mundane, however, are constructed by social and political forces (Scott 2009). This is important as although literature on sex workers has improved, moving away from solely health-related fields of enquiry, more work needs to be done regarding the micro-level understandings of sex workers (Gerassi 2015). It is to this topic that my research contributes to through the lens of religious and spiritual sex workers.

Within my research, the aims of the project are:

- Explore the complexities of co-existing identities through the lens of religious and spiritual sex workers.
- Explore the roles and impact of religion and spirituality in its broadest sense within the everyday lives of sex workers, offering new understandings of lived religion.
- Advance knowledge of everyday experiences of religious/spiritual sex workers at the individual level through creative research methods.

Subsequent to the aims, my objectives are:

- Produce unique, qualitative research evidence of experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers through participant-driven photograph elicitation and diaries.
- Capture individual reflections of the complexities of their identities and experiences through semi-structured interviews.
- Disseminate findings within academic and public spheres to offer sociological knowledge of the everyday lives of religious/spiritual sex workers.

As noted, my research employed participant-driven photo elicitation, diaries, and semi-structured interviews to explore how sex workers who are religious or spiritual manage their identities within their everyday lives. Within my research, I worked with 11 religious and spiritual sex workers. Out of the 11 participants, three engaged with photograph elicitation, diaries, and interviews. Two engaged with diaries and interviews. Four participants engaged with interviews only and two participants engaged with diaries in the form of an interview.

As a non-sex worker, it was crucial for me to consider how my positionality interacted with my research at all its various stages. This is something I was conscious of from the offset and throughout my thesis, I reflect upon my own identity and how this has shaped and influenced my project. Although this is important for all research, it can be argued that identity reflection within sex work related research is of heightened importance as sex workers are faced with stigma and marginalisation across the globe. This project stemmed from my initial interest in religiosity within contemporary society. In my previous research within my BA and MA sociology degrees, I found utilising creative methods within micro-level research enabled different people to express their identities in a unique way and I gained rich insight into the everyday lives of sexually abstinent Christians. Alongside this, I also worked with a third-sector organisation which supported sex workers and I felt extremely passionate about working with sex workers to challenge harmful

misconceptions against the industry. Thus, I developed this project to shine a light on the realities of sex workers' lives, which also significantly addresses limitations within existing literature.

The structure of my thesis is as follows: Chapter Two is a comprehensive literature review which details how I engage with "identity and everyday life". I focus on identity predominately from Goffman's (1959), dramaturgical analysis which suggests identity has a 'front and backstage' where audiences, setting, and props are all influential on the presentation and performance of the 'self'. I understand the self to be who one is; it is someone's sense of being, which translates into diverse identities which can be performed differently to fulfil social demands and interactions (Goffman 1959). Following this, I discuss theoretical approaches to everyday life and elucidate how through exploring the micro-level, we can intrinsically analyse identity management and examine how everyday experiences are shaped by social and political forces (Scott 2009). I then move away from theoretical discussions by offering an examination of the impact of the sexualisation of mainstream culture within Western societies and how it filters into the sex industry. Following this, an overview of the sex industry begins to unpack how my research understands existing sex work literature and illustrates how my work fits into this. Although I do not cover all aspects of the sex industry, I offer a contextualised summary to better understand the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. To conclude the chapter, I focus directly on literature which explores how religion exists within contemporary society and how religious and spiritual sex workers manage their identities within their everyday lives. I suggest that there is a limited understanding of how religion and spirituality shape religious and spiritual sex workers' everyday lives, such as their routines and values within both sex work and non-sex work interactions. An additional gap within literature is how religion and spirituality can support their sex work occupation and be present within these spaces without conflict.

Throughout my thesis, I bridge these gaps through the exploration of my research questions which themselves relate to my project aims:

- What is the relationship between sex workers' religious/spiritual and occupational identities and how does this impact their everyday experiences?
- Do religious/spiritual sex workers face identity dilemmas, and if so, in what spaces?
- How do religious/spiritual sex workers negotiate their identities for harmony between their potentially conflicting identities in unique ways?

How I implemented my research questions is considered within Chapter Three, "Thoughts, Snaps and Chats. Sex Work Research Utilising Creative Methods". I discuss how my research engaged with

photograph elicitation, diaries, and follow-up one-to-one semi-structured interviews to capture the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. Within my methods chapter, I also outline my interpretivist ontology and epistemology position. It is within interpretivism that the social world is argued to be best understood through micro-level, subjective experiences of reality (Levers 2013). I also understand feminism to be imperative in contributing to sex work fields of inquiry and used to shape research and interpret data (see Stanley and Wise 1993). Within this chapter, I champion the utilisation of creative research methods when working with marginalised groups and exploring everyday lives. I discuss the successes and weaknesses of my research design in a way that might inform future sex work related research and detail ethical considerations when utilising creative research methods. I also ethically reflect on completing research with sex workers as a non-sex worker by considering the impact of my own identity as an outsider. This section of this chapter is vital as when working with a marginalised group, it is essential research improves the lives of the community you are working with as opposed to reinforcing stigma and causing harm (Murphy 2022).

Findings and discussions follow, and I present this within four chapters: Chapter Four, “Sex Workers’ Engagement with Religion and Spirituality”, Chapter Five, “Experiences in Sex Work Spaces”, Chapter Six, “Sex Workers and Love and Intimacy”, and Chapter Seven, “Realities and Misrepresentations of Sex Work”. Within these chapters, I employ my concept of “harmony”. This concept has emerged from my empirical research, and I define harmony as a state of consonance, where different identities are aligned and in agreement with one another alongside meeting the demands and desires of the self. This concept of harmony encapsulates how participants negotiate their different identities to find balance and manage their lived experiences to reduce potential challenges/conflicts. As I have developed this concept throughout my research, I have found that achieving absolute or all-encompassing harmony within sex workers’ everyday lives is idealistic and difficult to attain. In my research, I explore the challenges in achieving all-encompassing harmony and show how religious and spiritual sex workers embark on journeys or search for harmony as much as possible within their everyday lives. I also offer the concept of “sex work logistics”. By “logistics”, I mean the diverse ways participants organise themselves, and navigate through different, micro-level challenges experienced as sex workers. This may include ordering condoms, clothing choices, and choosing locations for sex work. Although these experiences may seem obvious, exploring “mundane” parts of sex workers’ lives can draw out identity management at the micro-level and offer an in-depth analysis of the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. I conclude this thesis by drawing my research together, demonstrating how I have addressed my

research questions and contributed to knowledge regarding sex work research, identity theory, and lived religion. I now turn to the review of literature.

CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW: ESTABLISHING EXISTING KNOWLEDGE OF THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS

As previously noted, “theoretical explanations of sex work are rich at the societal level yet sparse and underdeveloped at the individual level” (Gerassi 2015, p.79). In this chapter I will therefore draw upon available literature whilst offering critical analysis of the gaps of knowledge concerning the everyday experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers, providing justification for this research. Exploring lived experiences and everyday life has grown in sociological research as it intends to understand the ‘real world’ (Mancias 2006). Everyday life concerns activities at the individual level, which on the surface are mundane however, are constructed by social and political forces (Scott 2009). Exploring lived experiences offers an understanding of human experience and choice through the individual’s own lens as well as societal responses (McIntosh and Wright 2018). Boylorn (2008) proposes that a focus on “experience seeks to understand the distinctions between lives and experiences and tries to understand why some experiences are privileged over others” (p.490). Therefore, exploring the lived experiences of sex workers can advance knowledge of experiences, attitudes, and values within social and political structures and the influence this has on sex workers and the industry.

This chapter firstly offers consideration of identity theory (Goffman 1959) and everyday life (Scott 2009), exemplifying how this research aims to focus on the individual, micro-level. Within this section I draw upon my concept of harmony, which I introduced briefly within the introductory chapter. Following this, drawing on relevant literature, the impact of the sexualisation of mainstream culture in contemporary society on sex workers is discussed to illustrate the interconnected relationship between the sex industry and society, which raises both opportunities and challenges for both sex workers and society more broadly. A comprehensive review of research evidence on sex work follows, drawing out diverse everyday experiences, including in the context of COVID-19. I then explore religiosity to show how sociological research offers insight into how late modern societies engage with religion and spirituality within modern society. Finally, to conclude this review, I examine empirical and theoretical work focused on religious and spiritual sex workers’ negotiation of their differing identities.

IDENTITY THEORY

Existing theory which sees identity as a social process underpins this research project as it addresses the interconnected relationship between identity, society, and the impact this has on lived

experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers (Page and Shipley 2020). Although there are a variety of contributions within sociology which attempt to understand identity, this chapter draws upon five specific theoretical discussions. I found Goffman's (1959) dramaturgy analysis to be a useful theoretical framework for exploring and understanding how religious and spiritual sex workers manage and play out their different identities. I address the limitations of Goffman's (1959) dramaturgy analysis through Hochschild's (1979) concepts of 'surface acting' and 'deep acting', and Plummer's (2007) theory of narratives and storytelling. Following this, stigma is considered, drawing upon a collection of papers offered by Goffman (1963), Koken (2012), Plummer (2007), Crenshaw (1989), and Collins and Blige (2016). Through consideration of these theorists, I draw out how identity is a social process and illustrate how social and political stigma is significantly influential in how identity is performed. From this, my discussion begins to offer an analysis of how sex workers face stigma, the impact this has on their identity performance, and how religious identities may cause conflict for some sex workers. I then examine my concepts of "harmony" and "dissonance" to establish where they sit within existing identity theory, and I propose that they address identity theory limitations I have explored within this review. Later within this chapter, my focus on identity work for religious and spiritual sex workers will be supported by consideration of identity theory mapped out within this section.

SEX WORK IDENTITY PERFORMANCE

Goffman (1963) proposes social actors create and construct social structures and the underlying tissues of meanings, norms, assumptions, and rules which influence individuals' everyday life. Experiences and interactions within everyday life are seldom unrecognisable, and so it is important to "see behind" societal interactions which continuously occur (Goffman 1963). As mentioned in the introductory chapter, I understand the self to be who one is; it is someone's sense of being, which translates into diverse identities which can be performed differently to fulfil social demands and interactions (Goffman 1959). Goffman (1959) sees the self as constantly changing and examines the relationship between the inner and outer self, suggesting that individuals possess a 'frontstage' and 'backstage' where identity is performed, creating the dramaturgy theory. The frontstage is the performative element of an individual's identity, where we perform in diverse ways to uphold societal expectations of different interactions, contexts, and locales. Backstage, on the other hand, is where an individual can relax as they are free from societal expectations. Lawler (2014) uses Goffman (1959) to highlight that we possess multiple identities and managing these different identities is a social process. This is my understanding of identity within this research. Identity is an ongoing social process, and my research will draw out how participants manage and perform their different identities in the past, present, and future within their everyday lives.

Grant (2014) suggests that “sex work is not simply sex; it is a performance, it is playing a role, demonstrating a skill, developing empathy within a set of professional boundaries” (p.90). Grant’s (2014) discussion proposes that although sex workers perform their identities for predominately economic income, they do this by creating a tailored experience for their clients, and their identity performances are not one-dimensional. Instead, sex workers’ identity performances are multi-dimensional and unique, influenced by the type of sex work engaged with, the audience/s, and the demands of the social interaction. Although Grant (2014) does not directly reference Goffman, application of Goffman’s (1959) dramaturgy analysis can be useful when seeking to understand sex workers’ complex identity performances in both sex work and non-sex work interactions. I support this below by exploring sex work research which utilises Goffman (1959; 1963).

Simpson and Smith’s (2020) research, which explores how students who sex work manage stigma (Goffman 1963), exemplifies how a sex worker’s frontstage performance can be examined in both public and private spaces but can be executed in diverse ways to fulfil the inner or private self, other elements of their identity, and social expectations within different spaces. For example, a sex worker may perform their occupational identity in one way to meet the demands of the client and then see a different client with different desires, so their identity performance may be altered although their occupational identity remains the same and they are occupying the same space. In addition to this, Sanders (2005) explores how some sex workers create a manufactured identity for their work. Building on Goffman’s (1963) concept of the performance of the self, the manufactured identity can separate sex workers’ private and sex work identities and is utilised to manage work-related stress and as a business strategy to attract high-paying customers (Sanders 2005). A sex worker may also perform their occupational identity in certain ways to meet desires derived from their private self. Bimbi and Parson’s (2005) work, which explored identity negotiations of internet-based male sex workers, concluded participants created separations between their sexual behaviours within their careers versus their private lives. For example, some male sex workers only deeply kiss their private intimate partners, not their clients. This is important as it illustrates how sex workers’ behaviour is different within different interactions to manage their private self as well as meet societal and occupational expectations. Sex workers separating their public and private identities highlights how sex workers engage in complex and diverse identity performances.

Although for some sex workers, separating their public and private lives through creating a manufactured identity is preferred (or the only option), Bernstein (2007) exemplifies how some middle-class sex workers attempt to manufacture authentic emotional and physical connections with clients within their sex work experiences. However, this connection is short-term, existing within the paid/sex work experience (Bernstein 2001). Additionally, some sex workers aspire to a

'single self', so they do not want firm divisions between their frontstage and backstage identities or their public and private experiences (Bernstein 2007; Simpson and Smith 2020). Within this thesis, I contribute to existing literature which focuses on sex work identity, and I apply Goffman (1959; 1963) to understand how identity is performed. I build upon work such as Bernstein (2001; 2007), Sanders (2005), and Simpson and Smith (2020) to provide a thorough examination of religious and spiritual sex workers' identity performances within public and private spaces.

Although I have considered literature which utilises Goffman's (1959; 1963) theory to understand sex workers' identities, Smith et al (2009) suggest there is limited knowledge about the ways that sex workers redefine social definitions of sex work within different social spaces. My research bridges this gap in knowledge by using Goffman's (1959) identity theory to understand the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers and how they play out their self and identities within different locales. Jenson (2009) suggests Goffman's work enables researchers to investigate norms and behaviours which seem trivial or mundane to create a rich analysis of the social world. This understanding of Goffman supports the utilisation of dramaturgy theory to meet the aims of this research. Similarly, Gonos (1977) discusses that it is within Goffman's dramaturgy theory that analysing the micro-structures and typically seen "inconsequential" activity is at the forefront. This is a noted strength of Goffman's work in that it places the mundane at the centre of enquiry and therefore supports the micro-level analysis of lived experiences this research uncovers. Later within this chapter, I will explore how the sociology of everyday life draws together this understanding of identity management and performance within lived experiences.

Bernstein (2007) and Abel (2011), who utilise Hochschild's (1979) concepts of 'deep acting' and 'surface acting', offer a different approach to analysing sex workers' identity performances. Hochschild (1979) connects to Goffman's (1959) work on identity performance; however, critiques Goffman's (1959) narrow focus on outward (frontstage) identity performances of emotion (surface acting), alongside the failure to distinguish the differences between deep acting and surface acting. Deep acting involves provoking or suppressing real emotions and feelings, whereas surface acting is performing certain feelings to fulfil the demands of the interaction (Hochschild 1979). Abel (2011) argues that some sex workers engage in deep acting by leaning on private experiences within work environments to ignite feelings and emotions, and others solely perform the queues of emotions to have successful interactions with their client/s, for example, smiling and waving to connote happiness. Returning to the idea of manufactured identities, Sanders (2005) argues that creating a manufactured identity is a combination of both sexual labour and 'deep' emotion work. Sex workers' identity performances are therefore contextual, negotiated, fluid, and interchangeable,

influenced by feelings, space, audience, and social pressures (Abel 2011; Sanders 2005; Simpson and Smith 2020).

While Hochschild (1979) addresses Goffman's (1959) narrow focus on outward identity performances, further critiques of Goffman's work centre around the failure to encompass the complexities of human interaction. Psathas (1996) suggests Goffman's theorisation of identity stemmed from a constricted understanding of everyday life which excludes human activity. Criticism can, therefore, be made regarding the effectiveness of dramaturgy analysis to comprehensively understand the presentation of the self and adequately analyse human behaviour (Reynolds and Herman-Kinney 2003). Thus, it is necessary to engage with other theories of identity to ensure research offers legitimate contributions to sex work related knowledge around identity. Plummer's (2007) use of symbolic interactionism is particularly pertinent, suggesting that narratives and storytelling are at the centre of symbolic interactions, and interactions help society fit together lines of activities. Plummer's (2007) work can therefore address the weaknesses of Goffman's identity theory as it encapsulates further examination into the intricacies of human behaviour by analysing not only identity performance but how interactions demonstrate how society operates. Plummer (1995) employs the example of sexual stories to demonstrate how people engaged in joint actions are producers of sexual stories. In other words, experiences can generate stories. Alongside this, coaxers, who are listeners and questioners, provoke the sharing of stories for people (for example, a researcher or a journalist) (Plummer 1995). Alternatively, consumers and audiences are intent on making sense of the stories they consume. By examining how stories are consumed, analysis can be made regarding how society operates and functions.

Hammond and Kingston (2014) utilise Plummer's work when exploring experiences of stigma within sex work research. They suggest that everyday experiences can lead to important understandings of society and make connection to Plummer's (1995) discussion of sexual stories, proposing researchers play a role in the production of the narratives of their participants. Hammond and Kingston (2014) suggest personal narratives are interconnected and embedded within everyday life. Therefore, stories are multifaceted and involve a variety of contributors and how stories are consumed can illuminate how society functions. Thus, Plummer (2007) can bring forward Goffman's (1959) dramaturgy analysis as it offers greater insight into the influence of audiences. Goffman (1959) offers an important discussion of how scenery, props, and audiences are influential in identity performance; however, Plummer (2007) elucidates how people make sense of their stories and how others can stimulate stories to be shared. This is pertinent for this research as although I am focusing on the lived experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers, it is imperative to recognise how society influences these experiences and identity performances. Next, I consider

how stigmatised identities are managed and performed, furthering the theoretical framework this research adopts when considering the co-existing identities of religious and spiritual sex workers.

STIGMATISED IDENTITIES

Social pressure is influential in the production and presentation of the self (Goffman 1959). Social pressures exist within everyday life that promote conformity to social norms (Campbell 2000). When social norms and expectations are challenged, individuals can be at risk of experiencing stigma. Goffman (1963) suggests stigma is a discredited difference, which he calls 'spoiled identity'. Stigma can present itself in different spaces for different individuals and identities (Goffman 1963). To manage stigma, individuals may hide stigmatised elements of their identity or alternatively, actively promote the abolition of stigma their identity possesses. Kaufman and Johnson (2004) champion the utilisation of Goffman's symbolic interactionism to draw out experiences of management of stigma around marginalised sexualities.

Goffman's (1963) approach has also informed studies which explore sex workers' experiences of stigma. Koken (2012) interviewed escorts to analyse how they managed stigma and found that participants engaged in selective disclosure. Some participants shared their occupation with people within their private lives whereas other participants kept their sex work identity hidden to avoid conflict and discrimination. Abel (2011) suggests that some sex workers manage stigma by constructing different roles within public and private domains to distance themselves from sex worker identities, connecting to Goffman's (1959) argument that individuals attempt to present an idealised version of themselves (Abel 2011). Although this may be a successful way to manage sex work stigma in societal interactions, Peach (2005) raises the challenge of internal stigma for sex workers, particularly within Western countries where Christianity is influential on cultural norms and sex work is perceived as immoral. From this, we can observe the variety of influences which can lead sex workers to experience stigma, both internally and societally, which can be heightened for a sex worker who holds a religious or spiritual identity due to religious morality and surveillance (see section "Religious Morality", p.45).

Analysing space is also important when understanding how sex workers manage experiences of prejudice and stigma. For example, Simpson's (2021) experience when researching students who strip highlighted how sex work stigma exists in Higher Education institutions. Space inhabits inequality and vice versa, so marginalised communities such as sex workers may experience heightened identity performance or construction of differing identities when occupying spaces which possess stigma (Shepherd 2013). Wong et al (2011) highlight that although experiences of stigma are well documented, there are limited accounts of how sex workers themselves see stigma.

This illustrates one way my research can advance knowledge as my research documents stories at the micro-level, offering opportunity for participants to discuss stigma through their own lens.

Although I have demonstrated how Goffman's (1963) proposal of stigma can be useful when exploring sex workers' identity management and performance, there are critiques concerning Goffman (1963) understanding stigma to be static rather than a changing social process (Parker and Aggleton 2003). Similarly, Weitzer (2018) offers an important discussion of resistance, suggesting that Goffman's discussion of stigma is flawed as stigma should not be managed but instead, should be challenged through resistance to stimulate change. Weitzer (2018) proposes that stigma is not an 'immutable constant', and it is imperative to champion the abolishment of stigma. Given these criticisms against Goffman (1963), it is useful to revisit Plummer (2007) to intersect additional theory to offer a strong understanding of identity performance and management within the context of stigma.

Plummer (2007) has contributed to the theory of sexual identities and suggests identity is a bridge between individuals and wider culture which can enable people to locate themselves within categories. Identity for an individual, therefore, can highlight the commonalities with others but also personal differences which may be stigmatised. Plummer (2007) proposes sexual identities locate people within cultural frameworks and when an individual's sexual identity does not align with an accepted cultural framework, stigma may be experienced, so their identity may be negotiated. For example, male sex workers who have primarily male clientele are twice as likely to be stigmatised due to their sex work identity and sexuality. For some male migrant sex workers, emigrating was due to their birth country possessing both cultural, religious, and political homophobia (Ruiz-Burga 2021). Therefore, being a homosexual, bisexual, or transgender migrant sex worker within London enabled greater freedom of their sexuality even though stigma and prejudices still exist. Although my participants all identified as women, this discussion is important as it illustrates the negotiation of differing identities due to space expectations and norms as individuals weigh up various levels of stigma. Additionally, this highlights how intersectional analysis of the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers is critical, which I explore later. Next, I introduce my concepts of "harmony" and "dissonance".

THE CONCEPTS OF HARMONY AND DISSONANCE

Through my empirical research, I have developed the concept "harmony". This concept is useful when exploring the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers as it provides a theoretical framework to understand their identity negotiations and reflections of their identities. I define harmony as a state of consonance, where different identities are aligned and in agreement with

one another alongside meeting the demands and desires of the self. I understand harmony to be a micro-level concept. By this, I analyse lived experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers and examine how they negotiate and manage their identities within their everyday lives to reduce conflict. Therefore, I explore ways different degrees of harmony exist for different identities within participants' everyday lives.

My concept enhances our understanding of how sex workers manage their identities as it showcases the motivations behind such identity performances and explicates the act of "weighing up" potential different outcomes. For example, although sex work stigma is well documented alongside the harmful impact this has on sex workers' identity management, there are limitations of knowledge concerning the everyday experiences of this and the specific reflections and decisions sex workers make with the aim to minimise such negative impacts (both on themselves and others). My concept can address this oversight and enables analysis into identity management at the micro-level within the context of religiosity. However, this is not to say that these micro-level, harmonious interactions do not also lend to an analysis of meso- and macro-level influences on sex workers' experiences which I explore throughout my data chapters.

As my research explores religion and spirituality, my concepts also map out the complex identity management of these dual identities. For example, a religious and spiritual sex worker may feel harmony between their religious and sex work identity. However, harmony may not exist within their relationships with their private partner/s or parent/s. Conflict which obstructs or challenges harmony I have conceptualised as "dissonance". Dissonance means the lack of harmony between religious and spiritual sex workers' different identities. The concept of dissonance has been used in previous research. One example is Comartin and Gonzalez-Prendes' (2011) work, which explores the conflict between professional and personal values in social work practice. However, I am using dissonance in a new, unique way to uncover religious and spiritual sex workers' complex identity negotiations. I also propose the concept of "harmonious-dissonance", where there is the acceptance of dissonance within some elements of their self to allow for harmony to exist within other identities and experiences.

It is important to understand who and what are the primary and secondary factors which can influence experiences of harmony or dissonance. The central active driver within this understanding of identity management is religious and spiritual sex workers themselves. Participants made conscious decisions and reflected upon their everyday lives and identities within their experiences to achieve optimal harmony between their otherwise conflicting or in-tension identities. Secondary factors which influence harmony and create dissonance can be due to a variety of reasons (for

example, family, friends, private partners, and religious institutions) and can be divided between macro, meso and micro influences. Although I adopt such categorisation of secondary factors, these are all interconnected. For example, stigma has been argued to operate at the micro- (the self), meso- (public) and macro-level (structural) (Pescosolido and Martin 2015). However, stigma and subsequent dissonance exist in different ways for different individuals in which they uniquely navigate. This demonstrates the importance of adopting intersectional analysis and throughout my research, I explore the impact of sex work, migrant, gender, and sexuality stigma (Crenshaw 1989).

My concepts connect to Goffman's (1959) ideas around identity management. Goffman (1959) draws out how identities are managed and negotiated to serve different interactions with varying audiences. This connects to my concepts as it highlights how religious and spiritual sex workers search for harmony whilst managing interactions and various parts of their self. However, my concepts also address the limitations of Goffman's (1959) theory I discussed in previous sections which proposes that dramaturgy analysis fails to comprehensively understand the presentation of the self (Reynolds and Herman-Kinney 2003). Throughout my research I consider how experiences are shaped by multiple factors and the impact this has at the micro-level through examination of lived experiences. Thus, not only does my thesis contribute to sex work related research but it also contributes to identity theory. Understanding the presence of, search for, or lack of harmony can offer rich insight into identity management of religious and spiritual sex workers and demonstrates the impact this has on their everyday lives. Next, I explore intersectionality.

IDENTITY: INTERSECTIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Intersectionality has been applied to a variety of disciplinary investigations among theory and methodology. Crenshaw (1989) proposes the necessity to approach identity as multidimensional. A single-axis approach to understanding discrimination (identity and the social divisions subsequent to this) limits our enquiry to understanding lived experiences of women and other stigmatised and discriminated identities. In other words, intersectionality suggests that social divisions interrelate, influencing an individual's everyday life (Anthias 2013). For example, gender cannot be understood as exclusive and is influenced by different identities such as disability and race. Intersectionality, therefore, can draw out how elements of an individual's identity such as religion, culture, disability, race, age, gender, sexuality, and social class can lead to social and political oppression (Collins and Blige 2016). Smith (2015) suggests that sex work cannot be explained through theory which does not include intersectionality. In support of this, intersectionality has been used to explore the relationship between HIV, gender, race, sexual orientation, and sex work (Logie et al 2011). Logie et al's (2011) study concluded that when examining the relationship between the different

identities and social divisions, there were multilevel forms of overlapping stigma and discrimination. Thus, it is imperative to adopt intersectional analysis when understanding lived experiences of marginalised groups as individuals with multiple stigmatised identities will experience multi-layered discrimination and inequality.

A collection of studies which explore sex workers' different identities through the lens of disability supports the necessity for intersectional analysis within this research (Blewett et al 2022). Research exploring students who sex work found that transgender and disabled college students are more likely to engage in sex work in comparison to their non-disabled peers (Coston et al 2022). A third of respondents stated they believed they were fired or denied a job because of their disability status, and some also felt it was due to their gender identity (Coston et al 2022). Therefore, disability and gender discrimination within the labour market can lead disabled individuals to enter the sex industry. Yet, entering the sex industry due to experiences of discrimination in non-sex work jobs should not be seen as solely negative. Jones (2021) supports this, arguing that sex work can offer people with a disability access to the labour market, empowerment, and opportunities to explore their sexuality. However, sex workers with disabilities can experience multidimensional discrimination due to being disabled or non-cis-gendered, as well as experiencing stigma due to working in the sex industry (Coston et al 2022; Simpson and Smith 2020). It is, therefore, necessary to consider religious and spiritual sex workers' different identities when exploring their everyday lives, both internal and external to their sex work experiences.

Furthering the complex narrative of how sex workers experience multilevel forms of stigma, a study which explores migrant sex worker mothers in Johannesburg highlighted that their identity leads to complex lived experiences due to historical, political, and social issues surrounding migration (Walker et al 2017). This exploration firstly highlights how an individual's identity is multifaceted and complex, where social and cultural perceptions influence how identity is played out and observed by others. Supporting this, a study by Bell (2009) discusses how ethnic minority exotic dancers/strippers are further discriminated against, being offered fewer hours than white dancers due to their perceived lack of marketability. Thus, not only are exotic dancers faced with discrimination due to their work, but sex workers who are non-white are faced with further discrimination and inequality due to racism. Pasko (2002) highlights that although exotic dancers can reclaim power through the culture of their workspace, this stops when the space is left, and the commodification of their bodies can become oppressive. Although this argument should not be seen as generalisable, Pasko's (2002) work details how space defined by sex workers can challenge gender inequality and stigmatised identities, however, this can be temporary.

This analysis can be applied to understand religious identities within religious spaces. Religion is not based solely on beliefs; it is also action-orientated (Yip et al 2011). Therefore, if someone holds an identity which is not in harmony with the religious sphere they occupy, they may negotiate or hide conflicting identities to occupy the space without tension. Religious and sexual identity negotiation can be observed within the work of Taylor (2016) on Queer-Christians, highlighting how space can create conflict for an individual's dual identities due to prejudices existing within certain spaces. Later in this chapter, I will expand on themes drawn from Taylor (2016) to draw out the management of potentially conflicting identity narratives of religiosity and sex work.

This literature reinforces the necessity to adopt an intersectional approach to draw out different experiences and management of identity. Although I have explored key literature to understand the context of this research, there are evident gaps which directly explore sex work and religious and/or spiritual identity management within the context of stigma but also society more broadly. This is important to highlight as my research intends to encompass consideration of a range of sex workers' identity management, not solely stigma. Thus, my project contributes to knowledge concerning identity management through the lens of religious and spiritual sex workers, a group not often represented within academia.

In summary, this section reviewed literature that details the fluid and interchangeable nature of identity, which is not solely a performance of the inner or private self, but a social process. Identity performance can be understood as frontstage and backstage which are performed differently within public and private spaces (Goffman 1959). Identities can be short-term, fulfilling demands of spaces, and so identity is complex and at times, messy. I also detailed an important discussion of how sex work performances are multi-dimensional, adaptive, and interchangeable (Grant 2014). A consideration of stigma on identity begins to unpack the complexities of understanding the everyday experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers, demonstrating the possible conflicts between an individual's identity in different spaces. However, engagement with stigma theory in this thesis will be carefully discussed to ensure it does not reinforce existing negative perceptions of the industry and instead, understand stigma as non-static. My concept of harmony attempts to address limitations within the identity theory I have discussed and enables an in-depth analysis of identity management at the micro-level. Next, I examine literature focused on the sociology of everyday life.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES OF EVERYDAY LIFE

This section focuses on the theory of everyday life within a sociological context. Everyday life "is where we make our worlds, and our worlds make us... Everyday life is a context of human creativity,

innovation and change” (Pink 2012, p.5). As stated, Goffman (1959) highlights that the self is a social process. Therefore, through understanding everyday life, we can observe identity within public and private spheres, consider structure and agency, and analyse the entangled nature of social life with identity (Pink 2012). As previously outlined in the introductory chapter, everyday life concerns activities at the individual level which on the surface are mundane, however, are constructed by social and political forces (Scott 2009). Scott (2009) furthers this, arguing that an individual’s everyday life is complex and heterogenous, and so there is a requirement to unpack and critically analyse a variety of everyday practices such as leisure, clothing, time, health, eating, and drinking. Throughout my research I draw attention to these fields of activity by exploring religious and spiritual sex workers’ occupational experiences and private lives, which include, but are not limited to, their family, friends, and romantic relationships, alongside analysing micro-level experiences such as clothing choices and engagements with time. Thus, unpacking the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers can offer a comprehensive insight into the representations of human experiences and choices through the individual’s perception as well as society’s responses (McIntosh and Wright 2018).

Focusing on lived experiences has been championed by some feminist scholars as it attempts to make the invisible visible, which is important when uncovering ingrained gender inequality (Harman 2017). The ordinary holds connection, transformation, and contradictions, offering a unique immersion into structural practices and contexts in why the everyday is played out in the way that it is (Neal and Murji 2005). Applying this to sex work, sex workers can experience collective inequality within their public and private lives, which translates to overlapped or multiple experiences of prejudice due to their differing identities, supporting the necessity for intersectional analysis (Colombo et al 2011). Thus, examining perceived “mundane” parts of religious and spiritual sex workers’ everyday lives offers analysis regarding why and how sex workers experience stigma and discrimination.

A critique against the theory of exploring the everyday concerns the “slipperiness” of the concept, being both everywhere and nowhere (Ebrey 2016). Although at surface value, this may be true, through analysing the intricacies of what the everyday is, researchers can pinpoint different areas of exploration to offer rich insight into society. When exploring everyday life, considering routine is crucial. Individuals possess an itinerary which is unique but, typically centralised around work. Work has been contextualised as the marking of time and subsequently informs other elements of lived experiences (Highmore 2001). Work within the theory of everyday life does not solely concern paid work but all forms of labour, including emotional. Work, whether you are a mother, carer, sex worker, or doctor, will all be influential on the construction of an individual’s identity and everyday

life. For example, routines will differ between a sex worker with children and a sex worker who is not a parent. Their schedules, time distribution, and how often they can work may differ due to other elements of their identity, which through analysing micro experiences, analysis of the macro can be made, supporting discussions of feminism and everyday life (Harman 2017). This contests the proposed critique that the theory of everyday life is ambiguous. Taking known and specific elements of everyday life (such as work) opens the opportunity for a myriad of areas to be thoroughly analysed (Sheringham 2006).

This brief overview has demonstrated how experiences within everyday life are complex and through unpacking lived experiences, activities which appear mundane are shown to be constructed by social and political forces (Scott 2009). Not only this, lived experiences can offer intrinsic understandings of identity and social structures (Hollows 2003; Harman 2017). In conclusion, through exploring everyday life, we can understand lived experiences of society and social and political structures through a unique lens (Szabo 2012). From here on in, I move away from discussions of theoretical frameworks and will now review empirical literature related to the topic of sexual identity and expression more broadly. Later, this literature review will detail everyday experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers through the application of everyday life theory. The following section concerns the sexualisation of mainstream culture to analyse the interconnective nature between society, sexual identity, and sex work.

THE SEXUALISATION OF MAINSTREAM CULTURE

Research exploring the value placed on sexual identities and expression within Western society is important in understanding the sex industry in contemporary society. The sexualisation of mainstream culture, Weeks (2009) argues is the centralisation of sexual identity, leading to the increasing presence and importance placed on sex, sexual expression, and engagement. Subsequently, attitudes and norms have become more permissive within some spaces which in turn, centres diverse self-expressions of intimacy (Attwood 2007). This section illustrates how although the sexualisation of society has arguably offered more choices for sexual expression, it is also clear that some sexual identities are faced with evident challenges due to societal and political stigma. Therefore, a collection of literature I will now discuss will draw out the importance placed on sexual identities and expression, however, demonstrate conflicting narratives and experiences of the sex industry within a sexualised society.

One manifestation of the sexualisation of the mainstream is the rise of hook-up culture. Freitas (2013) proposes that hook-up culture promotes casual intimacy where sex is meaningless and holds no repercussions. The argument suggests that sex can even be unpleasurable and diminishes

opportunities for achieving sexual intimacy and pleasure as opposed to offering them. In application to the sex industry, sex workers can meet the demands of casual sex and fulfil the noncommittal norms and expectations of hook-up culture. However, this is not generalisable to all experiences of sexual expression and can be challenged through sex workers who provide the girlfriend experience (GFE) (Bernstein 2007). GFE is a commercial transaction yet possesses elements of romantic relationships (such as emotional intimacy) because some customers seek more than sexual release (Bernstein 2007). Although customers wanting the girlfriend experience look for characteristics of romantic relationships, there is still the desire for the relationship to remain transactional (Bernstein 2001). This highlights the uniqueness of GFE. While characteristics of romantic relationships are desired, performed, and sometimes authentically felt, the commercial nature of the relationship is just as important for some clients. Nevertheless, GFE offers a challenge to arguments that suggest sex is becoming increasingly meaningless (Sanders et al 2020). Therefore, although the sex industry can fulfil desires of sexual needs, some clients value emotional fulfilment, a finding that counteracts the stereotypical understandings of what the sex industry can offer. This illustrates how the sexualisation of mainstream culture is important to consider when understanding the lived experiences of sex workers. The interconnected relationship between the sex industry and the sexualisation of mainstream culture demonstrates how the sex industry meets a range of demands both from the sexualisation of mainstream culture (hook-up culture) and wider societal desires of intimacy. It is, however, important to acknowledge the diversity within engagements with sex work (see “Understanding the Sex Industry Within Contemporary Society”, p.30) to avoid homogenising sex workers’ experiences. Yet, it is useful to understand how the sexualisation of the mainstream influences both society and the sex industry to understand the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. Next, I offer a body of literature which considers the impact of the commodification of sex.

THE COMMODIFICATION OF SEX

A diversity-equality paradox for sexual identities and expression can be observed through the commodification of sex (Hubbard 2001). Although sexual identities have changed, arguably becoming more relaxed, this is not generalisable. Individuals who have a disability, mothers, and older individuals are socially seen as unsexual and there is the expectation of asexuality (Bellhouse et al 2015). This ascribed sexual identity highlights inequalities within the sexualisation of mainstream culture. Therefore, although there are greater opportunities for self-development, there are evident limitations in the scope for expression. Thus, the sex industry is influential in shaping the sexualisation of mainstream culture, but societal norms and values also influence experiences of and within the industry.

Around 11% of British men aged 16–74 have paid for sex on at least one occasion, which equates to 2.3 million individuals (House of Commons 2016). Although it is important to use statistics such as this with caution as sex work related statistics are difficult to accurately represent, this figure highlights the importance placed on sexual identities as there is an evident demand for sexual experiences. Researchers who have explored ‘sex as a right’ highlight how the sex industry further tackles the diversity-equality paradox of sexual expression (Reynolds et al 2007). The issue of the exclusion of individuals with disabilities is prominent within literature discussing expressions of sexual identity which links back to the necessity for intersectional analysis in experiences concerning sex and sexual pleasure. Although a sexualised society offers the opportunity for greater sexual fulfilment, individuals who possess spoiled identities (Goffman 1963) can still be marginalised (Crenshaw 1989). This narrative can be applied to specialist organisations such as the TLC Trust, an advertising platform for sex workers who specialise in working with disabled clients (The Outsiders Trust 2021). Services advertised by sex workers are screened through the project to offer a safe space for individuals with a disability to explore their sexual identity (TLC Trust 2021). Sex workers providing sexual services for individuals with a disability has recently been deliberated in court where a judge ruled that it is lawful for a carer of a 27-year-old man with learning disabilities to facilitate sex between him and a sex worker in England (English Collective of Prostitutes 2021). Critique of the ruling suggested that the sex industry only serves male pleasure, and so is exploitative. Such negative stereotypes and misrepresentations of sex work elucidates both the social disapproval of people with a disability being sexual and more widely, exemplifies the existing stigma around the sex industry and those who use it (Jeffreys 2008). This discussion offers insight into the type of explorations this research uncovers. It is important to stress that sex workers do not “serve” society, nor are they required to provide sexual experiences to those who face barriers in accessing sexual intimacy. But for some, providing sexual experiences to stigmatised identities offers fulfilment beyond economic income, which I explore later within my data chapters (p.104). Exploring how religious and spiritual sex workers offer sexual intimacy for stigmatised individuals can offer insight into their everyday lives and identity management as sex workers, alongside illustrating the wider benefits the sex industry has on society. Within my research I hope to further challenge the misconceptions of the sex industry and those who use it through disseminating lived experiences which encompass discussions of sex as a right.

Throughout this exploration of the sexualisation of mainstream culture, the importance placed on sexual identities and expression was evident. Sexual behaviours supporting casual intimacy highlight the detached nature between sex and commitment. This was also seen within the exploration of sex as meaningless and the commodification of sex. Considering sex as a right

illustrates the limitations of sexual expression within Western society in which some sex workers offer support by providing space and opportunity for sexual fulfilment. The sex industry can fulfil sexual demands and desires of people in Western society, yet there are evident disparities around what is deemed acceptable forms of sexual expression and fulfilment and what is not. Next, I explore literature about the sex industry to further examine the relationship between sexualised mainstream culture and sex work.

SEX WORKERS AND THE SEX INDUSTRY

This section draws on literature which explores what is known about sex work and what the sex industry looks like. Within discussions, it is essential to consider the variances in whether a sex worker is “out” or not. When I discuss being “out”, this concerns an individual openly identifying as a sex worker. Some sex workers may be “out” in certain spaces, for example, with friends and within the sex work community, but not with their family and their religious community, also known as selective disclosure. Sex workers being “out” is a complex narrative and holds different ramifications for different individuals. This is important to consider when exploring the everyday experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers, as a sex worker’s identity may be short-term, and interchangeable in relation to their known status as a sex worker alongside other elements of their self (Goffman 1959). This does not mean negotiation and tailoring of identity leads to the production of a false self, but instead, highlights different presentations of the self in different spaces for harmonious interactions within society (Keenan 2009). For this thesis, it is not necessary for me to give an account of the history of sex work, other than to note that it is long and complex and that as an industry it has adapted alongside social and political changes globally (for further details, see Grant (2014); Heberer (2014); Lister (2020)). Although research on sex work does draw upon predominately female sex worker experiences, it is important to acknowledge and explore the experiences of men, transgender, and non-binary sex workers, which are integrated into this review.

INTRODUCING SEX WORK WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF FEMINISM

Applying feminism offers insight into historical, political, and social changes broadly, alongside providing analysis of the sex industry from the lens of gender inequality. Regarding sex work, there are a myriad of feminist theories. Some perspectives propose sex work is a product of patriarchal oppression (Halley et al 2006). For others, the sex industry challenges patriarchy, enabling women to charge men for sexual services which males feel as though they should receive from women for free (Robinson 2007). “Broadly speaking, while ‘radical feminists’ tend to argue that prostitution is the epitome of violence against women, ‘liberal feminists’ posit that most sex workers exercise

their own free will in their decisions to sell sex” (Connelly 2017, p.1). Thus, feminist theories regarding the sex industry are diverse and everchanging through both academic and societal perceptions of gender and sexual identity. In my research, I challenge anti-sex work feminist positions through addressing limitations within the existing literature. I offer evidence of experiences of agency, sexual pleasure, and other positive experiences of the industry alongside the challenges they can experience (see also Berg 2014). Feminist positions also translate into debates about sex work as work which I now turn to.

SEX WORK AS WORK

Considering debates about sex work as work is useful when understanding how the industry exists and is understood across the globe. The term sex work was coined by Carol Leigh in 1979 and has been argued as the start of the movement which intends to recognise sex work as work, and places importance on the work of the provider as opposed to the customer (Global Network of Sex Work Projects 2023). Although language changes are positive and important, there is still more work to be done to reach a point where there is a collective agreement on seeing sex work as legitimate labour. Arguments against recognising sex work as work are closely tied with earlier discussions of anti-sex work feminists, who believe sex work is oppressive and is an act of violence against women (Miren and Watson 2020). This research rejects this narrative and argues that sex work can provide opportunities for economic income and to not consider sex work as work is oppressive.

Bell (2009) suggests that it is important to first recognise that sex work is not inherently exploitative. From this, energy can be focused on creating optimal working conditions for sex workers (Bell 2009). Legislation is key in shaping these conditions. The criminalisation of the sex industry makes all sex work related practices illegal. Legalisation is where sex work is legal under specific state-defined conditions. Decriminalisation is where sex work is stripped of regulations and conditions and sex workers can operate freely (CPS 2019). Sex work laws and policies play an intrinsic role in understanding sex work as work. An example of recognising sex work as work through legislation can be observed in New Zealand. New Zealand have decriminalised the sex industry which has enabled sex workers to utilise their employment rights. For example, a sex worker from Wellington successfully prosecuted a brothel owner through the Human Rights Review Tribunal for sexual harassment (Crichton 2015). This example demonstrates how legislation recognising sex work as work can combat stigma and create safer working conditions for sex workers.

Contrasting New Zealand’s positive changes, advocates for criminalisation or the Nordic Model have argued that sex work is not work because job centres do not advocate for the occupation, suggesting that experience of the industry holds no value, and sex work is not an occupation that

will be added to a job description (Levy 2020). These arguments can be heavily critiqued in regard to the restrictive and harmful perspective against sex work as a career. There has been significant research globally which shows how the labour approach can have a myriad of benefits for sex workers and the community. This is comprehensively demonstrated within a report published by the Global Network of Sex Work Projects (2017). Benefits include a reduction in sex work stigma, better legal protection, and setting work standards. Therefore, decriminalisation is of absolute necessity to recognise sex work as work and enable sex workers' freedom to operate safely. This research and my participants understand sex work as work. I challenge narratives which argue that sex work is not work and illustrate how the sex industry provides opportunities for participants' lives. Next, I offer literature which attempts to understand how sex workers engage with the industry.

UNDERSTANDING THE SEX INDUSTRY WITHIN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

The discursive understanding of sex is problematic as "real sex" is considered penis-vaginal; however, this is not a true reflection of the diversity within sex work (Henry and Farvid 2017). Matolcsi et al (2020) offer a settings/service typology of sex work in England and Wales: 1) BDSM, kink, fetish, 2) brothels, massage parlours and saunas operating as brothels, 3) erotic and exotic dance 4) erotic massage, 5) escorting: independent, 6) escorting: agency, 7) pornography, glamour, erotica, 8) sex parties, 9) street and outdoor, 10) sugar arrangements, 11) telephone, text-based, TV-based, live voyeurism, 12) therapeutic services and 13) webcamming. Although this typology illustrates the diverse engagement with the sex industry, this is not to suggest there are distinct differences between them, as there are overlaps between settings and services. Some sex workers also engage in more than one type of service (escorts offering BDSM and massage services, for example) (Matolcsi et al 2020). Some sex workers also have non-sex working jobs, which Bowen (2015) labels "square jobs/square work". Engaging in dual work can be to increase their disposable income or for "sexiting", where individuals engage in sex work alongside other work to fund their exit from the sex industry (Bowen 2015). Dual-work sex workers (Bowen 2015) and sex workers who yo-yo in and out of sex work (Sanders 2007), challenge binary understandings of sex work. Sexual commerce is multifaceted and diverse, and so this is important when understanding engagements with the sex industry and sex workers' identity performances. Throughout this section, I review literature that draws out documented patterns within the everyday lives of sex workers, emphasising the necessity to understand the sex work community as non-homogenous as individuals' different identities will be influential in their experiences of sex work and externally to this.

ENTERING THE SEX INDUSTRY

Why an individual enters the sex industry is varied and unique, however, patterns and commonalities can be found. Two central motivations are economic and social gain (Bettio et al 2017). A report published by the English Collective of Prostitutes (2019) found that sex work enabled some women to obtain greater income than other jobs available to them. A study which explored male sex workers' experiences proposed that some participants entered the industry to fulfil their sexual desires, offering another reason as to why individuals enter the industry (Ellison 2018).

Others may sex work to increase their social class or seek a lavish lifestyle they may not be able to obtain with ease without the sex industry (Allan 2004). Although it is important to note these motivations are not generalisable, some sex workers enter the industry due to social deprivation (Sanders et al 2018). Food and shelter also may be the currency opposed to money (Weitzer 2007). Although such reasons highlight the challenging nature of the everyday lives of some sex workers, this is not necessarily a product of the sex industry but instead, of societal inequality.

As I have shown, reasons for entering the industry are diverse and will be influenced by an individual's circumstances and desires. Yet, why someone enters the industry can influence how society perceive their occupation. Individuals engaging with street-based sex work for survival purposes are further stigmatised than someone who sex works for a lavish lifestyle (see Easterbrook-Smith 2022). Researchers in the field of sex work have argued that there is a whorearchy which examines the impact of the categorisation of sex worker identities, highlighting how a hierarchal system gives superiority to certain engagements with sex work (e.g., sugar babies) and stigmatises others (street-based) (Knox 2014). Participants in this research engaged with various parts of the sex industry (escort, online content creator, phone sex work, porn star, stripper/dancer, sugar baby, and webcamming), so their experiences of the whorearchy will vary. This supports the decision to approach my research at the micro-level to draw out unique differences and engagements with the industry as a religious and/or spiritual sex worker. Next, I consider trafficking as a reason some individuals enter the sex industry.

TRAFFICKING AND MIGRANT SEX WORKERS

Trafficking is often dangerously misconstrued by abolitionists as a reason to further criminalise the sex industry. This argument is extremely harmful and trafficking as a way individuals enter the industry stands separate from previous discussions (Bogdan 2020). Cockbain and Bowers (2019) suggest that in recent times, there has been a political prioritisation towards combatting modern slavery. Additionally, the move from tackling broad issues of "trafficking" to a narrower focus on

“sex trafficking” has led to greater attention towards sex workers and the industry (Berstein and Jakobsen 2010; Connelley 2015), and sex work has become a central topic in human rights and political debate (Bernstein and Jackobsen 2010). However, this political attention can be disputed as the motivation behind supporting trafficked sex workers can at times, possess hidden agendas of deportation of migrants as opposed to providing legitimate support for trafficked sex workers (Wagenaar et al 2017). In America, Donald Trump signed bills which intended to “cut down” on sex trafficking, also known as the FOSTA-SESTA Act (Romano 2018). However, within this Act, it states how third parties (for example, online sites such as Adultwork or Craigslist) would be responsible if sex workers were advertising on their sites, even if this was consensual (Romano 2018). This highlights another way trafficking becomes conflated with consensual sex work which fails to legitimately tackle the issue of trafficking, and places additional challenges on consensual sex workers operating safely (StopSESTA 2022). Although I only worked with consensual sex workers, my research explores the impact of how plans to “support” trafficked sex workers can have a negative impact on consensual sex workers’ everyday lives.

Within existing literature on sex work/ers, distinctions have been drawn between trafficked and migrant sex workers. Although some migrants are trafficked for sexual exploitation, this is a wider social issue. Lister (2017) highlights how the malleable nature of language surrounding sex work can be used in fluid ways to reinforce or promote particularly negative social attitudes, so it is vital to dissociate migrants with the idea that “all migrant sex workers are trafficked”. Migrants can face exploitation and trafficking across multiple careers and the challenges with inequality of migrants working within the sex industry are due to wider social prejudices and stigma (Connelly 2021). Lepp and Gerasimov (2019) argue that many trade unions aim to combat the inequalities for migrant women concerning garment factories or restaurants for example, however, perceive sex work as unrelated. Therefore, categorising the exploitation of migrant sex workers separately from other work is a result of stigma around the sex industry.

Not all migrant sex workers are trafficked or do not enjoy their work. Augustin (2006) discusses how experiences of migrants who sell sex are commonly overlooked, proposing that we must understand the realities of Western society in that, there is a significant demand for sexual services and there are migrant women who prefer this occupation opposed to others available to them. Although this statement draws critique to the social structures which possess prejudice as society limits migrants’ options of careers due to discrimination, this is the reality of some contemporary lived experiences. Within Augustin’s (2006) examination, migrant sex workers discuss the opportunity for significant financial income in which they are happy to sell sex for. Therefore, experiences are diverse and sex workers’ feelings of their career vary and non-national sex workers

should not be solely labelled as victims as this holds little accuracy. Mai (2013), who explores Romanian sex workers' experiences, highlights how hegemonic understandings of migrants' involvement in the sex industry in terms of trafficking fails to understand the complex experiences of migrant sex workers. Within my thesis, I contribute to this narrative, illustrating the everyday experiences of religious Romanian sex workers who work in the UK. My work challenges the unhelpful and inaccurate ideas which argue "all migrant sex workers are trafficked" by detailing migrant sex workers' stories which entail economic success and autonomy.

ANTI-TRAFFICKING NGOS

Analysing religious anti-trafficking NGOs furthers previous discussions regarding the challenges of conflating trafficking with consensual sex work. In the last two decades, addressing issues of trafficking has become of great interest to Christian and Evangelical Christian groups, particularly within the US, Canada, Australia, and Europe (Daniel-Hughes 2022). Religious groups play a significant role in the anti-trafficking movement, however, as Bernstein and Jakobsen note (2010), religious engagements with the anti-trafficking movement are not necessarily more conservative than some secular engagements with anti-trafficking policy and services. Religious involvement with the anti-trafficking movement is diverse. Some religious groups attempt to combat sex trafficking through "saviour". Saviour organisations carry out "rescue missions" to help "victims" of sex trafficking exit the sex industry. One example is A21, an NGO which adopts the reach, rescue, and restore model (Daniel-Hughes 2022). Although this support is essential for trafficked victims, as discussed within the previous section, for those engaging in sex work consensually, this support can create challenges as their morality does not always lie in fighting for increases in social welfare and supporting sex workers but instead, is concerned with removing sex workers from society (Ahearne 2019). Such approaches also commonly fail to consider that sex workers may not see themselves as victims and in need of "saving" (Connelley 2015). Within groups such as A21, rescue missions are commonly carried out by "good Christian women" who are "morally good", and sex workers are "morally bad" and/ or "victims" (Daniel-Hughes 2022). Connelley's (2015) work also suggests that NGOs ascribe the victim status to people with a lower socio-economic status, so intersectional analysis is necessary when understanding the impact of both religious and secular NGOs' engagement with "sex trafficking".

This is not to say religious organisations or charities do not or cannot provide essential support. A success story can be observed with the collaboration of two very different organisations in Denver, Prax(us), an anti-human trafficking organisation, and the Denver Homeless Ministry (Zimmerman 2022). After the closure of Prax(us), executive director Mary Landerholm began a collaborative relationship with the Ministry to deliver a variety of support to the homeless community. This was

achieved through the negotiation of values, boundaries, and mutual respect. For example, ex-Prax(us) members give out condoms, not the Ministry members, as this goes against their religious beliefs (Zimmerman 2022). However, the Ministry does not prohibit ex-Prax(us) staff from giving condoms to sex worker and non-sex worker service users. Their collaborative relationship demonstrates how religiously orientated groups and secular groups can collaboratively offer holistic support by respecting each other's views and values. It has been suggested that churches need to think about "what do these women want from the church and society at large" (Okyere-Manu et al 2022, p.157). By taking this approach, religious organisations can move away from providing support derived from negative perceptions of the sex industry and begin to tackle legitimate issues the sex work community faces. As I will demonstrate in greater detail throughout this and subsequent chapters, there is a complex relationship between religiosity, sex work, and the anti-trafficking movement. While my work does not include sex workers who have been victims of trafficking, considering how some religious groups engage with the sex industry offers a contextual narrative to understand sex workers' everyday lives and begins to draw out the conflict between religious ideology and sex work (Peach 2005). Next, I consider safety and violence.

