

**In Plain Sight: An Examination of 'Duality', the Simultaneous
Involvement in Sex Industry Work and Square Work**

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the practices of people who take extraordinary risks to manage work, information and relations, while engaging in ‘duality’ –concurrent sex industry work and square work (SIWSQ). Reasons for living dual lives (DL) include addressing financial emergencies; funding interim projects, such as university degrees; and as an indefinite strategy for financial security and social mobility. Participant experiences contribute to the constitution of the UK ‘whorearchy’, which is a system of valuation that ranks sex industry workers (SIWs) according to their ‘Britishness.’ The degree to which people adhered to this identity was a prominent sentiment due to the data collection phase occurring during the 2016 EU referendum. Participants contribute to role transition theory and the splitting of dispositions across SIWSQ. They both traverse and create the field that borders SIWSQ. Their experiences form the ‘Continuum of SIWSQ’, which documents behaviors that comprise duality along with sole working in either industry. Their practices of sustaining duality demonstrate the complexity of managing social identities, i.e., the chameleon aspects of identity; in situ information management; and stigma-avoidance. Participants’ abilities to control discrediting information on- and offline, in seven distinct fields of interaction, depicted in the ‘Dual-life Relational Paradigm’, is indicative of the introspection, courage and skills needed to manage duality. Ultimately, this population of hidden workers are a *precariat* class; not only because they engage in insecure work, but also because they are denied status as workers while doing SIW but not in square work. Unlike other studies that compare SIWs with other service jobs, these participants perform and embody both. Duality is done in response to income insecurity and participants highlight the exploitation inherent in both SIWSQ. They offer new insights about blending SIWSQ, and in doing so, force us to examine *work* in new ways.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

INTRODUCTION

We always say that sex workers are everywhere... So, on the basic level your research exposes the fact that a lot of teachers, nurses and a lot of anybody could also be doing sex work on the side and looking at how we manage to do such a stigmatized job at the same time as a square job will be interesting.

Mary

Note to Readers

Participants requested that biographical information be presented in aggregate form to reflect the entire sample instead of individual profiles that are then linked with ethnographic content. As a result, readers will not be able to associate profiles and pseudonyms with quotes and reflect upon how duality and biography and duality interrelate. Consequently, narratives may be challenging to follow, especially in sections relating experiences of stigma. I apologize for this fragmentation; however, they privacy concerns of participants was a priority. See the section on ‘Ethical Considerations’ for more details.

Framing Sex as Work

Literature on trading sex for money or goods is ubiquitous, and informs several disciplines, including: gender studies, criminology and sociology, labour, sexuality, economics, health, law and policy research. Studies about how people enter and leave the sex industry (SI) make up a good portion of this literature, along with studies about victimization and stigma. Investigating commercial sex among diverse, yet accessible populations has been the preoccupation of researchers worldwide, particularly among feminists, who have been debating sexuality, sex, pornography, work, the feminization of poverty, and the patriarchy for decades. There continues to be a vibrant debate among diverse feminists about whether sex ought to be defined as work, and what impact characterizing sex as labour or as violence has on women’s value and on their place in society. At times, those involved in sex industries are not included in these debates and can be victimized by the ways sex and gender are policed by women with power. Further, the conceptualization of the intersection of sex and work is done largely by non-experts, those who have no sex work experience or who have done little empirical scholarship among sex workers. As a result, not only do we miscalculate the breadth of SI, but we are made blind to a fuller understanding of the interplay of sex, work, gender and society among diverse populations.

Gender, sexuality and labour are hotly discussed within feminisms. O'Neill (2001) reviews the work of several scholars as she maps how feminists comprehend prostitution to elevate our theorizing and methodologies 'to examine the interrelationships between the micrology of women's lives and the meta-conditions of wider society' (p. 27) and history. Jill Nagle in her famous 1997 edited book *Whores and Other Feminists* categorizes feminists into two camps: the 'sex-positive feminists' who promote sexual agency and the 'stop feminists' who are moralistic in nature. The latter group, Priscilla Alexander (1997) a pro-sex feminist argues, have internalized misogyny and keep women oppressed because they fear whore stigma. O'Neill (2001) notes that there are two significant feminist positions on sex work: one that situates prostitution as reinforcing patriarchy, and the other acknowledges that women may choose sex work and deserve rights and safe working conditions. Chapkis (1997) suggests that there are three feminisms in this respect: 'pro-positive feminism' that characterizes pornography and prostitution as objectifying and eroding of sex and love, who include the likes of Gloria Steinham, Sheila Jefferies and Kathleen Barry; 'anti-sex feminism' who view sex as patriarchy and sex workers as objects, include Andrea Dworkin and Catherine Mackinnon; and 'sex radical feminism, who include Annie Sprinkle and Carol Leigh, who reposition sex within society and use libertarianism to challenge power (O'Neill, 2001).

Feminist debates about sexuality, especially among anti-sex feminists such as Andrea Dworkin and Catherine Mackinnon, promote an essentialist framing of gender dynamics as a power play between men and women, where women are subjugated in reproductive, domestic and other forms of feminized labour due to the patriarchy. O'Neill (2001) summarizes Shrage (1989) who describes the quandary that prostitution poses for feminists as some want to eliminate it as a form of exploitation and because they believe that prostitution is immoral and a political scourge, in addition to it reinforcing patriarchal hegemony. On the other hand, some feminists want to eliminate the discrimination and other harms experienced by women in sex work (Shrage, 1989). Patriarchy can be understood as a system which privileges men's needs,

values and interpretations of the world above those of women. Within such a paradigm, all women are oppressed and anything a woman does from her vantage point is in service to the system and to men. Sex, reproduction, domestic labour, and all the workings of a woman are in fulfillment of men's goals. In my view, this framing of women as purely subservient to men is limited because it conflates gender and biological sex and presupposes gender as binary or heteronormative; it leaves other systems such as colonialism and capitalism out of the analysis; and reduces the role of women to that of victims. It follows that sex would be a weapon used to control all women. The only way to be a woman is to be prey, thus denying how some women benefit from the patriarchy, and with this power they decide what is appropriate for women less powerful. Most obviously, this rendering of relationships between men and women as purely exploitative leaves no room for consenting personal or commercial relations (O'Connell-Davidson, 1998).

From this perspective commercial sex cannot be understood in the ways that my study participants describe it—as one of their jobs wherein they negotiate terms and conditions. Feminists such as Chapkis (1997) examine erotic labour and state that there is struggle in the lives of women due to gendered oppression that is compounded by other structural inequities. This is in line with my participants who have a range of views on work. Some see all work as exploitation, others view sex industry work and workers (SIW) as holding similar benefits and challenges as any other job. Many participants, given their vast work experiences in both SI work and square work (SIWSQ), feel that SIW is more dignified, flexible, rewarding and more liberating than other jobs that they have done or do. Participants suggest that it is the discriminatory regulation of SIW and social stigma that makes their work risky and potentially exploitive.

Fine distinctions in analyses between sex, exploitation and work are seen among several rights-based sex worker movements, in the advocacy of sex positive feminists, and among a range of scholars who examine gender, power and industry, utilizing democratic, participatory, ethnographic, and

intersectional approaches. I support the idea that *'the prostitute is a symbol of women's authority and a threat to patriarchy'* (O'Neill, 2001, p. 24). The term 'sex work' is used in this study to represent the commercial exchange of sexual products, services and performances for money or good. This term was coined in the late 1970's by Carol Leigh aka 'Scarlot Harlot' who wanted the labour aspects of the provision of sexual and intimate services to be recognized. 'Sex work' is a highly contested term by those who reject the notion that individuals, particularly women, can choose to sell or barter sex. In this study, I take the political position of sex work as work because it respects how participants have described their own lives and circumstances. Further, recognizing sex work as work provides the opportunity to formally design out exploitation. Nagle (1997) requires us to acknowledge the perspectives of sex working feminists who have been working to reduce exploitation within sex industries for decades. Juno Mac and Molly Smith, in their 2018 book *Revolting Prostitutes: the fight for sex workers' rights* are sex working/sex radical feminists who present a comprehensive and critical analysis of sex, work, rights and feminisms. They state: *'We are not waiting to be invited into the feminist movement. We have always been here'* (Mac and Smith, 2018 p. 220).

My sample is comprised of off-street, mostly online adult sex workers. They describe their SIW to include dance and performance, webcam, adult film and pornography, escorting, erotic massage, some forms of waitressing/hostessing, and some commercialized role playing within Bondage, Discipline, Sadomasochism (BDSM). The locations associated with the buying and selling of sexual services include on and off-street and on and offline venues such as brothels, private residences, hotels as well as virtual spaces. Some would rather be working a square job that covers their expenses and provides a good life, but this does not mean that when they are engaging in sex work, that they are not engaging in work. Some sex working feminists discuss these trials of working in jobs that are disliked: *'just because a job is bad, does not mean that it's not a 'real job. When workers assert that sex work is work, we are saying that we need rights'* (Mac and Smith, 2018

p. 55). Participants explain that practices within SIW are just as varied as the people who do it. They live dual lives (DL) and work smart not only to stay safe, but also to stay hidden. Participants experience the juxtaposition of socially acceptable work with unrecognized labour in sex industries. Unfortunately, their participation in SIW poses a great risk to their entire livelihood and social standing due to ‘whore stigma’ (Pheterson, 1993).

Trading sex can be viewed as a master status, as not only what people do but who they are. This is very problematic because it moves sex work from being an external activity to make money, to a characteristic that is embodied. People who sell sex are positioned as victims of the patriarchy or of their own poor decisions and character. Sex workers become wayward folk devils, who put society’s institutions, mores and even its health in jeopardy. The most visible sex workers are targeted first through moral judgements, gender oppression, law and policy. For example, the policies to regulate selling sex in the 19th and 20th Centuries had an almost exclusive focus on the most visible street-based trade in the UK. SIWs were *managed* (displaced and criminalized) through the 1824 Vagrancy Act, and various incarnations of the Contagious Disease Acts (1864, 1866 and 1869), and later, regulated through the 1956 Sexual Offences Act. In 1957 the Wolfenden committee, who were charged with investigating prostitution, produced a report that had some progressive elements, such as the decriminalization of homosexuality (Sanders, 2012), but framed street-based sex work as a violation of decency, and as public nuisance. Instead of approaching sex work as a set of behaviors within a larger web of socio-structural forces, it is characterized, as individual, as an immoral and self-serving act, or as violence, for those who are labeled as victims. Thereafter, in 1959, the Sexual Offences Act intermittently regulated public communication for the purposes of prostitution and loitering. Several years later, in 1998, Sanders (2012) and Sanders, O’Neill and Pitcher (2018) comment that it was not until the *New Labour* government took office that sex work in public spaces re-problematized. Government consultations into the matter culminated in the 2004 *Paying the Price* report. The report did not evaluate the historical and contemporary contexts and complexities of sex

work in the UK, but instead reinforced stereotypes and mischaracterizations of sex work as being inherently harmful (Sanders, 2012). The report informed the 2006 *Coordinated Prostitution Strategy*, that comprised a five-pronged focus on: 1) preventing involvement in prostitution among youth; 2) ‘tacking’ indoor sex industries; 3) developing exit supports aimed at helping women leave; 4) increasing access to the justice system for women who had been victimized; and 5) ‘tackling’ demand through criminalization and diversion programs (Sanders, 2012). Sanders highlights that a renewed emphasis on criminalizing clients in the UK in the late 1990s and through the 2000s, and our uptake up American-style anti-trafficking agendas today, continue the surveillances and penalization of SIWs for their own good.

Ironically, with increases in police and state attention on sex work over the decades, and multi-agency collaborations informed by anti-sex work feminist ideologies about how to remedy violence against women and girls (Scoular and O’Neill, 2007), violence and victimization upon sex workers persists. This, not only at the hands of predators and exploiters, but also by way of polices that interfere instead of intervening to mitigate harm. Those who refuse to be informed by the diverse spectra of lived experiences in and from the sex industries set their own agendas at the expense of sex workers. Today, sex workers exhibit a lack of confidence in law enforcement as a means to ameliorate the harms they experience, and their victimization remains high, according to a 2016 National Ugly Mugs (NUM) report. NUM suggests that police forces ought to prioritize the protection of SIWs and the prosecution of those who exploit them. This would be a sure way to reverse some of the damage done by nuisance-based legislation that removed SIWs physically, from public spaces, and psychologically, from our interests and protection. Some researchers already document that criminalization, punitive welfare policies, and heightened monitoring of sex working adults as being correlated with increased stigma and victimization (Sanders, O’Neill, and Pitcher, 2018).

Nuanced approaches informed by empirical work like this PhD study, may serve to legitimize sex workers as valued members of our communities, and

provide a counter-narrative to stigmatizing discourses and factions who benefit from the subjugation of sex workers. Our current approaches to regulate sex work are no doubt colored by Swedish legislation, specifically the prohibitions against the purchase of sexual services, enshrined in law in 1999, and US led anti-trafficking agendas, that inspire an indiscriminate interrogation of those working in off-street sex industries and through adult entertainment venues. It is time for us to stop importing failed strategies, and instead either import successful schemes, such as New Zealand's recently evaluated Prostitution Reform Act 2003 (Abel, 2014) that reduces victimization and gives sex workers greater access to justice. Or we can develop home-grown, evidence-informed solutions to ending harm as identified by sex workers.

Sanders, et al. (2018) discuss how sex workers were historically cast as sinners and social deviants. This taint lingers. We have moved from direct criminalization of (street-based) sex workers through vagrancy and disease acts, kerb-crawling prohibitions, and subjecting them to area restrictions and zero-tolerance zones, Anti-Social Behavior Orders (ASBOs) and Criminal Anti-Social Behavior Orders (CRASBOs), to indirect, de facto criminalization, shaming and displacement. This in spite of the 183 sex workers who have been murdered in the UK since 1990, and the countless others who have experience victimization every day. Current moves to eliminate work spaces, sanction purchasing, and again, following heavy-handed North American approaches of criminalizing Adult Services Websites (ASWs) where sex workers advertise and meet their clients, demonstrates a further lack of understanding about which interventions are truly useful to sex workers. Current criminalization tactics are veiled as welfare or anti-trafficking but in fact increase sex workers' vulnerability to exploitation. States around the world face resistance from sex workers and researchers who argue that such initiatives will limit access to technologies to screen clients; reduce sex workers' participation in online communities to network and share

safety strategies; and will ensure that sex workers have little autonomy and cannot work as independents.¹

Today, stigma and regulation extend to on and off-street sex workers and their clients. Despite exclusionary policy and socio-legal environments, SIWs are fighting for recognition of their plural identities as voters, employees, mothers and fathers, neighbors, lovers, friends, and their contributions to our societies through various roles, including as sex workers! The push in this direction is attributable in part to a history of sex worker's own writings by Carol Leigh and Pricilla Alexander in the 1980s to contemporaneous publications such as the *Revolting Prostitutes: the fight for sex worker rights* (2018) by Juno Mac and Molly Smith. Literature produced by sex workers that describes their lives, working conditions and analyses is reinforced by countless empirical studies worldwide (O'Neill, 2001, 2007, 2013, 2017; Parent et al., 2013; Showden and Majic, 2014; van der Meulen et al., 2013; Sanders, 2006, 2017; Sanders et al., 2015; S Mai, 2007, 2013; Brooks-Gordon et al., 2015; Pitcher, 2018; Bruckert and Hannem, 2013; Atchison and Burnett, 2016) who investigate the complex social networks, institutions, policies and social forces at play with respect to sex, work and society.

Unfortunately, sex workers do not control the SI, in part because of the social censure of sex workers and the fact that sex work is not fully recognized as work. They are excluded from policy development remain largely outside of social and legal protections. Sex workers are indeed eliminated through 'discourses of disposal' (Lowman, 2000) where some state policies and actors, some media, radical and carceral feminists, and some members of the public collaborate (intentionally or otherwise) to ensure their invisibility. That being said, some sex workers survive and resist hostile policies and stigma the circumscribe their economic and political power. Some do so by engaging in duality— by disrupting binary understandings of (sex) work.

¹ 'Sex workers protest possible prostitution websites ban' (July 6th, 2018)
<https://www.rt.com/uk/431916-british-sex-workers-protest/>

The Present Study

People sell sex to make money. Some need to survive and others earn just enough to provide economic security for themselves and their families. Several sell sex as a means of social mobility. In this thesis, I examine ‘duality’ (Bowen, 2013) concurrent SIWSQ. Dictionary definitions of duality describe it in ways applicable to my use of the term, as something that has two aspects, parts or poles² or as ‘*a situation of nature that has two states or parts that are complementary or opposed to each other*’³. Similarly, philosophers such as Plato, Plutarch and Rumi have discussed duality in relation to the origins of the soul, and as a dualism between good and evil, material and nonmaterial, light and shadow, right and wrong. SIWSQ can be seen as opposition in nature, but this would be a mistake. People who engage in work across stigmatized and mainstream roles do so in environments or fields of interaction that are socially constructed as oppositional or divergent due to stigma; however, their roles and activities may be lived as more complementarily. They manage pluralist identities across work and personal lives, as we all do, and may compartmentalize SIWSQ to avoid stigma. The TAO, Kabbalism and other spiritual doctrines offer perspectives about the relationships between opposites that are reconciled in ways that transcend oppositional forces or energies. Rumi for example said: ‘*Out beyond ideas of wrongdoing and rightdoing, there is a field, I’ll meet you there*’⁴. In the available literature and representations of sex work, one is either in or out, trapped or survived, deviant or exited, with little acknowledgment of what is entailed in the blending of SIWSQ. This study examines the fertile field in which SIWSQ overlap.

Philosophers such as Plato suggest that all duality seeks union. Before undertaking this research, I suspected that those living DL desired harmony and possibly the integration of their work and personal identities. A balance

² See <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/duality>

³ See Zoroastrian Heritage <http://zoroastrianheritage.blogspot.co.uk/2011/09/dual-duality-dualism-definitions.html>

⁴ <https://equanimitysite.wordpress.com/2012/12/15/rumi-out-beyond-the-ideas/>

or unity between SIWSQ can be achieved instrumentally, through the transferring of skills in both contexts, and through the sheer fact that participants construct the space and perform identities and jobs at this intersection. SIWSQ can be perceived as co-constitutive, but my theoretical approach and empirical findings support a conceptualization of participants negotiating identities, relations and work, while oppressed by stigma; however, they contribute to both mainstream and shadow economies. They do this in their quest for economic security and while under threat of being outed as SIW. How tasks and interactions are interpreted by the workers themselves reveals nuanced understandings of SIWSQ.

Furthermore, concurrent SIWSQ can be interpreted as a person being deceptive, living a ‘double life’ or a ‘secret life’; however, I have excluded use of these terms and characterizations so not to impose negative value judgements about the concealment of duality. Participants were asked to discuss which jobs they identified with and in their general descriptions of their employment and social worlds. There were terms that stood out in their narratives and provided insights into how participants valued the roles in SIWSQ, and how they may have internalized whole stigma. I use the term ‘square’ to denote non-sex work jobs, environments and people, in this and other publications (Bowen, 2013; Bowen, 2015) because that is the term sex workers in Canada prefer. This is not a term well-known in the UK, but I use here because I am building on previous work and it provides a neutral way of describing SIWSQ. For participants, the most common way of referring to square jobs was using the term ‘straight.’ This term is seen in reference to alcohol and drug recovery most often. Other language referring to square jobs included ‘civvy’, ‘regular’, ‘real’, ‘mainstream’, ‘conventional’, ‘vanilla’ and ‘normal.’ My goal is not to suggest that the use of these words illustrate that participants have just internalize stigma by juxtaposing words like ‘normal’ with SQ and phrases like ‘hooker job’ with sex work. I only highlight the limited terms and language available to describe duality in neutral ways.

I take up Goffmanian and Bourdieusian interpretations of the dynamic fields, of acting, trans-acting and interacting, that place human action and phenomenon like duality inside a web of social relations. My theoretical framework to understanding duality is informed by theories related to group conflict and alienation (Marx, Simmel), and relational sociology (Emirbayer, 1997; Donati, 2010; Archer, 2010; Veenstra and Burnette, 2015; Dépelteau, 2015) that transcends structure/agency dichotomies and other simplistic binary categorizations of sex working for that matter, such as good/bad, victim/deviant, in/out, Madonna/whore. It is with these theoretical influences that I investigate the intricacies of duality with a view to better understanding how stigmatized and hidden work is done along with conventional jobs.

This thesis is not an exposé of the work and practices of a subaltern and subversive faction of SIWs, who manage to fool us all by also holding conventional jobs. This interpretation would no doubt miss my central argument: duality, is both a product of *and* a function of our political economy. I explore SIWSQ in practical terms, with participants, with respect to their management of work and identity, to arrive at a nuanced understanding of duality as an innovative practice by workers within diverse labour markets. The workers described herein are a small subset of those who may undertake undeclared, criminal(ized) and stigmatized labour concurrent with mainstream work. Managing disparate work roles requires courage, entrepreneurialism and skills. These are also necessary in today's gigging economy. Having 'side-hustles' and other temporary jobs alongside more stable work has become the new normal, and due in part to a de-skilling of labour, unequal distribution of capital, and the primacy of materialism in our society. I argue that participation in SIWSQ is an illustration of a class struggle and is an act of resistance to the feminization of poverty, to austerity, and to our current style of fiscal conservatism that disproportionately affects the working class.

There exists dwindling access to legitimate means to attain cultural goals—the central tenet of strain theories. Duality is undertaken because of the precariousness of the labour market. Participants contribute the capital they

earn in sex work back into the mainstream markets and vice-versa. From their vantage points, there may be very little difference between labouring in SIWSQ. They acquire cultural capital such as university educations and work skills; and financial capital, felt through their contributions to the tax scheme, investments, mortgages, savings and retirement accounts. Duality supports them in earning well-over the current national average income in the UK of £517/week or £26,884 as of May 2018⁵. This challenges notions about the incomes of precarious laborers. Guy Standing posits seven class groups, among them an emerging *Precariat* who work without rights, whose labour is flexible, and so ‘*insecure and unstable, that it is associated with casualization, informalization, agency labour, par-time labour, phony self-employment and...crowd labour*’ (Standing, 2015 p. 6). Other features of the Precariat are evidenced among those living DL in this study. They are over-educated and underpaid, and they live on ‘stand-by’ (Standing, 2015) in both or either SIWSQ. They too suffer as other Precariat, from alienation, status frustration and relative deprivation (Standing, 2015). Despite their higher than average incomes, some experience precarity in both SIWSQ, especially if their square jobs are in retail/sales, or if they hold zero-hours contracts, are commission-based, or otherwise earn unpredictable amounts of money. This coupled with the fickle ‘boom and bust’ SI market, makes income insecurity doubly felt. Furthermore, engaging in duality means that people work and live under a constant threat of losing status, relationships, assets and employment, if their sex work was ever to be discovered. Participants who live DL differentially experience insecurity and unpredictability in both sex work and square, and the stress of hiding discrediting and personal information.

Goffmanian approaches to interaction, realms of social exchange, identity and stigma, together with Bourdieu and relational sociology are foundational to my analysis of duality as a set of practices and not as an identity. People act, interact, react and trans-act in dynamic contexts, and in ways unique and unpredictable but also bounded to the field. As Goffman states, it is about

⁵ Office for National Statistics
<https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours>

‘moments and their men (sic)’ (1967, p. 2). We create, perform in, and sometimes avoid these moments. Investigating SIWSQ within a neoliberal context reveals how individuals manage their *moments* at the intersection of SIWSQ. Holding a square job while working in the SI is not a new practice for off-street SIW but remains under-investigated. Those who live DL, not only hide their sex work from those they engage with in conventional work environments, but they also may remain largely disassociated from SIW and support organizations. They also hide their SQ from SI associates and their clients.

This study originates from the perspective that sex work involvement, especially for those who are operating above subsistence levels, may be much more nuanced, strategic and intentional than it has been represented in past academic work on sex work exiting, in the media, and among anti-sex work feminists and neo-prohibitionists. Those who live DL challenge dichotomous understandings of sex working by defying stereotypes about who SIW can *be* because participants here are not distinguishable from other mainstream workers. They also challenge romanticized conceptualizations of mainstream square work. Project participants are gainfully employed in both SIWSQ and cannot be convinced of square jobs as the answer to income insecurity or as salvation from austerity, legislated poverty such as universal credit, or ‘deviant careers.’

Participants have much to contribute to our understandings of the labour markets, and force policy-makers, carceral feminists, neo-prohibitionist crusaders, and others of this ilk, to take a closer look at our political economy. It is one in which employed, working and middle-class educated individuals incorporate SIW in response to financial emergencies; to participate in economic projects and investments; or as long-term financial strategies towards social mobility. Participants comprise the Precariat and the proletariat. They are workers. They reconcile class conflicts and antagonisms experienced because of wealth disparity and a precarious labour markets through duality. Participating in SIWSQ is a means through which class

mobility may be realized. Several possess work experience in menial jobs as well as skilled labour, a many found themselves trapped in low income careers even after attained post-secondary educations. Being over-qualified and working in low-income jobs led to feelings of being exploited and objectified, and many no doubt suffer from what Marx termed ‘self-estrangement’; a disassociation from oneself, where we view ourselves as tools in a master’s shed. Further, the shock and betrayal felt by participants who worked hard to achieve cultural capital, such as education, only to be confronted with the harsh reality that education does not always translate into stable incomes is evident in their narratives.

Participants have decided not to live lives in which they ‘work to live and live to work.’ Instead, they exploit opportunities and sell their labour in more than one market place, under different names and personas. They forge relationships to trans-act in fields and broader networks that are maybe not of their making but are of their choosing. Information about their employment across the fields of SIWSQ contributes to measuring the impacts of wage caps on health service workers; the plight of university graduates; austerity; and the unequal distribution of wealth and opportunity in UK society. We cannot continue to legislate poverty through neoliberal approaches that underfund health, education, housing and social care, and then criminalize and stigmatize those who participate in sex industries in response to the lack of options. This is hypocrisy. Relational sociology does not allow us to sidestep the ways that we are complicit in creating class disparities and differentially benefiting (or suffering) from toxic labour markets and inequality. Relational sociology teaches us that people *are* structure. We are the exploiters and the ‘stigmatizers.’ Meā culpā!

As I go on to interrogate contemporary duality, I stand with other researchers (Atchison and Burnett, 2016; Brooks-Gordon, Mai, Perry, and Sanders, 2015; Bruckert and Hannem, 2013; Mai, 2013; O’Neill, 2001a, 2007, 2013, 2017; Parent et al., 2013; Pitcher, 2018; Sanders, Connelly, and King, 2015; Sanders, 2017; Sanders, 2006; Showden and Majic, 2014; van der Meulen, Durisin,

and Love, 2013) and resist the reductionist ways that participation in sex work has been framed by some, as purely and inherently violent. Instead, I define and describe duality within the culture of capitalism, and in ways recognizable to the adults who live it. This is in line with Bernstein (2007) who rightly recommends that we must take a synoptic view of SI as inextricably linked to capitalism, the expansion of service work, and to the commodification of all things. We seem to be moving from a routinization and ‘McDonaldization’ of sex work (Hausbeck and Brents, 2002) and SQ, towards what some are calling a ‘bullshitization’ of work⁶ where in some spheres like academics, jobs are wholly meaningless. We ought to design out forced labour, *bull shit* work, and exploitation from our labour markets, and ensure dignity, employment protections and freedom from menial and meaningless work are reflected in all forms of work for all workers.

Research Focus, Conceptual and Empirical Contributions

My interest in researching duality arose and after spending several years in third sector in community development among SIWs in Western Canada. During my career, I have supported and witnessed sex workers move in and out of industries and well as blend SIW with SQ jobs. My subsequent 2013 MA thesis focused on documenting the transition experiences of a small population of off-street Canadian workers, and among them were those who lived DL. I returned to the UK in 2015 to investigate duality further. Professor Teela Sanders served as my external on my MA project and suggested that sex workers who also do mainstream jobs was an emerging area of research in the UK (Brooks-Gordon et al., 2015). The current exploratory study of duality aims to contribute to knowledge in this area. My core research question is: *What is the nature of duality? How are identities and relationships negotiated and performed across work roles differentially stigmatized?*

⁶ Weinberg, J. (May, 8, 2018). ‘Bullshit Jobs in Higher Ed.’ <http://dailynous.com/2018/05/08/bullshit-jobs-higher-ed/>

People who live DL bridge SIW with SQ. Their experiences form the basis of five major conceptual and empirical contributions of this thesis:

- a) **The UK Whorearchy, Brexit and Duality** (Chapter Three): The whorearchy as a concept is not originally my own and generally denotes a ranking system that prices SIW against characteristics that are preferred among clients in their respective marketplaces. To date, there is no scholarship on a UK whorearchy; however, discussion of it in the UK and elsewhere is prevalent among SIWs. SIWs are ranked according to physical attractiveness and gender performance, services offered (and not offered), and the quality of those services as reviewed by clients. SIWs take this value system into account when locating and marketing themselves, predicting their clientele and estimating their earning potential. SIWs identify the limitations it imposes for those who do not fit within its parameters. Study participants contributed to the substantiation of such a structure during my interviews with them on the topic of the EU Referendum (June 23rd, 2016) and duality. Essentially, Brexit made the UK whorearchy visible due to the sentiments of xenophobia and the anti-European/anti-immigrant discourses that permeated within the public domain at this time.

Past studies on sex work related to race and migrancy document a differential valuing of bodies as they are compared to a white, thin standard of beauty; but uniquely, some of my participants would otherwise meet these criteria, found their citizenship being considered by clients when booking, or experienced being shunned in Europe for being white British, immediately after the decision was made to leave the EU. Alternatively, some participants were relieved or sought to benefit from the promise of Brexit removing EU migrants from the UK sex industries. Still others felt indifferent to the impact of Brexit on their SIWSQ. To my knowledge, this work is the only UK study

that captures sex worker's experiences and insights during the EU referendum and the whorearchy.

b) **Role transition as illustrated using the Möbius Strip** (Chapter Five):

Role transition literature describes the central activities, behaviors and expectations associated with the roles that we perform in our everyday lives. Role transition is characterized in micro and macro terms, where the more mundane transitions from librarian to parent from example, as well as the more significant career moves, such as from lawyer to sex worker are captured. Theorists expound upon the psycho-social aspects of moving in and out of micro and macro level segregated or integrated roles. Segregated roles have disparate core peripheral activities and expectations, and integrated roles draw on salient skills and knowledge, and are theorized as being traversed more smoothly.

Participants in this study describe the various work roles they take on in SIWSQ, and share their practical experiences transitioning between roles and personas in their day-to-day lives. The Möbius Strip analogy is used to illustrate that for some, moving in and out of SIWSQ is routinized, requiring little mental preparation, and others must prepare for this transition. For those living DL, their experiences exhibit features of both micro/macro and segregated/integrated role transitions. This may be due to their investments and commitments to given roles (Wacquant, 1990), the skills and energies required, and most notably, the social stigma associated with sex work. Unlike how role transition is theorized as being more or less jarring based on the core and peripheral tasks and skillsets, for study participants it is whore stigma that challenges their traversing SIWSQ, of their roles are otherwise salient.

c) **The Continuum of SIWSQ Involvement** (Chapter Five): I

demonstrate that the intersection of SIWSQ is not binary but contains a range of practices illustrated in the Continuum of SIWSQ

Involvement, developed from participants' experiences of work therein. This continuum maps sole SIW or SQ; 'dabbling' in either SIW or SQ as a way of testing the market and exploring work options; 'sexiting' (Bowen, 2013) by engaging in SIW or SQ with goals to leave sole involvement in either; and sustained duality, where SIWSQ is practiced as a long-term economic strategy.

- d) **The Dual-life Relational Paradigm** (Chapter Six): This Venn diagram simply illustrates interactional zones that those who manage DL must navigate. Participants discuss SIWSQ and their personal lives comprising people, possessing differential, and sometimes discrediting knowledge about them. Participants are preoccupied with the threat of being outed as SIWs, and how such an event would affect both careers and their families. In this regard, participants contribute commentary on stigma-avoidance, selective disclosure and on-and offline audience segregation because successful duality requires deception and the skillful transitioning between roles across SIWSQ. With respect to information communication technologies (ICTs), participants' management of information also includes devices, software and social media accounts. All participants utilized technologies to access clients, safety information, and online communities; however, ICTs pose challenges for the concealment of SIW in the digital age.
- e) **Animations and Policy Impact** (Chapter Seven): I chose animation to share the lived experiences of participants without putting them at risk of being exposed. Fortunately, I have access to an illustrator, Natasha Bowen, who generously animated summaries of this study. The project overview animation is available now and the second will be released in late 2019. The audience for these is the public and those interested in learning more about duality. Viewers are directed to my study blog and this thesis, as well as other publications for more information.

The second animation contains tips and strategies for living DL. The intended audience for this animation is SIW who are living DL and those considering moving in or out of duality. This animation will utilize insights from participants in themed areas that contribute to a greater understanding of the practicalities of duality, along with the pressures and benefits of working this way. Further, this animation has a secondary aim to reduce isolation among this population. It was very striking that several participants had never discussed their sex working with anyone. For some participants, outside of their clientele, I am the only person who knows that they do sex work. I believe, that if they can see their lives reflected in the experiences of others, this study would fulfil my personal goals of reducing stigma-related harms in this regard.

Post PhD, I have returned to the third-sector in an executive leadership role that will substantively contribute to reducing victimization among UK SI. I plan to utilize insights gained from participants and others to inform larger multi-agency strategies towards harm reduction and the recognition of human and labour rights. Alleviating the challenges faced by participants associated with combatting stigma; perceived or real exclusion from social and legal protections; stress and secret-keeping; and living in constant fear of being outed, will no doubt influence my future policy work, public service and publications.

As noted, this study has wider applicability and may contribute to a more robust understandings of managing identity, work and audiences; role transition, secret-keeping and stigma-avoidance; and alienation and labour precarity experienced by SIW and others. As we actively produce our collective environments and expand or circumscribe each other's life chances, it is my hope, that through sharing this work, the gaze is lifted from people and their hidden practices of trading sex, to a fuller acknowledgment of the diverse forms that work takes in our society. I also hope to see an end to our active participation in excluding and stigmatizing people for trading sex. The hypocrisy here is threefold: a) as inherent in desire for individuals to leave better paid jobs in the sex industries, while mainstream employment in

contemporary labour markets squeeze out more productivity for lessening financial rewards, making it so that one job is rarely enough to live above subsistence; b) as apparent when an individual's past or current sex work or duality becomes known. We judge and exclude them from 'respectable' social circles and deny them opportunities for work; and c) for some, sex work is characterized as violence against women and girls, as exploitation, and not work, yet stigma and verbal hate against SIW persists. If sex work is exploitation, then stigma would be not only cruelty it would surely be illegal. A hate crime! The fact remains that people who engage in the sex industries in this and other studies define their activities as work, albeit precarious. Most emphatically, the voices of this sample, who simultaneously do SIWSQ must be amplified. Unlike other studies that may compare SIW and other (service) workers, participants here *do both*. They *live* both. They make direct comparisons between the different jobs that they undertake; share their rationales for duality; and the rewards, challenges and insights derived from their diverse work experiences. They have taken great risks to share their lives for our benefit. The least we can do is listen.