SAFETY AND VIOLENCE

As I have mentioned in previous sections, sex work policies are significantly influential in how sex workers can operate within the industry. Not only this, but research has examined how policies impact on how much violence sex workers experience. It is firstly important to highlight that violence against sex workers is not one-dimensional and experiences of violence are diverse. However, sex workers who experience violence while working are reluctant to report the crimes due to fear of existing prejudices within the judicial system (Campbell and Kinnell 2000). However, not only are there prejudices within the system but also, harmful exploitation. Baker (2020) highlights that women, men, and transgender sex workers are at heightened risk of police sexual misconduct in comparison to non-sex workers. Baker (2020) suggests that "police sexual misconduct occurs in an unsupervised work setting where sexually charged law enforcement sexual aggressors, come into contact with a pool of vulnerable victims who present the opportunity for a sexual encounter" (p.308). Sex workers across the globe are threatened with arrest, fines, and at times, rape by the police for information which can assist police enquiries (Decker et al 2015; Williamson et al 2007). This suggests that laws which restrict sex workers facilitate violence, but law enforcement institutions are a part of the violence. Thus, it is necessary to decriminalise sex work to reduce abuses of power by clients, the public, and the police (Stardust et al 2021). It is also imperative to apply intersectional analysis when exploring migrant sex workers' experiences of violence as they are at heightened risk of experiencing police coercion and abuse, even more so

post-Brexit (Connelly 2021). When exploring the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers, it is important to analyse how policies are influential in both positive and negative lived experiences. I detail ways participants attempt to keep themselves safe (Chapter Five) and mitigate experiences of violence (Chapters Five and Seven) under current legislation (legalisation within the UK and legalisation and criminalisation within the U.S.). I now turn to analysing the impact of technology on the sex industry.

TECH AND SEX

Developments in digital technology and the impact this has on the sex industry are well documented within sex work related research. Within my thesis, I worked with online content creators, and so it is useful to review literature surrounding this. Although the sex industry is prominent online, some online spaces attempt to exclude sex workers. This can include closing or censoring sex workers' accounts or content (Sanders et al 2020). Social media censorship includes removing photographs due to "breaching guidelines", stopping individuals from accessing social media platforms (blocking), or make it difficult to find their handles (Waring 2021). However, for hyper-sexualised celebrities such as Kim Kardashian, content does not breach guidelines even though it holds similarities to sex workers' posts. On the contrary, social media platforms actively promote Kardashian's content, enabling her identity freedom. This comparison highlights the presence of sex work stigma in online spaces. Online spaces, media, and cinema shape the discourses of identities which can be harmful and unrealistic, especially if they are discriminated against within society (Davis 2018). When sex workers are represented within the media, representations are often stereotypical and harmful, which create and reinforce negative discourses (Moore 2016). Within my data chapters I explore this further, analysing how religious and spiritual sex workers experience and manage online stigma (p.156).

Although there is evident stigma present within some online spaces, developments in technology have notably changed the sex industry. This can be observed with OnlyFans. OnlyFans (2021) is a website which enables content creators to monetise their content through subscription services. It is proposed that OnlyFans has changed the way the sex work industry will work forever, arguing the site has enabled explicit content to be in the hands of the "entertainer", enabling autonomy, and offering a site for material to be created for specific audiences (Ryan 2019). OnlyFans was not specifically designed for only sex workers, but sex workers increasingly utilise this platform. However, there are evident challenges when using online platforms. For example, the site announced it was prohibiting sexually explicit content in late 2021 (OnlyFans 2021). Although this was quickly revoked, this highlights the precarious nature of the industry, where sex workers are

continuously marginalised by companies who have benefitted from their content and utilisation of the site. Expanding on the inequitable relationship between celebrities and sex workers, celebrity Bella Thorne joined OnlyFans which sparked debates within mainstream media. Sex workers spoke out against the celebrity using the platform, stating how sex workers use the site for their income and celebrities who possess ample revenue are creating unattainable competition due to the superior position society ascribes to celebrities (Kircher 2020). Such gentrification of OnlyFans also led to a cap on tipping due to Thorne's questionable scam around advertising a nude photograph for \$200 which was in fact in her underwear. As a result, many sex workers will have felt the impact of this incident in 2020 as they were forced to adhere to the charge cap. Thus, content creators are reliant on platforms, and so although technology has offered greater income opportunities, who benefits is selective, dependent on social perceptions of an individual's identity. This analysis of OnlyFans elucidates the necessity for intersectional analysis when exploring sexual expression for both sex workers and wider society (Crenshaw 1989).

Another challenge sex workers also face when utilising the online is that they can be easily recorded and then posted without permission, and although there is software which can flag whether someone is recording their material or whether their material has been posted without permission, risk remains (Henry and Farvid 2017). Not only can this impact sex workers' opportunities for income from their content but it also raises the risk of individuals being identified as a sex worker which can be problematic if they are not "out". Online risks regarding identity protection are sometimes exploited by clients, also known as doxing. Doxing concerns exposing or threat of exposing personal, private, or stigmatised information about someone without their consent, knowledge, or control (Hacking Hustling 2021). This is done to coerce sex workers into giving free sex or money for example. Doxing is a result of discrimination and a manifestation of misogyny, which is facilitated through the lack of legal protection for the sex industry (Citron 2014). Doxing illustrates how the legalities of sex work are a central influence on the everyday experiences of sex workers globally. Without protection from the state, sex workers are at significant risk when operating both online and offline. This discussion links back to my research in that, experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers can offer analysis into the dangers when working online due to lack of legal protection. In these ways, my research contributes to discussions around online identity management techniques to reduce negative experiences, contributing to existing literature which investigates the relationship between technology and sex work.

COVID-19: CHALLENGES AND CREATIVITY

Within this research, I discuss the past, present, and future impacts of COVID-19 through in-depth discussions with sex workers. Although sex workers were adversely affected by COVID-19, they displayed resilience (Lam 2020). Contemporary literature exploring the impact of COVID-19 on sexual identities highlights the ever-changing nature of identity alongside exemplifying the influence society has on identity creation and expression. Döring (2020) highlights that casual sex declined dramatically during the pandemic, however, there was a significant increase in dating platform usage and a rise in online and telephone sex. Changes in the sex industry were also present. Due to lockdown restrictions, sex workers were unable to meet clients face-to-face, so some sex workers utilised online platforms more so than they did pre-lockdown (Benoit and Unsworth 2022). However, this resulted in higher competition between sex workers, and so led to some sex workers lowering their prices and engaging in riskier sexual acts they may not have pre-pandemic (Yasseri 2021). This exemplifies the precarious nature of sex work. Restrictions placed on sex workers to operate freely, failure to offer all sex workers financial support throughout the pandemic, and ignorance of the reality of sex work continuing throughout the lockdown meant that sex workers were at significant risk of poverty and violence. However, financial hardship was recognised by organisations which support sex workers such as SWARM, who offered £500 to sex workers during the pandemic (SWARM 2021). Although this does not excuse the failure of the state, hardship funds highlight one-way organisations are combatting some challenges sex workers face. Within my research, I build upon this literature, exemplifying how religious and spiritual sex workers navigated through challenges due to COVID-19 and global lockdowns.

This section has drawn on research literature about the sex work industry. The diverse engagements with sex work and varying rationales for entering the industry supports the justification for exploring lived experiences to ensure research encapsulates the complex identities of sex workers. Therefore, by approaching sex work research at the individual, micro-level, research can contribute to literature regarding such variances in sex work identities and to literature examining everyday life (Scott 2009). Understanding the sex work community as non-homogenous supports discussions of identity I presented earlier and suggests exploring the everyday will offer valid insight into the contemporary experiences of sex workers' presentation of the self (Goffman 1959). Analysing the impact of conflating trafficking with consensual sex work illustrated some challenges experienced by sex workers and began to unpack the complex relationship between religiosity and sex work. This review also touched upon risk regarding utilising the online, and violence from both clients and the police, reinforcing the necessity to rethink our current legal systems. Although this research does not aim to make direct contributions to policy, exploring sex

workers' lived experiences can offer insight into the successes and failures of sex work laws. Exploring COVID-19 outlined some extra risks sex workers experienced alongside the precarious nature of sex work due to the damaging impact of discrimination and lack of legal protection. Next, I consider what religiosity looks like within contemporary society.

RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL IDENTITIES WITHIN LATE MODERN SOCIETY

It is important to understand religiosity through unpacking how religious and spiritual identities are presented and managed within late modernity. Returning to the definitions I offered in the introductory chapter, religion is understood as a system of beliefs, rituals, rules, and practices associated with a higher power which are centred within an organised group and community (Hood and Spilka 2003). Spirituality concerns adherence to a higher being but is focused on inner experiences and feelings which offer meaning and purpose of the self, society, and others as well as the universe and beyond (Baumsteiger and Chenneville 2015). Many countries are witnessing the increase of both new religious movements or variants, and religious and/or spiritual identity can be ascribed to an individual by familial relations or individually embarked on (Arweck 2006).

However, religious and spiritual identities can cause conflict with other elements of an individual's self. Conflict of co-existing identities has been explored within discussions of religious surveillance. Surveillance within religion has been considered by theorists such as Harvey (2013), who suggests religion acts as a site of surveillance where individuals are responsible for ensuring they are in line with religious expectations. Such expectations may concern sexuality (Yip 2000), clothing choices and behaviours, which can be viewed in relation to Butler (1990), who discusses how systems of power are influential in experiences of gender inequality. For example, disapproval of sex before marriage, anti-abortion, and championing heteronormativity alongside embedded patriarchy within some engagements with religion are all influential in constructing identity and behaviours (Page and Shipley 2020). Therefore, religion is a form of regulation on identity production and performance, however, as discussed in previous sections, societal discourses also influence spiritual and religious sex workers' everyday lives (Turner 2008). My thesis illustrates that religious and spiritual sex workers are faced with stigma from both regulatory powers of religion regarding their sex work identity, and secularism regarding their religious and/or spiritual identity. Maples' (2009) work illustrates this research's narrative in that, although negotiation of religious, spiritual, and sex work identities may be necessary for harmony, Western societies' secularism must also be considered in the potential tensions between these identities. Thus, when uncovering the complex identities of religious and spiritual sex workers, it is imperative to consider religious pressures alongside wider influences of the sexualisation of mainstream culture I mapped out earlier.

The following section will draw together a collection of literature which explores sex work, religiosity, identity, and everyday life to offer specific analysis of the everyday experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers. I will consider research evidence on the importance of space, clothing, home décor, children, and dependents, and private intimacy. From this, different examples of identity negotiation within the everyday lives of sex workers will arise, explicating patterns of tension and harmony within their unique, lived experiences.

BELIEVING WITHOUT BELONGING

This section considers research evidence on believing without belonging in relation to religious and spiritual sex workers. Believing without belonging concerns the belief in a God however, the person believing is not directly in the organised element of religion (Davie 1990). This is varied and engagements with both belief and belonging will be different as it is tailored to the individual. Sorajjakool and Benitez's (2015) research explores believing without belonging with religious sex workers in Thailand. Four participants stated they seldom attended places of worship but instead, had shrines or religious spaces within their own homes. The other eight participants found religion played a significant role in their everyday lives and they engaged with religious spaces regularly. Therefore, participants engaged with religion differently, tailoring it to their everyday lives (Ammerman 2000). McGuire (2008) promotes the necessity to rethink religious identities and acknowledge hybridity as individuals can engage with religion alongside other cultural practices in a syncretic manner. Besecke (2001) also highlights how reflexive spirituality can act as a cultural resource for individuals to make sense of society. Thus, although the previous section highlighted some challenges of identity conflict, co-existing identities can be harmonious through individual agency (Orsi 2007). This highlights how religious and spiritual engagements can be personal, as individuals can tailor religion to their other identities for harmony.

Research on lived religion focuses on the experiences of religious individuals in everyday life and the institutional aspects of religion that they may engage with, emphasising that people have an active role in shaping their beliefs and practices (Nyhagen 2017). Fones (2022) suggests that in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, representations of sex workers are typically negative. Therefore, religious sex workers may negotiate societal norms, occupational demands, and religious beliefs (Shepherd 2013). Johnston (2022) supports this and proposes that sex workers within his research engaged with individualised religion as opposed to organised religion. Connecting this to spirituality, individuals can make meaning and embark on spiritual journeys uniquely (Besecke 2007). Individuals can manage their beliefs differently, so religious and spiritual engagement is diverse within contemporary society, supporting the necessity to explore religious

and spiritual identities at the micro-level (Ammerman 2000). Although sex workers can tailor religion to overcome conflict between sex work and religiosity, religious communities could also be more accepting of sex work. This lends to the recommendation proposed by Rijal and El-Rumi (2019), who argue religious communities must evolve to accept and welcome sex workers. This would reduce the necessity for some religious and spiritual sex workers to embark on religious journeys due to religious exclusion.

This section has offered valuable narratives when understanding sex work and contemporary religious and spiritual engagement. Everyday religion raises critical questions around how individuals within modern society engage with religion. Similarly, believing without belonging (Davie 1990) highlights the diversity of religious identities. Johnston (2022) and Fones (2022) detail how some religious communities possess negative feelings about sex work, which can create challenges for sex workers who are also religious. However, there are evident limitations regarding literature which focuses on how religiosity and sex work can co-exist without conflict. Although Sorajjakool and Benitez's (2015) research is truly relevant to my work, this is not based within the UK or USA. Therefore, my research bridges this gap and contributes to discussions of believing without belonging from a UK and USA perspective. The following section explores how sex workers utilise space.

SEX WORKERS UTILISING SPACE

Sexual spaces research has uncovered the everyday realities of sex workers (Silk et al 2021). For example, sex workers who work in a sauna may have structured working schedules, where there are more safety measures in place in comparison to home spaces utilised for sex work due to the protection from other sex workers and managers of the business (Allan 2004). Therefore, work settings shape sex workers' daily structures and routines. As previously highlighted, understanding space, structures, and routines is imperative when exploring the everyday as it defines how and where someone is spending their time (Highmore 2001). Not only are decisions around workspaces influential in the structures of the everyday lives of sex workers, but the geographical location they are working in will also play an integral role in how sex workers exist within space (Hubbard 1999).

Nevada is the only state in America where brothels are legal, operating in ten counties (not Reno or Las Vegas) (BBC 2018). Arguments have proposed that this is due to Nevada capitalising on "sin" tourism, in the same way they monetise on gambling (Bretns et al 2009). Bretns et al (2009) suggest that this is due to the evolution of social changes with sex entering the consumer economy, linking to the previous section on the sexualisation of mainstream culture. However, as brothels are still criminalised within the main tourist spaces, sex workers are still facing stigma as they are physically

separating sex workers from main tourist spaces through policy. Whether sex work is legal or not will influence space utilisation as sex workers will be more likely to occupy isolated/remote spaces if sex work is illegal. However, in some countries, the state places restrictions on where sex workers can operate, irrespective of their sex work legislation (Stardust et al 2021). For example, in Australia, where some states have now decriminalised sex work, planning regulations still commonly consider how close brothels can be to churches or schools (Jeffreys 2008). Similarly, street-based sex workers are not allowed to solicit near churches, schools, or hospitals (Bartle 2023). This physical distance created between a brothel and a church highlights the perception of conflict in behaviours and values between the church and brothel, exemplifying that identity tension is expected between religiosity and sex work. Sex workers negotiating religious spaces were analysed within a study which found some sex workers would not have sex in front of a church as the space possessed religious values, morals, and practices which conflicted with their occupational demands (Castillo et al 1999). Choosing not to work in religious spaces which occupy values which can conflict with sex working practices demonstrates how differing practices and values can co-exist through negotiation. Although Castillo's (1999) research is dated, it highlights one way religious and spiritual sex workers may manage their co-existing identities for harmony through physical space. However, religious spaces and sex work are not always conflicting. The English Collective of Prostitutes (ECP) occupied the Holy Cross Church in 1982 for 12 days to protest police racism and violence. The group had support from Vicar Richardson, and the ECP won their demands (James 2022). Their occupation exemplifies not only a significant political protest organised by sex workers but also how religious space does not always conflict with sex workers and the industry. They can co-exist harmoniously and create positive change.

Taking a different narrative but further exploring the co-existence of religious space and sex work, a study explored mobile female sex workers attending Jatras in Karnataka, India. Mobility was defined as sex workers who had visited two or more Jatras for sex work in the past two years, one being outside the district they reside (Halli et al 2010). Jatras are religious festivals celebrated across India and include religious activities and competitions such as three-legged races, as well as providing opportunities for sexual activities (both casual and commercial) (Halli et al 2010). They found that 31% of mobile female sex workers reported attending Jatras in the previous year. 86% of participants were Hindu and tended to sex work in public places, in their own homes, or sometimes on highways (Halli et al 2010). This research illustrates how sex work can exist within religious spaces, furthering the understanding of the complex relationship between religiosity and sex work.

Continuing the exploration of positive space utilisation, a study in Manchester found that male, street-based sex workers used spaces which are inclusive of the LGBTQ+ community (Atkins 2013). Using 'gay spaces' which had been gentrified to solicit within made participants feel safe as the spaces were accepting of marginalised sexual identities and behaviours (Atkins 2013). Utilising space such as this has been further explored by Hubbard (2001), who suggests occupying and existing within spaces which overtly champion minorities or discriminated against identities cannot be rooted in conventional understandings of public and private space. Instead, geographical analysis such as this should be understood as liminal spaces which disrupt dominant societal expectations. Although Hubbard (2001) draws upon sexual citizenship of non-heterosexual identities, links to this research can be made. Considering how participants sex work away from their homes to reduce experiences of stigma and discrimination is important when attempting to understand how religious and spiritual sex workers negotiate their identities for harmony.

Not all sex workers occupy spaces external to the home and for some, sex working from home is the preferred (or only) option. Some benefits of working from home are that sex workers can propose and control rules and promote their values within their space of work. However, research shows that this can cause challenges for identity separation. Hammond and Kingston (2014) suggest for indoor sex workers who work from home, boundaries are blurred and although a specific room may be dedicated to work, their home becomes commodified as their work and home are co-located. Not only this, but stigma can also penetrate a sex worker's home. In Berthe's (2018) study, a sex worker had her rental property terminated by Airbnb after discovering she was a professional dominatrix, despite her never using the apartment for work. This experience demonstrates how stigma around the industry can hinder elements of their private life (external from work). Thus, for some sex workers, concealing their work identity to reduce experiences of discrimination in their everyday lives is crucial. Although some sex workers endeavour to separate their sex work identity from their others, this can be challenging due to the entangled nature of identity.

This section has demonstrated how investigating space, one aspect of sex workers' lives, offers rich and in-depth experiences of identity management, a significant benefit of exploring the everyday (Scott 2009). Within my thesis, I significantly contribute to discussions of space (Chapters Four and Five) and demonstrate how space can create challenges, but also be useful for identity harmony for religious and spiritual sex workers. Understanding literature around clothing furthers discussions of space through an alternative lens.

CLOTHING

Research shows that clothing is important to consider when understanding the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. Sex workers' clothing choices can be understood as contextualised identity decisions. Visual representations offer social cues of identity, so sex workers can promote their business through clothing (Shah 2014). Not only this, but visual representations which assist the construction of their persona help to physically separate their occupational and private identities (Kerkin 2004). Bowen (2021) supports this, arguing that changing clothing can assist role transitioning to keep identities separate, particularly for sex workers who do sex work and square work from home.

Continuing within the theme of clothing, a further grouping of studies explores identity issues in sex work by focusing on jewellery and home décor, which assist the understanding of the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. Religious or spiritual symbols such as jewellery (e.g., cross necklace) can visually demonstrate a religious/spiritual identity without occupying religious and spiritual spaces (Roof 1999). For religious and spiritual sex workers, conflict can occur if the religious symbol holds religious meaning when existing within a sex working space. Domenico and Flemings (2009) discuss that a participant had a client object to having sex within her home due to a crucifix being in the hallway, demonstrating how religious sex workers may face challenges compartmentalising their occupation and religious/spiritual identities. An additional example of this discussion can be observed with Mia Khalifa, a former porn star. Khalifa wore a hijab while creating a porn film. The idea came from the directors of the film and led to Khalifa receiving death threats from people within the Muslim community (BBC 2018a). However, Khalifa was raised as a Catholic, not Muslim. This highlights the signifiers religious clothing possesses and demonstrates how religious identity and sex work can create significant conflict with certain audiences. This links to Goffman's (1959) discussion of audience and space being influential in identity performance and management. This also relates to Plummer's (2007) theory of narratives regarding how audiences perceive the stories they consume. Within Chapters Four and Seven, I contribute to these discussions by elucidating how religious and spiritual sex workers use clothing to manage stigma and construct identities within sex work spaces and externally.

However, research also suggests that religious and spiritual symbols and décor can exist harmoniously within non-religious spaces and can permeate popular culture. For example, the Rosary bead trend led to an influx of non-religious individuals wearing the necklace, highlighting one-way religious jewellery, or clothing can enter popular culture but hold a different meaning (Miranda 2010). Using religious iconography for self-expression, therefore, will be tailored to the

individual or space and can be disassociated from religion, providing a new meaning such as being on-trend or fashionable. Not only do elements of religious symbols become secularised for fashion, but also sexualised. The sexualisation of Christian clothing can be observed through costumes such as “slutty nuns”, where traditional religious clothing is altered and marketed as fancy dress. The sexualisation of Christian clothing and the presentation of religion within mainstream, secular spaces can, therefore, conflict with traditional values and norms which exist within religious spaces, however, exist without conflict within the mainstream (Crome 2020). Thus, religious and spiritual symbols can be interchangeable, depending on the space, what it is intending to convey, how it is presented, and who is the audience (Goffman 1959).

The image to the right is taken at a brothel, where the decorative horoscope is within the interior. Although the meaning behind this horoscope can be purely aesthetic as opposed to holding spiritual value, the interior illustrates how spirituality and religion can penetrate spaces which contrast traditional religious or spiritual values without conflict. This discussion highlights the transformation of religion. While religious and spiritual symbols still exist, they can lack the traditional meaning or value they were



Figure 1: BrothelInteriors, Instagram (2021).

originally ascribed. This, however, does not mean that it is without meaning. Instead, the meaning will be tailored to the individual and different audiences (Plummer 2007). This analysis relates to an important line of enquiry within my research. Understanding how participants use clothing, jewellery, and décor will be explored in relation to their identity management. The next section explores tattoos, furthering how religious and spiritual symbols can illustrate religious identity whilst existing in non-religious spaces.

Tattoos can broaden our understanding of religious practices, demonstrate lived religion, and show how religion or spirituality can be a significant part of someone’s identity in both a physical and internal sense (Barras and Saris 2021). Religious tattoos can exist in spaces which may not support religious and spiritual identities, supporting discussions of believing without belonging (Davie 1990). Yet, tattoos can be problematic for sex workers whose private identity is hidden. To overcome this, some may hide their tattoos with clothing or blur them in photographs and online content to protect their identity and manage stigma and violence (Saul 2016).

The photograph to the right is an example of this discussion. The photograph shows a sex worker blurring her tattoo, illustrating one way sex workers may protect their real identity. However, facial recognition is leading to sex workers becoming outed more so than before (Brown 2019). Therefore, identity management through blurring identifiable



Figure 2: Studio Medusa (2021).

features is becoming of greater difficulty because of technological developments. This demonstrates the complex challenges faced by religious and spiritual sex workers' identity work and negotiations (for more information, see "Tech and Sex" within this chapter). I now turn attention to literature which considers religious and spiritual sex workers' private lives, beginning with religious morality.

SEX WORKERS' PRIVATE LIVES

RELIGIOUS MORALITY

Religious morality is important to consider when exploring religious and spiritual sex workers' private lives. Nyhagen (2017) argues that religion is patriarchal and oppressive through institutionally determined beliefs. Peach (2005) supports this, arguing that religious ideology supports the notion of women's inferiority to men. Applying this discussion in the context of gender and sexual identity, Burke (2012) highlights that although religion is no longer static, it is still gendered. The role of religion shaping sexual expression and satisfaction is considered by McFarland et al (2011), suggesting that for people in their study who were religious and married, religious doctrines did not hold relevance on sexual satisfaction or frequency. However, for unmarried religious participants, religion had a negative impact on engaging with sex for men and women but held more of an impact on females. Therefore, some religious institutions that foster beliefs of prohibiting sex before marriage can impact sexual identity and behaviour, hindering body autonomy which can lead to moral conflict (Frankenberry 2018).

Applying this to sex work, in early Christian theology, sex is deemed sinful, and sex workers are sinners (Peach 2005). Research in Africa details how sex workers become sexual 'others' because they do not conform to the 'master frames' of sexuality that are created and shaped by law,

Christianity, and culture (Tamale 2014). In Thailand, Buddhism believes sex work accumulates bad karma, but it is not considered a 'sin' in the same way Christianity does (Peach 2005). Therefore, cultural, and religious views on sex work are varied, which will have varying impacts on sex workers' experiences of moral conflict. Returning to Sorajjakool and Benitez's (2015) research, some Thai Buddhist sex workers felt and experienced moral conflict. Although some participants felt guilt due to their work, financial needs were prioritised. Participants explained their occupation to be immoral within religious contexts and so felt conflicted between their need for income and their religious values.

Challenges with autonomy over sexual identity within traditional religious subscriptions have arguably been overcome within New Age Spiritualities. New Age Spiritualities encourage an individualised engagement with sexual identity, alongside liberal and contemporary engagements with sexual expression and experiences (Dinnie and Browne 2011). Thus, the role of religiosity in shaping sex workers' lived experiences will be varied and unique, depending on their engagement with religion, spirituality, and sex work. Religiosity has become more flexible, and although there is the possibility for conflict in differing identities, there is an opportunity for harmony through the negotiation and tailoring of religion and spirituality (McGuire 2008). The sociological theory of lived religion supports this, highlighting the possibility for individuals who are religious to be able to shape and tailor religion or spirituality to align with other elements of their identity (Davie 1990). Although traditional religious subscription can be seen as regulatory, which is specifically observed within sexual identity and expression, empowerment and negotiation are important discourses when understanding the everyday lives of religious and spiritual individuals (Beekers and Schrijvers 2020). My research builds upon this discussion by exemplifying the variances of engagement with religion, highlighting both experiences of moral conflict (dissonance) but also harmony between their different identities. Next, considering parents who sex work furthers discussions around the potential challenges within identity management in the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers.

PRIVATE LIFE: PARENTHOOD

A grouping of studies has considered the everyday experiences of sex workers who have children or dependents. As a result of laws which criminalise sex working in a home with minor occupants, some parents are disadvantaged, and faced with social and structural barriers to access support as they are in fear of losing their children (Duff et al 2015). Parents losing their children to the state because they engage with sex work also exemplifies the impact of sex work stigma (Graça 2021). Dodsworth (2014) interviewed sex working mothers who discussed the necessity to manage society's diametrically opposed perceptions of a sex worker and a 'good mother' to protect their

family and children. Contrary to negative perceptions of sex working parents, there is a multitude of research which details how sex working parents should not be othered as they possess the same dedication to raising their children as other working parents do (Sharpe 2001). Thus, some of the challenges experienced by parents who sex work is due to stigma, and mainstream assumptions that depict sex workers as incapable mothers are harmful and should be challenged (see also Basu and Dutta 2011).

Some sex workers challenge the stigma and stereotypes of what a parent should be and behave. However, for others, concealing their sex work identity may be a necessity for identity harmony, connecting to discussions of Goffman (1963). Concealing a sex work identity may not only be necessary to reduce tension within a sex worker's life but also for other individuals in their private lives. For example, a Californian sex worker mother was outed by fellow parents at her children's school by sending photos from her OnlyFans to the school principal, bishop, and church. As a result, her three children at the Catholic school were expelled (The Independent 2021). This lived, individual experience supports wider literature discussions and highlights how sex work and religious identity can cause conflict for not only the sex worker but also families or close individuals apart of their private life. This experience also highlights how children of parents who sex work can experience 'courtesy stigma'. Goffman (1963) understands courtesy stigma to be stigma by association. So, someone may experience stigma due to being close to an individual who has an identity/ies which is stigmatised within society. Within this research, I uncover experiences of parenthood (Chapters Four and Six) and contribute to the knowledge of experiences of parents who sex work with the hope to challenge existing stigmas surrounding these dual identities.

PRIVATE LIFE: FAMILY

Some sex workers hide their occupation from friends and family to reduce conflict within their private lives, including in relation to religion (Aveling et al 2009). Muslim sex worker, Dina Scintillia, has outwardly spoken about not speaking to her family for five years due to her sex work contrasting her cultural and religious expectations and norms (You Can't Ask That 2021). Thus, Dina's religious and work identity can be fluid, fulfilling her own needs and desires; however, challenge between her religion and sex work poses a conflict for family relationships, creating experiences of dissonance. Another narrative is offered by Ekman (2020), who discusses a client who purchased services from a street-based sex worker who was, unbeknown to him, his soon to be sister-in-law. This exemplifies how challenges can arise when a client and sex worker meet outside sex work spaces. Although Ekman's (2020) discussion should not be used as a generalised experience, it can be useful in contextualising the potential negotiations of religious and spiritual sex workers when engaging with clients if their sex work identity is unknown. However, individuals

hiding parts of their self can be used to discuss all behaviours for people within their careers but due to sex work being so stigmatised, the potential challenges are heightened. Therefore, sex workers concealing their sex work identity to overcome stigma is a common technique to manage co-existing identities (Levey and Pinsky 2015).

This collection of literature explores experiences of sex work identity concealment through an examination of some elements of sex workers' families. Although there are direct examples of religious and spiritual sex workers, a greater depth of knowledge within these experiences is necessary. My research bridges this gap as I explore participants' decisions and experiences of sharing their careers with family members. The next section furthers understanding of the private lives of sex workers, with consideration of literature which examines the impact of the demands of the sex industry on private intimacy.

PRIVATE LIFE: INTIMACY

Fulfilling a partner's sexual needs is a societal discourse of sexual pleasure (Elliott and Umberson 2000). Due to the physical demands of some engagements with the industry, sex workers' capacity to enjoy private sexual intimacy may be compromised. Sex workers can see multiple clients a day and so may not wish to engage in sexual intimacy with their partner after working (Bellhouse et al 2015). This can cause strain on intimate relationships due to the importance placed on sexual expression, and so sacrifices may be made regarding how they work or how they engage with private intimacy.

Applying this to religiosity, religion typically condemns sex outside of wedlock which contrasts secular intimacy norms (Richardson 1997). Therefore, religious sex workers may negotiate some religious beliefs that concern sexual behaviours to create harmony with their sex work (see also Mahmood 2001). In the same sense, they may alter occupational demands or choose certain engagements with sex work to fulfil their religious identity and private intimate relationships (Henry 2018). For example, phone or webcam sex work offers physical distance with clients and may better fulfil their religious or spiritual values of sexual engagement and private intimacy. However, Smith's (2017) work, which explores intimacy in sex work, exemplifies how spirituality can exist in sex work experiences. Smith (2017) discusses how a participant brings her spiritual practices into her sex work. The participant highlights that Judeo-Christian understandings of sexuality can create moralistic and negative beliefs about sex and sexual pleasure, which her teachings of spirituality and Tantra in sex work experiences challenge. Therefore, although moral conflict may still arise due to the physical demands of the industry (which challenges monogamy), some religious and spiritual sex workers can successfully manage their private life alongside their work for harmony. Although

this is important, there is still limited literature on religious and spiritual sex workers' experiences of private intimacy. Within Chapter Six, I explore private intimacy in-depth, offering rich insight into religious and spiritual sex workers' private lives.

CONCLUSION

This review of literature has highlighted a myriad of discussions which have drawn out both the theoretical underpinnings and context of this thesis. Utilising Goffman's (1959) theory of identity offers insight into how people within society perform their identities and manage potential stigma. Although Goffman's work has been used by some academics within the field of sex work, my research extends the application of Goffman within sex work related research to enrich the understanding of sex workers' different identities. There were, however, critiques of Goffman's (1963) discussion of stigma as it suggests that stigma is static which reinforces negative and harmful labels wrongly ascribed to sex workers (Weitzer 2007). My research supports this, so although I adopt Goffman's theoretical understanding of identity and stigma, I champion the abolishment of stigma and challenge misconceptions of the industry and those who occupy it. Stigma is also experienced differently as demonstrated within the whorearchy, and so research needs to ensure it encapsulates the complexities of sex workers' identities (Grant 2014; Knox 2014). Experiences of being a sex worker in contemporary society are diverse and varied, and identities are multifaceted. Therefore, when exploring sex workers' different identities, applying intersectional analysis is crucial and supports the justification for applying this theory within my work (Crenshaw 1989). My concepts of harmony and dissonance are intended to enhance understanding of how sex workers manage their identities by showcasing the motivations behind such identity performances, illustrating the act of "weighing up" different outcomes.

Throughout my review of the theory of everyday life it was apparent that by unpacking the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers, research can offer a comprehensive insight into the representations of human experiences and choices through the individual's own perception as well as societies responses (McIntosh and Wright 2018). Literature on sex workers' lives has improved, moving away from solely health-related fields of enquiry (Gerassi 2015). However, more work needs to be done regarding micro-level understandings of religious and spiritual sex workers' experiences, a field of knowledge which is still significantly limited.

When exploring literature on the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers, space played an integral role in identity management, performance, and presentation, exemplifying experiences of harmony and dissonance. Although I have demonstrated that there are significant bodies of work, I have elucidated throughout my review that there are still evident gaps in sex work related research

which directly explores religious and spiritual sex workers' everyday lives globally. This includes their identity performance and management within their private and public lives such as managing different jobs or their private intimacy. There is also a limited understanding of how religion and spirituality shape their everyday lives such as routines and values within sex work and non-sex work interactions. An additional gap within literature is how religion and spirituality can support their sex work occupation and be present within these spaces harmoniously. This highlights how my project fits into existing literature and improves knowledge within this field of enquiry. Although this research does not aim to make direct contributions to policy, through exploring sex workers' lived experiences, this work offers insight into the successes and failures of sex work laws.

Another way my project contributes to existing fields of knowledge is through its focus on religion. Within this chapter, I highlighted narratives offered by the sociology of religion, including moral conflict and believing without belonging, even though few studies directly explored this in relation to religious and spiritual sex workers. There is enormous gain to be achieved from exploring individuals' life stories when understanding how religion exists within the modern world, which my work achieves through its focus on religious and spiritual sex workers (Ammerman 2007). I do this through a unique lens, drawing out experiences of both harmony and dissonance between religious/spiritual and other elements of sex workers' identities. My research enriches literature on both religion and sex work. Through analysing the mundane, we can uncover unique lived experiences and draw upon the complexities of the co-existing identities of religious and spiritual sex workers. I contribute to a range of fields of investigation within sociology whilst aiming to challenge stigma and misconceptions of the industry, including the inaccurate ideas which argue all migrant sex workers are trafficked. The following chapter outlines the methodology of this research.

CHAPTER THREE – THOUGHTS, SNAPS AND CHATS. SEX WORK RESEARCH UTILISING CREATIVE METHODS

This research used participant-driven photograph elicitation and diaries to explore how sex workers across the UK and America who are religious or spiritual manage their identities within their everyday lives. In follow-up one-to-one interviews, participants analysed and reflected upon their stories, exploring how their identities manifest, and are managed in everyday interactions. From this, I employed thematic analysis to analyse the different types of data, offering a variety of themes which address the aims of this research (Braun and Clarke 2006).

The research questions within this project were:

- What is the relationship between sex workers' religious/spiritual and occupational identities and how does this impact their everyday experiences?
- Do religious/spiritual sex workers face identity dilemmas, and if so, in what spaces?
- How do religious/spiritual sex workers negotiate their identities for harmony between their potentially conflicting identities in unique ways?

Tracy (2010) highlights key markers which elucidate quality within qualitative research. These include (a) worthy topic, (b) rich rigor, (c) sincerity, (d) credibility, (e) resonance, (f) significant contribution, (g) ethics, and (h) meaningful coherence. It is within these markers that optimum qualitative research practice is obtained. Throughout this chapter I discuss and explore these markers, signifying how this research project is distinctive and possesses credibility, rigor, and in-depth ethical consideration. I demonstrate the appropriateness of qualitative methods for this research project and demonstrate how qualitative research designs can offer contemporary, thorough, and unique insight into the lived experiences of the sex work community. Subsequently, this chapter will outline the epistemological position of this project and the methodological decisions I have taken. Here I will re-examine the aims and objectives of this project, justifying the utilisation of creative methods in contemporary research with sex workers. A discussion of the recruitment and the study group offers insight into the social demographics of the participants. I then move towards discussing the challenges and successes of the methods employed. The ethical considerations within this research are multifaceted and encompass a variety of topics. This includes consideration of the research methods, exploring sensitive and personal topics, and the impact sex work stigma has on research designs and practices. The section "On the Clock: Should We Pay Participants?" considers the ethical debate of paying participants through the lens of sex

workers and “How Far Do We Take Rapport” provides a subjective analysis of researcher-participant relationships. I also reflect on my own identity as a non-sex worker researcher and contemplate whether non-sex workers should complete sex work related research. A discussion of my approach to data analysis concludes this chapter. I explain how I engaged with thematic analysis to curate the patterns and themes which form the subsequent discussions of findings.

ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

As demonstrated within the literature review chapter, religious and spiritual sex workers’ everyday lives are complex and multifaceted. This understanding must therefore be translated into the ontological and epistemological framework. It is firstly important to highlight how this research engages with “the sale of sex” and subsequently, who are considered sex workers. Although I have previously illustrated what this project considers to be sex work, I also understand an individual to be a sex worker if they identify as one themselves, not if their sex worker identity is ascribed (not seeing stripping as sex work for example) (Spanger and Skilbrei 2017). Understanding sex work identity to be aligned with the individual illustrates the interpretivist framework my research subscribes to. I also understand feminism to be imperative in shaping research and interpreting data which subscribes to interpretivist ontology and epistemology standpoints (Stanley and Wise 1993; Oleson 1994). Feminist research approaches are often used in projects which include sensitive topics which I discuss later in this chapter (Dickson-Swift 2008). Therefore, feminist methodologies and values are present throughout this methodological design however, the philosophical framework sits best within interpretivism. Interpretivism holds lived experiences at the centre of discussions and understands everyday life to be subjective, multiple, and unique to the individual (Frechette et al 2020). It is within ontological interpretivism that the social world is best understood through micro-level, subjective experiences of reality (Levers 2013). This philosophical framework aligns with my literature review as Goffman (1963) suggests identity is multifaceted and performed, where experiences of society will be different for different individuals. Thus, Goffman’s (1959) work aligns with the philosophical understanding that the social world possesses multiple and intersubjective shared meanings (Burrell and Morgan 1979). Subsequently, to understand the contemporary experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers, my research understands reality to be multiple and relative (Guba 1990). This connects to discussions which suggest that through understanding the everyday, we can analyse the entangled nature of social life and identity, also casting light onto experiences of stigma and inequality (Pink 2012). Applying this understanding of interpretivism to my research, sex work, religion and spirituality will all be influential in the construction of an individual’s lived experiences and “truths”.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) suggest that epistemological inquiry seeks to analyse the relationship between the knower and the knowledge. In other words, the researcher considers how they know the world and how their view of the world influences their research. Returning to feminism, feminist epistemology emphasises the necessity to consider the everyday lives and lived experiences of women (Simonsen 1996). This is echoed within epistemological interpretivism, and throughout this research, the everyday experiences of religious or spiritual sex workers are understood as unique to the individual. This research “seeks to uncover the meanings that people give to their actions, the way they construct their own social worlds and account for them” (Scott 2009, p.184). Therefore, my research prioritises participants’ reflections and recognises their subjectivities, however, draws out themes and patterns (Ratner 2002a). Subjectivism proposes knowledge is “always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity” (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, p.21). This highlights the necessity to apply intersectionality, which analyses and understands identity and subsequently, discrimination as multifaceted (Crenshaw 1989).

I will now compare sex work research, which subscribes to an interpretivist standpoint, with a positivist study to illustrate the influence philosophical positions have on research and demonstrate how interpretivism best aligns with the aims of this research. Dodsworth (2014) utilises an interpretivist epistemology to understand how sex working mothers manage their dual and threatened identities. Dodsworth’s (2014) work draws out individual reflections of mothers who sex work and does not claim to offer conclusions on the experiences of all sex working mothers. However, research which prioritises individual reflections is critiqued within some research frameworks such as positivism (Yilmaz 2013). An example of positivist sex work research is Farley (2009), who utilised a questionnaire to analyse how sex work causes harm. Although Farley (2009) can offer statistics through the methodology employed, adopting a positivist approach can fail to consider the complexity and diversity in sex workers’ experiences, which is illustrated within discussions of the whorearchy (Knox 2014). A criticism of sex work research is that researchers assume there is homogeneity among the sex work community and in the same sense, victimisation and empowerment are perceived as dichotomous (Shaver 2005). My research focuses on understanding and valuing the meaning of individual experiences (Fossey et al 2002). Therefore, my research rejects objectivism, which suggests removing human bias leads to knowledge production (Kivunja and Kuyini 2017). It is within interpretivism that knowledge production is best achieved through flexible research approaches as it enables individuals to tell their stories from their subjective lens, and so can overcome presumptions of homogeneity (Carson et al 2010).

Accepting and understanding biases as researchers can enable a critical consideration of them in our work (Ratner 2002). The methodological choices and data obtained will have been influenced by my own identities and beliefs alongside the participants. As discussed in the introductory chapter, my previous experiences of working with the sex industry alongside an interest in religion and spirituality stimulated me to create this research (Gilbert 2008). Spanger and Skilbrei (2017) explore emotion within sex work research and rightfully highlight emotions are underpinned by social and political relations and play an influential role within research, particularly as sex work research is a highly politicised field of enquiry. For example, Bjønness (2017), who completed an ethnographic study on Danish women who sell sex was reflective on how her identity, emotions, and experiences informed her research. As exemplified by Bjønness (2017), there was the necessity to be transparent and indeed, reflect, particularly as I am a non-sex worker (which I discuss further throughout this chapter and the subsequent data chapters).

It is also important that researchers are realistic in whether they are best suited to conduct sex work research and be reflective of their own identity and position. When conducting sex work related research, it is imperative to understand the community you are working with and preferably, hold connections with them, even if you are still an outsider (Hellowell 2006). Within an interview, when discussing escorting, one of my participants was “surprised” I knew about in-calls and out-calls as I am not a sex worker:

Daisy: ...Do you just do in-calls [client comes to the sex worker’s home/location]?

Lilly: No, I do out-calls [sex worker meets the client at a chosen location] as well. How do you know about in-calls?

Daisy: Yeah haha, of course I do.

Lilly: I am surprised you know. (Lilly, escort, interview).

Knowledge of in-calls and out-calls is not expertise, this is a basic understanding of escorting. Lilly’s reaction due to my knowledge of escorting highlights how some researchers who work with sex workers lack a basic understanding of the community. This can be harmful to the community and suggests an exploitative relationship between academics and sex workers. Thus, Lilly reinforces the absolute necessity of understanding the community you are working with before completing research. Although being knowledgeable is crucial, it is also important to recognise that I may hold bias due to my existing knowledge of the industry (Bonner and Tolhurst 2002). Therefore, it was important to ensure that I gave space for participants to explain their experiences and own

understandings of certain elements of the sex industry such as in- and out-calls (for more information, see “Should Non-Sex Workers Research Sex Work?”, p.80).

Being reflexive about my beliefs and political position regarding the sex industry furthers discussions of how my identities influenced the epistemological position of this thesis. To do this, it is useful to revisit the different legislative frameworks for sex work. As discussed, criminalisation of the sex industry makes all sex work related practices illegal. Legalisation of the sex industry is where sex work is legal under specific state-defined conditions. In the UK, sex work is under legalisation laws (except for Northern Ireland, where it is illegal to buy sex, adopting the Nordic model). However, some aspects of sex work are criminalised, meaning that although the exchange for sexual services is legal, some related activities, such as the organisation of sex work, working with others, involvement of a third party, and soliciting, are illegal (Platt et al 2018). Platt et al (2018) detail that sex work is quasi-criminalised through brothel-keeping legislation as it is illegal to “keep, manage or act or assist in the management of a brothel” (Release 2017, p.20). In America, sex work is predominately illegal, adopting criminalisation; however, in some counties within Nevada, sex work is legal within licensed brothels (Platt et al 2018). Decriminalisation is where sex work is stripped of regulations and conditions and sex workers can operate freely (CPS 2019). This is what this research advocates for throughout. I support the decriminalisation of the sex industry globally as it is within these conditions sex workers can optimally protect themselves, and decriminalisation is the first step in abolishing existing stigma (Armstrong 2019). Micro-level research can draw out how policies significantly impact the everyday lives of sex workers, in both positive however, most commonly, harmful ways. Although I support the decriminalisation of the sex industry, this may not have been the belief for others who engaged with this project. Therefore, although the beliefs that I hold will be influential in the way this thesis was created, it was crucial to allow space for different beliefs of sex workers to be shared and appropriately disseminated. The next section highlights how the philosophical framework has influenced the methodological choices and tools of this research.

METHODOLOGICAL RATIONALE

The plan was for participants to capture their everyday experiences as a religious or spiritual sex worker through diaries, photograph elicitation, and semi-structured interviews. Qualitative approaches have their roots in critical understandings of the social world (Hesse-Biber 2010). Interpretivism avoids rigid structural frameworks and instead, champions adopting personal and flexible research tools and designs (Carson et al 2010). Throughout this chapter, I offer an in-depth description of my processes as a non-sex worker completing a project involving creative research methods. Through applying qualitative methods, my research contributes to various aspects of

knowledge regarding the effectiveness of employing creative methods in sex work research as well as developing existing theories.

This research offered a space for participants to tell their stories in a non-restrictive way, connecting to feminist methodology (for further detail, see Zheng (2013)). Westmarland (2001) highlights how processes of reflexivity assist the understanding of the context of knowledge and how this knowledge is constructed. As the literature review explained, understanding the everyday experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers is complex, and so the research methods need to reflect such complexities. Subsequently, the qualitative methods I have employed are best suited to the aims and objectives of this project (see p.9 for aims and objectives). Peshkin (1993) highlights that it is from qualitative research that we can develop and verify concepts and theories. Not only this, but descriptions of qualitative research offer insight into processes, relationships, settings, and systems (Peshkin 1993). This understanding of qualitative research holds strong applicability to my thesis. Creative methods offer a unique space for participants to be reflective of their lived experiences and identities (Copes et al 2018). Creative, qualitative approaches can therefore provide the optimum potential for the aims of this research to be thoroughly addressed, alongside contributing to the knowledge of the sex industry in a unique way (Cuthbert 2021). Research must also offer new understandings of the social world. This research bridges gaps by disseminating knowledge of micro-level lived experiences, and how I achieved this will be explored throughout this chapter. The next section begins by outlining the methods of recruitment.

RECRUITING PARTICIPANTS

PARTICIPANT CRITERIA

I adopted a broad approach towards participant criteria. This included:

- Anyone over the age of 18.
- Identified as religious and/or spiritual.
- Is or has been a sex worker.

The initial plan was to recruit only sex workers who lived in the UK. However, wanting to be inclusive of a diverse range of religious and spiritual sex workers, I amended my ethics application to encompass American sex workers who expressed an interest in participating. This involved changing my participant criteria and re-obtaining approval from the ethics board. Revisiting the definition within this project, sex work can be defined as “adults who receive money or goods in exchange for consensual sexual services or erotic performances, either regularly or occasionally” (Open Society Foundations 2019, p.1). This definition, therefore, includes dancers/strippers, street-

based sex workers, massage parlours, online content creators, cam or phone sex workers, escorts, and sugar babies. Thus, this research uses an inclusive definition of sex work which also encompasses a range of socio-cultural characteristics. Bungay et al (2016) highlight that research commonly underrepresents men, transgender, and indoor-based sex workers within recruitment strategies. The rationale for the decision to have a broad participant criterion was to attempt to share diverse experiences of these underrepresented identities and capture a wide scope of lived experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers globally. Although my research was successful in obtaining a diverse participant group, I only worked with sex workers who identify as women (ten cis women and one trans woman). Therefore, although my research includes exploration of a variety of indoor-based sex work and experiences of one trans sex worker, I was unable to recruit any male sex workers (I outline the participants within this study later, p.62). However, this should not be considered a weakness as my research encompasses a diverse group of religious and spiritual sex workers. Instead, I propose that further research should be carried out which focuses on the gender identities of religious and spiritual sex workers my research has yet to explore. Next, I offer a reflective account of the recruitment strategy.

RECRUITMENT

When planning my recruitment strategy, it was important that I was realistic regarding how many people would respond to my research advertisements. Holt's (2020) talk titled "The Contentious Relationship Between Sex Workers and Researchers" argued that sex workers are not a hard-to-reach group but instead are hard to engage with. Holt (2020) suggests that this is due to the stigmatising nature of sex work as an occupation alongside the high volume of contact they receive (from clients, journalists, and researchers). Sex workers may receive multiple messages from researchers and as I am an outsider, response rates may not have been high. Thus, my research adopted a variety of recruitment techniques to obtain an adequate number of participants. The target was 15 participants. Due to the sample size, this research will not be generalisable to all experiences, and so could lack reliability and hold sample bias (Shaver 2005). However, as illustrated within the ontological and epistemological section, this research intends to advance knowledge of religious and spiritual sex workers at the individual level, not to be generalisable.

The recruitment plan was two-fold; working with "Lisianthus", a non-profit organisation which supports sex workers, and online recruitment. "Lisianthus" is a pseudonym ascribed to the organisation. The rationale for the organisation remaining anonymous within the write-up of this research was to add an additional layer of anonymity for participants (Kaiser 2009). Lisianthus acted as a gatekeeper to advertise my research. Sanders (2006) discusses how gatekeepers can be

beneficial to researchers due to the complexities and challenges of building trust and gaining access to the sex industry and those who occupy it due to negative experiences of discrimination from outsiders. Therefore, gatekeepers such as third-sector organisations are one-way academics can access sex workers. However, researchers need to possess mutually beneficial and non-exploitative relationships with organisations, especially when the organisation or charity works with hard-to-reach or hard to engage with groups. To do this, it is vital researchers offer their skills to the organisation to ensure there is equal value in the relationship. Prior to this research, I supported Lisianthus to complete multiple projects and volunteered with the organisation for numerous years.

There are ethical considerations when working with gatekeepers as participation must be entirely voluntary. Thus, it was important Lisianthus did not directly support or endorse my research as service users have strong relationships with the organisation, so if staff members had asked service users to participate, they might have felt inclined to agree (McAreavey and Das 2013). Similarly, I did not want clients of the organisation to feel obliged to agree to participate if I asked them directly. To overcome this, I created postcards to advertise my research:

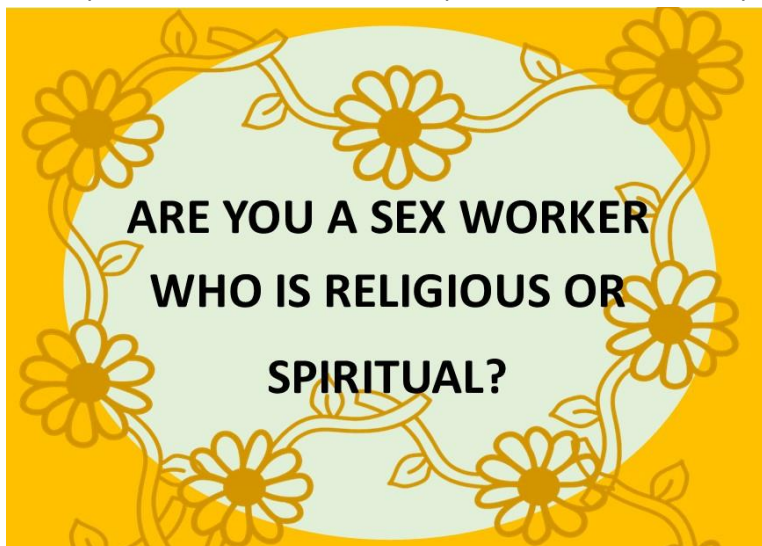


Figure 3: Front of postcards.

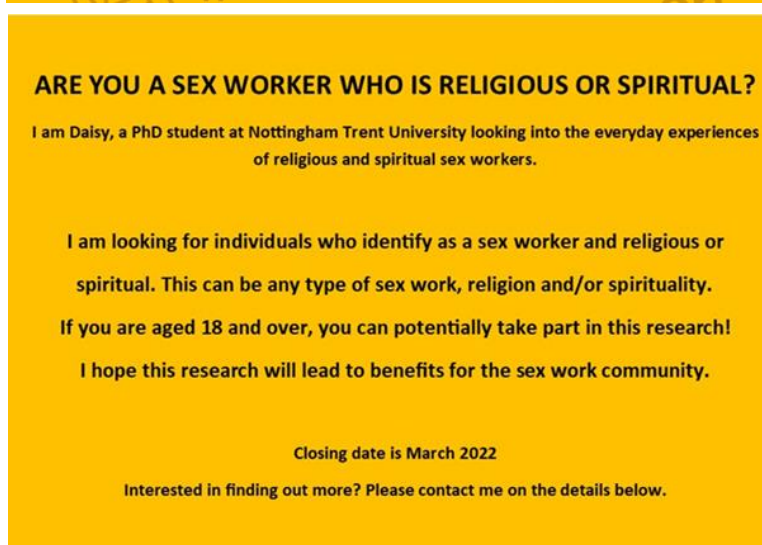


Figure 4: Back of postcards.

I recruited three participants from Lisianthus. These participants are Romanian migrants who have worked or are currently working in the UK as sex workers. I believe without my pre-established relationship with the organisation, I would not have been able to recruit such participants as I do not speak Romanian, nor do I have connections to the Romanian community.