Thesis Layout

This thesis comprises seven sections and is laid out in response to my research question(s). The first two chapters include a review of relevant literature and background information related to my theoretical framework, methodology, ethical considerations, data collection and analysis. Chapters Three through Six comprise a presentation of findings that describe the sample; their work experiences and motivations; practices and strategies for role transition and duality; and experiences of stigma and stigma-avoidance. Each of these chapters will close with a discussion section that links findings with the literature. Finally, Chapter Seven revisits the research questions, shares limitations, summarizes the contributions of the thesis, and provides a link to the animation.

CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

*I want to go do my PhD...and I do want to be considered
a subject expert on sex work. I don't know how to marry
the two when I've got my tits out!*

Sage

Here, I provide a review of relevant literature that shapes the sociological landscape for the thesis. This literature includes scholarship on off-street sex work related to: demographics, reasons for sex work, sex work exiting and transition; as well as work on identity theories, stigma and avoidance, secret-keeping, deception, role transition, and information management.

Who Trades Sex? Portrait of an Off-Street Sex Worker

The earliest study of off-street workers reviewed was Bryan (1965) who interviewed 33 SIWs in Los Angeles to explore their routes into being a call girl. These ‘outlaw broads’ (Bryan, 1965 p. 288) worked as independents at a time when off-street workers were apprenticed or ‘schooled’ by other workers who shared best practices and strategies to avoid exploitation by clients, pimps and managers (Bryan, 1965). There appeared to be an ordinariness to off-street sex work that was also captured Scambler and Scambler (1997). While on-street SIWs suffered from sensationalized media accounts, depicting them as either exploited youth or coerced impoverished women, tormented at the hands of pimps, off-street workers were largely invisible and under-represented in research (Scambler and Scambler, 1997). These theorists, in their descriptions of the mundane nature of sex work, included research by Hoigard and Finstad (1992) who interviewed 26 working class and ‘lumpenproletariat’ women who had experienced economic instability and institutionalization, but were acknowledged as ‘*a neglected group of women...more of them off-street workers from middle-class backgrounds, who exercise conscious choice in turning to sex work*’ (Scambler and Scambler, 1997 p. 113). Scambler and Scambler itemize five key misconceptions of who trades sex that likely holds true today, that SIWs: 1) are diverse, heterogeneous populations; 2) can no longer be understood as adhering to gender characterizations of feminized, passive victims subject to male control; 3) have ethical standards and practices to protect their own health and safety and that of their clients; 4) are skilled labourers who see the ‘deviance of respectable men’ (p. 119); and 5) challenge patriarchy and innovate through ‘norm-breaking’. Many SIWs take full advantage of

educational resources and all the benefits brought about by the sexual revolution (contraceptives, divorce, etc.). Or as Giddens (1992) terms it ‘plastic sexuality’—sex disassociated from procreation.

Contemporary samples of off-street SIWs, most relevantly in the UK and Canada (Ham and Gilmour, 2017; Law, 2011; O’Doherty, 2011, 2015; O’Neill, Jobe, Bilton, and Stockdale, 2013; Raguparan, 2017; Teela Sanders, 2007; Scambler, 1997, 2007) comprise diverse populations who identify across age, culture/race, gender and all socio-economic levels. As early as the 1990s, those working as off-street escorts were recognized as moving out of service industry and public sector careers in response to poor wages. Stories of executives supplementing their incomes with sex work to pay off mortgages were in the public domain (O’Neill, 1997). Off-street workers fall along a spectrum of socio-economic levels, including both working class and elite workers (Bernstein, 2007). For example, Lucas (2005) interviewed 30 elite American SIWs (1997-2002) arguing for greater understanding of diversity in the SI and reduced stigma. Off-street SIW occurs in a variety of venues and many provide in-call services in their own flats or hotels, brothels, parlours and temporary rentals; or outcalls to client’s homes, hotels, offices, vacation destinations, etc. SIWs who do not provide services from home, preferring to commute, do so to keep separation between work and life (O’Neill et al., 2013). Some workers believe that working from home is safer than the street and other venues (Church, Henderson, Barnard, and Hart, 2001; O’Doherty, 2011, 2015; Sanders and Campbell, 2007). Sometimes working from home has its disadvantages. In one study of 14 sex worker home-based businesses in New South Wales, where sex work is decriminalized, most hid this information from neighbors, suffered isolation, and were victims of theft from clients, but flexibility, income and control over their work outweighed these challenges (Prior and Crofts, 2014).

Due to criminalization, stigma, and the desire to be discreet, obtaining accurate numbers of off-street SIWs in our society is not entirely possible. Publicized numbers are often misleading and politically-driven. UK

researchers Cusick, Kinnell, Brooks-Gordon and Campbell (2009) suggest that the exaggerated numbers of SIW purported by politicians and others are sexist and geared towards the establishment of punitive policies and measures that ensure female sex worker vulnerability. Based on the number of SIWs accessing services in the registry of the UK Network of Sex Work Projects (circa 2007-8), researchers estimated the entire population of SIW in the UK and Scotland to be approximately 36,000, compared with a publicized and politicized number of 80,000 in 1999 by Cusick, Kinnell, Brooks-Gordon, and Campbell (2009). The number of off-street workers included in service agency counts was 8,029; however, as we expect, this population was underrepresented, and excludes those who do not access services; those from services that did not respond to their request; and those who many not identify as SIWs. I suggest that this count of excluded, people who live DL. We can only glean who off-street SIWs are through reviewing the descriptions of participants in various studies. Off-street SIWs take on various career paths and are masseuses, dancers, adult film actors, full and partial sexual service providers, webcammers, doms and dommes, pro subs, etc. and they may engage in this work concurrently (Orchard, Farr, Macphail, Wender, and Young, 2012).

O'Doherty (2015) conducted the first nationwide study of off-street victimization in Canada. She engaged 151 individuals, interviewing (n=42) and surveying (n=109) participants. Eighty-seven per cent were Canadian-born and 27% of the sample were people of color. Her participants held jobs in every conceivable realm of off-street sex work, including massage, dance, BDSM/fetish, webcam, film and in and outcall services, to name a few. Ninety-four per cent held high school diplomas and 33% of the sample held university degrees. They ranged in age from 21-67; identifying as male, female and trans*, with less than half of her sample identifying as heterosexual. Half of O'Doherty's sample earned below \$60,000 (CAD) per year and the other half made between \$60,000 and \$120,000 (CAD) annually which was above the national average of \$45,084 (O'Doherty, 2015).

Law's (2011) sample of 10 off-street Canadian SIW ranged in age from 28-52 with only one non-white participant. They participated in BDSM, massage, dance, escorting, web cam, etc. and eight of 10 participants were university educated. Sanders (2007) interviewed 30 off-street UK SIW; 15 on-street and 15 from off-street venues. Among off-street workers, all but two identified as white British, they worked independently, online or in escort agencies; and they had an average age of 33. More recently, in a study of SIWs' internet use (n=641) who advertised similar services listed among my participants, Sanders, Scoular, Campbell, et al. (2018) share that 74% of their participants were independent workers; approximately 75% were women; they were majority white, with 85% British, identifying across a broad range of sexualities. Sixty per cent were between 25 and 44 years of age; and 37% held university qualifications (Sanders, Scoular, Campbell, et al., 2018). The demographics of participants in this handful of studies mirror those of my MA study of 22 off-street SIWs in Vancouver. They ranged in age from 20-61; half were university educated; almost half (n=10) worked in managed venues and the rest were independent workers with experience as dancers, porn actors, BDSM providers, masseuses, etc.

Studies of the SI comprising mainly persons of color are rare. Raguparan (2017) is the first Canadian study of off-street 'racialized' and Indigenous SIWs. She interviewed 40 participants; 38 of those identified as women with a range of racial identities that included a majority identifying as black (n=13). Ham and Gilmour (2016) were seeking understanding of exit plans, strategies and insights from workers in Canada and Australia. Their study of exit experiences comprised 25 Canadian im/migrant workers who identified primarily as (East, South Eastern and South) Asian, and 14 Australian White Australian-born participants.

From these studies, a preliminary portrait of Western off-street workers emerges. Although characteristics are contingent on sampling strategies and other factors, it is worth noting the following trends:

- Off-street workers in the UK and Canada tend to be white and indigenous to their respective countries;
- The majority work as independents as an outcome of the internet age;
- Workers tend to be between 30 and 60 years of age;
- Educational attainment was notable, with roughly 30% or more of participants with university qualifications;
- They possess broad (concurrent and sole) work experience in both SIWSQ, providing a wide range of SI services across venues, and occupying jobs in the public, private and third sector.

To document the heterogeneity among SIW, researchers have developed typologies or archetypes. I will highlight three: Scambler (2007), Lucas (2005), and Pitcher (2018). Scambler (2007) developed a typology of six sex work careers. They include those who are: *Coerced*, which includes trafficking victims; *Destined*, who have had SIWs in their families and peer groups across generations; *Survivors*, who are impoverished workers, who engage in sex work as a best and sometimes only means to survive. Scambler includes drug users and people who need a way out of debt in this category; *Workers*, are those who participate in sex work as a permanent job; *Opportunists* move locations to engage in sex work for short periods of time to fulfil financial goals, and finally; *Bohemians*. This last classification includes people who trade sex more casually, who do not have financial need but want to explore sex work. Scambler places doctors, teachers and nurses in this latter category. He states that this typology is incomplete as it does not include a variety of specialist SIWs⁷; however, I find this framework very useful in my thinking about the diverse ways to engage in duality.

Lucas (2005) categorizes off-street SIWs into overlapping groups based on attitudes, motives and on how much sex work they did: a) the *casual* group did SIW full-time but only made enough to get by financially; b) the

⁷ See Scambler's 2012 video entitled: 'Sex work today: myths, morals and health (UCL lunchtime lecture)' <http://www.grahamscambler.com/sex-work-today-myths-morals-and-health-ucl-lunchtime-lecture/>

instrumental workers engaged ‘diligently’ in SIW and other paid/unpaid jobs and projects to meet their financial needs; and c) *savvy business women* professionalized their work, were committed long-term, analyze markets, utilized business tools, and used the money they earned towards investments, etc. One participant in Lucas (2005) stated that she the money she earned from SIW allowed her to be a volunteer for charities.

The most robust typology that encompasses the diversity I have encountered related to transition and duality was created by Pitcher (2018). Pitcher evaluates a range of policy discourses alongside SIW’s own interpretations of their work and transitioning to illustrate the impact of misrepresentations with respect to sex, labour law and off-street working conditions. She highlights the practical decisions made by individuals to do sex work and took contemporary studies of off-street workers and my concept of duality into consideration, along with the experiences of her own participants to identify differing career patterns. Some of her participants had *interim pathways* and were instrumental about sex work, engaging for bounded periods, to address needs and then transition out. Others were engaged in *multiple transitions*, moved across jobs in and out of the SI. They, at times, planned a return to sex work, or on a *parallel pathway* (what I term duality). Still others were in *longer-term careers* in sex work, committed for longer periods, in part due to abysmal options in SQ, and those who were entrepreneurial (Pitcher, 2018). In addition to using Pitcher’s occupational transition in sex work, the participants in my research will comprise Scambler’s (2007) *workers*, *opportunists* and *bohemians* and fall into all three types of workers (*casual*, *instrumental* and *savvy* professionals) described by Lucas (2005). My participants reinforce these diversities in trading sex evidenced in the empirical work of these scholars.

The Whorearchy: Brexit, Colorism and Sex Work

It may seem odd to some to include Brexit in a study of the most hidden adult off-street SI workers in the business. Brexit, being the referendum held June

23rd, 2016, to decide whether the UK ought to end its economic ties and single-market trade relationship with the European Union (EU). Brexit features here due to the timing of my data collection phase, and conceptually, as an example of how geo-political policies inform and effect the decision-making of citizenry not normally considered by the political class. More generally, how social issues are personal problems, to evoke C.W. Mills' (2000) sociological imagination. Those engaging in duality would not have been considered when assessing the potential risks and benefits of leaving the EU but doing so poses a personal problem for their working across SIWSQ. Including their commentary on Brexit in this thesis is meant to be provocative.

Britain's relationship with the EU began in the early 1970s as a way for the empire to reinvent itself in the face of globalization and the establishment of BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China). BRICS (as it now includes South Africa as of 2010 and Mexico, South Korea and Turkey) is a group of countries with emerging economies that would resist further exploitation from Britain and other so called 'developed' nations. The referendum and subsequent vote to leave the EU 'Brexit' has been characterized as a protest vote in response to years of Conservative government austerity measures that most profoundly affected working-class families who reside in the North of England (Seidler, 2018). European and non-European immigrants were characterized by the right-wing media as a threat to Britishness. Some suggest that working-class people felt that due to globalization, London, as the seat Britain's the political elite, was no longer part of, or working in the interests of 'their country.' Seidler explains:

London itself was being transformed into a global, multicultural and multi-faith city ... There was an awareness that London existed as another country-experienced by many living in traditional areas of the North of England as if it had become a foreign country that they could no longer relate too [sic].

(Seidler, 2018 p. 23).

Although the Brexit vote can be characterized as a class war between working class protectionist Northerners and the ‘greedy political elite’ in the globalized South, I am in no position to debate the merits of a class war among the white working class and the white middle-class. Instead, I share the sentiments of Balkanism, racism and xenophobia, better known as ‘project fear’ (Seidler, 2018), because these discourses were rampant surrounding my data collection phase and influenced how participants described their marketability in the UK SI.

Participants discussed Brexit in the context of a ‘Whorearchy’ –a ranking system that organizes SIWs from most expensive to less so, based on their jobs, how much they work, how much client contact they have, gender, health status, cultural backgrounds and language spoken, race and citizenship. A UK whorearchy was made visible during my investigation of the impacts of Brexit among those living DL. Being white British remains the most valuable identity in the whorearchy and featured prominently in discussions of the stratification of UK and EU SI, as well as in discussions about how white migrants who were not at the top of the hierarchy marketed themselves. To date, there are no empirical studies that I am aware of that examine the whorearchy in relation to Brexit; however, with respect to sex workers’ travel, a June 23rd, 2016 Magdalena Group blog post communicated the benefits and challenges of leaving the EU for SIWs. The group highlights that for EU SIWs, in addition to losing the right to travel to and work in the EU, UK nationals will lose access to rights protections granted under progressive EU legislation.⁸

SIWs, on the contrary, have been discussing the whorearchy for years. Most recently in the UK, Charlotte Rose’ radio show February 2017; a famous American SIW, Belle Knox wrote about it in 2014⁹; it has been documented

⁸ Magdalena Group: ‘How will Brexit affect the SI’ blog post <http://magdalenegroup.org/doorwayblog/how-will-brexit-affect-the-sex-work-industry/>

⁹ For sex worker discussions of Whorearchy see Jezebel <https://jezebel.com/tearing-down-the-whorearchy-from-the-inside-1596459558>

in *Vice*¹⁰; and a well-known social commentator Maggie McNeil¹¹ talked about it as well. Whorearchy, famously illustrated by Monique Duggan¹² in 2016, depicts a pyramid that is stratified by SIW's levels of contact with police and clients. Duggan places Cam girls at the top, followed by strippers, sugar babies, dominatrices, indoor SIW and, at the bottom strata, street workers. Some SIW, such as Tilly Lawless¹³ place sugar babies at the top because their sexual exchange is most socially acceptable as it is like traditional dating. Lawless goes on to discuss the value placed on workers who are white, middle-class, cis-gendered women, verses women of color and migrant workers who tend to occupy the bottom rungs. There is a level of in-group oppression that occurs because one group of workers will stigmatize other workers due to the level of intimate contact they have with clients. For example, a worker who provides full service may find himself oppressed by a dancer or web cammer who have no physical contact with clients. There may also be further oppression if the full-service worker is also a person of color, or someone who is undocumented.

It cannot come as a surprise that the SI is shaped by dynamics of race, immigration, language, economics, and other valuations. Mai (2009; 2013) studies migrant workers primarily from Europe, Latin America and Asia, whose cultural and racial identities diverge from a white Western European standard. He found that their susceptibility to exploitation was directly tied to their immigration status. Mai (2013) argues that migrant sex workers are 'vulnerabilised' through humanitarian interventions that are fueled by anti-trafficking moral panics and misunderstandings about the lived experiences of sex, work and migration. It stands to reason that this whorearchy negatively affects migrant workers who are not indigenous to the countries where they work, tend not to be white or to have English as their first language. These

¹⁰ Vice (August 4th 2016) https://www.vice.com/en_au/article/exknvj/are-some-kinds-of-sex-work-better-than-others

¹¹ The Honest Courtesan blog post (May 10 2012) <https://maggiecmcneill.wordpress.com/2012/05/10/whorearchy/>

¹² See Monique Duggan's illustration of Whorearchy <https://moniqueduggan.wordpress.com/2016/08/24/the-whorearchy/>

¹³ Sluttever.com <https://slutckever.comm/sex-worker-tilly-lawless-interview/>

folks undoubtedly fall on the lower rungs of the UK whorearchy as those devalued by SI customers in the global North.

Researchers have captured this phenomenon of the whorearchy as a sex hierarchy, where women are valued based on chastity, and a valuation of sex workers based on where they worked. For example, Koken (2012) cites Rubin (1992) who discusses a ‘sex hierarchy’ of women in which, with respect to virtue. SIWs are predictably located at the bottom. Peano (2012) describes whorearchy as was mentioned by Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who was incriminated for paying an under-aged SIW, as reinstating ‘the age-old distinction between whores and Madonna’s’ (Peano, 2012 p. 422). Hodges (1997) reviewed works by Timothy Gilfoyle (1992), Marilyn Hill (1993) and Judith Walkowitz (1992) who all contribute historical information to elucidate ‘whorearchies’ which stratified 19th century brothels based on how much revenue they earned, geography, race and gender. The earliest work found was Gilfoyle (1987) who mapped street, brothel and saloon-based SIW in New York City between 1790 and 1860. Gilfoyle cited lawyer George Templeton Strong in using the term ‘whorearchy’ to refer to the character, concentration and prevalence of the SI. Gilfoyle states that during the 1860s: *‘when the middle classes abandoned downtown [New York], prostitutes followed them. Increasingly, it appears that the class structure among prostitutes mirrored the clients they serviced, many of whom were wealthy or middle class’* (1987, p. 388). Luise White’s book *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (1990) describes the emergence of SIW as resistance to colonialism, with the understanding that SIW is criminalized to maintain male financial control over women’s work and bodies. The whorearchy in this context distinguished classes of SIWs from urban to rural, from street-based (*wazi-wazi*) women, those who provided short-term services (*watembezi*), to off-street workers who hand longer-term sexual and domestic relationships with clients that mirrored marriage (*malaya*) (White, 1990). This latter group offered baths and food.

More recently, research on race unavoidably captures the whorearchy at work in the lives of SIWs of color. Reece (2015) examines blackness in the adult film industry and notes that black women are not valued as highly as white women. Similarly, Raguparan's (2017) participants highlight that clients in the better paid end of the Canadian SI tend to be white, corollary, SI agents, parlor owners, club managers set quotas to limit the number of women of color they hire and are strategic about when these women are on shift. van der Meulen, Durisin and Love (2013) echo this sentiment. Disturbingly, Indigenous Canadian women rarely make the roster at SIW venues unless they 'pass' as anything other than Aboriginal (Raguparan, 2017). Further, Raguparan discusses marketing strategies among gender divergent individuals, who, in addition to adhering to a white standard whorearchy, those who were gender variant had to advertise as cis-gendered women to have any hope of making money.

O'Doherty (2015) describes a whorearchy (though not in those terms) based on racial inequities within the off-street SI as a reflection of Canadian society more generally. Participants described a blonde, white, thin archetype of a SIW and those who deviated from these parameters may suffer economically, although there are benefits to standing out from the crowd. Raguparan and O'Doherty's work draws attention to fetishization and subjugation of women of colour, and this, along with gender conformity, determines one's location and value within the whorearchy. Moreover, a 'whorearchy' structure as it relates to sex tourism has been documented among white male tourists buying sex in tropical settings. Piscitelli (2007) investigated the habits of white men visiting Brazil who preferred buying lighter-skinned women because they ascribed to them a higher social status and increased femininity (Sanders, et al., 2018). Valuing women of color based on the lightness of their skin is well-documented in critical race studies and is an instrument of the colonial oppression. This process is known as 'colorism' and is connected to racism because making aesthetic distinctions and stratifying skin tones would not exist without it (Hunter, 2002).

Understanding colorism may also give insights into some of the conversations had by participants about the low positions of eastern European sex workers in the UK whorearchy. Colorism, as examined by American scholars, is a race-based discrimination that values light-skinned people above dark-skinned, because some white European slave owners preferred and even violently produced mixed-race slaves. Banks (2000) explains that racial discrimination in the US is done when one 'racialized' group discriminates against another and further that nationality, culture and color are proxies for race. They can stand in for one another and the framework for colorism and cultural discrimination already exists as racism. Colorism has manifested itself in UK, Europe, Asia, America and other societies. No matter the culture, colorism ensures that those with lighter skin have increased life chances because of how some Europeans have valued those that look like them. Colorism in the USA has become institutionalized such that dark-skinned blacks are treated worse than light-skinned blacks in the criminal justice system (Banks, 2000), in the beauty industry worldwide and as symbolic power (Pheonix, 2014) and most relevantly, in the SI (O'Doherty, 2015; Reece, 2015; Raguparan, 2017). Today, light-skinned (black) people who can pass for white enjoy many better employment opportunities, economic privileges, and treatment (Banks, 2000).

The preference for lighter-skinned people by western Europeans has a long history was linked to one of the world's most horrific atrocities- the Rwandan Genocide. White (2009) discusses the 800,000 Rwandans (Hutus and Tutsis) who were murdered by the state in 1994. White discusses the construction of race-based power relations by oppressive groups who ranked populations from most to least valuable based on appearance, in this case, the Tutsis over the Hutus. Briefly, prior to German and Belgian colonialization of Rwanda, Tutsis and Hutus, although distinct cultures, with respect to language and customs, intermixed. The Tutsis were cattle breeders, the Hutus were farmers and socio-economic status was based on cattle ownership (White, 2009). Culture and class intersect. If you were wealthy and owned cattle, you were considered Tutsi, if poor, Hutu, no matter how you looked. During the

colonizing of Rwanda, Germans and Belgians brought with them *theories about race* that contributed to the subjugation of Hutus because of their darker skin and other features (White, 2009). White explains that Europeans placed themselves at this top of the race/class paradigm, with Tutsis beneath them and Hutus occupying the lowest rung, destined for servitude. A full explanation of the Rwandan genocide, race and class-based oppression is provided by White (2009) but for the purposes of this thesis, I note that racism, xenophobia and colorism related to the treatment of eastern Europeans during Brexit more generally, and within the UK whorearchy specifically.

Although this study sample contains mainly white British people, they, along with non-British white migrants discuss the plight of ‘dark’ Europeans or Balkans during Brexit and their status within the SI in the UK. Participants in this study highlight race, or more accurately *cultural* differences, in relation to the valuing of sex worker’s services and client practices of screening out EU workers under auspices that they may be trafficked, as a covert way of masking a preference for white British workers. The whorearchy encapsulates colorism or a hierarchy of whiteness that emerged during the EU referendum, where UK citizens and western Europeans constructed eastern Europeans as being economic and cultural threats to our country’s viability and ‘Britishness’—a particular whiteness. Constructing white people out of whiteness was not a phenomenon unique to Brexit but has its roots in Balkanism. Todorova (1997) documents the ‘othering’ of southeastern Europeans of the Balkan states, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, Romania, Albania, Greece, etc. due to their coloring and culture. Inhabitants of these lands were referred to as Slavs, dark Europeans and even barbarians by western Europeans from the UK, France and Germany for example. This colorism contributed to how western Europeans interpreted the Bosnian Crisis (1908-09) and the Balkan Wars (1912 and 1913) in relation to WWI and impacts on ‘civilized’ Europe. Disputes over independence, land and resources in Slavic countries was labelled tribalism, because, as Todorova (1997) explains, this term was meant to associate Balkans with Africans and

Asians who were populations also deemed to be uncivilized and atavistic by western Europeans due to appearance and culture.

Participants discussed this cultural discrimination that permeated public discourse and the subjugation of ‘dark Europeans’ SIWs in the UK context. In this way the UK whorearchy and colorism intersect. Race, skin tone and hair coloring, culture, language abilities, chastity and how one works in the SI are all intertwined to construct the whorearchy. I do not aim to equate colorism and Balkanism, or the sex hierarchy with either, I only reference to these ways of valuing people based on color and culture appears across culture and throughout history. Rubin’s (1992) sex hierarchy, colorism and the UK whorearchy described here may be important to some readers interested in critical race and related scholarship. As I will explain in my methodology section, I took advantage of the fact that the bulk of my data collection took place just prior to and during the June 23rd, 2016 referendum. Not only did Brexit affect my data collection, but participants had a range of things to say about how leaving the EU may affect their work in both SIWSQ, their citizenship, and their identities.

Why Trade Sex? Precarious Labour...The New Normal

Underlying issues of why working-class people (mainly women) were trading sex in the 19th century was eclipsed by the need to manage their ‘deviant’ behaviors through formal and informal controls. Intense monitoring and the regulation of working women’s sexual commerce was achieved through a deviancy model, that dictated how they could occupy public spaces by linking their sexual activities with disease and immorality (O’Neill and Jobe, 2016; O’Neill, 2010). Loitering legislation, such as the 1824 Vagrancy Act, as well as the Contagious Disease Acts (1849, 1866 and 1869) and Street Offences Acts (1959 and 2003), and the Policing and Crime Act (2009 and 2017) all contain sections related to the regulation of prostitution. These, along with bylaws and a range of policies ensured state and social policing of working women (who were assumed or confirmed prostitutes) through discourses and strategies of ‘containment and surveillance’ (O’Neill, 2010 p. 214). There

was some research in the 19th century aimed at discovering why women participated in SIW. Dr. Tait, for example, was an Edinburgh surgeon who researched the causes and ‘remedies’ for prostitution. In his 1840 manuscript, he lists a) *natural causes* such as irritability, the desire to dress well (especially among the lower classes), the desire for sexual gratification, for want of property; and b) *accidental causes* like bad marriages, poverty, low pay in women’s work, the lack of adequate education, and of course, ‘theatre-going.’ He acknowledges that people participate in SIW for money and social advancement. He writes:

The temptation of money alone is a great inducement for females to resort to a life of prostitution...the hope of being one day such an honored person is a still stronger motive for their joining the ranks of vice.

(Tait, 1840 p. 146).

Tait’s work is like later research into SIW that incorporates pathological, agential and structural factors for involvement among fish wives, shop girls and other working-class women. For example, Cusick, Martin and May (2003) reviewed exit studies, primarily among street-based workers, and summarized an etiology that included studies that suggested SIW is the result of mental retardation and low self-esteem; situational factors such as deprivation of parental affection and promiscuity; and adding that structural factors of poverty and the labour market greatly contributed to SIW entry. More contemporary scholarship documenting the reasons and modes for entry into off-street SIW excludes these pathologies.

Benoit, Ouellet, et al. (2017) examined agential factors influencing decisions to engage in SIW as a career choice among 218 mixed gender individuals in Canada. They found that structural conditions and critical events such as trauma, along with agential influences of a desire to do SIW for the love (and surplus benefit) of it, were the central reasons for entry. Similarly, other studies reviewed point to all three of these motivations, with money and

lifestyle being most salient (Sanders and Hardy, 2013; Sanders, 2007; Mai, 2013; Bowen, 2013; Bungay et al., 2011; Orchard et al., 2012; Koken, 2012; O'Neill et al., 2010; O'Doherty, 2011; Raguparan, 2017; Ham and Gilmour, 2017). Among migrant sex workers, Mai notes that:

Stealing, selling sex and begging can be perceived as morally acceptable livelihood strategies, as long as they generate enough money to sustain the migratory rout to autonomy and economic self-realisation.

(Mai, 2013 p. 14).

People trade sex to plainly bring income into their households, for economic security and social mobility, to pay off debt, or funding specific services, items or projects such as education. Almost two decades ago, Scambler and Scambler (1997) noted material hardship and the de-standardization of labour in the UK under Thatcher, as a contributing factor to participating in SIW as resistance to poverty, in addition to the feminization of poverty. Off-street workers they spoke with stated that they can make in two hours what most people make in 40 (Scambler and Scambler, 1997). O'Neill adds:

'Materially, [sex work] is often a response to poverty, financial hardship and need. We need to be aware of changes in the benefit system, changes in the care system...council tax, recession and high interest rate...we cannot look at [sex work] without looking at the social and economic contexts which give rise to it.

(O'Neill, M. in Scambler and Scambler, 1997 p. 11-12).

It is unfortunate that the focus among some feminists and UK conservative government has been on ending demand through asymmetrical criminalization (Lister, 2018) instead of ensuring that those who trade sex have relief from structural inequality, a range of choices for comparable income, and benefit from labour protections. When we consider economic

insecurity, a large proportion of Britons either live in poverty or are vulnerable to it. The Office for National Statistics, for year ending 2017, found that the average household income in the UK is £27,200¹⁴ with an hourly living wage (beginning April 2019) of £8.21 per hour¹⁵. We collectively carry household debt in the amount of £1.23 trillion¹⁶ (inclusive of mortgages, credit cards, loans, etc.), the top 10% of households possess *five times* more wealth than the bottom 50% of households. In terms of household wealth and geography, those who live in the Northeast possess £44 billion in physical (non-property) wealth compared with £196 billion for citizens in the Southeast (Office for National Statistics, 2018). Individuals 25-54 years of age report their debt as being a heavy burden upon them, and our country's lowest quintile of income earners have the debt that surmount to 83% or more of their annual incomes¹⁷. Finally, forty-one per cent of individuals with a degree-level education or higher are in debt.¹⁸ These statistics illustrate the economic stresses that many in the country are enduring; especially women, who experience austerity disproportionately, due to the feminization of poverty. Consequently, some individuals may incorporate SIW to ameliorate hardship. For example, half of participants (n=641) in Sanders et al. (2018) spent less than 10 hours per week in SIW, earning less than £20,000 per annum as a supplement to other work. This additional revenue makes all the difference for some. One participant in Pitcher (2018) stated that her short time investment in SI work is well worth it because: '*I get a month's worth of wages in a week*' (p. 5).

¹⁴ Office for National Statistics

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/personalandhouseholdfinances/incomeandwealth/bulletins/nowcastinghouseholdincomeintheuk/financialyearending2017#trends-in-household-incomes>

¹⁵ Office for National Statistics <https://www.gov.uk/national-minimum-wage-rates>

¹⁶ Office for National Statistics

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/personalandhouseholdfinances/incomeandwealth/bulletins/wealthinggreatbritainwave5/2014to2016/previous/v1/pdf>

¹⁷ Office for National Statistics

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/personalandhouseholdfinances/debt/articles/householddebtequalities/2016-04-04>

¹⁸ Office for National Statistics

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/personalandhouseholdfinances/debt/articles/householddebtequalities/2016-04-04#individual-characteristics>

Some participate in SIW because it offers flexible hours to raise children, also noted in other studies (Dodsworth, 2014); to accommodate other work (in the case of duality) and projects; and as a means to earn money while dealing with a health issue. Studies document the desire to travel; altruistic reasons, for workers who see their work as healing, who provide loving touch to disabled, elderly and of clients in need; curiosity and as a way to explore identity; frustration, and as an alternative to exploitation in square work (SQ) all as reasons adults trade sex. (Pitcher, 2018; Lucas, 2005; O’Doherty, 2011; Pitcher, 2018; Sanders, 2007; Bowen 2013; Benoit et al., 2017; Brents and Sanders, 2010; Bernstein, 2007). Lucas (2005) reports: ‘*Over and over again, my interviewees emphasized wages and freedom as the primary attractions of prostitution*’ (p. 523). Participants in Pitcher (2018) rationalized sex working as improving their quality of life, providing them control over their destinies. They discussed how they used the revenue to invest in education and personal development. Job satisfaction and the ability to turn away disrespectful clients (Pitcher, 2018) and manage their work in ways most beneficial to them, drew people towards entrepreneurial forms of off-street independent SIW. As noted, structural conditions give rise for some individuals to seek ways of earning money through SIW. Most studies of labour do not include SIW, but I argue that SIW and those who live DL have a tremendous amount to contribute to our understandings of the effects of how work is organized and compensated in our society.

Our labour markets is trending towards short-term employment and low wage/ no benefits jobs, that provide little security and predictability, also known as precarious work. The term *précarité* was coined by Bourdieu’s and represents the distinction between casual and permanent workers (Alberti, Bessa, Hardy, Trappmann, and Umney, 2018). Chaykowski (2005) documents vulnerabilities associated with part-time, low-waged and self-employed workers North America. Vulnerable workers are defined as those with low skills who may be susceptible to other discriminations in the labour market, such as gender bias, may have family obligations, and likely to have no access to union or labour standards protections (Chaykowski, 2005).

People who live DL, work part-time in SIWSQ and can be defined as self-employed, as several work as independents, who own the tools of their work and manage administration and service delivery, also noted by Pitcher (2015). Precarious labour and the post wage economy is felt in the UK as we steer towards a ‘gigging’ economy where individuals float between short-term, part-time employment. In a 2012 report commissioned by the EU to examine precarious labour across 12-member states (UK, France, Germany, Bulgaria, Ireland, Greece, Italy, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain and Sweden) found that those in insecure work are often excluded from other social supports such as housing, health care, pension and education (McKay, Jefferys, Paraksevopoulou and Keles, 2012). McKay et al. (2012) discuss labour casualization and precarity as a combination of factors: *‘including immigration status, employment status, temporal uncertainty, inadequacy of income and lack of voice over terms and conditions’* (2012, p. 107). Precarious workers had low union membership and were either excluded from training that would help them obtain better paid jobs or subject to schemes that kept them underpaid at a lower ‘training wage.’ These authors found that 30% of all paid jobs in these EU member states (1987-2007) were precarious; 61% of employees worked these jobs due to lack of choice; and false or ‘bogus’ self-employment (when companies force employees to declare self-employment but remain solely reliant on those companies for clients) and zero-hours contracts were among the worst types of exploitation that occurs (McKay, et al., 2012). Pitcher (2015) also draws attention to bogus self-employment prevalent in the growing UK marketplace, calling it ‘dependent self-employment’ (p. 114) where the self-employed are beholden to managers and third parties. McKay et al. identified retail, cleaning and hospitality as sectors that have a high prevalence of precarity, and women and migrant women are most affected by insecure work due to low and irregular pay. Generations of women experience precarious work. Blackwell (2001) for example, who researched occupational sex segregation (1971-1991) across full and part-time work, finding that British women, who often move to part-time worker to fulfill family obligations, ended up in low paid precarious work.

The UK topped the list with the highest number of employment agencies hiring out temporary workers (n=11,500), compared with Greece (n=9) (McKay, et al., 2012). The 2015 UK Trade Union Congress report similarly found that many companies and institutions used employment agencies for temporary workers which allowed them to sidestep labour standards as responsibility for ‘employees’ fell to these agencies. Precarious work conditions extended to jobs required higher skills such as university lecturers and pilots, who suffer from term employment and income insecurity, and that the average hourly pay for permanent workers in 2013, was £13.30 compared with £8.46 for zero-hours contract workers (Trade Union Congress, 2015). Those holding these kinds of contracts and those who work in education, engage in SIW to supplement their incomes. Furthermore, not only were people who worked insecure jobs under stress due to uncertainties around pay and work, they could not afford to be sick because most did not have sick benefits (Trade Union Congress, 2015). In every category of employment from permanent, temporary, zero-hours and agency work, women were paid between £32 to £61 per week less than men (Trade Union Congress, 2015).

Labour precarity is the capitalists’ way of saving on costs and externalizing their responsibilities for labour rights. Some argue that short-term employment promotes flexibility and is beneficial to workers who are students for example; however, many may experience the lack of permanent full-time jobs as a threat to their futures because there is no predictability of income thus no financial security. McKay et al. (2012) see ‘flexicurity’ (the offer of employment flexibility and security) as an option to reduce issues inherent to labour precarity which includes: social security funds set aside for temporary workers to access for training or during periods of unemployment; flexible jobs; and training and reintegration support for workers between gigs. Unfortunately, governments do not invest in this flexicurity model and refuse to provide these essential supports. In my MA study, duality is described by those who engage in it as an innovation and a response/resistance to the vulnerabilities imposed by a precarious labour markets, although SIW is just as unstable. Those living DL improve their odds of earning money when they

take advantage of *all* work available to them (albeit precarious) in both SIWSQ. They indeed found this ‘flexicurity’ through duality, that governments fail to offer.

Specific to SIW, researchers suggest that labour policies, dwindling social supports and diminishing economic opportunities may facilitate individuals towards SIW and away from insecure low paying jobs (Brooks-Gordon, Mai, Perry, and Sanders, 2015; Chris Bruckert and Hannem, 2013; Mai, 2013; O’Neill, 2007, 2013; Pitcher, 2018; Sanders, et al., 2015; Sanders, 2018). Duality can be understood as ‘innovation’ with respect to general strain theory (Merton, Agnew), in which individuals accept the cultural goals but reject the means through which we can attain economic stability. Although I do not interpret duality as deviance, participants’ individual responses to economic conditions may be explained, in part, by applying general strain theory; however, a career selection framework may be more accurate. Benoit et al. (2017) use Levine’s (1976) four determinants for career selection to explicate reasons for sex work: a) socio-economic factors of education, class, gender, race; b) family factors of number of children, quality of parental figures, education level of mothers, encouragement; c) the kinds of (prep) schools socialized within and credentials; and d) personal factors of personality, intelligence, and preferences. Research indicates that social class most profoundly affects occupational choices (Levine, 1976) and this is reinforced by Wacquant and Bourdieu (1990) suggestion that individuals must possess the ‘cognitive categories’ through which they organize and understand the world. If individuals from impoverished backgrounds are not aware of career possibilities or the routes to attain them, they could not set agendas and organize relations and capital towards those careers or opportunities.

In our information age, people are more aware of what is possible, but may lack the means to achieve their fiscal or personal goals. Blending revenue from SIW and square jobs may well provide the capital for educational attainment and social mobility. Levine (1976) also cited Rosenberg’s (1957)

work that revealed three orientations (helping others, material benefits, and expression) as shaping career choices. Benoit et al. found that individuals chose SIW from a range of occupational choices and not exclusively due to structural inequalities. This reinforces my past assertions (Bowen, 2013; 2015) about SIW re-entry and duality being strategic and not exclusively because of the lack of choice or due to uncertainty as characterized by Hedin and Månsson (2004). These findings from Levine (1976) and Rosenberg (1957) and with Benoit et al. (2017) provide a useful paradigm for situating duality. Some participants arbitrarily chose jobs in SIWSQ that complement each other or built on expertise and skillsets utilized in both or either fields; and some, due to precarious labour conditions, immediacy issues may take on whatever work is available at the time and or out of sex work.

Hardy and Sanders (2013) draw our attention to shifts in the UK market towards '*casualisation, outsourcing, subcontracting and exploitation*' (pg. 16) as it relates to female exotic dancers. In a previous work, Sanders and Hardy (2012) examined the working conditions among British dancers that make their work insecure. Issues ranged from changes in legislation; the implementation of various fee structures; commissions; oppressive practices of fining and obligatory tipping, or termination without notice (Cruz, Hardy, and Sanders, 2017). Structurally, the 2010 Police Crime Act imposed a licensing scheme on sex entertainment venues that effectively reduced the number of venues under the auspices of reducing the objectification of women (Sanders and Hardy, 2012). Also, clubs would introduce free entrance fees, two-for-one dances as well as imposing marketing tasks onto dancers that would effectively force them to work harder for less money. This in addition to book-on fees that dancers would have to pay the clubs, not dissimilar to those charged to hairdressers for chairs in establishments (Sanders and Hardy, 2012). This practice of forcing dancers to pay house fees are an example of the bogus self-employment strategies by employers discussed by McKay et al. (2012). False self-employment, rampant in dance and other parts of the SI, in which, although workers may choose to identify as self-employed, have little control over their work and few labour

protections (Cruz et al., 2017). Based on empirical work on dancers' working conditions, case law and how dancers self-identified their status, Cruz et al. (2017) suggest that to ensure labour protections an employment category that falls between employee and self-employed may be one of a range of remedies. Sanders and Hardy's (2012) participants add that the 'deskilling' of dance occurred when clubs would employ high numbers of less attractive, less talented hustlers made their profession insecure. With the precarity of dance came benefits of flexible work—where individuals could take on other pursuits alongside and cash in hand, as the amount of money earned in dance was more than was available in other occupations.

Much has been made of precarious labour and age in mainstream employment. As expected, age, along with sex and education are characteristics of employment vulnerability (Chaykowski, 2005; Trade Union Congress, 2015). For example, Chaykowski (2005) found that in Canada, involuntary part-time and non-standard work increased for women during their prime working years (25-64) and that this may be due to the double burden that women carry of being responsible for work both in and out of the home. Several studies of the sex industries also highlight age or more accurately, 'aging out' as influential among those considering transition out of SIW (Ham and Gilmour, 2017; Bowen, 2013; Law, 2011; Koostra, 2010; Sanders, 2007; Rickard, 2001; Brewis and Linstead, 2000). For some, age prevented re-entry into SIW and also inspired transition out:

*I remember a date telling me at 18, 'you're washed up',
'you're aged out now' ...I never ever forgot that.*

Richard (Bowen, 2013 p. 37).

Conversely, three of five of my MA participants who were living a DL, interpreted their advancing age as motivation to continue doing so, and market to a new customer demographic (Bowen, 2013).

Those who spent years acquiring credentials for square jobs may face additional frustrations when their chosen career does not afford them the financial security they sought. They may also feel humiliated to take on low-paid menial jobs if they hold university degrees and may be forced to engage in the emotional labour of impression management (Goffman, 1959). Emotional labour has appeared much in literature related to quality of work experiences that are classed and gendered (Taylor and Tyler, 2004). Some men for example, discuss having challenges around their masculinity because they interpret the skills in low paid service jobs required docility (Nixon, 2009). Hochschild (1979) wrote about emotion management in interactions and how our abeyance to social rules and expectations in encounters constitutes 'work' itself. In other words, the unpaid work of masking dissatisfaction with employment may add to the frustrations felt by participants who live DL. Goffman (1959) posits two ways to manage impressions: through direct behavior or what Hochschild (1979) terms *surface acting*; and through feelings and subsequent expressions or Hochschild's concept of *deep acting*, which is associated with the cognitive, bodily and expressive techniques of emotion work. Hochschild asserts that we are most aware of emotion work when our feelings do not match our performances. He examples the happy secretary who may be masking frustration. I suggest that those who live DL engage in this deep acting and emotion work; keeping their line and face in check while being emotively appropriate in *both* SIWSQ. For example, they, by virtue of managing discrediting and personal information, will invest in performing the right show in front of the right audience, suppressing deeper feelings and monitoring their behavior. We cannot assume that only SIW requires such performances or that these are associated with just SQ. Suppressing emotions in these ways as part of 'work' and especially menial labour has links to Marx's (1844) concept of estranged labour. Ultimately, insecure markets in both SIWSQ; sex work not recognized as work; the frustration of gaining credentials for SQ jobs that do not support a financially secure lifestyle; and the emotional work of 'faking it' in menial jobs all motivate individuals toward DL.

‘Exiting’ and Transition

Accounts of what occurs at the intersection of SIWSQ has been the domain of ‘exit’ studies (Baker, Dalla, and Williamson, 2010; Mayhew and Mossman, 2007; Bowen, 2013; Månsson and Hedin, 1999; Koostra, 2010; Sanders, 2007; McIntyre, 2006; Dalla, 2006; Rickard, 2001; Oselin, 2014; O’Neill et al., 2010; Benoit et al., 2017; Westerik, 2009). Due to framing sex work as harm by anti-sex work feminists, several studies documenting ‘exiting’ or the movement out of the SI along with the factors that support or pose a challenge to one’s success or failure in this endeavor, position leaving as ‘success’ (Law, 2011). Sex working has not generally been framed as a neutral option liked or despised within a realm of employment possibilities available to individuals. Nor has it been historically explored *with* diverse populations of participants who identify the changing benefits and risks of SIW to gain insights into new and emerging trends in global labour markets. Instead, radical, anti-sex work/ anti-porn feminists such as Farley (2014), Raymond (2004) and Dworkin (1987) characterize SIW/survival sex as wholly harmful activities; exemplar of inequality, patriarchal exploitation and violence against women. These structuralist and hetero-normative approaches view SIW as being something that *happens to* women (men and trans people often excluded) and not something that is negotiated or consciously undertaken. Choosing SIW is therefore constructed as irrational because of moralistic arguments by some, who do not contextualize sex work within globalized markets as suggested by scholars such as Bernstein (2010) and sex working feminists like Mac and Smith (2018). Even the term ‘exiting’ is offensive to some sex workers. The refusal to recognize how sex workers characterize their own work and careers intentionally silence any distinctions that they make between SIW and forced labour, or trafficking and ‘slavery’ is *morality politics* (Pitcher, 2018). Drawing from this perspective, I use the term ‘transitioning’ or (semi) retirement that accurately reflects career change (Bowen, 2013; Law, 2011).

Unfortunately, early exiting studies such as Månsson and Hedin (1999) excluded off-street workers and characterized their work or sex workers

themselves as deviant, (see Matthews, et al., 2014). Their exploration of transition was then limited if the only acceptable direction was *out* of sex work. Moving to sex work or living a DL was missed or suppressed. ‘Exit’ literature is based in role transition theories the posit transition between SIWSQ as ‘*dangling between two life patterns, living in a state of uncertainty and ambivalence*’ (Hedin and Månsson 2004 p.225); yo-yoing in and out of SIW (Sanders, 2007) and being unable to achieve sustainable incomes in either field; or having incomplete role transitions by *failing* to let go of aspects of SIW while moving on to more ‘acceptable’ labour (Baker et al., 2010; Hedin and Månsson, 2004; Månsson and Hedin, 1999). These studies understandably characterize the transition from SIW as challenging and uncertain; however, they lack nuance, in part due to being almost exclusively based on the experiences of the most accessible and vulnerable street-based workers, Sanders (2007) being the exception. The experiences of a wide-range of workers (from across socio-economics, race/culture, age, gender and sexual identities, and sex industries) is needed to have a robust understanding of transition both to and from SIWSQ nested within the context of our political economy. More recent studies capture nuance (Pitcher, 2018; Law, 2011; Ham and Gilmour, 2016; Westerlik, 2009; O’Doherty, 2011; 2015; Bowen, 2013) by more fully by investigating the benefits and challenges of transitioning to sex work, retirement among on- and off-street SIWs, and the myriad of factors that influence career change. I assert that the inability to find stable work is not a character flaw of deviant sex workers, but a social issue, marred by the behavior of markets; discrimination and stigma; and the denied value of sex workers as a skilled labour force who competently work across SIWSQ.

Duality

Several empirical studies, including my own, have detailed lived experiences of transition, but fewer studies document differential involvement in SIW from sole and fulltime to incidental and dual. Historically, poor and working-class women were expected to be available for sex in jobs both in and out of the home. O’Neill writes: ‘...*poor women sold sex in Victorian England to*

survive, and many sold sex in addition to their 'day' jobs, for which they earned a pittance' (O'Neill 2010 p. 213). Revisiting the 19th century work of Dr. Tait, I find my earliest account of what could be understood as duality. Tait, attempted to determine the extent of prostitution, comparing the on-street SI in America and France to the more 'respectable' off-street variety common in his city of Edinburgh. He counts among these off-street workers, private harlots and mistresses, those who: *'keep up a show of industry, as domestics, sempstresses, nurses, etc., in the most respectable families...'* (Tait, 1840 p. 6). Tait estimates that one-third of all servants are 'sly prostitutes', who are very selective about their clientele and conceal their real names to avoid being detected. Tait (1840) explains: *'their object in preferring strangers is that they run less chance of being detected in their evil conduct, and that they may use greater liberties, and be enabled also to conceal their own names'* (p. 8) but who nonetheless *'deliver themselves up to this wicked life'* (p. 6). Addams (1895) documents women involved in the disorganized sewing trades in Chicago. Women of Hull-House in Chicago for example, eked out a living on meager wages. He states: *'no trades are so overcrowded as the sewing-trades; for the needle have ever been the refuge of the unskilled woman'* (Lemert, 2004 p. 69). Similarly, the situation in New York in the 19th century was no different for women for young women during this timeframe (Gilfoyle, 1987). Gilfoyle notes that *'males of the city provided a ready clientele for prostitutes, gender discrimination in the "free market" gave young women few opportunities for economic advancement. Prostitution was, in large part, based on the impoverishment of working-class women'* (Gilfoyle, 1987, p. 384). This illustrates the dire labour situation for working class women in the 19th century. Hemyng (2003) reveals that in London, by 1860, there were an estimated 80,000 SIWs who comprised three categories: a) women kept by men as mistresses; b) independent women working in apartments; and c) women who worked in brothels (Hemyng, 2003). The second group are most like my participant, they worked in apartments, were more educated than brothel-based workers and participated in other forms of work. Hemyng documents:

A large number of milliners, dress-makers, furriers, hat-binders...or those who work for cheap tailors, those in pantry-cooks, fancy and cigar shops...are more or less prostitutes and patronesses of the numerous brothels London can boast of possessing.

(Hemyng, 2003 p. 48).

The assumption here again is that working-class women, who earn low wages in manufacturing or service industry jobs, supplement their wages with SIW and are soon to do so full-time. Although authors document their poor wages and the income and social mobility possible in SIW, their duality was nonetheless framed as deceit and not innovation:

The members of the family are no sooner to bed than she unlocks the door, and walks the street as a common woman, or goes to fulfil appointments previously made with gentlemen...girls who are guilty of this bad conduct are sure to ultimately become open prostitutes.

(Tait, 1840 p. 122).

Walkowitz (1977) examines employment options available to women in Plymouth and Southampton in the 19th century in the context of the 1866 Contagious Disease Act. Employment available to women in these regions included surface jobs with mines and employment as servants, laundresses and dressmakers (Walkowitz, 1977). Women ‘*may have found the shorter hours and better pay of prostitution a temporary and relatively attractive solution to their immediate difficulties*’ (Walkowitz, 1977 p. 76). Here again, there is recognition that poor and working-class women engage in some forms of SIW to improve their lives. Sadly, the Contagious Disease Act gathered intelligence on SIW and subjected them to forced genital exams to stop the spread of STI’s among ‘middle-class sons’ (Diduck and Wilson, 2003) thus creating a division, however thin, between SIWs and working-class women. Much of the contemporary literature on casual and part-time workers comes

out of health research that has labelled SIWs as most likely responsible for the spread of HIV/STIs due to the clandestine nature of their work. Research in this area indicates that a likelihood of low use of condom among part-time workers is due to their lack of recognition of their sexual activities as SIW (Harcourt and Donavon, 2005). Aral, Lawrence, Tikhonova, et al. (2003) similarly drew a link between part-time SIW and the spread of HIV. These researchers found that increasing poverty and social inequality after the fall of the Soviet Union meant that women who are students, in retail sales and even physicians work part-time and intermittently as SIWs. They suggest some that intermittent SIW, especially those who worked at railway stations, were central to the spread of sexually transmitted infections (STI's) in Russia (Aral et al., 2003). Gysels, Pool and Nnalusiba (2002) conducted a study among 34 women in a Ugandan trading town, finding that there were three groups of SIWs: a) women who work backstreets who had little to no capital; b) women who worked as waitresses and also sold sex in the bars where they worked; and c) women who were entrepreneurs, who owned their own bars, and worked as SIWs too (Gysels, Pool, and Nnalusiba, 2002). Their second and third groups live DL. Researchers stated that the latter group of women, who owned establishments, had less reliance on men for financial security, and had lower rates of HIV infection. Gysels et al. suggest that SIW is a strategy for sexual and financial independence. It appears that class, in this case, was more of an indicator of HIV risk than part-time SIW.

There is mention of opportunistic sexual exchanges where sexual acts are not premeditated (Harcourt and Donovan, 2005); the flexibility of working in both formal and informal economies due to economic insecurity for nonstandard workers (Pitcher, 2015); part-time sex work or 'soft prostitution' (Mishra and Neupane, 2015). Duality has been referred to as participating in 'interrelated occupations' (Kempadoo 1999); 'parallel employment trajectories' (Law 2011; 2013); or 'overlapping orientations' (Lucas, 2005) and most recently 'dual career trajectories' (Ham and Gilmour, 2017) a study that draws on my work. Sanders and Hardy (2015) surveyed (administered and self) 197 dancers in the UK and found that 45% (n=109) held other jobs

in and out of the SI. They state that ‘*some participants undertook sex work alongside an occupation in the formal economy*’ (pg. 118). In their previous study, they similarly found that only 40% of 197 dancers they surveyed worked only as dancers (Sanders and Hardy, 2012). Likewise, half of O’Doherty’s (2015) sample (n=54/108) worked in a wide range of other careers alongside SIW, and participants in Ham and Gilmour (2017) held dual careers and contingency plans to ensure their economic well-being. Pitcher’s (2018) sample of 40 indoor workers included nine who lived DL, working as entrepreneurs, in healthcare, the service industry and office work. Participants who lived DL stated that it was the best way to *do* SIW. Working this way made their lives more manageable and reduced time and frustration with respect to providing emotional support and services clients as their sole source of income (Bowen 2013; 2015):

Like how does someone just wanna do one thing? ...if I was an escort my entire life. I would be bored out of my mind and probably be burnt out and tired of dealing with men’s penises.

Teresa (Bowen, 2013 p. 75).

Other accounts of duality, exclusively among women of color, include Ocha and Earth (2013) who interviewed Asian *Kathoey* or transgender workers whose semi-gender reassigned bodies constituted emergent sexual identities in the context of expanding global markets. Their participants worked in SIW directly, full-time and deliberately, or indirectly and part-time as they were students, worked in retail or as performers alongside opportunist SIW (Ocha and Earth, 2013). Also, Kempadoo (1999) describes how white slave owners would send domestic slaves (black and mixed-race women) to plantations and ships to work as prostitutes to exploit and benefit from their physical and sexual labour. Traditional employment for Caribbean women such as midwifery, nursing, nannies, housemaids were all roles where women concurrently engaged in prostitution (Kempadoo, 1999). Kempadoo draws upon Morrissey (1989) and suggests that blending SIW with other jobs, for women in the Caribbean, was a path to emancipation. Caribbean women

strategically laboured in SIW as part of economic transnational relationships, i.e. tourism. Women engaged in ‘multiple sources of livelihood’ and ‘multiple and interrelated occupations’ (Kempadoo 1999) in bars, selling weed, as housekeepers, and mixed formal and informal sector work to establish businesses of their own and support their families. My participants are no different.

Clearly, SIWs were not hatched on street corners but come from our communities and through other forms of employment (Bernstein, 2007; O’Doherty, 2011; Bowen, 2015; Parent et al., 2013; Kempadoo, 1999; Law, 2011). A recently conducted survey about working conditions among SIWs who access National Ugly Mugs found that 71% of their sample transitioned to SIW from jobs in retail, education and childcare (Sanders et al., 2015). Student sex working has been identified in several studies (Sanders and Hardy, 2013a; Sanders, 2007; Mai, 2013; Bowen, 2013; Bungay et al., 2011; Orchard et al., 2012; Koken, 2012; O’Neill et al., 2010; O’Doherty, 2011; Raguparan, 2017; Ham and Gilmour, 2017). A study that explored the vocational elements of SIW, stated that women came to work in the SI from various backgrounds as runaways, addicts but also has teachers, nurses and college graduates (Lucas, 2005). In the last few years, UK students funding education by doing part-time and casual SIW such as lap dancing, has drawn the interest of researchers and media as evidenced in media interviews with Dr. Belinda Brooks-Gordon, who developed the Liberal Democrat party SIW policy¹⁹ or Professor Debbie Jones’ Student Sex Work Project at Swansea University²⁰. Sanders and Hardy (2013) surveyed 197 dancers in Nevada and the North of England, and they found that 50% were students who worked in the industry to finance rising costs associated with their educations. They stated that we ‘*need to understand more about potential trapping factors or cycles that ‘keep’ educated women in the industry*’ (Sanders and Hardy, 2013 p.762). Although this statement may suggest that authors do not feel that educated

¹⁹ www.libdems.org.uk/f9_towards_safer_sex_work

²⁰ www.thestudentsexworkproject.co.uk

individuals should be in the SI, there are some insights that may be useful for my study. My sample of those living DL are educated women, men and other genders, as seen in other studies of off-street workers (O'Doherty 2011; 2015; Bowen, 2013; Law, 2011). Sanders and Hardy found that some participants worked multiple jobs in the SI, as well as working day jobs in food services and retail. Several student dancers worked in locations distance from their home communities; and had some tension with career dancers who worked in the same venues (Sanders and Hardy 2013). I have not identified studies that make a distinction made between those who move from solely working as SIW to incorporation of square jobs or from solely working in square jobs to incorporation of SIW, i.e. moving from SQ to DL verses from SIW to DL. Ultimately, research documents experiences of doing SIW alongside schooling and other jobs and projects. Individuals engaged in this duality will wrestle with work and identity and manage information and whore stigma.

Identity, Stigma and Information Management

I draw on a range of theories to inform my understanding of identity, information management and stigma. Those who live DL may be preoccupied with managing their work and identity made disparate not only because of the tasks involved but also due to social stigma. Goffman's works will feature predominantly and although he believed that SIW were not 'normal deviants' who could be stigmatized, but 'social deviants' who were corrosive to society, I will rely on many of his concepts to make sense of concealable stigma and strategies for stigma-avoidance.

Theories of Identity

Owens, Robinson and Smith-Lovin (2010) posit two sets of theories about the origin of identity: one sees identity and subsequent behaviors as fixed or stable trans-situational internalizations of meaning, derived from positionality, social affiliations and personal narratives; the other suggests that identities and meanings are changeable, dependent upon differing socio-

cultural contexts. The structure/agency paradigm resisted by relational sociologists is evident in how identity theories are conceived and organized, but nonetheless, elements these sets of theories aid in comprehension of the complexities of identity and information management.

Owens et al. (2010) described theories, where self-structures are fixed, through the work of interactionalists such as Mead who stated that the 'self' comprises the 'I', the one who knows or the subject, and the 'me', which is the object or the self-concept. Mead (1929) elaborates that the self is not known in its entirety, the individual only has knowledge of the self or their many selves, through interactions with others because '*the individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly, from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group*' (Mead and Lemert, 2004) quoted in Lemert 2004 p. 221). Mead posited, that individuals interact with a series of others who have differential power in influencing our behavior as we pursue a positive sense of self. These others include: *significant others* such as those who we hold as powerful and influential over us; *relevant others* who matter to us just as a cohort of students would hold in relation to an individual student; *reference groups* who comprise types of people who a person make seek approval from; and *generalized others* who are the *they* out in the world, the general population who determine the order of things (Perinbanayagam, 1975). Participants take on the task of (re)forming their identities considering these reference groups and the changing dynamics of the field.

Owens et al. (2010) cite Rosenberg's (1979) definition of self-concept as a collection of feelings and thoughts that a person has about themselves organized into three classes: a) *self-referring* dispositions, which are abstract categories of traits, values and tendencies, abilities and skills; b) *physical characteristics* such as external features that are responded to by others and then internalized; and c) *identities*, for which there are four key sources (*personal identity, role-based, category-based* and *membership-based*). Personal identity is the understanding of self as distinct from others, based on

experiences and biography—a personal narrative that is generated within society, upon which all other identities of that person are formed (Owens, et al., 2010). This differs from *role-identity* which is understood as self-descriptive positions held within social structure, and in relation to one or more other people, where role expectations exist and carry meaning for the individual and society. Finally, category or group-based identity are derived from the perceived or real membership one has in social groups, such as students, or in association with socially meaningful categories, e.g. being British.

There are a range of identity theories reviewed by Owens et al. (2010) that suggest we internalize role meanings which in turn form our identities. These theorists reach back to Foote's (1951) explication of role theory where language and the intersection of identity, role and motivation are highlighted. Role-identity theory (McCall and Simmons 1966) suggests that people creatively perform roles within the social positions they occupy and that some roles are in conflict so are placed within a '*hierarchy of prominence*' (Owens, et al. 2010, p. 481). Owens et al. explain that Stryker's (2008) identity theory builds on the idea that identities are organized into a hierarchy, where the most salient are based on interactional and affective commitments to an identity. Another related theory is Thoits' (2003) *identity accumulation theory* that posits that through social interaction, roles provide meaning and purpose, and at times the more roles one has, the greater the social capital and status is experienced; however, role-identities can increase depression if they conflict with expected behaviors or drain personal resources (Owens et al., 2010). People who live DL may be at risk of this by virtue of their management of stigmatized jobs in both SIWSQ. Identity control theory (Burke and Reitzes, 1991) suggests that internalized identity and perceptions of interactions are constantly (re)affirmed and people adjust their behavior to stay in line with their identities. Here identities are defined as 'meaning-sets' that help us understand who we are and what the expectations of us are in interaction with others (Owens et al., 2010). Participants will be savvy, adjusting for discrepancies in meaning, to avoid stressful social situations to

stay 'intact'. Identity theories in which roles, motivations, and socio-structural positions are internalized into relatively stable or fixed identities, may bring partial insight into how people who live DL manage their multiple roles, expectations and find meaning. This would be quite heavily influence upon agential elements and their understanding of 'I' and 'me', as they perform roles in SIWSQ.

Situated identity theory (Alexander and Knight 1971; Alexander and Wiley 1981) add a new element, where identities are not owned by people but exist in the relationship people have with the space, situational cues and predicted outcomes of interaction. People who live DL, as with many of us, are constantly concealing and revealing information about themselves, so it follows that who we are is situated, as in bound to an environment, but also changing and changeable. Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Turner and Tajfel 1982) plays on this idea that people have a choice of identities to employ in differing situations depending, on how relevant and prominent the identity is in relation to in and out-group dynamics, and the identity's usefulness towards 'self-enhancements' (Owens et al., 2010). Social identity theory accounts for how individuals evaluate themselves in terms of group membership; how they fair in terms of race, class and gender; their goals and life chances in relation to in or out social groupings. Situated identity and social identity theories are more applicable to this study, as they highlight context and agency. People have something of a rolodex of scripts associated with a range of identities performed among shifting social relations. These interactions and transactions shape self-concepts, goals, relations and possibilities. We weigh situational factors and interests in determining how to behave or *what* to perform. Participants will have multiple identities and aspects of themselves that they strategically highlight or deflect from differentially between SIWSQ, as well as identities that are culturally meaningful and instrumental in both and in their personal lives and internally.

Barreto and Ellemers' (2003) conceptualization of internal and external social identities explains that people have adaptable internal and external social

identities. Internal identities are (re)constructed by acceptance of external social categories and groups that exist in the world. These internalizations help define self as an individuals' measure, against expectations and norms. In other words, we act according to the groups we are members of and we define ourselves through those categories; however, internal self-definitions may not match external social categories or the ways that they are treated. Specifically, people may not perform according to expectations, even though they claim a particular group membership. Thus, our internal identities are not necessarily influenced by adherence to group attributes, clothing, speech or ways of being for example. Barreto and Ellemers note that people behave in-line with external categorizations and group expectations; manage different identities for different audiences; may identify with particular groups for reasons of social acceptance, image or stigma-avoidance; may dis-identify for the same reasons; and when motivated, may intrinsically associate with a group and develop positive self-images.

Shoemaker (2006) describes identity is a set of 'mental states' that persist over time and that involve values, goals and self-concept. Identity then is a process, an individual and interactional experience of *self-making* that can be understood through the framework of social identity theories and the relationship between internal and external social identities. Giddens (1991) states that '*the self is not a passive entity, determined by external influences ...individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications*' (1991 p. 2). This definition of the 'self' fits well within relationalism as it positions the individual as influential and subject to the consequences of the social forms they create. Living a DL is a social form, that is motivated by one's understanding of themselves, their worlds of relations, their goals and possibilities. C. W. Mills argues that we are knowledgeable agents, who can give account of our behavior and reasons behind what we do, and we cannot separate our personal lives from our social environments; they are one. As such, our interactions within fields inform our self-concepts, and the self is

'reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography' (Giddens 1991 p.53) and history (Mills, 2000).

Moving ahead from identity being understood as fixed or interactional, to post-structural theories such as those Stuart Hall, for example, I link DL with the idea that participant identities are being created. Hall's (1994; 1996) notion of cultural identity is thought of in two ways: one as a set of shared history, norms and internalized structure, where people unite under a common banner. The other references a positionality, identities and ways of forming identity that are constantly in flux due to changes social dynamics, power and representation. Hall's work was in reference to Afro-Caribbean (and Asian) identities and the diaspora of continuity and discontinuity of self and history as a result of slavery, migration and transportation (Hall, 1994). Hall states that cultural identity *'is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'...like everything that is historical, they undergo constant transformation...far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power.'* (1994, p. 225). There is a tension, an ongoing reformation of agent and structure, individual and society, oppressor and oppressed, such that identity is not and cannot be stable. Cultural identity is about how we position ourselves and in fact, how we are positioned within history, the present and the future. Identity is a process of constantly (re)producing oneself in context, which I believe, is most closely aligned with how participants who live a DL reinvent themselves in situ.

Managing information, environments, and relationships in addition to their own identities across SIWSQ appears daunting. People who live DL may develop what WEB Du Bois (1903) called a *'double consciousness'*, a maladaptive strategy that causes mental conflicts in contexts where, in Du Bois' case, black people could not be wholly themselves in white-dominated spaces. Moore (2005) examined the biographies and contributions of WEB Du Bois and Franz Fanon, two black intellectuals who confronted white supremacy in higher learning in the US and in the French military respectively. Both men made great contributions to society; Du Bois was on faculty at

Atlanta University and Fanon was a decorated WWII soldier, winning the Croix du Guerre. These men were politicized through respective black consciousness movements in the US and France and Moore (2005) discussed these experiences. Du Bois' concept of double consciousness was later echoed in the work of Franz Fanon (1952; 1967); of a 'twoness' (Moore, 2005) where American black people had to constantly viewed themselves through the eyes of an oppressor, who denied their citizenship and even their humanity (Moore, 2005). Moore highlights the hypocrisy of the American Founding Fathers who developed a constitution in which all men were said to be created equal; yet black people were dehumanized. In such a context, black people would have to reconcile their identities of being black and American, among those who deemed these attributes as inconsistent. Moore asserts:

*It is not psychologically healthy to measure your worth
though the eyes of others...to be denied full expression of
your blackness or manhood in a white-dominated society.*

(Moore, 2005 p. 753).

Maladaptive techniques such as adopting the mindset of one's oppressor or developing a double consciousness are argued to be the only options to cope in such environments where part of who one is, is devalued (Moore, 2005). Corollary, people who live DL may experience similar distress associated with observing themselves as square people would when in their company and similarly or being constantly mindful of the ways SI associates may observe them and interpret their behaviors. Moore suggests that vacillating between being black and being American has fractured the psyches of generations and how a black person's identity is based on another's construction of reality is unhealthy and disempowering.

Mead and other symbolic interactionists similarly acknowledge that our identities are partially formed by 'others'; but Du Bois, Fanon and Moore problematize this in ways that may hold true for my participants. I am not suggesting that issues of (neo) colonial oppression and duality are equivalent;

instead that I am drawing insights from these perspectives. Participants, by being SIWs, are denied full access to human and labour rights, and legal protections and must construct multiple ‘consciousnesses’ to cope.

Stigma: A Goffmanian Perspective

Understanding how stigma and identity operate is foundational. Since SIW is a stigmatized job and for some, a stigmatized identity. In order to maintain status in their square worlds they are compelled to manage discrediting information. Participants will keep information about their SQ secret from clients, other SIW, and associates in sex industries. For the same reasons, they may also keep sex working secret from square networks, family members and others. Goffman’s interactional conceptualization of stigma is useful. Goffman defines stigma as ‘*an attribute that is deeply discrediting*’ (1963 p. 3) and explains that stigma is ‘*a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype*’ (p. 4) where individuals either fail or fulfill a stereotype. He identifies three stigmas: physical deformities; flaws in character; and tribal stigmas of religion, race and nationality. He elaborates on three identities: 1) *social*, which is based on attributes and assumptions from others; 2) *personal*, which is what distinguishes a person from another and is defined similarly in Owens et al., (2010); and 3) *felt* that represents how people feel about their identity. Social identity is an everyday categorization has two parts: a) a *virtual social identity* that is based on assumptions and demands we make of character without realizing it; and an b) *actual social identity* that comprises attributes that can be proven to be true through interaction (Goffman, 1963). According to Goffman, discrepancies between virtual and actual identities, cause us to ‘reclassify’ individuals based on attributes that are undesirable or acceptable. In this way, ‘normal’ people assign an ‘ideology of difference’ and inferiority to stigmatized people and treat them as if they are not quite human. Goffman also distinguishes “discrediting” and “discreditable” stigma. When a person is known to have an attribute, they are discredited and when the attributed is not known, a person is discreditable but not yet discredited—

they, like my participants, are left in a position to decide whether to disclose discrediting information (Goffman 1963).

Scholars have long theorized that the process of labelling or marking individuals as ‘other’ involves linking them with attributes, traits, dispositions and behaviors that are deemed undesirable by those in power and this makes a single definition of stigma difficult. Individuals who live DL, who hide their SIWSQ from various relationships, will be managing this discrediting and personal information in their day-to-day lives in fields that comprise individuals who know about all of their jobs and those who have partial information. Goffman suggests that stigmatized individuals are surrounded by two types of sympathetic others: a) people who are also ‘discreditable’ and in their tribe, ‘the own’ i.e. other SIWs and associates; and b) the ‘wise’, individuals who are aware of the stigma and help conceal it. They may experience courtesy stigma due to their association and proximity to the stigmatized and sympathetic because they work among the stigmatized or are somehow related to them (Goffman, 1963). Project participants may experience a singularity of consciousness and relief from stigma among their ‘own’ and the ‘wise’.