I also left this postcard in different spaces across the UK (sex shops, strip clubs/bars), where I obtained one participant. It can be suggested that I only obtained one participant from this recruitment technique because of the lack of trust between the industry and academia/researchers (see p.78 for information on building rapport). My other sex work contacts outside of Lisianthus also received this postcard. Sharing my postcard with existing sex work contacts created a snowball sample, where I was able to obtain further participants. Snowball sampling is regarded as a potential solution to the problem of recruiting concealed populations and can function as a primary link between the initial known participants and others in the same target population (Atkinson 2001). Snowball sampling can be beneficial when a significant degree of trust is needed between participants and the researcher. Due to stigma and discrimination, the sex industry can be reluctant (rightfully so) when engaging with research, and so snowball sampling can overcome this through the primary contact's knowledge and experiences of my professional conduct, personality, and values (Sinha 2017). However, snowball sampling is sometimes considered ungeneralisable (Shaghghi et al 2011). Although this may be true, the recruitment strategy used multiple approaches so addresses this potential limitation. Geographical exclusion may also be a weakness in my recruitment strategy. Working with an organisation means that participants will be from one geographical area. Similarly, snowball sampling can lead to the same bias as individuals typically share the research with their friends, and so are likely to be within similar locations. Thus, there is the potential for research to fail to explore potential variances in the everyday experiences of the sex industry within different locations as experiences will be influenced by the location they work within (Hubbard 1999). However, Hubbard (1999) also notes that it is important for research to utilise methods which best fit the research aims and provide safe spaces and good outcomes for the community you are working with. Recruiting in this way offered valuable opportunities to reach out to a variety of different sex workers living in the UK. I obtained two participants from snowballing, one of whom is a member of the Irish Traveller community. Like my discussion concerning my Romanian-born sex work participants, this recruitment strategy provided me with the opportunity to speak with a sex worker who was very private and considered extremely hard-to-reach. To overcome the potential critique regarding geographical bias, through incorporating online advertisement I obtained participants from different geographical locations (globally). I explore this further below.

The second method of recruitment was online advertisement. Subsequent to the increased utilisation of the online, the internet can provide valuable, innovative approaches to research (Jankowski and Vam Selm 2005). A benefit of using online platforms for recruitment is that you can connect with people who may not access organisations such as Lisianthus. Not only this, but sex workers utilising the online grew in popularity because of COVID-19 and sex work research must align with how the community engage with their work. To do this, I signed up to OnlyFans, Vivastreet, and AdultWork, three commonly used platforms for advertisement and online sex work. James and Busher (2009) outline the importance for researchers to consider how they enter online settings. Thus, it was essential for my research to be considerate of digital recruitment (BSA 2021). I reached out to the platforms' administration teams prior to posting to ensure I was authorised to post and was posting in the correct categories (AdultWork and Vivastreet). This was crucial as these are sex work spaces, and so it is important these spaces are respected by outsiders/researchers. This aligns with the traditions of non-exploitative research. Sinha (2017) proposes sex work related research should "ensure minimal exploitation and maximum benefits for participants, as well as the inclusion of their voices" (p.906). There were challenges with recruiting on OnlyFans and AdultWork as I was rejected from creating an account, so was unable to post my research advertisement. However, I was successful in posting ads on Vivastreet. Although this generated interest in my work, I failed to obtain participants from this recruitment strategy.

I also advertised my research on social media sites: Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, Twitter, my blog, and Reddit. I obtained one participant from my advertisement on Facebook. However, when sharing my research on Facebook's university pages with the hope to generate participants who sex work while at university, I received a significant level of stigmatised comments towards my work and sex workers by male, university students at the University of Nottingham and Nottingham Trent University. This included stigma-fuelled responses against sex workers and tagging their male friends commenting that I needed their "help". All comments were reported by me to Facebook and after responding to the comments, commenting was turned off. This experience exemplifies the type of everyday whorephobia sex workers face (whorephobia is the fear or hate of sex workers which can be applied on a structural basis as well as a general prejudice against the industry (Sawicki et al 2019)) and the stigma of researchers working on such issues. Sinha's (2017) discussion of courtesy stigma as a sex work researcher can be applied to my experience. However, it is important to be reflective on this experience as this is short-term and I can remove myself from this stigma whereas, this is not necessarily possible for sex workers.

Reddit was a particularly successful recruitment strategy (three participants obtained). It required low levels of effort and reached participants I would not have been able to on other platforms,

particularly individuals living in America. I therefore recommend Reddit for advertisement if researchers obtain permission to post their adverts from admins of the page beforehand, particularly when these are online spaces for sex workers.

A challenge I found when recruiting online was people pretending to be sex workers. Although it is difficult to say this with absolute certainty, I believe that some individuals who expressed an interest in my research through Reddit were not sex workers. They tried to engage in lengthy dialogue with me but did not respond to my documents for participation (individuals who responded to my online advertisement/s and expressed an interest to be involved with my research were sent a consent form (p.248), participant information sheet (p.230), and creative data guidelines (p.234-247). From this, after speaking for some time, I ceased the conversation. This is a challenge of advertising online on sites such as Reddit which are accessible to a range of different people as there is the risk of people impersonating sex workers. It is difficult to gain the right balance between building initial rapport and engaging with a non-sex worker who has no intention of being a part of your research.

When advertising my research, I was asked if I sex worked by both sex workers and non-sex workers. For the sex work community, this was likely to be due to previous negative experiences of outsiders, and so they wanted to protect themselves and their community. For non-sex workers, the assumption of me being a sex worker links to discussions of Plummer (2007), where storytelling is a joint action. Although I am not a sex worker, through being a part of the construction and delivery of sharing the lived experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers, I become a part of the story. Throughout, it was necessary to highlight that I was a non-sex worker however, I found it interesting that I was commonly asked this by individuals from non-sex work communities. Seldom does a researcher exploring “the impact of the police” get questioned on their policing career, so to be asked whether I was a sex worker suggests this is a result of stigma and ‘othering’ sex workers face (Goffman 1963).

To summarise, within my participant group, I obtained three participants from Lisianthus. From existing sex work contacts external from Lisianthus, I obtained one participant. From snowballing, two participants. Facebook advertisement enabled the recruitment of one participant. I obtained one participant from my postcards which were left in spaces across the country, and I obtained three participants from Reddit (two from America and one from Wales). Next, I discuss the socio-demographics of participants in the research.

PARTICIPANTS

Within my research, there were 11 participants. Although I had set the goal of recruiting 15, this was not achieved. However, I still gained rich insight into participants' everyday lives, so I do not see this as a limitation of my work when adequately exploring my research questions and aims. Figure 5 offers the socio-demographics of participants. All names have changed (some participants asked for specific pseudonyms), and where they reside has been broadened for identity protection.

"Name"	Gender	Age	Sexuality	Ethnicity/ Nationality	Location	Type of sex work	Religious/ spiritual identity
Maya	Female cis	24	Heterosex ual	White British	South England	Webcam	Religious and spiritual (fluid)
LRE	Female cis	22	Heterosex ual	White British	East Midlands	Online content creator, webcam, and escort	Spiritual (astrology)
Moon	Female cis	25	Heterosex ual	Caribbean	East Midlands	Stripper/ dancer	Spiritual
Khan	Female transge nder	41	Pansexual /Asexual	White American	Western region of the United States of America	Webcam and escort	Norse Pagan
Lilly	Female cis	29	Heterosex ual	Romanian	East Midlands	Escort	Christian Orthodox
Lucy	Female cis	45	Heterosex ual	Roma and Romanian	East Midlands	Escort	Christian Orthodox
Amelia	Female cis	49	Heterosex ual	Romanian	East Midlands	Escort	Christian Orthodox
Emily	Female cis	20	Heterosex ual	White Irish Traveller	South England	Sugar baby	Catholic
Amy	Female cis	23	Bi-sexual	White American	Western region of the United States	Porn star and online content creator	Spiritual
Zahra	Female cis	26	Heterosex ual/ Bi- curious	British/ Asian	East Midlands	Escort and online content creator	Muslim
Tanya	Female cis	50	Heterosex ual	White Welsh/ British	Wales	Phone and cam	Methodist Christian

Figure 5: Participant table.

OUTLINE OF RESEARCH METHODS

CREATIVE RESEARCH IN COVID-19

As discussions within the previous chapter suggested, COVID-19 brought significant challenges for the sex industry and those who work within it (Lam 2020). Thus, for some, behaviours differed during the pandemic, and so the impact of COVID-19 was important to explore for some participants which creative methods can capture (Cleland and MacLeod 2021). Creative methods therefore can enable research to stay relevant to the ever-changing demands of the industry, policies, and COVID-19. As this research took place within the easing of restrictions, COVID-19 was not as prominent within participants' experiences when completing the research. However, a benefit of creative methods and semi-structured interviews is that it offers a space for participants to reflect on their past, present, and future lives. The past, present, and future are interlinked and relevant when exploring lived experiences and should not be taken for granted. Thus, within the participant guidelines when taking photographs and creating diaries, there was an explicit mention of COVID-19 with the hope to generate reflexivity around this topic (see appendix, p.234-247). Within interviews, participants did discuss their experiences of COVID-19, particularly within strict lockdowns (Chapter Five, p.121) highlighting the effectiveness of this project's methodology. As the following sections will explore, photograph elicitation and diaries can analyse the mundane and unpack the everyday and taken for granted routines and rituals.

Not only did COVID-19 impact sex workers' behaviours and norms, but also research practices. Although the research was conducted at the "end" of the pandemic, research designs and plans had to adapt to meet the restrictions placed upon society. When curating the proposed research plan, England was still placed under restrictions, so it was important to be considerate of potential barriers or challenges I may have experienced because of this. Risk assessments for in-person interviews were implemented, ensuring the planned fieldwork was COVID-19 safe for participants, researcher, and Lisianthus staff and service users (see appendix, p.226). This included social distancing, hand sanitiser, and following testing/isolating protocol set out by the government (Gov 2021). However, when conducting face-to-face interviews, COVID-19 restrictions had eased, and so these protocols were not needed.

Although COVID-19 restrictions influenced research designs, there were benefits. Societal changes with utilising online software such as MS Teams and Zoom can be observed as a benefit to research (Statista 2021a). Thus, utilising the online to connect can translate into research designs. Although meeting face-to-face for some is preferred, online meetings can be favoured, particularly when a participant has a busy schedule or lives in a different country. Additionally, when exploring personal

topics, some participants prefer to have a physical distance from the researcher (for further detail on how participants engaged with interviews, see p.69). Therefore, the changes in societal behaviour as a response to COVID-19 restrictions can be challenging for empirical research but can also be a positive as it creates greater choices in how participants can engage with some forms of research. Subsequently, the methodological choices I will now detail offer justification for employing photograph elicitation, diaries, and semi-structured interviews alongside a reflective account of this project's fieldwork.

PHOTOGRAPH ELICITATION

Photograph elicitation concerns involving photographs in interviews to generate verbal discussions to create data and knowledge (Raby et al 2018). How photographs are captured within research can vary. For some, photographs will be sourced externally to the participants, and for others, participants will create the visual data and then their photographs are discussed in follow-up interviews (Raby et al 2018). Within this research, photo elicitation was participant-driven, where participants would take photographs of their everyday lives and lived experiences as a religious and/or spiritual sex worker. Smith (2015) analyses the use of participant-driven photo elicitation with sex workers and champions that photographs can enable participants to generate rich data and offer an intersectional exploration of people's lives. Similarly, Ammerman (2007) and McGuire (2008) both utilise photograph elicitation to explore lived religion. Their research demonstrates that photograph elicitation offers participants a creative and personal way of telling their stories of their religious identity, a major component of this research (Williams and Whitehouse 2015).

Photograph elicitation provides insight into a snapshot of time (Cleland and MacLeod 2021). The sex industry is ever-changing, so findings from research may not be applicable in the years to come. This does not make the lived experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers unimportant or irrelevant, and to assume this to be the case would further stigmatise sex workers. Analysing photographs is "arkeological" and reflects the social norms and practices of the time through the lens of participants (Meyer et al 2013). Thus, photo elicitation can offer challenges to misconceptions of sex workers and provide reflections of current and past experiences about the sex industry through sex workers voicing their experiences. Throughout this research, understanding religious and spiritual sex workers' everyday lives is at the forefront, and so photographs will not be confined to just their sex work. Smith (2015) discusses how participants within her work seldom took photographs of themselves sex working but instead, captured parts of their wider everyday lives. Smith (2015) continues, "...sex work does not occur in a vacuum but is relational to: other roles that people have in their lives; their interactions with other people their

current, past, and perceived class; and their cultural, racial, and spiritual backgrounds” (p.247). Therefore, Smith (2015) supports the utilisation of photo elicitation for intersectional analysis as sex work related research has historically, adopted a one-dimensional approach (Gerassi 2015); whereas photograph elicitation offers the opportunity to explore different elements of sex workers’ lives, identities, and emotions. Supporting this, a sex work study which intended to explore sexual pleasure through participant-driven photograph elicitation found that participants’ images were highly metaphoric (Smith 2017). Different layers of meaning can be discovered as this method evokes deep emotions, memories, and ideas compared to verbal questioning (interviews) alone (Harrison 2002). Photo elicitation interviews also contribute to trustworthiness and rigor of the findings through member checking (exploring how this research engaged with semi-structured interviews is later within this chapter, p.69) (Glaw et al 2017). Not only this, but photographs can also aid topics which are sensitive or personal as they can create distance between participants and their experiences (Edmondson et al 2018). The interconnective nature between photographs and interviews can therefore offer rich and unique insights whilst supporting participants to work through potentially personal topics and tell their stories in an innovative way.

Participants could take their photographs on a smartphone and/or a digital camera. If their photographs (and diaries, which are explored later) were captured on a smartphone, participants sent their pictures via WhatsApp. WhatsApp is used by over 40 million people in the UK alone (Statista 2021). Communicating with participants on WhatsApp was seamless, proving an efficient and safe way for data transfer for both UK and international participants. If photographs were captured on a camera, these were uploaded to a private laptop and then sent via ZendTo, a safe transfer link (this was the same process for diaries which were written on a laptop). Although this was an option, all participants (three) who took photographs did this by taking pictures on their phones. One participant utilised the camera app, HUJI, which adds a vintage filter, and the date is timestamped on the image (year being 1998). Below is a comparison of two photographs, one being taken with the HUJI filter:



Figure 6: LRE escorting in a hotel.



*Figure 7: LRE escorting in a hotel–
HUJI filter.*

When asking LRE why she chose to take photographs on HUJI, she said:

“One of the main reasons why I use HUJI on my sex worker pictures and I use it quite a lot for online content for my main page is because I feel like it gives Red-light Amsterdam vibes like, Red-light district. They have that red sunbeam because it adds a filter doesn’t it, it adds

a filter to the picture it is very Red-light district vibes and I like that. It also adds a bit to your picture so it's not as boring... I think it is really sensual and sexual, I really like taking nudes with it, ...and it is not in your camera roll... When I started [sex working] and I was all paranoid if people opened my phone and saw naked pictures on my camera roll or whatever but with HUII, you only save it to your camera roll if you want it to and if not, it just stays in the app". (LRE, escort & online content creator, diary entry).

LRE's discussion highlights how analysing photographs can provide unique insight into the everyday lives of sex workers. LRE talks about how the filter connotes a well-known red-light district and signifies sex and intimacy, which subsequently enhances the pictures alongside providing safety of her images and helps keep her sex work identity concealed. There are visual differences between the two photographs LRE captured (figures 6 and 7). The photograph captured on the app (figure 7) offers a different aesthetic, even though they were taken in the same space and on the same evening. Additionally, the staging of the photographs also subscribes to her narrative of depicting sex and intimacy by wearing suspenders and capturing condoms, lube, and baby oil in the background of the picture. Her pictures and reflections of photograph taking habits illustrate the diverse level of analysis offered through photograph elicitation. This examination of LRE's pictures also shows how participants were given freedom through positive control. Participants were able to engage with picture taking in diverse ways whilst being safe and remaining anonymous. Although participants may stage, edit, and delete photographs before sending them to me, this does not necessarily hinder the validity of discussions and presentation of their everyday lives as this construction of their reality can offer an additional layer of examination (Berger and Luckmann 1991).

Williams and Whitehouse (2015) suggest that participants may feel negatively when taking photographs due to logistical, technical, and financial costs associated with photograph elicitation. Although I agree with this, research can pre-plan to mitigate these potential challenges. Participants were encouraged to engage with the research as they best saw fit. Within the photograph guidelines (see appendix, p.234-239) participants received it stated that there are:

"...no maximum or minimum amount time to be spent taking your photographs, but I estimate the length of time you will be taking photographs will be over a 4-week period, taking 10-20 photographs over different days".

Thus, although the research provided guidelines, participants were encouraged to engage with photographs in a way which worked best for them. Three participants chose to take part in this element of the research. This is important to note as eight participants decided not to engage with

the photograph element of the research, so highlights the necessity to adopt a flexible research design with multiple methods to retain engagement and create an enjoyable experience for participants. One participant took two photographs, another participant took eight, and the third participant who engaged with this part of the research took 15 photographs over three months (due to their enjoyment with this element of the research as opposed to a requirement of the thesis). This demonstrates a strength of my methods employed as some participants found taking photographs a useful way of sharing their everyday lives. Next, I discuss the second method within this research, diaries.

DIARIES

Diary keeping is a recognised social activity and is used for multiple reasons in a variety of ways (Alaszewski 2006). Within diaries, content “contains descriptions and comments about events which usually occur almost simultaneously with the time of writing, but also have aspects involving behaviour, attitudes, values and feelings of the actors participating in these events, always having the author at the centre of the diary” (Cucu-Oancea 2013, p.232). This understanding of diaries exemplifies the appropriate application to meet the aims of this research as diaries were employed to provide a space for participants to express their thoughts, experiences, and reflections as they saw and felt them. Cucu-Oancea (2013) champions diary methods within the interpretivist epistemology as they facilitate access to knowledge with groups that are difficult to reach, and enable individuals the opportunity to explore their prominent, sensitive (difficult/challenging), and mundane experiences in their own way. A study which explored commercial sex among men asked 186 male sex workers to complete a self-reporting diary over two weeks in Brisbane, Sydney, and Melbourne (Minichiello et al 2000). This study was extremely successful in offering discussions of where sex workers worked, how they worked, and considered health-related information such as condom use. This study highlights how diaries within sex work related research can be successful in uncovering the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers.

Smartphones and other digital devices are ever-present within Western everyday life and literature has illustrated the dramatic shift in how society connects and behaves with others (Barkhuus and Polichar 2011). Technological advancements have stimulated a new self-narration and media engagements have created space for private electronic diaries, online public or controlled-access diaries, apps, blogs, and social networking (McNeill 2003). Thus, although diary writing or keeping can be seen as an odd behaviour for individuals who have not engaged in traditional diary keeping before, diaries are diverse and flexible (Crowther 2013). Within this research, diary entries could be

created digitally (written, audio, or video) or handwritten. All five participants who engaged with diaries completed these on their phones (written and audio) through WhatsApp.

Diaries can be used as a part of participants' daily routines and schedules which can be beneficial as it naturally progresses with the participants' day as opposed to needing to set time aside for their data capture (Cao and Henderson 2020). This was true for voice note diaries. Four out of five participants found it easy to send voice notes on WhatsApp which discussed their thoughts, experiences, and reflections at various times throughout the day, on different days, and sporadically. Utilising technology can therefore make the data collection feel natural, building upon their existing behaviours. I transcribed all diary entries (both written and voice notes) on an MS Word document and then stored these entries securely.

A weakness of diaries is selectivity, where participants are particular about what they choose to discuss and write about (Alaszewski 2006). However, it was not necessary for participants to explore all elements of their lives, but to share what they feel comfortable with. Yet, it is important for analysis to be considerate of selectivity when curating themes and discussions (Salazar 2016). Although there may be selectivity within participants' diaries, diaries can overcome recall bias. Documenting your everyday life as it occurs reduces the risk of recall bias within semi-structured interviews (Jassens et al 2018). Thus, not only can diaries be a useful method for producing unique and rich data, but the necessary consideration of selectivity can be mitigated by the incorporation of semi-structured interviews which I now turn to.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured interviews are an essential element of this research. "Semi-structured interviews are designed to ascertain subjective responses from persons regarding a particular situation or phenomenon they have experienced" (McIntosh and Morse 2015, p.1). Participants can voice opinions about their lived experiences, which is vital when working with marginalised groups (hooks 1989). For participants who took photographs and kept diaries, the creative data guided their interview. It was imperative to provide a space for participants to talk through their data and voice their experiences to me. My analysis of creative data may be different to the participants, and so for data to be valid, it is crucial for the analysis of photographs and diaries to be reflective of how participants saw their data. Although some photographs may be literal, others may be abstract or symbolic of other emotions. For example, one participant of Smith's (2017) study took a photograph of graffiti over a doorway "to symbolise how she felt that other people's emotions, including those of her immediate family, affected her" (p.351). This is not to suggest all photographs and diary entries will be metaphorical; however, the narratives behind the creative data can hold deeper

analysis than a researcher may initially think. Not only do interviews offer the opportunity for photographs and diaries to be analysed, but also to generate further understandings of their stories. Plummer (2005) supports the necessity to differentiate between life stories as resources and topics. For Plummer (2005), life stories as topics are of interest in their own right, which this research advocates. Semi-structured interviews offer the opportunity for participants to give voice to their experiences and their stories are understood as unique, valuable narratives.

Semi-structured interviews also offered religious and spiritual sex workers the opportunity to share their stories if they did not want to engage with the creative research element of my thesis. Six chose this method, opting to engage with the research solely through interviews. Out of these six, two participants decided to WhatsApp voice note me to tell me their stories as diary entries however, this dialogue held similarities to a traditional semi-structured interview. These two participants sent me messages as standalone reflections, but we also engaged in dialogue through WhatsApp voice notes which acted as a form of interview. This was successful and it enabled them to be a part of the research as I was able to fit into their busy schedules.

TOPICS OF EXPLORATION

Interview topics were presented within a checking table format as the interviews were semi-structured, and it is important for researchers to not overarch to allow participants space to discuss their data and experiences (see appendix, p.257). Photographs and diaries offer an additional structure to the interviews, illustrating the complementary nature of the methods this project adopts (Cleland and MacLeod 2021). When completing research with sex workers, it has been suggested that researchers should ask open-ended questions to allow participants space to share their thoughts and experiences (Murphy 2022). This draws to the insider/outsider dilemma within sex work related research as all researchers will bring biases to their interviews, and so interviews must allow participants to share their experiences freely. Fleming (2007) supports this, suggesting that interviews should not possess too much prompting when exploring sex work to allow participants the freedom to discuss their stories. Although the checking table assists interviews to stay on track, it also offers space for other themes of discussion which the research did not initially consider. This was true for one participant who took calls from clients during the interview. Although this was removed from the transcript because I did not have consent from clients or ethical clearance to capture information such as this, her calls with clients sparked unique discussions within her interview regarding her process of booking clients, which was not in the interview checking table.

LOCATIONS OF DISCUSSIONS

The planned locations for interviews varied as participants had the option to meet face-to-face at Lisianthus, online through MS Teams, or phone call (Bloor et al 1999). The rationale for offering a variety of options was due to my knowledge of the community I am working with. Personal commitments and schedules of work will vary, and so it was crucial for participants to be given options regarding how they could engage with their interviews (Adriaenssens et al 2016). Additionally, this assisted the practical element of reducing dropouts as I was accommodating to participants' lives and mitigated costs of travel, coordination, and transcription (on MS Teams) (Hampton 2017). As my participant group included sex workers who were not based in the UK, MS Teams was a hugely beneficial tool to enable international sex workers to be involved in the research. Three participants opted for in-person interviews, six completed their interviews on MS Teams, and two participants completed diary entries in the form of an interview. Interviews lasted between one-to-three hours. Online interviews lasted two to three hours and in-person interviews lasted an hour. Although this can be coincidental, it may be suggested that as participants were in their own spaces when talking to me online, they felt more relaxed and wished to chat for longer. However, all interviews were successful and offered rich accounts of the everyday experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers.

Within the research plan, there was acknowledgement of participants who may not be able to speak English, or English was not their preferred language. Thus, it was imperative to plan the potential involvement of interpreters to support interviews. This enabled my research to be inclusive of different people within the sex work community and can offer potentially different narratives if the sex worker is a migrant for example (Connelly 2021). However, incorporating an interpreter means there is a "third party" (a person/s involved within the work who is not a participant or researcher) involved in the primary data element, and so encompass ethical considerations within the planning and facilitating stages. Ethics is the focus of the following section, where I will illustrate how I navigated through potential risks and challenges to ensure the safety of participants. Three interviews required an interpreter as although participants could speak English, this was not their first language and preferred to speak in Romanian. I was fortunate to have an onsite interpreter from Lisianthus, who already had an established relationship with the participants. This made the experience more relaxed as although there was a third party involved, the participant and interpreter had an established, professional rapport between them, and the interpreter already had a strong understanding of participants' everyday lives. Although I followed the same interpreter process (sending the interpreter protocol, p.253 and the interpreter signing a non-disclosure document, p.256), this made the discussions more informal and created a better

environment for participants to tell their stories. These three interviews took place in a private room at Lisianthus, and all participants already accessed the services at Lisianthus, so was a known setting for them. This created a relaxed environment and worked well to meet in a neutral space. I reflect upon these experiences further within the ethical considerations section which I now turn to.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Testa (2014) highlights that sex work research can be ethically problematic however, it is imperative to continue the development of knowledge regarding the lived experiences of sex workers to assist in the abolishment of harmful misconceptions and stigma. The identified ethical principles include: “respect for participants, informed consent, specific permissions, voluntary participation and no coercion, right to withdraw, no harm to participants, avoidance of undue intrusion, no use of deception, preservation of anonymity, participant/s right to check and modify a transcript, confidentiality of personal matters, data protection, enabling participation, ethical governance, provision of grievance procedures, appropriateness of research methodology, and full reporting of methods” (Vanclay et al 2008, p.243). I begin by detailing potential challenges that may arise when obtaining ethical approval in universities. This section will then offer ways I employed creative research methods and semi-structured interviews to ensure participants are safe, protected, and respected, alongside offering critical reflections when completing sex work research.

STIGMA, RESEARCH METHODS, AND ETHICS

Within the literature review, sex workers facing stigma and discrimination were a prominent theme (Weitzer 2018). Stigma and misconceptions can be significantly influential in the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers but also within sex work research. Huysamen and Sanders (2021) suggest that although ethical application reviewers are important, they are less likely to be sensitive to all the nuances surrounding sex work research. From this, reviewers will be making judgements of the research proposal based on their experiences within their field, which can lead to negative outcomes or significant changes in sex work related research plans. Within my research, I did not experience such challenges and I was able to obtain ethical approval for my research. My experience therefore can demonstrate how some universities are becoming inclusive of different research topics and designs to broaden knowledge of hard-to-reach or hard to engage (Holt 2020) groups in unique ways.

An additional challenge concerns Higher Education Institutions blocking researchers from working with students who sex work at their university. This was the case for Simpson (2021), who was blocked from working with sex work students at their university while exploring cis women’s

experiences of stripping while at university. This exemplifies existing sex work stigma within universities, which is harmful and limits knowledge growth and reinforces the exploitative relationship between universities and sex workers (Sawicki et al 2019). I did gain ethical approval to work with students at Nottingham Trent University who sex work. Thus, I was “fortunate” with the ethics board in this sense yet, this should not be seen as a lucky outcome. Instead, this should be standard, with sex work research reflecting the community, as without this, sex work stigma will remain rife within academic fields and wider society.

When working with marginalised groups, it is imperative to consider whether the research you are engaging with risks reinforcing misconceptions of sex workers and the industry. Weitzer (2018) and Sanders (2018), who responds to Weitzer’s work, note that stigma is not an ‘immutable constant’ but a ‘variable dimension’, and so research must champion the abolishment of stigma. Although I intended to create a positive experience for participants when engaging with my research, sex workers may have had negative experiences with other researchers. This is explored by Sinha (2017), who explains how their sex work participants would relay prior questions from previous experiences stating “all you want to know is how many clients I do, and how many condoms I use. You can ask me now so that I am done with it and can do my work” (p.901). From this, at the beginning of Sinha’s research, participants were reluctant to share their experiences. This exemplifies the responsibility of academics to conduct and create research which does not further marginalise or damage relationships between sex workers and researchers. Secondly, the importance placed on health highlights the existing misconceptions of the sex industry within academia. Although I am not suggesting sex work research which focuses on health is unimportant, it is crucial for research to encompass the multifaceted elements of sex workers’ everyday lives to challenge stigma as opposed to reinforce it. Smith (2017) suggests due to stigma surrounding the sex industry, the types of research created in previous years have focused predominantly on health and failed to encompass the realities of sex workers’ lived experiences. Although research has progressed, encompassing greater validity in our understanding of the everyday lives of sex workers, there is still more work to do. And while ethics boards are critical, some researchers are still faced with restrictions on completing their innovative sex work projects due to conservative research ethics (Lowman and Palys 2014). Although my experiences were positive regarding the approval of my research design, one challenge I experienced was around paying participants which I explore below.

ON THE CLOCK: SHOULD WE PAY PARTICIPANTS?

The methodology used within this project can require a significant level of commitment and my research morality champions mutually beneficial relationships, so I wanted to pay my participants. However, this posed ethical concerns and may have led to participants engaging in the research for “the wrong reasons”, so I was advised by my supervisory team not to do this. Instead, I offered participants a gesture of thanks which was in the form of love2shop or/and Amazon vouchers. Although this research held strong ethical practices, not paying participants draws to consideration of whether ethics around this issue are outdated. Sanders (2006) suggests that paying sex workers to share their life experiences can raise “difficult parallels between a client paying a sex worker for access to her body and a researcher paying a respondent for access to information about their experiences” (p.210). Thus, paying participants could be considered exploitative. Contrasting this, Maher (2000), who worked with sex workers with addiction challenges proposes that paying sex workers is fair practice. It is my opinion that academic institutions offer researchers the opportunity to offer monetary reimbursement where ethics and researchers believe it is appropriate. Although I hoped my research would be an enjoyable experience, and participation was entirely voluntary, I do not believe that paying sex workers for sharing their life experiences would have caused harm.

When reaching out to organisations which supported sex workers and speaking with administration officers of an online sex work space on Reddit, I was asked whether participants were going to be paid. In response to this, I informed them I could offer a gesture of thanks in the form of a voucher. Reflecting on this experience, I believe this demonstrates how sex work spaces also champion legitimate relationships between academia and their community, supporting my opinion of fair reimbursement. However, there may be practical challenges when trying to pay participants. How much departments and researchers possess regarding funding for reimbursement for participation differs, and so may not be achievable for all research projects. Additionally, it is beneficial to reflect upon the ethical issue of me gaining my PhD out of participants’ time. Whether participants are getting their labour paid or not, this cannot be comparable to what I gain. Therefore, it can be difficult to create legitimate, mutually beneficial relationships in this sense; hence, research needs to benefit the community (Murphy 2022). Russell et al’s (2000) work proposes that the benefits of paying participants do not out way the risks. When conducting a study into participants’ thoughts on being paid for research, the majority believed that although it would be nice to be paid for their time, they saw research to hold other gratifications such as contributing to knowledge. Individuals engage in things they believe to be important. And so, although I receive my PhD because of this thesis and the participants’ time has not been optimally reimbursed, there are wider potential benefits of my work beyond myself and the participants. I am creating a space for religious and

spiritual sex workers' stories to be shared, a noted gap within knowledge, which in turn can challenge existing misconceptions around the industry. Next, I consider the ethical considerations of employing photograph elicitation in research.

PHOTO ELICITATION: CONSENT, PRIVACY, AND ENSURING DATA IS UNIDENTIFIABLE

There are noted challenges in obtaining institutional ethical approval when working with visual methods (Raby et al 2018). Williams and Whitehouse (2014) suggest that one reason for this is confidentiality. Although visual methods are becoming more common in social science research, there can still be resistance due to the risk of participants being identified and non-consenting individuals being involved in the data (for example, clients or non-participating sex workers) (Smith 2017). To overcome this, before engaging in the data collection, participants were given guidelines on what to and what not to capture (see appendix, p.235-236). Some included:

WHAT TO TAKE

- *What you have eaten/had to drink.*
- *Connecting with your religious and/or spiritual communities.*
- *Expressing your religion or spirituality (praying, reading scripture, or meditating for example).*
- *Your days at work: (keeping in line with guidelines below). Anything significant that happened which you can capture or that expresses your feelings of the day.*
- *Reflections of identity conflict (tension between your work and religious/spiritual identity).*
- *Reflections of identity harmony (where your work and religious/spiritual identity worked together without conflict).*
- *Days off from work (what did you do?).*
- *Time with friends and family (see guidelines below).*

WHAT NOT TO TAKE

- *Your face.*
- *Anything which has your name/address/ contact information on.*
- *Any identifiable features.*
- *The front of your house.*

- *Front of your work.*
- *Clients.*
- *Cars which you use or clients use/license plates.*
- *Anyone else (friends/family/other sex workers).*

Due to stigma around the industry, some sex workers are not open about their careers. For some, their sex work occupation is not known by their family, friends, religious/spiritual community, or other work engagements. Thus, participants needed to remain unidentifiable. The guidelines assisted this, helping participants to take unidentifiable photographs. Alongside this, I screened all the photographs taken by participants. Some photographs (as well as some diary entries and discussions within interviews) were removed from the research as they were deemed unsuitable for the final published report.

Although all participants were given pseudonyms and other elements of participants' lives were altered (e.g., friends' names and exact locations they live and work), there may be distinctive features which could identify participants such as a tattoo. Thus, by providing guidelines and screening photographs, potential risks of being identified were addressed. It was also important that this research protected the privacy of my participants' clients, other sex workers, friends, and family (Copes et al 2018). The above guidelines acknowledged this responsibility and kept participants safe when taking pictures as clients and other sex workers may become angry or upset if they were photographed. This discussion encompasses ethics of consent (Vanclay et al 2013). Alongside the guidelines, participants were all required to consent to participate in the research, express how they wanted their photographs and diaries to be used within the published work and agree to interview/s being recorded (for consent information, see appendix, p.248). The documents were successful, and I experienced no challenges with this element of the research. For participants who did not speak fluent English or English was not their preferred language, it was decided that we would talk through the documents with the interpreter to ensure they understood what their involvement entailed. Next, I discuss how this research protected participants' data.

PROTECTING PARTICIPANTS' DATA

Protecting participants' data is one ethical consideration which was addressed within research planning. Within all research, data must be confidential and secure, and participants and researchers need to consider data storage and accessibility (Waddington 2013). There were specific guidelines for the different ways to engage with the research, all of which highlighted the importance of the safety of their data (see appendix, p.234-247). Before completing any data

collection, a thorough data management plan was curated as part of the project approval process. This included details around how data would be transferred (WhatsApp as this is end-to-end encrypted or through ZendTo), where data was stored (NTU secure depository), and how I would make data unidentifiable as soon as possible. This was successful, and I securely stored my data and ensured it was unidentifiable by assigning their data to the relevant pseudonym folder and blocking out certain parts of photographs which could increase the likelihood of participants being identified.

EXPLORING SENSITIVE AND PERSONAL TOPICS: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The nature of discussions within this research encompassed personal topics which at times, were sensitive. Sex workers who agreed to participate should not be exposed to the risk of preventable harm, both physical and psychological (Testa 2014). Topics of discussion were not intended to bring any distress to participants however, the researcher must hold full responsibility for participants' well-being. Myers and Newman (2007) suggest that qualitative research interviews can be problematic as the potential distress of participants or researchers is rarely predictable. Although it is of utmost importance to highlight that not all experiences as sex workers include sexual assault, violence, and coercion, experiences of stigma are common. Thus, negative, or difficult experiences may be present in some discussions (Baker 2020). It was therefore important to have a protocol in place (which was outlined within my ethics application) if participants did become distressed when discussing or reflecting on their experiences and data. Discussing potentially traumatic events may lead to participants wanting to report incidents to third parties (such as National Ugly Mugs), the police, or seek support, and so contact numbers were also disseminated to participants (see appendix, p.250 for East Midlands based contact numbers). One participant discussed previous attempts of suicide, and so I checked in with the participant the following day to ensure they were okay. Although it is difficult to ascertain, no participant openly discussed accessing support post-engagement with my research. Yet, this can be a private part of their life they do not wish to share, so it is difficult to reflect upon whether this was needed.

Embarrassment or discomfort is another consideration of harm in semi-structured interviews through the questions researchers ask (Zheng 2013). To overcome this ethical concern, I was explicit and transparent about the potential topics of discussion and offered participants the opportunity to remove topics prior to the interviews. For participants to feel comfortable enough to decline certain questions, building rapport and creating a safe and relaxed environment can achieve this. Participants deciding how they would like to be interviewed alongside talking before the interview (not just about the research) helped create a relaxed environment. Also, broaching subjects

gradually and checking whether a particular topic is okay to discuss can reduce participants feeling overwhelmed or caught off-guard.

I also believe it is imperative that researchers are pro-the sex industry. Without this, there is the risk of interview questions being offensive, possessing stigma and based on misconceptions about sex workers and the industry. Although this research did not exclude participants who may agree with the Nordic Model for example, researchers must support the freedom of sex workers operating within the industry to create positive experiences of research engagement (Kingston and Thomas 2019).

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS AND INTERPRETERS

Within all transcripts, participants' names were changed, locations they lived in were broadened, some information which was personal to the participant was deleted, and friends' names were also changed to offer an additional layer of anonymity. However, discussions highlighted the incorporation of an interpreter if participants needed this. This draws to important ethical considerations as a third party will be included in interviews. Subsequently, the interpreter received a briefing sheet (see appendix, p.253) and had to sign a detailed agreement before being invited into the interviews (see appendix, p.256). The protocol included discussions of confidentiality, COVID-19 safety, how to manage a participant who is distressed, and practical and logistical elements. There were also specific instructions for interpreters which included environmental requirements, punctuality, and ensuring confidentiality of discussions. Ethical practices are prominent discussions within academic institutions where there is infrastructure which promotes the continuation of knowledge and understanding of ethical conduct whereas, interpreters seldom have this (Drugan 2017). Thus, it was critical to incorporate detailed instructions to protect participants' identities and ensured interviews were professional, relaxed, and safe (face-to-face differed slightly, see appendix, p.254). As my interpreter was a staff member at Lisianthus, GDPR protocols and ethical conduct were already in place, and so this overcame the risks around utilising interpreters. Not only this, but my interpreter had a strong understanding of the sex work community and the participants, which helped create a successful interview dynamic. Thus, my fortunate position of having an interpreter who worked for Lisianthus not only created an informal and relaxed environment but also ensured strong ethical practices.

HOW FAR DO WE TAKE RAPPORT?

This subsection will consider how far we should take rapport when researching with sex workers. This project used email and a smartphone to organise interviews with participants. It was necessary to stress to the ethics board that I would professionally use a separate phone only for the purpose

of the project. Although this was adhered to, using WhatsApp created rapport as I would have general conversations with participants alongside them sending me their data. It is essential to speak the same language as those that are being researched, and rapport can enable a stronger understanding of discussions within interviews (Westmarland 2001). Engaging in text/voice note conversation made the relationships feel natural and assisted power relationships between researcher and participant. Although it is important to be realistic in how far messaging can build rapport, I did find this to help create a relaxed environment prior to the interviews as we had established a friendly narrative, and I had a basic understanding of their lives.

As a non-sex worker, building a legitimate relationship with participants established trust which is critical when exploring personal topics. It can be considered a positive to be an outsider within research as it is easier to hold objectivity (Hellawell 2006). However, this research rejects objectivity and does not believe that research can be entirely objective. Additionally, Augustin (2004) discusses alternative ethics in that, due to distrust between sex workers and researchers, participants may lie when engaging in research. For Augustin (2004), this is due to fear of researchers having ulterior motives in their discussions, for example, researchers are working for the police or are investigative journalists. In any sense, I reject the idea that this is the fault of sex workers but is a result of longstanding stigma internally and externally from the field of academia. It is justifiable as to why some sex workers may lie for self-protection or due to their feelings towards researchers. Therefore, building strong rapport and trust can overcome potential situations such as this (Guillemin and Heggen 2009). Although there are ethical considerations regarding how far you take rapport, it is critical to understand how sex workers and the industry have been treated by academia, society, and the media, and the influence this has on research, even if a researcher's intentions are deemed positive for sex workers. I believe that friendships between participants can emerge in rich, qualitative research within professional boundaries. If a friendship goes too far, there are the ethical risks of participants disclosing too much information they may not have felt comfortable sharing. It is important to ensure that a researcher is accountable for the safety and well-being of participants and that research is conducted within high ethical standards whilst acknowledging that participants are exploring personal topics, so strong relationships beyond superficial or formal, professional rapport is an absolute necessity. Some participants also wanted to keep in contact with me once the research had finished. Participants and I followed each other's blogs and continued discussions via email. Information from these interactions was not treated or used as data. I was not able to continue to text participants once the data collection finished as my phone number was only for research purposes, so the SIM card was destroyed.

EMOTIONAL LABOUR

An additional element to this discussion relates to exploring personal and sensitive topics and the relationship this holds with rapport. Emotional labour is an essential element of sensitive research and for Carroll (2012), a researcher's emotional labour is intrinsically linked to methodological and ethical underpinnings of 'doing' sensitive and some feminist research. Therefore, the emotions of both the researcher and participants are influential within the research process (Stanley and Wise 1993). Emotional labour can concern disclosure, caring, listening, and building a relationship beyond the necessary professional rapport (Dickson-Swift 2008). This was evident within this project as participants would disclose significant experiences to me (both positive and negative) as they were happening to them via WhatsApp. Although I decided to not include all these discussions within transcripts, this experience highlights the emotional labour within this research and the legitimacy of rapport with my participants.

SHOULD NON-SEX WORKERS RESEARCH SEX WORK?

The debate of whether non-sex worker academics should complete research about sex work is important to consider, particularly as I am not a sex worker. Oakley (1981) outlines that to achieve the aims of understanding and uncovering life experiences, the researcher should be prepared to share their own identity with participants. While I agree that researchers should share their own identity with participants, experiences of stigma for sex workers and non-sex workers will be different, and there is the risk of non-sex worker researchers over-simplifying the sex industry (Zheng 2013). Non-sex workers can generalise sex work experiences or fail to comprehensively understand the industry, and then further stigmatise participants, which academics with sex work experience may not do. However, sex work is extremely diverse and encompasses a variety of practices and experiences, and so sex worker researchers can potentially make assumptions of participants' stories based on their own experiences (Chavez 2018). Although this may be true, academics who have sex worked and participants' lived experiences will likely hold similarities. Therefore, research may be more comfortable for sex worker participants to tell their stories to academics who have sex worked, and research designs will be less likely to be based on misconceptions of the industry.

As previous sections have highlighted, although I am an outsider, I hold connections with the sex work community, and it is important not to simplify insider/outsider discussions. As this chapter has argued, human experience is complex and multifaceted, and it is my opinion that this understanding of society should be applied to this debate. Being an insider does not mean complete sameness with communities and in the same sense, an outsider will not mean complete difference

(Dwyer and Buckle 2009). All outsiders will possess differing experiences with the community they are working with. This is supported by a participant who saw me as being a part of the sex work community:

“Like, I wouldn’t tell anyone else apart from people in the industry, I guess you are in the industry because you are researching it...” (LRE, escort & online content creator, diary entry).

Although not every participant or sex worker may agree with LRE’s reflections of me being a part of the community, this supports the argument that insider and outsider debates are not absolute, and different sex workers will hold different opinions about my own identity. This echoes Naples’ (1996) suggestion of ‘insiderness’ or ‘outsiderness’ being fluid and ever-changing. Exclusion of sex working academics within fields of research is evident, so non-sex working academics must champion sex working academics to lead discussions and production of knowledge for sex work communities. From this, sex work related research should endeavour to involve sex workers at all stages. Holt et al (2021) explore this regarding the ‘sex trafficking matrix tool’, proposed by L’Hoiry, Moretti, and Antonopoulos. Research, programmes and indeed, policy commonly sidesteps sex workers, whether this is intentional or not. Upon reflection, my research could have involved sex workers more within the construction of my research plan. This decision was not intentionally to sidestep sex workers however, due to being unable to pay sex workers, it would have been a challenge for me to receive feedback on my proposed plan. I did receive feedback from sex workers before the fieldwork began which was supportive of my research, particularly around the methods chosen. When I shared publications from this research with participants I was still in contact with, they were very happy with how their lived experiences and feelings had been disseminated. Subsequently, although this research could have done more, I do support sex workers’ feedback on my research. As discussed, visual data allows research to reveal a unique perspective, enabling cultures or groups which are overlooked to be the driving force in knowledge production through their primary data (Scott 2009). Participants were encouraged to engage with the research how they saw fit, and I was open to feedback from participants throughout. I asked participants what their thoughts were on my work and if they had any ideas. For example:

“...More dancers than full sex workers... Or camgirls would be nice to hear more about because sex work, it’s full of categories. You know it’s ... many, many things...”. (Moon, stripper/dancer, interview).

This suggestion supports the broad approach to my participant sample and criteria. My experiences working with sex workers as a non-sex worker were extremely positive. However, it is also important to highlight that sex workers are not homogenous, and so participants’ feelings about

my research are not generalisable to the whole community. In conclusion, it is vital to understand and be critical of my identity as a non-sex worker and I take responsibility for not including sex workers within all stages of the research and will endeavour to adopt the “nothing about us without us” ethos legitimately in future work (Lobo et al 2020). Next, I move away from ethical considerations and discuss the data analysis approach I used within this thesis.

ENGAGING WITH THEMATIC ANALYSIS

I employed thematic analysis to analyse my data (both creative and interview transcripts). Thematic analysis is a process which encompasses identifying, analysing, organising, and describing and reporting themes (Braun and Clarke 2014). There are a variety of sex work studies which utilise thematic analysis to explore various aspects of sex workers’ lives (for example, Sagar et al (2015) and Santos Couto et al (2020)), thus supporting the appropriateness of this analytical approach when completing sex work research. A noted strength of thematic analysis is its flexibility and variability (Braun and Clarke 2014). This was crucial within my research. Firstly, as I have employed multiple methods to capture data, it was necessary for my analysis approach to successfully encompass different types of data. Photographs and diaries worked in tandem with the interviews, so were influential in the themes generated from transcripts. In the same sense, photographs and diaries offered additional analysis which could sit separately or within themes generated from interview transcripts (Vanclay et al 2008). This enabled my research to be rich, offering an array of themes with a myriad of unique discussions. Employing thematic analysis links to my interpretivist ontological and epistemological position as I understood the everyday experiences as a religious or spiritual sex worker to be unique, so analysis must offer flexibility in how themes can be generated and presented. As discussed, my research prioritises individual reflections but draws out themes and patterns for further discussion, which thematic analysis achieves (Ratner 2002a).

“Themes refer to specific patterns of meanings found in the data. They may be identified inductively from the raw data or deductively from the existing literature” (Awan and Zempi 2018, p.5). Within my research, I curated themes generated from literature discussed within the previous chapter and my primary data. Intersectional analysis (Crenshaw 1989) was also employed throughout as my focus was not solely based on sex work identity and subsequent stigma. However, the most noted critique of thematic analysis is that through its flexibility, analysis can become inconsistent and lack coherence (Holloway and Todres 2003). To overcome this potential limitation, I took certain steps when exploring the data which aligns with Braun and Clarkes (2006) six-stage approach:

- 1) *Familiarising myself with the data.* All participants received their transcripts before the analysis began. This allowed participants to make amendments to the transcript, for

example, removing elements of our discussion/s. This allowed for the analysis to not only be accurate as all participants had the opportunity to correct anything but also offered another layer of ethical protection. Although participants did not ask for specific changes, I did have to gain clarification around certain elements of their life (for example I asked one participant if they showed their face on camera when sex working). This helped the analysis to be reflective of their experiences. I also “tidied” the interview transcripts to make my data more readable. This included removing words which were repeated, and I ensured the sentences were easy to understand, however, did not take away or change the meaning of the participants’ discussions. I went through all transcripts, diary entries, and photographs multiple times to “get to know the data”, and I made notes of initial ideas and thoughts from this stage of analysis.

- 2) *Finding initial narratives and concepts which emerge within the initial stages of data analysis.* I worked systematically through the data set, highlighting any data which connected to the research questions. I spent a significant amount of time going through each transcript, highlighting important narratives in a colour-coded system, overcoming the critique of thematic analysis being incoherent. I took an open approach when finding initial narratives and concepts, and I developed and modified codes and narratives throughout this stage of the analysis process. This highlighted commonality between the participants which explored the research questions.
- 3) *Generating initial themes because of the narratives and concepts I have discovered within the previous stage.* I generated an MS Excel document with participants’ pseudonyms and began organising data (see appendix, p.258). I created columns with overarching themes within the Excel document.
- 4) *Further analysing the themes, creating subthemes for in-depth discussions of the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers.* I created subthemes within the overarching themes to offer organised explorations of different elements of participants’ everyday lives.
- 5) *Reviewing the themes and subthemes generated to ensure I have accurately captured participants’ stories.* I continued reviewing themes and data to ensure I have accurately

captured participants' stories. This also included checking in with some participants to discuss my thoughts and analysis to get their feedback.

- 6) *Finalising the themes.* I then finalised the themes. Final themes must possess enough meaningful data whilst remaining coherent. Byrne (2021) argues that defining themes requires a deep analysis and it is important to provide vivid and compelling arguments within final themes. I created chapters which captured as many themes as possible to thoroughly explore the research questions and fulfil the aims of this research. Due to the rich level of data obtained, I was unable to discuss all aspects of participants' everyday lives. However, this could be developed in future work and elucidates the potential for utilising creative research methods when exploring the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers.

As a result of my analysis, the data chapters are:

- Sex workers' engagement with religion and spirituality.
- Experiences in sex work spaces.
- Sex workers and love and intimacy.
- Realities and misrepresentations of sex work.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has offered a critical review of the methods employed within this research, highlighting the appropriateness of creative methods and semi-structured interviews when exploring micro-level experiences of the sex work community (Smith 2015). I highlighted how sex work research should endeavour to employ multiple recruitment techniques to offer greater opportunities for a diverse participant group and to be realistic about how effective recruitment techniques will be, particularly if you are a non-sex worker. Creative methods offer the opportunity for participants to freely voice their stories and contribute to gaps in knowledge in a unique way (Williams and Whitehouse 2015). I hope to inspire other academics to use creative research methods when exploring sex workers' experiences and inform the new generation of researchers about the challenges of researching this topic as an outsider. Although there are academics already employing this technique which I have highlighted throughout this chapter, I still believe this approach to primary research could be utilised further.

I explored several ethical considerations regarding my employed methods, which exemplified that although creative methods can be seen as ethically challenging, they can be utilised safely and offer rich insight into people's everyday lives. Alongside this, I brought attention to existing barriers placed upon academics who are completing sex work related research because of existing stigma inside and outside of academia. Although I did not face significant challenges, there is still work to be done. I would argue that ethical boards must offer flexibility when reviewing sex work research plans to ensure optimal ethical conduct with the recognition that different communities hold different experiences when engaging with research. This can be supported by my discussions around paying participants. I believe the recommendation should be that participants involved in any research should be thoroughly reimbursed for their time and labour, which is of heightened importance when working with marginalised groups. However, I recognise the ethical and practical challenges of paying participants, and so research must make a positive contribution to the community they are working with (Murphy 2022). My research achieves this by sharing religious and spiritual sex workers' lived experiences, which before this thesis, has been significantly under-researched. To conclude this chapter, I offered an overview of how I analysed the data, demonstrating that I adopted a flexible and varied approach to encompass my different data types and present complex and multi-layered themes coherently.

There are various noted strengths of my work. Firstly, as I am an outsider, the specific need to speak with religious and spiritual sex workers could have been a difficult group to connect with. However, as I adopted multiple recruitment techniques, I was able to obtain a strong participant group. Although it may be a noted weakness that I did not meet my target group of 15 participants, the 11 I did obtain were from different parts of the sex work community, hold different beliefs regarding religion and spirituality, from different parts of the UK and America, and possess different socio-demographics. Therefore, I was able to hear different lived experiences and subsequently, obtained diverse responses to my research questions. Although it is important to highlight that I subscribe to the belief that academics who sex work should be the leaders within our field of research, as an outsider, I believe I was able to overcome the potential challenges which may have arisen because of my identity as a non-sex worker on recruitment. I was able to obtain participants, build trust and rapport, alongside challenging sex work stigma through this research.

The different opportunities I offered participants in sharing their stories are a noted strength of my research design. Although not all participants engaged in the photograph elicitation stage of my work, they were able to still be involved by engaging with diaries and/or interviews. Therefore, participants were able to engage with the research in the way which suited them best and the research was rich and diverse because of this. This supports the utilisation of creative research

methods to allow sex workers to tell their stories freely and ensures research with sex workers does not reinforce existing stigma against the industry.

Another strength within my methodology was my interpreter. This was a potential weakness/concern within the planning stages as it may have required bringing in a third party, which could have been ethically problematic. However, as my interpreter worked for Lisianthus, the dynamic was hugely successful. The interpreter held strong ethical practices whilst also being knowledgeable on the sex industry and did not hold stigmatising beliefs. Therefore, when completing sex work research which requires an interpreter, where possible, work with an interpreter who has a strong understanding of the sex work community.

Regarding ethics, the overarching strength was my ability to keep participants safe whilst being able to express themselves. I encountered no issues regarding data loss or breaching anonymity. This shows that I successfully employed my research design to the highest ethical standards. A weakness of my research is around being unable to pay my participants. I hold the belief that we must change how we engage with paying participants of research to ensure that we are doing as much as possible (although the research will never be entirely equal in its outcomes) to ensure that engagement with research is as fair as possible. A final weakness of my research which also links to paying my participants was my failure to involve sex workers throughout all the planning stages of my work. I created my research design on my own and as a non-sex worker, this could have had a negative impact on my research if I was misinformed. While I am not suggesting that my research is no longer valuable because of this, I do feel as though my research could have been enhanced if I had included sex workers from the offset and this is something I will endeavour to implement in future work. Next, I explore the themes that emerged from religious and spiritual sex workers engaging with the methods I have outlined within this chapter, beginning with participants' engagement with religion and spirituality.

CHAPTER FOUR - SEX WORKERS' ENGAGEMENT WITH RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

Within this chapter, I explore different ways participants engage with their religious and spiritual identities. I offer rich knowledge of participants' identity management, which elucidates my concept of harmony. I begin this chapter by exploring participants' religious and spiritual journeys, demonstrating how sex workers tailor religiosity to achieve or search for harmony between their different identities. Following this, I explore how moving away from organised religion impacted Lilly's understanding of her own religious identity. I then examine how religious practices assisted two participants with some of their sex work experiences, connecting to believing without belonging (Davie 1990). I conclude this chapter by examining how religious and spiritual identities can co-exist within sex workers' lives and enhance experiences regarding sexual pleasure and economic income within sex work experiences. This chapter fills in gaps within existing literature by exemplifying sex workers' experiences of identity management through the lens of religion and spirituality.

RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL JOURNEYS FOR HARMONIOUS IDENTITIES

For some participants, their religious and/or spiritual identities evolved over time. They discussed how their religious/spiritual identities changed as they grew older to better align with their self. This section will explore this, demonstrating how religious and spiritual sex workers manage their different identities within their everyday lives, contributing to discussions of lived religion (McGuire 2008). This section addresses my question "how do religious/spiritual sex workers negotiate their identities for harmony between their potentially conflicting identities in unique ways?". Although their journeys do not always mention sex work specifically, this section of data is important to understand how participants manage their different identities to align with each other with the desire to achieve harmony. This section also builds upon Johnston's (2022) work, which describes how the negotiation of belief for sex workers consists of embarking on an exploration of the self, questioning belief systems, and subsequently rejecting their previously held beliefs. From exploring participants' religious journeys, we can see the tactics and reflections religious and spiritual sex workers have within their everyday lives, which also translate and are present within their identity negotiations and sex work experiences.

REJECTING ASCRIBED RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES

Beginning with Khan, she reflects upon her religious and spiritual journey:

...I am Norse Pagan. It's a reconstructionist movement of the old Viking religion, Odin, Thor, Loki... I was raised Christian, however... when I got older, I like began to think for myself and do the research myself... Now, if I were still a Christian, the first hurdle I had to overcome, and that's what led me down a completely different path was trying to reconcile [me] being trans with being Christian. That was a hard one to do... it's bad enough to be gay but being trans... [There] just really wasn't a feasible way to overcome it. Like there were... a couple of churches that I had found that were accepting and would accept people in the LGBT community. However, that is just one little bit. But if you look at the religion as a whole and the more vocal parts of that religion, they're all Anti-LGBT. Like to the point to where some of them believe we should be put to death... I don't think there is a way to reconcile sex work with Christianity. But that's just my experience with Christianity... But then again, you're still, in a minority segment of the Christian community that is facing some very vocal opposition. So yeah, it even if you could do it, would it really be worth it? ...I don't belong and you're vocal about saying I don't belong. So yeah, why would I want to belong? (Khan, escort, interview).

For Khan, the evolution of her religious identity meant moving away from her childhood ascribed religious identity (Arweck 2006). In the New Testament, representations of sex workers are typically negative (Fones 2022). Khan echoes this and discusses how traditional engagements with Christianity commonly exclude sex workers and non-heterosexual and transgender individuals. Thus, she leaves the church to find acceptance in other religions. Intersectional analysis can be utilised to further understand her decision to individually embark on her religious journey. Khan discusses how being transgender did not align with some religious engagements. Nelson-Becker (2018) supports this, highlighting how religious rejection has led some individuals within the LGBTQ+ community to abandon traditional pathways. Furthering this, Yip's (2000) work details how some individuals left their church due to members responding negatively towards their LGBT identities. This research applies to Khan's religious journey as she navigates through potential discrimination and exclusion some religious spaces possess to find a religion which is accepting of her different identities, including her sex work. Norse Paganism has been argued to be an inclusive spiritual practice, open to all who are moved toward it (Lafayllve 2023). This understanding of Norse Paganism applies to Khan as she understands and believes Norse Paganism to be better suited to her feelings and identities.

Interestingly, she discusses that although some religious institutions have evolved and are now accepting of non-heterosexual and non-cis Christians, for her, this does not suffice as it is not applicable to all Christian organisations. Therefore, Khan suggests the challenges lie with the wider

institution of Christianity as opposed to her not being accepted into certain Christian spaces. Her lack of connection to the church leads Khan to leave, and her new-found faith is appealing to her because it allows for greater levels of harmony between her different identities. Within this experience, there is also the presence of stigma management against different identities derived from traditional engagements of religion. But through the variety of religious and spiritual engagements, there is space for identity harmony for Khan. Although Khan does not discuss her sex work identity causing conflict for her religious identity now, she believes this would have if she were still a Christian. Thus, she has negotiated this challenge by changing her religion. However, other religious sex workers within this research held a Christian identity, and so demonstrates how individuals hold varying beliefs within one religion.

Like Khan, Moon discusses how her values, morals, and sex work does not align with her family's engagements with Catholicism:

...I grew up in quite a Catholic family... I went to like... church school basically and I went to mass every Sunday for quite a long time... I like to be quite open... and when I told my parents [about her job as a dancer/stripper] ... they were extremely, extremely angry. And I do believe that this is because it's against religion... It's against what Catholicism want... like making money from your body... I got really, angry and bored of Church... I feel like it's very hypocritical... so that was not for me... I think I'm more spiritual because I'm more into nature... I like being around nature. I think everything is about energy... (Moon, stripper/dancer, interview).

Moon describes feeling bored and angry whilst practising Catholicism, an ascribed religious identity from her childhood. She reflects on this experience and highlights how her feelings and values about sex work and other elements of her identity did not align with her Catholic practices, and so she began to explore spirituality. Day (2011) suggests young people maintain their religion through close family ties with collective, subscribed religious beliefs. However, over time the religious beliefs for the young individual can change, leading to a relationship which is more informant-directed. This can be applied to Moon's experiences, where through individual agency, different identities can co-exist through the tailoring of religion and spirituality (Orsi 2007). This also supports discussions proposed by McGuire (2008), who suggests that religion is fluid and can be tailored to different elements of people's identities. Again, this holds similarity to Khan in that Moon did not feel a connection to her organised religion and consequently left as she felt more closely aligned to spirituality. For both Moon and Khan, their search for harmony can be found through the transformation of religion and their different identities can co-exist.

Moon's discussion of wanting to be connected to nature was also visually demonstrated, where she took a photograph on a walk to connect with her spirituality (figure 8). Moon makes meaning out of a space which is not seen as traditionally religious or spiritual. Although her spiritual identity may be backstage and not known to other citizens who are occupying the space (Goffman 1959), Moon uses the space to reflect, be within nature, and connect to her spiritual identity. Later within this chapter I explore believing without belonging (Davie 1990), which furthers discussions of non-traditional engagements with religion in contemporary society.



Figure 8: Moon walking down a road.

Returning to the quote above, Moon also discusses how her family were angry when she first told them she was a dancer/stripper. This analysis links to the

literature review which suggests potential conflict between traditional engagements with religion and sex work (Peach 2005; Sorajjakool and Benitez 2015). Even though her religious and sex work identities are harmonious, her family's belief that Catholicism is against "making money from your body" creates challenges within her family relationships and her identity as a daughter, supporting discussions of religious surveillance (Harvey 2013).

Moon's experience of dissonance, where family members are disrupting her experiences of harmony, was also present for Amy, an online content creator and porn star who lives in America and is spiritual:

...He [her father] basically thinks that sex work is something that is very out of sync with normal society and the way that humans should be, it's a very low vibe [dark, negative energy] ... I asked, what is it about it that you do not like, you know, what is it about adding currency into the interaction, how does that make it automatically out of sync and low vibe [dark, negative energy]? And he used the example of if you were to ... ask a cannibal that question... a cannibal would be like... Taking... the killing out of the equation, just the eating of the human flesh part, what part makes it wrong? Is it when I think the thought, is it when I chew, is it when I swallow, you know, how is eating human flesh wrong? The answer is you

can't really think of a specific part... we just know that it is... (Amy, porn star & online content creator, interview).

Within her discussion, there are evident challenges between her father's spirituality, where life, identities, and experiences can be a high vibe or a low vibe. For her father, her occupation as a sex worker is a low vibe. Her discussion demonstrates how her father creates dissonance for her identities by feeling as though sex work is not a positive occupation even though Amy thinks it is. When Amy reflects upon how she feels about her own sex work identity, she explains:

Amy: ...I would say that sex work for me overall has been a very positive experience. Like if it... is a low vibe thing, then maybe the low vibe things are where it's at, I don't know...

Daisy: Would you say that your sex work identity is more important to you than your spiritual identity?

Amy: Yeah, at this time it is and like, yeah, that might change over time. But honestly, right now, yeah. (Amy, porn star & online content creator, interview).

Amy possesses positive feelings towards her sex work identity. Although she is spiritual in an analogous way to her father, which differs from Khan and Moon who rejected their family's religious engagements, she has tailored her spirituality to align with her sex work identity. She also discusses that she feels as though her sex work identity is more important to her than her spiritual identity which is interesting as it lends to analysis around the negotiation of different identities to search for harmony and meet the desires of her self. However, there is conflict within her relationship with her father because of her occupation as a sex worker due to different understandings of sex work regarding their spirituality. Therefore, similarly to Moon, although for participants their sex work identity and spiritual identities are harmonious, there is conflict within their identity as a daughter. Thus, although for Moon and Amy, their religious journeys have enabled a connection to spirituality which better aligns with their self and sex work, conflict still exists which impacts participants' journeys towards harmonious identities within their everyday lives.

For Zahra, although she does not reject her ascribed religious identity, she must manage the expectations of her father's religious understanding and values in relation to her sex working to overcome potential dissonance:

I use my ethnicity to gain more jobs so like, two contrasting arguments. So, I can say I am Pakistani, people come and see me because it is seen as a taboo thing... On the flip side... my dad is religious, he is Westernised, but he is religious, and so I can't be fully open and

say what I do... I would excel a lot more... if I didn't have a Muslim dad because I would be out there, putting it on my socials... obviously if I didn't have a child as well... (Zahra, escort & online content creator, diary entry/interview).

Zahra explains how she utilises her ethnicity and religion within her sex work (further discussion around this is later in this chapter); however, her father, who is Muslim, is not aware of her sex work. Although Zahra is also Muslim, there are disparities in their understanding of Islam and what is considered “acceptable behaviour” due to their different interpretations of their religion. Therefore, to overcome this, she hides her career from her father by tailoring her behaviours online. She compartmentalises her different identities which are competing with one another. There are evident identity challenges presented here because Zahra is a daughter, and her father is a Muslim man. As a result, she engages in an identity process of openness and closedness to hide her sex work to overcome these potential challenges as well as recognising the impact stigma can have on her child. This contrasts with Moon and Khan as Zahra tailors her sex work behaviours as opposed to changing her religion to ensure she maintains her relationship with her father and protects her child from courtesy stigma (Goffman 1969) (see Chapter Six, p.136 for analysis around parents who sex work). Thus, although Zahra has “rejected” some values and expectations derived from her religious identities within her family, she still prioritises her relationships with her family over income from sex work.

Emily's religious expectations also cause conflict with her occupation; however, this has a more significant impact on her understanding of her sex work:

...To be honest, in my religion [Catholic], this is completely wrong, but the way I am brought up, like my background... it is wrong. It is completely forbidden. I am not proud of it. I love making money, don't get me wrong but it is embarrassing, I would be ashamed if anyone found out... it is quite an embarrassing thing but especially in my community [Irish Traveller]. I would probably be disowned... (Emily, sugar baby, diary entry/interview).

Within this quote, there is evident conflict between her religious and community expectations and sex work. Although she has not rejected her ascribed identity, she discusses that she would be disowned if her sex work identity was discovered. Therefore, although Emily does not conform to the expectations of her community and religion, she endeavours to hide her sex work. She also discusses that she would be ashamed if people found out, and so there are negative feelings within her own understanding of her occupation. This can be due to a variety of influences. Firstly, from her religious and community expectations. Secondly, the societal impact of stigma against sex workers also may influence her feelings of embarrassment. Therefore, these influences may have

contributed as to why she feels negatively towards her work and displays narratives of fear if she was outed. Here, we can see how ascribed religious identities and expectations from religious identities can contribute to sex workers' understandings of their sex work. However, her negative feelings are not only because of her religion but also the community she is a member of alongside societal sex work stigma.

To summarise, for Khan, Moon and Amy, there was a preference for micro-level religious and spiritual engagement over macro, traditional religions. They were able to navigate through potential conflict and found a religion and spirituality which aligned best with their different identities. These three participants felt that it was religion which was/would create identity conflict as opposed to their sex work practices, so harmony between their different identities is attained through embracing an inclusivity approach towards religiosity. Therefore, it can be suggested that they observe their sex work identities to be more closely aligned with their self, and so did not attempt to alter or change their engagements with the industry. This is significant when understanding the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers as it demonstrates the importance ascribed to their occupation and how their choice and autonomy when engaging with sex work can subsequently create a harmonious and successful occupational identity, even when this causes challenges within family relationships. For Zahra however, she chose not to advertise on her social media accounts to manage her relationship with her father. Although there were experiences of dissonance, particularly with Emily, participants continued sex working, irrespective of family or religious pressures. Next, I consider Maya's religious journey which moves away from discussions of ascribed religion and examines religious choice.

RELIGIOUS CHOICE

This subsection examines how religious choice has shaped Maya's identity management and performances. Besecke (2007) suggests individuals can embark on spiritual journeys individually, an argument which can be applied to Khan, Moon, Amy (explored above), and Maya's religious and spiritual journeys. Although this section focuses on Maya's religious pathway in general as opposed to a specific reference to sex work, this is important to understand as identities are interconnected. For all these four participants there was a common theme that they move away from the religions they were raised in by their families for their religion/spirituality to better meet the demands of their self. This meets the aims of my research and explore the roles and impact of religion and spirituality in its broadest sense within the everyday lives of sex workers, offering new understandings of lived religion.

Maya highlights how her research into different religions and spiritualities has opened new opportunities for her religious identity:

...I was on a bit of... a spiritual exploration regarding practised religions... I would get really bored just sitting there and staring at a screen [at her office job]. So, I would go on to BBC Bitesize [an educational website] and I did like religion... and I started learning about all different types of religions. ...Another thing, my landlord, she's a Christian and she was, like just do this Alpha course [a course which outlines the core principles of Christian faith]. A lot of the customers that came in that were Black women were religious and started talking to me and it was just very different to the religious experience that I had seen growing up which was a load of rich White men that would benefit from the church, and I was like if Black women can trust this. I mean, like they are the most subjected to the horrors and they can believe this... (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

Maya discusses how boredom within her office job stimulated her desire to learn about different religions. This demonstrates how religion presents itself within the context of technology. Technology has enabled an unprecedented level of available information, and religious knowledge and exploration has become significantly easier (Guest 2012). Individuals can work through this information and find religious and spiritual engagements which best suit their different identities and beliefs, which was true for Maya. Not only was technology influential in Maya's religious journey but also the impact of other religious people she met in her everyday life, including her client which I discuss later in this chapter (p.105). Maya's reflections on her experiences of Black women who subscribed to Christianity challenged her preconceptions around organised religion. This connects to Khan's experiences around how organised, traditional religion is not always inclusive (p.88), which Maya also believed. However, Maya's experience differs from Khan's discussion of inclusivity within organised religion and demonstrates how religious engagement is subjective to the individual. How individuals engage with religion and spirituality is diverse, so one narrative cannot be applied to all sex workers' engagements with religion and spirituality. Maya continues:

...I got very interested in learning about these established religions... That spirituality in the Himalayas, which I absolutely stand by, and so what you would normally associate with spirituality, so things like Reiki. Something that isn't an organised story that has potentially been used to control people, something that is much more feeling based on what we know, based on like human experience and challenge... So, I've been in this torn quandary and where I'm at now is, both established religion and spirituality... are all metaphors and all

symbolise an all equate to the same thing, which is that there is a higher power... When I think about something and when it feels truthful and it connects, and it feels right, and it feels loving... There are so many different types, and it was baffling my mind ...So, follow that truth and you will land where you feel like it fits on your spectrum... (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

Maya's discussion highlights how she has negotiated and worked through different engagements with religion and spirituality. She also highlights a potential challenge of religion in contemporary society in that, through individuals having too many choices, people can feel overwhelmed. However, she says that she found peace amid a myriad of beliefs and choices by following her morals and values she "fits into" in relation to her different identities, including her sex work. Within this discussion, 'pick and mix' is also present. Hervieu-Léger (2000) highlights how tradition has led to a pick and mix relationship with beliefs and devotion. Therefore, although sifting through different engagements with religion can be overwhelming due to the vast and diverse engagements with religiosity, she found a unique place within this to align with her different identities, morals, and values, creating more experiences of harmony within her everyday life. 'Pick and mix' was present for multiple participants concerning their engagements with religion and sex work. Five participants engaged in more than one form of sex work, and all participants tailored their religion and spirituality to meet the desires of their self. This offers an important analysis into understanding how sex workers engage with religiosity and sex work.

The experiences within these two sections demonstrate how participants' religious and spiritual journeys involved modifying and altering religion and spirituality to find harmony with their different identities, including sex work. Religious choice enabled participants to find where they best "fit in". Apart from Zahra, participants tailored religion and spirituality to meet demands of their self, including their sex work identity, as opposed to choosing a specific sex work practice which aligns with their religious/spiritual identity. This suggests that potential conflict between their identities does not necessarily lie with participants' sex work but instead, due to some engagements with religion and spirituality. This potential challenge was negotiated through their tailoring of religiosity or hiding their sex work from their religious community and family. Thus, for participants, their choices around what needed to adapt proposes that their sex work identity was more fixed or less conflicting with their other identities than their religious/spiritual engagements. I now turn attention to experiences of believing without belonging (Davie 1990).

BELIEVING WITHOUT BELONGING

For all 11 participants, believing without belonging (Davie 1990) was a keyway they connected with their religious and spiritual identities. The first examination within this section explores how modifying and moving away from organised religion impacted Lilly's understanding of her own religious identity. This then leads me to the second element of this section, which examines believing without belonging within a sex work context. I also touch upon believing without belonging later within this chapter (p.100), where I analyse this within the context of sex work practices and seek to understand how participants engage with religion and spirituality within their sex work experiences.

When speaking with Lilly, I asked her if she was religious to which she replied "no". However, when we discussed further, it became clear that she engaged with religious practices and held a belief in a higher being:

Daisy: So, do you have any religious or spiritual identity?

Lilly: No.

Daisy: In the past, did you?

Lilly: My grandmother used to be really religious, and she forced us to go [to church]. I am Christian Orthodox. When we were small, she used to force us to go [to church] but... when she died, we stopped going. I believe inside me, but I don't need to go to pray somewhere, I believe it is something, but I don't need to go to church every Sunday and pray. (Lilly, escort, interview).

Lilly initially felt she did not hold a religious identity; however, she is in fact an Orthodox Christian (both heritage-wise and at the time of the interview). As Lilly's behaviours and connection to religion do not subscribe to traditional structures and behaviours within Orthodox Christianity, she feels unreligious. This suggests that her past engagements with religion made her feel closer to her traditionally conceived religious identity even though this was unenjoyable for her. Therefore, Lilly better connects to religion through non-traditional engagements with religiosity. Her discussion of not needing to go to church every Sunday to pray also links to discussions of believing without belonging (Davie 1990) as Lilly prays externally to traditional religious spaces.

For Lilly, religious practices also assisted her management of danger. Nelson-Becker (2018) highlights that spoken and unspoken prayers are a way for individuals to feel close to their religion

or spirituality and can offer comfort, hope, and a resource for coping. Lilly discusses how she will pray when she is in an uncomfortable situation when sex working:

...If I have a problem or think something is wrong with this guy, I start to pray in my head, and it helps me not to think because if they feel I am scared, they will take advantage. So, when I start to pray, I forget I am scared and go away from those feelings, and so he will be quiet as he doesn't feel like this... (Lilly, escort, interview).

This experience demonstrates the value of Lilly's religious and sex work identity co-existing. Lilly highlights that she uses praying to alleviate her anxiety when in a demanding situation. Praying makes her feel calm, offers her a resource for coping, and helps her manage her fear and conceal her worry from her client/s. Her utilisation of praying to remain calm therefore can support her in her challenges as a sex worker. This offers unique insight into the diverse way religion is utilised within her identity management and performance, which exists externally to traditional religious spaces. Wanting her audience to feel as though she is calm lends to an analysis of how her religious identity can support her identity performance (Goffman 1959). Although her religious identity and connection are backstage and are not known to her audience, holding a religious identity supports her to navigate through this challenge.

Continuing this theme, Moon, who is a dancer in a strip club also suggested that her spiritual identity helps her be successful and negotiate the challenges in her work:

I think it... gives me a lot of calm and patience really. Especially during meditation, you know..., living the moment you know like being there, being in the present and a feeling of calm. And like I said to you before, I don't take anything personally... (Moon, stripper/dancer, interview).

Moon highlights that as she meditates due to her spiritual identity, she can translate her patience and calm to tackle the challenges of working in a strip club. Although her spiritual identity isn't necessarily known to other individuals within the club, for Moon, this is present within her backstage or hidden part of her self (Goffman 1959). This connects to literature which discusses mindfulness as secular meditation. Although the secular has changed traditional engagements of mindfulness derived from religion and spirituality, this change doesn't take away from the spiritual aspect of mindfulness (Landau and Jones 2021). Moon's identity performance and connection to spirituality, therefore, is not only harmoniously co-existing within a sex work space, but it also enhances her management of challenges associated with her work. Connecting this to Sander's (2005), some sex workers create a manufactured identity to manage work-related stress and

protect their well-being. Her explicit mention of “not taking things personally” suggests that there are challenges within her sex working experiences, so she must manage her private self and emotions to deal with certain behaviours from clients (such as stigma or discrimination). This also connects to discussions proposed by Ahearne (2021), where sex workers can experience spaces of liminality which are stigmatised (see also p.128). Thus, although Moon demonstrates how her spiritual identity can exist harmoniously within her sex work experiences, challenges from clients are creating dissonance which she negotiates through her spirituality.

There is an evident presence of harmony between Lilly’s and Moon’s religious and sex work identities, even if Lilly felt unreligious as her engagement with religion is considered “untraditional”. However, dissonance is present because of their clients’ behaviours. Yet, through their religious practices, Lilly and Moon can alleviate work-related challenges and obtain greater levels of harmony. Again, the modifying and adapting of religion and spirituality to meet the demands of their everyday life demonstrates believing without belonging for Lilly and Moon. This does not mean participants are any less religious or spiritual but instead, their religious practices enable connection to religion in an individualised way. This analysis has offered new understandings of religious identity, religiosity within contemporary society, and how religious and spiritual sex workers utilise religion within their everyday lives, including within their sex work experiences. I further this below.

RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL IDENTITIES WITHIN SEX WORK EXPERIENCES

This section will build on the previous discussion and exemplify how religious and spiritual identities exist within spaces external to traditional organised religion and can exist harmoniously within sex work experiences, focusing on sexual pleasure and enhanced opportunities for economic income.

SEXUAL PLEASURE (THE SPIRITUALITY OF SEX)

Some participants detailed how their spiritual identity enhanced their sex work experiences. LRE, whose spirituality is a belief in astrology, explained how her spiritual identity enhanced her sexual experience with a client:

Oh, he was a Sagittarius [client]... we did bits and then halfway through he was like, what star sign are you? I was like you are my new favourite person ever... he was like laughing and smiling and I was like no, seriously, I love that you asked me that and then he was like what are you an Aries? And I was like yeah why and he said yeah, I’m a Sagittarius, and I said no way, and I thought this to myself, this is why there is such sexual chemistry together, I was like ugh, God... (LRE, escort & online content creator, diary entry).

LRE believes that as her client's star sign was compatible with her sign, this was a reason for their sexual compatibility. This experience exemplifies how LRE's spiritual identity can exist harmoniously within her lived experiences as a sex worker. Her spiritual and sex work identity co-existed and enhanced her experience with the client. Therefore, identity negotiation was not necessary within this encounter and challenges notions that religious, spiritual, and sex work identities only create conflict between each other. This experience also offers insight into her sexual pleasure when sex working. Experiences of sexual pleasure is an under-researched area of sex workers' everyday lives (Smith 2017). She discusses the sexual chemistry between herself and a client and demonstrates how the experience was pleasurable for her. LRE's experience also links to a participant in Smith's (2017) work, where they incorporated their spirituality in their sex work, which created intimate experiences for themselves and their clients. This is not to suggest this is a regular occurrence for LRE as she does not mention that her spiritual identity is commonly shared/known to all her clients. However, her selective disclosure of her spiritual identity is not necessarily due to conflict between her spirituality within sex work experiences but instead, due to the variety of experiences as a sex worker. Therefore, LRE highlights how sexual pleasure does exist within some sex work experiences, and this was heightened due to her belief in astrology and her star sign compatibility with her client.

LRE's experience also highlights the spirituality of sex, which was also present for Amy:

...I feel like they're like two separate things [spiritual and sex work identity], but in my mind, they're not really at odds with each other. They're just two different parts of my life to an extent. Sex can still be spiritual for me. Not every time you have sex is gonna be a sexual experience, but it has the potential to be. And even if you don't have a connection with the person, and you're not gonna see them again, or don't care about them or whatever, you can still enjoy the moment, and sex for me, it kind of like turns my brain off and just lets me kind of like be and I feel like that's kind of like a spiritual experience... (Amy, porn star & online content creator, interview).

Amy reflects upon her relationship between her spiritual and sex work identity and sees them as two separate things. However, when discussing her sexual experiences further (both as a sex worker and in her private life), she explains how she sees sex as a spiritual experience. Not all sex is guaranteed to be a spiritual encounter however, the two identities can align in some experiences which can create a spiritual connection in sex. Ellens (2009) highlights that spirituality and sex are closely intertwined as spirituality possesses a desire for meaning, and sex can lead to individuals experiencing the deepest and most profound connection. Both Amy and LRE demonstrate how spiritual connection enhances sexual experiences and can exist within sex work spaces

harmoniously. However, both participants discuss different identity performances. For LRE, this was enhanced because her spiritual identity was known (frontstage). Amy, on the other hand, did not disclose that she shares this part of her self, and she understands her spiritual identity to be separate but interconnected when she is in sexual encounters. Thus, her spiritual identity still can influence her feelings about the sexual experience, even if this is backstage (Goffman 1959). So, although both participants highlight the benefits of seeing sex as spiritual and possessing a spiritual connection, they engaged with it in different ways. Their experiences show how identity management and performance for religious and spiritual sex workers is unique to the individual, but they can hold similarities.

ENHANCING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIC INCOME

Not only was spirituality creating better sexual experiences for some participants, but Maya highlights how she uses her spiritual practices for income:

I... sometimes do yoga on cam? Good spiritual link, customers have said they find it relaxing to watch. I don't know why I didn't mention that?!... I think it's even like called a subculture... I sent a video of myself into the site proving I can do it and then you add it to your list of specialities so people can find you for specifically doing that. (Maya, cam sex worker, diary entry).

This diary entry first illustrates the evolution of spirituality in modern society. Yoga, which is connected to both religion and spirituality can be consumed in non-religious spaces, supporting discussions of believing without belonging (Davie 1990). After this diary entry, when researching yoga in sex work, there were multiple videos on Pornhub (2022) which were under the category of yoga and “Yoga Cams with Hot Cam Girls with Camel Toes” on a webcam platform for sex work (2022). Thus, Maya capitalises on the evident demand for yoga within sexual spaces. Although Maya did not deliberately develop her yoga skills for sex work, her experience links to Bernstein (2007), who details how

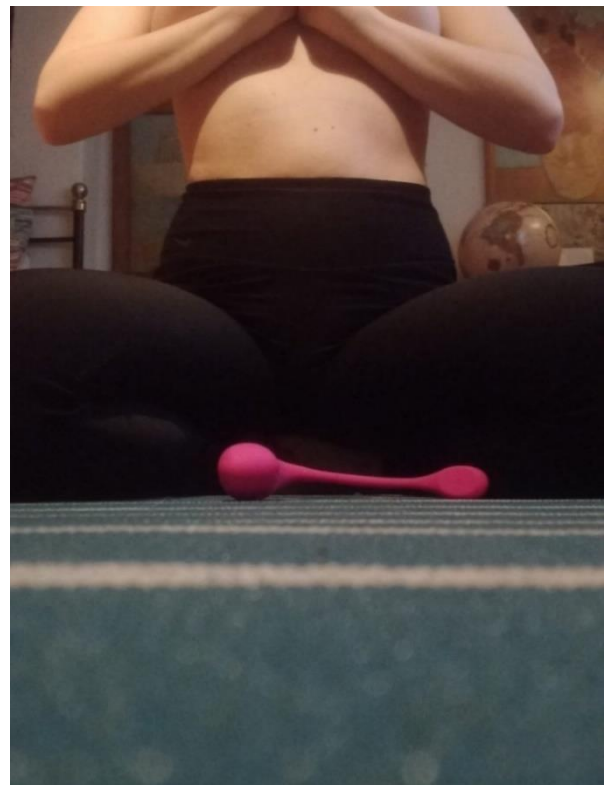


Figure 9: Maya doing yoga with a sex toy.

some middle-class sex workers obtain skills in yogic breathwork or massage certification to enhance their sex work experiences and their earning power.

Maya's photograph above (figure 9) visually demonstrates how she completes yoga when she is on cam for sex work; she is topless and has photographed her sex toy she uses when working. Maya's diary entry and photograph demonstrate how spirituality can exist within sex working spaces harmoniously and enhance opportunities for economic gain. The interactive sex toy also allows audiences to become a part of her spiritual practice and experience and can influence her performance without physically being present. During her interview, she explained this:

...It is like an interactive toy, so it connects and then they click it they vibrate you and it sends you money when they [clients] vibrate [the toy] ... (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

Not only does Maya utilise the online for her sex work, but technology has enhanced her performances, enabling an interactive experience for her clients, which can impact her identity and spiritual performance of yoga for her audiences (Goffman 1959). Maya continues to reflect on why she thinks people enjoy watching yoga on cam:

I think there are two reasons they like it, well three. They like it because I'm probably bendier than them on a bad day... so there's the obvious sexy stuff. Tight clothes, position like downward dog haha. Then there's like the voyeurism aspect, watching someone in their natural form, doing something 'not knowing' someone is watching. Then a lot of men are like, this is so relaxing, you look so peaceful and beautiful etc., (Maya, cam sex worker, diary entry).

Maya highlights the feedback she has received about doing yoga on cam and suggests that clients feel it is relaxing to watch. Although this cannot be generalised to all consumers, and the sexualisation of yoga can change the way her practice is consumed, Maya's sex work behaviours beautifully illustrate how spirituality has changed alongside contemporary society and how spirituality can exist harmoniously in different spaces and different ways. Maya discusses how she gets spiritual benefits from doing yoga on cam even if others sexualise it. Maya also sexualises this, however, within the context of the experience and for economic income. This experience shows the complex mix of meaning within action. For example, Monchalín (2006) found that some strippers are motivated not solely by money but also by power, fun, and work ethic. This can be linked to Maya's experience as her actions have different meanings for both her and her audience. This discussion led me to ask her thoughts on her identity performance as she will complete yoga

in the same space (as she works in her bedroom) however, may engage with the practice differently due to an audience being present, linking to discussions by Goffman (1959):

Daisy: So, like if you're doing cam yoga vs yoga on your own - do you think you behave different or do different types of poses etc., Basically I'm thinking about identity performance in the context of audience and yoga.

Maya: ...It's hard to like, to split yourself, between performer and yogi haha because with yoga, it's all about you, your mind, body, breath. Also, with the poses you can look really ugly doing yoga haha like, rolls everywhere, bum tucked in. So, at first, I almost hurt my back because I wasn't doing the yoga properly for the sake of the show. Mentally I didn't get the benefits because I was performing. But I realised quickly, when I wasn't so self-conscious as I was when I first started that the audience loves your most natural form (even if they don't, they can leave your room). I don't pay attention to the screen really, but you have to check people aren't requesting stuff.

Daisy: Do you do it a lot [yoga]?

Maya: I do yeah, it's my go to. (Maya, cam sex worker, diary entry).

Her reflections suggest that she felt her yoga practices which she completes privately would not be considered “sexy” or marketable. Therefore, she initially changed how she practised yoga on cam to meet the perceived demands of her audience, which highlights how she has plural ‘selves’ within her work (Pasko 2002). However, upon reflection, she was nearly causing herself injuries “for the sake of the show”. Thus, her identity performance was not effective for her own body and needs. After gaining experience in bringing her spiritual identity into her sex work space, she found that being “natural” and performing in the same way she would typically engage with yoga in her private/non-sex work spaces was more effective for both her and her audience. This is not to say she completes yoga in the same way as she is conscious of the audience and must check whether she has requests from clients, but Maya found a balance between yoga and sex work which still offered her pleasure/satisfaction. This discussion offers a rich insight into the identity performances of religious and spiritual sex workers. Maya discusses how she manages her spiritual and sex work identity and although her audience can influence her practice, this can remain harmonious and serve different purposes effectively.

Maya sent the photograph below (figure 10) to further draw out her reflections on the influence of audiences when doing yoga. Interestingly, when she sent the photograph, she added the caption:

“This is actually really helpful because I can test my symmetry”. (Maya, cam sex worker, diary entry).

Her diary entry supports earlier discussions of performance to different audiences. As Maya was consciously taking photographs for this research, she was performing for me, and so aligns with Goffman’s (1959) understanding of identity performance for different audiences. Thus, within this discussion, yoga for Maya has been performed in three diverse ways for different audiences (herself, her clients, and me/this research). However, Maya also discusses how she found taking photographs useful as she could test her symmetry. Her caption shows how photograph elicitation can

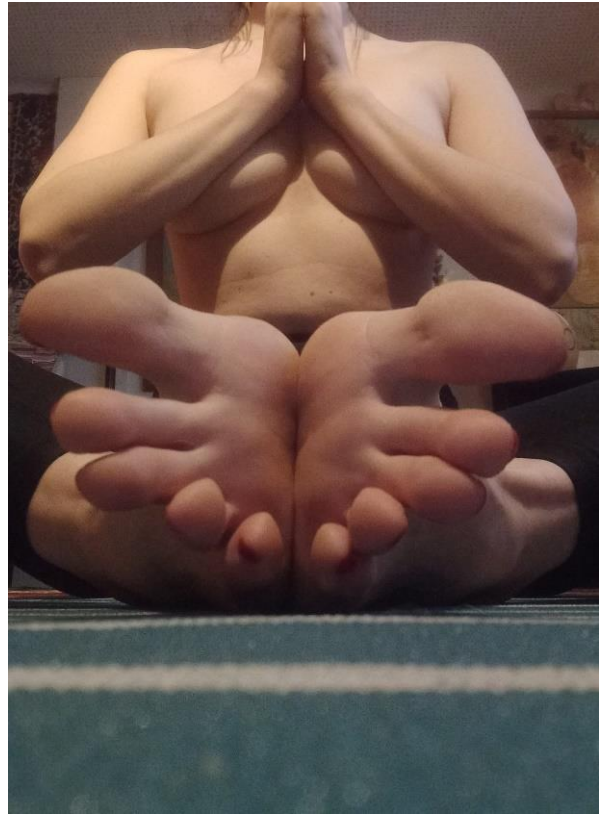


Figure 10: Maya doing yoga topless.

become embedded in participants’ lives and journaling proved useful within her practice as she was able to analyse her yoga techniques.

Another way religious identities enhanced opportunities for economic income can be seen with Zahra, who holds a Muslim identity. Although Zahra holds a Muslim identity in both her private life and as a sex worker, she does not wear a headscarf (hijab) in her day-to-day life, but she does when sex working for economic income:

...On Twitter... I networked with this one girl, she wears a hijab, not in her real life but using it to make more money and mix it up and she is earning 150k, she’s up there with celebrities and stuff, and so I decided I would have an alter ego, my “hoejabi”, that’s what I called it and I made content wearing a head scarf... and I had jobs coming through from that... So, interpreting the culture side of things and extremist with hijab and burka and utilised that and made a lot of money from it. To see how the culture is strict but if a girl is doing it from that culture, you get more money from it... (Zahra, escort & online content creator, diary entry/interview).

This experience shows how Zahra has enhanced her economic opportunities within her sex work because of her ethnicity, religious identity, and culture. She discusses how she and other Asian sex workers utilise traditional Islamic clothing within their sex work experiences yet, they do not

necessarily wear these in their day-to-day life. This experience lends to discussions around religious clothing and how it serves varying purposes within different experiences, which I discussed within the literature review regarding the sexualisation of Christian clothing (Crome 2020). However, Zahra still holds connection to Islam and her engagement with Muslim culture and traditional clothing is not entirely for the purpose of sex work as she believes in Allah (see “Religious Sex Play” below for more information). Yet, she engages with Islam differently when connecting to her private self and when she is wearing the hijab and sexualising her religion when sex working. Within this experience, connection can be made to Maya’s engagement with her spirituality within sex work spaces and experiences discussed above. Religiosity is therefore a resource to earn money for Maya and Zahra. This connects to Besecke (2001), who argues that reflexive spirituality can serve as a cultural resource. Their utilisation and engagement with religion and spirituality serve different purposes and meet different needs and desires of their different identities harmoniously. Sexualising religion in this way can, however, come with risks. As discussed earlier, former porn actor Khalifa received strong criticism from some Muslim individuals due to starring in a porn film while she was wearing the hijab (BBC 2018a). Khalifa’s experience highlights that although Zahra sexualises her religion successfully, this is not generalisable. We can, therefore, observe the fluidity of religion and spirituality within their lives and their experiences illustrate how they successfully utilise this part of their self to enhance economic opportunities within their careers as sex workers. Therefore, religious identity can be a money-maker for some sex workers.

Although participants engaged with their religion and spirituality in diverse ways, LRE, Amy, Maya, and Zahra offer narratives of how their religious and spiritual identities co-exist within sex work spaces. Religion and spirituality enhancing sexual pleasure and opportunities for economic income demonstrates how this element of their self can co-exist and create unique experiences as a sex worker.

SHARED RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES

Another way religion existed within sex work experiences can be observed with Tanya. Tanya discussed how she had a male client who secretly dressed in women’s clothing. This was a challenge for the client, who was both worried about being found out and being judged. Tanya reflects on the positive impact their shared religious identity had on this encounter:

...He [the client] started talking more and... he said I listen... he told me he goes to church every Sunday and was a church elder and he opened up more and more. I also said to him as well that I used to go to Sunday school every week and so we connected because of [our] shared religious identity. Because I am not going omg when he told me, and he asked me if

I still go to chapel now, and I said no but I still pray and believe in God, and he said that is nice. I said there is no need to feel guilty nor is it wrong and I bet there are other people in the church who do it [dress in women's clothing]. (Tanya, phone & cam sex worker, interview).

Within this experience, the client felt at ease when discussing his worries with Tanya and they bonded over their shared religious identity. They discussed their shared engagements with Methodist Christianity, where Tanya was empathetic around his concerns about being met with hostility from religious individuals due to dressing in women's clothing. Tanya's acceptance made him feel better and alleviated some of his worries. This experience connects to Burke (2014), who explores how evangelical male Christians who have an interest in pegging (male anal play) or/and cross-dressing, discuss their desires which challenge the cultural expectations of their religion online. The study found that an online message board and a blog allowed people to talk about their sexual desires, which contradict the "rules" within their religion that are heavily hetero-normative. By talking about these perceived taboo subjects, users could receive credibility and a sense of acceptability. Within this experience, we can see how Tanya's religious identity being shared and known enriched their connection and provided reassurance to her client, like Burke's (2014) work. Although this experience is unique, throughout this chapter there is a commonality of enhancement because of religion and spirituality existing within these experiences.

Tanya becomes a religious advisor through their shared religious identity and this experience also shows how sex work experiences are not always superficial or one-dimensional, they can hold multiple meanings. Her experience connects to literature concerning sex work therapeutic services, which can be sexual and non-sexual (for example, discussing sexuality) (Matolcsi et al 2020). The client's mention of Tanya listening demonstrates that her qualities/skills as a sex worker are more than solely of a sexual nature, connecting to Grant (2014), who states that "sex work is not simply sex; it is a performance, it is playing a role, demonstrating a skill, developing empathy within a set of professional boundaries" (p.90). Religiosity can create unique connections and meaningful experiences for both sex workers and clients when this part of their identity is known. I explore this further below.

RELIGIOUS SEX PLAY

The concluding section within this chapter explores "religious sex play", which furthers understanding of how spirituality and religion exists within sex work spaces. Maya discusses an agreement she has with one client where religion and race come into their role play:

...He said I like religious play, race play... It's more race but... he'll like the idea of him having sex with me and a White man having sex with me and seeing whose swimmer [sperm] wins the race and breeds, yeah, and that the Brown man is superior to the White man. So that's like a race thing and he'll say like your Arab Prince. Like corrupting some White grandad's daughter or whatever? What would they think, you know? Like because they've obviously been subjected to [inequality], so they love the fact that White women love Arabic men, I guess... But with the religious stuff like he would like love to be like an Arab Prince on a throne and me like licking his feet, he's like a dominant and I'm quite submissive... It's all role play, and I think that element of me being like a White Christian girl wanting an Arab Brown man to dominate and take me is very empowering for him and it's empowering for me... like I wanna be your top White girl and he's like you have to earn it sort of thing... (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

Maya offers a myriad of discussions which demonstrate the presence of harmony when religious identities enter sex work spaces. Maya discusses how a client (who is Muslim) engages with her through religious and racial play. This supports the aims of this work and highlights how individual experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers are congruous within sex workers' lives and with clients. Employing intersectional analysis (Crenshaw 1989) is imperative as discussions of race and religion exemplify existing social divisions within society, which are then translated into their role play. Maya being a White, Western, Christian/spiritual woman enables her client to challenge/flip existing inequality which disadvantages him to make him empowered within his fantasy. Maya's mention of how the experience is empowering for her as well as the client demonstrates the mutually beneficial experience, which means more to Maya than solely financial gain, connecting to some sex workers' desire to manufacture authenticity (Bernstein 2001; 2007). She feels empowered within the role play by performing her identities in a way which opposes traditional racial and Western divides with other countries. Therefore, the incorporation of religion within her sex work experience not only appeases challenges her client experiences but also fulfils her self, even if she is performing her sex work identity (Goffman 1959). Maya and Tanya's (discussed above) experiences also contribute to discussions of sex as a right in a unique way. They offer opportunities for sexual and emotional expression for individuals who may experience challenges in accessing certain sexual experiences (Reynolds et al 2007). Their experiences demonstrate how some sex workers tackle the diversity-equality paradox of sexual expression, which they get fulfilment from.

Religious play was also present with Zahra. When discussing her sex work experiences, she reflects upon the impact of stigma against Muslim communities in the UK and how this influences her experiences as a Muslim sex worker:

...There is a big stigma against Islam and there is a lot of stigma against Muslims, especially women because it is made to seem like they are controlled by their husbands and they have to wear a burka and they got to do this and that, and it is not like that, but that is what it is like in this country, [there is] a lot of stigma against them [Muslim community]. So, there's two things which clash and then the clients are Asian anyway and they are going against their religion which they strongly believe in, and they fall from their family home because of their sexual needs, and I am making money off that as a Muslim woman. I think that is really empowering... So, interpreting the culture side of things and extremist with hijab and burka, I utilised that and made a lot of money from it. (Zahra, escort & online content creator, diary entry/interview).

Within Zahra's experiences, she highlights how existing Islamophobia impacts the way clients and her online and offline audiences may see her sex work as taboo. Zahra also elucidates how most of her clients are Asian and Muslim and draws upon how this also impacts upon her experiences as a sex worker as audiences impact interactions, connecting to Goffman (1959). Additionally, Simpson and Smith (2020) suggest identity is contextual, negotiated, fluid, and interchangeable, influenced by space, audience, and social pressures. This is true for Zahra as her different identities, social and religious pressures and expectations all influence her experiences as a sex worker. The impact of some expectations regarding intimacy and family within Islam, the misconceptions and Islamophobia within society, and her utilisation of her Muslim identity in sex work are interconnected and play a key role in her occupational success. Her experience also demonstrates how she experiences and negotiates through multiple layers of stigma due to her identities as both a sex worker and Muslim. Despite the intersectional stigma experienced (Crenshaw 1989), Zahra expresses how she feels empowered by her experiences as a Muslim sex worker. Her understanding of her experiences as a sex worker is influenced by her different identities, including her religion, ethnicity, and culture. She is successful in her performance of her Muslim and sex work identity within sex work experiences, so demonstrates how these two identities can co-exist, even when there are complex identity negotiations in place.

Therefore, Maya and Zahra's experience highlight how sex work offers an opportunity for fantasies to be played out, which challenge existing social divisions within wider society. However, for Zahra, this is not without negotiation of her religious behaviours within her experiences as a sex worker. Zahra discusses how she does not engage in some requests from clients as it conflicts with her own religious identity:

...I have had clients go can you sit on the Quran and cum, or can I bring a Quran and ride it whilst saying this and that and I say no, that is too extreme for me because I do believe in God and believe in Allah in my private life, I believe in it. (Zahra, escort/online content creator, diary entry/interview).

Although Zahra utilises her religious identity within her sex work in different ways from her non-sex work experiences (wearing the hijab), she sets boundaries in her sex work to ensure she adheres to her religious values. This exemplifies the potential identity dilemmas between sex work and religion when religious/spiritual sex workers use their own religiosity within their sex work performances. If Zahra was not Muslim within her non-sex work experiences, she may have engaged with the requests she describes, yet, as she is a Muslim woman, potential conflicts can emerge due to the blurred boundaries; however, this can be managed through selectivity in her sex work behaviours. Thus, although her religious identity exists harmoniously with her sex work identity and vice versa, this is achieved through conscious and intricate identity management. Subsequently, this experience reinforces an ongoing narrative within my data in that while religious and spiritual identities can provide enriched experiences for sex workers, and these two identities can co-exist, it is not simply there; it is achieved through constant identity work.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has considered valuable experiences which help us understand the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. I have addressed how participants searched for harmony between their religious and/or spiritual and sex work identities through their religious journeys. Although most participants felt their religious/spiritual identities aligned with their self, including their sex work identity, challenges were present within other elements of their identity. This was pertinent for family relationships, where their family's religious beliefs led to negative feelings towards their sex work occupation, creating dissonance within their identity as a daughter, particularly with their fathers. Yet, through participants' decisions to continue sex working, it was clear that participants ascribed superior positioning to their sex work identity as opposed to their religion/spirituality and family harmony. This is important when understanding identity management for religious and spiritual sex workers as it exemplifies how their different identities are understood and performed within their everyday lives. Following this, I provided two examples of believing without belonging which assisted the challenges of sex working through prayer and spiritual practice. Not only were participants' religious and spiritual identities important in their everyday lives, but they also enhanced their sex work experiences. Participants discussed sexual pleasure, calmness, safety, and opportunities for new economic ventures because of their religious

and spiritual identities. Yet, within these experiences of harmony, this was not wholly applicable as challenges from clients were clear within Moon's and Lilly's experiences. Their spiritual identity could appease these challenges, however, not resolve them entirely. Although their identity management enhance harmony within their sex work experiences, this does not mean this is achieved in its entirety. Thus, this chapter has demonstrated how religious and spiritual identities can provide enriched experiences for sex workers, however, this is achieved through thorough identity management and negotiation. I further discussions of identity management within the following chapter, which details participants' experiences in sex work spaces.

CHAPTER FIVE - EXPERIENCES IN SEX WORK SPACES

This chapter considers how religious and spiritual sex workers use and experience sex work space within their everyday lives. I understand space to be physical and social landscapes which possess social meaning, expectations, and practices (Soja 1996). Alongside this, I also see “space as a window to study social relations” (Kesteloot, Loopmans and De Decker 2009, p.3). According to Goffman (1959), social spaces influence the necessity for the recreation of the self. In analysing space, we can examine ways individuals interact with each other and consider how space influences sex workers’ experiences and identity management. Therefore, exploring space is imperative when understanding the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers, which this chapter will demonstrate. I draw out an array of discussions centred around how religious and spiritual sex workers occupy different spaces and manage their different identities to achieve and search for harmony (see also Silk et al 2021).

Besala and Tuominvaara (2018) argue that work environments are comprised of three dimensions: the aesthetic experience of a different environment, situated practices, and changes to work and life rhythms. Within this chapter, I build upon this literature through the perspective of sex work spaces within and external from participants’ homes. Drawing on the experiences of five of my participants who use their homes for sex work, I begin by exploring how boundaries are blurred for sex workers who work at home and the ways participants navigate through potential challenges within home spaces. Within this chapter I propose that although sex workers who work from home can set rules, rule adherence is not guaranteed, demonstrating power relations between sex worker and client. A discussion of how stigma impacts how migrant, religious sex workers utilise space follows; I draw this out within the section “Migrants, Rent, and Sex Work: Creating Precarious Space” to illustrate how they overcome barriers placed upon them because of discrimination. This contributes to the aim of exploring the complexities of co-existing identities through the lens of religious and spiritual sex workers through intersectional analysis (Crenshaw 1989).

I then turn attention to the experiences of five sex workers who work away from home. This offers an in-depth consideration of both the benefits and challenges of utilising spaces they do not live in for sex work. Throughout this chapter I draw on the concept of logistics, which helps draw out the diverse ways participants organise themselves and navigate through micro-level challenges as sex workers. Logistical subthemes offer additional layers of analysis into how religious and spiritual sex workers occupy spaces and manage their different identities in contemporary society. Throughout this chapter on space, I advance knowledge of mundane and “ordinary” parts of their everyday life and offer intrinsic analysis of what being a sex worker means and entails.

WORKING AT HOME

Where participants worked was varied and flexible and for some, it included their home. Different elements of their identity and what type of sex work participants engaged with were influential in how different sex work spaces were utilised, supporting discussions within my literature review which demonstrate how space can influence schedules and safety (Allan 2004). Understanding what 'home' is and what 'home' means is complicated. Although home in a physical sense can differ, home can mean a sense of familiarity and privacy (Scott 2009). This connects to Goffman's (1959) backstage as home can be a space where we can stop executing our frontstage identities which are performed within public spaces and interactions. However, for individuals who sex work from home, this understanding of home being a space for individuals to relax changes. This section will explore how participants occupy spaces at home and the impact this has on the identity management of religious and spiritual sex workers.

Maya works at home as a cam sex worker. Our interview took place on MS Teams, and she spoke to me in her space where she lives (privately), sleeps, and sex works:

"I live at home; this is my bedroom and my office". (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

While sitting on our beds chatting on MS Teams, Goffman's dramaturgy theory (1959) resonated with me due to her varied use of her bedroom. Maya's bedroom is used for income through her laptop, but she also uses the same space and the same technology to chat with me. Me being her audience as opposed to clients changes the meaning of things within this space due to the demands of the interaction, even though we are talking within her work space and using the same equipment she uses within her sex work. Maya also occupies her bedroom for her private life and discussions later will highlight this further when I explore how she uses time/schedules to manage being a private intimate partner and a sex worker. Maya's different identities as a partner and a sex worker are therefore performed in the same space but in diverse ways both in the public and private. Although she does not mention this herself, Maya finds balance between her different identities while occupying the same space. She engages with the space for her different identities, and they serve different purposes. This links to Plummer's (2007) theory of narratives as the story of the space is different for each interaction, depending on who the audience is. This draws on discussions of blurred boundaries proposed by Hammond and Kingston (2014) yet, although her home and work are co-located, they co-exist through her management of her different identities. Next, I consider the logistics of sex workers' engagement with their occupational identities in their homes, beginning with time.

LOGISTICS: TIME FOR HARMONY

This section will explore how participants engaged with time in diverse ways to manage different demands of their self while occupying home spaces. Exploring time utilisation by participants generated rich, micro-level experiences of identity management as a sex worker. Firstly, I consider Maya's management of time regarding camming and being within a private intimate relationship. Maya discusses how time management in her home space is crucial to meet the demands of her different identities, particularly around sex working and her partner:

Daisy: Do you work during the day or night, or both?

Maya: Yeah, so mostly in the day, but it's much busier in the evening... When my boyfriend doesn't stay round... that's when I'll work in the evening. If I've got a free evening, I'll just randomly pop on. (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

Maya exemplifies how some religious and spiritual sex workers are searching for harmonious lived experiences through the negotiation of time. Maya demonstrates how client demands fluctuate and are influenced by time (being busier in the evening). Therefore, the busier the webcam platform is, the greater chances of income. This, however, may not align with the participant's private life, and so sex workers can negotiate time to meet these differing demands. She discusses how if she is not spending time with her boyfriend, she has the option to work in the evening which is busier, so has greater income opportunities. Linking this to space, because she works from home, she must manage other parts of her private self, including her boyfriend. If Maya engaged with sex work external to her home spaces, she may not have to consider her private partner. However, it can also be suggested that although she must manage these two identities, this is a positive and highlights the flexibility of sex working in home spaces. As the literature review highlighted, schedules, time distribution, and how often and when sex workers can work may differ due to other elements of their identity such as occupation (if they have another full-time/part-time job) and other commitments (lifestyle or family commitments) (Harman 2017).

It may be suggested that her private relationships are her priority over working through her description of "a free evening". She sex works when she is free as opposed to making time in the evening to sex work by not seeing her partner. Thus, Maya occupies her bedroom as a sex worker and a partner, and these identities can exist within the same space, however, at different times. It appears that Maya quickly switches from work life to personal life within these spaces and does this with ease (see Bowen 2021). This experience elucidates how time can assist religious and spiritual sex workers' identity management. Next, I consider headspace.