Whore Stigma

There is an immense amount of literature on SIW and stigma as it relates to mental health, transition, policy and social identity (Bowen and Bungay, 2015; Koken, Bimbi, Parsons, and Halkitis, 2004; Krüsi, Kerr, Taylor, Rhodes, and Shannon, 2016; Link and Phelan, 2001; Quinn and Chaudoir, 2009; Sallmann, 2010; Scambler, 2007; Smart and Wegner, 1999). Theorists suggest that SIWs face a unique kind of stigmatization called ‘whore stigma’ (Pheterson 1993). For Pheterson (1993) stigma for SIWs occurs because of selling sex for money is equated to selling honor for base gain. SIW may also experience *symbolic stigma* (Herek, Widaman and Capitanio, 2005) whereby groups already disliked are tied to elements that pose a threat to society. For instance, SIW are often paired with societal harms such as crime, disease and moral

corruption. Lowman's (2000) famous concept the 'discourse of disposal' highlights the co-conspirators: media, law enforcements and communities who worked together with the exclusion of SIWs to 'improve' safety in their neighborhoods, all the while creating environments for predatory violence that contributed to the high rates of victimization and murder experienced by street-level SIWs in Vancouver, British Columbia. SIWs were manufactured, not as members of our communities, deserving of respect and protection, but as public nuisance, to be disposed of like garbage. The discourse of disposal illustrates the acute and tragic outcomes of s whore stigma upon SIWs in our societies. I understand stigma to be a:

socially constructed, context-specific experience of othering, that devalues one's identity, social contributions and potentiality in ways that limit how one can interact ... Stigma is a social process embedded in discourses and relations of power wherein dominant groups use it to select, impose and reinforce their ideals about the ways in which others are allowed to be in the world.

(Bowen and Bungay, 2015 p.2).

Participants in this study comprise those who aim keep their SIW or SQ secret from a range of associates who could damage them socially and economically. People are stigmatized for SIW and a range of other reasons such as age, gender, race and motherhood for example. SIWs who identify as female are disproportionately subjected to stigma as it provides opportunities to control women's economic activity and provides a mechanism for the social control of women's sexuality (Hallgrimsdottir, Phillips, Benoit and Walby 2008; Pheterson 1993; Sallmann 2010). For example, women SIW experience stigma associated with motherhood and manage dual identities to avoid being labeled a bad mother (Dodsworth, 2014). Whore stigma is uniquely gendered. Straight male 'beach boys' who sell sex to Western women vacationing in the Caribbean were not seen as negatively as their female counterparts. Instead

their work was viewed maintaining masculinity and reducing the economic power of women who were their clients Kempadoo (1999).

Stigma Avoidance Strategies

Goffman suggests that ‘discreditable’ individuals, those with concealable stigmas, interact with others in their workaday lives and may encounter situations where their stigma is known to everyone, someone or no one. In the two latter instances, they are ‘passing’. This activity may be the primary preoccupation of participants as they manage work and identity in SIWSQ. Goffman asserts that, to control interactions and information, the discreditable must decide whether to: ‘...*display or not to display; to tell or not to tell; to let on or not to let on; to lie or not to lie; and in each case, to whom, how, when and where*’ (Goffman, 1963 p. 42). Participants worry about accidentally revealing themselves; may feel compelled to share their stigma; or feel guilty for concealing it. Participants will experience these tensions. Further, Goffman suggests that the number of people who know about a concealed stigma increases the risk of the stigma being revealed, so the discreditable may organize the world and their social identities into three main spheres: *a forbidden place*, that if the stigma is known the person would be turned away; *a civil place*, where those with the stigma are treated somewhat as if they are acceptable; and *back places* where others with the same stigma can be more open.

Participants will interact with individuals who hold differential influence over their behaviors and may occupy these three spheres. This is where biography and biographical others (Goffman, 1963), and the concept of a social identity (Owen, et al, 2010; Goffman, 1963) comes into play. Goffman has a post-structuralist explanation of identity as biography—a set of social facts about a person, held by close relations or otherwise recorded, that are open to revision and can be connectable over the life course. Just like a social identity, one’s personal identity is also divided into the ‘knowing and the unknowing’ (Goffman, 1963 p.66), those who know part or all of one’s biography, who

can personally identify the individual, and strangers. Of course, strangers, through cognitive recognition or the ability to *place* the person within their own biographies, can ‘know of’ an individual without them. Goffman states that people may need to get away from those who can recognize them if they are (in)famous and that people run into those who know them differently. Getting away or having *back places* may be useful for participants who meet people who *know them differently* because they will no doubt maintain multiple biographies, social selves and segregated audiences. Participants will run the risk of being ‘outed’ in these situations.

Several research studies document SIWs’ experiences of being outed in forbidden and civil spaces (Bruckert, 2012; Tomura, 2009a; Koken et al., 2004; Tomura, 2009; Wong et al., 2011; Koken, 2012; Sallmann, 2010; Pheterson, 1993; Lazarus et al., 2012; Bowen and Bungay, 2015; Hallgridottir et al., 2006). Goffman (1963) notes that the encounters that people have in everyday life are spaces where, if information is not adequately concealed and audiences not fully segregated, become the sites for social control or for Du Bois and Fanon, mental conflict, where individuals are forced to see themselves through the eyes of others. Incidentally, those who leave SIW and others who live DL often find themselves ‘passing’ in forbidden places (Bowen and Bungay 2015). Goffman states that this scenario occurs when a discreditable person finds out what the world thinks of those with their stigma. ‘Josey’ had this very experience: “*I experienced stigma indirectly . . . you know that sort of violence of assumed camaraderie . . . I had to just watch people think that I was one of them*” (Bowen, 2015 p. 441). SIWs who pass in a ‘square’ environment and hear how people truly feel about SIW, may be hurt by the information, but armed with this knowledge, they can improve their strategies and change tactics to better protect themselves. As stated, those who live DL may not associate with SIW due to the risk of being outed. They also may not attend support organizations or advocacy groups for the same reason thus eliminating a *back place*, and the benefits of having access to a community of interest. Those who have internet access may engage in these communities virtually.

Barreto and Ellemers (2003) describe the concept of ‘passing’ in relation to identity management. These authors suggest that passing is claiming the benefits of an external category while concealing an internal identity. This practice may be related to the creative responses people can have to situations, but why is this kind of deception practiced? Lawler (2004) focusses on how identities are ‘conferred’ on people and are not just a matter of their subjective constitution. She suggests that the social production of ‘self’ comprises social relations. Similar to the assumptions associated with Goffman’s concept of *social identity*, where individuals, through experience of them, either meet or fail to meet the expectations people have of them. Lawler (2004) incorporates Bourdieu’s *habitus* and the idea that habitus are valued differently. Those with the power to decide what is acceptable and how society is to be organized, do not merely judge people on their group membership, physical characteristics, adherence to norms and performative expectations, but they judge *who you are*. I document the dehumanizing and crippling effects of stigma among SIWs who provide third sector support services, and those who are transitioning, in other publications (see Bowen 2013, 2015; Bowen and Bungay 2015) but it is worth noting that people who live DL may experience stigma in ways that strike to the heart of *who they are*, and this may be compounded through their multiple and disparate identities in SIWSQ.

There are risks that come with concealing stigma. Goffman suggests people may arrange their lives to avoid mixed company and unsegregated audiences, discussed in more detail in the next section. He states that there will always be a conflict between candor and seamliness, and to avoid disclosing personal facts that are both superfluous and discrediting, most people prefer to conceal and ‘pass’, especially if we have unconventional secrets; such as a castrated Norwegian sex offender (Goffman, 1963). Goffman shares the case of a call girl who implements avoidance strategies: “*I always look around a room fast when I go to parties,*” *she said... ‘I always wondered what I would do if I ran into my father, since he was around quite a bit’* (Goffman, 1963 p. 77).

People who come to find out discrediting information about someone, may frame or extort them. SIW do face this danger. Goffman (1963) discusses various forms of extortion and framing; blackmail; and pre-blackmail, such as in the case of a police officer who prevents a SIW from leaving the industry and obtaining a SQ job, with possible intent to extort her in the future (Goffman, 1963). Goffman suggests that to avoid extortion and other harms, individuals lead secret, double lives or maintain ‘double biographies’ (1963 p. 78) a reconstructed life history that disassociates past from present. Most interestingly, Goffman (1963) gestures to ‘double double lives’ (p. 77) which best illustrates my concept of duality. He describes:

The individual who lives a double double life, moving in two circles each of which is unaware that the other exists with its own and different biography of him [sic].

(Goffman, 1963 p. 77).

Goffman argues that those living double double lives, move in environments prone to accidental disclosure of discrediting information because associates in those fields of interaction may not know that they have been witness to a secret needing to be kept. This latter issue may only be half relevant among DL participants: associates in SIW will expect that individuals keep their industry activities private, but this is not to say that they are not at risk of being outed. Only, when participants are among SI associates, and a square associate enters, does the participant risk having personal information, such as their SQ life disclosed to SI comrades, who may not know that the participant is concealing their work at a library, for example.

The mechanisms involved in passing are best described through Goffman’s (1967) explication of ‘line’, the small gestures, glances and verbal statements that manifest as part of our interpretation and evaluation of self and others in our environments; and ‘face’, the value obtained by adopting the line expected of you by others. An individual maintains their face when the line they have taken is in tune with their self-concepts and endorsed by others

(Goffman, 1967). In this way, the face, like identity, is constituted within relations and does not belong to the individual. Further, Goffman argues, that there are lines available to an individual based on how they present. One can be 'in the wrong face' when information about them surfaces that does not match the line taken; 'out of face', when the individual does not have a line; and 'shamefaced' when a person is negatively affected by the loss of self-image (Goffman, 1967). Goffman explains that individuals can 'save face' through poise, which is the suppression/concealment of shame or embarrassment an impression management. There are two kinds of face-work processes: 1) the *avoidance process*, whereby individuals avert threats to face by avoiding people; using others as surrogates where possible; gracefully extracting themselves from risky situations; and finding ways to stir conversations away from threatening topics. Goffman (1967) suggests that individuals can also engage in '*circumlocutions and deceptions*' (p. 17); and 2) the *corrective process* which occurs when an individual is in a state of *disequilibrium* due to being discredited or losing face. They then engage in rituals and interchanges to prove their worthiness by doing penance, or otherwise the minimize impact of threatening interactions in order to make 'good' on their loss of face. Perhaps, where stigma is not something that can be 'corrected' in interaction; however, participants will engage in 'face-work' to manage relations in mixed company.

Liar, Liar: Keeping Secrets, Stigma and Stress

Deception is an innate part of face-work or information/identity management. Nietzsche states that lying is functional at the societal level because the world is false, and as such, we need lies to survive (Meltzer, 2003). Meltzer (2003) investigates the nature of lying, distinguishing intentional, willing deception, meant to mislead or misdirect others, from false communications that are not intentional. Meltzer states '*most of us lie as one means of adaptation where appropriate or necessary in certain kinds of situations*' (Meltzer, 2003 p.66). We can relate this to saving face. Lying has been interpreted as an

evolutionary necessity and is sometimes done to prevent harm. Project participants hiding their SIW to ensure that loved ones do not experience whose stigma for example. Meltzer builds upon Goffman's 'fabrications' by defining different types of lies, ranging from less harmful altruistic fibs; practical jokes; hoaxes and paternal constructions such as lies of necessity; to fraud; lies to test integrity; plagiarism; strategic fabrications; and exploitive deceit, such as the *Plato's noble lie* that disseminates misinformation during times of war (Meltzer, 2003). Lies can have positive outcomes that strengthen social bonds such as those to avoid rudeness or cruelty, and those to support the continuation of the status quo, or to avoid negative outcomes that erode trust; however, they also promote suspicion, undermine concepts of self, and at the meso-level, challenge the integrity of institutions (Meltzer 2003). In the relational sense, if our goal as agents is to achieve positive concepts of self or the unity that Plato and others suggest, then lying may aid or compromise this goal.

Social Psychology literature contributes to my understanding of identity and information management strategies such as secret-keeping and passing, and their impacts. Smart and Wegner (1999) examine the 'preoccupation model of secrecy' that describes the cognitive effects of keeping secrets. Similar to avoidance processes put forth by Goffman (1967) and others, people may redirect conversations to avoid topics and suppress thoughts about secrets they are holding, which unfortunately leads to preoccupations with the secret and obsessive thoughts (Smart and Wegner, 1999) that can be crippling. Afifi and Caughlin (2006) highlight that a basic human drive is self-protection, and withholding information is one of the strategies used to keep ourselves safe. Like Smart and Wegner (1999) they suggest that secret-keepers 'ruminate' or repetitively think about their secrets. Researchers in this area have found that sharing one's secret does not always yield positive results, and instead may be more psychologically harmful than keeping the secret. The wellbeing of the person who discloses the secret depends on the responses received from those who the secret has been disclosed to (Afifi and Caughlin, 2006; Chaudoir and Quinn, 2010). Further, Barreto, Ellemers and Banal (2006)

explain that stigmatized groups face negative stereotypes and lowered expectations of them, and these may be self-fulfilling.

By hiding membership in stigmatized groups people ‘pass’ but concealing devalued identities may undermine confidence because it requires deceit, lowers psychological well-being, and increases feelings of shame and guilt (Manuela Barreto and Ellemers, 2003). Participants may have distant and awkward interactions due to their constant self-monitoring to hide discrediting and personal information, and their need to avoid topics related to their stigma—avoidance strategies. These strategies reduce intimacy in relationships, so instead of hiding a stigma to increase acceptance, the opposite is experienced (Afifi and Caughlin, 2006; Chaudoir and Quinn, 2010). Those who choose to share their secrets engage in ‘selective disclosure’—revelations that resolve the dialectic tension between sharing information and keeping it secret (Rober, Walravens, and Versteijnen, 2012). Who participants select to share their secrets with could be drawn from a range of associates from ‘back places/backstage’ where participants can gain some relieve from the face-work. I anticipate that individuals without such back places, will experience higher levels of anxiety and secret-keeping related stress.

According to Goffman (1959) we do not lie to everyone all the time. Social interaction involves intentional and unintentional expressions that we ‘give’ and ‘give off’ on life’s stage. His dramaturgical model of social life, as a precursor to his 1967 conceptualization of face-work described above, includes specific locations, audiences and various possible presentations of self. They include: *performance* which is action in front of an audience that has meaning for both the actor and audience; *settings* and changing locations with props; *appearance*, that is outfitting and gender, age, etc.; *manner* which is how the actor engages with the role and fulfils expectations; *front* is the impression the agent ‘gives off’ and their performance of social scripts that dictate how they should behave. This is linked to social identity; *front stage* where behaviors and actions are of the socially accepted variety, may be

linked to face; *backstage*, where the agent sheds the front stage persona; and finally *off-stage*, a place where the agent can engage with audiences with relaxed role expectations (Goffman, 1959). For example, a participant who works from home as a therapist in their square job and offer sexual massage in their SIW, will prepare their environment and perform both roles according to what is expected of their audiences. They will manage their appearance, line and face, and will take great care to stay on script because they may be hiding their square work from SIW clients and vice versa. Goffman suggests that people are the *assemblage* of adjustments and reactions to the social situations or the fields of interaction they participate in. This echoes Hall's (1994) notion of cultural identity. Duality is likely operationalized through the organization of relations wherein information management strategies like these can be tested and honed.

Sex Work and Stigma-Avoidance ... A Way of (Dual) Life!

Literature relating to SIW and information management captures stigma-avoidance. O'Neill (1997) states:

The prostitute stands outside mainstream society, is morally suspect and criminalized. Many women lead double lives to get over the problems associated with 'whore stigma.'

(O'Neill, 1997 p. 7).

By 'double life' O'Neill means that SIWs engage in information management to avoid being stigmatized, highlighted in the work of many scholars (Goffman, 1967; Scambler, 2007; Bruckert, 2012; Sanders et al. 2015; Bowen, 2013; 2015; Mai, 2009; 2013; Koken, 2014; Day and Ward, 2014). Those who hide their SIW experience 'felt' stigma, according to Scambler (2007) which is a combined experience of shame and the fear of being outed. Sanders, Connelly and King (2015) surveyed SIW in the UK about their job satisfaction. Some workers surveyed were completely open about their SIW, especially male workers, who were out about their SIW. The majority,

however, kept their SIW secret, not because they thought SIW was wrong, but they sought to avoid stigma by only sharing their work with a few family members and trusted friends (Sanders et al., 2015). This strategy of concealing SIW leads to isolation. Koken, Bimbi, Parsons, et al. (2004) conducted a study of male SIWs finding that gay men already experience stigma due to their sexual identity and, to avoid further stigma, disassociated from their SIW identities and lived in a 'double closet'. Male workers were dealing with the stress of hiding by implementing techniques articulated by Goffman (1963) such as 'covering' or selective disclosure and 'passing' by staying covert (Koken et al., 2004). Other strategies included: *altruism*, where SIW is described as 'sexual humanitarianism'; *entrepreneurial*, where SIW is a business; and *money*, charging high rates for services to achieve positive self-concepts (Koken et al. 2004). It should be noted that 'sexual humanitarianism' being used here by Koken, et al. is distinct from Mai (2013; 2016) use of the term to describe moral panic and policy responses encouraged by anti-sex work lobbyists to sanction sexual and gendered forms of migration that, in fact, due to classism and xenophobia, reduces the mobility and increases vulnerabilities among sex workers.

Day and Ward (2004) define stigma as process of labelling based on stereotypes that cause the loss of status and discrimination over time. They conducted a longitudinal study of stigma among SIWs from 1985 to 2000 finding that they experienced status loss in the social hierarchy; structural discrimination such as criminal charges; and needed to find ways to cope with the affects (Day and Ward, 2014). To cope, some have *separate work and private identities*; *work in secret* and live double lives; but *share information with friends and family* who accepted them (Day and Ward, 2014). Secret-keeping in the short term proved useful to achieve goals of stigma-avoidance, but over the long term it was damaging to mental health. Overtime, SIW had little biographical integration and continuity because they were forced to omit discrediting portions of their personal histories (Day and Ward, 2014). Ultimately, SIW has not been legitimized as work and stigma and its concealment led to poor mental health (Day and Ward, 2014).

SIWs experience structural stigma (embedded in policy and systems) and interpersonal stigma, both posing challenges for people who are working in the SI (Bruckert, 2012). Bruckert describes stigma as existing at the intersection of identity, agency and resistance, highlighting three identity management strategies among SIWs: *normalization*, when workers refer to their jobs as having social value like any other job; *relational identity* when SIWs suggest that their roles in the industry are better than other roles. This is similar to the macro role transition strategy of downward social comparisons (Ashforth and Kreiner 1999) or self-representations and distinctions (Orchard, Farr, Macphail, Wender, and Young, 2012); *construction the self as exceptional*, where some SIWs position themselves as better than others who do the same work (Bruckert, 2012). Bruckert also states that managing stigma leads to double lives, where people tell others that they work somewhere other than in the SI.

Participants will have rationales for lying that include protecting themselves or loved ones from the effects of where stigma or avoiding the emotional task of explaining what they do to people who they do not wish to invest in getting to know. How people construct through practice, the borderland that divides mainstream work from marginalized labour or ‘tainted jobs’ (Hughes 1958) is a major theme of this study. I view identity as a constellation of attitudes, abilities preferences or *habitus* (our internalizations of structure) and dispositions (tastes and preferences) (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1990), and based on the relationships we have with ourselves and others (Shoemaker, 2006) that is under constant construction (Hall, 1994; 1996). I examine how participants move in and out of stigmatized jobs, reveal and conceal parts of *self* to suit social situations, and achieve intended outcomes of earning money and obtaining financial security.

Stigma, and the disparate nature of their SIWSQ requires people to move from accepted employment to stigmatized jobs and back. This transitioning involves a switching out of social location, discourses and dispositions; line

and face; biographies, and even world views; in addition to the strategic implementation of stigma-avoidance strategies to manage identity and information.

Role Transition: Working and 'Becoming' Across SIWSQ

As noted previously, role transition literature has informed sex work 'exit' theories in ways that frame prostitution as something to be escaped. I explore role transition scholarship here to account for the processes involved in DL, where individuals regularly move between SIWSQ. This movement can be expressed as macro or micro role transitions. Several studies on sex work exit cite former nun Helen Rose Fuchs Ebaugh (1988) who theorized a staged-process of change where people never fully let go of elements of former roles because they may struggle with eliminating residual social labels, as we adapt new identities and undertake new role expectations. Wacquant (1990) criticized this approach to role transition, suggesting that roles are part of a broader social network of relations, and one's disposition or practiced way of being in the world and *habitus*, their internalization of social structures (capitalism, patriarchy and colonialism) forms the cognitive categories through which they understand the world (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Wacquant, 1990). Simply put, role transition involves one's belief in the stakes and profits associated with role or career, and what transitions they believe are possible given their biographies and how internalized structures have manifested within them.

Snow and Machalek (1983) examined the talk and reasoning of those who make macro role transitions and convert religions like Ebaugh, in order to document the characteristics of this kind of role transition. Conversion is defined as a radical change involving systems of meaning or a person's *universe of discourses* (Snow and Machalek, 1983). According to these authors, the principles of conversion include: *biographical reconstruction* where old and new, past and present is dissolved and (re)constituted—like Goffman's double biographies. People essentially rewrite their biographies

and let go of elements that no longer hold meaning, while keeping experiences that mark transformation and the new self. Snow and Machalek draw on Mead (1932) to emphasize that biographies and identities are reconstructed through new experiences. This aspect of conversion and Hall's (1996) cultural identity can be linked. Hall discusses identity manufactured within discourse and as a product of difference. An ongoing project not associated with role transition but as part of identification and culture. Snow and Machalek discuss an *adaptation of a master attribution scheme* as part of conversion, explains the causal nature of events in a person's life. Behaviors are attributed to internal (disposition) and external (environmental) causes and may be synonymous to Barreto and Ellemers' (2003) concept of internal and external social identities. People utilize context-specific vocabularies that center around one acceptable reason for why things are the way that they are and organize their worlds of relations accordingly.

Snow and Machalek add two more elements of macro role transition: *suspension of analogical reasoning*, which is a way to construct reality where only one way of understanding the world is acceptable, all other explanations to the contrary are 'suspended' or ignored; and *embracement* of the convert/new role that governs frameworks and behavior. These principles may explain the processes of macro transitions such as transitions in and out of SIW. I suggest that these strategies may be implemented by DL participants who make micro and more frequent shifts between SIWSQ due to stigma and the risk of being outed as a SIW or a SQ. The mechanisms needed to perform appropriately and as expected in jobs and relationships requires a reconstituted biography, a reconstruction of reality, meaning and discourses. Wacquant suggests that people continuously conduct the "ideological work" of matching the realities of their workaday lives with their cherished convictions. They utilize various "capitals" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Wacquant, 1990) —such as social relationships, information, and financial assets—to maintain or change the roles they occupy and the environments within which their roles and capitals exist. People change roles, swap out their friends and build new relationships,

realign their cognitions with their behaviors and presentations, including 'line and face'. They change their fields of interaction to open new possibilities (if they have the capacity to envisage what is possible) all with goals to achieving positive concepts of self and other goals. Mai (2007) reminds us that this way of adjusting and shaping our worlds cannot be done without the privilege of introspection. The reflexivity involved in first conceiving of SIWSQ for example, as a possible way of being and then orchestrating the relations and capitals needed to support a DL is a sophisticated way of understanding self, work and society, that is no doubt classed, raced and gendered.

Ashforth, Kreiner and Fugate (2000) define a role as a persona with associated values, norms and behaviors and role identities are socially constructed self-definitions. Accordingly, there are *central features* that are essential to the role such as specific skills i.e. accounting, and *peripheral features* or qualities such as intelligence. These roles exist along a continuum of integration (flexibility and broad applicability of features) and segmentation (highly specialized features with context-specific applicability) where the more segmented a role is the harder it will be to transition out of it or to overlap it with other roles. The opposite is true for highly integrated roles (Ashforth et al., 2000). Role exits and entries involve psychological and physical transitions between personas that cross time, space and fields of interaction. Ashforth et al. suggest that these shifts may be challenging due to the degree of integration and segmentation of roles. Micro role transition is moving from the role of 'nurse' to the that of nurturing 'father' as both may draw on similar skillsets and integrated features. This kind of micro role transition may be a less challenging psychological transition than moving from the segmented role of 'bounty hunter' to 'mother'.

Smoothly transitioning between one's worlds across SIWSQ is a central operation of duality. The extent to which participants achieve this movement while managing personas, capitals, secrets and relationships, determines their longevity and success. People make routinized micro role transitions from work to home for example or larger shifts between careers or religions for

example. Boundary crossings with respect to role transition, comprise ‘rituals of movement’ (Ashforth et al. 2000) to support the release of the necessary core and peripheral features of a role, before moving onto the next role. The more segmented the roles, the harder this transition. Ashforth et al. cite van Gennep's (1960) three types of rites of passage: *separation*, which are cues that support role exit such as getting dressed; *transition*, are the mental preparations needed for switching cognitive frames; *incorporation* that involve a change in setting for example driving to work, to bring closure to a prior role. These rites are associated with transition scripts that support transitioning between roles. When one role is defined as deviant and is also clandestine, macro role transition strategies may be more effective. Participants holding jobs across SIWSQ that seem integrated in terms of skill sets, i.e. a doctor who also works in a massage parlor, where knowledge of the body is core feature and competency may utilize strategies of macro role transition discussed by Snow and Machalek (1983). The whole stigma associated with SIW means that this doctor will lose her license to practice if discovered. Equally, she may conceal that fact that she holds a square job among SIW associates to avoid discrimination from those who do not value it.

Very highly segmented role transitions called ‘Jekyll and Hyde dualism’ (Ashforth et al., 2000) which are rare but seen among those who keep their work lives concealed from their families. People who do SIW alongside starkly different jobs may experience this kind of dualism; however, the degree of segmentation of a role may be more a matter of interpretation or may have more to do with stigma and the lack of social acceptance rather than any true difference in the tasks utilized across employment. Some suggest that role identification is hedonistic (Ashforth et al., 2000) as people will identify with the most socially valued roles. This identification may be influenced by culture contexts of collectivism vs. individualism; gender identification; the uptake of rules; and the amount of inequality tolerated in a society. I have asked participants whether they identified with either jobs in SIWSQ to capture this. Some employees are constructed as ‘dirty workers’ (Ashforth et

al., 2000; Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) who work in jobs that are not held in high esteem; these may challenge one's desire to maintain positive self-concepts. Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) highlight Hughes' (1958) explication of the three taints related to dirty jobs: *physical taint* related to butchery or janitorial work; *social taint* or courtesy stigma, experienced by people who work with stigmatized populations such as prisoners or AIDS patients; and *moral taint* linked to 'sinful' jobs like bill collectors. Additionally, some jobs may have all or combinations of taint, e.g. SIW has physical and moral taint (Ashforth et al., 2000; Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999).

A range of strategies can be used to secure positive social identities and self-concepts among those employed in tainted jobs, like those discussed by Goffman (1967; 1959), Day and Ward (2014), and others. People working in stigmatized jobs engage in some or all of the following strategies identified by Ashforth and Kreiner (1999): a) construct *occupational ideologies* which bring meaning, value and purpose to tainted work, and support positive interactions with others. Advocacy around the acceptance of SIW as work for example, serves a dual purpose in fighting for labour recognition and tackling social taint; b) *reframing* to neutralize stigma through re-descriptions of their work; and c) *recalibrating*, emphasizing the social value of the work to take control over how they are being characterized; d) some may *refocus* when discussing their work with others, by drawing their attention to the parts of their jobs that they feel in control of; e) engaging in *social weighing* may also be a strategy, where people point out the hypocrisy and reprimand people for judging their occupation (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999). SIWs do this through various forms of collective activism; and making *downward social comparisons* by pointing out the dirtier work of others. This may occur among participants through their emphasis that they do not *only* do SIW, pointing out their high levels of education, or comparing the types and locations associated with the SIW they do. The whorearchy comes into play here. For example, participants may view web camming and erotic massage as less stigmatizing than full service escorting. Or may point to the limited and contained ways that they engage in full service work.

People who live dual-lives may well experience the rare Jekyll and Hyde dualism, employing combinations of micro and macro role transition strategies, as well as mechanisms to reduce the psychological harms associated with transition to and from tainted jobs. Alternatively, movement across SIWSQ may for some, be more seamless like traversing a Möbius strip. They may not experience Du Bois' *double consciousness* or Bourdieu's *habitus clivé* where individuals adjust their ways of being to serve two audiences. Roles and identities are reimagined and reformed when shifting between SIWSQ and personal lives. Due to the fields within which their habitus forms and reforms, and the ways that they have internalized structure, a schism may not form. Gilfoyle (1987) stated, about SIW of the 19th Century in America, that they *mirrored* the class of their clients. This could be the case here. Concealing dispositions, preferences and tastes cannot then be presumed as inherent to taking up roles in SI in the same way that stigma-avoidance strategies can be anticipated.

ICTs: Duality in the Digital Age

Role transition and stigma-avoidance strategies are shaped by our digital age. Information communications technologies (ICTs) play a significant role in contemporary work and in the management of relationships and social identity. Trottier (2012) argues that social media complicates relationships we have with other people, institutions, enforcement entities and society at large. He discusses social media platforms as *online dwellings* that have great influence on the establishment and mobilization of identities. Within our digital environments, managing information, relationships and capitals occur both on and offline. Online spaces are sites of daily socialization, where individuals can be seen and *known* through the accumulation of photos, events and other interactions (Trottier, 2012). Participants manage personal and SIWSQ online personas, in addition to devices and software such as applications that trend towards integration of contact lists, browsing histories,

preferences and other content harvested by online corporations and platforms such as Facebook™ family of companies, Twitter™, LinkedIn™, Apple Inc.™, Fitbit™ Google™, and scraped by third parties and intelligence agencies.

Trottier (2012) argues that an unintended consequence of sharing our lives on social media is its potential to surveil. He characterizes this surveillance of our online lives as unceasing and enduring, consistent with ‘panopticism’ (Foucault, 1995) where there is an unending inspection of beings, and the gaze of the state is omnipresent. Those living DL may find managing their worlds of relations additionally challenging in the context of advancing technologies and increased government monitoring of lives, both on and offline. Trottier highlights four dilemmas relating to the uptake of social media: how individuals use the platforms; how institutions aim to control individuals; the ways that law enforcement access content; and the monetizing of our online lives by marketing companies. The first three dilemmas relate directly to project participants’ online lives and potential risks. Trottier asserts the people feel pressure to join online platforms and after doing so must calculate their public faces and managing which associates get what information. These associates are party to constructing one’s social identity.

ICTs comprise technologies that manage, support and threaten our digital and real-life identities. Those living DL tend to be off-street workers, who are internet savvy and who may feel compelled to use the internet as means to access SI clients, as noted in a 2018 study of internet sex work led by Professor Teela Sanders. For my participants, managing audiences involve not only the dangerous overlap between SI and personal identities, but also the mixing of SIWSQ on and offline profiles that they need like to keep distinct to avoid the harms of being outed as SIW by SQ associates or as a SQ by SI associates. Goffman (1963) states that those who may not know that information they hold about a participant is secret may out them. Trottier’s second dilemma suggests that institutions have goals to managing and controlling online users. Online privacy on adult services websites (ASW),

user agreements, data harvesting etc. may worry participants who work diligently to conceal information and segregate audiences. Several of these ASWs may require confirmation of age, location and other information such as credit cards, that would mean they would be in possession of personal and sensitive information about people who need to conceal SIW.

With respect to Trottier's third dilemma of state enforcement, some social theorists and researchers examine how ICTs, social media platforms, and government goals toward obtaining intelligence and knowledge about all citizens. This panopticism may hinder our abilities to manage audiences and control what information about ourselves is collected and available, by whom, when and for how long. Currently, government monitoring of the internet includes Britain's Investigatory Powers Bill (HC Bill 143)²¹, the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (2015)²² section 2.1 retention of relevant internet data²³ to name a few. *Audience segregation*, coined by Goffman (1959) describes impression management, identity (re)formation, and self-preservation, implicit in our daily practice of controlling who knows what information about us, and what we 'give off' in our interactions with others (Berg and Leenes, 2010). Berg and Leenes (2010) summarize Goffman's ideas that people want to have consistent self-images and must divide up audiences for their various performances to keep a stable 'face' when they engage in roles that may contaminate differing environments. For example: '*...a person whose professional role consists of displaying authority, such as a political leader, may try to shield not being in charge at all when at home*' (Berg and Leenes, 2010 p.1113). Berg and Leenes argue that many social media platforms, by design, impede our ability to separate our audiences and control our presentations. More specifically, they discuss the dangers related to privacy that are posed by our lack of control of information about ourselves and our 'faces':

²¹ https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/bills/cbill/2015-2016/0143/cbill_2015-20160143_en_1.htm

²² <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2015/6/contents/enacted>

²³ <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2015/6/section/21/enacted>

Many social network sites cluster all of an individual's contacts into a single category, called 'friends'...it is impossible for users to hide parts of their network of contacts from other contacts...impossible to restrict access to information to part of their network.

(Berg and Leenes 2010 p. 1113).

Participants discuss their strategies around managing their profile pictures in ways that aid them in disguising their identities while still drawing in clients on ASWs. As seen in Cunningham, Sanders, Scoular, et al.'s 2018 study of internet SIWs, most my participants have online ads and personas, and this will be their primary way of gaining clients, receiving ratings and reviews, and gathering information about trends and potential threats in their areas of the SI. Additionally, participants are reflective of today's working/middle-class technologically savvy off-street SIW, discussed in other works (O'Neill, 2010; Sanders, 2007; Bungay et al., 2011; O'Doherty, 2011; Koken, 2012; Raguparan, 2017; Ham and Gilmour, 2017; Pitcher, 2015, 2018) yet unlike those who do sole SIW, they will strategically and intermittently engage in professional and varied off-street and online SIW. Participants will likely be independent of managers and third parties as seen among participants in Cunningham et al. (2018), not only because their computer literacy and ICTs that make this possible, but also because they conceal their SIWSQ, even from those in sex working communities. Participants draw attention to their management of multiple devices; and how both hardware and software facilitate their strategies for secret-keeping and audience segregation in workplaces where technology poses new threats.

With respect to Trottier's (2012) commentary on marketing companies' access to information, at times unbeknownst to users, that they can monetize, Beer (2018) discusses issues arising after Mark Zuckerberg's appearance in front of the US senate committee in the wake of data security issues among

Facebook third parties and end user Cambridge Analytica.²⁴ There have been growing concerns of late about what information is overtly and covertly harvested from users of online platforms. SIW, by virtue of the discreet nature of their profession, have discussed with me their fears about online spaces beginning in the early 2000s, and now that the majority of off-street SIW are also online (Cunningham et al., 2018) this concern will only increase. Experts in data harvesting technologies warn of the pervasive and hegemonic nature of on and offline information collection, in addition to how ‘big data’ utilizes the analytics industry as intermediaries to gather real-time data to increase the interpretive and predictive power of the companies they serve (Beer, 2017). Data scraping, combined with the integrative nature of online browsers and platforms highlighted by Berg and Leenes, (2010), and in some cases, the enactment of legislation that criminalizes all online SI activities, has formed a dangerous tripartite risk profile, that leaves little hope for true end-user control over their own online content.