HEADSPACE

The previous discussion highlighted how Maya uses space differently for different identities and how time assisted the success of this. Another way that participants separated and compartmentalised their sex work identities can be observed in Tanya's headspace. By headspace I mean Tanya's mindset when sex working as a phone and cam sex worker. Her home and work are co-located, so the blurred boundaries between home and work life are like Maya, but she also performs multiple sex work identities as a result of being a phone and cam sex worker. She offers a detailed account of her headspace whilst working:

I will be honest, when I first started, I didn't think the calls would come in so thick and fast... I would have a talk [to a client] for an hour [soft chat] and then I would think oh I will get some water and my phone would go ring, ring and... it would be someone else on the phone and they may want dominatrix or hardcore and you have to switch your brain quickly, so it is really hard to be honest. Really hard... you have to be a really good actress. It varies so much, and you don't know what you are going to get and when you hear that whisper prompt [a call system letting Tanya know what type of interaction/role play the client has requested] you think okay and then you switch. When I am on the phone, I try to [change my voice] because as well you sometimes have a call where the whisper prompt will say soft chat, and so they would just want to talk. So, I would put a nice soft voice on but is less sexy as it could be an old man who is just lonely and just wants a chat... (Tanya, phone & cam sex worker, interview).

There is a real complexity within this experience of identity management. Although working from home demonstrates a co-existence of sex work and private identities, Tanya's sex work identity is fluid and can change instantly, depending on the client's request. Her role changing when sex working can be dramatic and happen quickly, so she must compartmentalise her different identities within her mind to meet the demands of the client. Therefore, her headspace when working as a phone sex worker holds multiple roles which are compartmentalised and shift accordingly to align with the demands of the interaction. Additionally, Tanya relies solely on her voice when sex working through her phone. Tanya changing her voice, depending on the type of interaction expectations, demonstrates one way she negotiates the demands placed on her as a phone sex worker. As she is on the phone, she is unable to use other social cues such as body movements, facial expressions, or use props, linking to Goffman's dramaturgy analysis (1959). This is interesting when understanding the relationship between space and different types of sex work. The physical space she occupies is not influential on her performance as a phone sex worker. She cannot utilise her

home space to perform different sex work roles, and so relies on her headspace to successfully role change and fulfil the demands of the client. Therefore, the type of sex work a religious or spiritual sex worker engages with is significantly influential in how they occupy and utilise space. When assistance of physical space and social cues/props are missing, Tanya relies upon her headspace to manage and perform multiple sex worker identities successfully. Next, I focus on another logistical engagement with space, creating rules when working from home.

LOGISTICS: CREATING RULES WHEN WORKING FROM HOME

This section critically analyses how Lilly creates rules within her home when escorting. Lilly explains how she sets rules for clients when they enter her home:

...They are not allowed to come inside my house with their shoes on, take your shoes off by the door and take a shower but they never do... (Lilly, escort, interview).

Lilly's quote highlights a benefit of living and working in the same space in that she can aim to set rules and promote her values within the space she works. However, Lilly's mention that they do not take a shower proposes that not all her rules are adhered to. This experience demonstrates how clients can create dissonance within home spaces at the micro-level as although rules can be set, they can be easily broken. Thus, the power relations between the client and Lilly can be analysed as it suggests that her autonomy to set rules does not necessarily mean it is effective when it comes to implementing them (however, Lilly continues to set rules). Therefore, although rules are regularly broken, they are still important to Lilly.

Working at home can cause conflict in identity management and separation, and Lilly highlighted the challenges of this. Lilly explains potential precarity when working from home, for example, if she needs police support, she risks the police outing her as a sex worker by calling her landlord:

Lilly: ...If you call the police, they come and check and then they call the landlord and let him know what's happening and obviously, if the landlord is not happy with what is going on inside, then you go, arrivederci. You are on the street.

Daisy: Why do you think they tell the landlords?

Lilly: Because it is happening at their house, so in one way this is right... there are too many coming in, out, in, out.

Daisy: Yeah, what about your neighbours?

Lilly: ...They didn't know for four [to] five months; they didn't know what I do. I am so quiet, so discrete. I don't let them knock on the door because they make noises. They don't park

at the front of the house because this makes noises and people see... the neighbours don't know what I am doing. I hide from the front neighbours, but the back knows. I try to hide everything so... I can keep a house for a long time. (Lilly, escort, interview).

Her mention of calling the police is important, as it demonstrates the challenges of safety within her experiences as a sex worker. The need for support with a client who may be aggressive highlights how sex workers are sometimes in potentially dangerous scenarios in which they require police support to keep themselves safe. Despite this need for support, and the fact that sex working from home is legal as she is the sole occupant and therefore her home is not considered a brothel within England's legislation (CPS 2019), due to the existing stigma around the industry, she is at risk of being evicted by her landlord as she rents her accommodation. To overcome this, Lilly employs strategies to keep her sex work identity a secret in her home-as-work space. Within her explanation of how she manages this challenge, there is the evident presence of further rules Lilly has set out, which this time clients do seem to adhere to. Clients may adhere to these rules due to their own desire of protecting themselves. The influence of stigma against the sex industry, therefore, impacts Lilly's behaviours in her space as well as the clients. Rules of where they park their car hold different ramifications to taking a shower, which Lilly explains they seldom do. Thus, setting rules can prove challenging for sex workers, as clients' adherence to these is not guaranteed and is potentially influenced by their identity protection, as opposed to respecting sex workers' home spaces. This experience may also be impacted by stigma and discrimination against sex workers. Why clients do not follow rules may be due to power relations between client and sex worker. Particularly as Lilly sees male clients and is a female, systems of power are influential in experiences of gender inequality (Butler 1990). Additionally, as clients are paying for her time/services, they may feel as though they are entitled to behave in whichever way they choose. Therefore, different spaces can possess varying degrees of stigma, and so sex workers may choose certain spaces to manage potentially negative experiences. While Lilly reflects upon their lack of adherence to rules, she still allows them into her space. Although attempts are made to set rules, when they are not adhered to, this does not terminate the interaction. Lilly could refuse a client if they do not engage with her home rules, however, then she would not gain income from the client. Therefore, although Lilly attempts to achieve harmony within her home space with her clients, this is not necessarily effective, as she then must balance the desire/need for income with her rules, which can be understood as harmonious-dissonance. This is important when unpacking one aim of my research, which intends to explore the complexities of co-existing identities for religious and spiritual sex workers. The impact of stigma is evident here, and although there is the search for harmony, there

are obvious challenges Lilly must reflect on and negotiate (for more analysis, see Chapter Seven, p.154).

Another point of exploration is around how Lilly mentions her “landlord”. Five out of six participants who sex worked in their homes were renting their accommodation (with one participant living at her parent’s home) and could not be considered “theirs” or under their complete control. This offers an interesting analysis into what spaces are used, and how much power they have over the space they work and reside in. Identity management may therefore be influenced by their housing situation when searching for harmony within their everyday lives. I expand on this next when exploring “Migrants, Rent, and Sex Work”. I draw out Lilly’s previous arrangement of “half/half”, which may also be a contributing factor to both her acceptance of clients who do not adhere to rules and how she sees and understands her home space. A “half/half” arrangement is where participants are given accommodation in exchange for giving half of all their income generated from sex work to their landlord. Although this space is not hers per se, Lilly, who was previously in a much more restrictive housing agreement, may feel as though she possesses greater control within her current home, even if rules are not adhered to.

This discussion demonstrates how identity management and separation can prove challenging for sex workers who work from home. Space is significantly influential in the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. Not only is space vital to understand identity management, but the type of sex work engaged with is important too, as Maya, Tanya, and Lilly have significant differences in their experiences of working at home due to the different types of sex work identities they possess. Thus, it is important to understand the differences within sex work occupations alongside space to comprehensively analyse their techniques of identity management and performance. Within the later section “Working Away from Home”, I draw out the logistical elements that religious and spiritual sex workers engage with when occupying spaces which are not considered their home.

MIGRANTS, RENT, AND SEX WORK: CREATING PRECARIOUS SPACE

Although I challenge the negative misconceptions around migrant sex workers within the UK (see Chapter Six, p.136 for further detail about participants’ decisions on entering the industry), a pertinent theme for migrant sex workers concerns their negative experiences of housing. This section highlights how space can create significantly negative experiences for religious and spiritual sex workers and addresses my research question about sex work identity dilemmas within space.

Although no longer within this arrangement, when talking about living circumstances with participants, Lucy, and Lilly, both of whom are Romanian migrants, raised the “half/half” arrangement:

...Where I was before it was half/half and they had WhatsApp, I had to put all the clients down to see how much money I made to split it and I had 22 clients in one day once, some were blowjobs not all were sex. 22 clients... I have to work strong you know when this was half/half with the landlord... (Lucy, escort, interview).

Lucy discusses how her “half/half” arrangement led to her having to see a significantly higher level of clients to make a sufficient income for herself. Her mention of “I have to work strong” demonstrates how her living arrangements were influential on her sex work experiences and behaviours. This experience demonstrates how home spaces can be influential in how sex work identities are performed. Not only this, but “half/half” arrangements were not detailed by any non-migrant participant. This is not to suggest this is an arrangement for all migrant sex workers or not an arrangement for any non-migrant sex worker, but it does highlight that the arrangement can be a product of societal barriers some migrants face (both sex workers and non-sex workers). Housing can be a significant challenge for migrants, irrespective of whether an individual sex works (The Migration Observatory 2019). Although I did not find explicit mention of “half/half” within literature, similar experiences of “half/half” can be observed. Some migrants who are housed by their employer are typically living in poor conditions and migrants are forced to work longer hours to subsidise the “rent” element of their agreement (Norwood 2020). Therefore, participants’ challenges in securing housing are due to the barriers of discrimination and stigma placed upon migrants, as highlighted within my literature review. Experiences of discrimination and stigma are then heightened for migrants who are sex workers, supporting intersectional analysis (Crenshaw 1989). So, the structures of migrant experiences can push people towards non-traditional living situations. As a result, migrants who sex work may agree to a “half/half” arrangement as it is seen as a solution to these challenges. This experience demonstrates how religious and spiritual sex workers’ occupational identities impact their experiences of spaces which are utilised for both their private and occupational lives.

These lived experiences can be understood as exploitative. However, participants did not see it in this way, which is important to consider when understanding how religious and spiritual sex workers manage and understand their own identities and experiences, as opposed to solely how this research sees them. Lilly explained:

Lilly: ...I see an advert on Rightmove [for accommodation], and I need to earn a minimum of £22,000 a year. I don't work properly, and I don't declare everything... I don't work all the time.

Daisy: So, then it is harder for you to get a house?

Lilly: I have a friend who helps me... you can find [housing] on one site in the UK where people rent a room. Sometimes you get half and half, half of your money goes to them, or you rent.

Daisy: And do you like it that it is just your space?

Lilly: Yeah...

Daisy: Yeah, it has made you autonomous. Have you done half/half before? What was that like?

Lilly: Shit because you fuck for half so need to fuck more. Say you make 500 pounds; half goes to her. But you don't work every day. You don't have jobs every day. Two days ago, I didn't have a job even though the advert was running so you never know. So, them taking half the money is risky because they may not make money... (Lilly, escort, interview).

Lilly demonstrates the barriers she faces when trying to secure accommodation. As a result of her income being precarious, this creates challenges for her, which she navigates through with help from a friend. She feels that landlords who agree to a “half/half” arrangement are also at risk due to the precarious nature of the sex industry. This is important for this project as it shows how her occupational identity creates challenges in her everyday experiences. As her sex work occupation is a precarious form of income, this impacts her experiences of spaces where she lives, spends some of her private time, and sex works. Her precarious income also lends to the logistics of maintaining her private life, housing, and sex work, where she must find a balance between the options available to her (also linking to previous discussions of her home rules, p.114). Her mention of “half/half” being “shit” demonstrates a recognition that this is not her ideal living situation, but she is reflective of her income fluctuating as escorting does not guarantee business. Thus, she negotiates the challenges through an agreement such as this. Her experience exemplifies the practical challenge of escorting, which then becomes a potential barrier to obtaining accommodation, and so she finds a balance between these challenges to ensure income and housing.

For both Lilly and Lucy, they are no longer within a “half/half” living arrangement which suggests the desire to be autonomous within their working and living situations. However, although Lucy is no longer in a “half/half” arrangement, her current landlord was a client, so knows about her occupation and living situation, which he takes advantage of:

Lucy: ...I have a landlord now, he is pestering me, he knows I sex work, and he texts me early in the morning. He doesn't want to give me a tenancy agreement and every time I ask him, he says I am fine, and I don't have any proof that I pay the rent and the guy is blackmailing

me with this. He is coming into my house for a coffee, but it is his house... I don't want to cause conflict with him because he helped me. In a way, he was kind to me. The problem is, he is married, and he asks me to send pictures to him. He knows I sex work; he was my client before... He is obsessed with sex. He wants videos and pictures of me, and he is young and has a baby but also a beautiful face and rich, seriously. I applied for a room for six months on spare room, and no one [landlords] got back to me, no one accepts me. (Lucy, escort, interview).

Within Lucy's experience, there is evident exploitation from her landlord which is creating an unsafe living and working space for Lucy because of her sex work identity being known. This experience further addresses my aim which intends to explore the complexities of co-existing identities through the lens of religious and spiritual sex workers. Due to her sex work identity being known by her landlord, this is stopping Lucy from having a sense of home and safety. Although there is the recognition from Lilly and Lucy that there was a significant level of income being given to their landlord, or that their landlord is breaking professionalism with their tenant, both participants saw their landlords as "helping them". From this, analysis can be made regarding wider societal challenges placed on migrants and is not necessarily a product of the sex industry. Instead, due to migrants being faced with challenges when obtaining private rental properties, engaging in a "half/half" arrangement may be the only way to secure accommodation, which in turn, filters into the sex industry. Although participants may see the value in their living situations, this does not take away from the evident exploitation within their experiences. Thus, equal opportunities to obtain accommodation and abolishing stigma against migrants are crucial to enable migrants, whether they be sex workers or otherwise, to be free from coercion and to have a safe space where they are not at risk of exploitation from landlords. If exploitation against migrants was not apparent, participants may have not experienced said challenges. This finding links to Lepp and Gerasimov (2019), who suggest that although many trade unions aim to combat the inequalities for migrant women, concerning garment factories or restaurants for example, society perceives sex work challenges as unrelated. Categorising the exploitation of migrant sex workers separate from other work is a result of stigma around the sex industry. Exploitation, therefore, is even more prevalent because of the double stigma they experience (Crenshaw 1989). Being a migrant and a sex worker means experiences such as this are more prevalent due to their two identities experiencing discrimination. Their experiences highlight the complex nature of identity performance within the context of space. Within this section, there are evident dilemmas for participants where exploitation is experienced. Although participants were sex working within their home spaces and can connect to their religion (which I explore next), there is still a sense of unsafety and turmoil due

to exploitation against migrants. Therefore, participants' occupational and migrant identities influence their experiences of private spaces, which can negatively impact their lived experiences.

There are evident challenges regarding space because of legislation and policies against both migrants and the sex industry. For example, if sex workers were able to live and work in a home together (which is currently criminalised under UK law), exploitative landlords would be less common. To do this, the UK must decriminalise the sex industry, and then improvements could be made towards renting opportunities for migrant sex workers (due to the household having a dual income if two sex workers could live and work together), which in turn could reduce exploitation and the necessity for "half/half" arrangements. I now move away from this discussion of precarious home spaces and examine how sex workers use their homes for religious connection.

HOME FOR RELIGIOUS CONNECTION

This section explores four participants who use their homes for religious connection. Lucy and Amelia sex work from their home and Moon and Khan work away from their homes. This provides an interesting comparison between their sex work identity management and how they connect to religiosity.

For Lucy, her home space is used for sex work and religious connection. Lucy does not attend church, however, has a religious space within her home:

Lucy: I do believe in God... Who helps you more than God?...

Daisy: Do you pray?

Lucy: No. I pray just for my mum. I have something in front of my window [in my house], a table in front of my window and I imagine there is something there. My mum passed away and I talk to her through the window. I do believe in God... There are some trees in the back, and you can see an alley that goes up. (Lucy, escort, interview).

Lucy has created a sacred space within her home, which holds visual symbolism to a higher being, as the alley looks as if it goes up towards the sky. Her mentions of prayers and conversations with her mum lend to an analysis of religion and death. Religious and spiritual beliefs can assist in mourning the death of a loved one (Walsh et al 2002). Lucy, who is Christian Orthodox, has created her own religious space within her home, which enables her to connect to her mother through prayer. Also, not needing to be a part of organised religion to feel connected to God and her mother highlights believing without belonging (Davie 1990). She has tailored religious practices to her own needs and offers insight into how different identities are performed within the same space but for

varied reasons. Although her sacred space may not be known to her clients, and the space is consumed differently when sex working, as Lucy is an escort who works from her home, her two identities occupy the same space but in different ways (Goffman 1959). Lucy's identities co-exist within one locale.

Another way religion existed within sex work spaces was Amelia's experience with a client who prayed after their sexual encounter:

Sometimes people would come straight from the mosque... People would come straight from the mosque and prayers with their white dresses on and no underwear. I haven't laughed like this in so long haha. They would come straight from prayers with their clothes on and flip flops and no underwear on and afterwards... He thanked God for what he got. Well, sex is part of life and for him, God gives this to him, I guess. The prayer was after we had sex. (Amelia, was an escort, interview).

Although this experience is not concerning Amelia's religious identity (Christian Orthodox), we can see how religiosity can exist within sex work spaces harmoniously. Amelia discusses how some of her clients would be in religious places for prayer before their meeting, which is interesting regarding religious dress. As clients would know they would be seeing Amelia, they would choose not to wear underwear during their prayers and afterwards, they would pray within her home. Within this lived experience, we can see how her clients' experiences within religious spaces are influenced by their upcoming meeting with Amelia. As well as this, clients' religious identities shape Amelia's experiences when she is escorting within her home. The prayers within Amelia's home are not less religious than those within the client's place of worship, however, they hold different motivations. Therefore, Amelia's clients use her home for religious connection. Again, this demonstrates how religion and sex work can co-exist within one space for different individuals within the interaction (Goffman 1959). The next section considers the impact COVID-19 had on two participants' engagements with religion and spirituality.

RELIGION, SPIRITUALITY, AND COVID-19

Another way space was utilised for spirituality within the home can be observed through the lens of COVID-19. This section will explore how religion and spirituality were impacted by COVID-19, exemplifying how participants believed but didn't necessarily belong to organised traditional religion. Moon was already working in a strip club before the pandemic started:

Okay, so when ... COVID-19 started, I remember that in February [2020] I didn't go to work... I did not believe until the end that this was actually real. Like it was actually... crazy... I did

not go to work. I had no income. And I had to use the money that I saved... (Moon, stripper/dancer, interview).

Moon discusses how she was not able to go to work and earn an income as a dancer due to the lockdown. She was not supported by the government and so she relied on her savings. Her experience highlights the failures of government aid to support sex workers during COVID-19, and links with debates on the legislation of sex work within lockdowns reviewed earlier (Chapter Two, p.37). However, despite the economic challenges, COVID-19 offered Moon the time to connect with her spiritual identity through yoga and mindfulness. She continues:

I spent a lot of time by myself which I enjoyed... I know many people did not like it... I did a lot of yoga mindfulness. You know, I had stuff to do but I was working on myself really... I remember that I started... writing down how I felt... to try to be in control of my emotions because I was alone for a long time... (Moon, stripper/dancer, interview).

Moon explains that although COVID-19 had a negative impact on her income, she was able to focus on her spiritual identity in her home space. This highlights how her spiritual identity assisted her when she was isolated and lacked human interaction. A noted benefit of religious and spiritual practices concerns increased well-being (Jones 2004). As Moon engaged with mindfulness and yoga before (and after) COVID-19 lockdown restrictions, she was able to utilise her engagements with spirituality to assist her with the challenges society collectively experienced during lockdowns. This draws out believing without belonging, as she was able to connect with her spiritual identity in her home (Davie 1990). For many countries, places of worship were closed due to the pandemic, and so engagements with religion and spirituality adapted to the restrictions placed upon us (Robinson 2020). Due to having spare time throughout her day (as her daily routines changed within lockdown), she was able to utilise this time to connect with her spiritual identity, which helped her manage isolation. Therefore, Moon furthers her spirituality because of the absence of sex work. This elucidates the fluidity of her spiritual and sex work identity and draws out an important narrative within the study of everyday life around routine. More time was dedicated to her spirituality, as her sex work identity could not be performed, however, remained backstage (Goffman 1959) as she still held a sex work identity, even if she is not performing it due to pandemic restrictions. COVID-19, therefore, created dissonance regarding her sex work. However, through the challenges of COVID-19, she was able to engage more with other parts of her self, particularly around spiritual practices. Thus, her two identities (spiritual and sex work) were not performed in equal weighting at this time, however, they still are in harmonious co-existence with one another, even when her sex work identity was backstage (Goffman 1959).

Similarly, Khan discusses how her religion of Norse Paganism was and still is online (at the time of the interview) due to her concerns about COVID-19 in America:

...So, with the Norse community and at least for me, it's all online... I haven't dived deep enough to find a local community and even if I could, it's not like our practice requires us to get together or anything like that. There are groups with Norse Pagans in this country that do have gatherings every so often. A lot of these smart ones have put those on hold due to the pandemic... And like I mean, one of them has a Discord [Discord is a chat app to connect with friends and different communities]. So, there's a whole Discord server for further Norse Pagan people. There're other people, other Pagans in there as well, and I think there's a handful of atheists. They do like online rituals and stuff like, they'll do the video, a video call and like you, you just go in there and you watch it. (Khan, escort, interview).

Khan and Moon exemplify how religion and spirituality have evolved alongside societal changes, and religious and spiritual engagements can exist in different spaces and diverse ways. Although Khan held a network of religious individuals, technological advancements facilitated this experience. Without technological advancements, religious engagements within a pandemic would have been significantly disconnected. Campbell (2012) puts forward the term “networked religion”, which can be utilised to analyse this experience. Online spaces can provide opportunities for religious and spiritual groups to communicate with wider audiences. Khan’s religious practices link to Campbell (2012), who suggests experiences such as Khan’s demonstrate the transformation of religion and shifts within Western culture. The explicit discussion of not needing to meet with her Norse community also demonstrates the transformation of religion in Western culture, highlighting the pluralistic participation in religious spheres (Westerink 2013). Therefore, there is a connecting narrative around the detraditionalization of space for Moon and Khan. Both participants use their home spaces to meet the demands of their religious and spiritual identities. Through the transformation of religion, Khan and Moon demonstrate how their engagement with their religious/spiritual identity can be modified due to restrictions placed upon them. For Moon and Khan, identity management between their sex work and religious/spiritual identity differed from Lucy and Amelia as they do not sex work from home. Although their connection to spirituality was based within their home, this space did not need to contend with or be shared with their sex work occupation. Thus, how sex workers engage with their occupation influences space management and utilisation for other elements of their identity, including religion. Next, I turn to experiences of space for sex workers who work away from home.

WORKING AWAY FROM HOME

As discussed, home can mean a sense of familiarity and privacy (Scott 2009), however, aforementioned experiences highlighted that the spaces were not always truly theirs or under their complete control, and there were some challenges when aiming to control these spaces. This section offers a different narrative and explores participants who work away from their homes, which further draws out how space influences identity management and experiences as a sex worker. To begin, LRE, an escort and online content creator, works in spaces external to her home environment:



Figure 11: LRE at a short-term lease property.

LRE discusses how she utilises space for long-term income by creating an array of content when she is occupying short-term lease properties, which she then posts online at various times and on different days. When talking about where she was in her photograph (figure 11), she explains:

Me and my friend are going to this boujee [luxurious] short-term lease she's booked, and we're going to have a few drinks and take loads of pictures in loads of different outfits and then that'll be us set for a few weeks like we won't need to do anything for two weeks and we can just sit back and upload them... This guy came to the room just before I was about to go out to the club last night and I said let me quickly see this client, get £200 and then I can go out and be happy and then I have made profit... (LRE, escort & online content creator, diary entry).

LRE's use of space is interesting for multiple reasons. Firstly, by using a space external to her private life, she is protecting her sex work identity as she is not an "out" sex worker. LRE's mention of having a few drinks and going to a short-term lease property also connotes her experience as leisure as well as work. The diary entry could be applied to many trip experiences as she is booking a short-

term lease property, drinking alcohol, and taking photographs, however, as the photographs will be specifically for her sex work clients, it is also a part of her work identity. Within this experience too, we can draw upon my concept of logistics. LRE utilises time optimally to meet different desires of her self. She can go to clubs; however, she is aware of the narrative and purpose of the experience, which is sex work. Therefore, LRE's utilisation of space serves a dual purpose to fulfil her work demands, which is the central motivation for the experience, but it also offers leisure and fun. Similarly, how she can sex work before going to a club demonstrates the blurred boundaries between leisure, fun, and sex work. Leisure time and sex work complement each other due to where she works (hotels/short-term lease properties), how she works (drinks alcohol) and the time she works (evening). This blurred relationship between leisure and sex work is important to understand how her different identities work together to ensure she makes money but also meets other desires of her self.

Interestingly, there is the continuation of occupying spaces without physically existing there at the time she uploads her photographs (to her online content creating spaces). LRE's discussion states that she and her friend will take different pictures wearing different clothing to ensure she is using the space optimally for her work and will be sharing pictures taken on the same day but marketing them over different days to her clients, creating an alternative reality to her audience. She wants her clients to believe she is still occupying the hotel/short-term lease space and performing her sex work identity and does this through wearing different clothing. This supports discussions within my literature review which suggested visual representations offer social cues of identity, so sex workers can promote their business through clothing (Shah 2014). This demonstrates the variances between "perceived reality" and "reality" through the utilisation of online and offline spaces. LRE can perform her identities online within perceived spaces to audiences without occupying them. This shows how LRE creates content to align with the external demands of her everyday life. It can be suggested that by LRE wearing different clothes and creating diverse content, she does not need to book multiple venues, which can take more time and be costly. LRE's photograph and diary entry, therefore, offers insight into how she presents and disseminates her self and sex work identity in diverse ways to fulfil the demands of her sex work audience through online spaces (Goffman 1959).

Emily, who also uses hotels for sex work, highlights an additional logistical element to space regarding planning:

...I have one man that I see two or four times a month, depending on when he is working... and I see him for two hours and we have sex in a hotel of his choice, or my choice and we exchange texts on a day to day. I have another two I see four times a month, one of them

we go on dinner dates the other I don't, it is strictly sex... (Emily, sugar baby, diary entry/interview).

Emily highlights the logistics of using hotels for sex work. This experience shows how technology is a mobility system and can assist space-movement (Sheller 2014). Although she occupies hotels to meet her clients, she plans this beforehand and exchanges texts to plan their meeting and to engage in conversation. There is a blurred boundary between the spaces she uses for sex work, however, importance is placed on hotels as she receives her income based on the physical/offline meeting. Yet, Emily is still sex working when she is at home or in her perceived non-sex work spaces as she is arranging her meetings and communicating with her clients.

For Emily, how she utilises space is also interesting due to her community. As Emily is a member of the Irish Traveller community and feels as though she would be disowned if her family and community knew about her sex working (see Chapter Seven, p.165), she can manage this challenge and conceal her sex work identity through her utilisation of space and working external from her home. Even if she is performing her sex work identity in her non-sex work spaces, this is not known to her audience, so they can co-exist (Goffman 1959). This utilisation of space illustrates how the emergence of the online disrupts time. Emily engages with clients across several weeks, however, is centralised around the time together physically. Contrasting this, LRE takes pictures in hotels/short-term lease properties, which will be experienced by her clients for weeks, succeeding her time at the hotel. From this, we can see how sex workers use spaces external to their homes differently from sex workers who work from home, however, their occupation of space is not isolated, it extends to different spaces and at various times. Thus, participants' sex work identity management is achieved through the utilisation of space which fulfils the demands of the type of sex work they engage with.

Another participant who works away from home in America is Khan. Khan only does out-calls [meets the client at a chosen location as opposed to in-calls where the client comes to the sex worker's home/location] as an escort as she lives with her friend:

...Right now, out-calls are all I would do because of the living arrangement for one, I respect my friend too much to bring that into her house. If it were my place, it would be a different story. Two, I'm on the couch, I don't have a room. I don't have a bed... It's not conducive to that kind of work so yeah out-calls are all I'm available for now but that may change in the future... (Khan, escort, interview).

The flexibility of sex work space is present within this discussion as she connects her current and future living arrangements with her experiences of sex work. Khan's mention of the future also draws upon the diverse options the sex industry can provide and can align with different elements of sex workers' identities, supporting the aforementioned discussions of the benefits of flexibility within the occupation of sex work. Khan discusses that as she has respect for her friend, she does not work from home. Khan negotiates space and her work behaviours for harmony in her home life. Not only this, but the layout of her home space she occupies does not align with the demands of her sex work. She talks about staying on the couch not being "conducive" to her work. Therefore, she overcomes this challenge by using spaces external to her home space. Additionally, Khan's "personal space" is not personal due to her current circumstances. Although this is Khan's home, her space is not a conventional bedroom, and she is renting this space through her friend. As a result, Khan negotiates her sex work practices and behaviours to manage her private life circumstances whilst still meeting occupational demands as an escort.

Although LRE, Emily, and Khan all engaged with space external to their home for sex work, their experiences and rationales were significantly different. Identity negotiations between their living circumstances and private lives were evidently influential within their decisions of sex work spaces and were motivated by the search for harmony. Space utilisation is, therefore, a unique part of religious and spiritual sex workers' everyday lives, as they can tailor space to meet the demands of their different identities. Next, I consider a logistical element concerned with sex work spaces external to participants' home.

LOGISTICS: WAITING FOR CLIENTS...

This section explores the logistical element of waiting for clients when occupying work spaces external to their homes. Two participants sent photographs of their legs while they were waiting for their clients. I found the similarity to be interesting, and both photographs offer insight into how they spend some of their time at work from two different perspectives. The first photograph was taken by Moon (figure 12), who added the caption "In the club, waiting..." (Moon, stripper/dancer, diary entry). The photograph below figure 12 was captured by LRE (figure 13) (LRE, escort & online content creator).

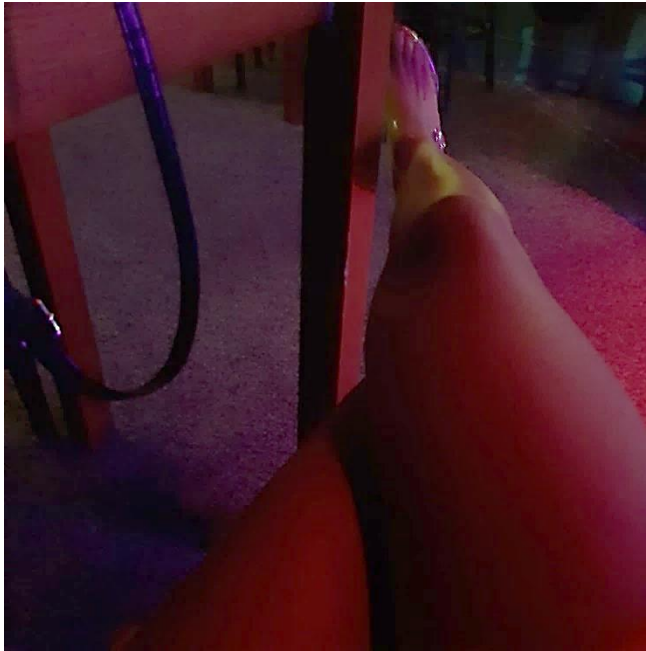


Figure 12: Moon waiting for clients at the strip club.



Figure 13: LRE waiting for clients whilst escorting in a hotel.

Both participants captured photographs when they were waiting for clients, highlighting a logistical element of their sex work. Although LRE and Moon engage in different types of sex work, both must wait for clients. This experience of waiting supports exploring the mundane as it offers insight into the logistical elements of their profession in that their work relies on business for income. Without clients, although they may still be working (for example, talking to clients), they are not earning an income. Their experiences of occupying time while waiting may have differed if LRE and Moon sex worked within their home spaces. Therefore, how participants spent their time was influenced by the space they occupied. This also connects to the concept of liminality, where an individual is in

one mode of being and another within the same space (Lamond and Moss 2020). As highlighted, Besala and Tuominvaara (2018) argue that work environments are comprised of three dimensions, and liminality is a “betwixt-and-between” space and time, which is a transitional state. This is important regarding participants’ experiences. LRE and Moon are waiting for income whilst occupying their work spaces. Although they are “not working” while taking their photographs, they are still occupying their work space, and so the idea of betwixt-and-between can be applied.

They occupied their time by taking photographs, demonstrating that their time at work is not solely with clients. Both participants are within a unique environment where certain practices are expected as they are sex work spaces, however, their work rhythms vary, depending on who they are interacting with. Thus, the photographs also lend to an analysis of identity performance. When asking Moon what she does when she is waiting for clients she said:

...Honestly, what I do, I sometimes read... I have stuff on my phone... (Moon, stripper/dancer, interview).

Therefore, Moon’s sex work identity performance may be more backstage or performed differently when she is reading, even though she is occupying her work spaces, linking to Goffman’s (1959) ideas. Additionally, the photographs taken by participants also demonstrate the expectation of content of particular framing. By this, I mean how participants’ identity performances are both frontstage and backstage (Goffman 1959). Their performance consists of cues which are “given” and “given-off”. Their “given” cues concern the posing they have chosen (their legs) and the background they have framed their photographs in. “Given-off” encapsulates how their content is perceived by me. Although this research can understand the photograph as an example of how time is used within sex work spaces, for the audience within the sex work space, their given-off cues may differ and come across as boredom for example. Therefore, it can be suggested that no clients were around when the photographs were taken as Moon and LRE may not have wished to “give” cues which did not increase the chances of economic income.

Both photographs also possess signifiers of sex, even though the photographs themselves are not overtly sexual. There is existing literature which has explored the sexualisation of women’s legs and how women’s legs are a visual expression of their sexuality. Thus, participants’ photographs support how legs possess sexualised signifiers (for more information see Smith (2013)). This also may be due to occupying sex work spaces which possess sexualised behaviours, norms, and practices. It is also necessary to consider the research restrictions placed on participants when capturing photographs as it was important their identity remained unidentifiable (see p.75 for more information). Although participants had to be selective in what they photographed, their

photographs visually illustrate the social signifiers of their work environment/spaces. Within LRE's photograph, you can see a nightstand with condoms, lube, and baby oil next to the bed, highlighting where within the room she works (figure 13). For Moon, this is more difficult to ascertain however, the darkness visually demonstrates the atmosphere she works within. There is the suggestion this is night-time or that the club attempts to create an evening atmosphere (figure 12). Therefore, there is a significant insight into the space LRE and Moon occupy when working and how they exist within the space. This advances knowledge of the everyday experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers at the individual level as mapped out within my aims.

LOGISTICS: THE CONTEMPORARY SEX WORKER

Another logistical element when working away from home can be observed with LRE. LRE captured the photograph to the right (figure 14) to show how she utilises technology when sex working.

Firstly, this photograph visually demonstrates the logistical elements of sex working as an escort and requiring condoms to keep herself safe regarding their health. As LRE works in cities where she does not live to ensure she keeps her occupation as a sex worker hidden, she is required to bring specific items with her. As she



Figure 14: LRE's condom delivery.

forgot to bring condoms, she ordered these on a delivery site which shows how technological developments can assist logistical requirements when sex working. When ordering condoms, however, she said that *"the delivery driver gave me a weird look"* (diary entry). This photograph and diary entry offers multiple points of analysis. Her mention of the driver giving her a "weird look" highlights how society engages with sex. Existing literature suggests although attitudes towards sex have relaxed, taboo around sexual expression and gratification exists. This can be observed with brands such as LoveHoney, who send their orders in discrete packaging (LoveHoney 2021). This supports LRE's experience as delivering condoms may be seen as an uncomfortable experience for some individuals as sexual expression is still seen as a "hidden" practice. However, it may also be suggested that her experience was due to the quantity of her order. As she had three boxes of condoms delivered to her hotel room, it could be suggested that this was out of the ordinary for the delivery driver, which stimulated their reaction. As discreteness is present within the sex

industry and sex workers reinforce the value of client confidentiality and discrete sex, this experience may be considered out of the ordinary for someone external to the sex industry (see also Hewer 2019). This photograph draws out a micro-level example of an identity dilemma when sex working away from home, in which LRE negotiated by prioritising being able to work safely over an uncomfortable social interaction. Next, I further analyse how participants engaged with safety precautions when working external to their homes.

SPACE AND SAFETY

This section considers how religious and spiritual sex workers use space external to their homes for safety. LRE discusses where she keeps her money from escorting when working in a hotel, which is stimulated by her friend being a victim of a robbing:

...One of my friends was robbed. Somebody turned up, so he'd been messaging her the day before like how many people have you got booked in tomorrow? You busy, like he was finding out. And she was naïve, she thought nothing of it. So, then he'd turned up, held a knife to her, and put her on the floor. Made her put her arms around her back then took her over to the safe and made her open the safe. And obviously she's pleading with him like I've got a son, please don't do this, just take the money, take whatever. Yeah, he took her Gucci bag. Robbed her clean out so she said to me if you get money put like £100 in the safe and then anything else, just stash it and obviously just be mindful of where you're putting it because the more drunk, you're getting... so she said to me put it in different places, you are having, like half an hour, okay then £150... They give you the money and then they say oh can I just use the bathroom... they go to the bathroom, and I stash it... (LRE, escort & online content creator, interview).

LRE shares how she protects her income when escorting in spaces which are not her home and highlights that her behaviours in these spaces are due to previous violence her friend experienced. Her friend's experience highlights some of the dangers sex workers face because of stigma against the industry alongside how policy and the police fail to protect sex workers (Armstrong 2019). This experience details some potential warning signs of "clients" who are intending to cause harm to sex workers. Additionally, this experience is important to share as it highlights ways sex workers can mitigate the loss and impact of violence when working in spaces away from home. However, this does not guarantee violence will not be experienced, but LRE mitigates the repercussions of potential violence. Their behaviours are not preventing harm but attempting to mitigate the impact of violence and violent clients.

LRE also discusses how she uses certain hotels and apartments which are sex work friendly:

...So, there's one hotel that's well known for sex work, right... And we go there quite a lot... because when you go to a hotel you got to think like you can't have key cards for the lift and stairs because how will they [clients] get up? So, you've got to choose somewhere that doesn't have that which is hard to find these days... So, we thought if we book an apartment, we can be in the same apartment it's safer, like if anything happens to me, I can just shout, she's down the hall... There's lots of things you do that keep yourself safe like obviously look through the peephole to see what they look like. But like sometimes I can't go there [hotels known for sex work] because it's well known and if people see me walking in, they'll know what I'm doing. (LRE, escort & online content creator, interview).

Utilising sex work friendly spaces when escorting builds upon Hubbard's (2001) discussion of sexual spaces for non-heterosexual identities. As discussed, space inhabits inequality and vice versa, so marginalised communities such as sex workers may experience heightened identity performance or construction of differing identities to inhabit the space without conflict (Shepherd 2013). For LRE, hotels which are accommodating towards sex work offer better experiences when working, and so demonstrates another way space choices are important in constructing LRE's sex work related experiences.

Her mention of "if anything happens to me, I can just shout, she's down the hall" demonstrates how sex workers work together to keep themselves safe (see also Sanders (2001)). However, having to rely on her friend for safety offers another micro-level example of how the police and sex work legislation are failing to protect sex workers from harm. Although she employs safety tactics (checking who is at her door and being close to her friend who also sex works), which the apartment/hotel's layout assists, this creates challenges for her identity protection. As specific hotels are known for sex work, she is at risk of being seen and then associated with sex work. As LRE is not an "out" sex worker and a healthcare professional (for more analysis around sex work and healthcare professionals, see Chapter Seven, p.162), she is worried about being outed due to the space she occupies. Therefore, she must negotiate identity protection with safety when choosing spaces to sex work. There is also a significant level of trust which she places in both her friend to help her if she is in danger and client confidentiality. As she is actively attempting to conceal her sex work identity, she is hoping both her friend and her clients do not share information (which may or may not be accurate) about her. This exemplifies the potential challenges of hiding her sex work occupation as she is trusting the people within this experience to support her decisions and assist her identity negotiation alongside her friend keeping her safe. Therefore, audiences who occupy the spaces play a significant role in LRE's experiences as an escort. Like Lilly, who attempts to set rules within her home (p.114), what space a religious and spiritual sex worker occupies and

how the audience responds to the desires and demands the religious/spiritual sex worker set out can influence what identity dilemmas they face and subsequently navigate through.

Similarly, Khan, who lives in America, also reflects upon how she utilises spaces for her safety not only due to being a sex worker but also being a transgender woman:

...Being trans, it really is a safety issue too... Sadly we have to worry about those people that are intent on harming trans people, which is why when I do meet people, whether it be personal or professional, it's usually in some public place and then we can go private. My first meeting is in public because I'm going to vet you a little bit where there's people around... The upside with this being a touristy area is any of those calls are probably gonna be at some sort of hotel. So, it's not like I'm going to their private house that I'm completely unfamiliar with. It's gonna be a hotel and God forbid, something does happen, like there's staff or security... and I will say I was on a date, this guy went crazy, I don't know what they're [the client] going on about... He's not going to be like no I hired the bitch; he's not going to do that. He's not going to dig his own grave... (Khan, escort, interview).

Not only does Khan negotiate sex work stigma but also discrimination due to being a transgender woman (Coston et al 2022). This experience shows how stigmatised identities can influence how sex workers engage with spaces for sex work. Khan navigates through potential experiences of discrimination and violence by “vetting” (screening) potential clients and new people in her private life in public spaces. Screening involves checking and evaluating the risk of violence from a potential client. This can include, but not limited to, checking their attitude, and seeing if they are under the influence of alcohol (Armstrong 2014). Once she has screened the client or individual and established some level of trust, she then enters/utilises private spaces to escort.

Khan also suggests that sex work laws and stigma is protecting her as she states that a client will not “dig his own grave”. Khan recognises that a client will be conscious of the implications of being with a sex worker, and so will attempt to conceal their identity as a client which in turn, protects Khan. This is important as escorting is illegal where she resides in the U.S., so she believes she is less at risk of being outed by clients to authorities or hotel staff as the client will be worried about being prosecuted. Additionally, this may be because clients want to dissociate from stigma surrounding the sex industry. This connects to Goffman (1963) who suggests that individuals who experience stigma employ strategies of identity management to overcome challenges derived from marginalisation. As discussed within the literature review chapter, Wong et al (2011) highlight how there are limited accounts of how sex workers themselves see stigma. This discussion can bridge

this gap. Although the harmful impacts of stigma are well documented, for Khan, stigma offers her identity protection from authorities, which is necessary due to current legislation challenges.

LRE and Khan shared how they choose spaces to protect themselves and their identities. Stigma management is influential in both experiences and exemplifies the impact this has on the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. Both participants also highlight their decisions around spaces which hold less stigma or can protect themselves against stigma. Thus, space can possess greater levels of stigma against certain identities, which sex workers can utilise to manage potentially negative or harmful experiences.

Additionally, as Khan lives in a tourist area, she can utilise hotels which have staff who can offer her greater levels of protection in comparison to her own home. Her identity negotiation may differ from an individual who does not live in a tourist area, so the geographical locations a sex worker occupies influence how they operate. This offers an additional example of how space impacts sex workers' identity performances. Infrastructures of spaces which caters for or encourages tourism can influence experiences of sex workers. Geographical space was also influential on Amy being able to work within the porn industry:

Well, yeah, I probably wouldn't have been able to do it [porn] if I wasn't in Western America. That's like a major hub of where they film it. If I'd been somewhere out in the middle of nowhere, it probably wouldn't have been able to happen... I live like, just far enough away... So, I'm going to have to move to LA at some point. And to do that, I'm kind of going to have to break up with him [boyfriend]... having to choose my career just because of you know the location and stuff, it's a little sad... (Amy, porn star & online content creator, interview).

As Amy lives close to a state in America where porn production is legal and where the porn industry predominately resides, this impacted her ability to enter the industry and work within porn. Porn production is technically only legal in two states, so legislation impacts whether someone can become a "legal" porn star in the United States (Worthen 2016). She explains that where she lives geographically has enabled her to engage with sex work in this way due to the opportunities the area provides, like Khan. Interestingly, both Khan and Amy live in America, and so there may be something to be said about how the vastness of space in America in comparison to the UK leads to greater impacts of geographical space. Alongside this, there is the negotiation between her private relationships and her career. Amy must choose between her career and private relationship due to the existing distance between her and the porn industry. Therefore, geographical space is not only influential on her options for sex work engagements but also impacts her relationship management

within her private life, and so identity dilemmas exist within this space alongside providing opportunities.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated how religious and spiritual sex workers use space when sex working. For participants who worked from home, identity management was important to negotiate the demands of their occupations as well as other elements of their private life. What type of sex work participants engaged with influenced what spaces they occupied and how they were occupied. Although working from home for some was preferred, the boundaries were blurred between home and work life, yet this was harmonious for participants. I also illustrated the unique experience of how migrant participants navigated space through barriers placed upon them as migrant sex workers. Due to the double stigma faced, sex workers were at heightened risk of economic exploitation due to their home circumstances, however, participants did not see this as exploitation themselves. Participants saw “half/half” as a solution to barriers within housing, but this was contradicted by their feelings and desire to have housing of their own, which was not subject to an arrangement which involved their sex work.

For participants who worked external from home, using space for safety showed how stigma and discrimination against sex workers and the transgender community impact participants’ everyday lives. Using public and sex worker friendly spaces enabled participants to overcome potential challenges and made them feel safer. I offered evidence about a variety of experiences which exemplified how space can be used for safety reasons, identity protection, and harmonious experiences between their private lives and sex work. Thus, this chapter has offered a complex account of space utilisation and identity management, contributing to the knowledge of the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. The next chapter builds upon this by exploring the identity management of religious and spiritual sex workers within the context of love and intimacy.

CHAPTER SIX - SEX WORKERS AND LOVE AND INTIMACY

This chapter explores a variety of themes which arose from participants' data within the context of love and intimacy. I begin by sharing some of my participants' experiences of parenthood. These experiences draw out how participants engage with identity management to overcome the challenges of stigma for themselves and their children. This chapter will then turn attention to experiences of intimacy, beginning with how private intimacy can become blurred with sex work identities and behaviours. Next, I consider how religious identities influence participants' engagements with intimacy, offering examples of how religious and spiritual sex workers experience and negotiate dissonance from secondary factors (family, friends, and private partners) through identity management. Thus, I will demonstrate micro-level ways religious and spiritual sex workers manage their private intimacy alongside the demands of the sex industry, drawing out the impact of Western expectations of monogamy.

PRIVATE LIVES: PARENTHOOD

Within my participant group, six were parents. Their experiences are important to examine as they detail the ways they manage their sex work identity alongside being a parent, demonstrating the negative impact of stigma. I explore parenthood with two Romanian-born participants who live in the UK and work as escorts.

Lilly discusses how she attempts to protect her child, who lives in Romania, from courtesy stigma. As discussed, Goffman (1963) understands courtesy stigma to be stigma by association.

...At the beginning, my mother was annoyed... But I said look, I am not going to the UK to sell potatoes on the market, I go to fuck... But she's okay now. Even she said to me, try to go out a little bit slowly [exit the industry], try to make this OnlyFans but be decent because I have a child... this is why I didn't start OnlyFans. It is not about me, it is about them and people around them, I don't want them to feel bad or other children to make them feel bad... I was thinking to take sexy pictures, but not full naked, you go to the beach in a bikini... (Lilly, escort, interview).

Lilly discusses the negotiations of her sex work engagements to protect her child and mother. Lilly talks about conflict with her mum's feelings about her entering the sex industry. There is evident dissonance with her engagements with sex work, particularly around escorting which is why her mum proposes she creates online content. This shows how some sex work is more accepted than others, linking to discussions of the whorearchy (Knox 2014). However, although Lilly could create online content to fulfil her mum's desires, she reflected on the risks of online sex work for her child.

For online sex work, sex workers are at greater risk of being outed and recorded and it is more difficult to manage their audience in comparison to escorting, which is her main form of income (Henry and Farvid 2017). Apart from her child, Lilly's sex work career is predominately known by people in her private life, and so concealing her identity online may not have been necessary. However, Lilly has decided to be selective in what she will post on OnlyFans to protect her child. Mothers are typically ascribed asexuality (Bellhouse et al 2015), and so sex work can cause conflict with this societal expectation of what a mother is and "should be" (Dodsworth 2014). She recognises that her child may be faced with courtesy stigma (Goffman 1963) if she is too explicit when creating her online content. Therefore, negotiation of her sex work behaviours when operating online can manage these potential challenges. This is an important discussion of identity negotiation to search for harmony within her private life as she finds a balance between ensuring she earns money alongside managing stigma towards her child (like Zahra's experience, see Chapter Four, p.91). While this discussion highlights how identity management when sex working can navigate potential challenges for sex workers' private lives, this experience draws out the harmful impact sex work stigma is having on her everyday life. Sex work stigma is not only causing the necessity for identity negotiation, but it also is causing potentially challenging experiences of courtesy stigma (Goffman 1963) towards children of parents who sex work. This experience, therefore, reinforces the necessity to challenge sex work stigma to reduce experiences such as this (Weitzer 2018). To do this, increased awareness of the lived experiences of parents who sex work is imperative.

Like Lilly, Lucy's child does not know she sex works, and so she engages in selective disclosure, like Koken's (2012) work, as she is scared that her child will find out and this will damage their relationship:

My child... might find out [she is a sex worker]. They are 25 years old now and I can't lie to them about my job. To them, I am a beauty technician, and they don't know what I do... I don't want to lose them... They live in Romania, if they come here, I will move to another city. When I go out, I bump into clients and they ask me how much for a job, and so if I was with my child... (Lucy, escort, interview).

For Lucy, she finds harmony with her family by concealing her sex work identity. However, she discusses how if her child decides to move to the UK, she will have to move cities as she is approached on the street for work, highlighting the volatility of harmony and the challenges of concealing sex work identities. Although this may be unintentional, clients may out her when approaching her on the street. This experience also elucidates the challenges of identity

management regarding separating her sex work identity from her other identities. Although she is not performing her sex work identity or occupying sex work spaces, she is still seen as a sex worker by clients, even when this part of her identity is backstage (Goffman 1959). In comparison to the analysis of online sex work I discuss within Chapters Five (p.111) and Seven (p.168), escorting has a smaller audience in which Lucy has better control regarding protecting her sex work identity (however, not absolute). Yet, as she lives and works within the same city, she experiences challenges in separating her different identities. Therefore, she shares her plan to move if family circumstances change to ensure her private life relationships remain harmonious. This experience is different to Lilly's, however, they both share a conscious engagement with sex work identity management to protect their children and their relationships with their children. This builds on existing literature proposed by Sharpe (2001), who demonstrates how contrary to negative perceptions of sex working parents, there is a multitude of research that details how sex working parents possess the same dedication to raising their children. Therefore, stigma against sex working parents is a product of misconceptions around the sex work industry. Both participants challenge this misconception by demonstrating their ability to provide for their children through sex work and protect their children from stigma to ensure harmony for their children and themselves. I now turn attention to participants' lived experiences of private intimacy.

PRIVATE PARTNERS: NEGOTIATION AND CONSIDERATION

This section concerns how religious and spiritual sex workers negotiate their behaviours and feelings when sex working to align with their private intimate relationships and desires. Khan provides an interesting discussion regarding her sex work identity with her private partners:

All my partners... have known since I started... it's just for money and it's not like I enjoy it completely... I don't dislike it either... there are no romantic feelings, it's a job I go in, I clock in and do the job and I clock out... And that's how I can compartmentalize it and not have it affect me the way that I know it has affected other people. (Khan, escort, interview).

Khan discusses how she is transparent about her sex work with all her partners. Her mention of "no romantic feelings" challenges monogamous understandings of love and sex being interconnected and subscribes to literature of hook-up culture (Freitas 2013). The lack of romantic feelings when sex working changes what the intimacy means for her and aligns with her private relationships. She also mentions sexual pleasure, highlighting that she does not dislike escorting, nor does she enjoy it entirely. For anyone who is sexually active, it is difficult to apply the same feelings of sexual pleasure to all sexual experiences. This can be applied to Khan's outlook towards her sexual encounters when sex working. Although experiences of sexual pleasure may vary from client to

client, her mention of “clocking in and out” suggests the disconnection of intimacy with clients; for Khan, this is purely for work. Khan finds harmony with private intimacy through how she engages and sees intimacy with clients. Although behaviours may hold similarities in her work and private intimate encounters, the feeling attached to them, and the purpose of the behaviours stand very separate. Therefore, who her audience is and what identity she is performing will shape how she understands and engages with the sexual experience.

Another way Khan finds harmony within her everyday life regarding private intimacy and her occupation is by being in polyamorous relationships. She details how she can navigate sex work with her private intimate relationships to meet her work demands and desires for sexual expression and intimacy:

...I'm Demi, Borderline ACE [asexual] ... Not having a local partner; not having that sexual ability to fulfil that sexual need isn't a big deal, because I don't really have that sexual need. That's how long-distance relationships work well for me and being polyamorous allows my partners to have other partners to get those needs met... (Khan, escort, interview).

Khan highlights how her sex work and private intimate desires can co-exist harmoniously. Within the literature review, I suggested how there is an increasing importance placed upon sex due to the sexualisation of mainstream culture (Weeks 2009). Khan's sexuality, however, does not align with this, and so her engagements with polyamory and long-distance relationships manage both her own and her partners' sexual desires. However, Khan's sexuality contrasts with the demands of escorting. This suggests that having sex for money does not necessarily align with the private desires of her sexuality, which typically concerns a lack of sexual attraction to others or having a low or absent interest in or desire for sexual activity (Morris 2021). This exemplifies how different identities can hold varying behaviours and needs but can exist harmoniously for an individual even if they possess conflicting desires and actions. Although Khan finds harmony between her sex work and private intimate relationships, her sexuality conflicts with the demands of her work, demonstrating the complex and multifaceted identities of religious and spiritual sex workers.

In another example, however, still exemplifying negotiation between private partners/intimacy and sex work, Maya discusses how she broached her desire to enter the industry with her private partner:

...When it was like in the research pipeline sort of thing, I think I mentioned like stripping to him and then I was like no..., I'm not gonna do that but I think I found an alternative... I could do it from home... I do remember he had a couple of drinks one evening, right. And he was

like all for it... and then the next day he was like oh I think I was a bit pissed or whatever and I was like well, are you... still happy with it and he said yeah, as long as I don't really know... I think maybe he thinks he should be pissed off about it, but he's not. (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

Maya discusses how she raised her desire to sex work with her partner which suggests a pre-conception that her partner would be upset with her occupation. Her mention that her partner feels as though he should be “pissed off about it” illustrates the dominance of Western societies’ expectations of monogamy and relationship behaviour. Highlighting that her partner thinks he should feel negatively towards her sex work suggests that societal norms and expectations are challenged even though Maya experiences harmony within her relationship and her occupation as a cam sex worker. There is, however, the presence of negotiation through her partner not wanting to know about her work. Purposeful concealment of her occupational experiences/behaviours proposes her partner does feel uncomfortable to a certain degree, yet through management of their discussions around Maya’s work, her partner and her work co-exist successfully. Therefore, we can see the presence of harmonious-dissonance in Maya’s life. Although there is acceptance, this is not all-encompassing; however, Maya is still able to maintain her private relationship whilst continuing to sex work.

Maya went on to tell me about a client she has a unique arrangement (for her) with, external from the webcam platform she works on, and she reflects upon this arrangement in relation to her partner:

...So, the arrangement is we don't talk on the site that I use... We don't talk on there because that makes him feel like a customer. So, I made a fake Twitter account, and we speak on Twitter and that's it. We just chat... The only bad outcome would be like if my boyfriend is being undermined, but then there's that whole question of monogamy. (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

This experience builds upon previous discussions proposed by Bellhouse et al (2015) regarding the potential challenges of sex workers’ private intimacy alongside the impact of Western expectations of intimate relationships. Her client not wanting to feel like a customer also highlights the blurred boundaries between private intimacy and intimacy within sex work arrangements. The client’s desire to converse through platforms that do not make him feel like a customer can create challenges within her private intimacy, so she must find a balance between income (fulfilling her client’s requests) and adhering to boundaries set out to respect her private partner. Maya expresses how she wants to ensure that her boyfriend is not undermined when she is sex working. Although

at the time of the interview, she had not met any client face-to-face, as Maya has an agreement with one client which is more emotionally intimate (linking to discussions of the girlfriend experience, see Chapter Two, p.26) than her behaviours on the cam platform, she is questioning her sex work behaviours to ensure she is respecting her partner. This provides a different narrative to her previous discussions of her partner supporting her sex work career; as she has become “closer” to a client, she feels that this is more intimate, which has the potential to create challenges for her relationship.

Thus, some engagements with sex work can be perceived as more acceptable than others within private intimate relationships, which will be unique to the individual. Both Khan and Maya demonstrate different negotiations between their private intimacy and sex work identities and behaviours to find balance and subsequently have co-existing identities, which are both fulfilled. However, their experiences of harmony are volatile, and their sex work identity performance can quickly alter this. Although they overcome potential challenges within private relationships, their experiences feel unstable, which they must carefully manage and constantly reflect upon to fulfil the demands of their identities external to sex work. Thus, identity dilemmas can be negotiated however, they are not static, and so religious and spiritual sex workers must adapt to earn an income and overcome potential dissonance within their experiences of private intimacy. I now turn attention to the impact sex work has had on participants’ desires for private intimacy, exploring blurred boundaries (Hammond and Kingston 2014).

SEX WORK SHAPING PRIVATE DESIRES

ECONOMIC INCOME SHAPING ENGAGEMENTS WITH PRIVATE INTIMACY

This section considers the blurred boundaries between private and occupational sex, demonstrating the impact of their sex work identity on other parts of their self. Four participants highlighted how the sex industry has changed their outlook on private intimacy. LRE discusses how since becoming a sex worker, she no longer wants to “fuck for free”:

Well, this is the other thing, now I'm so prude, like you know if I go out and I meet a lad in there like really interesting and chat to me, it just doesn't interest me anymore. I don't get a kick out of getting attention from men anymore... I know why you're giving me attention and I'm just gonna wake up tomorrow just as poor as I went out. Whereas I can make money, I just won't fuck anyone anymore for free. (LRE, escort & online content creator, interview).

The blurred lines between her occupation and private intimacy are evident within this experience. As she now receives money for sex due to being an escort, her behaviours and feelings towards private intimacy have changed. Stating that she would no longer “fuck anyone anymore for free” suggests she gives priority to economic income. She no longer desires male attention when she is out as she believes this sexual attention does not offer her anything and connects this to discussions of hook-up culture (Freitas 2013). This was also echoed in Lucy’s feelings of private intimacy:

*...I am paid for sex with money, why would I stay with one man and not have any money?...
I don't want to stay with any man who just pays me £5 per day... (Lucy, escort, interview).*

Both Lucy’s and LRE’s perspective is that they deem casual sex external to sex work to be pointless due to lack of economic gain. Therefore, for LRE and Lucy, their private intimacy behaviour has changed due to their sex work, impacting their performance of their non-sex work identities. This connects to Abel (2011), who details that the physical demands of some engagements with the sex industry can influence sex workers’ private lives. However, the importance placed on economic income over intimacy should not be seen as negative and for both participants, this engagement with private intimacy fulfils their desires of the self. Similarly, when discussing her frustrations around the criminalisation of escorting within the U.S., Khan discusses:

...It is consensual. I am doing this under my own accord. I want to do this. If I'm gonna have sex, why not get paid for it? (Khan, escort, interview).

Khan’s discussion mirrors LRE and Lucy, suggesting that financial exchange is of greater importance than the sexual encounter itself, so money for sex has changed their outlook or behaviours around sexual expression. Amy also discusses how sex work has shaped her sexual experiences in her private life:

*...Doing sex work has influenced... sex in my personal life too, because it's like any time I'm having sex off camera, especially if it's really good sex and after it's like, wow that was awesome. That would have looked so great if I had recorded that. Yeah, that I missed out...
(Amy, porn star & online content creator, interview).*

Although Amy doesn’t discuss that sex work has made her see sex which does not provide an income as pointless, she does feel as though she has “missed out” on opportunities for economic income if she has had a good sexual experience. She is conscious that sex work has changed the way she sees sex, so there is a commonality with the other participants’ discussions outlined above in that income is an important part of sex, which translates into their private experiences. Therefore, Amy, Khan, Lucy, and LRE’s sexual identities are blurred, and their sex work behaviours

are influential on their experiences of private intimacy. This suggests that for these participants, intimacy with clients is, on the one hand, seen separately from their private intimacy, however, is still influential on their sexual expressions/desires within their private life. This does not necessarily mean there is conflict between the two identities and nor should their desire to not have sex when they are not getting paid be understood as a negative repercussion of being a sex worker. Their different identities influence one another, however, are fulfilled and co-exist harmoniously at this time in their lives. This is not to say this will be their desire in the future, exemplifying the fluidity of harmony and identity desires for religious and spiritual sex workers. Additionally, it is interesting within these quotes that there is no mention of religious or spiritual expectations of sexual behaviours. Therefore, this suggests that the influence of their sex work identity is more influential on their sexual expression in comparison to religion and/or spirituality.

THE BLURRED BOUNDARIES: CLIENTS, SEX WORK, AND PRIVATE INTIMACY

Although I have detailed ways participants separate their private intimacy from their occupation, this is not always clear-cut. LRE discusses how she went on a date with a client:

...We spoke for a bit then he said, do you wanna go for a drink and I said nah... then he said one drink is okay, so I thought fuck it... he was telling me everything, from what he was saying, I don't think he has a wife. As I am an escort, you would be brutally honest with me. We were talking for ages, and he said do you want to go for a walk... Then when he drove me to a different part and it was like a hill, and you drive up it and you can see everything... He was laughing and then was kissing me, and in the booking, we didn't kiss, it was a very straightforward mechanical booking which it usually is with men like, Balkan people, they say bend over and that's it. It was cute, it was quite romantic, and he asked me if I had ever been on a date with a client and I said, I have met up with clients on other days because I was interested, I did it once before and it went on for a few months and then it just ended and he said he had never ever gone on a date with an escort... (LRE, escort & online content creator, diary entry).

LRE's experience highlights how intimacy can become blurred with clients. Interestingly, her behaviours as a sex worker around kissing offer insight into her identity management to separate different intimate encounters (Goffman 1959). Although they did not kiss within the booking and the experience was seen as "mechanical", their behaviours towards each other changed when they engaged with each other outside of her sex work space and time. This experience supports earlier discussions of authenticity between sex workers and clients. As discussed, some sex workers strive to create an authentic emotional and physical connection with clients; however, this connection is

typically short-term, confined to the time paid for (Bernstein 2001). For LRE, there was an authentic connection, which led to the continuation of their time together outside of the transaction. Although this is not a common occurrence for LRE (and no other participant disclosed a similar experience), the ability to engage with the client privately shows how boundaries can become blurred if there is an authentic connection with a client.

Additionally, as LRE hides her sex work identity and does not want to date or have casual sex external to sex work, dating a client who knows her occupation can appease some challenges of concealing her sex work identity when engaging in private intimacy. Thus, although her boundaries between client and private intimacy are blurred, this experience for LRE and the client was positive and aligned with her different identities.

Amy also discussed the blurred boundary between her sex work and other porn stars (colleagues) and this experience furthers this discussion of the overlapping between intimacy as a sex worker and intimacy within participants' private lives:

It depends on the person. Most of the time I will just work with them on that day, hello, goodbye and like if it was a really good experience, you might try to stay in contact with them and be like hey, maybe we could shoot content together in the future and stuff. There's at least one person that I met... And there was just instant attraction, we've hooked up off camera lots of times... (Amy, porn star & online content creator, interview).

Amy suggests, similarly to LRE, when a connection is made, intimate encounters can be experienced between individuals who were not initially intended for private intimacy. Again, although this is not a generalisable experience, through sex work, Amy can experience private intimacy, which meets the demands of her self. Therefore, although the main purpose of sex work intimacy is for economic income, it can provide other lived experiences which positively impact their private lives. As Amy is in a private relationship, she reflects upon this regarding being able to access experiences of intimacy:

...I've been with him [partner] for a long time, but we're technically non-monogamous. That's kind of what's giving me the freedom to hook-up with other people in the industry off camera and whatnot... (Amy, porn star & online content creator, interview).

Although Amy can experience intimacy through sex work, this is due to her private intimacy engagements. If Amy were in a monogamous relationship, she may not have been able to have sex with her colleagues off camera. This suggests that within her identity management, her private intimacy is seen as more important than her experiences with her colleagues. Yet, due to her non-

monogamous relationship (like Khan, see p.139), she can experience different forms of intimacy harmoniously. The mention of “off camera” also highlights the different values placed upon sexual intimacy for income and sexual intimacy privately. This shows the complex identity management of intimate experiences for religious and spiritual sex workers, particularly when they have private intimate partners.

When Maya was discussing how sex work has made her more confident, she described how this confidence has translated into her romantic relationship and improved her sex life with her private partner:

My confidence has gone up a lot since [starting sex working] ... It's even reflected in my relationship. So before if I just laid there on my back, you know, let the guy do the work because it's their thing and they enjoy it and they finish first or whatever. Now me and my partner have sex more because I'm on top, doing stuff that I do on camera, and he loves it, and now we have sex more, our sex life was fizzling out before and now it's given it a new lease of life. (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

Because of her sex work and interactions with her clients (audience), she has become more confident and comfortable expressing her sexual identity. This illustrates yet another positive everyday experience due to being a sex worker. Sex work has provided her with income, improved her confidence, and enhanced her sex life with her private partner. For Maya, her sex work performances are not only successful within the context of camming, but they enhance her sexual experiences in her private life. Thus, for Amy and Maya, their sex work plays an intrinsic role in their experiences of intimacy and management of their different identities across various parts of their everyday lives, not just their sex work experiences. I further discussions of sexual pleasure below.

SEX WORK PROVIDING SEXUAL PLEASURE

This section further examines the blurred boundaries between sex work and intimacy through the lens of sexual pleasure. Amy, who is a porn star and bi-sexual, discusses how she experiences and performs sexual pleasure within her work:

...It really depends. ...With a woman, usually those will be more performance, less pleasure. Unless there's a toy involved. I do like women, but when it's on camera, it is definitely a lot more about the performance aspect. I haven't had sex with a woman just for the pleasure [off camera]. But I like men and women... I do fake some orgasms, but they are definitely not all fake. (Amy, porn star & online content creator, interview).

Amy experiences and performs sexual pleasure. Although porn is not always made with the purpose to bring sexual satisfaction to sex workers, this does not mean it is always absent. Depending on the connection and experience of the shoot, Amy can experience sexual pleasure (Smith 2017). However, if she does not experience sexual pleasure, she must perform this to meet the demands of the role of a porn star through deep acting (see Sanders 2005). Therefore, whether she needs to perform this part of her sex work identity varies. Amy's performance of sexual satisfaction will be present in the experience, regardless of whether this is legitimate, which can change her audiences' understanding of her identity performance in different ways. Her partner in the shoot may know her sexual satisfaction is or is not a performance whereas the audience who watches the porn may not. This offers an interesting micro-level experience into the identity performance of a sex worker and the impact this has on her audiences, linking to discussions by Goffman (1959). Although Amy does experience sexual pleasure, this does not dictate the encounter as she must perform the social cues of feeling sexual pleasure in the absence of it, highlighting the demands of the interaction (for more information, see "Sexual Pleasure (The Spirituality of Sex)", p.98).

Not only can her shoots provide her with sexual satisfaction, but Amy furthers her reflections on sexual pleasure and discusses how the porn industry offers her opportunities to fulfil her sexual fantasies:

...Another form of porn that I've done that is even more controversial, that a lot of people would not be comfortable doing is snuff, where I'm pretending to be raped and murdered. Yeah, like snuffed out... I have a rape kink as well. So, getting to act out that part of it was super fun for me. I was having a blast... The whole thing was just really fun for me to fulfil... (Amy, porn star & online content creator, interview).

What type of porn (snuff) Amy creates is sometimes influenced by her private desires. From this, she can fulfil her sexual fantasies whilst earning an income. This connects to incidental sex work, which concerns casual, unsolicited commercial sex (Morris 2021a). Morris (2021a) details how incidental sex work can involve kink, and participants described their commercial sexual experiences as an "experimental experience" and "payment for pleasure" (p.862). This is true for Amy. Although this experience may be uncomfortable for some, as Amy has sexual fantasies which align with this porn genre, this experience is positive and harmonious for her. Therefore, experiences of sex work are more complex than solely to earn an income, and how sex workers engage with the industry can influence how much harmony they feel and experience. This addresses my research question concerning how religious/spiritual sex workers negotiate their identities for harmony between their potentially conflicting identities in unique ways. Amy's

engagement with this porn genre is unique to her and although this may cause conflict within other sex workers' identities, for her, this fulfils multiple parts of her self (such as income and sexual exploration). Next, I consider how religious identities impact expectations of private intimacy and how this influences identity negotiation for harmony.

RELIGION CAUSING CONFLICT

This section explores how religious identities cause conflict with sex work through the lens of intimacy and love. This section builds upon Chapter Four, where I discussed how religiosity shaped participants' experiences as sex workers and the impact religion and spirituality have on their understandings of their self. I address the question, "What are the roles and impact of religion and spirituality within the everyday lives of sex workers?". Beginning with Emily, she felt that not only does her religious identity as a Catholic and an Irish Traveller cause conflict with sex work behaviours but also with her private intimacy expectations:

I don't think anyone who does it [sex work], whether you a Catholic, Muslim, whoever you are, I don't think anyone who does it [sex work] is proud. I am not supposed to have sex before marriage but obviously I am. But I could marry a Country person [people who are not a part of the travelling community] and it wouldn't matter. It is weird. I don't think anyone is proud of it. I think it can affect you emotionally. I do get worried like what if, when I get a boyfriend or husband, I don't want to have sex with them because I am expecting him to pay. It is a scary thing to think of. (Emily, sugar baby, diary entry/interview).

Emily believes that all sex workers feel ashamed or negatively about their work. Not only does she hold negative feelings because of her community expectations and Catholic identity, but she generalises her negative feelings to others and assumes that no sex worker would feel proud of their occupation. As my research has shown, this is not the case, so it exemplifies how sex work stigma has shaped Emily's understanding of her own identity and others' sex work identities.

Emily also offers reflections regarding intimacy expectations, sex work, and the impact of the sexualisation of mainstream culture. Her mention of how marrying a Country person would alleviate the challenges of engaging with sex outside of wedlock suggests how the sexualisation of mainstream culture, which does not impact her community norms and expectations in the same way, could mitigate the challenges she is presented with regarding sex working and private intimacy. Emily's concern about how being a sugar baby may influence her future relationships demonstrates the blurred boundaries between private intimacy and sex work practices. Throughout this reflection, there are evident identity negotiations and consideration of different outcomes. Emily draws out moral conflict between her sex work practices and religious beliefs,

which dictate how she should engage in private intimacy and sex (Peach 2005; Sorajjakool and Benitez 2015; Tamale 2014). For Emily, concealing her sex work identity is necessary to manage the conflict between her religious and community expectations and behaviours. Although this is successful, there is the presence of an evident quandary within her private self, and she openly expresses concern for her future self. Although in public spaces and interactions with others, her sex work identity being hidden can overcome the potential challenges of being outed or shamed by her community, Emily's private self remains conflicted. However, financial income is prioritised, like Khan's identity negotiations I discussed earlier in this chapter (p.138).

RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES OF PARTNERS

Continuing the theme of religion causing conflict, Moon and Maya reflect on how their partners' religious identities can cause challenges with their sex work and private intimacy:

He's actually very sexually innocent as well... he grew up in a religious family... He's very monogamous, so I don't think he quite understands... (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

The impact of Maya's partner's religious identity is significant within this quote. Although for Maya, her religious/spiritual identity aligns with her engagements with intimacy both within her occupation and private life, Maya discusses how she believes her partner's sexual behaviours and understanding of sex work have been shaped by his religious family/upbringing. This reflection supports literature which highlights how traditional engagements with religion can influence sexual behaviours (McFarland et al 2011). Moon discusses a similar experience:

My ex-boyfriend is American and where he was from it was extremely religious. Think he was like a Baptist, something like that, a very religious man in terms of his religion. For example, you can only have sex when you get married... At the beginning when we got to know each other, he did not accept that I was dancing. But then I said so, that's my job whether you like it or not. But we broke up for reasons that are not related to dancing... (Moon, stripper/dancer, interview).

Maya and Moon's experience with private intimacy and their partners' religious identities offer an interesting discussion about religiosity within contemporary society. Although religion can be shaped and tailored to participants' occupations, supporting discussions of lived religion (McGuire 2008), their private partners' values and engagement with religion can create conflict with their careers. Therefore, private partners can cause dissonance, which religious and spiritual sex workers must negotiate to find an optimal balance which meets the desires of their self. Although Moon and Maya successfully navigated through this conflict, participants experiencing challenges due to

other people's religious beliefs is a significant insight into the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers, and I explore this in other relationships throughout this thesis (see "Rejecting Ascribed Religious Identities" (p.87) and "Friendships and Sex Work" (p.166)). Although sex workers' engagements with private intimacy have been explored in previous work (Bellhouse et al 2015), there is seldom literature which captures how sex workers' private partners' religious identities can cause conflict for sex workers, even if their own religious/spiritual and sex work identities are harmonious.

CONCLUSION

Within this chapter, I have offered a variety of explorations which centralise around the theme of love and intimacy. Although there were multiple examples of harmony between participants' private lives and sex work, there are evident negotiations to manage potential dissonance. Exploring parents who sex work was important to demonstrate the harmful impact of stigma. Challenges existed for participants because of stigma against the sex industry. Lilly wished to protect her child from courtesy stigma (Goffman 1963), and Lucy wanted to ensure her relationship with her child was positive, so concealed her sex work identity. Both participants demonstrated strong values and care for their children, so arguments which support harmful misconceptions about the sex work community must shift to improve the everyday lives of parents who sex work.

I then detailed how Khan and Maya managed their engagements with sex work with their private partners. Both participants illustrated different negotiations to find a balance between their private intimacy and sex work. Providing rich accounts of how some participants have different desires of private intimacy due to their sex work demonstrated the blurred boundaries between sex work and private sexual expression. For four participants, economic income had altered how they saw and engaged with private sexual experiences. Yet, this was not seen as a negative. This engagement with sex challenges expectations of monogamy within Western society, but participants were happy with their outlook on private intimacy and love. Participants engaged with intimacy in different ways, however, all participants successfully navigated through potential challenges to search for harmony between their careers and private intimate desires. LRE spoke of a unique, but meaningful experience with a client, Maya's sex life improved due to her career, and Amy discussed how she experiences sexual pleasure by engaging with snuff porn. Even Emily, who feels negatively towards sex work, continues to engage with this occupation because she prioritises economic income.

How partners' religious identities influenced religious and spiritual sex workers' experiences with private intimacy provided a unique contribution to literature around religiosity and sex work.

Although participants' religious and spiritual identities were harmonious with their sex work identities, religious influence on their private partners created challenges. This shows that although religion and spirituality can be tailored and produce harmonious, co-existing identities for religious and spiritual sex workers, conflict can remain within their private life. Thus, I have offered rich insight into participants' private lives through the lens of intimacy and parenthood. Within the following chapter, I explore the realities and misrepresentations of sex work.

CHAPTER SEVEN - REALITIES AND MISREPRESENTATIONS OF SEX WORK

The final data chapter explores the impact of realities and misrepresentations of sex work within participants' everyday lives to show how religious and spiritual sex workers negotiate stigma in search of harmonious lived experiences. It is important to state that stigma is not a defining element of religious and spiritual sex workers' identities. Throughout this thesis I subscribe to the belief that stigma against the sex industry can and will be abolished (see Weitzer 2018). To challenge existing stigma, it is important to draw out the realities and misrepresentations of sex work and the impact this has on sex workers' everyday lives. I do this by exemplifying the impact of the whorearchy (Knox 2014) within religious and spiritual sex workers' lived experiences, and I analyse why some participants discussed their non-sex work occupations as their "regular" job or expressed a desire to have a "real job" while they were sex working. Following this, I offer analysis into further logistical insights which draw out experiences of violence, an unjust reality for some participants. I then turn attention towards how sex work is misrepresented within mass and social media. Next, I demonstrate ways some sex workers engage with selective disclosure to manage negative perceptions of sex work in different elements of their private life. I then focus on how participants conceal their sex work identities within their private life through the lens of jewellery and clothing to manage experiences of dissonance derived from stigma. This section furthers understanding of sex workers' identity management at the individual level and exemplifies how stigma is a significant factor which impacts experiences of harmony.

LANGUAGE: CONSTRUCTING SEX WORK IDENTITIES

In this section I examine how language was used to construct participants' sex work identities in this research. I explore how Emily uses language to disassociate from stigma and offer a thorough analysis of how some participants voiced having or wanting a "real job" whilst they were sex working.

THE WHOREARCHY: LANGUAGE TO MANAGE STIGMA

Emily used language to separate her sex work with other engagements with the sex industry (see discussions of the whorearchy, p.31). Emily, who is a sugar baby, described her work as "posh prostitution":

I do posh prostitution, that is what I like to call it. The way I do it [sex work] is I have an app... and I post pictures of myself and put a set location, and people can text me and message me on there. (Emily, sugar baby, diary entry/interview).

Emily's language choices demonstrate a micro-level reality of sex work stigma. Labelling her work as "posh prostitution" exemplifies her feelings around her position within the whorearchy (Knox 2014) as self-positioning leads to a positioning of others. Labelling her work as "posh" positions other engagements with sex work as "unposh". Although she does not specifically define what constitutes "unposh" sex work, she attempts to separate herself from other forms of sex work through her language choices. Sex workers are categorised and ascribed a position within a sex work hierarchy depending on how they engage with sex work, and so for individuals who do "acceptable" forms of sex work (Easter-Brook Smith 2022), they experience less stigma than others. Yet, this is not necessarily generalisable to sex workers' feelings about their sex work identity. This is the case for Emily as she still holds negative attitudes towards the industry, irrespective of her perceived higher positioning (due to being a sugar baby) in the whorearchy. She tells me that sex work is a "dirty thing to do", which I explore later in this chapter (p.157). This highlights how her identity performance and labelling her work as "posh prostitution" can be a way to disassociate from discrimination and stigma, however, her own negative feelings towards her occupation still exist (Goffman 1963).

Additionally, it is important to consider that religious and spiritual sex workers may construct their sex work identity differently, depending on who their audience is. Participants may have felt as though they had to construct their own identity to me, as a non-sex worker and researcher, in a way that may be different to their friends who sex work for example. Even if this is the case, this offers insight into how religious and spiritual sex workers manage their sex work identity to outsiders through language choices to disassociate themselves from stigma. Next, I explore how some participants voiced the desire to have a "real job" or referred to their other occupations as their "real" or "proper" jobs to further analyse the impact of stigma on religious and spiritual sex workers' identity management and understanding of their self.

WANTING OR HAVING A "REAL JOB"

Another way language can be examined concerns how three participants separated their sex work with other occupations. By this, I mean that they saw non-sex work jobs differently to their sex work occupation. Within our interview, Khan mentions a few times how she does not have a "real job" and would like a "real job":

...I'm not working right now like I don't have a real job... (Khan, escort, interview).

Khan demonstrates how she does not perceive her sex work as a job by her mention of “not working right now” however, she was earning an income through sex working at the time of our interview. Khan offers an interesting discussion of how she views her labour as a sex worker. In Chapter Six (p.138), when reflecting upon her work in relation to her private partners, she discusses sex work as a “job”. Thus, there is conflict in how she presents her occupation. When she is discussing sex work within the context of intimacy, it is work, but when talking about sex work in relation to a career, she feels escorting isn’t a “real job”. She may feel this way due to stigma as sex work discrimination can shape how sex workers and society see their labour, linking to research around the impact of “dirty work” (Tzeng and Ohi 2021).

Although Khan does not feel as though she has a real job, sex work offers negotiation of challenges she experiences within her everyday life:

...I have some horrible depression and a little bit of anxiety, and trying to get a real job was really difficult for me like I [had just] come out as transgender... (Khan, escort, interview).

Within this discussion, although she separates sex work from other forms of labour as she does not see escorting as a real job, her reflections show how the sex industry has been beneficial to her. Khan was experiencing mental health challenges as she was understanding and sharing her gender identity with family and friends. This connects to Coston et al’s (2022) work, which details how transgender and disabled respondents experienced challenges in securing work because of their disability status and their gender identity. As a result of the challenges she was experiencing, the sex industry provided her with an occupation which did not add to her existing anxiety. It may also be suggested that Khan experiences recognition through sex work. She can gain access to the labour market which is an important reality for Khan as she was experiencing challenges in obtaining paid work before sex working (Jones 2021). Therefore, although Khan does not see sex work as a “real job”, sex work gives her meaning. Escorting compliments her life better than other forms of work at this time and so can be perceived as an optimal career for Khan as it aligns with other elements of her self. This supports the necessity to understand sex work as work even if sex workers themselves don’t see it as work or at least as ‘real work’. The reality is that the sex industry can provide opportunities for income.

Similarly, Maya’s language choices around “normal” builds upon discussions offered by Khan. When sending me a photograph of herself at her office job (figure 15, which I analyse later within this chapter, p.161), she highlights how it was taken at her “normal” job:

Here’s a pic I sent from my normal job... (Maya, cam sex worker, diary entry).

Describing her office role as “normal” highlights how Maya deems the occupation of a sex worker to not be “normal”. It can be suggested that the impact of stigma against the industry has influenced how she sees her occupation as a sex worker. Alternatively, Maya’s language choices can be due to her understanding of the ways various parts of her life are held together. Maya’s diary entry could also be because she sees her office role as boring, so she describes it as her “normal” job (Bowen 2021). Just because Khan and Maya discuss similar beliefs around their sex work not being “normal”, this doesn’t mean this is necessarily negative or that their sex work is not important. Instead, the lack of normality within her cam sex work, like Khan, may be a positive for her self.

Separating sex work and non-sex work occupations for positive reasons can be further analysed with Amy:

...I realise I probably shouldn't say regular job if I'm trying to make it clear that sex work is a job. I think the emphasis in my mind on regular is that the other jobs are just not as like interesting or exciting or whatever. They're just your run-of-the-mill job where you do the 9:00 to 5:00, you're just physically exhausted and you wanna scream... And you know, you cannot even afford your own apartment. (Amy, porn star & online content creator, interview).

Amy’s reflections highlight that although she is separating sex work as an occupation from other occupations, this is done for positive reasons. Seeing sex work as different can be due to sex work being a venture which meets the demands of the self more so than other jobs. This shows the complexities around how sex workers understand their labour. Khan, Maya, and Amy’s experiences suggest that although there is the influence of stigma, their realities of sex work are positive. All participants’ realities within this section are influenced by stigma, however, they find meaning in their sex work. Again, we can see the value placed upon the identity as a sex worker and although there is the presence of dissonance because of stigma, harmony can be found in participants’ realities of sex working. I now move away from language and examine how time was used for safety to draw out how stigma manifests itself in some sex working experiences.

TIME FOR SAFETY

Understanding how time was utilised for safety offers micro-level analysis of identity management within sex work experiences because of stigma against the sex industry. Stigma has been linked to the violence sex workers experience (Lowman 2000). Violence has been noted to increase when sex workers operate under legislations which are not decriminalisation (see Campbell et al (2020)). As I have shown earlier (p.131-134), participants employ strategies to manage potential violence within their sex work experiences. Lilly and Amelia discuss how they utilise time to negotiate safety

when working as escorts from their private home. While escorting is legal in England, when speaking with Lilly about how she works as an escort, she details the risk of violence:

...I prefer daytime instead of night-time because people are drunk, on drugs, it is more dangerous. I don't like to work with drunk and drugs people, I am not on the same level... (Lilly, escort, interview).

Lilly talks about how the clientele she receives will differ depending on the time she works. Therefore, Lilly chooses when she works to manage the risk of violence from clients. Amelia highlights a similar experience:

Afternoon to evening but I don't work all evening... in the night, they would be drunk or on drugs and that is why I didn't like it. People don't care, they are unpredictable, and you won't know what they are going to do. (Amelia, was an escort, interview).

These experiences support the value of the exploration of the everyday. Through unpacking time, we can analyse routines, rationales, and negotiations of potential challenges to achieve harmony between their occupation, income, and remaining safe. Amelia and Lilly discuss that clients are more likely to be intoxicated and unpredictable in the evening, so they are at greater risk of being in dangerous/uncomfortable situations in comparison to working during the day. Lilly and Amelia show how they manage this potentially challenging reality of working under a legalisation model as an escort from home through time. Their experiences highlight one reality of sex work regarding how discriminatory policies can lead to sex workers being in situations where they are at risk of violence. However, this discussion of violence against sex workers is not unique; their experiences are well documented within academic literature (Decker et al 2015; Williamson et al 2007). If sex work had been decriminalised and better labour rights were in place, Lilly and Amelia may have felt more comfortable working in the evening as they would have been better protected by laws and legislation. This connects to discussions within Chapter Two, where I explored "Sex Work as Work" (p.29). The Global Network of Sex Work Projects (2017) details how the labour approach can reduce sex work stigma, create better legal protection, and work standards. Their experiences detail the necessity for legal reform, alongside improving the relationship between the police and the sex work community to enable sex workers to feel comfortable reporting violent and dangerous clients (Baker 2020; Campbell and Kinnell 2000; Campbell et al 2020). From this, Lilly and Amelia may not be forced to work at specific times to reduce experiences of violence and would be better protected by society and the state. Next, I focus on how misrepresentations of sex work impact micro-level, everyday experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers, with a focus on mass and social media.

MASS AND SOCIAL MEDIA

This section focuses on how stigma and subsequent misrepresentations have influenced the everyday experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers through the lens of mass and social media. As discussed within the literature review chapter, representations of sex workers within the media are often harmful (Moore 2016). I illustrate this within participants' experiences, suggesting that mainstream and social media inhabits misrepresentations of sex work which create negative experiences for religious and spiritual sex workers.

The way mass and social media present sex work related topics and treat the sex work community was discussed by three participants. These discussions draw out how the media is harmfully portraying the sex industry. LRE discusses how she was unhappy when watching a documentary on escorts:

I was watching an escort documentary on VICE and I actually had to stop watching it because I... realised the way the media will ask sex workers do they want to talk about their experiences and then the media will twist it, and take all the bad from it and leave out all the good bits and when you watch these documentaries you think oh my God, these poor girls, they are so fucked up in the head and it is like what the hell. I had to stop watching it... (LRE, escort & online content creator, diary entry).

LRE discusses her frustrations when watching a documentary on escorting. Some sex workers who have participated in documentaries are mistreated, and their stories are inaccurately presented, which reinforces existing stigma against the industry (see Marsan 2018). Further evidence for this concerns Louis Theroux's BBC documentary on sex work. A sex worker who took part in the documentary was told from the offset that it would challenge stereotypes to dismantle and destigmatise the negativity surrounding sex work, yet she was considerably mistreated (Ashleigh 2020). Thus, some media platforms are not only mistreating sex workers for entertainment purposes but also producing and disseminating misinformation which reinforces harmful misrepresentations of the industry.

Although LRE felt negatively towards the way the media engages and portrays sex workers, for Emily, entering the sex industry was due to how sex work was portrayed on TikTok. Within my literature review, I highlighted how technology has changed sex work and content is now in the hands of the "entertainer", enabling autonomy and offering a site for material to be created for specific audiences (Ryan 2019). This holds application to sex workers who use TikTok, a social media site where you create short videos. Emily discusses:

What made me want to get into it, I don't know, I was seeing things on TikTok, and they make it look so glamorous, but it isn't glamorous, the only glamorous thing about it is the money. It is a dirty thing to do, it is a very dirty thing to do, it is not very nice at all, but it is worth the money. It sounds sick, but I don't mind it. (Emily, sugar baby, diary entry/interview).

Due to sex workers documenting their everyday lives on TikTok, Emily decided to become a sugar baby. However, Emily states how she feels that her work is “dirty”, which connects to literature concerning “dirty work”. Tzeng and Ohl (2021) suggest that “sex workers are vulnerable because they are engaged in a kind of “dirty work” (Hughes 1958), a socially or morally tainted occupation that is often judged distasteful or undesirable” (p.292). Therefore, individuals who engage with labour which is perceived as dirty work become a part of a stigmatised group, which can make them feel negatively towards their career. This is evident within Emily’s feelings as she discusses that her job is a “very dirty thing to do”, and we can observe how job-related stigma can shape how sex workers see their careers. Emily has conflicting feelings as she feels negatively towards her occupation as a sugar baby but says “I don’t mind it”. She attempts to rationalise job-related stigma by saying she doesn’t mind it being “dirty”, but she still harbours negative feelings about her occupation. This analysis highlights how sex work related stigma impacts on how religious and spiritual sex workers understand their own identities alongside the impact this has on their experiences of dissonance within their everyday lives.

Another point of exploration within this quote concerns how Emily’s reality of her experiences was different to the content she consumed. Emily suggesting that content on TikTok is “glamourised” shows that her expectations of the job did not meet her reality. This offers analysis into the way the sex industry is understood and performed online. Why content creators construct false realities regarding their profession may be because they are attempting to destigmatise their occupation by sharing the “highlights” of their profession. However, this engagement with social media is common and there is lots of literature which highlights that online identity performance is not a true reflection of the offline realities of the creator (Tiggemann and Anderberg 2020). However, my thesis has also shown that offline sex work identities are not always a “true reflection” of their self either, which is supported by Grant’s (2014) discussion of how sex workers play and perform a role. So, content creators who sex work are not to blame for creating false realities of the industry, however, the impact this has on Emily’s decision to become a sugar baby is important to consider when attempting to understand how she saw the industry before entering it.

Analysis can also be made regarding Emily's ability to view this content. Although the sex industry is prominent online, some platforms censor sex workers' content or accounts (Sanders et al 2020). However, Easterbrook-Smith (2022) suggests that there has been some level of acceptability offered towards some engagements with sex work (low-volume, 'bit of fun', indoor sex work). When sex work is virtually indistinguishable from their personal life, the public deems this as more "acceptable" (Easterbrook-Smith 2022). This can be applied to Emily's experience and reflections on TikTok as the social media site "accepts" sugar babies' content; however, this does not apply to all engagements with sex work, linking to discussions of the whorearchy (Knox 2014). Therefore, sugar babies being able to document their everyday lives on TikTok does not mean that the sex industry is destigmatised. Instead, this shows how some behaviours of sex work can be observed as "acceptable", however, there are evident expectations around the way a sex worker should perform their identity in online public spaces.

When continuing to speak with Emily, she stated that before she started sex working, she did not think sugar babies had to have sex with their sugar daddies, further illustrating how social media can construct false realities:

...I thought a sugar daddy was someone who just gives you loads of money and gifts for nothing, I didn't realise you had to actually give them sugar... (Emily, sugar baby, diary entry/interview).

The perceived "life of a sugar baby" from online content creators' identity performances versus the reality of being a sugar baby differed for Emily, demonstrating how social media platforms are creating expectations of what the sex industry is through censorship. Social media censorship includes removing photographs due to "breaching guidelines", stopping individuals from accessing social media platforms (blocking), and making it difficult for people to find their handles (Waring 2021). Although Emily was able to view some sex workers' content, research has documented that sex workers are having their TikTok profiles removed, even though they are complying with TikTok's rules (Swords et al 2021). Thus, although this discussion cannot be generalised to all sex workers' experiences of TikTok, this analysis proves interesting to see how the promotion of this type of sex work influenced Emily's decision to enter the industry alongside how sex work is presented and "accepted" on TikTok. Although Emily's preconceptions of this profession may be different to the reality, she continues to sex work, so has accepted the demands and reality of her career. It would be beneficial for further research to explore this more closely and analyse how the rise of TikTok use with younger generations shapes expectations around the "life of a sugar baby".

Another way that sex work stigma was present in online spaces was explored by Amy. Amy discussed her frustrations around how stigma against sex work exists within social media platforms:

...I've definitely seen it [stigma] in the way that the internet and social media discriminates against us and it's frustrating because even if we're being completely appropriate, you know if the website finds out what we do, even if we're completely clothed. They can ban us [sex workers] from their site. Even on Twitter, where I'm allowed to post basically anything, it's still hard. If you search the username of someone, it won't come up in the search and then you'll have to find a tweet where someone added them and then you can find them, but they won't come up in the search. Whereas a celebrity can post like a tasteful nude, but like we are in regular clothes but open about what we do, and we're blocked. (Amy, porn star & online content creator, interview).

As discussed, social media censorship creates barriers for sex workers when using sites due to sex work related stigma (Waring 2021). Therefore, sex workers' identity management within online spaces may differ from their offline behaviours to ensure they can still access sites, connect with different people, and promote their sex work content. Amy also supports discussions presented within Chapter Two (p.35) around the acceptability of hyper-sexualised celebrities but the marginalisation of sex workers in online spaces. Connecting to Emily, although she viewed sex workers' content, she was only able to do this due to the content creators' realities of sex work being deemed "acceptable".

Stigma existing within mass and social media can lead to misrepresentations of sex work in the public eye. Although it is important to stress there are some online sex work friendly spaces, LRE, Amy, and Emily showed the impact of digital marginalisation and how technology is influential in how they understand the industry and their own sex work identities. The negative effect of sex work misrepresentations on sex workers' realities is evident within these experiences. This section has demonstrated how stigma manifests itself through the lens of mass and social media and elucidated the impact this has on some religious and spiritual sex workers' identity management. The following section explores how participants conceal their sex work identity to navigate through various challenges which arise due to sex work stigma in the context of work.

MANAGING THE "HIDDEN" SEX WORK IDENTITY

This section draws out identity management with a focus on sex workers who are not entirely "out", and so engage with selective disclosure (Koken 2012). As discussed, being "out" concerns who a sex worker shares their occupation with. This varied for participants, and so is a significant discussion when understanding the identity negotiations of religious and spiritual sex workers. This analysis

exemplifies participants' realities when managing their identities within their different careers with the hope of reducing experiences of discrimination, which stem from misrepresentations of the sex industry.

DUAL OCCUPATIONS: WORKING ALONGSIDE SEX WORKING

This subsection details different occupational ventures participants have as some religious and spiritual sex workers possess more than one career. As mentioned, some sex workers also have square jobs (non-sex work jobs) (p.30), which are important to explore as they challenge the binary understandings of engagements with sex work (Bowen 2015). I do this by analysing how participants manage their work identities for harmony within their everyday lives and negotiate potential experiences of stigma through selective disclosure within their different professions.

Beginning with Maya, she discusses how she structures her week with her different occupations:

...I work Mondays and Tuesdays at the office and then Wednesdays and Thursdays I work from home and then Fridays I normally have therapy. It works out well and then yeah, whenever I'm free I can just go on my laptop and make money. Like instead of watching TV and not making money... (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

Sex workers who have more than one career must balance sex work with square work for the duality to be successful (Bowen 2021). Maya achieves this and can account for her days through her work schedule and structures her week around her two occupations harmoniously. Maya highlights a benefit of the sex industry in that it offers flexibility, and sex work can fit in with other elements of her weekly routine, allowing her to have more than one occupation. This explanation of her time and structure supports the necessity to explore routines within the sociology of everyday life. As discussed, work has been contextualised as the marking of time and is significantly influential in the construction of an individual's lived experiences (Highmore 2001). Additionally, due to the diversity of the sex industry, she uses her spare time to make money as opposed to watching TV/relaxing. This demonstrates the blurred boundaries between home and work when spaces are co-located (see also p.111). Maya did not say she felt overworked. Maya seems to move between her sex work role and mindset and non-sex work roles with ease (see Bowen 2021). This is not to say this is generalisable, as for other sex workers, this may be a source of stress. However, Maya feels as though her different jobs and personal commitments are in harmony with one another. This experience highlights a reality of sex work in that engagements with the sex industry are diverse, and individuals can tailor their sex work with other parts of their self successfully, even when this may be considered intense for some. Thus, for some sex workers, blurred boundaries

between sex work and home life can be useful for enhanced economic opportunities as cam sex work can be carried out at various times of the day and in different spaces with ease.

Maya also sent the photograph to the right, which was captured at her office, however, was taken for her sex work clients. Her photograph (figure 15) highlights how sex work can enter her non-sex work occupation and the space is used in tandem for her two jobs. However, the success of being able to work two jobs is due to Maya engaging in selective disclosure to manage her dual occupations. Bowen (2021) highlights how sex workers with dual occupations move between roles mentally, physically, and spatially, with specific role transitions. This is interesting for Maya as although she has moved from her central sex work space (bedroom), Maya engages in both jobs simultaneously yet keeps them separate to manage sex work stigma (see Bowen 2021). Her

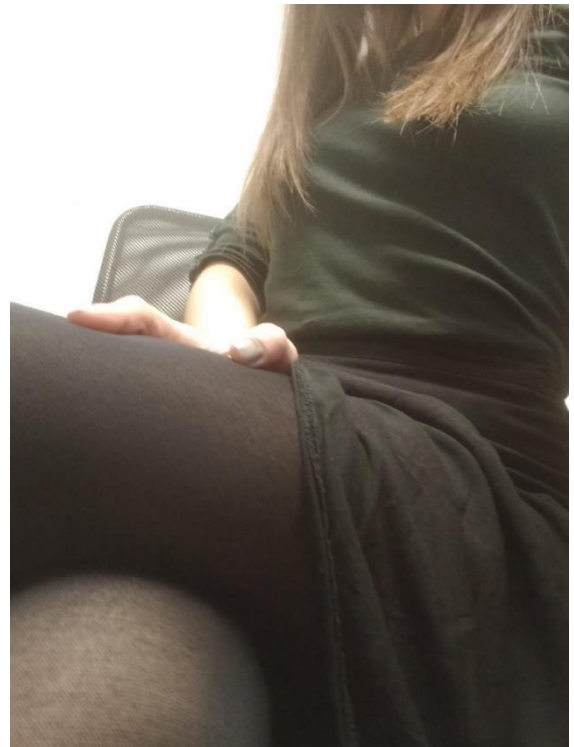


Figure 15: Maya at her office job.

office job does not know about her sex work, and her sex work clients do not know details about her office role, and she is performing different roles at the same time. She takes steps to hide certain elements of her different identities within different spaces to reduce conflict and potential experiences of stigma (such as losing her office job). The space she occupies at her office job also shows how different identities can change and be consumed differently, linking to Goffman (1959). For her sex work audience, her office job clothing and identity performance are consumed within a sexual context:

Here's a pic I sent from my normal job [figure 15] (they love that public shit). Keeps them engaged and feeling wanted outside of online hours. (Maya, cam sex worker, diary entry).

Her diary entry highlights how she is fulfilling the demands of her audience on her cam site alongside demonstrating how she can manage her two jobs successfully by keeping her audience engaged whilst she is working within her office (linking to LREs utilisation of perceived non-sex working spaces, see p.124).

Her mention of “they love that public shit” offers an interesting discussion around stigma. Due to sex work being stigmatised, sex work can be seen as “naughty”. The clothing Maya wears within

her office identity is consumed differently and is sexualised for her online sex work audience, however, her clothing within the space of her office job is not necessarily deemed as sexual. Maya's utilisation of space can be consumed differently, depending on what identity is performed and how different audiences consume the different narratives, linking to discussions by Plummer (2007) (p.17). Maya engaging with sex work in a space that is not for sex work makes the photograph seem risky and "naughty". Thus, we can see how sex work stigma makes the content/context of the photograph sexual for her clients.

Continuing the theme of dual working, LRE reflects on her different professions, including healthcare worker to fulfil desires of her self:

...The amount of money you can make from sex work, I never... want to not be a healthcare professional and I wouldn't want to do sex work full time, I'd rather be part-time at work [healthcare professional] and then it doesn't drain the life out of me and then working hard on the other side of things [sex working]. But then there are other days when I think I don't want to sex work then other days I fucking love it, it's too easy so I just don't know what to do. I might go part-time next year [healthcare job] ... I just need to get enough money to buy a house, start a business, get a boob job... (LRE, escort & online content creator, diary entry).

LRE reflects on how she would not wish to be a full-time sex worker, so through her dual occupations, she can earn income in different ways. Her dual occupations also assist her conflicting feelings around her different job roles. By having two jobs she can manage her feelings around her careers, and she can give herself respite from the challenges associated with her different jobs. Her experience connects to Bowen's (2015) work, who details how dual-life participants balanced the risks and benefits of employment in sex work and non-sex work fields. Again, this shows one benefit of the sex industry, a reoccurring theme throughout my analysis; participants can find harmony between their different identities through the flexibility of sex work. She also lists certain personal goals she has which are harder to achieve (buying a house, starting a business, and getting a boob job) with just the income as a healthcare professional. Thus, LRE highlights the economic opportunities the sex industry can offer which she also describes as "too easy". This means that for Maya and LRE, sex work is empowering and compliments their other full-time/part-time jobs. This goes against the misrepresentation that all sex workers are being exploited and engaging in sex work for only survival purposes. Like Bowen's (2015) conclusions, dual-life sex workers can benefit from the income made by sex work and "square work". Maya and LRE's realities of sex work are that there are vast opportunities to obtain significant income and achieve their life goals through

being a sex worker. However, there are challenges associated with dual occupations which LRE discussed within her diaries and interview:

Daisy: ...You've been speaking a lot... in your diaries about you managing your two jobs, how has that been? How long have you been doing online content creating, escorting and how has it been with this full-time job, which is obviously quite demanding?

LRE: So obviously I've just started as a healthcare professional so learning to be a new healthcare professional is a lot of pressure on its own, especially at the moment when the NHS is really understaffed and we're under a lot of pressure, so that alone is difficult. I started doing online content creating about three months ago now and obviously online content creating is a really competitive industry. And I'm not showing my face in it, because I'm a healthcare professional. (LRE, escort & online content creator, interview).

LRE discusses how having two jobs is demanding. Therefore, although possessing two jobs offers her greater economic opportunities and co-exist well, there are evident pressures placed on her and so this experience is not entirely harmonious, demonstrating harmonious-dissonance. LRE, nor any other participant, sex works due to social deprivation (Sanders et al 2018), and her experience suggests that she has choice when deciding to have two jobs. She accepts the pressures of dual working to achieve her financial goals. Thus, although her realities of sex work concern enhanced opportunities for economic income, this is not necessarily as easy as she suggested earlier.

LRE also illustrates how online content creating is competitive, linking to discussions around how OnlyFans popularity grew significantly within COVID-19, leading to increased competition among sex workers (Yasseri 2021). As LRE has two jobs, she must split her time between the two roles which reduces her opportunities to obtain optimum income from online sex work as she has less time to create and post content. To overcome this challenge, LRE decided to start escorting:

You're not allowed to do it [sex work when you are a healthcare professional]. As far as I'm aware, we would get told in university you're not allowed to do sex work if you're in training and never mind as a healthcare professional... so I don't think you're meant to. So, I didn't show my face in anything [when online content creating]. But it is really competitive and then like leading into the escorting thing. My friends were doing it, my friend said to me, you've got to have a few avenues... you've got to do some escorting... (LRE, escort & online content creator, interview).

LRE discusses that due to her healthcare profession, she was forced to hide her face when sex working online to enable harmonious work identities (also known as face-in). This is an important

reality of sex work experiences as it shows how LRE is not in complete control of how she can sex work. Healthcare professionals are not allowed to sex work and can be penalised if they are caught (for example, being removed from their university course or losing their job) (Boyd 2021). As a result, sex workers who are also healthcare professionals typically opt for face-to-face sex work as opposed to online sex work to aim to reduce the risk of being outed and losing their healthcare job (Boyd 2021). However, this can come with its own risks as a sex work client may be a client in the healthcare setting. Therefore, healthcare professionals must manage risk, however, the risk is not completely mitigated. This discussion explicitly links to LRE's experiences within her sex work career. She did not show her face within her online sex work content to ensure her two occupations remained harmonious; however, this created difficulty for income because online sex work has become increasingly competitive. This multifaceted experience exemplifies how stigma against the sex industry can cause different types of dissonance which sex workers must manage.

LRE's identity negotiations led her to escort, which was stimulated by having friends who also escort. This allowed LRE to overcome the potential challenges associated with concealing identities online which I discussed earlier (p.36) and offered her greater opportunities for income when sex working (Brown 2019). This suggests that the diverse engagement with sex work can enable greater identity harmony with other occupations. Due to stigmatising policies within healthcare industries, LRE altered how she engaged with sex work for income and identity protection (Goffman 1963). The lack of reflection on the impact of sex work stigma from LRE suggests the ingrained nature of stigma within identity management for some sex workers. This micro-level experience exemplifies how policies around sex work, which possess stigma, can be significantly influential in the management of identities between different jobs and can negatively impact how sex workers can obtain income. Thus, policies must change to better protect those working in the industry to reduce experiences such as this. Next, I further explore how participants manage stigma through the intentional concealment of their sex work identity within several aspects of their private everyday lives.

“SO CRAZY, MY DOUBLE LIFE” (LRE, ESCORT & ONLINE CONTENT CREATOR, DIARY ENTRY)

This section explores some participants' decisions around concealing their sex work identities to find harmony within their private lives. I consider how communities, gender, friendships, and religion create dissonance with their sex work careers. Examining these offers unique experiences of how religious and spiritual sex workers engage with selective disclosure to reduce negative experiences derived from misrepresentations of sex work. I conclude this discussion by examining how jewellery and clothing can be utilised to conceal their sex work identity. This offers an

exploration of another technique religious and spiritual sex workers employ to manage stigma in sex work and public spaces.

THE TRAVELLER COMMUNITY AND SEX WORK

This subsection considers how Emily reflects on sex work in relation to her Traveller community. As stigma can create negative perceptions and misrepresentations of sex work, Emily subscribes to these perceptions but still works as a sugar baby, leading to her decision to conceal her sex work identity within her private relationships and community. It is important to highlight how other elements of Emily's self may have impacted why she feels shameful about her occupation. Emily is a part of the Traveller community and there are strict gender expectations. She reflects upon this:

...Everyone is so strict. The woman is good for nothing. The only thing a woman is good for is cooking, cleaning, and having children. Other than that, you are scum to men and that's why if you get caught doing things like that [sex work] you will probably get beaten, no one will want you. To be honest, I don't think that is a bad thing, that no one will want you, it is a disgusting job to have... I am not proud. I hope that no one will ever know that I sex work... (Emily, sugar baby, diary entry/interview).

Emily explains how her realities of being a sugar baby are creating the potential for significant conflict in her private life. Her feelings towards sex work being "disgusting" may be an impact of societal stigma and due to gendered expectations within her community and religion (Catholic). Fones (2022) argues that religious ideas about sex work being "unacceptable" can spread into wider culture. Emily's feelings may also be due to negative experiences within the industry; however, during her interview, she did not say that her experiences while sex working are negative, but her feelings are. Her mention of a "woman is only good for cooking, cleaning, and having children" also suggests how paid labour is not widely taken up by women within her community. Therefore, she may experience disapproval from her community if she were to take up other paid job roles external to sex work. This gender norm added to sex work dissonance due to her religion (Catholic), community, and family norms and values shows that Emily contends with a variety of dissonance or potential dissonance. Not only is she at risk of experiencing societal sex work stigma but also from her community and religion as she has had sex outside of wedlock (see Chapter Six, p.147 for more information) and sex work is deemed "sinful" (Peach 2005). Therefore, for Emily, she must conceal her occupation to ensure her private everyday life remains harmonious due to her different identities possessing negative thoughts and feelings against the sex industry. Although she may have harmonious relationships with her community and family through hiding her career, there is still conflict between her feelings about the industry and her actions. This exemplifies the complex,

multifaceted realities of sex workers' identity management, demonstrating how sex work stigma can influence how some sex workers understand their occupation. Next, I build upon this discussion of identity concealment for harmonious private lives by analysing Maya's experience with her friend.