Here in the UK, efforts have been made to increase accountability for personal data among those who collect, manage and benefit from it. On May 25th, 2018, the Information Commission’s Office oversaw implementation and compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)²⁵. The GDPR requires businesses and those who control and process personal and sensitive information, to be more transparent about data uses and breaches, and promises to increase accountability.²⁶ A full account of the GDPR and related data protection legislation is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is necessary to point out that this kind of legislation may not fully protect participants, since data about their sex working may be ‘lawfully’ mined and tracked as part of other existing or impending government intelligence initiatives, such as those seen in North America. These include the Protection

²⁴ Beer (2018) Blog post <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/mark-zuckerberg-facebook-congress-cambridge-analytica-more-power-a8299156.html>

²⁵ GDPR Information Portal EU <https://www.eugdpr.org/>

²⁶ Wired <http://www.wired.co.uk/article/what-is-gdpr-uk-eu-legislation-compliance-summary-fines-2018>

of Communities and Exploited Persons Act (PCEPA) in Canada, and the USA's HR s.1865 Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act (FOSTA) and s.1693 Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act (SESTA)²⁷.

In the short weeks following the US House of Commons approval of FOSTA in February 2018, SIWs reported that the shutdown of ASWs has led to a return to the stroll for some off-street workers²⁸. Advocate such as HIPS in Washington, Sex Worker Outreach Project (SWOP) argue that the conflation of SIW and trafficking led to the ill-advised legislation that will likely cause mass unemployment²⁹, eliminate SI-related online communities, and continue the deletion of worker's data from various clouds and online storage spaces. Trottier (2012) pointed out the ways that engagement online through creation of online identities may profile users in relation to broader categories such as race, and surveillance can 'creep' across other milieus and offer enforcement, intelligence agencies and others access information from which to 'care' for us, monitor us and affect life chances. Mechanisms to monitor and eliminate sex working populations are put in place under the auspices of saving them from harms such as trafficking and exploitation, but I argue that the destruction of vast networks and online communities, many created by and for SIW to enhance their safety, will increase isolation, reduce the ability to screen and review clients, and ultimately push sex industries to the margins of both on and offline SI communities.

Although the ICT world has changed since these Trottier, Berg and Leenes shared concerns about audience segregation and social media platforms, those living DL discuss issues with some operating systems (OS/ IOS) and companies such as Facebook™ Twitter™, Google™, and Apple Inc., Fitbit™

²⁷ Recently enacted HR s. 1865 Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act 2017 (FOSTA) <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/1865> and Senate s. 1683 Bill Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act (SESTA) <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/1693> have resulted in online venues pulling personal ads and eliminating ad spaces that sex workers use to meet and screen their clients.

²⁸ https://amp.thedailybeast.com/sex-workers-fear-for-their-future-how-sesta-is-putting-many-prostitutes-in-peril?source=twitterandvia=mobileand_twitter_impression=true

²⁹ https://amp.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/apr/10/sex-workers-fear-violence-as-us-cracks-down-on-online-ads-girls-will-die?_twitter_impression=true

that collect and triangulate personal information including images, contacts, biometrics, purchasing practices, location data, etc. For SIWs, this is in addition to state monitoring. Some social media platforms offer features that ensure the bridge or a blurring of online life and real-life converge. Those living DL have a need to control information about their whereabouts, and keep interactions with clients safe and discreet, considering the political tide aimed to criminalize the buying of sex. Trottier (2012) examples Facebook's 'check-in' service that allows users to geo-locate themselves to their online networks. People who live DL may use geo-tracking features as a safety strategy, so that their last known location is logged if tragedy strikes, but they must weigh using this feature against harms of being outed.

The growing user-generated content Trottier (2012) argues, expands the linkage between on and offline lives. He notes:

The advent of new media services has strengthened the connections between online and offline environments...[they] are not divorced from the user context, but actually refer back to it. Indeed, they are embedded in contemporary social relations.

(Trottier, 2012 p. 17).

In other words, to be social is to be online, or more troubling, to *exist* is to be online. SIW advertising and networking sites, in addition to being modes of accessing customers, may also function as a virtual 'back place or backstage' in ways not imagined by Goffman. I anticipate that some participants will have online forums and use ASWs as spaces to interact with others who share their stigma and the 'wise'; however, they do this virtually, means that unlike how backstage was envisaged by Goffman, my participants remain concealed within their SI personas. For some, this may be their only recess from where stigma, or a space that they feel judged due to the hidden nature of duality.

Participants may not in fact *exist* as SIWs outside of their relationships with clients and on ASWs.

Closing Remarks: Review of Literature

The literature reviewed offers a selection of empirical works that discuss who trades sex in off-street and online locations; how participants went about marketing their services in the context of a UK whorearchy; and what shapes decisions to do SIW and DL. The ‘precarization’ of labour has made financial insecurity extend beyond the low-waged, unskilled workforce, to those who would otherwise be in the working and middle-classes in permanent careers. Literature included studies that investigated ‘exiting’ or transitioning, and duality (not by this term). Research on identity and (whore) stigma, in addition to stigma-avoidance strategies, transition theories, and the implications of living in a technologically advanced society, all add layers of complexity under DL. In the next chapter I share my theoretical foundations which helped me make sense of my data.

CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGICAL
APPROACH

I went on a Christmas do a year ago with a bunch of escorts from a gay escort listing site...the theme of conversation was 'I can see 10 clients in a week and have 2000 pounds, and I'll have nothing for 2 months' and I said, 'oh thank God, it's not just me!' ... It really pisses my off that people think you're an escort and you're rich...the insecurity of it, that fills me with a lot of fear.

Franco

Theoretical Foundations

Understanding duality requires a suitable integration of macro-level (social conflict theories), meso-level (game and field theories, and phenomenology); and micro-level (transactional and interactional theories) relate to duality. These theories help explain the existence of the phenomenon within the culture of capitalism and the larger socio-structural and geo-political labour market(s); the management of power, status, identity, information and resources across SIWSQ fields of interacting that comprise relations and institutions; and the inner relationships that individuals have reconciling their convictions, goals and practices to others and to themselves. My participants are active agents, capable of transforming their worlds through the relationships and resources at their disposal as they established lives at the intersection of SIWSQ. Their perceptions of self, work, goals and possibilities, all influence how they performed their roles within SIWSQ. Employment and employability; economic security and social mobility; and the power negotiated in relationships, were at the center of participants' understandings of their lives and potentials. Theory drawn upon for this study includes: conflict theory and descriptions of the class struggle, grounded in the works of Karl Marx and importantly, Georg Simmel, who characterize class conflict as both divisive and unifying; alienation and self-estrangement, conceptualized by Marx (1844), in which work product(ion) and meaning are explored; relational sociology and the field, which describe the basic unit of social life as the interaction or trans-action, where *other people* are the structures and conditions that influence the values of our capitals (Bourdieu) and possibilities within and across fields.

Conflict

Conflict is defined as behavior in pursuit of incompatible goals and interests, or to express hostility (Bartos and Wehr, 2002). Bartos and Wehr utilize payoff matrices to explain that incompatible goals, which are those that affect one party positively and the other negatively or benefit only one, and

incompatible interests exist when payoffs yield unequal outcomes for parties involved. Hostility or antagonism, between groups involves both rational (all facts/outcomes weighed) and nonrational (no demonstrative weighing of facts) behavior and is not so easily resolved. These theorists mark key moments in history where our focus on conflict was heightened, from the Napoleonic wars and civil unrest in Europe leading to the genesis of Marx' scholarship examining class struggles. The 19th Century for example, was rife with continued colonial exploitation and resistance from oppressed groups in occupied lands in Haiti and India. Bartos and Wehr recount conflicts of the 20th century that included labour crises, World Wars, the Vietnam war, the Civil Rights Movement. There were several genocides and holocausts including Rwanda mentioned earlier, Angola, Cambodian, Darfur, to name a few. Our human history is fraught with experiences of domination, subjugation, extortion, rape, the theft and hoarding of resources; not to mention the brutalities perpetrated or condoned under various state and church authorities.

A full accounting of human atrocities is beyond the scope of this thesis; however, it is important to note that the struggle for 'true interests' (Bartos and Wehr, 2002) such as freedom from harm, access resources, rights, recognition and dignity are at the core of group conflict. To be clear, I am not comparing the horrors felt by world populations with the struggles of my participants. I merely reference the historical and pervasiveness of conflict as a permanent feature of our human experience and as underpinning sociological inquiry into inequality. Conflict theory examines the fight for scarce resources and holds a world view that it is not consensus that ties society together but domination and exploitation by powerful groups. On a smaller scale, this may be the world view of people who live DL because they experience precarity in jobs in both SIWSQ and as a result, struggle in their day-to-day lives to gather the resources to improve their lives, and for rights and recognition. Participants are very much part of society; they are workers, and some belong to Guy Standing's (2015) category of the *Precariat*. Shah

articulates the SI has been marginalized even within leftist analyses (Shah, 2009). She states:

Theorized as part of the lumpenproletariat, prostitutes are social beings who by definition live outside of society, classified neither as workers nor as bourgeoisie, but always as Other.

(Shah, 2009 p.5).

It is from this marginalized place that participants engage in social conflict—in a quest for resources and economic security. Wieviorka (2013) explores if social conflict is a central feature of our society, giving the works of Marx as an example, who centralized the struggle between capital (the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie) and labour (the peasantry, the proletariat and the lumpenproletariat) and Weber, who examined bureaucracy and rationalization. Wieviorka reviews conflict as presented by Thomas Hobbes, Talcott Parsons and Émile Durkheim, who, in full acknowledgement of social stratification and class struggles, believed that societies sought unity. Wieviorka juxtaposes these outlooks with Herbert Spencer, Darwin and George Sorel, who took up more instrumentalist approaches to conflict. Out of these discourses, George Simmel emerges with an analysis of conflict that accounts for its disruptive and unifying potential (Wieviorka, 2013). Simmel himself discusses compromise and conciliation as alternative resolutions to inevitable conflicts and struggles, noting that: *‘in every peaceful situation the conditions for future conflict, and in every struggle the conditions for future peace, are developing’* (Simmel, 1904 p. 799). Participants wrestle with their simultaneous participation in SIWSQ both practically and symbolically in terms of the meaning behind living a DL. They embody a conflict between SI and SQ work in terms of social acceptability, and between DL and society with respect to acquiring capitals. Whether individuals agree with if selling intimacy ought to exist in our society, the fact is duality is providing a tool for some to resist poverty and as a means for social mobility. Duality can *mean* a way to engage in work that promotes thriving and not merely

surviving—not making a living but creating a life. This is related to Marx’s (1844) concepts of self-estrangement and *species-being*.

Alienated and Estranged

Added to the mix of my theoretical influences, is Marx’s concepts of alienation. In ‘Estranged Labour’ Marx explains that within capitalist political economy, workers become the worst kind of commodity, and are detached in a few key ways: from *products, production, themselves* and finally *other workers*, because her labour and its fruits do not belong to her, but to the capitalists who under-value wages and extract maximum profits from her work (Marx, 1844). Marx asserts: ‘*labour produces not only commodities; it produces itself and the worker as commodity*’ (Marx, 1844). This idea may contribute to participants’ discontent and feelings of being exploited, underpaid and undervalued in various SQ, and for some, in SIW as well. This disillusionment may inspire duality, because people are seeking to benefit from their own work in ways the square markets or the SI alone may not offer. Marx adds that people are alienated from the products that they produce. In this respect, labour itself is a product of labour, and products and services become ‘objects’ that are no longer under the control of those who create them. This is objectification: ‘*So much does objectification appear as loss of the object that the worker is robbed of the objects most necessary not only for his life but for his work...the more objects the workers produces the less he can possess*’ (Marx, 1844). This idea that the more one works the less they have, may also relate to the fact that many of us work to survive, buy material things, pay debt and provide a better life for our families; however, the more one works, the less time one has to enjoy life with those they love. Since labour is external to the individual and belongs to someone else, in Marx’s estimation, it is an activity that is non-affirming. Forces us to finding meaning in our biological/animal functions of eating, sleeping and having sex. It is important to note the feminist critique here, where paid work has been reified in ways that invisibilize the contributions of unpaid workers and volunteers, who tend to be women.

Forest (1998) contributes substantively to labour studies by exposing the fact that women do unpaid work such as caring, cleaning and serving, both in the home and at their paid work sites. She further challenges the privileging of paid work, and constructions of paid work as non-work (Forrest, 1998). Diverse pro-sex and anti-prostitution feminist can unite under Foster's assertion; however, alienation from products and production is more profound when your work is not broadly accepted as work, as is the case for SIWs, highlighted by Shah (2009). Their work and contributions are erased just as those of unpaid workers. They struggle with precarity, stigma and criminalization and structural inequalities, yet are denied the social identity of 'worker'. Their 'me' (Mead, 1929) must be constantly negotiated through strategies highlighted by several theorists reviewed in this work (Goffman, 1963, 1967; Snow and Machalek, 1983; Smart and Wegner, 1999; Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999; Moore, 2005; Owens, 2010, Bruckert, 2012).

People may choose to spread their labour across SIWSQ markets to reduce the time and 'labour' they produce in any one job to a level that yields the maximum return. For example, working full-time in a service job making £10/hour for 35 hours per week, provides a gross monthly income of approximately £1,400. If an individual is only working a square job to maintain a 'above board' relationships and networks, working roughly 40% of their work week (15 hours; £150/week) may be enough to get the benefits that they are desiring that are clearly not monetary. They may then spend 25% of their work week (9 hours) in SIW, seeing four clients (at approx. £200/client), making £800 that week. The time investment in SIW is less (9 hours vs. 15 hours) with a greater return in SIW (£800 vs. £150) for a week's work. Also, the added benefit of flexibility, and a diversified revenue stream may reduce participants' feelings of alienation from 'work', the product of work.

Marx's concept of self-estrangement and *species-being* may also contribute to duality as resistance to alienation. Species-being relates to the immaterial and spiritual aspects of being free in nature. Alienating humans from nature

makes it so that *'life itself appears only as a means of life'* (Marx, 1844) as utility...for its own sustenance. Beyond this life activity is conscious life activity that separates human beings from animals, making mankind a *species-being*, corollary estranging us from our *species-life* (all of humankind's universal production) alienates us from ourselves. This is a profound sense of loss because we lose who we are, our contributions, relationships and sacrifices become meaningless. Our lives amount to nothing:

*Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player, that struts and
frets his hour upon the stage and then is heard from no
more. 'Tis a tale told by an idiot, filled with sound and fury,
signifying nothing.*

(William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act 5, Scene 5, Lines 24-28).

DL is a strategy to avoid the trap of 'working to live and living to work' by finding ways to control inputs and *work smart, not hard*, leaving time to enjoy life. Alienation from other workers isolates people from products, production, their own consciousness, and finally their relations. People who live DL may feel alienated from bosses and other workers in SIWSQ for many reasons, not the least of which are related to the secrets that they must keep about the entirety of their work experience because of the deleterious effects of whore stigma. Additional inherent alienations from others as Marx (1844) suggests, involve the exploitation of workers by the elite. Some participants' whose SQ comprises low-waged labour, may view sex working as entrepreneurial—their opportunity to have increased control of their labour, their products and their destinies. This is highlighted in Marx's assertions that *'labour does not appear as an end in itself but as the servant of the wage'* and that *'wages are a direct consequence of estranged labour'* (Marx, 1844). Although Marx assumes that work is part of *who* people are, and some in our era may not, I have come to understand duality as resistance to these forms of alienation.

Relational Sociology and the Field

My theoretical approach to this work had to respect participants by recognizing that they were shapers and influencers in their realms, and at times they responded to socio-structural conditions possible in the situations that they found themselves. They also had the power to avoid or change their relations, universe of discourses (Snow and Malechak, 1983) and structure. My theoretical orientation is influenced by relational sociologists such as Emirbayer, Archer, Dépelteau, Goffman and Bourdieu. Dépelteau (2015) suggests that relational sociology emerges as a means to transcend dualisms (i.e. structure/agency; subject/object; macro/micro; individual/society; etc.) and co-deterministic *both/and* approaches to explaining human action in context. Intersectionality for example, uses *both/and* formulations to reconcile structure and agency (originated by Crenshaw and canonized by Hill-Collins and others) advances delimiting bifurcated, and additive approaches to explaining the influences of capitalism, colonialism, patriarchy. These are experienced in relationships as class, race, and gender inequalities, but systemic and constructivist manifestations of intersectionality do not move us beyond dualisms. Relational sociology transcends agent vs. structure because structures comprise trans-acting agents. Emirbayer adds that relational sociology, has at its core, the understanding that *'individual persons, whether strategic or norm following, are inseparable from the transactional contexts within which they are embedded'* (Emirbayer, 1997 p. 287). Corollary, Marx posits that *'there could be no 'pure' consciousness because it was always tied to matter and could not exist independently of it'* (Allen, 2011 p. 39). Archer cites Donati (2010), formulator of relational realism, stating exquisitely that any level of sociological inquiry emerges from, is embedded in, *and* (re) produces a relational context. Interactions are social relations not interpersonal experiences. Archer posits:

Each relation... has irreducible properties arising from the reciprocal orientation of those involved. It is the practice of reciprocity itself that generates and re-generates the bond of the relationship... Fundamentally,

the relation is self-generating and not dependent upon norms or roles (consensus theory) or upon power or external interests (conflict theory) ...from the most micro- to the most macro-level...social order is a relational entity.

(Archer, 2010 p. 203).

Social phenomena then, such as duality, are part of a web of irreducible relations and trans-actions engaged in by actors in environments. These are *'fluid and moving ...[and] the social universe is full of more or less continuous and similar trans-actions (or social structures) ... but these structures should be studied as chains of trans-action'* (Dépelteau, 2008 p. 62). Dépelteau (2008) explains ego-centered co-deterministic approaches to conceptualizations of human action as *volunteerism* (agency- structure) and *determinism* (structure-action) were part of a dialectic of agency and structure or *'structured agency'*. From this perspective, individuals acted (biography) as expected within contexts and over time (history and culture) and these actions become reified (structure), yet: *'the actor forgets that the institution exists only through their actions'* (Dépelteau, 2008 p. 53). These deterministic approaches are not very liberating and would force me to respond to core research question: *'what is the nature of duality'* by suggesting that the rise in precariousness and the lack of options in the labour market contributed to constraining choice for participants (structure-action), who engage in duality (agency-structure). Participants then take part in creating labour precarity, thus requiring duality as a strategy (structured agency). Dépelteau, rejects this causality between structure and agency as an explanation for social phenomenon. Dépelteau (2008) cites King (1999) and suggests that structure could not exist without agency because structure is just *other people* and social processes. We need to examine trans-action not interaction.

We exist in a world of people and social relations that we inter-act in relationship to. More precisely, nonmaterial social forms such as class is not something imposed, but an activity that is *done* (Veenstra and Burnett, 2014).

Duality is not about SIW verses SQ, and how individuals bounce between the two, but is concerned with how participants create new ways to *be* in relation to structures and possibilities. Goffman posits our social world is comprised of situations that hold ‘*a matrix of possible events and a cast of roles through whose enactment...constitute together a field for fateful dramatic action, a plane of being, an engine of meaning... different from all other worlds except the ones generated when the same game is played*’ (1961, p. 25). My perspective on the field and duality is influenced by how this game, and the associated realized resources (Goffman, 1961) have been described. The ‘game’ as I understand Goffman, is meant to be the expectations, structures and order of an encounter as influenced by the setting. The social environment, although possessing some proscriptive elements, is budding with possibilities for self-representation, misrepresentation, trans-action and (in)action. Since people who live DL are maintaining secrecy (about their SIW primarily) their every encounter and relation, contains within, the ways and means to both out and insulate them as they are exposed and expose themselves to the relational possibilities within fields. Dépelteau highlights that relationalism is not an individualistic view of the world that promotes alienation, instead it puts people in relationship with all others and doing so may help us realize that we produce our world (Dépelteau, 2008). Relational sociology eliminates the compulsion to reduce the pressures felt by individuals into those individualized or reified.

Veenstra and Burnett (2014) instrumentally supports blending relationalism with Bourdieu’s concepts of interactions within and across fields, and the negotiations of capitals grounded in the relationships that participants forge in attainment of their personal and financial goals. If we accept Bourdieu’s account of field as a site of interaction where various forms of (social, economic, cultural and symbolic) capitals are negotiated based on the stakes and profits available within overlapping contexts (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) then we can view social interactions as irreducible units of meaning. Environments and behavior, action and reason, are interdependent and co-created. In this relationalist framework, once what is

meaningful is identified, we can come to understand the dialectics and logic behind practices and how behaviors reproduce the environments that circumscribe human action (Wacquant, 1990). Duality can now transcend the structure-agency debate because with ‘*agency manifested in interactions and social structures ... agency and structure inherent to substantialist thinking is undermined, even dissolved, in relational field-theoretic thinking*’ (Veenstra and Burnett, 2014 p. 4). Thus, I am conceptualizing duality as series of strategic and sometimes overlapping relations mapped across networks in SIWSQ, instead of understanding it as disparate work environments that people toggle between or as a phenomenon that is agential or structural in nature.

Although Bourdieu’s concepts of field, capital and *habitus* are considered by some relational sociologists as co-deterministic (Donati, 2015), where action over time eventually re-produces structure that in turn produces action—structuring structure— I still find field theory to be a useful interactional framework for understanding duality. I theorize duality as inextricably linked to social structures and conflict, actors, trans-actions within dynamic environments. Thus, the non-conforming, strategic activities participants knit together history; the conflict inherent in capitalism and labour market alienations across SIWSQ, with biography; relationships, negotiable power and information; and personal goals, social locations, abilities and possibilities. All of this is played out in overlapping, agent-created fields of interaction. Martin (2003) describes various social-psychological approaches to field theory, which can be conceptualized as a phenomenological life-world with multiple valances, where people move within and construct the field through their own movements, those intrinsic to the field, and those of other actors. For Martin, social science approaches to field theory are understood as ‘*fields of organized striving*’ (2003, p. 20) where internally logical social environments comprise actors oriented towards common rewards.

Emirbayer explains the formulation of social institutions and dynamics through rational choice and game theories, where individual action and the actions of other actors are co-dependent and may yield unintended consequences. Living a DL reflects the macro level, as social conflict, class struggle and the competition for resources that is (re)produced in the tensions and complexities of environments among those ‘striving’ for economic security. Participants have negotiated space betwixt fields of interaction laterally crossing SIWSQ, and vertically dissecting capitalist, patriarchal and colonial ‘structurings’ of society, down through their social identities, micro transactions with others, and internal interactions with themselves. Duality may be discussed by participants through their material conditions, but I urge readers not to lose sight of social conflict and class struggle and the relational aspects that create, motivate and also necessitate DL.

A Bourdieusian Approach

Project participants are not elites, but members of the Precariat, who use duality as an innovative tactic for improving the quality of their lives and to resist economic oppressors who circumscribe their life chances by undervaluing and underpricing their labour. Participants who move from being financially insecure to secure, ‘propertyless’ to propertied, through the acquisition of position and capital in SIWSQ. Not only do they relocate themselves more advantageously within a field, their social mobility re-orders society. The quest for resources and economic security in the context of social inequality is at the heart of duality. Emirbayer draws on Charles Tilly (1995) and says it best:

Inequality comes largely from the solutions that elite and nonelite actors improvise in the face of recurrent organizational problems... These solutions, which involve the implementation of invidious categorical distinctions, resemble ‘moves in a game, or perhaps even attempts to change the rules of the game.

(Emirbayer, 1997 p. 292).

Duality as an *improvisation*, a set of trans-actions that can be framed within Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992) relational approach to the social world, famously conceptualized as containing many fields, where players negotiate differentially valued capitals (financial, social, cultural and symbolic) for what is at stake in a given environment. The possession of capital locates us within a field and how this capital is interpreted in interaction with others determines its power. Bourdieu, Wacquant and Emirbayer all compel us to understand the 'moves' possible in the game; the ability for players to reorganize an intrinsically logical environment of the field, that is shaped by conforming and conflating activities of many; and the capacity of players to change the value of capitals in play in a field. Participants are not only players with capitals that they negotiated in both SIWSQ, but depending on the cards that they show and conceal, they construct a game within a game, such that those who they trans-act with may not know what game they are playing or that a game is being played!

Surely there are elements and knowledges available or at stake in a field that not everyone is privy to. For example, if a square colleague shares their disdain for SIWs in the presence of a participant, that cultural capital is oppressive but informative, because my participant can avoid conflict, amend her tactics and maneuver resources/capitals in ways that protect and advance her interests. In this example, the knowledge about preferences of a player in one field can inform the 'moves' or trans-actions of my participant that are beyond the perception of other players inter and intra- field. This is improvisation and also how cultural identities may *become*. Wacquant and Bourdieu (1992) state the people have the power to change the value of the capitals in use in any given field, because, what is the field but a set of interdependent actors trans-acting. The field is just participants trans-acting with others whereas known SIWs may have challenges transmuting social capital to symbolic capital because of the lack of recognition of sex work as work and the devaluing of their relationships and contributions. Alternatively, those who live DL, play many games in several fields. Their participation in SIW is not known. Participants can shuffle the deck and make moves that are

in plain sight of other players who do not necessarily see all that is being negotiated in a field because much is concealed, and audiences are segregated. Full disclosure of their game, the players, and the prizes are revealed ‘backstage’, among the co-stigmatized and the *wise*.

I explore the inner and outer worlds of my participants through their post hoc rationalizations of the meaning that their behaviors hold for them as product and producer of social relations and environments therein. Duality is an embodied experience because SIWSQ is understood by most as disparate, yet the toiling is performed by the same being through their relations. Echoing Rumi and Plato, Goffman expounds upon dualism:

...they play both parts in the normal-deviant drama...the individual may be able to perform both shows, exhibiting not only a general capacity to sustain both roles, but also the detailed learning and command necessary for currently executing the required role behavior...stigmatized and normal are not merely complementary; they also exhibit some striking parallels and similarities.

The emphasis is mine. (Goffman, 1963 p. 133).

Instead of to two audiences, the Dual-life Relational Paradigm (Chapter six) depicts, there are seven fields associated with managing SIWSQ. Stigma, and strategies implemented by those who hide their SIW and conventional labour involves their inner dialogue and self-talk, as well as trans-actions, relations and performativity. My eclectic yet relational theoretical approach informs the methodology used here to collect rich accounts of duality, and to facilitate a researcher-participant discovery of context, action and meaning.

To data collection and analysis, I brought this rich tapestry of theoretical approaches to understanding social relations; decision-making; identity and

work; power; capital; and social contexts. As O'Neill and Campbell (2010) explain, understanding SIW is a complex story that involves structure, finance, choice as well as '*situational positions and power relations*' (p.183).

These features of duality are emblematic of a struggle for resources, described in conflict theories, and recognition that through our trans-actions and relations we manufacture our social environments. Relational sociology leads me to an understanding of duality as both a personal and a collective enterprise, within environments that participants shape and are shaped by.

Methodological Approach

People negotiate capitals and relationships, make decisions and behave based on their goals, the contexts they are in, bounded by what is possible and at stake. I used descriptive and interpretive phenomenology analysis (IPA) as inspiration for data collection as well as an analytical framework. Phenomenology as a reflective interviewing technique, supports my capturing participants' own interpretations of the relations that they hold in the contexts that they move within. Employing a phenomenological tactics to the collection and analysis provides several advantages: first, it allows participants to describe and interpret their experiences of SIWSQ; second, it provides the opportunity for me to take on the role of an interpretive phenomenologist—to use my professional experience in service delivery and empirical knowledge of SIW and duality to formulate appropriate prompts during interviews; third, although this is not a participatory study, IPA supports my philosophy of SI knowledge being democratically co-produced (O'Neill, 2010; Bowen and O'Doherty, 2014). People who live DL have the opportunity here to provide a counter-narrative and reflect upon their participation in SIWSQ. Their experiences are nested within larger ideological, socio-economic and socio-political paradigms of sex, work and society. This study sought out participants who have an experience of a phenomenon, in this case 'duality', based on how I initially conceptualized it, then, through the interviewing process, the concept was opened for their re-interpretation.

I am borrowing some strategies from Englander (2012). Although he describes phenomenological interviewing from a psychological perspective, his suggestions aided my data collection and analysis as they fit within my interactional theoretical framing. Following the traditions of phenomenology, I asked questions that required description and then follow with prompts to illicit reflections and meaning behind decisions made by participants. Englander states that the goal of phenomenological research is to capture a complete description of lived experience, to find meaning and understand behavior in context. I gathered experiences of duality in ways that promote a reflexive rather than observational process (Flood, 2010). As Englander suggests, the phenomenon is the ‘object’ and not the participant, and this promotes my aim around keeping participants’ biographies concealed. Bevan (2014) described strategies for interviewing based in Husserl’s phenomenology and states:

In philosophical phenomenology it is the philosopher who reflects on the givenness of a thing, whereas in phenomenological research initial reflection is by the person who has undergone a particular experience, and this reflection is a primary interpretation.

(Bevan, 2014 p. 137).

According to Bevan, phenomenological interviews involve: 1) *contextualization*, obtaining details of an experience in the context of a person’s life world of relations; 2) *apprehending the phenomenon* by asking a series of questions to obtain details and asking what participants *mean* when they describe their experiences and how that affects their decisions/behavior; and finally 3) *clarifying the phenomenon* that takes place during analysis, where researchers take into account how experiences are varied and analyze them to obtain details about the phenomenon itself. I centralized the individual, their interactional experiences, and their interpretations of what their experiences meant in response to my research questions, most prominently: ‘*What is the nature of Duality?*’ (see **Appendix One**). Although

key themes are based on the literature and those emerging from my prior research into SI transitioning, the questions and the order in which they were asked evolved throughout data collection. Early on I added a question about Brexit to discover how SIWs foresaw geo-politics affecting their jobs in SIWSQ.

Ethical Considerations

This project received ethics approval on April 25th, 2016 from Durham University, where I originally began my PhD program. After transferring to the University of York on April 1st, 2016, I received department ethics approval on May 13th, 2016. This study adheres to core research principles related to confidentiality, voluntary participation, informed consent, transparency, secure data management and respectful dissemination. SIWs experience censure during and long after their involvement in the SI ends (Rickard, 2001; Millar, 2002; Pheterson, 1993; Westerlik 2009; Bowen and Bungay, 2015; Benoit and Millar, 2001). O’Neill (2017) specifically discusses the censure of female sex workers as part of historic hegemonic power relations, othering processes, and as a mechanism for their social control. Sex workers are characterized as sinful and deviant. As such, even in the research enterprise, sex workers may carry heightened risks and unfair burdens when participating.

My specific population comprised people who identify as having worked both in the off-street SIWSQ concurrently, within the past three years. Accidental revelation of their SIWSQ to those who they hide this information from may mean that they experience *social taint* (Hughes, 1958) and lose status, relationships and prospects, due to the deleterious effects that whore stigma has over one’s life chances. Fully and safely examining lives at the intersection of SIWSQ required access to people through their personal and social networks and a careful reporting of their stories. From my experience managing community and university-based research in Canada and the UK on issues related to SIW health and safety, and my review of the literature,

many conceal personal information from other SIWs, clients and those who the encounter by using working names or pseudonyms and employing other strategies to keep their SIWSQ and their personal lives separate. When people who live DL speak out, they put at risk their livelihoods and relationships in not just one field of interaction but two.

My past work with SIWs in co-creating ethical research guidelines for engagement in their communities in 2006³⁰ and insights from reporting on duality (Bowen, 2013; 2015) had me considering what the future may hold for people if their participation in this study became known. I wanted to provide enhanced anonymity for participants in this study and any future work on the subject. As noted in the introduction, participants requested that their demographic information (age range, culture/race, gender identity and residency information, etc.) and quoted content were not linked to their pseudonyms as is the traditional reporting format. One participant, who read my MA study, asked me not to present demographical information with pseudonyms in a chart form. At times, these disclosures included specific stories that may identify participants to those who they have shared this information with. Consequently, some participant quotes will be referenced as 'Anonymous' instead of the chosen pseudonym to reduce the possibility of associating stories or comments to any one participant. I asked participants to reflect upon what it was about them that made duality possible; how their decisions affected their present situations; and what insights, tips and strategies could share with others. I present all information in aggregate form which may be challenging for some readers who would like to cross-reference biographical information with ethnographic content to find deeper meaning.

Upon contact, participants were asked if they had read through the Participant Information Sheet (**Appendix Two**). I proceeded to review the information sheet with them. I then obtained verbal consent to participate from each

³⁰ Bowen, R. (2006). "Research Ethics: A Guide for Community Organizations."
http://bccec.files.wordpress.com/2007/12/community_research_guidelines_feb2006_draft_.pdf

participant, turned the audio recorder and reconfirmed this consent, which was captured on the audio files and included in the transcripts. I told participants that they could share as much or as little as they were comfortable with and could end interviews at any time. During some interviews, I reconfirmed confidentiality and limits; my strategies for anonymizing their contributions; and my commitment that participants could withdraw consent up until the time of transcription (usually 2-5 days). In keeping with my approach to research and the above noted guidelines, participants were thanked for their contribution in cash or by way of an Amazon gift card (if interviewed in person) or Amazon ecard in the about of £25 for virtual interviews. Virtual interview participants were sent the Amazon e-card immediately after the interview as it was not possible to stop the interview after obtaining consent to send the ecard. Information about this gift was communicated on the Participant Information Sheet, the project blog and where appropriate, on ASWs and in social media. Some participants had asked for their funds to be donated to specific causes. In those instances, I did so anonymously or in the name of the participant as requested.

Sampling, Informed Consent, Recruitment and Data Collection³¹

My justice work alongside sex workers affords me power and privilege because of a shared history, frames of reference, and social capital, particularly in terms of my role in activities and events that shape sex worker rights organizing. My work with SIWs in Canada spans decades and has involved direct support and outreach to survival SIWs, sexually exploited and incarcerated youth; as well as on and offline off-street SIWs. Activities ranged from building housing and other community and program development; forging alliances among law enforcement, health and helping professionals; and engaging in public education through local and national media, and international conferences. Here in the UK, I sat on the Board of Directors of Scot-PEP, a SIW led advocacy organization in Scotland where I

³¹ Participants were explicit about not wanting to be charted or profiled

participated in fund development, law reform and community-building activities with other groups, in accordance with the organization's mandate. My related voluntary work includes Board membership and administrative support for the Sex Work Research Hub (SWRH) then housed in the Department of Sociology at the University of York. In this role, I engaged with a network of over 150 academics who do SIW research in the United Kingdom and around the world. Duties included organizing conferences for the Hub; maintaining a social media presence; leading or supporting the creation of regular newsletters; providing background research toward the advancement of priority issues across members; liaising with university administration across departments to coordinate communications and events; and updating content for the University of York SWRH website.

This may have influenced who responded to my call for participants; however, I returned to the UK after decades abroad and had to adjust to a new environment, develop relationships and build trust. With my background in community development, systemic advocacy and work roles the frontlines to executive leadership, I was well-positioned to gain access to people who live DL, but this was not guaranteed by virtue of my biography. I was open with participants about my background the impetus this study. I shared that I draw on knowledge about the SI from various epistemological understandings. My work history made it easier for people to find out about me. Being accepted as an ally by sex workers, takes me away from positioning myself as an insider or outsider as this is another limited binary framing that this thesis attempts to transcend. The SIWSQ as a continuum, relationalism as a theoretical approach, and cultural identity as defined by Hall (1994) all influence how I see my own identity and positionality as not being dichotomous or fixed but situational, negotiated and continuously forming. Hellawell (2006) critiques 'insiderness' and 'outsiderness' and discussed an insider-outsider continuum in which a researcher flows along, depending on experience, knowledge and other factors. I acknowledge my social and cultural capital within sex worker rights movements and scholarly communities exposes me to SIWs who are in or associated with these groups,

and I help value what my capital is worth, but this in relation to the field, and in relation to what potential participants value.

In total, I conducted 36 phenomenological interviews among 35 participants and gathered 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) of transitioning and duality. - five (n=25) participants resided in the UK and are the focus of this thesis. I interviewed one UK participant twice. Twenty Interviews ranged in length from one hour to 5.5 hours and gave time for reflexivity related to constructs, concepts and experiences.

The Participant Information Sheet (see **Appendix Two**) provided essential information about the research project, and as Englander (2012) recommends, it gives time for potential participants to think about their experiences in relationship to my study to aid the obtaining of more details. The Project Blog at <https://dualitystudy.blogspot.co.uk/> went live July 7th, 2016. The blog contains the participant information sheet, information about my Canadian MA study and a link to my bio. After one interview the research participant suggested that I put my photo on the blog as she would have liked to know what I looked like before meeting me. I did so. Armed with this sheet and project cards, I attended meetings and conferences around the UK, where I engaged in face-to-face networking, discussed my plans for research, handed out project cards and, on several occasions, provided formal project presentations at universities around the UK. Individuals who live DL are hidden populations among elusive off-street and online SIW because associating with known SIWs, sex worker organizations and those who were more 'out' about their SIW involvement put participants at risk of being outed. I advertised my study on a small ASW SIW-only website where SIWs placed ads for their services. I chose this one very exclusive online forum to put up an ad to keep the sample size relatively small and to keep this PhD project manageable. Although I did not specifically pursue SWRH researchers for access to potential participants. Project information was sent to subscribers of the SWRH listserv and I put out a half-page advert about the study in the November 2016 edition of the Hub Newsletter. In addition to this,

information about my study was periodically tweeted via my personal Twitter™ account and then retweeted by the SWRH account and others. All of these strategies may have shaped the kinds of participants who engage in this research.

Since duality is an under-explored topic, I chose qualitative methodology in order to capture ethnographic details about how people combined work across disparate labour markets in SIWSQ. Although I conducted a study that included people who lived DL in the past, I did not feel that I knew enough about DL or its manifestation in a UK context to responsibly implement a survey or other methodologies, although in hindsight I do regret the decision not to implement a mixed methods approach by adding a survey or Twitter™ poll. I explored focus groups and concluded that they would not be appropriate or logistically possible, given stigma and the clandestine nature of DL. I chose a semi-structured interviewing style recommended for descriptive phenomenological data collection and asked participants to describe situations (subject-subject relation) and then explored the effects and their reflections on the situations they described (subject-phenomenon relation) (Englander, 2012).

The interview guide contained questions related to themes emerging from my review of literature, my previous work on duality, and my experience of SIW-related themes and issues. I interviewed participants until major themes were saturated and to ‘*identify the essential structure of a phenomenon*’ (Englander 2012 p. 23) whereby the characterization of a phenomenon and not the ‘representativeness’ of a sample was the priority.

The first four of 35 interviews were a purposive sample of individuals who I knew through my network, who were living DL. They helped me revise, reorder and reshape my interview questions as part of my participatory ethos and strategy to have a ‘living’ guide that was informed by an iterative reflexive process of interaction between myself and participants. For example, the interview materials originally comprised a mapping exercise to gauge

participants level of involvement in SIWSQ along a physical continuum that represented the proportion of time they spent in each type of work. My aim was to more fully describe the phenomenon of duality and populate a continuum of SIW involvement by building upon Scambler's (2007) typology of SIW and Lucas (2005) noted in the review of literature. Extant literature may accurately describe the experiences of some who work in SIW part-time or opportunistically; however, I believe that this is an incomplete picture. There is a clear need to develop a continuum of SIW involvement that better describes the experiences of:

- those who (less frequently) do intermittent or 'as needed SIW', strategically involved to address (un)predictable financial shortfalls e.g. before Christmas or before school starts;
- those who (more frequently) strategically move completely in and out of SIW as intermediate economic strategies or as projects;
- those who find balance blending active and concurrent involvement in SIWSQ as a lifestyle (long term);
- people who engage in SIW as opportunists, holding mostly square jobs and do other kinds of hustling and underground work;
- dabblers who do SIW with no schedule and no goals, but for reasons other than money;
- people who trade sex with goals to transition out-- 'sexiting' (Bowen, 2013).

After the first four interviews the drawing exercise was eliminated because it bound descriptions of work across SIWSQ to a singular proportion when for some, how much work they did in any given week or month varied. Instead, I added questions and prompts that supported individuals in describing their work practices and chose to use illustrative means in disseminating findings instead of as part of data collection.

As interviewing progressed, I was vouched for on the ASW website twice by participants who I interviewed, who then told others about the study and I was

endorsed multiple times on Twitter™ by folks who have been interviewed or those who supported and valued my past scholarship. My purposive sampling strategy evolved into a chain referral/network/snowball sampling strategy, starting with personal contacts with SIW, researchers and others, and then expanding to SIW online advertising spaces and organizations, and then reaching people living DL. Forty-four transcripts were analyzed, that included the 25 from UK participants, n=10 from Canadian participants interviews as part of this PhD project, and n=9 transcripts from interviews with the very same Canadian participants in 2012 as part of a longitudinal examination³². Interviews with Canadians tended to be shorter because I did not have to re-collect demographic and background information. Also, these participants contributed to how duality has been conceptualized through participation in my MA. Terminology such as ‘square work’ that originated in North America did not have to be explained. UK participants who had not heard of the term ‘square’ were told of its meaning and immediately (and sometimes humorously) but correctly associated it with mainstream work or as the process of leaving the SI (i.e. squaring up).

Shifts in Data Collection Methods: Brexit and State Monitoring

The bulk of data collection for this study took place within weeks of the EU referendum. As such, I asked participants how leaving the EU would affect jobs in SIWSQ. After conversations about Britishness and one’s value in the UK/EU SI, a whorearchy emerged, that guided participants’ strategies for marketing themselves most advantageously. Participants discussed Europhobic and Romanophobia clients, citizenship and earning potential. Commentary among participants with respect to race and culture reflected sentiments about national sovereignty dominating public discourse at the time. I had originally planned face-to-face interviews with participants and I made the shift to virtual options for two reasons: a) the socio-political climate

³² I interviewed one new Canadian participant in June 2018 to capture her unique transitioning experiences.

during Brexit; and b) participant preferences to use virtual options to reduce risks of being outed.

There was a documented spike in hate crimes³³ and an increase in reporting in England and across the UK after the Brexit decision on June 23rd, 2016. Some of these issues have been documented by scholars (see Seidler, 2008). In keeping with the convention to situate oneself within their research, I share biographical information here that explains my shift in methodology. During the EU referendum, I did not feel able to maintain discretion for participants if I was to meet them in public while communities were in turmoil. This decision was based on incidents of verbal abuse that I experienced during that time living in the North of England. I was not prepared for the racist and xenophobic remarks during daily commutes to the university. I was shocked by this because I am British, and the daughter of British army and Metropolitan Police Service veteran. I grew up in Canada and as a woman of color I expect racism, but I never expected to have my citizenship and right to be in this country denied by passing strangers. Because of these experiences, I did not want to risk being out in public with participants, who were already under a lot of stress, only to have to fend off verbal attacks due to my appearance or accent. I provided options of one-on-one interviews in-person or via telephone, computer assisted voice-image (e.g., Skype™) or computer assisted Short Message Services (SMS) e.g., Microsoft Network (MSN) or *Whatsapp*™. As a result of my Brexit experiences, I actively encouraged interviews via Skype™, *Whatsapp*™ or telephone.

On the Participant Information Sheet and the project blog, I shared some of the implications associated with government legislation such as the Britain's Investigatory Powers Bill (HC Bill 143), the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (2015) section 2.1 retention of relevant internet data, and the USA Patriot Act that permits the monitoring, interception and storage of *information from internet service providers (ISPs) as well as from computer assisted voice-image (e.g., Skype™), interfaces and apps such as Facebook™, Twitter™*™,

³³ <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/number-hate-crimes-uk-have-surged-since-eu-referendum-1580245>

*Microsoft*TM or computer/device assisted Short Message Services (SMS) such as *Whatsapp*TM. Participants were informed about the risks of face-to-face meetings in the UK due to the level of surveillance via CCTV and other monitoring technologies in public. Klauser (2007) documents that SIWs have been the target of CCTV monitoring in public spaces as part of community revitalization strategies to increase investment in the city of Olten. Populations in Klauser's study included street-based SIWs who experienced CCTV monitoring as distanced and ineffectual; however, people who live DL are hiding SI and meeting to discuss duality in a public place poses risks to anonymity particularly when CCTV is used in combination with the UK's Investigatory Powers Act 2016³⁴, which legalizes the monitoring, interception and storage of (bulk) personal data sets and telecommunications. I have an ongoing concern about how deep monitoring by the state may alter future projects among hidden, criminal and criminalized populations.

Preparation Data and Storage

Audio from interviews were saved by date on an encrypted recorder and stored there until files were moved to an encrypted external drive. No audio files were stored on any personal or university computers. Audio was transcribed directly from the external drive and simultaneously cleaned of all identifying information including real and working names, online handles and profile names, websites, and specific details the types of jobs people held. Content related to where people lived and worked in SIWSQ was coded according to general geographical zones in transcripts. This was done to provide me with an option of how I wanted to discuss location in quotes selected in future publications. Cleaned Transcripts were assigned a participant code, saved to a password protected drive and uploaded to NVivo 10TM for coding and analysis. Audio files were deleted after coding was complete.

³⁴ See Investigatory Powers Act 2016
<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2016/25/contents/enacted>

Analysis

NVivo 10™, a product of QSR International, was used for data analysis because I owned this version and I have several years' experience using NVivo for qualitative data analysis. The benefits of using NVivo include managing a range of documents and transcripts; supporting their thematic organization through nodes and visualizations via models; querying and interrogating content; and the creation of various reports (Hilal and Saleh, 2013). After uploading, nodes were created of the same participant code as the transcripts. Only participant responses were coded to these nodes that I called 'monologues.' This was an important part of data preparation because it eliminated my questions so that queries done later in analysis would only contain participant responses. I engaged in a hermeneutic analytic process of reading and rereading transcripts '*to identify meaningful pieces of information that can help answer the research question[s]*' (Connelly, 2010, p.128). I inductively coded emerging themes down and across transcripts, creating nodes that reflected themes. Then I coded descriptions of the duality phenomenon, insights and reflections to capture how people interpreted their behaviors and what these behaviors were in relation to (see Code Book **Appendix Four**). I used annotations to document insights, linkages to literature, and compelling information as it emerged during the coding process. Annotations were searchable and included in the outcomes of coding, compound and matrix queries.

Throughout coding, parent and child nodes were created and merged as appropriate to streamline themes. Text queries and compound queries were done after coding for each major node to ensure that all mentions of theme and related content was captured. I created a node model as well as a matrix query model to visualize coding for my committee reports. Matrix queries were developed based on questions I asked of my data that relate to the research questions. I ran all queries and wrote the findings based on content in cells that was more relevant to the research question and parameters. Child nodes with the highest number of references were examined first for inclusion in this reporting. For example, a 'Rationale_Duality_Sex/Square Work' node

was created to contain all of the reasons that participants gave for DL, SIWSQ. A matrix query was run with this Rationale node against other nodes such as: demographics, health, challenges, violence/safety, money, time, years of work experience, etc. to explore instances where participants identified these theme areas as part of their reasons for duality. If a participant stated that their numerical age or the meaning that they attributed to their age was a motivation for how much SIWSQ they did, these coded references would appear in a cell that can be opened and examined further.

Closing Remarks: Theoretical Framework and Methodological Approach

In this chapter, I shared a selection of theories that helped me understand duality as nested within conflict, class struggle and antagonisms that come because of our chosen political economy which is built on scarcity and deprivation. As we compete for resources, we experience alienation and may work for work's sake. Various alienations, from product, production, workers and self, bring insight into how profoundly the denial of SIW as work can add to this alienating experience. Participants construct a means of traversing SIWSQ and locate themselves in this *borderland*. Relationalism led to an understanding of how the field and capitals are structuring and structured through practice and ensured that I approached in-depth interviews and analysis with some sophistication.

CHAPTER THREE
THE PARTICIPANTS

If you don't know where the money's coming from and you don't know when the most profitable times or when the most profitable places are you might as well just hang up your bra and go home...

Helen

Demographics, Identity and More³⁵

In this chapter I present demographic information such as Gender, Sexuality, Race/Culture, Age, along with Place of Residence and Level of Education and other aspects of the sample.

TABLE 1 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UK SAMPLE (N=25)

<i>Total</i>	
<i>Interviewed</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 25
<i>Gender Profile</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 16 (64%) were women; ▪ 3 were men; ▪ 3 people identified themselves as either ‘female fluid’ or ‘male fluid’; and ▪ 4 people were ‘femmes’.
<i>Race/Culture</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2 people were of mixed races; ▪ 1 was Persian. <p>There was cultural diversity among the majority 22 (88%) White participants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 11 (50%) were English; ▪ 6 (27%) were from across Europe, North America and Australia; ▪ 4 (18%) were Scottish; and ▪ 1 was Irish.
<i>Age</i>	Age was captured in 10-year age blocks beginning at age 21.

³⁵ During subsequent interviews with participants, I shared that I would not chart demographic findings and all participants were happy with this tactic.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ There were two modal categories: 21 to 30 and 41 to 50 with 6 (24%) participants in each; ▪ 11 (44%) were between 31 and 40 years of age; and ▪ 2 participants were between 51-60.
<i>Sexuality</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 9 (36%) were heterosexual; ▪ 5 (20%) were bisexual; ▪ 3 identified as Gay; ▪ 3 as Polyamorous or Pansexual; ▪ 2 were ‘Gay for Pay’ in SIW but heterosexual in their private lives; ▪ 1 participant was ‘Straight for Pay’ in SIW and lived as a Lesbian in her private life; ▪ 1 person identified as Lesbian; and ▪ 1 was Queer.
<i>UK Region of Residence</i>	18 (72%) reside in England; six (24%) live in Scotland and one elsewhere in Europe. ³⁶

Gender, Sexuality and (Sex) Work

Demographic characteristics, such as gender and sexuality were discussed as overlapping markers of identity intertwined with other attributes such as education and discussed in the context sex working and duality. For example, Helen’s square job is in a male-dominated industry where displaying any traits categorized as feminine will result in a loss of respect.

I have to be...not masculine at work but I can’t really show any femininity because when you’re one of few

³⁶ Most UK participants engaged in sex work in the South of England and Scotland, and several lived in the North of England, and East and West Midlands.

women ...you can't trade on your femininity at all or you just lose respect completely ...You've got to be conscious all of the time about what you're doing and saying and how you're presenting and what you're wearing.

Helen juxtaposes her hyper-masculine SQ environment with escorting and other SIW. The latter becomes a creative feminine space:

I can express my femininity and kind of revel in it. It's an outlet in a lot of ways for me.

Similarly, Zane describes his gender and sexuality as being an asset in SIW and supports his ability to be open about sex working, but poses a challenge in his SQ in a female-dominated industry:

I think being gay male it's a privilege to be out as a sex worker. It's really hard to find women who are out ...but also I feel like it's problematic for [square job]... the majority of people who I work with are women. Like I don't engage with some because there is no point, they will dismiss what I say because I'm a male.

Zane wrestles with gender politics in his square job but being a gay, White male in SIW affords the privilege of being out about his sex working and sexuality, but in his square job, he is perceived only for his sexuality and is not valued as a source of knowledge of women's justice issues. Mary expressed that being a woman in SIWSQ was of great benefit. She believes that women have greater earning potentials but also that women bear the strain of single parenthood and this complicates her duality:

I think being female it helps me with being a dual life... females get paid more and we tend to have more clients for example, but I do think that it's harder to be female and be a single mother particularly and live a dual life.

Unlike Zane, Mary does not disclose her SIW because of the stigmas associated with SIW and motherhood. She highlights gender bias in terms of women's sexuality, SIW and internalized stigma:

As a female worker, you feel like you're going against all of the gender norms all of the like good girl/bad girl type of thing. It bothers me that they (men who buy and gay men in general) can so freely get away with it without even feeling bad themselves and we [women] torture ourselves... It's a fucking double standard everywhere!

Likewise, Joy suggests that there is a hierarchy in play, where women are ranked according to levels chastity:

I think men have this almost sort of hierarchy of what they perceive as being the chaste virtuous woman with the mother, being the pinnacle of the chaste woman, a virgin, down to their wives and daughters and then there's the bottom level of the whore.

Participants internalized this sex hierarchy and the whorearchy. Alice felt insulted when she was not considered likely to be a SIW because of her class, education and sizeism:

I'm a size 20 and there is a massive market for that... I'm middle class and educated and because of the preconceptions that people have about prostitutes, I look like the last person who could be a prostitute basically. I'm not super high class and glamorous with silicone.

For Alice, her size and class made her virtually undetectable as a SIW. She is insulted by this, which is ironic, given that those who live DL desire secrecy. She was outed to her employer and describes discussing her sex working with him:

I remember when I was outed and I was talking to my boss about it and the look of horror on his face. I looked at him and said 'you know I scrub up okay. Some men find me sexy.'

Although the SI comprises physically diverse individuals, some people hold very limited perceptions of the physical appearances of those who trade sex.

For some, SIW provides an opportunity to explore their gender and sexuality. For Cleo describes her fluidity:

My pronoun would be 'she' and I identify as femme. I kind of think sex work has given me a lot in terms of playing with my gender presentation and feeling a lot more comfortable being more femme...

Cat identifies as being femme and pan-sexual.

I'm a femme because I don't really have much in common with women... I'm pan- sexual and polyamorous and clearly on the submissive end of the spectrum.

Her membership in an alternative community bodes well for her DL:

I guess always having been outwardly alternative since I was a kid, like I wore a corset to school and I've always been into the gothy thing and alternative music ... people are used to seeing you in you know corsets and lacey things...Not that I have kind of a stereotypical sex workery outfit...but it is kind of like well 'she kind of does wacky and weird stuff anyway so it makes sense.'

Swinging and attending sex parties is part of Daisy's sexual identity and lifestyle and SIW is a way to monetize her relationships, but she dares not share her sex working with co-workers in her square job:

Image that I would say: 'yeah I fuck strangers [laughter] like I suck their dicks and I let them like fuck me and I pee on them and they pee on me.' They [SQ coworkers] would just die! I think the sex work would be too much for them because my lifestyle is already too crazy for them!

Remi is less concerned about her gender presentation in the square world and feels that we are all in 'drag.' She explains:

I'm a bisexual queer femme nerd. I'm kinking, I'm a switch, I'm a slut...and the personal is very very political, so all of those things are part of my political identity too...I have noticed that the more time I spend in sex work and the more drag I do at work the less fun drag is in my personal life...I'm less interested I am in doing those particular presentational games.

Several participants discuss having flexibility how they present themselves to their various audiences and it appears that this variability in the presentation of self is at the core of successful duality.

Finally, another major theme discussed in relation to demographics and duality was income. Laith works in the porn industry as well as the private sector. Unlike Mary and other female-identified SIWs, Laith explains that men live DL and take on other SQ because they cannot make a living from the SI alone:

Guys don't make a living in this industry. They make part time extra cash. They used to be able to make a living back in the 90s to early 2000 but once the [omitted] sites came

out and crucified all of the large producers, the budgets got sliced and the guys basically got the short end of that.

According to Laith, women should diversify revenue streams to make a good living in the SI:

You can't make a living doing porn. You've got 4 revenue streams: porn; camming; making and filming your own content; and escorting. If you leave out escorting, you need to do the other three.

Finally, Blaze talks about sex, work and intimacy across SIWSQ as being quite similar in terms of the 'ordinariness' of interactions with people in both fields. She explains that there is a level of (in)authenticity in both kinds of work:

When I'm in the [public sector] job I have to put on an act and I have to pretend that I'm interested in things that I'm not particularly interested in or I have to do stupid [specific to job] that are really dull but I have to get through it...And I have to do that in sex work as well... It's not always intimate. I mean it's like with anything else, you have sex with a long-term partner and sometimes it's intimate and sometimes it's like 'oh for God sake, just get it over with I don't care [laughter]!'

Blaze challenges the idea that noncommercial sex is somehow more intimate than SIW.

Race and Culture

Participants were asked: 'What is it about you [demographics, positionality, biography, history] that makes duality possible?' Culture was discussed in terms of the 'whorearchy' discussed previously; however, only a few

participants included race as an integral part of their identities or influencing duality specifically. This may be because the UK sample was not particularly racially diverse as 22 of 25 participants were white in an environment where the corporate and political elite are also white. Joy, a participant who read my MA thesis, commented on race as not being part of her self-perception. She states:

I was reading your sex work exiting thesis, what I found interesting was the reference to you know, how do I perceive myself and the last bit I was reading was people's perceptions of themselves according to their race and I found that interesting because I've never ever, ever ever thought of my race as being part of my identity but then perhaps if you're from a racial minority, you would think race is more so part of your identity, that was interesting.

Joy's understanding of race being unimportant to her identity as a white person may account for the virtual silence about this social marker among most participants. Class, however, had influenced Joy's approach to live and to SIWSQ:

Is class part of my identity? I would say yes...I mean who I am and what I am, the type of food I eat and the type of books I read. What makes me successful in this? Well I never ever thought I would not be successful. Success is almost like an inevitability...I like a given, almost like a thread that runs through you...In my regular job I never thought I wouldn't be successful... In sex work, I went into in and almost like a mission...I just simply treated it the same way.

Habitus, her internalized structure and practiced way of being in the world, in addition to her disposition—tastes and preferences—all contributed to Joy's approach to life, work and duality. Success was a given. Conversely, Cleo is

more open about her SIW and attributes race and class privilege, particularly education, as making her DL and transparency possible:

I think even in my being out about it now...there's a lot of race and class privilege that plays into my ability to do that...like the class privilege and education and being able to sort of talk about things in a certain way... I have very little baggage really, so I think that does give me like a certain...like more freedom to be that fluid... I think we all have to recognize that it is kind of contingent upon those privileges and contexts.

Culture was discussed in terms of SIWs from the Baltics.

June reflects upon her race and education as privileges and references the subjugated position of eastern European SIW in the hierarchy:

I know that like being female is not generally seen as privileged, but I know definitely being white is. It affords me a greater deal of fluidity than some...I know that from my education and the country that I come from ...people are surprised that I'm a sex worker...I'm not saying that's my point of view but like other people's perception of it ... I can pass myself off as well educated, well-travelled kind of like interesting person who isn't here for economic reasons ... I know for a fact that people are prejudice against Eastern Europeans for example. And I know some of that has to do with fear of trafficking, it's not necessarily a race thing but being from [North America] confers a certain amount of exoticness but 'safe' exoticness.

Although June is not originally from the UK, being a white North American SIW does not locate her at the bottom of the UK whorearchy, as it would for Eastern Europeans. Joy, similarly expressed this sentiment:

[Laughter], 'the hierarchy of the whore' and eastern European women who are sex workers would be at the bottom of the rung.

Likewise, Sage is a white woman, also not from the UK. She makes note of the 'whorearchy' as a key organizing feature of the UK SI. She explains:

I am White from [omitted] and I do feel that that's important to say because I'm definitely not British and I think there is a whorearchy up here and being white British is at the top at the pinnacle of that and everything else just flows from it... White British girls who insist that there isn't are in fucking denial. [Clients] are so concerned that I wouldn't be Eastern European, and I think in sex work your value is based on race and the color of your skin and people deny that they're fucking racist and xenophobes.

Sage has been oppressed by their whorearchy that serves to devalue her 'whiteness' based on where she's from. She goes on to explain that on advertising websites there are directories specifically for white British SIWs and these racial and cultural labels infer specific attributes:

There are directories that are explicit 'British girls'...what they're really saying is that the British are clean, and they have class and are educated and that they speak English. I had one guy e-mail me when saying he was looking at my profile and then he called me saying 'you speak very good English for a foreigner.'

Sage discussed race with more fervor than any other participant in the UK sample. The whorearchy does not only offend her as a white woman, it also alludes to a larger issue of a false unity among white SIWs, those of color and other foreign nationals:

[White British workers] insistence that we are all equal, and we are all part of some sisterhood but to imply that we are all equal does an injustice and dismisses all of the xenophobia and denies the advantages of being white. So, I hate when some people say that we're all sisters when it's a business and a competition.

Sage's comments highlighting racism and xenophobia in the SI and the whorearchy that affects earning potential.

Race/Culture, Sex Work and Brexit

As noted, most of my data collection took in proximity to the EU referendum that took place on June 23rd, 2016. I saw this divisive geo-political event as an opportunity to pose a question to participants about whether the Brexit decision would affect their jobs in SIWSQ. Darcy believes that the UK SI for women is resilient:

Nothing ever affects sex work! It's always booming. Selfishly maybe it will be good for British girls because less Europeans coming into the industry!

Joy feels similarly:

In sex work, Brexit may have some impact down the line and that could be 12, 14, 18 months down the line with less and less people from Romania from eastern European countries of foreign nationals coming in who are at the lower price levels.

Brexit represents possible continued success for these white SIWs because there will be reduced numbers of European SIW in the market to drive down the prices of sexual services.

Sage experienced xenophobia directly from potential clients who not only commented on her non-British citizenship, but also emphasized their white Britishness:

The British Empire was busy stripping people of their independence, citizenship and nationhood so Brexit is bloody karma. Clients say I'm 'the right kind of foreigner'...what they're saying is that I'm white and they're comfortable with that. Even clients say they are 'white English men' because saying that they were British that could mean anything, so 'white' is supposed to be representative of their cleanness and respectfulness and if you reject them they're like 'oh I'm white' and I'm like I'm not wrapped up in the color of your skin.

Sage's potential clients utilized their 'white Britishness' as a bargaining chip to when being screened for a booking at a time when the nation was engaged in Brexit-related discourses around anti-immigration.

Juno agreed that Eastern European SIWs may drive down prices for UK workers but that this would have little effect on her income because her clients avoided booking Europeans to avoid hiring potential trafficking victims:

A lot of clients are very scared and they're very like 'I chose you because you're not Hungarian and you're not Romanian, so I know that you're not trafficked'... I've lost count of the number of guys that have said that to me.

She adds:

The only reason they chose me as a British girl is simply the trafficking and not because I'm British or they're racist. I get a lot of guys who, they come to me for not just for a quick shag, but they want to talk and have that whole like girlfriend experience thing and my first language is

English ...I'm the same culture as them and maybe they're able to have the conversations they want to have.

Likewise, Alice believes that Brexit will have little effect on her SIW and on her as a British person because she does not work in the same markets as Eastern European SIW. She states:

If I was Polish I would be more concerned... I also think actually there's quite a large base of eastern EU escorts in my area and they tend to charge a lot less and they tend to work in not particularly nice places where there are several of them. So, the market is different. The guys who see me tend not to be the same guys who would go to a brothel.

Alice adds:

...And there is this thing as being British, there are guys that, despite the fact that many other people can speak English very fluently, they have this thing like you know, they want women who can speak English properly...and I'm one of the people who voted for Brexit.

Whether clients are truly staying away from Eastern European SIWs to avoid contributing to the trafficking of vulnerable women and girls, as a way to mask their xenophobia, or if it is just plain preferences for white women who share their racial and cultural backgrounds is not knowable without investigating this issue with clients.

Helen discusses the impact of freedom of movement on the number of Eastern European SIW in the UK industry:

If they do stop freedom of movement and freedom of work then potentially that will limit the amount of working girls who come in from other EU countries to work here and

certainly in certain cities. Like in the northeast, you see a lot of especially eastern European girls working, and they tend to be working in the parlors and it drives the prices down locally because they're prepared to work for less. Which is exactly the same as every other form of labour.

Several participants commented on how eliminating freedom of movement for EU citizens would affect the SI in a positive way, all the while supporting and embracing diversity and labour migration. Helen, for example, goes on to share a broader analysis:

I still voted remain because ultimately, I think that migration is a good thing. I mean I've worked in some industries that if European workers weren't prepared to do the work we wouldn't have had nearly enough staff because English workers were not prepared to work for minimum wage.

Franco felt that EU migrants were already part of the UK SI and restricting freedom of movement may not alter the market substantively:

We invade a country and we get people from Iraq. We invade and we get people from Syria. It's cause and effect. There are a lot of Europeans working in sex work ... but realistically I don't think [ending freedom of movement] is going to make a difference partly because they are already here and it's highly unlikely that we're gonna deport them. It's likely that all we do is renegotiate the relationship [with the single market] without being in it and we would probably have border, which I find hilarious!

Juno was on the receiving end of discriminatory remarks about her British nationality while sex working in Europe during the Brexit referendum:

The whole Brexit thing like the last time I went [Europe] was 2 weekends ago to work there and oh my gosh right, it was awful being a British girl out there because everyone was just like 'oh Brexit, Brexit' and I'm like 'it's not me that voted to leave the blooming EU!' ...And one place that I work like the girls are just like 'oh wow, like why are you here?'

Juno added that the SI venue in Europe she normally worked in welcomed British workers in the past, but since Brexit, things have changed:

It was just very judgmental and really distant because usually when I'm there they it's like oh, they want the British girl like that's how it works, because it's like 'oh she's not Hungarian or not Romanian' and it worked very well for me, but when I was there the other week it as like oh...a 'British girl' [sarcastic] It was really, peculiar.

The long-term effects of Brexit and the separation of the UK from the European Union is still unfolding and the impacts on the sex industries are yet unknown.

Age

Participants discussed age in relation to their engagement in SIW and DL. For Sierra, her age and gender shaped her interactions with older men as being 'commercial' whether she was involved in SIW or not:

Any sex in a relationship is an exchange...You're 55, I'm much younger, and even if you didn't pay me and you were seeing someone like me there would be money involved...that' why women who look like me at my age are attracted to you....Even in our normal dating lives we are choosing people who have cultural capital.

Sierra takes a Bourdieusian approach to relationships, viewing them as exchanges in capital and power. For Mary who is in her late 20s, being young means that she has the energy to live a DL and pursue her education. She elaborates:

Most of the time women in their late 30s say that they're tired and they're are retiring. ...there is something about being young in sex work, it means that you have the energy... Like you don't want to stay in it long enough to start hating everyone who walks in your door, [laughter]! So be in it when you're still a little naive and optimistic, [laughter]!

Mary amends this comment moments later when reflecting upon her energy as a single parent and her patience when dealing with clients. She states:

I'm only in my 20s but sometimes I feel like I'm 50! My patience has worn a lot like for example, since I've had my second child. I'm juggling quite a lot and these sorts of things make you a bit less patient with clients that walk through the door.

For Zane, being a male SIW means that he feels there is some longevity because of the type of work he does, but he still considers a himself as having a shelf-life:

I'm getting a bit older like 37 so, but with clients it's okay cause I do mostly massage so the fact that I might be older, I am a professional male masseur with experience. I felt I'd probably do it for another 10 years ...I can do [square job] until I'm 60 or whatever, so with sex work there's probably is an age limit that I have to consider.

Helen has similar considerations about longevity in SIWSQ:

I've taken to it like a duck to water, I love doing it you know. I'm thinking long term, I want to build up my business, I want to get a work premises, um ultimately, I would probably prefer to do escorting full-time and...but at the same time I do want to hang on to that career ladder because I'm mid 40s.

June lies about her escorting to avoid stigma, by telling her square colleagues and children that she's a lap dancer. As she advances in age this false occupation becomes less believable:

Oh, I tell everybody that I'm still a lap dancer and it fits quite well you know. I tell them that I'm working in a bar so that explains me having to do strange hours but as I get older it's starting to get less plausible [Laughter].

She discusses her longevity in SIW and how the demographic of her clientele changes as she gets older:

I'll do sex work for the next 10 years. My looks are my pension! ...I'm amazed by the longevity of it. I really think you can make money for as long as you want to. 'MILF' is the most searched for thing on the internet, like on porn sites and I noticed as well, on my ads I'm always putting like 37, 38 and cause I always thought you'll do better if you say you're in your 30s... but once I started putting 41, 42 on my profile my clients went up...I get a lot of young guys...and there are grannies working as well!

The popularity of MILFs and GILFs advertising online and the feedback and revenue June earns in SIW as a middle-aged woman gives her a positive outlook about her duality and the future. Sage is also interested in the MILF market:

My hooker age is 35. My argument is I don't look 41 ... I will have to set up a separate profile for a MILF. I did see this woman advertise as a GILF [laughter]!

June, Sage and other women participants view SIW as a career that extends into their 40s and beyond, buoyed by the MILF/GILF market. Nova is in her 30s and would like to start a family:

I still want to have a baby... so if I was to find someone that I could be with and I could work in the sex work job I would like to continue for a bit, but never as a main occupation, but as a side thing. When I started when I was 25 I thought that it's only for young people but now I really discovered that it's something that I could do at this age.

Laith started in adult film in his late 20s. He is open to continuing in the industry but as he is now in his 50s, he assesses the comfort level of women who he would potentially share the screen with:

I will quite happily perform whenever I'm asked. I don't push it, I'm now at the stage where people do ask, and I ask them to make sure that the girl is comfortable. I'm over 50 now but I do not want to be on a set with some 20-year-old who thinks 'oh shit it's grandpa'.

His age is a consideration when determining scene partners and so it the work itself:

I'm an older bloke with a few grey hairs and there is potentially a lot of Dom work going on and so I had a go at this.... a beautiful girl, lovely dungeon and well kitted out, leather everything. I'm given a cat of nine tails and I've got to whip her, and I was a bit gentle and the stalker goes 'harder', okay a bit harder, and he goes 'harder',

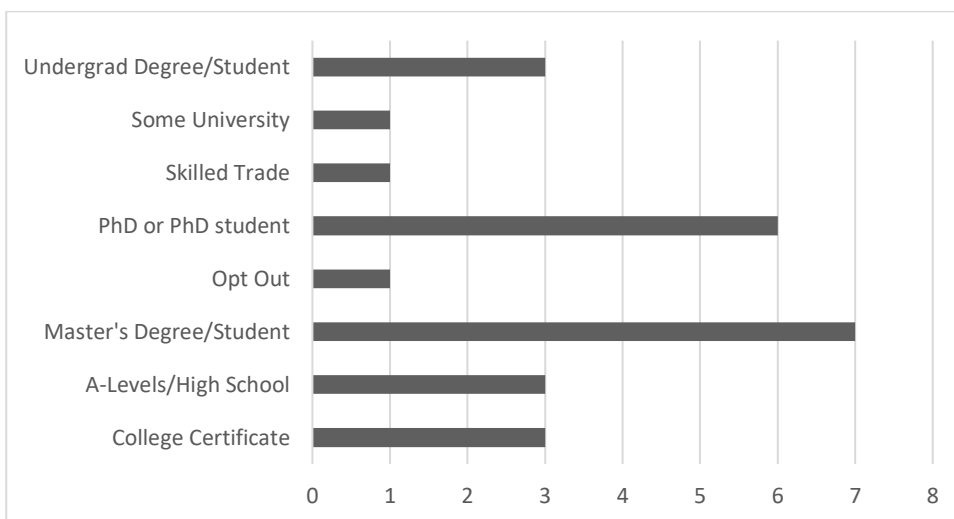
and she goes 'harder' and I'm like fuck this! This way beyond where I'm comfortable. And I then had a go of being sub and it was just half an hour of being totally pissed off!