FRIENDSHIPS AND SEX WORK

Maya, who is not "out" to all her private relationships discusses why she decided to conceal her sex work identity to her friend who is Muslim:

...I mean it is a worry [people finding out she sex works], one of my friends know... I have close family, and so they are my friends and I have a best friend from school, but she is Muslim, and I suggested to her I was thinking of doing it and she was outraged so I just didn't tell her. So that's hard. Keeping it from her but you know, everyone is on their own sort of journey... it will be detrimental to our friendship for her to know... (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

Maya explains her decision to not share that she is a sex worker with her best friend due to fear of being judged and this damaging her relationship. The specific reference to her friend being Muslim highlights that there is conflict between her friend's religious identity and Maya sex working. This experience illustrates the conflict between religion and sex work, however, not with her own religious and spiritual identity, but from other individuals' religious identities (see also "Rejecting Ascribed Religious Identities" in Chapter Four, p.87 and "Religious Identities of Partners" in Chapter Six, p.148). Her experience exemplifies that although religion has become more fluid, so different identities can co-exist harmoniously, this does not mean this will align with other individuals' engagements with religious practices and beliefs. Some people's religious identities possess negative feelings towards sex work, so Maya negotiates this challenge through her identity management with her friend to maintain her friendship and reduce potential dissonance. This, therefore, demonstrates another unique experience of selective disclosure to achieve harmonious, lived experiences.

Continuing the theme of friendship and sex work identity negotiation, Khan discusses how although her biological family do not know she sex works, she does tell some of her "chosen family" for safety reasons:

... I pretty much do not have contact with any of my family anymore... I do have some chosen family and some of them do know that I sex work because on the few times that I've actually done in-person meetings... it's like here's where I'm going to be, here's who I'm going with,

if I don't check in in x amount of time, have someone come look for me. Some of them have been local at the time, so it would have been them coming. For others, it would have been that they would have called the cops, and we had this thing, you don't tell him [the police] you are on the job. Tell him [the police] I am on a date, and something didn't go right... (Khan, escort, interview).

Khan discusses how she manages potential challenges of violence from clients through a plan with her friends and chosen family. Her mention of “chosen family” supports discussions of Johnston (2022), who highlights that because of sex work stigma, sex workers can lose support systems (such as blood relatives). From this, some sex workers seek new support systems which become their chosen family. Although this is true for Khan, the breakdown of her family support system was not due to sex work as her family does not know she sex works. The breakdown of her familial relationships was because she is a trans-woman (for more information see Chapter Four, p.87). This supports the necessity for intersectional analysis (Crenshaw 1989) to understand where potential identity dilemmas lie in relation to sex workers’ different identities. Sex workers can experience multiple levels of stigma, so Khan can minimise this stigma by concealing her sex work identity from her biological family; however, conflict remains because of her gender identity.

The quote also highlights how selective disclosure and being “out” to certain individuals can be motivated by safety. Her identity negotiations are not necessarily due to her desire to share this element of her life but for safety, which offers insight into how stigma and violence influence sex work identity management. The presence of stigma management from the police can also be observed within her plan. As discussed, it is illegal to sex work in most of America, including where Khan resides, and so there is the risk of being prosecuted. However, Khan is also at risk of police discriminating against her due to being a part of the sex industry and fears the police may not help her if she was in a dangerous situation when working (Baker 2020). Khan explicitly discusses her plans with her friends who know she sex works “you don't tell him [the police] you are on the job. Tell him [the police] I am on a date, and something didn't go right...”. Her plan shows a negotiation of stigma existing within the police and her word choice of “him” also demonstrates a gendered element to this. Although Khan manages potential institutional stigma through her friendships knowing her occupation, this experience shows the challenging reality of sex work which exists because of discrimination. It also highlights how policies that stop sex workers from operating freely (which decriminalisation would overcome) are creating potentially dangerous situations for sex workers.

Considering participants' "double life" has demonstrated some realities of sex work when attempting to manage stigma. For Emily, Maya, and Khan, their private relationships possess stigma, however, in different ways. Although participants are successful in finding harmony through their negotiation of stigma, there was the presence of dissonance as concealing their sex work identity may not be optimal for their private self but necessary to reduce the impact of dissonance within their private relationships and lived experiences. These experiences can be understood as harmonious-dissonance as they accept some levels of dissonance from family, friends, and the police whilst continuing to sex work. This does not mean that this suffices, and these experiences are deep-rooted with negative feelings against the industry. Therefore, abolishing stigma through increased awareness of what the sex industry is can contribute to the reduction of necessary/forced identity concealment and improve the lived experiences of sex workers globally. Next, I discuss how jewellery and clothing are utilised to manage sex work identity dilemmas within different spaces.

JEWELLERY AND CLOTHING

I now explore different ways participants engaged with jewellery and clothing to conceal their different identities. This section offers another discussion around the realities of sex work, demonstrating identity negotiations which are motivated by the hope to reduce experiences of sex work discrimination.

CLOTHING AND CAM SEX WORK

Clothing choices were a way some participants managed their identities to overcome potential challenges of dissonance from sex work stigma. When speaking with Maya, she explains who knows about her sex work occupation in her private life:

...My mum knows, my sibling knows, but my stepdad doesn't know... (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

Maya discusses that she works in her space at home which she shares with her stepfather, who does not know about her sex work identity. This can therefore cause challenges when she is working at home where she is trying to conceal her private identity from her cam audiences whilst also concealing her sex work identity from her stepfather. She discusses:

I wore a wig at first, but it took ten minutes to get on and do properly, and then five minutes to take off, and then you have to put it back on again. If I just wanted to run up and go to the loo I could bump into my stepdad, and he'd be like why the fuck are you wearing a wig?... (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

This quote connects to discussions about how jewellery and clothing can enable identity protection online. Kerkin (2004) highlights how visual representations which assist the construction of their persona help to physically separate their occupational and private identities. Subsequently, sex workers may alter their clothing when sex working to separate their differing identities which Maya did by wearing a wig when she began camming. However, although wearing a wig can support Maya when occupying online sex work spaces to protect her private identity, this can cause conflict within the space she lives and works as her stepfather does not know about her career. Wearing a wig was time-consuming and unpractical, so demonstrates a potential challenge of managing sex work identities when this is not widely known within her home and workspace, also illustrating the impact of space (see Chapter Five) on identity management (Silva and Bennett 2004). Therefore, identity management through clothing/accessories becomes problematic as Maya's sex work identity is not completely known within the space/s she uses for sex work. If sex work stigma did not exist, Maya may not feel inclined to hide her private identity when sex working and would not have to conceal her private identity from her audiences. This illustrates how stigma forces some sex workers to negotiate the risk of being outed when sex working with being outed as a sex worker in their private relationships.

Similarly, Tanya, who also works from home, wears wigs and masks to protect her identity when cam sex working. However, her private partner (who is the only other occupant) does know about her sex work:

...When I went on cam, because I didn't feel comfortable doing it at all I had a masquerade mask on because I didn't like doing that [cam sex working]. I had a masquerade mask on and a pink wig so no one could see me, and I had another big brunette wig because I was so worried... (Tanya, phone & cam sex worker, interview).

For Tanya, wearing wigs and masks assist her to protect her identity online. Wearing wigs and masks alleviate her worries about being outed as a sex worker. Her fear of being outed highlights how negative misrepresentations of the sex industry are shaping sex workers' identity management, which is done to reduce experiences of discrimination. Not only was she fearful of societal stigma but also stigma from her religious (Methodist Christian) community:

...I would be a pariah. If I said I was a sex worker, I would be shunned. (Tanya, phone & cam sex worker, interview).

Tanya is concerned about being shunned by her religious community if they discover her career. Therefore, the utilisation of physical props such as a wig and a mask can overcome this potential

conflict between her religious and sex work identity. However, this does not mean the concern is then removed. Maya and Tanya still worry about being outed and subsequently experiencing stigma, even if they wear wigs. Thus, although they are mitigating this risk, the risk remains as their desire to stay anonymous when sex working cannot be guaranteed. I further this discussion below.

JEWELLERY AND IDENTITY CONFLICT

Returning to Maya, she further discusses her utilisation of clothing and jewellery for identity management when on cam:

...I always have this jewellery on [Maya shows me her jewellery], so I take them off [when sex working] because I wear these everyday so they're in pictures and stuff... I'm in the setting that I'm in now [bedroom], so like there's nothing that identifies me... (Maya, cam sex worker, interview).

Maya states how she takes off the jewellery she wears in her everyday life when she is sex working on cam to manage her identity. This suggests how her jewellery is compartmentalised with her non-sex working identities, and so is seen as an extension of the private identities she wishes to conceal in sex work spaces. For Maya, this offers her an additional layer of anonymity when sex working, linking to the literature review discussion around jewellery and tattoos (Saul 2016). However, Maya informed me that she shows her face when she is working, so this provides an interesting discussion regarding the importance she places on the jewellery she wears. Although it is true that by removing her jewellery, she is separating her personal life from her work life, as she shows her face on camera, her identity isn't hidden. Therefore, although the removal of her jewellery will not lead to her identity being concealed, she can separate her different identities through this behaviour (Kerkin 2004). Similarly, LRE discusses how she had to stop wearing a necklace when sex working:

I kept wearing it at work [sex working] and obviously my work name is different to my real name, and I had a letter of my real name round my neck, so I had to take it off. (LRE, escort & online content creator, diary entry).

LRE highlights that the necklace she was wearing had the letter of her real name which is different to the first letter of her work name, so was conflicting with her sex work identity. This identity dilemma exemplifies how jewellery which is attached to different identities can cause conflict for identity management as she uses a different name when sex working to keep her private identity hidden. Metaphorically, jewellery and clothing act as masks whereby they adopt different identities. Thus, identity concealment to audiences at times, extends to their choices of clothing and jewellery which participants had to carefully manage to ensure identity protection to reduce

experiences of stigma. Their experiences connect to manufacturing work identities (Sanders 2005), which I explored within the literature review (p.15). Maya and LRE highlight how intricate the realities of sex work can be. Jewellery and clothing can be overlooked as mundane however, they require careful management and consideration when attempting to hide their private identity when sex working. I explore LRE's utilisation of clothing when she is escorting further below.

CLOTHING AND ESCORTING

LRE took the photograph to the right (figure 16) when unpacking her suitcase at her short-term lease before sex working. The photograph offers visual insight into her activities for the evening. As discussed within the literature review, sex work clothing can be understood as contextualised identity decisions to fulfil certain spaces. Visual representations offer social cues of identity, so sex workers can promote their business through clothing (Shah 2014). She captures multiple aspects of her evening, from her clothing choices, lipstick, alcohol, and her disposable vape bar, linking to discussions of leisure (see Chapter Five, p.124). Choosing to add money demonstrates how the other elements of the photograph are for financial gain. Without the money, this photograph could connote a range of intimate and



Figure 16: LRE's suitcase contents.

leisure experiences, so her decision to include money signifies her motivations for the experience. Additionally, at the bottom left of the photograph, there is a ten-pound SIM card. This offers an analysis of how LRE manages her identities when escorting. Using a separate phone number ensures she keeps her private identity concealed and remains safe. In application to Goffman's (1959) dramaturgy analysis, props are influential not only in the identity performance of a sex worker but also for safety reasons, and LRE can separate her private and work identities through different phone numbers. This photograph therefore highlights the clothing and props LRE utilises when sex working alongside how she separates her work and private identity to manage stigma.

CLOTHING AND PUBLIC SPACES

Not only did participants actively consider the jewellery and clothing they wore within sex work spaces, but two participants made a specific reference to changing their clothing in public spaces with the hope to conceal their sex work identity. Amelia discusses:

Daisy: Do people in your private life know you sex worked?

Amelia: No. I was very discrete. Even when I was going out, I wouldn't wear provocative clothing. I would wear different clothes.

Daisy: So, clothing separates your work life and private life?

Amelia: Yes. I liked to be discrete in this job. (Amelia, was an escort, interview).

Amelia tells me that she is discrete when she is in public to protect her sex work identity and she discusses how she chooses to wear certain clothing to achieve this. Her reference to “provocative clothing” highlights how she ascribes sexual meaning to her work clothing but is also very conscious of what clothing can potentially signify to the public. Lilly also discusses a similar experience:

...I don't want everyone knowing what I am doing, I try and hide as much as I can. I try to dress normal; people don't judge me. I don't care about them, but it is better for me and my soul. (Lilly, escort, interview).

Lilly's discussion around clothing echoes Amelia's reflections on what clothing signifies to the public. They make decisions about what to wear in public with the desire to protect their sex work identity. However, clothes which may be consumed as sexual do not necessarily mean or “give away” that an individual is a sex worker, however, this is a significant concern for these two participants. This suggests that the worry of experiencing stigma and discrimination is high for participants as they are overly cautious about what their clothes signify. Additionally, Lilly's reference to “normal” also suggests othering towards her occupation as a sex worker which she then manages through her clothing choices when she occupies spaces where she wishes to conceal her sex work identity. Participants' experiences contribute to knowledge and understanding of clothing providing visual representations of identity (Shah 2014). These micro-level experiences exemplify how misrepresentations of sex work create realities for some sex workers. Amelia and Lilly's realities are that they are choosing specific clothing to construct the social cues they wish to portray within public spaces to conceal their sex work identity and protect themselves from negative lived experiences. Thus, their experiences draw to wider discussions of how stigma and misrepresentations of the sex industry are shaping sex workers' identity performances both internally and externally from their occupation.

Interestingly, no participant discussed that religious/spiritual clothing or jewellery caused conflict in sex work and in non-sex work spaces. Thus, dissonance within this part of their identity management is due to sex work stigma as opposed to conflict between religion/spirituality and sex work. This section has offered multiple examples of the power of clothing and jewellery for identity management and performance. Clothing choices can be a tool for protection against stigma fuelled dissonance. Clothing offers signifiers to identities which can then be managed through the tailoring of what participants choose to wear. This demonstrates one way religious and spiritual sex workers manage their identities within their everyday lives. However, the heightened concern of some participants to ensure they remain discrete or blend in demonstrates the fear of stigma. Although clothing choices can reduce the risk of experiencing sex work stigma, this does not diminish the negative impact societal perceptions against the industry are having on sex workers' lived experiences.

CONCLUSION

Exploring the realities and misrepresentations of sex work has demonstrated different ways religious and spiritual sex workers manage their identities within their everyday lives. Language which othered their career was prevalent for some religious and spiritual sex workers. Analysing ways participants discussed their sex work occupations and constructed this identity illustrated how stigma influenced how they understood and saw their sex work, however, there were positive experiences and opportunities because of their occupation. "Time for Safety" offered further evidence for legal reform and increased labour rights for sex workers. I then focused on how stigma is present within mass and social media. Mass and social media possess stigma and marginalise sex workers yet provide space for "acceptable" forms of sex work.

Managing the "hidden" sex work identity elucidated how participants manage their different occupations harmoniously; however, this also exemplified the harmful impact of stigma, which forced participants to hide their sex work to ensure they could engage with more than one job (Bowen 2015; 2021). This offered a unique example of how stigma is influencing the realities of sex work. Policies within professions such as healthcare roles are outdated, possess stigma, and must change to improve the lives of sex workers who also work within the field of health. I then investigated how participants concealed their sex work within their private life. Although participants successfully negotiated potential stigma, discussions showed different ways stigma is restricting religious and spiritual sex workers' freedom to express their sex work identity. Consideration of these experiences exemplified how stigma-fuelled misrepresentations are creating realities for sex workers which may not be optimal for their self. To conclude the chapter,

changing jewellery and clothing to manage different identities within different spaces offered a unique insight into the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. Again, choosing clothing which does not possess sexual signifiers to society shows the harmful impact of misrepresentations of sex work.

CHAPTER EIGHT - CONCLUSION

Throughout my thesis, I have explored the unique, multifaceted identities and everyday experiences of 11 religious and spiritual sex workers through the utilisation of creative research methods. Participants engaged in participant-driven photograph elicitation, diaries, and semi-structured interviews to reflect on and share their lived experiences. These methods offered a unique analysis of the impact of stigma at the micro-level, enabling investigation into how sex workers engage with time (which impacted safety), identity management, and generating optimum opportunities for income. I also explored the co-existing identities of religious and spiritual sex workers across multiple parts of their self including parenthood, intimacy, migrant identity, and stigma through an intersectional lens (Crenshaw 1989). Returning to the research questions, I have explored:

- What is the relationship between sex workers' religious/spiritual and occupational identities and how does this impact their everyday experiences?
- Do religious/spiritual sex workers face identity dilemmas, and if so, in what spaces?
- How do religious/spiritual sex workers negotiate their identities for harmony between their potentially conflicting identities in unique ways?

This chapter discusses how the key findings relate to my research questions and meet the aims of my thesis. I illustrate how my work has contributed to gaps within sex work literature, sociological discussions of identity, and lived religion. Following this, I will address the limitations of my research and propose recommendations for future work.

RQ ONE: WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEX WORKERS' RELIGIOUS/SPIRITUAL AND OCCUPATIONAL IDENTITIES AND HOW DOES THIS IMPACT THEIR EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES?

The relationship between sex workers' religious and spiritual and occupational identities and how this impacts their everyday experiences was explored throughout my data chapters. This section will revisit these discussions alongside demonstrating how I have met the aim which attempts to understand the role and impact of religion and spirituality within its broadest sense in the everyday lives of sex workers.

Within Chapter Four I discussed how participants saw and engaged with their religious and spiritual identities. As suggested within Chapter Two, there is limited literature which attempts to

understand the complexities of co-existing identities of religious and spiritual sex workers. In the data chapters of the thesis, I have illustrated the interconnected nature of identities in which participants negotiated the search for harmony within their self. Harmony and dissonance provided an evolving conceptual framework to understand these complex identity negotiations of religious and spiritual sex workers. I defined harmony as a state of consonance, where different identities are aligned and in agreement with one another alongside meeting the demands and desires of the self. On the other hand, dissonance means the lack of harmony within the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. I reflect upon my concepts in greater detail later when considering how religious and spiritual sex workers negotiate their identities in the search for harmony.

For some participants, religious journeys were paramount in achieving harmony between their religiosity and sex work. For Khan and Moon, moving away from religious identities ascribed to them within their childhood enabled them to meet the demands of their self. This is a significant contribution to literature as seldom has research considered how religiosity influences both the everyday lives of sex workers and their identity management. My research supports Johnston's (2022) work, which described how the negotiation of belief for sex workers consists of embarking on an exploration of the self, questioning belief systems, and subsequently rejecting their previously held beliefs. Johnston (2022) employed semi-structured interviews, and so my research builds on this work by detailing rich, micro-level accounts of the impact of religiosity in participants' everyday lives, including their sex work occupation, through creative research methods.

For all participants, religiosity was adapted more so than their sex work. Recognising this is essential when understanding the role and place of religion/spirituality within participants' lives as although religiosity impacted upon their experiences as a sex worker and externally, participants deemed some interpretations of religion/spirituality as a reason for dissonance with sex work (Fones 2022; Peach 2005; Tamale 2014). This highlights the necessity for greater acceptability of religious/spiritual sex workers within some religious communities as some religious interpretations were creating challenges for participants' sex work identities. Subsequently, most participants tailored their religiosity to their other identities as opposed to tailoring their other identities to their religious/spiritual beliefs and expectations. This finding demonstrates the character of the relationship between sex work and religious/spiritual identities in that there is significantly more negotiation of religion in comparison to sex work. This, however, does not mean their religion is less important. Instead, participants had specific interpretations and engagements with religiosity which were more accepting towards their different identities. For Amy, Khan, and Moon, there was a preference for micro-level religious and spiritual engagement over macro, traditional religions (see also Yip (2000)). Participants were able to navigate through potential conflict and found a

religion/spirituality which aligned best with their different identities. This finding connects to Besecke (2007), who argues individuals can make meaning and embark on spiritual journeys uniquely. Harmony between their different identities is attained through shifts in their religiosity rather than their sex work. This is significant when understanding the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers as it demonstrates the importance ascribed to their occupation and shows how their choice and autonomy when sex working can subsequently create a harmonious and successful occupational identity, even when this sometimes-caused challenges within family relationships (Chapters Four and Seven).

Although Khan and Moon changed their engagements with religiosity, and Amy interpreted her spirituality differently to her father, some participants negotiated their sex work behaviours as opposed to their religious engagements. Zahra altered her sex work behaviours to ensure she respected her religious beliefs and protected her relationship with her father and child (Chapter Four). Additionally, Zahra did not engage in all requests from clients to ensure she adheres to her religious values (Chapter Four). Similarly, Maya reflected on her boundaries when sex working to manage her private intimate relationship (Chapter Six). Therefore, although participants engaged with religiosity in ways which were accepting of their different identities, some participants negotiated how they sex worked to search for optimum levels of harmony across their different identities. There were, however, experiences of dissonance, particularly with Emily. Yet, participants chose to continue sex working, irrespective of family, community, or religious pressures. All participants expressed varying levels of positivity towards their occupation and their identity as religious/spiritual sex workers. Thus, the evident value placed on their sex work and the opportunities their occupations offer challenge the harmful misrepresentations of the sex industry concerning coercion and exploitation.

I push forward academic understandings of both lived religion (McGuire 2008) and sex work research by demonstrating how religion and spirituality can exist within sex work spaces without conflict. Amelia had a client who prayed within an escorting booking (Chapter Five), and Maya (Chapter Four) and Lucy (Chapter Five) successfully used their home spaces for both religious/spiritual connection and sex work. My research highlights how religion and spirituality can serve different identities in diverse ways. This, however, does not mean that one way possesses greater levels of religious meaning but instead highlights the fluidity of religion. Within Chapter Four I built upon existing discussions of believing without belonging (Davie 1990). I explored this discussion in a new context by examining how religious and spiritual sex workers engage with their religiosity within their everyday lives. I discussed how religious and spiritual sex workers connected with their religious/spiritual identities within their home spaces. For all participants, they

connected to their religiosity in non-traditional religious spaces more than traditional ones. As discussed, Fones (2022) details how some religions openly condemn sex work. Therefore, participants may have left traditional engagements with religiosity to find acceptance in other forms of religiosity. Most participants only prayed and practised their spirituality within their private homes as shown in existing discussions of lived religion (McGuire 2008) in contemporary, Western society. The impact of COVID-19 was explored within Chapter Five, where I discussed how Moon and Khan engaged with their religious and spiritual practices under lockdown restrictions. I also presented discussions of how the space participants utilised to connect to their religion/spirituality was also used for sex work for sex workers who worked from home (as cam sex workers, escorts, online content creators, and phone sex workers); their home spaces were utilised for both sex work and religious connection with ease. For some, their religious identities were still present, however, backstage (Goffman 1959) when they were in sex work related interactions. One example of this was with Lilly, who prayed in her head when she was with a client who made her uncomfortable (Chapter Four). Praying supported her to regulate her fear to ensure her client was not aware of this. However, for others, their religious identity being known by clients enhanced the interaction. LRE, Maya and Tanya's experiences detailed within Chapter Four exemplified how their religious identities being frontstage and known to clients enriched their sex work experiences and connection to clients. This offers an alternative discussion to Domenico and Fleming's (2009) work, which demonstrated how a crucifix within a sex work space created conflict. Participants' discussions highlight that not all experiences are conflicting. Thus, my research has demonstrated that religious and spiritual sex workers make meaning out of non-traditional religious spaces and their religious/spiritual identities can assist them in their sex work experiences.

One of the most notable contributions of my work concerns the ways participants' religious and spiritual identities could be utilised as a money-maker when their religious identities were performed and known to clients. Examples of this were explored within Chapter Four and encompassed Maya, who completed yoga on cam as a cam sex worker, and Zahra, who wore a hijab when escorting and creating online content. Their experiences illustrate the unique and positive relationship between their occupation and religiosity. Identity management by tailoring religion to different audiences and sexualising their religious practices gave these sex workers enhanced opportunities for economic income. Although their experiences are not generalisable, they highlighted how religion can be used as a resource (Besecke 2001), and so directly address the limitations regarding understanding the role and impact of sex workers' religious and spiritual identities. They also contribute to wider discussions of sex workers' identity management and performance in both sex work experiences and in their private everyday life.

Additionally, the positive impact of creative methods on obtaining this data was evident throughout these discussions. For Maya, photograph elicitation was useful as she captured herself performing yoga in her bedroom to visually demonstrate how her religion/spirituality and sex work can co-exist within sex work spaces. This, alongside the diaries/interviews from Zahra enabled multiple representations of using religious identity within sex work interactions, which prior to this thesis had not been adequately explored within academic research. Therefore, through utilising creative methods, I have addressed the limitations of existing literature. By using visual and diary methods, my work challenges the idea that religion is only conflicting with the occupation of a sex worker. Not only has my research uncovered unique experiences but my chosen methods have enabled me to present these lived experiences in different ways, which can assist readers to better understand religious and spiritual sex workers' everyday lives.

Within my primary data, Maya and Tanya detailed how their sex work services helped some of the challenges their clients were experiencing. This included appeasing concerns around gender play in the context of religious communities, and sexual expression and fulfilment (Chapter Four). Although I am not suggesting sex workers work to "serve" their clients or work to provide people with sexual experiences, their stories highlight how their occupation supports some individuals alongside offering analysis of how they see their sex work identities. Participants were reflective about their occupation and what impact this has on broader society, stating that they feel empowered and happy they could support their clients sexually and emotionally (Bernstein 2001). This exploration demonstrated how Maya and Tanya's different identities influence one another and shape how religious and spiritual sex workers perform, manage, and understand their sex work identity (Goffman 1959). Although literature concerning sex as a right has been explored before this thesis, the religious aspect of their experiences has yet to be thoroughly documented, and so can be noted as a contribution to knowledge. Participants' religious identities shaped the support they offered to clients, both emotionally and sexually, building upon discussions of "playing the whore" (Grant 2014). Additionally, the shared religious identities of clients and sex workers created unique connections and meaningful experiences for both participants (Bernstein 2007).

Considering participants' sexual behaviours was another way I explored the relationship between sex work and religiosity. Only Emily said that her religious expectations regarding sexual behaviours made her feel significantly negative towards her occupation, yet financial desire was prioritised as she continued to sex work. Contrasting this, LRE and Amy mentioned how their spiritual identities enhanced some of their sexual experiences as sex workers, and I discussed how their spirituality positively influenced their sexual encounters (Ellens 2009; Smith 2017) whilst sex working within Chapter Four. Therefore, we can observe the co-existence of religion/spirituality, sex work, and

sexual expression. However, this is diverse in how they co-exist. Considering religious and spiritual sex workers' sexual behaviours can also assist gaps within knowledge concerning how sexual pleasure is experienced by sex workers (Smith 2017). I furthered Amy's experiences of sexual pleasure in Chapter Six when exploring her engagement with snuff porn. Although her feelings when creating snuff porn are unique to her, and this may cause conflict within other sex workers' identities, for her, this fulfils multiple parts of her self (such as income and sexual exploration).

Thus, my thesis has offered multiple discussions which attempt to understand the complex and unique relationship between sex work, religion, and spirituality. Embarking on religious journeys and tailoring religiosity to meet different parts of their self enabled sex workers to have co-existing identities between religion/spirituality and sex work. Not only was this relationship harmonious, but religiosity enhanced sex work experiences including providing opportunities for enhanced economic income, more pleasurable sexual experiences, and provided comfort in challenging work situations. However, as I briefly mentioned earlier in this chapter, the influence of other people's religious identities, particularly those who are close to them, can create dissonance. I further this discussion below, with the consideration of participants' identity dilemmas.

RQ TWO: DO RELIGIOUS/SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS FACE IDENTITY DILEMMAS, AND IF SO, IN WHAT SPACES?

The second research question concerned exploring whether religious and spiritual sex workers face identity dilemmas, and if so, in what spaces. I engaged with intersectional analysis (Crenshaw 1989) through consideration of sex work, migrant, gender, and sexuality stigma. This section will detail ways this project explored the complex, co-existing identities of religious and spiritual sex workers by revisiting the identity dilemmas explored throughout my data chapters.

Most participants (apart from Emily) had co-existing harmonious identities, and religiosity provided enhanced experiences as a sex worker as well as existing within sex work spaces. However, this co-existence of religion/spirituality and sex work identities was not simply just there, but due to participants' constant reflections and negotiations of potential identity dilemmas. As discussed in Chapter Four, although Zahra utilises her religious identity within her sex work (wearing the hijab), there were clear boundaries set by Zahra to ensure she adheres to her religious values to overcome potential identity dilemmas. This connects to identity theory proposed by Goffman (1959), which has been useful when analysing participants' identity negotiations within their everyday lives. However, one limitation of Goffman (1959) suggests an oversimplification of identity negotiation (Reynolds and Herman-Kinney 2003). This was important to recognise when analysing sex workers' identities through utilising Goffman's (1959) theory. Within my research, I ensured a thorough

consideration of the complexities of their identity management which my concepts of harmony and dissonance assisted (which I revisit in RQ three). Identity management for religious and spiritual sex workers is complex and requires constant identity work to reduce identity dilemmas and maintain a balance between their religious/spiritual and sex work identities. Stigma at the meso-level (public) was present within wider society and religious institutions. Stigma within religious institutions included sex work stigma as well as stigma against LGBT+ identities as noted by Khan in Chapter Four.

Private intimate relationships creating identity dilemmas for religious and spiritual sex workers were detailed in Chapter Six. This is a unique finding in my work as I considered how religion had shaped sex workers' private intimate partners' engagement with sexual expression and the impact this had on their relationship. Although potential challenges associated with private intimacy for sex workers have been explored in previous research (Bellhouse et al 2015), there is seldom literature which captures how sex workers' partners' religious identities can cause conflict for sex workers, even if their own religious/spiritual and occupational identities are harmonious. Within Chapter Six I detailed examples of how participants reflected on the tensions they were presented with because of their private partners' religious identities. Both Moon and Maya demonstrated different negotiations with their identities as a partner and sex worker to find balance and subsequently, have co-existing identities which are both fulfilled. However, the co-existence of their sex work and private relationships appeared volatile, and sex work identity performance could quickly change their experiences of harmony. Therefore, identity dilemmas were successfully negotiated, however, they are not static, and so religious and spiritual sex workers must adapt to earn an income and overcome potential dissonance within their experiences of private intimacy. Thus, although religious and spiritual sex workers' identities were co-existing, challenges remained because of the religious engagements of individuals who were close to them. This was also the case for some participants' family and friends' engagements with religion (Chapters Four and Seven). Analysing these experiences demonstrates the diverse ways other individuals' religious identities can create identity dilemmas for sex workers, even when their own religious and sex work identities are co-existing without conflict.

Moving away from religious identities, being a parent and a sex worker was an identity dilemma which was managed by some participants. Six participants were parents, and I explored Lucy and Lilly's experiences of parenthood in depth. They attempted to hide their sex work to ensure their relationship with their children would continue to be a positive one and their children would not experience courtesy stigma (Goffman 1963) (Chapter Six). Their experiences showcased some challenges that arise from being a sex worker and a parent. Challenges centred around sex work

stigma, which not only had the potential to damage their relationship with their child but also create negative experiences for their children. To overcome these challenges, identity negotiations involved engaging with offline sex work as opposed to online sex work (due to sex work audiences being easier to manage offline) and engaging with OnlyFans for Lilly, who is an escort. Lucy discussed how she hides her occupation from her family who live in Romania and discusses how she would move cities if her child were to move to the UK. For both participants, their sex work identities were tailored to maintain their relationships with their children. This builds upon existing literature proposed by Sharpe (2001), who demonstrates how sex working parents possess the same dedication to raising their children. Both participants challenged stigma and misrepresentations of parents who sex work by demonstrating their ability to provide for their children through the economic opportunities sex work can offer, alongside their evident dedication to protecting their children against stigma through sex work identity management.

Analysis of participants' sexual expression and identities highlighted that for some participants, sexual identities were blurred, and their sex work behaviours were significantly influential on their experiences of everyday life. Three participants felt that sex external to their occupation was pointless and unfulfilling which I mapped out in Chapter Six. Not wanting to have sex when they are not getting paid should not be understood as a negative repercussion of being a sex worker. Although their sex work influenced their private intimate desires, participants were happy with this engagement with private intimacy at this time of their lives (other than Emily who voiced concerns about her future expectations from private partners due to being a sugar baby).

I also discussed how Amy and Maya saw intimacy with clients as separate from their private, intimate encounters. However, their occupation was still influential on their sexual expressions/desires within their private life. This highlighted the prevalence of the identity and behaviours of a sex worker and how this then shapes other parts of their self. I suggested that for these two participants, although intimacy with clients was still influential on their sexual expressions/desires within their private life, this does not mean there is conflict between the two identities. For Maya, this increased her confidence in her private sex life, and Amy saw good sexual experiences as economic opportunities. Although it could be suggested that their experiences had the potential for identity dilemmas between their sex work and private sexual expression, this was not the case for participants. Their different identities influence one another, however, co-existed harmoniously at this time in their lives.

Understanding how participants engaged with spaces for sex work is important when understanding how religious and spiritual sex workers manage their identities and identity

dilemmas. What type of sex work participants engaged with influenced what spaces participants occupied and how participants occupied them (Chapter Five). Participants capturing space through photographs were present and explored throughout Chapter Five. LRE, Maya, and Moon took photographs when sex working. This was hugely beneficial to explore how different types of sex work influenced how spaces were occupied and how their identities were performed. LRE captured pictures of her short-term lease property/hotel room when she was escorting (figure 11), Maya took pictures of her bedroom where she does cam work (figure 9), and Moon of her legs when working in the strip club (figure 12). Maya also took a photograph of her engaging with her sex work clients when working at her office job (figure 15), which showed how sex work was not confined to her dedicated sex work hours and can exist within perceived non-sex work spaces with ease. These photographs enabled rich analysis into what and how spaces are engaged with when sex working. Without these photographs, although there may have been discussions of sex work spaces within interviews, it may have been harder to ascertain. Their photographs and subsequent discussions within interviews highlighted how spaces participants use for sex work influenced identity performances and potential identity dilemmas. Utilising creative research methods has allowed me to explore deeper channels of the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers and uniquely explore the identity dilemmas they experience. I revisit some discussions of sex work spaces and identity management below.

Beginning with sex workers who worked away from home, Amy and LRE offered important analysis into some identity dilemmas experienced within their sex work spaces (Chapter Five). As Amy lives close to a state in America where the porn industry predominately resides, this positively impacted her ability to enter the industry and work within porn. Porn production is technically only legal in two states, and so this legislation impacts whether someone can become a “legal” porn star in the United States (Worthen 2016). However, Amy discussed having to choose between her career and private relationship due to the existing distance between her and the porn industry. Therefore, geographical space was not only influential on her options for sex work engagements but also impacts her relationship management within her private life, and so identity dilemmas exist within this space alongside providing opportunities.

Moving onto LRE, she utilised “sex work friendly spaces” when she was escorting for safety reasons (Hubbard 2001). However, this created challenges when attempting to conceal her sex work identity as she was occupying “known” sex work friendly spaces. As specific hotels are known for sex work, she is at risk of being seen and then associated with sex work. As she is not an “out” sex worker and a healthcare professional (Chapter Seven), she was worried about being outed due to the space she occupies when working. Amy and LRE, therefore, demonstrate how spaces chosen

for sex work can create unique identity dilemmas, where they must negotiate keeping themselves safe while working or having a successful career.

Although I have detailed ways participants worked away from home, for some, working from home was preferred. However, the boundaries were blurred between home and work life, yet this was harmonious for participants (Chapter Five). I also illustrated how migrant participants navigated through housing barriers placed upon them. As discussed within Chapter Five, although I did not find explicit mention of “half/half” (an arrangement where participants are given accommodation in exchange for giving half of all their income generated from sex work to their property owner) within my research, similar experiences of “half/half” were identified. Some migrants who are housed by their employer are typically living in poor conditions and migrants are forced to work longer hours to subsidise the “rent” element of their agreement (Norwood 2020). This finding elucidates that due to the double-stigma migrant sex workers face, they were at heightened risk of exploitation. However, Lucy and Lilly did not see this as exploitation themselves. Instead, participants saw this as individuals supporting them or seeing their living arrangements as the best outcome out of all situations, even though this is still exploitative. This finding shows how religious and spiritual sex workers’ different identities impact their experiences of spaces which are utilised for both their private and occupational lives. My analysis of a “half/half” arrangement, therefore, can be considered a unique contribution to understanding the everyday lives of migrant sex workers and holds wider applicability to the impact of prejudices and stigma on the lived experiences of migrants.

All migrant participants (three) highlighted how not every migrant sex worker is trafficked. Choice was important to their narratives to explain how they entered the industry to others. All migrant participants chose to enter the sex industry as there were opportunities to earn significant income. This builds upon the discussions within my literature review chapter which suggested that Romanian experiences of working within the global sex industry are not hegemonic and the ascribed identity of “trafficked” fails to understand the complex experiences of migrant sex workers (Mai 2013). Their experiences can challenge the arguments that all migrant sex workers are being coerced or trafficked into the industry. Instead, participants demonstrated that the global sex industry provides the opportunity for economic income that other jobs do not offer due to the wider stigma against migrants within the UK. Thus, although migrant sex workers experienced exploitation in their housing situations, this was due to the intersectional stigma (Crenshaw 1989) they experienced, not because of the misconception that all sex workers are exploited. Their identity dilemmas centred around stigma and translated into their housing challenges which they had to manage. I now turn attention to the third research question within this thesis.

RQ THREE: HOW DO RELIGIOUS/SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS NEGOTIATE THEIR IDENTITIES FOR HARMONY BETWEEN THEIR POTENTIALLY CONFLICTING IDENTITIES IN UNIQUE WAYS?

The final research question concerns how religious and spiritual sex workers negotiate their identities for harmony between their potentially conflicting identities in unique ways. To answer this, it is important to return to my concepts of harmony and dissonance. My concepts enabled a thorough analysis of the motivations for identity management with consideration of the impact of these identity decisions within various parts of their self. Therefore, harmony and dissonance are useful concepts to understand how identity is performed and managed. These concepts offer a greater scope of understanding regarding the impact of these decisions on their lived experiences. I have used harmony and dissonance as an original approach to understand identity management and the impact this has on sex workers, but these concepts can also be used more widely in the analysis of identities.

For all participants, achieving all-encompassing harmony was not attained, which I discussed throughout my four data chapters. I would not suggest this is a direct result of sex work but a reality of identity negotiations for all individuals within society. Participants searched for and achieved varying levels of harmony through the management of their different identities. Although there were commonalities, searching for harmony in various parts of their self looked different for each participant. The identity dilemmas presented throughout my data chapters which stopped participants from achieving all-encompassing harmony were influenced by sex work stigma, misconceptions of the industry, and conflict between sex work behaviours and some individuals' religious beliefs. This was present in multiple aspects of participants' lives such as family and friendships engagement with religion (Chapters Four and Seven), attempting to conceal their occupation as a sex worker within their other occupations (Chapter Seven), protecting their children from courtesy stigma (Goffman 1963) (Chapter Six), and managing private intimacy (Chapter Six). Although these experiences differed, there was an underlining theme of sex work stigma, which religious and spiritual sex workers had to work through. These discussions demonstrated the presence of harmonious-dissonance, where some levels of conflict/dissonance were accepted to obtain the greatest levels of harmony available in relation to these identities and experiences. Therefore, harmony and dissonance as a theoretical framework enhance understanding of how sex workers manage these challenges, highlight the motivations behind such identity performances, and illustrate the act of "weighing up" potential different outcomes within identity dilemmas.

Through my concepts, I have enabled an understanding of identity negotiation regarding religion and sexual morality and created the potential for a new understanding of identity management. Although dissonance between the professional and personal has been explored previously (Comartin and Gonzalez-Prendes 2011), I am bringing together this professional and personal dissonance regarding sex work and exploring this in a new way. My concepts illustrate the multi-dimensional, non-binary nature of identity and can be helpful when attempting to understand these complex identity negotiations and performances. Therefore, not only has my concept of harmony assisted knowledge in understanding the complex identity negotiations of sex workers, but also contributes to the sociology of identity. Although addressing previous research questions has detailed the ways religious and spiritual sex workers negotiate their identities for harmony, I will now review additional experiences of participants negotiating their identities to search for harmony within their everyday lives.

Although participants successfully concealed their sex work occupation to reduce conflict within their everyday lives, this was not optimal for their private self but necessary to reduce the impact of dissonance within their lived experiences. The flexibility of the sex industry was a reoccurring benefit throughout my analysis and helped participants navigate through potential challenging situations and experiences. However, participants still had to accept some levels of dissonance from family, friends, policy, religious communities, and the police whilst continuing to sex work. For example, LRE and Maya did not disclose their sex work to their other jobs to ensure both occupations could co-exist (Chapter Seven). Both participants actively managed their different identities to ensure they could possess two occupations and enhance opportunities for economic income for themselves (Bowen 2021). However, within LRE's discussion of concealing her sex work from her other profession, she was forced to hide her face when creating online content to lower the risk of losing her healthcare job. Although this was successful in keeping her two occupations, this identity management to achieve harmony reduced opportunities for economic income when sex working (Chapter Seven). This experience also highlighted a reality of sex work in that, LRE does not have full control over how she can sex work due to sex work stigma. Therefore, participants engaged in identity management to reduce negative experiences derived from sex work stigma.

Exploring participants' private lives furthered analysis of the complex identity negotiations of sex workers and the religious/spiritual. Within Chapter Seven I discussed how Maya and Emily concealed their sex work from a friend (Maya) and their community (Emily). Both experiences exemplified the influence of religion, however, not from their own religious identities but instead, from their friends (Muslim) and community (Irish traveller and Catholic). These micro-level experiences further contributed to understanding the complexities of participants' co-existing

identities by exemplifying the fluidity of identity management with the hope to reduce conflict within their private lives. They also highlighted the realities for some religious and spiritual sex workers. Both participants expressed their concerns about being “found out” and as a result, losing their friendship and community due to these relationships possessing negative feelings against the sex industry. Thus, misrepresentations of sex work can harm sex workers’ private relationships. From this, some participants engaged in sex work identity concealment to navigate through these identity challenges.

Management of stigma was carefully analysed at the micro-level within all four data chapters. For Maya and Tanya, their utilisation of jewellery and wigs was a strong example of this (Chapter Seven). Not only did participants actively change their jewellery and clothing within sex work spaces for identity protection (remaining anonymous and protecting their privacy), but two participants (Amelia and Lilly) changed their clothing in public spaces to protect their sex work identity to manage stigma and dissonance. This discussion significantly contributes to micro-level understandings of religious and spiritual sex workers’ identity management and lived experiences. This addresses my research question about how religious/spiritual sex workers negotiate their identities for harmony between their potentially conflicting identities in unique ways, as it demonstrates the identity tactics used to manage conflict between their identities to protect themselves from sex work stigma. Next, I map out contributions on debates of sex work legislation and stigma because of exploring the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers.

THE NECESSITY FOR DECRIMINALISATION

Although my research did not intend to contribute to discussions of sex work legislation, we can observe the effect of these alongside stigma which are negatively impacting on sex workers achieving harmony within their everyday lives. My research illustrated how decriminalisation would better protect sex workers regarding safety and harm reduction. For example, in America where Khan resides, it is illegal to escort, and so she is forced to engage in selective disclosure (Koken 2012) to the police and relies upon her friends to protect her when working as an escort (Chapter Five). For some UK-residing participants (LRE, Amelia, Lilly, and Lucy), being able to work at home with friends would have appeased challenges related to safety. For example, Lilly and Amelia preferred to sex work during the day because clients were unpredictable at night due to being intoxicated and they worked alone within their homes (Chapter Seven). At the time of this research, it is illegal for a property to be used by more than one person to sell sex as it is considered a brothel (Platt et al 2018). Therefore, we can see the negative impact policies which restrict sex workers are having on sex workers’ everyday lives. This is an important takeaway for this research for

policymakers. To reduce experiences such as this, the first step is to fully decriminalise the industry, which I discuss further within the recommendations section of this chapter.

Sex work stigma and sex work legislation are interconnected. Adopting decriminalisation globally would be the first step in ending the negative lived experiences participants discussed (Armstrong 2019). I detailed a variety of realities and misrepresentations of sex work within Chapter Seven. I highlighted how Khan found acceptance and recognition from escorting. And whilst Maya and Amy discussed sex work as not “normal,” I argued that this was due to positive reasons. The realities of sex work stigma were furthered by the challenges of having more than one occupation, which was detailed by Maya and LRE, a sex worker and healthcare professional. My research also challenges harmful misrepresentations of sex work by disseminating stories which show that some participants feel empowered by their work and the industry provides multidimensional benefits, supporting arguments that sex work is work (Global Network of Sex Work Projects 2023). Some benefits include fulfilment, flexibility, increased opportunities for economic income, and enhanced confidence and sexual pleasure. Therefore, to assist the goal of global decriminalisation, it is important to disseminate positive experiences of being a sex worker as well as share the harmful impact of stigma to counter existing discrimination against the sex work community. Now I move away from the contributions of my thesis and consider the limitations.

LIMITATIONS

This section reflects upon the limitations of my research. Considering the methodological approach, the number of participants (11) within my research may be perceived as a potential limitation. Although this research attempted to encompass as many voices as possible, my sample size should still be considered a significant achievement given that sex workers can be hard to engage with (as an outsider) and the intensive nature of the methods employed. Within my sample, all participants identified as female, ten cis-women and one trans-woman. Working with only sex workers who identify as female was not intentional but the result of my recruitment, and so a limitation of my work is that it did not encompass all gender identities. My research only encompassed voices from the UK and America; there are additional experiences of sex workers in countries my work has missed. However, in Chapter Three I discussed how my research prioritised participants’ reflections and recognises subjectivities (Ratner 2002a). Subjectivism proposes knowledge is “always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity” (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, p.21). Thus, although my research is not generalisable, I did not intend for this. Therefore, it is the recommendation that future work attempts to capture and share the voices of religious and

spiritual sex workers with different gender identities who live in countries my work has not been able to reach.

It is also essential to reflect on who engaged with the research. The experiences detailed within this thesis have come from those who feel able to tell their stories. Religious and spiritual sex workers who are in precarious or challenging work or living circumstances may not have the capacity to be involved in research. This is important to consider when creating research with a searched form of recruitment as opposed to a random sample, for example. My own identity as a non-sex worker and the impact this had on both recruitment and data analysis was also influential in the sample of participants. As I am not a sex worker, this may have affected my ability to recruit more participants. This links to discussions of whether non-sex workers should complete sex work related research (p.80). For some, this may be a limitation due to the institutional and societal stigma against sex workers, which I discussed within the methodological chapter.

Another limitation concerns paying participants. In Chapter Three, I discussed that I wanted to offer money as reimbursement for their time and involvement with the research. However, it was proposed that this poses ethical concerns and may have led to participants engaging with the research for “the wrong reasons”, so I was advised not to do this. Instead, I offered participants a gesture of thanks which was in the form of Love2shop or/and Amazon vouchers. As stated, these rewards were advertised to participants beforehand. Although this research held strong ethical practices, not paying participants raises the question of whether ethics around this issue are outdated. It is my opinion that academic institutions offer researchers the opportunity to offer monetary reimbursement where appropriate. Although I hoped my research was an enjoyable experience and participation was entirely voluntary, I do not believe that paying sex workers for sharing their life experiences would cause harm.

Reflecting on my research experience and learning through the process, I would have involved sex workers in all stages of the research. Although I encouraged feedback from my participants, sex workers were not directly involved in the planning stages. Therefore, a limitation of this work is the failure to enable sex workers to comment on my research design before I started it, and so I did not adopt the “nothing about us without us” ethos legitimately (Lobo et al 2020). This is an aim going forward in future work and a recommendation for others who are completing sex work related research as a non-sex worker.

Moving on to my data, the limitations may be that the project did not solely cover the impact of religion and spirituality. Although participants held a religious/spiritual identity and connected to religiosity in diverse ways (both within sex work experiences and externally), this is not their only

identity. Therefore, the variety of my discussions showcases the different identities religious and spiritual sex workers possess. My research encapsulates the uniqueness and diversity of sex workers' identities and exemplifies the interconnectivity of these.

A final limitation of my research is that my work still leaves unanswered questions. Although my research addresses the limitations within the literature, this thesis does not, by any means, encompass all discussions of the lived experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers, and there is a lot more to be done. It is also important to consider the longitudinal effects of this work. With the changing nature of both the sex industry and engagements with religiosity, this research offers a snapshot of how these identities co-exist, yet this may not be applicable in the future. However, as argued within the methodological chapter, this does not make the lived experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers within this research unimportant or irrelevant, and to assume this to be the case would further stigmatise sex workers. This research, therefore, provides an extensive analysis of the social norms and practices of religious and spiritual sex workers at the time of the project (Meyer et al 2013).

RECOMMENDATIONS

To conclude this chapter, I propose recommendations arising from this thesis. Firstly, regarding methodology, I believe the application of creative methods within sex work related research can be developed further. Although there is fantastic existing research which uses photograph elicitation within the field of sex work research (Smith 2015; 2017), this seldom encompasses all three methods (photographs, diaries, and semi-structured interviews) within one project. My research shows the scope for future work to further encourage the application of creative research methods.

Returning to previous methodological discussions, it is of the utmost importance for academic institutions to offer researchers the opportunity to offer monetary reimbursement where ethics and researchers believe it is appropriate. Although I am advocating this for sex work related research, this can also extend to other hard-to-reach groups or research which involves labour-demanding methods such as photograph elicitation and diaries.

An additional recommendation for academia concerns the applicability of my concepts of harmony and dissonance, in both sex work related research and beyond, to understand how individuals negotiate different challenges that result from their self and secondary factors within their everyday lives. I hope the concept of harmony enables individuals to understand the motivations behind identity performances, the outcomes from these decisions, and the impact this has on an individual's self and differing identities.

I also suggested within Chapter Seven that further research should be completed regarding TikTok shaping expectations of the sex industry. This was an interesting element of Emily's experience of entering the sex industry, and I believe more academic attention would be beneficial to further understand the relationship between how censorship of sex workers on TikTok is shaping the expectations of what the sex industry entails.

Recommendations for individuals who work with sex workers (for example, housing officers, healthcare practitioners, and therapists) regard understanding the complexities of religious and spiritual sex workers' identities and lived experiences. I have demonstrated throughout my thesis that the sex work community is diverse, and so this must be recognised to ensure that individuals who are working with sex workers do not make assumptions about their lived experiences or needs. If recognition of the diverse needs and experiences is in place for practitioners, better rapport can be built, and more tailored support can be delivered to the sex work community. Additionally, the challenges associated with the "half/half" arrangement must also be acknowledged by practitioners. If organisations and practitioners can support migrant and non-migrant sex workers who are within a "half/half" arrangement to find private accommodation, this may assist in the reduction of experiences I have outlined within this thesis (Chapter Five).

Regarding policy recommendations, policies must support and allow sex workers to operate freely. To do this, decriminalisation of the sex industry is crucial. This must happen to reduce experiences of violence and marginalisation. Not only this, but decriminalisation challenges the existing stigma against the industry. All four of my data chapters demonstrated how stigma led sex workers to engage in identity negotiations, particularly selective disclosure (Koken 2012) to manage potential dissonance and discrimination. Stigma should not simply be managed but instead, be abolished to improve the lives of sex workers (Weitzer 2018). My thesis, therefore, contributes to discussions within policy debates by offering an array of micro-level insight into the harmful impact policies, which involve the criminalisation of certain sex work practices, are having on the community.

Continuing the theme of sex work stigma, recommendations for religious groups concern acceptance. Throughout my thesis, I detailed a myriad of challenges experienced by religious and spiritual sex workers which derive from societal and religious stigma. If religious communities were more accepting of the occupation, this will help sex workers feel a part of religious communities and reduce the negative experiences I have exemplified within this research. Attempting to "save" sex workers is not acceptance (for example, religiously motivated saviour charities). Acceptance can be achieved through recognising sex work as a legitimate occupation and creating a welcoming space for sex workers who hold a religious/spiritual identity.

Another recommendation related to policy concerns sex workers who also work within the healthcare sector. When looking for research to support LRE's discussion of holding dual occupations as both a sex worker and a healthcare professional, the literature was limited. There are significant challenges faced by sex workers who are also within the healthcare sector which I touched upon in Chapter Seven. More focus on sex workers who work in the healthcare sector within the UK which can assist policy change to better protect sex workers would be beneficial.

Overall, these recommendations overarchingly point to the necessity for further research to consider the lived experiences of religious and spiritual sex workers and how possessing these identities can fulfil/challenge the demands of their self. The participants in this research have opened new discussions about what it means to be a sex worker, which needs to be explored further. Although there was a thorough examination of the impact of religion and spirituality, further research could be completed on the impact of religiosity on sexual experiences, both as a sex worker and within private intimacy. The influence of religion/spirituality from the lens of secondary factors (friends, family, religious communities) may also prove insightful to further understand the impact of religion on sex workers' everyday lives. By doing this, research can continue to demonstrate how sex workers' identities are complex and multifaceted and dismantle misrepresentations of sex work.

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APPENDIX ONE - ETHICAL APPROVAL

Message sent on behalf of the Chair of the Schools of Business, Law and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dear Daisy

Thank you for the revised submission of your ethical application no. 2022/05 (amendment to 2021/282) to the Schools of Business, Law and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (BLSS REC) on 13 January 2022 requesting an ethics opinion for the project entitled: *An exploration of how sex workers who identify as religious or spiritual manage their identities within their everyday lives.*

Following resubmission, we are pleased to inform you that the Chair was happy to verify that in their judgement, there were no outstanding ethical concerns and as a result, your revised application has met with a favourable ethics opinion* through Chair's Action.

The favourable ethics opinion of your application is valid until **30 September 2024**. Should your project extend beyond this time then an application for an extension would need to be submitted to the BLSS REC.

Receipt of a favourable ethics opinion does not constitute permission to proceed with the research. A 'breach of integrity' would technically occur if the researcher goes ahead with the project without the correct governance approvals being in place first, which could be considered to be Research Misconduct.

REC documentation should require an explicit commitment from research teams to consider the possible impact that any changes to their research project, but in particular changes to research design and methods of data collection, have on research ethics; and, therefore, whether a follow-up ethics review of a substantial amendment is required. If researchers are unsure, they should discuss the matter with their REC Chair in the first instance.

Examples of substantial changes that would require a research ethics application for review of a substantial amendment include:

- (i) the safety or physical or mental integrity of the research participants (normally requiring amendments to information sheets, consent forms and other participant facing documents);
- (ii) the scientific value of the study (normally requiring changes to the study methods);
- (iii) the conduct or management of the study, (this might include changes in recruitment strategies, data management, or changes that might affect risk assessment);
- (iv) the quality or safety of any equipment used in the study.