Duality provides flexibility for participants across industries, and they position themselves advantageously as they age.

Education and (Transferrable) Skills

This sample of participants were highly educated (see Table 3). Of the 24 participants who shared information about their educations, seventeen (71%) were educated above A-level: one earned a skilled trade certification; one had some university education; three held bachelor's Degrees; seven earned master's Degrees; and six held PhD's. Of these, four were students with master's degrees and PhD's in progress. Three people held college certificates or skilled trade certification; and four completed A-Levels; and one had 'some university experience', meaning that they took classes but did not complete a degree program.

TABLE 2 EDUCATION



Participants reflected on their education in various ways. Wyatt talks about his education as something that he used to confront stigma:

What's interesting is the internalized stigma really prevents me from fully claiming the sex worker identity. I noticed when I first started doing sex work and I had my website I couldn't help myself but mention the fact that I had a [specialized degree]. It took me about a year or so to realize that was bullshit, and I didn't need to, so I took that off the website.

Deciding whether to share personal information is a challenge that participants discussed at length. Participants talked about assumptions made about their education and class, and questions from clients about how much SIW they do. Wyatt explains:

SIWs do get this question from clients, like 'is this your full-time job?' and it depends on my mood whether I would give the right answer... I was trying to...I think, combat stigma before, because of recognition and worth and if you do sex work you're seen culturally, low, the lowest of the low. So, I wanted to like say 'fuck you' ... I was feeding the stigma because I'm saying, I'm better than just sex work. I don't need to justify why I'm doing [sex work] or like qualify that by telling you I've got a degree.

Several UK participants wrestled with this need to tell SI clients about their level of educational attainment to challenge assumptions about their intelligence and worth. Blu discloses her education in her SIW ads:

I did the master's and I kind of played that up like 'I'm super educated', and I used that in my branding.

Sage struggled with clients perceiving her as uneducated because she is not originally from the UK. Clients that she screens and then refused to meet often insulted her intelligence:

It's interesting because if you knock back clients they insult you by saying 'you're [country of origin] and got no class' and I'm like 'you're on the internet looking for sex at three o'clock on a Wednesday afternoon, let's talk about class' [Laughter]. They assume that you're dumber because you're [Country of Origin] and then you have to remind them that you're onto your third university qualification, and then they say they have a bachelor's degree, and I say, 'oh how quaint'.

According to Cleo, Mary, Lynn and others, it is beneficial to tell clients about educational pursuits, whether or not the information is accurate. Cleo explains:

Clients like to think that you're doing something else... I had a job and I was a student. It would give them this idea that you're... just doing this because you like it, not to pay your rent. You know, like 'oh you've got this job, but you just love sex so you're doing this little bit on the side.' ...I think that's why so many people advertise as students ... 'oh she's just funding her studies' and it's not like this is my job and I need this to survive.

Representing oneself as more of a nymphomaniac or a student, and less a SIW is an illusion that is beneficial in Cleo's interactions with clients. Lynn has a similar strategy:

I say 24 and I'm doing a masters and clients like that because it gives them permission to pay for sex... they have whoraphobic ideas of like 'oh well it's not okay if she's using it to pay for drugs.' So, it makes them feel like patrons almost, which is so kind of patronizing! I use the

knowledge from my 'dropped out of' masters to bluff that I'm doing a master's currently, which is mostly great apart from when I run into someone who has some knowledge in the relevant subject area!

Lynn is content with being deceptive about her education, thus providing a way for clients to rationalize buying sex. Darcy obtained her formal education after years of doing SIW as her sole occupation. Initially, her clients taught her skills relevant to SIW, such as financial literacy:

I learned from people what to do with money, slowly over the years and I also got my education through escorting ...I didn't finish school, so my clients would teach me maths and taught me how to spell.

Darcy was the 'damsel in distress' and her clients heroically rescue her from ignorance:

They want to encourage you; they want to teach you. Men want to teach women. It's nice because as a woman you can use that. You're not using it in a bad way because they're enjoying doing it. It's a mutual giving from both angles.

Years later Darcy obtained a college diploma, which was a way for her to reconnect with members of the square world and eventually begin a DL.

The college diploma came later with the thought that I need to balance my life a bit. I need to mix with some 'normal' people and do something I could talk about with other people, rather than just not being able to explain, you know anything at all about where I was getting my money from as well.

Participants were asked about what skills they felt that they acquired in SIWSQ and which were transferable across jobs that they undertook. The goal was to understand what kinds of capital were negotiable across their fields. Wyatt talks about his ability to write and speak persuasively as a key asset acquired through his professional training and now proves useful in his SI advertising:

I can't tell you how much positive feedback I've had about my website and how I write ... it takes time to get the wording right I find that that's been the key to really having a successful sex work business. You need to communicate clearly to clients what I offer and speak to their hearts I think.

Lynn discusses her writing skills too:

I have an undergraduate degree in [omitted] which people think is kind of a fluffy degree but it taught me how to make written arguments and a lot of what I do at [nonprofit organization] is written arguments... if I'm writing an advert in sex work, which is so segmented by like class, so I play up the ways in which I am middle class and educated and clients love to hear that you are at university.

Helen applies her financial management and analytical skills from her square job to her SIW. She tracks and analyzes changes in her income based on marketing messaging, days and times, external events, and tests different photos and headlines in her advertising:

I think the skill of analyzing data is surprisingly quite relevant to sex work. I'm able to tell you how much money I did in a month's time because I've got my spread sheet

out in front of me and it's got all of my takings and costs and profits and so on. I can immediately tell you what my best days are for bookings. I go through and I note down the numbers of phone calls that I have, at what times of the day, and what days of the week, and then I'll track that to external events like while the football's been on you know.

Several participants possess the business acumen to track their revenue, isolate their ideal clients and strategically market. These practices among those who live DL may be more prevalent because they may have more access to educational capital while having limited time to participate in SIW. Helen explains:

I've got that advantage that I'm coming into the business already knowing a lot about how business works and already having worked myself and been self-employed... If you don't know where the money's coming from and you don't know when the most profitable times or when the most profitable places are you might as well just hang up your bra and go home because you're leaving money on the table constantly!

Helen reflects upon her approaches to managing SIW in the context of stigma and stereotypes that depict SIW as unintelligent:

It's condescending attitudes and it's like 'who would do sex work unless they had to?' and if you do sex work that means you don't have any other skills and that's the only reason you would go into sex work you know. You must have failed all of your exams, and 'you're too stupid to get a job shelf stacking', you big muppet! Like bitch please!

Zane believes that participating in SIW has improved his interpersonal skills and made him much more confident in his square job:

I used to be shy and I think lots...sex work has taught me to just kind of go for it, so a big part of my [square] job and one thing I'm good at is networking ...so you go to a meeting and you don't have fear. You arrive in a room for example and confidence is like this advantage and also in sex work with clients.

Mary utilizes her interpersonal skills and sees them as transferrable across fields of employment:

I get on good with people and I can make people feel comfortable very quickly... but I mean like definitely like when a lot of clients are nervous, like they're only going to be here for an hour so you've got 15 minutes to get them to feel comfortable enough to get all their clothes off, have sex and cum... To get somebody to be that comfortable with you ...there's a lot of skills that you use in sex work that I do think that also help me in my square job as well...facilitating people's ideas, listening to people, meeting people and yeah being like empathizing with people, I think these help in both jobs.

Several participants discuss having honed these kinds of interpersonal skills that benefit them in work as well as their personal lives. Juno is a licensed public-sector professional who began her square career prior to SIW involvement. She discloses how SIW aids her in her professional role:

As an escort I learned a lot of skills of not reacting and having a straight face and not laughing ...these skills I

take into my [profession] that I got from escorting. I really have fun conversations with people. I don't feel uncomfortable about sex and things anymore as a [professional]. I mean when I was 18 it was like 'oh my God I'm washing a penis', Now I'm like I could give a crap you know what I mean, I could be talking about the weather. It's the same skills that I learn as [professional] and I can take that into escorting.

Juno, like Zane, believes that SIW experience has boosted her confidence:

I went into escorting kind of after I started training to be a [public-sector professional] and I was quite shy and meek and when I went into escorting, I quickly realized that I had a lot of confidence to not be walked all over... And God my confidence grew! ... it was seen my grades, my first- and second-year grades are totally different. I got that confidence to say you know what, this is how it is, this is what we're going to do now...take it or leave it, [laughter]!

Joy feels that she brought skills from her private sector roles into SIW, but she developed interpersonal skills from interacting with men in SIW and feels better able to determine authenticity:

Most of my skills in sex work I brought into sex work rather than them derived from being a sex worker. But I think now...I'm much more aware of men and their bullshit, [laughter]...where before I would just take them from, based on face value, and now I think that I've become very aware of when they are being genuine and sincere and when they're not just...from having encountered thousands and thousands of men.

Having skills that are commutable across SIWSQ is not always a benefit. Mary's education in areas of gender politics, human rights issues and systemic inequalities informs her square jobs but challenges here interactions with clients:

I have a research background and policy and working in a global organization. I think my formal academic training tends to help with that. With doing sex work, in a way doesn't help knowing so much about the topic. Cause sometimes you want to just work and forget about everything and just you know go back to the bare bones of just having sex with somebody and then leaving but... it's almost like you think about it too much... and I'm thinking like my God I can't wait to write a paper on this.

Mary also shuts down intellectually during SIW:

When I do sex work I need to turn off the critical thinking part of my personality. Like I think I've got two sides to me: I'm very bubbly, ... But then in my straight job I think I kind of do the opposite too and turn down the bubbly part of me and be more kind of studious and I want to be able to speak in a way that people recognize that I'm intelligent and I think that I'm one of them.

Juno struggles to keep her professional skills at bay when she's doing SIW. She explains:

Oh my God, you should see me! I try and turn it into some sexy thing and I'm like checking to see if he hasn't got something hanging out of the end of his fucking dick first [laughter]...and like so many times I'm like 'oh you've got a skin infection' or something and the guy would be

like 'how do you know that?' I had a client a few years ago who had a sun burn and I'm like 'right, what you need to do for this is...' and the client said, 'I didn't realize that I was going to the GP!'

Having skills and education useful in both SIWSQ is foundational to participants' abilities to build relationships, access resources and negotiate capital towards their financial and life goals.

Partners, Lovers, Dependents and Pets

Participants were asked about their personal relationships and the people who they are responsible for, to explore how their loved ones may influence duality. How relationships motivated and challenged participants will be discussed in relevant sections. Of the 25 participants, six were in long-term intimate relationships; five participants had between one and four children; and seven discussed having pets that they had to organize their lives around. The 14 (56%) single participants talked about the freedom of being unattached and able to live their DL unencumbered, with no need to explain their whereabouts to anyone. Several women stated that having an intimate partner while they were in SIW would be challenging to balance and redundant. Juno explains:

I have had partners but then it just gets to the point where it is difficult to do both. I mean escorting is work like I really think it's absolutely fine for me. I find that it's just balancing it all and then you know...but I have had my partners and I've never told them. Like if I'm seeing a guy in my personal life, and in my head I'm like why aren't you paying for this? Like what am I doing [laughter]? It's totally redundant and all of the emotional work...I don't even want it. I just had sex an hour ago you know, jog on [laughter]!

Tracey chose not to be in a relationship while sex working:

I didn't date. I didn't want to go out with a guy who knew that I was doing sex work and I didn't want to lie.

Mary feels similarly and struggled with moving in and out of commercial sex and sex with a partner:

I think the intimacy of the labour involved makes you question your ability to be intimate with a partner and then being sexual [in sex work] ... also starting to work again since having kids, I think before I was quite a floosy anyway and I was doing sex for money and sex for fun, it was easier and it was all quite fluid. Whereas now...I kind of question how you go in between them and that was starting to play on my mind a bit.

Moving in and out of sex for work and sex for fun is a well-known challenge among SIW. Some participants disclosed their sex working with their significant others. Kora and her girlfriend had some disagreements about the nature of their relationship and how SIW and other lovers would be included:

We decided to close our relationship and sex work was the only thing that I was doing for a while in terms of having sex with other people. Before we used to have an open relationship and we both had our other lovers but we became monogamous when I became a sex worker.

Relationships participants have with family members and loved ones will be revisited as they are of significance in shaping secret-keeping strategies.

Health

This sample was relatively healthy. Only a few people disclosed health issues and discussed them in terms of SIWSQ and stigma. Franco for example,

reflects on gender, health and sexuality intertwining in his life as a gay man, a public-sector professional and a SIW:

I've had a bad experience from boyfriends who I've been out with and talking about the jobs I've done. I've worked in [education], I've done [health services], I've been an escort. As soon as I get to the escort bit the first thing that 3 ex-boyfriends have said 'are you HIV positive?' They think escort so AIDS.

The double stigma experienced by male SIW is noted in the literature (see Koken, 2012) and is something that many must contend with if they disclose SIW.

Unfortunately, participants experienced stigma when accessing health services, just as other SIWs do. Darcy explains:

You don't feel so comfortable when you go for a STD check because you have to go regularly, and you can't go too often for them because you get questioned too much and so you feel embarrassment and shame.

This stigma by health professionals is complicated by the fact that people who live DL tend not to disclose their SIW to anyone, thus the stigma that they are experiencing may be more linked to 'slut-shaming.' Tracey, a female participant with a history of drug dependence, was diagnosed with HIV and transitioned out of SIW, ending her DL due to assumptions about her health:

I got diagnosed with HIV, I didn't want to do sex work because I would be in real trouble with the agents. With the dance job you weren't putting people at risk but there was a perception that you would be.

For Tracey, whether participating in SIW or dance, the HIV was enough to end her career completely as she was treated as a 'vector of disease' in both contact and non-contact SIW. Darcy was also drug dependent from a young age:

I went into sex work to keep myself off drugs. Which worked. I was a heroin user from the age of 15 to 19 and then I got off drugs and I started escorting.

Health conditions can create stress for SIWs because it put them out of commission; fortunately, they have square jobs to rely upon in those instances. Zane elaborates:

I have an STI and I'm going to all of these clinics and I'm trying to figure out what it is, and I can't see any clients, so it's great that I have square job because I know I'm going to have money at the end of the month. If I was doing only sex work that would be most stressful. You really rely on your body and your sex work and your sexual health and if you have something then you would be fucked for that month.

The ability to shift reliance towards and away from SIW when necessary is the flexibility that duality affords. Sometimes illness affects both SIWSQ. Maintaining physical health was a challenge for Daisy due to the nature of her SQ that requires her to interact with young people at certain times during the year and this affects her ability to do SIW:

I get sick a lot from [square job] but then lately it's also from being run down because I'm like nonstop working, and then when I do sex work again at night... I'm always sick during [omitted] every year. I've been sick for like 5 years.

Managing physical and mental health was a prevalent theme among participants, particularly in relation to keeping secrets about their SIW—a topic that will be discussed in Chapter Six. Kora talks about limiting burn out more generally:

The benefit [of duality] is that you're not dependent on any one job. So, you can get the opportunity to be more

varied and not be burned out by one thing. You can be burned out from working too much in general... it's like that for any other job, for all jobs.

Sierra relates the emotional labour and stress of SIW as being similar to what her friends experience working in the public sector:

I have friends who do social work and they have to invest so much emotionally in that work as well. And I'm thinking like wow, this is not unique to sex work...for me that's all one group you know of service jobs and it's all a type of exploitation.

The costs of providing care to others is often under-recognized. SIW is largely considered exploitation of criminal and not part of the service industry, and this further 'invisibilizes' the labour associated with it.

Early in his SIW career, Wyatt enjoyed the work because he was able to earn money by providing care and nurturance. Years later, he began to burn out:

Like 6 years no 5 years of sex work has almost like...the desire or need to nurture, I don't have it anymore, [laughter]! I've run out of reserves and...my capacity to be caring has diminished but then sometimes like the end of the session last night with this client it was just lovely, and I touched that part again but it's really rare these days. I feel like I've got nothing left you know.

Wyatt experiences waves of excitement about SIW when he has a good connection with a client, but this soon wanes. Avoiding burn out was a goal for several participants who adjusted the level of SIWSQ they do to maintain good mental health. Blu's health issues affected her ability to work full-time in any career. She is often under stress to make ends meet:

I haven't been able to do it [sex work] full-time and not even enough work to pay my rent for a month so really, it's always been very much a part time thing. I think that's

because I'm not willing to spend every waiting minute of my life on it and other people do well, but their lives are all work and that's not what I want... because I have health to think about, my energy reserves are a lot more stretched than most people.

Finally, participants also discussed marketing, sexual health and client preferences. Blaze associates pricing and health:

Firstly, seeing a sex worker is a luxury at whatever price. It's always a luxury and I don't know maybe I'm expecting too much from punters, but I assume that they guys who see someone for £50 or for £35 for half an hour, I don't think they're going to see me for £140 for an hour. I could be wrong but if I was a punter my fear would be 'is this girl doing things because she has to?' 'Is she then offering services that could put my health at risk?'

Blaze takes issue with safer sex practices that appear to be absent among some SIW online:

It's surprising how many women you see on [online venue] with low prices. That shocked me massively because my assumption always that workers were so safe in their sexual practices and that's always the popular rhetoric you hear but a lot of girls offer bareback.

The questions that Blaze poses about the workers she sees online offering below market prices for unprotected services are serious ones that relate to various inequalities that are beyond the scope of this research. It is worth noting that participants engaging in duality in the contexts of stigma and criminalization do so to prevent desperation and reliance those who devalue and exploit SIWs.

Brexit and (Sex) Work

The topic of Brexit emerges again for participants as they discuss earning potential and locations for SIW. Participants who work in Europe anticipate changes to their citizenship and mobility. Juno explains how the loss of EU citizenship will affect her SIW:

I work in [European city] sometimes in the red-light district and occasionally, usually a couple of times a year...And when Brexit happens I'm not really able to do that because to work in [European city] you have to get a permit, like a sex worker's permit from the government just for tax, and to do that you have to have an EU passport. I mean in a few years I'm not going to have an EU passport you know.

Franco was concerned about how the Brexit decision would affect both jobs in SIWSQ:

When it first happened I started crapping myself, I mean really fucking crapping myself ...what hit me wasn't the job I do but it was just that I am a business man and a small trader and thinking decisions like these affects small businesses first. Work was pretty quiet for a few days after the vote ... but I misinterpreted it and said, 'oh my God, now people won't spend money on sex', cause sex is a luxury. But I forget this on a regular basis, people will always pay for sex!

Remi reflects on the situation among migrants in the UK and her recent use of European conventions to challenge UK enforcement in her SIW job:

There's a lot of jobs being lost and migrants are in an incredibly shitty situation in the UK at the moment and there's like you hear all sorts of stories of companies getting immigration in and them doing raids...In terms of

the laws surrounding my work, every time there's a bad law or a breach of the law in the UK from law enforcement or government, the EU has got my back! Like I've been able to appeal to the European court of human rights and say that 'this is a breach of the European convention.'

Remi feels that the EU influence is necessary to protect the rights of workers in the UK. The decision to leave the EU also affects her overall identity:

The UK has always been a pretty authoritarian, conservative country and xenophobic, and mourning for its colonial past and wanting to carry on bullying the world and not giving anything back. Being part of Europe moderated that and the diversity and cultural enrichment improved our communities, and I just think it's tragic that we're going backwards. I've always considered myself a European citizen and I feel like I've been stripped of my citizenship without my consent.

June also comments on her identity, and what Brexit means for her co-workers in her square job who are European:

The biggest thing that I find upsetting is that I love like the 'international-ness' of my group of [co-workers in square job] ... so I find that a bit troubling to think that our work together might not continue. I'm so like really kind of torn about Brexit. I do think like I like the idea of local autonomy and ...I don't like the idea of autonomy being given away to somebody that you don't even know who they are... And I love the free movement, so I'm really conflicted about it.

Daisy, was also concerned about how Brexit would affect her square job as it relates to her employment status in the UK:

I got an email from my union telling me not to worry about Brexit, that it should be okay but there might be changes in terms of like... cause I'm on a sponsorship. Brexit will only affect me if it changes the rules surrounding sponsorship from people from non-EU countries, so I don't really know. Worse comes to worse I could marry my boyfriend who is British. I would honestly do that just to stay here because for me going back to [home country] is out of the question like I can't live back there anymore.

Daisy also thought about Brexit in relation to how it would affect her revenue in SIW:

With [sex work] no I don't like maybe at the start it would be bad because I think the pound dropped. So I think there was less work, but for me because I wasn't like consistently doing sex work and I didn't see the difference, but I image that for those full-time workers [SIW] who were like starting to realize what the patterns in the market are like. It dies down at the end of the month and then goes up again on pay day, so they may have noticed it more...But I have been able to at least get work [sex work] once a week.

Cleo and Joy did not feel that Brexit would have any effect on their square jobs. Joy compared Brexit to the Scottish Independence Referendum that took place on September 18th, 2014 in which a vote for independence from the rest of the UK was sought and lost by a margin of just over a 10%.³⁷

I don't think it [Brexit] will affect my mainstream job at all. And I think that eventually everything will settle down. And in the political turmoil and political change, like we

³⁷ Scottish Independence Referendum <http://scotlandreferendum.info/>

had that here in Scotland with the referendum and it was very very close, a very close vote and people were talking about change but everything has a pretty steady pace, and the world will still turn around.

Conversely, Helen believed that the vote to leave the EU had a great effect on her square job:

It's had an effect on my civie job because our share prices crashed the day after. I don't actually have any shares because [omitted] but there were some long faces in the office the next day...Some of the [co-workers] who have been there for 15-20 years you know...like 40% was wiped off of their investments...it has recovered now but it's still not where it was.

Cat felt very emotionally affected by the Brexit decision:

Me and most of my friends have been massively emotionally shaken up because of it...London pride was the day after the result and you could feel the heaviness in the air because people knew that things were going to change, and it was hung like a really bad omen in a way. And at work [SQ] I've had lots of meetings with lawyers and things about Brexit and I don't know I think in terms of legislation it might affect the way things are. In day to day terms I haven't really noticed a difference on the sex work side but yeah, I think it's got a big impact.

Cat adds that working in the industry in the UK may be more challenging without an EU influence because they bring progressive perspectives:

Europe is more progressive when it comes to sex work than the UK is. I know that there's that parliamentary committee that kind of put through...the home affairs, I

mean when you consider the number of countries in Europe where it's decriminalized and very legal, I think we might suffer from not having that influence.

Nova has similar concerns with the funding source for her SQ, education and future right to work in the UK:

I was most worried about my [EU funding for square work] by my [omitted] said it's okay don't worry and I have it for 4 years and I signed for it for anyway. It might change for future generations but anyone who already started can continue so there's no problems in terms of that but I'm not sure if after that I might not have the right to work in the UK anymore. But I don't know what the consequences are for [square job] but maybe sex work would be legal, so maybe I would be a legal migrant sex worker!

Mary states that Brexit has already had a negative effect on client's spending habits:

It's definitely impacted on people's financial security I guess, and people aren't willing to spend as much money but hopefully it won't last for long.

When working in her square job, Mary was recently in Europe and she pondered the loss of her European identity:

It might affect in terms of the travelling I do in my square job it might make it a bit more difficult for example when Brexit happened and the vote happened and I was in [Europe] at the time and it was...I felt horrible to then be in Europe and to think that we then couldn't call ourselves European... You don't feel that sense of being at home in all of Europe...

Some participants discussed residency and work permit issues and the possibility of not being able to stay in the UK. Kora states:

I will die if I can't stay in the UK... it's going to diminish my income!

Blu is most concerned about UK national unity:

I think there are quite a lot of EU directives around workers' rights and stuff that is very important but what I'm most concerned about is the border between the north and south Ireland and how that would be completely changed.

Zane reflects on his citizenship and that of a loved one in the context of Brexit:

Brexit just seems so vague that I don't think it's going to affect my residency status and also even if it was ending like they're not going to deport European people and I'm also half British but it's so frustrating with [partner] we're trying to get the right visa so this might change things but with sex work I don't see it changing, not with clients. It's better because the pound crashed, so actually I'm getting more money now [in square job].

Concerns about Brexit and the influence it will have on citizenship, status for migrant workers, identity and SIWSQ labour markets are doubly felt by people who live DL because they are negotiating work and income in disparate employment spheres as recognized and unrecognized workers.

Discussion: The Participants

The prevalence of duality is not known and as such, it is not possible to determine how my social position may have influenced decisions to participate; however, my sample comprises individuals who were quite sophisticated in their abilities to be reflexive about their working lives and

social contexts. The concept of introspection as it relates to privilege, cultural capital and duality is best described in Mai (2007) who reflects upon his interviews with men who were influenced by media. They utilized sex work to migrate in search of a better life. Mai shares how their narratives converge and diverge from his own constructed migration story and rationale for emigrating from Italy. He discovers that unlike his participants, his privileged position as a gay, Italian academic working in England afforded him access to information and discourse that helped him articulate his migration decision and dreams in ways that were devoid of shame. He states:

I saw that the problem was that the people I was talking to had no language to talk about their desires in ways which would make them morally acceptable...they were silenced within and without by a thick layer of guilt and shame.

(Mai, N, 2007, p. 17).

Similarly, my participants had access to both discourse and information that helped them explain duality to me in ways that made their practices not only understandable but acceptable in our socio-economic and socio-legal contexts. Although participants were challenged by secret-keeping, information/identity management and the fear of being outed, their sophisticated analyses of their social mobility through blending SIWSQ, and of managing information and relationships are in themselves markers of cultural capital and signifiers of privilege. Further, their statuses, in terms of gender, race/culture, in addition to cultural capital, computer literacy, etc. all contributed to their abilities to sustain duality.

This sample of off-street SIW were diverse with respect to their gender and sexual identity. Although most participants identified as women and heterosexual, some were femmes, men, pansexual, bisexual or gay. A few considered themselves more fluid in terms of gender and there were a couple who were 'gay for pay' or 'straight for pay', willing to accommodate clients

in situ. The predominantly heterosexual sample did not discuss any challenges or issues with their sexuality as it relates to duality, except for Zane. Zane, unlike participants in Koken, Bimbi, Parsons and Halkitis (2004) where gay, male SIWs suffered stigma that forced them into a ‘double closet’, Zane asserts that his white, gay, maleness supported him in being open about his SIW identity to more people. Zane discussed the intersection of gay SIW and disease, highlighted by Koken et al. (2004) within the context of discussion of symbolic stigma (Herek et al., 2005), but countered that with a recognition that being a white man shielded him from the harshest effects of whore stigma. As expected, gender and sexuality were discussed in relation to broader social constructs. Joy talked about a hierarchy of chastity or of the ‘whore’, of which women are subjected to, where virgins occupy the top most valued place and SIWs exist at the bottom rung. This stratification of women appears alive and well and documented in Peano (2012) discussion of whores and Madonna’s, and Rubin’s (1992) sex hierarchy reconfirmed by Koken (2012). Within the bottom rung is the whorearchy discussed in my review of literature, in which SIWs are ranked according to what customers are willing to pay for their services. SIWs who are advocates in the UK, such as Charlotte Rose draw attention to the ways that clients have decided upon pricing in the SI based on a whorearchy. Although there is little scholarship in the area of race and SIW in the UK/EU, I argue that much can be gleaned from how SIWs describe their stratification.

As noted, 22 of 25 participants identified as being white; however, race or cultural identities and work was an important topic. It is difficult to say whether race/culture would have been as prominent a theme if my data collection phase did not extend through the Brexit vote, nevertheless, participants contributed greatly to understandings around whiteness, citizenship and (sex) work. Forms of Balkanism (Todorova, 1997) such as the discrimination towards eastern European sex workers manifested itself in the narratives of participants in ways that echoed public discourse during the EU referendum. Racially, this sample is not unlike other studies of its kind among off-street sex workers (O’Doherty, 2015; Sanders et al., 2018; Law, 2011; Ham and Gilmour, 2016; Koken, 2012). Participants like Joy, for example,

never considered their race to be a part of their identity and was surprised to read that others did. Cleo, recognized that being female and white afforded a set of privileges that others do not enjoy, including being out to more people about her SIW. Other scholars doing research among SIWs note the disparate valuation of indigenous and black and brown workers verses those who identify or ‘pass’ as white (Reece, 2015; Raguparan, 2017; van der Meulen et al., 2013; O’Doherty, 2015). June discusses her whiteness as representing a safe and somehow disease-free choice for clients. Similarly, Sage shared her experience as a white woman from outside of the UK/EU and how she is treated by her clients as the *right kind of immigrant*. She attributes this to being white and an English speaker. Several participants confirmed a whorearchy within the broader global SI that places white, British, blond, thin woman at the top and all others are valued against, with non-English speaking, non-citizen women of color ranked the least. Scholarship on colorism (Banks, 2000; Hunter, 2002; Piscitelli, 2007; Pheonix, 2014;) and Balkanism (Todorova, 1997) brings insights to these stratifications within and among people of color and discusses how lightness is social or symbolic capital that is negotiated most successfully by those who can pass a white. Valuing individuals based on race and color is a historical and continuing part of neo-colonial experience for people of color. Female participants here, along with those of Raguparan (2017) and O’Doherty (2015) work within a whorearchy and a sex hierarchy. It is safe to say that an UK/EU whorearchy would integrate the following within a matrix of value-laden and costed categorizations of worth:

- race and culture (lightness/whiteness)
- citizenship (Britishness, im/migrants)
- language (primacy on English)
- gender and sexuality
- type of SIW
- level of client contact
- appearance
- class

Sage and other participants confirm that client selection processes are based on the measure to which a worker is White British. More specifically, sex

workers' departure from western European-ness critically affects their worth in the sex industries. As Seidler (2018) highlighted, racism, xenophobia and hate crime was rising in the UK/EU during 2016, and my participants were not immune from the sentiments of immigrants and job-stealers and the rhetoric of white supremacists/ alt right groups. These sentiments are reminiscent of 'Balkanism' (Todorova, 1997). Participants engaged with race/culture through a whorearchy that ranks white, British with EU and other nationalities in reference to the pricing of their services and Brexit. June and Helen for example, expressed feeling worried about their citizenship and what the Brexit vote would mean for their abilities to work and travel to EU and their identities. Seidler (2018) notes that race and immigration are synonymous in British culture as if people of color cannot also be British, *and* that xenophobia now refers to Eastern Europeans, delineated by those who speak English and those who do not. Although my sample did not comprise migrant SIWs of color, who are often isolated and experience high rates of victimization due to lack of status (Mai, 2009; 2013), participants like Cat and June experienced an 'othering' like Somali migrant families living in Birmingham³⁸ who lost their sense of belonging and home after the vote to leave the EU. Most notably, Juno who works in the SI in the EU, experienced push back about her being a 'British girl'. Sage, so angered by the rise in hate crimes, the whorearchy and the treatment she experienced by her clients' attempts to devalue her form of whiteness, she felt that the chaos and rejection that Britain will experience as an outcome of the Brexit decision will be retribution for the country's unfair enrichment due to British global colonial exploitation and other atrocities.

There was much discussion among participants about how EU SIWs may invade the UK market and the affect that would have on pricing within in the SI. There are no studies to date on Brexit and SIW; however, participants like Joy, June and others were concerned about EU SIWs driving down the price

³⁸ Sociological Review Blog post Tuesday, August 22nd, 2017 by Allen and Young
<https://www.thesociologicalreview.com/blog/brexit-birmingham-and-belonging-anxieties-about-home-among-secondary-migrant-somali-families.html>

of services. Others felt insulated from any shifts that could be made because of EU workers. Some participants did not feel affected by any changes that Brexit would bring about because they were located at the top of the whorearchy, or they did not buy into the idea that EU SIWs were not already, and would not continue to be, part of the UK market. Several participants, Zane, Sage, Nova, Juno, Helen, Franco and others reflected on how the decision to leave the EU would affect jobs and identities in both SIWSQ, in addition to a loss of identity and an associated grief highlighted by Cat and June. At the time of interview, Mary had already experienced a loss in income from SIW, no doubt in reaction to the vote and the drop in the pound left its value at a 31-year low³⁹. Chaykowski (2005) argued that women, part-time workers and the self-employed are among the most precarious workers. Further, the Office for National Statistics documents that most of the British public live below are around the poverty line with average household monthly incomes of £27,200 at the end of 2017. This, in addition to a collective £1.23 trillion debt load. Market instability, due to geopolitical events such as Brexit, can only increase anxieties for Britons. Beyond work, identity and belonging, SIWs benefit from EU law. Remi discussed her human rights case with me in detail. Just as other SIWs have done according to Magdalena Group's 2016 blog post⁴⁰, she, after her rights as a SIW and a business owner had been violated in the UK, appealed to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) for justice. Remi expressed no longer having this option as a great loss for SIWs and for those interested in preserving human rights in the UK.

My sample is consistent with others of off-street SIWs and what one expects to find among the working/middle classes (Hoigard and Finstad, 1992; Bernstein, 2007; O'Neill, 1997; Law, 2011; O'Doherty, 2015; Sanders et al., 2018; Ham and Gilmour, 2016; Lucas, 2005; Koken, 2012). My portrait of an off-street SIW suggests: an age range between 30 and 60; being of the dominant culture in their

³⁹ The Guardian 'Pound slumps to 31-year low following Brexit vote
<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jun/23/british-pound-given-boost-by-projected-remain-win-in-eu-referendum>

⁴⁰ <http://magdalengroup.org/doorwayblog/how-will-brexit-affect-the-sex-work-industry/>

countries of work and residence; mostly computer savvy independent workers without management; employment histories in both SIWSQ; with an education level comparable to the national average. For example, 90% (n=27/30) participants in Koken's (2012) sample of internet SIWs were educated above high school. In the case of the UK, as of the end of quarter three in 2017, higher education graduates comprise 40% of non-enrolled adults between the ages of 21 and 64.⁴¹ This compared with 71% of my sample attaining education beyond A-levels, exceeding Sanders et al. (2018) with 54% of a very large sample (n=635). Participants living DL appear to benefit from the stereotypes about SIWs being relatively young and inexperienced, impoverished and uneducated. Information management and stigma-avoidance was prominent throughout their conversations about who they shared information about their SIWSQ with, reinforcing findings by Day and Ward (2014). Participants spoke at length about their transferrable skills, and decisions to either conceal or share information about their educations with their clients in the SI.