We would like to wish you well in the completion of your project.

Sent on behalf of
Chair BLSS REC

**Please note that the REC now provides 'favourable opinion' rather than 'approval', which was the term used previously. There has been no change to the scrutiny applied by RECs to research projects and the adjustment has been made to reflect more accurately the REC's role in considering ethical aspects of a project and concluding that all aspects are satisfactory from an ethics perspective. Other aspects of a project may (though not necessarily) still require attention before a project can commence, such as a risk assessment form, final research data management plan or relevant permissions from a third party.*

Annabel Cali

APPENDIX TWO - COVID-19 FACE-TO-FACE RESEARCH RISK ASSESSMENT TEMPLATE


Risk Assessor's Name:	Daisy Matthews	Accountable Managers Name:	Jonathan Gorry	Planned Review Date	Weekly from commencement of field work.
Task or Activity Description				Location:	"Lisianthus", a Nottingham organisation which supports sex workers.
<p><i>This risk assessment template should be used when small numbers of employees and students are accessing the campus. Please speak to your Safety Advisor as to the specific nature of your work and they will be able to help identify any additional measures that may need to be in place.</i></p> <p><i>Fully describe the activity you wish to carry out. You should include dates and the numbers of employees and students that will be on site.</i></p> <p><i>Your current health and safety controls for this activity must still be in place, this includes PPE, operating equipment and lone working etc</i></p> <p><i>You may add to any of the control measures below but do not change them.</i></p>				Persons at Risk - Affected Groups:	
				A – Staff at "Lisianthus"	B – Participants
				C – Researcher	D –
				E –	F –

Potential Hazard	Existing Controls	Risk level with controls	Additional Controls or Required Action & Date
Prevention of catching COVID-19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Employees are not to attend site and are to follow current UK NHS guidance where they are 	Low	<i>Describe how you will ensure this.</i>

Potential Hazard	Existing Controls	Risk level with controls	Additional Controls or Required Action & Date
	<p>exhibiting any symptoms of the virus; where they live with anyone who has symptoms of the virus or have been told to isolate for 12 weeks.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employees in any of the extremely vulnerable at-risk categories, are not to undertake activities on site as noted in this Government guidance • Employees to observe social distancing at all times (maintain 2m away from other people) including in toilets and kitchens. • Employees to observe good hand hygiene techniques at all times. Hands should be washed frequently. All employees to use hand sanitiser that is available from contactless dispensers, upon arrival to site and before leaving. • Activity time to be kept to an absolute minimum. • Do not leave any rubbish in the waste bins, take all rubbish and personal belongings home with you. • Current UK Government guidance (11/05/20) on the use of PPE to be followed including, <i>“When managing the risk of COVID-19, additional PPE beyond what you usually wear is not beneficial. This is because COVID-19 is a different type of risk to the risks you normally face in a workplace, and needs to be managed through social distancing, hygiene and fixed teams or</i> 		<p>I am aware of the symptoms of Coronavirus and will message all participants before the interview commences to ensure they have not come into contact with any confirmed cases of COVID-19, not received a track and trace notification to self-isolate and are not displaying symptoms of COVID-19 which can be located on the NHS/Gov website. In the same sense, if I have come into contact with a confirmed case or have been notified to self-isolate, I will postpone the meeting and/or rearrange for a virtual interview.</p> <p>Social distancing will also be in place with myself, participants, and staff members within Lisianthus.</p> <p><i>Describe how you will do this in relation to the activity you are carrying out.</i></p> <p>I am not within the vulnerable risk categories and will be fully vaccinated in advance of the start of data collection period. All meetings will be in a private room, with one other individual where social distancing can take place. No group interviews will take place.</p> <p>I will wear PPE, provide sanitiser upon arrival and when the interview has been completed. Interviews will last 1-2 hours maximum and so, will not be occupying the space for significantly long periods of time. The room will also be well ventilated.</p>

Potential Hazard	Existing Controls	Risk level with controls	Additional Controls or Required Action & Date
	<p><i>partnering, not through the use of PPE.” (Gov, 2020).</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Face coverings are a personal choice in the workplace and are not the same as PPE, if you choose to wear them please ensure you follow the face covering guidance • Face coverings will still be worn within the service. • You must practice social distancing and wash your hands frequently, even if you wear a face covering. • Prior to undertaking any work, employees are required stay alert to the situation to identify any obvious issues or changes that could increase the risk of coming contact with the COVID-19 Virus. Employees are to report any issues identified to their line manager prior to commencing work. 		<p><i>I will notify Lisianthus about the proposed interviews prior to coming with participant to ensure the organisation does not have any confirmed cases of COVID-19, I can arrive at times which are not busy to ensure all parties are safe and socially distanced. Therefore, throughout the data collection, all interviews will be scheduled in and so, can be safely managed.</i></p> <p><i>Do you need cleaning services? Have you contacted Estates?</i></p> <p><i>Not required as the location I will be holding interviews has an employed cleaner.</i></p>
EQUIPMENT/MACHINERY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only equipment listed is permitted to be used – no other equipment should be used without prior permission. • All equipment pre use checks should be completed prior to use and any statutory checks should be complete – any equipment that has not been checked should be removed from use. • Any equipment used must be cleaned after use following manufacturers guidelines. 		<p><i>List equipment to be used.</i></p> <p><i>Audio recorder, mobile phone, notebook, and laptop.</i></p> <p><i>State how equipment will be used.</i></p> <p><i>Will be personal to me and not shared with anyone else.</i></p>

Potential Hazard	Existing Controls	Risk level with controls	Additional Controls or Required Action & Date
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use of food preparation equipment e.g., toasters is prohibited. 		
TRAVEL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I will not access any public transport to Employees should follow Government and transport company guidance if travelling by public transport Face coverings must be worn on public transport from 15 June 2020. Park as close to the building as possible		<i>Describe how this will be communicated and managed.</i> Public transport will not be used to access the location due to close proximity. For the participants, I will ensure they are following government travel guidelines if needing to access public transport.

This risk level has been reduced as low as is reasonably practicable			
Assessor's Signature:	 Director of Studies	Date:	2 August 2021
Manager's Signature	Jonathan Gorry (On behalf of HoD)	Date:	3/August/21

	1 st Review	2 nd Review	3 rd Review	4 th Review	5 th Review
Assessors Name:					
Managers Name:					
Date of Review:					

APPENDIX THREE - PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

EXPLORING THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS

This document outlines the purpose of the research and provides important information. Please read through all the information carefully.

WHO AM I?

I am Daisy, a PhD student at Nottingham Trent University. I am conducting research into how sex workers who identify as religious or spiritual manage their identities within their everyday lives.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH?

The purpose of the research is to explore different experiences that may arise within everyday life of religious and spiritual sex workers.

AM I ALLOWED TO TAKE PART?

If you are over the age of eighteen, a sex worker and identify as religious or spiritual, you are a potential participant!

WILL PEOPLE KNOW I AM A PARTICIPANT?

Personal details will not be used throughout the report and responses from both the photographs, diaries and interviews will be anonymised. You will be assigned a pseudo-name which is a false name throughout the research.

Your address and where you work will not be shared. Some characteristics of your identity will be shared to understand your experiences (type of sex work you engage with, what religion/spirituality you hold, your gender and sexuality for example).

WHAT DO I HAVE TO DO?

You will be asked to take photographs, keep diaries, and participate in one-to-one interviews which explore your experiences in your everyday lives and document reflections on your identities. **More information can be found in the photograph and diary guidelines.** If you do not have access to a smartphone or digital camera, please let me know and I can lend you a camera for this part of the research. Once you have taken pictures and/or written diary entries, you will be involved in individual (one-to-one) interviews to give you opportunity to discuss the photographs and diaries alongside other opinions and reflections you may have. If for any reason you do not complete the diary or photographs, do not worry, we can still meet and have an interview/chat.

WHERE WILL INTERVIEWS BE?

The interviews will be informal discussion. They will be audio-recorded if we can conduct these face-to-face. If we meet face-to-face, this will be at Lisianthus, an organisation which supports sex workers. Therefore, the organisation may know your identity. However, they will sign a non-disclosure agreement which means your identity will remain confidential. Please be reassured that you are not required to use their services if you do not wish to. The meeting location has been chosen as its safe space for us to discuss your creative data in a private room. We can have our interviews on Microsoft Teams if you do not wish to meet me face-to-face. This will be video

recorded however, you do not have to put your camera on if you do not want to! If you do not have access to a computer or would prefer, we can discuss on the phone (this will be audio recorded).

HOW OFTEN DO WE NEED TO MEET?

You may send me pictures over the week, and we may chat through these on a weekly basis and so, there will be multiple, but smaller in length discussions. Or alternatively, we may talk through your pictures and diaries at the end of your data collection and so, have one or two longer discussions.

WHAT WILL YOU ASK ME IN THE INTERVIEW/S?

There will be a variety of questions asked and topics covered. You are not required to answer all of the questions if you do not wish to. If there is some topics you do not want to discuss, you can also contact me before, and I will leave these out.

Questions may be:

- What have you been up to?
- What have you been doing in your spare time?
- How have you been connected to your religious or spiritual identity?
- Discussing experiences of stigma or prejudices.
- Experiences with police.
- Experiences with/in COVID-19.
- Experiences of conflict in your different identities.
- Experiences of harmony in your different identities.
- Why did you take the photograph/write the diary?
- How do you feel looking at the photograph/diary entry now?

I NEED A TRANSLATOR FOR THE INTERVIEW, IS THIS POSSIBLE?

If you require a translator for the interviews, please let me know in advance and I will have this arranged for you.

WILL YOU TELL PEOPLE ABOUT OUR DISCUSSIONS?

I will discuss your anonymised data with my supervisory team.

I am required to tell police immediately if there is any sex work involving minors and if sex work is being carried out in a house which minors occupy/ live in.

I am not required to inform the police of any other information you discuss such as working in a brothel or breaking the law regarding sex work regulations or drug related criminality for example. Discussions will remain private unless requested specifically from the police.

IS MY INVOLVEMENT MY CHOICE?

Participation is voluntary. Although there are no direct benefits of participating, I hope you find this opportunity to share their experiences of a religious or spiritual sex worker an enjoyable experience!

HOW WILL MY DATA BE USED?

I will use data from your photographs, diaries, and interviews to inform my final reports/ thesis/ journal articles/ presentations. The final report will be publicly available.

WHERE IS MY DATA STORED?

NTU will be responsible for all of the data during the study. Once the study is over, [interview/video/ audio recordings/ personal information about you such as your name, contact details / pseudonym key] will be destroyed and the remaining data will be saved in the NTU Data Archive.

I have an approved data management plan in place which protects you and your data.

WHO CAN USE MY DATA?

Any anonymised data, which could not lead to identifying you will be publicly available if you consent to (please see consent form). This will allow anyone else (including researchers, businesses, governments, charities, and the public) to use the anonymised data. However, only approved researchers will have access to this data for the purposes of ethically approved research. Their work will be reviewed by me before publishing.

I WANT TO STOP MY INVOLVEMENT IN THE RESEARCH, WHAT DO I DO?

You can withdraw from the research at any point before, during or after the research up to the highlighted deadline below. If you wish to withdraw from the please use the contact details below and you will be removed from the research. You do not have to provide me with a reason to withdraw as participation is voluntary. The deadline to have your research removed is the **1st of October 2022**.

WHAT DO I DO IF I HAVE ANY QUESTIONS?

If you have any questions about anything, please do get in contact with me as it is very important you understand all elements of this research and what it means to be involved. If you are happy with all the information in this document and additional documents I have provided, please see the consent form for the next steps.

Researchers contact information

Daisy Matthews

N0666998@my.ntu.ac.uk

07936787396

Supervisor contact information

Jane Pilcher

jane.pilcher@ntu.ac.uk

0115 84 86033

Work address:

Chaucer Building, room 3115 Goldsmith Street, Nottingham
NG1 5LT

As my supervisor team will not know your identity, please only contact them if you have any concerns you cannot discuss with me.

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT?

If you are happy with all of the information discussed within this document, please fill out the consent form you have been given.

APPENDIX FOUR - PHOTOGRAPH GUIDELINES (MOBILE PHONE)

EXPLORING THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS

Thank you for agreeing to capture photographs of your lives. To help you complete this part of the research, this document offers some guidance for what should be recorded and how.

WHY AM I TAKING PHOTOS?

This part of the research intends to help you engage with your religious/spiritual, sex worker identity and experiences of your everyday life through pictures. The pictures are to capture your day directly but also your thoughts and feelings in a creative way. Events to be recorded are not limited to an event in your daily life (although taking pictures of your daily life is good!) but also reflections and feelings of your work and religious/spiritual identities in different parts of your life. Taking photographs can be a way to express your thoughts and reflections (both positive and negative). Therefore, pictures expressing your thoughts and experiences may be abstract. We will have time to talk through these in your interviews. So, be as creative as you wish!

HOW DO I USE MY MOBILE PHONE TO TAKE PHOTOGRAPHS?

If you choose to use your smartphone to take pictures, it is important your phone has a pin/password. If you share your phone with another individual, you cannot use this phone.

When you are ready to send me your pictures, you may send me pictures through WhatsApp as this is end-to-end encrypted and so the preferred method of communication. If you do not have WhatsApp, I can help you download it if possible. If not, I can send you a safe transfer link to send me photographs. Once you have sent me the photographs and I have let you know I have received it, please delete the original photograph as soon as possible.

It is important for you to stick to the criteria for using a phone for pictures and meet the guidelines of what not to capture as if you lose your phone, you do not know who will access your photographs and how they will use them. If you lose your phone while photographs for this research are on your device, please let me know as soon as possible.

HOW DO I ADD A PASSWORD ON MY PHONE?

To add a password on an **Android**:

- 1) Open your phone's Settings app.
- 2) Click Security.
- 3) Tap the screen lock option you'd like to use.

To add a passcode on **iPhone**:

- 1) Go to Settings.
- 2) Click the option you would like for example: On an iPhone with Face ID: Tap Face ID & Passcode.
- 3) On an iPhone with a Home button: Tap Touch ID & Passcode.
- 4) Tap Turn Passcode on or Change Passcode.

- 5) To view options for creating a password, tap Passcode Options.

Remember, standard rules of creating a safe/secure password apply. Ensure it is memorable for you but not easily guessed (for example: 1234). If you need help creating passwords or remembering them, please contact me and I can help you.

WHAT SHOULD I PHOTOGRAPH?

- **What you have eaten/had to drink.**
- **The environment you have occupied (E.g., picture of the sky, is it day or night, cold or warm – what did you wear?).**
- **Connecting with your religious and/or spiritual communities.**
- **Expressing your religion or spirituality (praying, reading scripture, or meditating for example).**
- **Your days at work: (keeping in line with guidelines below). Anything significant that happened which you can capture or that expresses your feelings of the day.**
- **Reflections of identity conflict (tension between your work and religious/spiritual identity).**
- **Reflections of identity harmony (where your work and religious/spiritual identity worked together without conflict).**
- **Your favourite clothes, shoes for work and outside of work – comparisons if there are any?**
- **Education/ volunteering you are involved with or want to be involved with.**
- **Visiting charities and organisation (E.g., crafts you have made, topics you have discussed).**
- **Days off from work (what did you do?).**
- **Time with friends and family (see guidelines below).**
- **Intimate relationships (E.g., dates you go on).**
- **Time on social media/ changes in technology and how this impacts you.**
- **News or policy updates you find significant (E.g., pictures of the article, TV screen).**
- **Any activism/protesting (E.g., picture of the flyer for the event).**
- **Going out (E.g., picture of what you wore or what you had to drink and eat).**
- **Time alone (E.g., hobbies or film you have watched).**

WHAT SHOULD I NOT PHOTOGRAPH?

Although great care will be taken in assuring your photographs will be used correctly within the research, it is important you keep yourself safe. Therefore, it is **really important** you do not photograph the following:

- **Your face.**

- Anything which has your name/address/ contact information on.
- Any identifiable features.
- The front of your house.
- Front of your work.
- Street names (road signs for example) you may work on.
- Clients.
- Cars which you use or clients use/ license plates.
- Anyone else (friends/family/other sex workers).
- Anything which incriminates you.
- Anything which puts you in danger short-term or long-term.
- Anything else which is close to your life and may make you identifiable (unique tattoo for example).

WHAT DO I DO IF I AM UNSURE ABOUT A PHOTOGRAPH?

Please only capture what you are comfortable taking photographs of. I am available by email or phone if you have any questions or would like more guidance. If you want to take a photograph, but you are unsure whether you should or not, please contact me and we can talk it through and decide whether it is safe and suitable.

WHAT HAPPENS IF I WANT TO SHOW A PHOTOGRAPH TO THE RESEARCHER BUT NOT ANYONE ELSE?

In some instances, you may want to share a photograph with me but do not want me to publish it. This is fine, when you send across the photographs, please let me know that this is not for publish sharing.

WHAT HAPPENS IF I CHANGE MY MIND ABOUT A PICTURE?

Also, if you change your mind about a picture, let me know what photograph you want removed (within the participant withdraw dates 1st October 2022).

HOW LONG SHOULD I SPEND DOING THIS?

There is no maximum or minimum amount time to be spent taking your photographs, but I estimate the length of time you will taking photographs will be over a 4-week period, taking 10-20 photographs over different days.

If you have any questions, please do contact me. My contact information is within the participant information sheet!

APPENDIX FIVE - PHOTOGRAPH GUIDELINES (DIGITAL CAMERA)

EXPLORING THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS

Thank you for agreeing to capture photographs of your lives. To help you complete this part of the research, this document offers some guidance for what should be recorded and how.

WHY AM I TAKING PHOTOS?

This part of the research intends to help you engage with your religious/spiritual, sex worker identity and experiences of your everyday life through pictures. The pictures are to capture your day directly but also your thoughts and feelings in a creative way. Events to be recorded are not limited to an event in your daily life (although taking pictures of your daily life is good!) but also reflections and feelings of your work and religious/spiritual identities in different parts of your life. Taking photographs can be a way to express your thoughts and reflections (both positive and negative). Therefore, pictures expressing your thoughts and experiences may be abstract. We will have time to talk through these in your interviews. So, be as creative as you wish!

HOW DO I USE MY CAMERA TO TAKE PHOTOGRAPHS?

If you are opting to use a digital camera, it is important your memory card has a pin/password and only you have access to the camera. Additionally, when uploading the images to your laptop (must be uploaded onto a personal and private laptop), it is important your laptop has a password in case you lose it.

Once you have sent the pictures to me and I have acknowledged receipt of this, please delete the original copies. I will send you a transfer link to ensure I receive your pictures safely.

Remember, standard rules of creating a safe/secure password apply. Ensure it is memorable for you but not easily guessed (for example: 1234). If you need help creating passwords or remembering them, please get into contact with me and I can help you.

WHAT SHOULD I PHOTOGRAPH?

- What you have eaten/had to drink.
- The environment you have occupied (E.g., picture of the sky, is it day or night, cold or warm – what did you wear?).
- Connecting with your religious and/or spiritual communities.
- Expressing your religion or spirituality (praying, reading scripture, or meditating for example).
- Your days at work: (keeping in line with guidelines below). Anything significant that happened which you can capture or that expresses your feelings of the day.
- Reflections of identity conflict (tension between your work and religious/spiritual identity).
- Reflections of identity harmony (where your work and religious/spiritual identity worked together without conflict).

- Your favourite clothes, shoes for work and outside of work – comparisons if there are any?
- Education/ volunteering you are involved with or want to be involved with.
- Visiting charities and organisation (E.g., crafts you have made, topics you have discussed).
- Days off from work (what did you do?).
- Time with friends and family (see guidelines below).
- Intimate relationships (E.g., dates you go on).
- Time on social media/ changes in technology and how this impacts you.
- News or policy updates you find significant (E.g., pictures of the article, TV screen).
- Any activism/protesting (E.g., picture of the flyer for the event).
- Going out (E.g., picture of what you wore or what you had to drink and eat).
- Time alone (E.g., hobbies or film you have watched).

WHAT SHOULD I NOT PHOTOGRAPH?

Although great care will be taken in assuring your photographs will be used correctly within the research, it is important you keep yourself safe. Therefore, it is **really important** you do not photograph the following:

- Your face.
- Anything which has your name/address/ contact information on.
- Any identifiable features.
- The front of your house.
- Front of your work.
- Street names (road signs for example) you may work on.
- Clients.
- Cars which you use or clients use/ license plates.
- Anyone else (friends/family/other sex workers).
- Anything which incriminates you.
- Anything which puts you in danger short-term or long-term.
- Anything else which is close to your life and may make you identifiable (unique tattoo for example).

WHAT DO I DO IF I AM UNSURE ABOUT A PHOTOGRAPH?

Please only capture what you are comfortable taking photographs of. I am available by email or phone if you have any questions or would like more guidance. If you want to take a photograph,

but you are unsure whether you should or not, please contact me and we can talk it through and decide whether it is safe and suitable.

WHAT HAPPENS IF I WANT TO SHOW A PHOTOGRAPH TO THE RESEARCHER BUT NOT ANYONE ELSE?

In some instances, you may want to share a photograph with me but do not want me to publish it. This is fine, when you send across the photographs, please let me know that this is not for publish sharing.

WHAT HAPPENS IF I CHANGE MY MIND ABOUT A PICTURE?

Also, if you change your mind about a picture, let me know what photograph you want removed (within the participant withdraw dates 1st October 2022).

HOW LONG SHOULD I SPEND DOING THIS?

There is no maximum or minimum amount time to be spent taking your photographs, but I estimate the length of time you will taking photographs will be over a 4-week period, taking 10-20 photographs over different days.

If you have any questions, please do contact me. My contact information is within the participant information sheet!

APPENDIX SIX - DIARY GUIDELINES (LAPTOP)

EXPLORING THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS

Thank you so much for agreeing to keep a diary for this research project. To help you complete it, below are some suggestions for what should be recorded and how you record them.

WHY AM I KEEPING A DIARY?

The research is asking you to document your experiences across a 4-week period. By keeping a diary, you will reflect on your experiences on particular days over that 4-week period. If possible, it would be great to have between 10 and 20 entries about different days.

HOW DO I USE MY LAPTOP TO WRITE MY DIARY?

When starting your diary entry, please use a blank word document and write the date at the top of each entry. Passwords protect your diary if you are completing this on a laptop and ensure your laptop is pin/password protected and it is your personal and private laptop no one else shares with you.

To password protect a word document:

- 1) Go to File > Info > Protect Document > Encrypt with Password.
- 2) Type a password, then type it again to confirm it.
- 3) Save the file to make sure the password takes effect.

You may also wish to record yourself talking or create a video diary. If you do this on your laptop, please save your recordings in a password protected file, send to me as soon as possible and once I have acknowledged transfer, please delete the original copy as soon as possible. I will send you a transfer link to send these to me safely.

To password protect video diaries:

- 1) Right click on the folder where your video files are located.
- 2) Select "Compressed (zipped) folder" to archive the folder into a zip file.
- 3) Then open the Zip file and press "File" > "Add a Password".
- 4) Enter the password of your choice.

It would also be safer to also password protect the folder you have been saving your diary entries.

To password protect a folder:

- 1) Select the file or folder you want to encrypt.
- 2) Right-click on that file and select "Properties" in the drop-down menu.
- 3) On the General tab, click the Advanced button.
- 4) Click Apply and then click OK.

Remember, standard rules of creating a password apply. Ensure it is memorable for you but not easily guessed (for example: 1234). If you need help creating passwords or remembering them, please get into contact with me and I can help.

HOW SHOULD I WRITE MY DIARY?

You can keep your diary however you prefer. Three possible approaches are:

1. Give a description of certain events of the day you find significant, discussing reflections of your identity.
2. Write a chronological report of the day and then concentrate on major events in greater detail.
3. You may write small notes over the week and then at the end of the week reflect on your notes and what this means for you and your identity.

CAN I WRITE IN A NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGE?

Absolutely! If English is not your first language, you can write in your preferred language. I will have your diaries transcribed by a reputable translation service.

WHAT SHOULD I WRITE ABOUT?

Please add the dates of each entry and if possible, add the time of your experience and the time you are discussing a specific event within your diary. For example, if you are reflecting about a lunch you attended, write down the time this lunch was and the time you are writing about it your diary.

You may want to discuss events that have occurred outside the timeframe you are completing your diary and engaging with this research. This is fine! Write down anything you feel to be important.

Events are not limited to your daily life within work, but also events outside of this. For example, going to the gym or shopping. The diary is designed to be a space for your thoughts and reflections (both positive and negative) and will hopefully capture events which occur, in terms of your day-to-day life in relation to your identity.

Possible subjects to cover:

- **Meetings with congregation.**
- **Expressing your religion or spirituality (praying, reading scripture, or meditating for example).**
- **Your days at work: how did it go? Experience with clients (keeping in line with guidelines below) and anything significant that happened which you are happy and comfortable to share.**
- **Reflections of identity conflict (tension between your work and religious/spiritual identity for example).**
- **Reflections of identity harmony (where your work and religious/spiritual identity worked together without conflict).**
- **Education/ volunteering you are involved with or want to be involved with (goals you may have).**
- **Visiting charities and organisations.**

- Days off from work (what did you do?).
- Time with friends and family.
- Intimate relationships (private or at work).
- Time on social media/ changes in technology and how this impacts you (work and wider).
- News or policy updates you find significant to you or interesting.
- Activism/protesting you are involved with directly or indirectly.
- Going out.
- Time alone (hobbies for example).

In discussing these events, please consider what this means for you. Is this a regular activity, did the event made you reflect on your religious and/or work identity?

WHAT SHOULD I NOT WRITE ABOUT?

It is important to keep yourself safe when completing this research. **Therefore, do not discuss your address, real name, incriminating information, real names or known work names of other sex workers, friends, or family (you could give them false names however, or sister, mum, brother for example), where you work, clients names/ contact information, events which could directly identify you, even if your name is not used.**

If you do mention real names or content which should not be discussed, do not worry. Your information will not immediately be published/shared, and you can let me know this should be taken out. However, I do urge you to try to stay within the guidelines in case you lose your diaries. It is important you are your identity is safe and protected within this project.

If there are things you wish to discuss but do not know how to write them to keep you and other individuals safe, contact me and I will be happy to help you!

If you have any questions, please do contact me. My contact information is within the participant information sheet!

APPENDIX SEVEN - DIARY GUIDELINES (MOBILE PHONE)

EXPLORING THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS

Thank you for agreeing to keep a diary for this research project. To help you complete it, below are some suggestions for what should be recorded and how you record them.

WHY AM I KEEPING A DIARY?

The research is asking you to document your experiences across a 4-week period. By keeping a diary, you will reflect on your experiences on particular days over that 4-week period. If possible, it would be great to have between 10 and 20 entries about different days.

HOW DO I USE MY MOBILE PHONE TO WRITE MY DIARY?

If you have chosen to use your mobile for your diary, please ensure your phone is pin/password protected and is not shared with other individuals. You may wish to write these in your notes or alternatively send them to me on WhatsApp (please do not send me via text, WhatsApp is end-to-end encrypted with no one else being able to access our chat whereas texts are not as safe).

You may also wish to record yourself talking (audio record or video diary). If you do this on your phone, please save these in a password protected file if this is not immediately sent to me via WhatsApp. Please do send the video diaries to me as soon as possible and once I have let you know I have them, please delete the original copy. I will send you a transfer link to send these to me safely if you do not have access to WhatsApp.

HOW SHOULD I WRITE MY DIARY?

1. Give a description of certain events of the day you find significant, discussing reflections of your identity.
2. Write a chronological report of the day and then concentrate on major events in greater detail.
3. You may write small notes over the week and then at the end of the week reflect on your notes and what this means for you and your identity.

CAN I WRITE IN A NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGE?

Absolutely! If English is not your first language, you can write in your preferred language. I will have your diaries transcribed by a reputable translation service.

WHAT SHOULD I WRITE ABOUT?

Please add the dates of each entry and if possible, add the time of your experience and the time you are discussing a specific event within your diary. For example, if you are reflecting about a lunch you attended, write down the time this lunch was and the time you are writing about it your diary.

You may want to discuss events that have occurred outside the timeframe you are completing your diary and engaging with this research. This is fine! Write down anything you feel to be important.

Events are not limited to your daily life within work, but also events outside of this. For example, going to the gym or shopping. The diary is designed to be a space for your thoughts and reflections (both positive and negative) and will hopefully capture events which occur, in terms of your day-to-day life in relation to your identity.

Possible subjects to cover:

- Connecting with your religious and/or spiritual communities.
- Expressing your religion or spirituality (praying, reading scripture, or meditating for example).
- Your days at work: how did it go? Experience with clients (keeping in line with guidelines below) and anything significant that happened which you are happy and comfortable to share.
- Reflections of identity conflict (tension between your work and religious/spiritual identity for example).
- Reflections of identity harmony (where your work and religious/spiritual identity worked together without conflict).
- Education/ volunteering you are involved with or want to be involved with (goals you may have).
- Visiting charities and organisations.
- Days off from work (what did you do?).
- Time with friends and family.
- Intimate relationships (private or at work).
- Time on social media/ changes in technology and how this impacts you (work and wider).
- News or policy updates you find significant to you or interesting.
- Activism/protesting you are involved with directly or indirectly.
- Going out.
- Time alone (hobbies for example).

In discussing these events, please consider what this means for you. Is this a regular activity, did the event made you reflect on your religious and/or work identity?

WHAT SHOULD I NOT WRITE ABOUT?

It is important to keep yourself safe when completing this research. **Therefore, do not discuss your address, real name, incriminating information, real names or known work names of other sex workers, friends, or family (you could give them false names however, or sister, mum, brother for example), where you work, clients names/ contact information, events which could directly identify you, even if your name is not used.**

If you do mention real names or content which should not be discussed, do not worry. Your information will not immediately be published/shared, and you can let me know this should be taken out. However, I do urge you to try to stay within the guidelines in case you lose your diaries. It is important you are your identity is safe and protected within this project.

If there are things you wish to discuss but do not know how to write them to keep you and other individuals safe, contact me and I will be happy to help you!

If you have any questions, please do contact me. My contact information is within the participant information sheet!

APPENDIX EIGHT - DIARY GUIDELINES (HANDWRITTEN)

EXPLORING THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS

Thank you for agreeing to keep a diary for this research project. To help you complete it, below are some suggestions for what should be recorded and how you record them.

WHY AM I KEEPING A DIARY?

The research is asking you to document your experiences across a 4-week period. By keeping a diary, you will reflect on your experiences on particular days over that 4-week period. If possible, it would be great to have between 10 and 20 entries about different days.

HOW DO I HANDWRITE MY DIARY?

If you handwrite your diaries, it is very important you keep your entries safe. Therefore, I would encourage you to write this in one notepad to reduce the chances of losing some diary entries (I can provide these upon request) and keep it in a safe location where individuals will not be able to access this. This may be in your bedroom or locked safe in an organisation you use. If you do not have access to this, do let me know and I will help you find somewhere safe to store your diary.

HOW SHOULD I WRITE MY DIARY?

You can keep your diary however you prefer. Three possible approaches are:

1. Give a description of certain events of the day you find significant, discussing reflections of your identity.
2. Write a chronological report of the day and then concentrate on major events in greater detail.
3. You may write small notes over the week and then at the end of the week reflect on your notes and what this means for you and your identity.

CAN I WRITE IN A NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGE?

Absolutely! If English is not your first language, you can write in your preferred language. I will have your diaries transcribed by a reputable translation service.

WHAT SHOULD I WRITE ABOUT?

Please add the dates of each entry and if possible, add the time of your experience and the time you are discussing a specific event within your diary. For example, if you are reflecting about a lunch you attended, write down the time this lunch was and the time you are writing about it your diary.

You may want to discuss events that have occurred outside the timeframe you are completing your diary and engaging with this research. This is fine! Write down anything you feel to be important.

Events are not limited to your daily life within work, but also events outside of this. For example, going to the gym or shopping. The diary is designed to be a space for your thoughts and reflections (both positive and negative) and will hopefully capture events which occur, in terms of your day-to-day life in relation to your identity.

Possible subjects to cover:

- **Connecting with your religious and/or spiritual communities.**

- Expressing your religion or spirituality (praying, reading scripture, or meditating for example).
- Your days at work: how did it go? Experience with clients (keeping in line with guidelines below) and anything significant that happened which you are happy and comfortable to share.
- Reflections of identity conflict (tension between your work and religious/spiritual identity for example).
- Reflections of identity harmony (where your work and religious/spiritual identity worked together without conflict).
- Education/ volunteering you are involved with or want to be involved with (goals you may have).
- Visiting charities and organisations.
- Days off from work (what did you do?).
- Time with friends and family.
- Intimate relationships (private or at work).
- Time on social media/ changes in technology and how this impacts you (work and wider).
- News or policy updates you find significant to you or interesting.
- Activism/protesting you are involved with directly or indirectly.
- Going out.
- Time alone (hobbies for example).

In discussing these events, please consider what this means for you. Is this a regular activity, did the event made you reflect on your religious and/or work identity?

WHAT SHOULD I NOT WRITE ABOUT?

It is important to keep yourself safe when completing this research. **Therefore, do not discuss your address, real name, incriminating information, real names or known work names of other sex workers, friends, or family (you could give them false names however, or sister, mum, brother for example), where you work, clients names/ contact information, events which could directly identify you, even if your name is not used.**

If you do mention real names or content which should not be discussed, do not worry. Your information will not immediately be published/shared, and you can let me know this should be taken out. However, I do urge you to try to stay within the guidelines in case you lose your diaries. It is important you are your identity is safe and protected within this project.

If there are things you wish to discuss but do not know how to write them to keep you and other individuals safe, contact me and I will be happy to help you!

If you have any questions, please do contact me. My contact information is within the participant information sheet!

APPENDIX NINE - CONSENT FORM

EXPLORING THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
<i>Taking Part</i>		
I have read and understood the participant information sheet.		
I have read and understood the diary guidelines.		
I have read and understood the photograph guidelines.		
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.		
I agree to my diaries being used within the published research.		
I agree to my photographs being used within the published research.		
I agree to being interviewed and recorded (audio and/or video).		
I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time, and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part (up until the 1 st of October 2022).		
<i>Use of the information I provide for this project only</i>		
I understand my personal details such as phone number and address will not be revealed to people outside the project unless there is a safeguarding issue as discussed within the participant information sheet.		
I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs.		
I understand my face and other identifiable features will not be used in the above.		
I understand my real name will not be used in the above.		
<i>Use of the information I provide beyond this project</i>		
I agree for the data I provide to be stored within Nottingham Trent University Archive.		
I understand that other genuine researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
I understand that other genuine researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
<i>So, we can use the information you provide legally</i>		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials related to this project to Daisy Matthews.		

Preferred name or identifier.....

Signature *.....

*A typed signature is accepted for filling out this form.

Date

Contact number:

Email address (optional):

Once you have completed the form, please email this back to me. If you have not been emailed this form and are completing by hand, please contact me and we can make arrangements for collection before the data collection takes place.

Researcher Signature Date
.....

APPENDIX TEN - CONTACT NUMBERS

This contact sheet is for Nottingham based sex workers. If you are not from Nottingham, I will devise a personalised contact number sheet for similar support networks.

Thank you again for taking the time to participate in this research. This document is a list of numbers which you may feel beneficial if applicable to you.

Daisy Matthews (researcher contact details)

Daisy.matthews2015@my.ntu.ac.uk

07936787396

Jane Pilcher (Supervisor contact details)

Jane.Pilcher@ntu.ac.uk

0115 84 86033

Work address:

Chaucer Building, room 3115 Goldsmith Street, Nottingham NG1 5LT

Nottingham Trent Student Union

If you a Nottingham Trent Student Sex worker, there is a student sex support projects in line with POW, a non-profit charity which supports sex workers (contact information is below for direct contact with POW).

<https://www.trentstudents.org/>

info@su.ntu.ac.uk

0115 848 6200

University of Nottingham Student Union

If you are a University of Nottingham student sex worker, you can contact the University of Nottingham Student Union for support. They also advocate Jericho Road, a Christian based charity (see direct contact details below for Jericho Road).

<https://www.su.nottingham.ac.uk/contact-us/>

0115 84 6800

POW

POW is a non-profit charity which supports sex workers in Nottinghamshire. POW hold drop-ins (COVID-19 dependent), you can call and email them. They do a wide range of work from sexual health clinics, condoms, progression work, drug clinic, migrant support, street-based and indoor sex work support.

Address: 16 Independent Street, Nottingham, NG7 3LN

Their opening times and days are COVID-19 dependent. It may be beneficial to call before going to the service, if you want to know when they are open, I can also ask for you.

Call: 0115 924 9992

Email: admin@pow-advice.co.uk

Jericho Road, Nottingham

Jericho Road is a Christian based sex work support charity and have a service in Nottingham which intends to share the love of Jesus to sex workers. Jericho Road provides out-reach, food, housing, and be-friending. Please be mindful that this charity is significantly Christian orientated when reaching out to this service if you are not Christian, you may feel POW an easier service to access.

<https://www.jerichoroad.org.uk/>

Email: admin@jerichoroad.org.uk

Call: (0115) 8453691

Mobile: 07585 354016

Online Form: <https://www.jerichoroad.org.uk/get-support>

The Topaz Centre

If you have been a victim of sexual abuse or assault, you can attend the Topaz Centre in Nottingham for free for support or advice.

<https://www.topazcentre.org/>

Call: 0800 085 9993

Email: notts.sarc@nhs.net

Attending the Topaz centre does not mean that your information will be passed onto the police.

What happens: <https://www.topazcentre.org/what-happens.html>

Nottinghamshire Domestic and Sexual Violence 24-hour free Helpline

Call: 0808 800 0340

(hearing impaired people can make contact via textphone on 18001 followed by the helpline number)

Instant interpretation is available from Language Line call: 0808 800 0341.

Nottinghamshire Sexual Violence Support (SVS) Services

Call: 0115 941 0440

www.nottssvss.org.uk

Police

Although the contacts under this heading may seem obvious, there are different ways you can get in touch with the police for different things.

If you are in danger, call 999.

If it is a non-emergency, call 101.

You can report a crime online for theft for example via:

<https://www.nottinghamshire.police.uk/do-it-online/report-online>

Information about what to expect when you report a crime can be found here:

<https://www.nottinghamshire.police.uk/victims>

SWARM

SWARM is a Sex Work Advocacy and Resistance movement and does a wide range of projects, research, offers support, and champions the full decriminalisation of sex work.

Email: contact@swarmcollective.org

If you would require support when reporting a crime, please do let me know and we can work out the best person to support you. POW support people with this process which is in the contact information above.

If there is anything which you would like some support or help with, please do speak to me about it and I will find a contact for you and if I cannot assist you, I will try and put you in contact with someone else who may be able to.

Thank you again and please do not hesitate to contact me if you need any further support.

Daisy Matthews

APPENDIX 11 - INTERPRETER/TRANSLATOR PROTOCOL

EXPLORING THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS

This document outlines your role within my research and provides important information. Please read through all the information carefully and once you are happy, please fill out the form attached with this document.

WHO AM I?

I am Daisy, a PhD student at Nottingham Trent University. I am conducting research into how sex workers who identify as religious or spiritual manage their identities within their everyday lives.

The purpose of the research is to explore different experiences that may arise within the everyday lives of religious and spiritual sex workers. Participants will be asked to take photographs, keep diaries, and participate in one-to-one interviews which explore their experiences and reflections of participants different identities.

WHAT QUESTIONS WILL BE ASKED?

Although questions will vary with each participant, below are some topics of exploration:

- What participants do in their spare time.
- What participants have been up to.
- Discussions of their religious and/or spiritual identity and sex work identity.
- Whether they are parents and carers.
- Their religious or spiritual community.
- Discussing experiences of stigma or prejudices.
- Experiences with police/violence/sexual assault (may include rape).
- We will discuss their creative data (as explained above).

Within the discussions, some topics **may be found distressing**. Therefore, if you have any questions or concerns about the topics of discussion, you must discuss this with me before the interview takes place. If you do not feel comfortable or do not have experience with discussing the above topics, you are unfortunately not suitable for my research project.

HOW LONG WILL THE INTERVIEWS TAKE?

The interview lengths will vary for participants. Although I will book in adequate time with yourselves, depending on the nature of the interview, please do allow yourselves additional time either side as some interviews may run over.

WHERE WILL INTERVIEWS TAKE PLACE?

ONLINE/PHONE INTERVIEWS

- For interviews which are via phone/online you must be in a private room, with no other individuals.
- This room must also be lockable to ensure that no other individuals can access this and interrupt or overhear our discussions.
- You cannot dial into interviews from home for similar reasons.

Interpreting must be completed within a professional environment which your business uses to facilitate confidential discussions.

- Please download MS Teams for online interviews.
- Please do ensure the mic/your internet connection is working before the interview commences.
- Keep your camera off if the interview is online.
- I will invite you into the interview before the participant joins, please do be ready beforehand to ensure a smooth interview.
- I will introduce you once the participant has entered and then the interview will begin.

FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEWS

- For interviews for which are face-to-face, you will be required to come to the interview before the participant. This is to ensure that you do not see participants faces. You will be behind a screen/barrier.
- I will introduce you once the participant has entered and then the interview will begin.
- Once the interview has been completed, you will remain behind the screen/barrier until the participant has left. I will come and collect you once the participant has left and we will leave the building together.
- The location of the interview is ***** (removed to keep the organisation anonymous).

If you are invited to a face-to-face interview, you may also be required to sign a non-disclosure form to protect the organisation. This is to ensure the confidentiality of the individuals within the service. **This will need to be completed before the interview takes place.**

You will also be required to follow standard COVID-19 protocol if you are attending a face-to-face interview.

- Displaying no symptoms of COVID-19, not been in contact with anyone who has tested positive for COVID-19 and not been pinged by track and trace.
- Please take a lateral flow test 24-48 hours prior to the interview taking place.

If you have come into contact with anyone who has tested positive/you have tested positive, please do let me know as soon as possible so I can rearrange the interview.

WHAT TO DO IF THE PARTICIPANT BECOMES DISTRESSED

If the participant becomes distressed, please follow my lead, and continue to interpret what I say. If a participant does become distressed, we may pause the interview for some time or terminate the interview all together.

WHAT TO DO IF YOU CANNOT MAKE THE INTERVIEW

If for any reason you cannot attend the interview, please do not use an alternative member of staff who has not read and signed this briefing document. All interpreters/translators must read this protocol before participating within my research.

If you cannot attend, please do let me know as soon as feasibly possible.

CONFIDENTIALITY

It is of absolute necessity that you adhere to confidentiality and no discussions are repeated or discussed in any nature whatsoever. This is a serious breach of ethics and so, is of utmost importance.

WHAT HAPPENS WITH THE AUDIO-RECORDING?

All interviews will be audio-recorded, and no one will see your face during the interview. Once the interview has finished, I will transcribe the recording. Your name will not be within the transcription. Once I have transcribed the interview, I will destroy the original recording.

WHATS HAPPENS NEXT?

If there are any further questions or queries, please do not hesitate to contact me. If you are happy with all of the information, please sign the consent form attached and return this to me via email.

APPENDIX 12 - FORM FOR INTERPRETERS/TRANSLATORS

EXPLORING THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL SEX WORKERS

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
<i>Taking Part</i>		
I have read and understood the protocol.		
I agree to the terms set out in the protocol.		
I will facilitate all the terms set out in the protocol.		
I agree to confidentiality of all discussions I translate/interpret.		
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.		
I agree to being recorded (audio)		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials related to this project to Daisy Matthews.		

Preferred name or identifier.....

Signature *.....

*A typed signature is accepted for filling out this form.

Date

Contact number:

Email address (optional):

Once you have completed the form, please email this back to me.

Researcher Signature Date

APPENDIX 13 - INTERVIEW CHECKING TABLE

Everyday life	Occupational	Religion / spirituality	Identity	Society	Creative methods reflections
What have your day-to-day activities been?	Types of sex work engaged with and why	Religious / spiritual engagements	Boundaries: Pseudo names/ alter egos Visibility	Policy implications Nordic model Criminalisation Barriers	Why did you take the picture/ diary entry
Seeing friends or family: socialising with work friends or externally	Understanding your experiences of the week within work	Religious/ spiritual practices and why?	Negotiations of religion and occupation	Societal values/perceptions	How was you feeling when you took it?
Favourite/ challenging part of your week	Any enjoyable points of your week which stood out? Why?	How has religion/ spirituality aided your week?	Negotiations of private life	Experiences of prejudices and discrimination	What does this mean for your identities and everyday life/ lived experiences?
Engaged with organisations/ support? If so, for what?	Any challenges (if happy to discuss)	Has religion/ spirituality brought conflict to her in the week?	Hobbies/ passions: exercising, academia, reading, online presence?	Any engagement with ongoing debates/ discussions around sex work	Was it difficult to capture and has capturing the experience been beneficial to you or challenging?
Differing spaces occupied and why/what for?	Managing risk	Managing risk	Private lives – intimate relationships	Technology changes	How do they think their work should be disseminated? Consider the possible risks for the photograph if published also.
Work-life balances	Other occupations external to sex work	Family / friends / religious / spiritual communities	Harmonious experiences with identity and everyday life.	Encounters with authorities	Where was this (meeting ethics).
Patterns of their day. Day time and night-time.	Frequency of working/ why?	Frequency of religious / spiritual engagements	Safe or uncomfortable/ risky spaces	Voice – presence within society?	How have you felt about being involved with this project? Changed anything?
COVID-19	Stress		Age // Ethnicity // Culture // Gender // Sexuality	Activism/ solidarity	How do you feel now you are looking at the creative data? Is this different to when you took it? why?
Goals and why? Short term and long term.			Children/ dependents.	Research they have been involved with	Engaged with creativity for identity expression before?

APPENDIX 14 - DATA ANALYSIS MAP

<i>PARTICI PANTS</i>	<i>PRIVATE INTIMACY</i>	<i>SAFETY</i>	<i>"DOUBLE LIFE"</i>	<i>DUAL OCCUPATIONS</i>	<i>JEWELLERY AND CLOTHING</i>	<i>R&S IN SEX WORK SPACES</i>	<i>HOME CHALLENGES</i>	<i>SEX AS A RIGHT</i>	<i>COVID-19</i>	<i>MOTHE RHOOD</i>	<i>RELIGIOUS JOURN EYS</i>	<i>LOGISTI CS</i>	<i>OPPORT UNITIES</i>	<i>TIME</i>	<i>HARMONY</i>
<i>Maya</i>	In a relationship/challenge within this. Time influencing when she works. Challenging monogamy. Partner's religious identity influence.	Not wanting to work in a strip club // harmony.	Not telling her Muslim friend to overcome conflict. Most of her family and parent (not step-father) know.	Office role and webcam sex worker.	Wig wearing for identity protection (challenges). Taking off rings and jewellery. (Practicality).	Yoga on cam. Spiritual routines before working.	Blurred boundaries within her bedroom, work, and religious/spiritual practice	Religious play/race play - cultural difference. Feeling empowered.	Stimulating career in sex work.	Wanting to be a mother, important to her - worried about biological clock.	BBC - researching. Becoming fluid. Not fitting into a box. "flourishing".	Engaging with webcam sex easier than in-person sex work.	Fits into her schedule with other job.	Harmony with partner.	Intimacy, job, time, friendship, families, and religion/spirituality.
<i>LRE</i>	"Wont fuck for free", lost interest	Challenges when escorting.	Parents not knowing.	Healthcare professional, escort	Specific clothing for work	Astrology making client	Telling her friend that she works	x	Onlyfans challenges, leading	x	x	Waiting for clients, booking	Wanting to buy a house, start a business	Risk of safety.	Friends, occupations, homes, jewellery, technology

	in private intimacy.			and OnlyFans – harmony (with challenges).	compared to her private life. Wearing her necklace which is her real name, not her work name. (Practicality).	intimacy more pleasurable.	with (and housemate) for safety/ wouldn't work at home.		to other engagements with sex work.			hotels and calls with clients.	and get a boob job.		y, and sex work.
<i>Moon</i>	Partner's religious identity having an influence.	Management protecting/ sex work friends protecting them.	Parents know, friends know – university was hidden.	Academic work and stripper/dancer.	Shoes and legs in image (waiting) for client.	Giving sense of peace and calm when working.	x	x	Loneliness in COVID-19/ loss of income - time to connect with her spirituality.	x	Grew up Catholic - more spiritual now - aligns with her desires and self.	Waiting for clients - being turned down (links to spiritual).	Travel with her job.	X	Occupations, religion and having independence.

<i>Khan</i>	Pansexual/demi-sexual and in a polyamorous relationship.	Transphobia - going to hotels - plans with friends - letting some friends know she sex works.	Family and children do not know of her career.	Wants a "normal job".	Having no clothing from hospital.	x	Wouldn't do in-calls due to where and how she lives.	x	Was in hospital for some time.	Has children - lack of contact, do not know about her work.	Grew up Christian, now Norse Pagan - being transgender causing issues with her religious identity.	Cannot drive - challenges. Booking hotels - public spaces to resolve transphobia and sex work stigma.	Freedom - suits her needs better than other jobs (job loss being overwhelming).	X	Sexuality, gender, religion, sex work - home spaces, work roles and logistical challenges (not being able to drive).
<i>Lilly</i>	Tried private relationships which have not been successful.	Did not know about screening. Issues with the police - fighting them.	x	x	Wears clothing to be perceived as "normal".	Praying when feeling in danger at work.	Getting a private rent agreement - relying on friends. Wants clients to take off their shoes. Protectin	Clients having a disability, supporting losing virginity.	Made significantly more money when working during the pandemic.	Negotiation of sex work for child. Online - negotiation - difference audience and	Grew up orthodox Christian - apart of organized religion. Believing	Choosing cheaper rent elements - will travel from out of the main city.	"Not wanting to sell potatoes" - brought her flat in Romania - freedom.	Safety.	Family - child, income, housing, autonomy, freedom, praying and clothing.

							g her lease - makes them park away from her house, come through a specific door. Half/Half - migrant challenges in accommodation.			lack of management.	without belonging.				
Lucy	Doesn't want to stay with one man who would not give her lots of money.	She is "known" within the area she lives, so believes she is safer.	Family and child does not know.	x	x	Blurred boundaries - religious space in her work space.	Landlord is a previous client - rent challenges Half/Half - migrant challenges in accommodation.	x	x	Has a child that lives in Romania - does not know. Fears of being outed (would move	Less engagement with organized religion – Roma community and Christian	Age - feeling lucky she can still work.	Better money compared to beauty technician.	X	family - child, income, housing, identity, and age.

										out of the city).	Orthodox.				
<i>Amelia</i>	With a partner - religious differences. Sex drive differences.	Sexual assault through lack of paying.	Family did not know. Partner knew about her career.	Now exited the industry.	Wearing different clothing in public - being "discrete".	Clients who have been praying.	X	Helping people - young - giving money back.	New business ventures.	X	Believing without belonging.	X	Worked in the industry for 2-3 years because it was "quick" money.	Safety	Relationships, income, family, and clothing.
<i>Emily</i>	Only had one partner. Believes this will impact her private intimacy.	Concerns due to lack of people knowing/ doesn't build much rapport.	Family and friends / community do not know.	Domestic labour.	X	Significant conflict.	Traveller community - necessity to conceal her identity.	X	X	X	Conflict between the two - community is very religious.	WhatsApp/meeting in hotels and bars.	Significant income opportunities.	X	Concealing her sex work identity creates balance and significant income.

Amy	In a non-monogamous relationship.	Doesn't have concerns of safety at work with intimacy but with hook-up culture.	Everyone in her life knows as she is a porn star and online content creator. This is beneficial to her.	X	X	Not at odds with each other and sees sex as spiritual.	Family home challenges - moved away from family. Geographical location can support her with her engagements with the sex industry and provide space in her family relations.	Mentioned this - important for both herself and fulfilling her kinks but also, she thinks it supports people to not commit sexual crimes against women in society through hard-	Challenges with online sex work – competitive.	X	More tailored spirituality - still engages with spirituality but more accepting of her sex work which differs to her father.	Geographical locations to access pornography in America. Negotiating her partner due to this.	Income, respect, confidence, income, and autonomy.	X	Sees her sex work identity more important than her spiritual identity. Dissonance with family but within herself between her sex work and spirituality there is harmony. Also, with her partner, friends, and sex work community.
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								core/s nuff porn.							
Zahra	X	Hiding identity to some people for safety and child protection.	Online behaviours to hide her identity from her father and wider family due to religious and cultural engagements	X	Hijab creating alter ego - different to private life engagements with Islam.	Boundaries in religious play due to holding the same religious identity she utilises within her	Concerned about stigma against her child.	X	X	Concerns of her child - discussion of guilt due to her sex work and stigma surrounding the industry.	Still holds connection to her religious upbringing. Wants this to continue for her son.	Hiding her face. Also uses a "stage name".	Income.	Guilt when spent away from her child.	Boundaries within her sex work to adhere to her religious family. Also concealing her identity to maintain her relationship with her father (mother is aware of

			(Muslim).			sex work.									her career).
<i>Tanya</i>	Has a partner - knows she sex works but no one else knows.	Phone (and some cam) sex work keeps her identity mostly safe.	Not an 'out' sex worker . Changes her voice for identity protection.	Had another job, sex work provided her with income when she lost this job.	Wears a wig and mask when on cam.	Connected with a client over their shared religious identity (created trust and gave a similar ground to talk and	Manages her partner occupying the house when she is working.	Provides different chat types to people .	Increased callers during COVID-19 particularly around the weekend and young men due to not being able to go out to a bar/club	Is a mother , her children do not know she sex works.	Less engagement with organised religion but still believes (also mentions that she is less "narrow-minded").	Hiding her face through wearing masks and wigs. Also uses a stage name. (Practicality).	Income whilst keeping her identity safe as a sex worker (also her sex work enables private intimacy to continue as it is seen as distant to clients).	Works when partner is not in the house.	Boundaries in her sex work to maintain her relationship, in harmony with her religion although she does express some guilt. Because she engages in phone sex work too, she can

						conne ct).			whilst in lockdo wn.						keep her identity hidden. The type of sex work she engages with has assisted with harmonio us identities.
--	--	--	--	--	--	---------------	--	--	-------------------------------	--	--	--	--	--	---