If we treat educational attainment as cultural capital that is convertible to both economic and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) we see that having an education makes people marketable across several fields. Participants' level of education was an asset in their square and personal lives and for many, their education was only possible because they drew income from both SIWSQ. Some participants were compelled to hide information about their educations from the SI clients because this information would threaten those relations and make them less marketable. Wyatt, Sage, and others came to understand that educational credentials were not a means to attain (sub)cultural capital in the SI. Also, their need to disclose was a stigma-avoidance strategy to set themselves apart from other SIW, that may contribute to reinforcing stigma for SIW who do not hold degrees. Sharing information about one's education proved to be a double-edged sword, as female

⁴¹ Office for National Statistics 'Graduates in the UK Labour Market 2017'
<https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/articles/graduatesintheuklabourmarket/2017>

participants reflected upon their interactions with male clients. And emerging theme was this idea that clients wanted the money they provided to SIW to go to something meaningful. Since educational attainment so profoundly shaped identity for Wyatt, Sage and others disclosed this information, albeit detrimental, to their clients as a strategy to avoid stigma. Participants made social comparisons (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) that set themselves above other workers by sharing information about advanced degrees with their clients. Their aim was to keep self-structures intact and resist the ways that clients may stigmatize them, but Wyatt admits that doing this reinforced stigma. Cleo and Mary remarked that their clients were very happy to know that the money they provided was going towards a *worthy* cause such as education. Lynn is a university graduate but lies about being in current schooling as a marketing strategy, which participants state that is all too common among off-street workers. All three women noted that they benefited from patriarchal and gendered relationships with their clients, who wanted to help ‘damsels in distress.’ Darcy admitted that she particularly benefits from being young, British and white, and in need of a little help from men. She discloses her educational goals and plays on the ways in which men have invested time and money towards her personal development. Ultimately, this sample reinforces Scambler and Scambler’s (1997) five misconceptions about SIW as participants are diverse, active agents, who are skilled, ethical and educated.

With respect to managing relationships while living a DL, for most people, family members are an important reference group, comprising relevant others who have influence over our self-constructions and behaviors (Perinbanayagam, 1975). Whether participants had family obligations or not, this contributed to how well they could manage DL. Duality involved both personal and social identities (Owen, et al., 2010) as the self is known and produced through our relationships (Mead, 1929; Giddens 1991; Lawler, 2004). They may account for the finding that 19 of my 25 participants preferred to be single while engaged in duality. This is not to say that they

do not date, or may consider longer term relationships, they just find duality easier to manage if they are single. Although only six of the 25 participants were in long term relationships, they provided rich commentary on how they went about protecting loved ones from whore stigma; on and offline audience segregation; identity/information management; passing; deception; and stress. These issues were all components of identity and information management discussed in literature (Goffman, 1963; 1967; Barreto and Ellemers, 2003; Meltzer, 2003). Redirecting every day conversations away from topics that may out them (Smart and Wegner, 1999) constructing altruistic fibs and strategic fabrications (Meltzer, 2003) to maintain audience segregation for example, and passing and covering (Goffman, 1959;1963) are all essential parts of participants' interactions with loved ones. Social psychology literature aids us in more fully understanding the complexities inherent in managing duality or 'double-double lives (Goffman, 1967). Smart and Wegner's (1999) preoccupation model of secrecy best communicates the stress of avoiding topics, suppressing thoughts and withholding information (Afifi and Caughlin (2006) involved in keeping SIW a secret. The notion of keeping secrets from those participants desired close relationships with may create more distance (Newheiser and Barreto, 2014; Afifi and Steuber, 2010) or cause isolation. We will revisit these themes in greater depth in Chapter Six: Liar, Liar: Stigma-avoidance and Deception as they relate more closely to the outcomes of secret-keeping.

Closing Remarks: The Participants

I described the sample of UK participants in this chapter, who are diverse in terms of gender and sexual identity, culture, and age; although not racially. They reflected upon how these interactional markers of identity played into their SIWSQ and their ability to manage concealing discrediting and personal information. Their high levels of education were striking and demonstrates that precarity is creeping into the middle-classes. Participants discuss their relationships, health and geo-politics (Brexit), with respect to work, stigma and their futures.

In the next chapter, findings about SIWSQ experiences are documented. Details about their work histories, paths to DL, as well as their time investments and earnings are described.

CHAPTER FOUR
(SEX) WORK EXPERIENCES, MOTIVATIONS AND
CHALLENGES

Certainly, in the West, I don't think, short of people who've got really messed up lives, like drug problems, and they need a very high cash flow with no skill set, most people who are in the industry part time, for the money, it's not so they can live, it's so that they can have a better lifestyle than they could ordinarily have.

Laith

This chapter will comprise details about SIWSQ jobs, and time investments and earnings. At times, some quotes will be attributed to ‘Anonymous’ and to the assigned pseudonym. Although this structure may be challenging for some readers, it allows me to more freely share participant’s experiences without linking them to biographies. As most participants are women, the female pronoun ‘she’, may appear in discussion of these quotes.

(Sex) Work Experience

Square Jobs

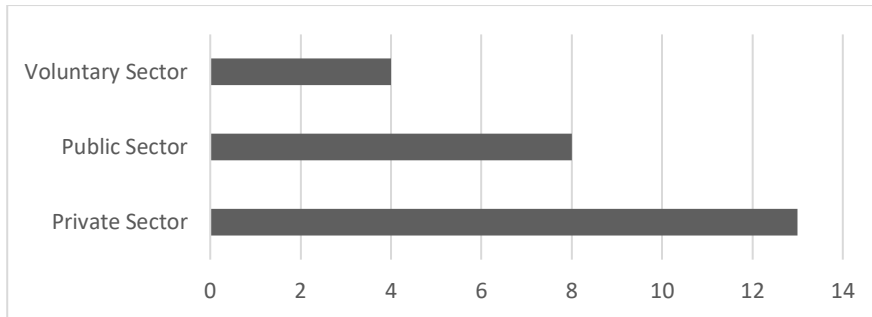
‘Square’ or mainstream jobs are categorized by industry to further protect participants. The UK sample included individuals from all three (private, public and third) sectors of mainstream employment. The sectors are defined as follows:

- ‘Private Sector’ encompasses for-profit businesses, whose industries that are not controlled by the government;
- ‘Public Sector’ businesses that are owned and controlled by the government such as education and healthcare; and
- ‘Third/Voluntary Sector’ that comprises charities and non-profit businesses and organizations.

Thirteen (52%) of the 25 participants work in the private sector, as employees or running businesses in sales, retail and the boarder service industry; banking and the financial sector; and consulting. Eight (32%) participants worked in the public sector in healthcare, education and corrections for example; and four (16%) participants worked in the voluntary/third sector, in a variety of NGO’s and charities serving the UK and European communities. Several participants were licensed professionals in their fields. Twelve (48%) participants had less than five years’ experience in square jobs; seven (28%)

were employed between 6-10 years; four (16%) were in jobs for 11-15 years; and two (8%) held their current jobs for more than 20 years.

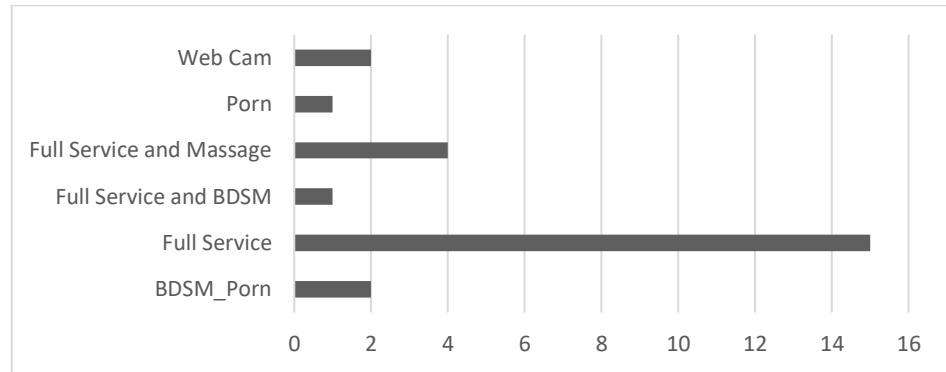
TABLE 3 SQUARE JOBS BY SECTOR



Sex Industry Work

In terms of SIW, participants had diverse biographies, with experiences providing both contact (e.g. full service, massage or pornography) and non-contact (webcam, dance or modelling) services. More generally, at the time of interview, 15 (60%) of participants were engaged in full service SIW as independents or working from escort agencies; four (16%) provided full service, massage therapy and sexual healing; one provided full service and BDSM services; two (8%) did Webcam; another two (8%) worked as porn actors and provided BDSM services; one worked as a porn actor solely. All but three participants moved from SQ into duality. More specifically, several had work experiences in full-time SIW as well, but only three participants began a DL having never held a square job. The length of time participants had worked in the sex industries varied. Twelve (48%) participants spent between six and ten years in the SI; nine (36%) were involved for five years or less; two worked between 11 and 15 years; one between 16 and 20 years; and one was involved in SIW for over 20 years.

TABLE 4 SEX INDUSTRY JOBS



Journeys into (Sex) Work: Motivation

Several participants worked multiple jobs in SIWSQ before entering duality and many were working full-time in other careers:

I had a full-time job for a while and I was doing full service work for an agency based in [city]...I would do in calls and outcalls to hotels ...I typically work like 2 or 3 days a week and then the rest of the time not work... I was working for a [private sector] and doing research. I did my degree in [discipline].

Anonymous

This participant started their working life in SIW and then moved on to retail square jobs and the voluntary sector:

I've been doing sex work for like 15 years and I've also had another job at the same time, so I would be working in cafes or bars ... now I work [voluntary sector].

Anonymous

This participant began a working life as a full-time SIW, then obtained a college certificate and began SQ before starting a DL:

When I came to [region] and brought my children, I did in and out calls. So, while I was escorting I did a 2-year college course to get my diploma and then I've also done sex work alongside [third sector] work.

Anonymous

This participant is a licensed third-sector professional and academic, who began a DL after entering a square career:

I mean I have a [degree] and I'm a registered [omitted] and I did that you know before I started sex work and I'm still registered ...and I pay my dues to the [omitted] every year so I keep that certification. So, I have like learned a lot of really valuable skills doing that work which I use a lot in [current sex work job].

Anonymous

Participants brought years of work experience to duality. Some participants found SQ and working environments to be stressful and exploitive:

I had the square job all the way through. I left school, I did a post grad degree and I planned to be an academic, but academia is really bad for my mental health. I finally accepted that and quit before I started my PhD...In that first year my sources of income were model shoots, doing occasional porn as a performer, [information communication technology], design and selling art... that was my 2 income streams were 2 sexy and 2 not sexy.

Anonymous

This participant felt that their SQ environment was exploitive and did not want to remain in a situation where she was reliant on this work:

It's very toxic like fucking [square job] it's so bad for relationships and bad for people and it's so exploitative, much more exploitative than sex work...and you never get paid for your work and never have job security.

Anonymous

Another participant had a very secure square career that took many years to acquire the credentials for, but it did not meet her expectations:

I got into sex work because I was disillusioned with [past square work] people would come with a problem and an issue or a complaint and the [omitted] is to help them like pursue that ... but 9 times out of 10 it's kind of a farce....So what I observed is people would come in in pain and inner conflict and turmoil and we would get to the end of the [interaction] and that pain and conflict was just more deeply entrenched. There was no like... healing or moving forward...so I just grew totally disillusioned that I thought I want to work more therapeutically with people.

Anonymous

Not all participants entered duality from secure full-time employment. This participant had several health issues and when contract work ended, she signed on to benefits and was later sanctioned. She explains her struggle:

It was only a 7-month contract and I wanted to get out of some debt and then I've actually had to leave my contract job because my health was really bad, and the job made it worse basically...I live in a very expensive place. I

thought right, I need to put a bit more effort into this [sex work] and then so I was on a couple of benefits but it was such a little bit of money...then that worsened at the end when I got one of my benefits taken off me and I was gonna be sanctioned for 6 months.

Anonymous

Entering a DL was not something people deciding overnight for the most part. Some participants spent years unsatisfied in SIWSQ before blending the two. This participant started doing SIW after obtaining credentials and a job in their field. Incorporating it with the square jobs just ‘happened’:

I think it was quite incidental like with sex work it was really. I just sort of thought about it for a long time and then I finished university ... and then looked online to try and find an agency. Then picked one that I thought looked okay and then it went from there I guess.

Anonymous

This participant went from completing her education into part-time SIW and then an opportunity for a square job presented:

I hadn't really thought that I would do a corporate job like that but then a friend of mine said that they were looking for [third-sector job] and I put in my CV and then they said you have the job. I'd only been doing sex work for 2 months at that point and I was quite into it and I didn't want to stop doing it.

Anonymous

Retaining the square job was an opportunity to build their CVs and develop skills in the career that they planned for. This participant entered SIW as flexible employment to do alongside schooling:

I was looking for a job and I couldn't really find a flexible job and it's not that I was forced into escorting and it's not that I fancied it, but I didn't have a problem with it. I did see it as really an interesting job and it would really work around my studies and that kind of thing. Obviously, I was quite nervous at the beginning, but I certainly didn't have a big moral... 'this is wrong' at all.

Anonymous

For the most part, participants were educated, already employed, and took advantage of opportunities as they presented during periods when they were seeking options to earn more money or when they have experienced abuse or disillusionment in square jobs.

Branwen describes her journey from challenging square jobs to duality:

At 35 I left the [square job] because quite frankly everyday was like you have to be in form and getting up at 3am in the morning for years...I stopped it and then I got a new job. It was stressful and hard, and I've been spat at, I've been slapped, I've been sexually assaulted...then I started to get part-time work at [square job] because again I needed the money...then I went on the [website] not long ago because I had to start working for myself again in the sex industry.

The circumstances that motivate people to take extraordinary risks to live DL are vast. Branwen's experiences of assault and abuse at her square job inspired her to change square occupations and return to independent SIW. Lynn, like most participants, was motivated to live a DL because she wanted to earn money fast:

I got into full service sex work because I wanted to make a large amount of money as quickly as I could and at the time... I have friends who do BDSM and Dom and it requires so much planning and equipment and if you're just selling GFE or just sex, not even GFE, you don't need equipment. You don't need to be sending emails that are like a thousand words long of script for a role play. That's exhausting!

For Lynn, the most expeditious way to earn money was full service SIW and this led to her involvement in rights work and politics:

Yeah and the [third sector] job that came out of doing sex work...I got involved in it because of doing sex work so it led me to a straight job!

Darcy was previously drug dependent and moved on to SIW as a means to get her life together.

I loved the money and there was no way I was gonna go back to taking drugs. I then became, in once sense addicted to earning money... I was mixing with a lot of people with money, a lot of rich men, so I saw what they had... and I thought that's what I want.

Darcy challenges a widely-held stereotype that people enter the SI to feed a habit or develop one while there.

Joy entered a DL to ensure her child could go through university without debt. The financial hardship that came with funding higher education motivated her to enter SIW:

So, I decided literally overnight. I'd read some articles and as far as I'm aware I've never spoken to a sex worker about sex work and I decided, right, I'm going to need to

find £20,000 in the next 9 weeks and how can I find that without borrowing additional money? ... I set about becoming a sex worker and that was I think 6 years ago.

Likewise, Helen was looking to increase her income to give herself a better quality of life:

I live in a really expensive area and I rent a tiny flat which even though I earn a pretty good salary, is all I can afford. So I was looking for ways to increase my earnings but it's...the process of moving up within your existing career can be quite long and drawn out...I enjoy my [square] job, I get well paid for what I do... escorting, it's cash in hand, and there is a lot of money to be made. You know the first time I went to an out call and got paid 140 pounds for an hour of my time...it was like more money in one hour than I've ever made in my life!

As she states, moving up the ladder in a square job to a level that one can earn a good living can take many years. Supplementing her income with SIW provided added financial security. Similarly, Branwen wanted to maintain a lifestyle and own property but inflation and bills made this less possible without a second income. She re-incorporated SIW in her life after years of being square:

Yeah, I know full well I'm never going to get on the property ladder. Prices in this country are just stupid. So, I had to get back into [sex work] just to maintain a lifestyle and when I say a lifestyle I don't mean champagne or anything like that, I just mean being able to survive and have the nice things in life. Looking after a car, being happy to pay the rent not being you know,

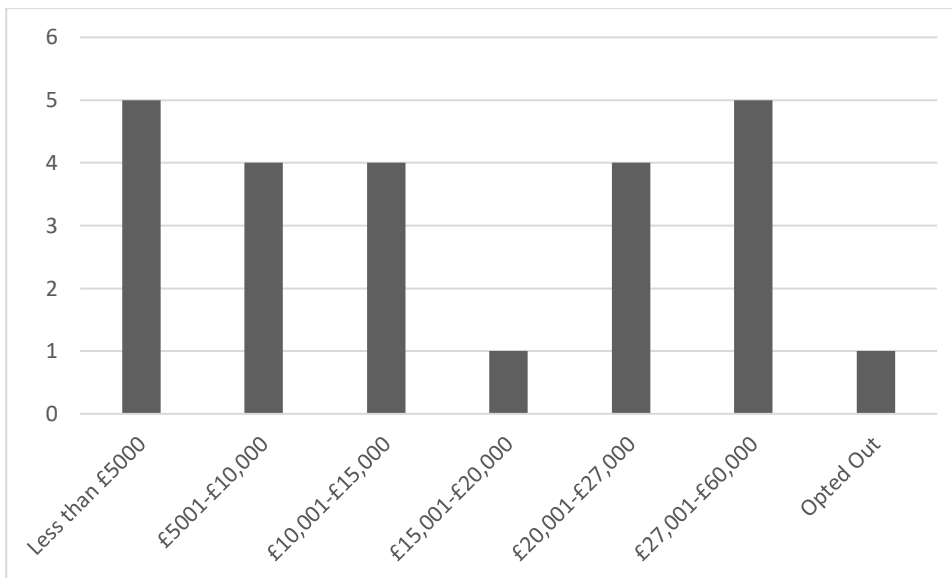
everything goes out to bills-wise on payday and then the next day after you're broke.

Most participants in this sample assert that duality gives them some breathing room in terms of having money left to save, invest or achieve goals with.

Proportion of Income Earned in SIWSQ

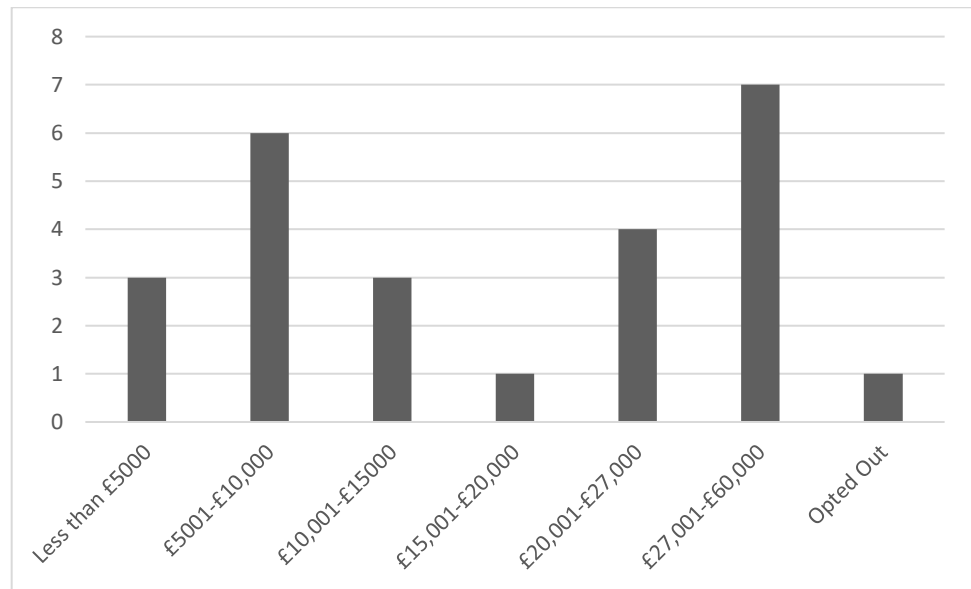
Participants were asked how much money they earned in SIW in an average month. The income cut off £27,000 reflects the average national income as of 2017.

TABLE 5 SEX INDUSTRY INCOME PER ANNUM (N=24)



Of the 24 participants who provided information about their incomes, five (21%) earned less than £5, 000 per year, four (17%) earned between £5,001 and £10,000, another four earned between £10,001 and £15,000; one earned between £15,001 and £20,000; four make between £20,001 and £27,000, and another five earned between £27,001 and £60,000 a year.

TABLE 6 SQUARE INCOME PER ANNUM (N=24)



Three participants earned less than £5, 000 per year; six (25%) earned between £5,001 and £10,000; three earned between £10,001 and £15,000; one earned between £15,001 and £20,000; four make between £20,001 and £27,000, and seven (29%) earned between £27,001 and £60,000 a year. Table 7 portrays the combined income from SIWSQ for the sample of 24 who shared income information. Twenty (83%) people make more than the national average, with almost half the sample doubling or tripling it.

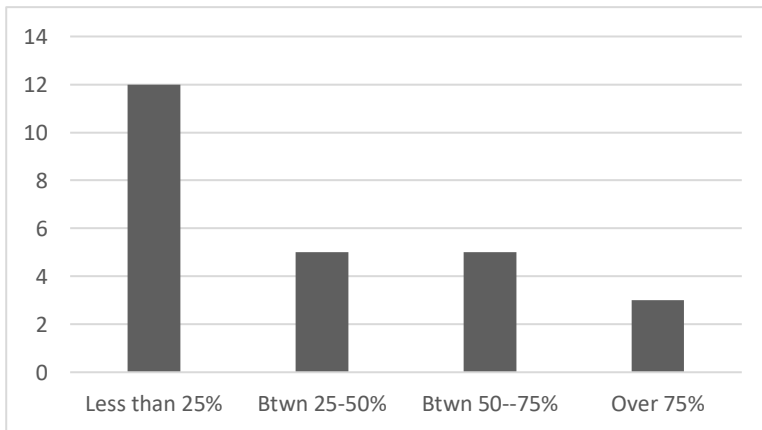
TABLE 7 TOTAL COMBINED INCOME IN SIWSQ

<i>Income Range</i>	<i>Number of Participants</i>
<i>Up to £10,000</i>	2
<i>£10,000 to £27,000</i>	2
<i>£27,001 to £50,000</i>	10
<i>£50,001 to £75,000</i>	7
<i>£75,001 to £120,000</i>	3
<i>Opted Out</i>	1
<i>Total Participants</i>	24

Time

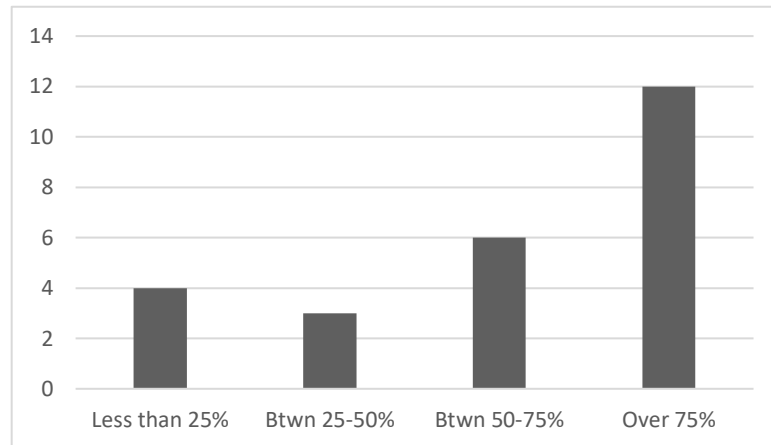
Participants were asked about how much time they spent engaged in SIWSQ in an average work week to get a sense of how duality is operationalized. The proportion of time was captured instead of hours worked to assess investment in SIW or SQ in reference to all the time they spent working. Almost half of participants (n=12) stated that they spend less than 25% of their time doing SIW as compared to SQ; five people spent between 25-50%; five people spent between 50 and 75% in SIW; and only three participants spend most (75%) of their time doing SIW activities.

TABLE 8 PROPORTION OF TIME IN SEX WORK (N=25)



With respect to SQ, the picture is slightly different with 12 (48%) of participants spending over 75% of their time in SQ; three between 25-50%; six people spent between 50 and 75%; and four people spend less than 25% of their work week in SQ.

TABLE 9 PROPORTION OF TIME IN SQUARE WORK (N=25)



These explanations of how participants spend their time are complicated by the inclusion or omission of unpaid time in the form of downtime, time spent waiting for clients, time spent in correspondence, preparation time, travel time, and time spend in ‘relationship-building’ and customer acquisition. Sierra thinks out loud about the percentage of her earnings from SIW:

There is work that I don't recognize as work, like talking with idiots on the website when nothing happens in the end, and time wasters. So actually, it's less money [from sex work] than I believe. Then my feeling is like 'oh I'm going to see that person and I have a lot of cash', and that makes me feel like 'oh I got a lot' but actually if you count all of those hours talking to those guys, which end up not actually booking...it would be like 30% of my total income I think.

Outside of the entrepreneurs in the sample, participants rarely included unpaid time in their descriptions of time investment in SQ. Of those who acknowledged this unpaid time, they either lamented the time wasted or explained how they used this downtime time doing SQ or education while waiting for clients. Joy explains:

There is quite a bit of hanging about and quite a bit of sitting about, you know, maybe in an apartment or a room...it does give the opportunity to do lots of other ... exploring other avenues...researching something.

Blaze has plans to use her downtime in SIW while living at her working flat to do school work and then spend the rest of her week in her square job:

I would want to spend 3 full days doing sex work and then 2 days [school work] and then every other weekend I'd be in the [square job] ... Once I'm in the flat I can be in the flat 5 days and use it as an office and in between bookings. I can do [school work] cause some days it's dead, you don't always make money.

Blaze plans for the ebb and flow of clients by building in school work. Sage explains the 'costs' of unpaid time in SIW:

The problem with sex work is that there is so much unpaid work in terms of managing your schedule and there is no point saying that you charged £200 an hour because if you were being available for a client for 10 hours a day and you only get one client then it's 20 quid an hour. And plus, the e-mails that you respond to...so maybe it's £15 an hour... so about 40% of my time is taken up with sex work.

Sage is among participants who explored the time/money ratio to get a better picture of what her hourly rate was. Although this breakdown to £15 an hour was concerning to her, she filled this downtime doing other work. She, like Joy, discusses boredom:

I couldn't do sex work if I didn't have another job. It would just, it would just do my head in cause you get the same e-mails from clients and then I find it too boring actually. I think I'd be doing myself a disservice if I spent too much time on sex work.

Joy, Blaze, Sage and others fill their downtime with other activities to stave off boredom and improve productivity in other areas.

Duality Makes the Most Sense: More Money, Less Time

Participants rationalized engaging in SIW as a way to earn more money in less time. This was a fact for many, as they explained *ceteris paribus*, they earned much more income in SIW than in their square jobs for the same time investment. Joy explains:

I did a one-week tour of [UK] and I've come back with £7000 sterling. And I can't earn that in my normal professional job, bearing in mind I live in [omitted]. If I were working full-time pro rata it would be about £55,000 sterling per annum. My [sex work] however, which I'm very very very consistent with, I [sex work] all year-round income per annum is about £47,000.

Joy's income from both roles is virtually on par but the time investment differs. She includes her unpaid time in SQ and explains:

I spend a lot more time in [sex work] than I do my mainstream job because as you know much of mainstream work we're not actually paid for. I may be contracted to do 32 hours per week but that 32 hours in reality is probably nearer 45 hours per week, and on top of that is

my travel time. With [sex work] I can walk into my little dedicated spaces at 9pm in the evening and I can come out at midnight having earned 200 pounds.

Cleo explains her time and income rationale:

I'd see a client once a week or do like a few hours of [sex]work per week. In my square job, I was making my salary, something like 2000 a month...I would easily make that in like a few days doing sex work.

In a few days over a month, Cleo could earn her square monthly salary. Unlike Cleo who works in SIW a few times a month, Nova engages in SIW at contained days a few times a year. She attends various locations and sees clients and then moves on to her next location. After which, she returns to her home community and engages in her square job. She also refuses to work nights:

When I'm in [city] I book a hotel for one night I make like somewhere around 2500 euro in 24 hours but that's only a few times a year. I ask for early check in around 10 or 11 and I make a booking for 2 hours and I charge 300 euro and then I break and book another client for an hour and then I break and maybe a dinner date. So, I always focus to get at least 1000 euro and I go to sleep around 11 or 12. I never work at night, and then the next day I might have one [client] at 9 o'clock until check out.

Most participants work the way that Cleo does, seeing clients one or more times a week or a few times a month, supplemented by the tours that Nova describes.

Alice earns 70% of her income from SIW and was earning a good wage in her square job and has compassion for those who earn much less. Her comments captured the attitude of many participants:

The money is 70% sex work just because it's far better paid. I'm very fortunate because I have a reasonable pay in my salary before, earning about 75,000 pounds... but if you were only working a minimum wage job well God sex work...why wouldn't you do it[laughter].

Earning money for specific projects or to improve one's quality of life, with minimal time investment, is the core motivation for living a DL; however, there are other drivers.

Square careers for most participants required the attainment of educational credentials for which they had invested time and money. As a result, they were not willing to let go of those careers. For others, their square jobs were meaningful to them even though that meant at times they sacrificed the money they could have made in SIW to do SQ. Participants were also motivated by the offer of freedom and flexibility in their work schedules and having more than one source of income for increased financial security.

Sage shares her what duality means to her:

I'd say it allows you to be freer, I wouldn't say freer to manage your time because it gets busy but it's...there is a freedom that comes with money you know. I grew up in poverty and that's no exaggeration and growing up without money in a difficult situation and then getting it teaches you what money actually means, and money means security, choice, freedom.

Growing up poor has profound effects on one's relationship with money. Sage adds:

I think doing both gives me the flexibility to cut back on [square work] to maintain a certain lifestyle but it is about flexibility and choice really.

Duality provides income and flexibility for many and Helen explains the dangers of relying on SIW solely:

I work for [omitted], it's a [household name] so if they did make redundancies then I could get into something else anyway. But... if you're only escorting and not doing anything else I think there's a danger that you feel like the whole world is about sex work... When you're only talking to punters or other sex workers and that becomes the majority of your social circle, whereas at my square job I mix with a lot of different people, none of whom have the faintest idea of what I do.

Helen believes that limiting one's social circle to relationships in the SI is not advisable and she discusses the secrecy surrounding her SIW. She adds:

I think that's the big advantage that I've got as well is having that civie job as a backup is that I don't ever feel that I have to take a booking. Whereas oh God, if I was thinking that I might not be able to pay the rent this month...you know I know that I've got enough coming in to just about cover all of my household bills every month ... so I don't ever feel...if I'm getting that I little inkling that I'm not sure about [sex work client] I don't ever feel that I have to go ahead and take the booking because I need the money. I will always turn a customer down ...out of every 10 booking requests I get, I probably only accept one.

Helen is more able to exercise her right of refusal with clients because she can rely on more than one revenue stream and never feels desperately in need of income from SIW. For Juno, her public-sector job is a reliable fallback:

My [square job] is stable and if sex work did dry up or when I get old and not very interested in it anymore then [square job] can kind of be a full-time career at that point.

Duality provides the flexibility for Juno and others to move in and out of work as they desired.

Does Duality Make the Most Sense?

Does duality make the most sense given a range of challenges shared by participants? People were very candid and talked about several issues related to both SIWSQ. I present just a few.

Nova believes that duality is the best way to do SIW, but she goes so far as to recommend that people not do SIW alone or full-time due to the lack of rights and labour protections:

I wouldn't really recommend sex work full-time ... the very fact that people do sex work together with other things is excellent. I think that's the model for any sex worker for as far as sex work is still stigmatized and badly organized and without any labour rights, it's not feasible to do it full-time... Maybe it's not good to do a combination of different service industry jobs.

Participants commented on SIW not being recognized as work and how they continue to work in clandestine ways because of this. This is not to say that participants would ever be out about their SIW, because rights do not equate reduction in stigma, but their 'backstage' areas may expand to include more

individuals. Key here is that SIW may not be beneficial to do alongside other 'service industry jobs.' This is an important insight that other participants have mentioned.

Blaze talks SIW and how similar it is to sex in one's private life:

I think people, and maybe me too, have difficulty in getting that 100% because sex is associated so much with intimacy and well... it's not intimate either or not always. I mean it's like with anything else, you have sex with a long-term partner and sometimes it's intimate and sometimes it's like 'oh for God' sake', just get it over with, I don't care, [laughter]! It's the same with sex work... through doing it now I kind of really get those tensions.

Blaze communicates the mundanity of sex as work that she herself only realized through doing it. She goes on the talk about the illusions or stereotypes of SIW as glamorous or danger, but it is not so:

You're kind of fed this idea that you're doing something either really glam or you're going to be doing something quite dangerous and painful and 99% it's not that it's just really so ordinary and maybe they say things to scare people...

Blaze contemplates SIW and service work as jobs that require similar skills:

You use a lot of the same skills like you have to sort of like the customer service skills that I would have in [square job], you then have to employ them in a way in sex work but that doesn't mean that you can't have a laugh with a customer in [square work] just as they could have genuinely made you laugh in sex work.

She adds:

You have the same feelings just like when you're doing any other kind of work... I was to show up at 7 in the morning in my education job and be like 'I don't want to go to work today' everyone would say you still have to go to work, but if I woke up and say 'I don't want to go to my sex work' and 'I don't want to check into my hotel today' everyone would be like 'well yeah cause it must be so awful' ...it's nothing to do with... it's sex work or [square] working, you just can't be bothered with working full stop!

Blaze and others articulated this feeling of work being something that you wax and wane about doing, but SIW are never free to moan about their work because the assumption is that they are being exploited or that the work is so harmful that of course they feel this way. For some, their square jobs and SIW cause strife. Sierra discusses her zero-hours contract service work alongside SIW:

They are both shitty jobs. It doesn't matter whether you exploit your body or whether you exploit your smiling face, both are exactly the same because I'm not free. They are just types of exploitation you know... like being on a zero-hours contract, they're relying on my being smiley and pleasant and listening to shit from people, which is exactly the same like the other job [in sex work] [laughter]!

This doing SIW concurrently with service work is what Nova warned against. Sierra jokes about the alienation she feels and the ways that both draw on her ability to do what Goffman calls 'face-work.' She adds:

I mean both of them [SIWSQ] are like horrible and I'm someone else in both of them. Neither is worse than the

other... hopefully there will be a day where I can stop both of these ways of working...it's also what they want in a customer service, you have to have makeup on ...the visual is important.

For Sierra and others like her, there exists this 'disidentification' with both SIWSQ, and the *performance* and *appearance* requirements are draining. She must be fake and look pretty to succeed.

The precarity of SIW it not lost on participants. They are very aware of the challenges associated with creating predictable incomes in unpredictable markets. Blu explains:

It's all temporary, precarious, not stable and not long-term solutions, basically and that's kind of what my life has been like the last few years so at various points there's a lot more sex work at various points and then not nothing for quite a few weeks or a month or so, so I've gone between a lot of different kinds of jobs over the time.

Blu's remarks are echoed by several participants in this sample; however, she has the added challenge of health issues:

Even when I'd done sex work I haven't been able to do it full-time and I wouldn't have gotten enough work to do it full-time and pay my rent for a month ... I'm not willing to spend every waiting minute of my life on it and other people do well but their lives are all work and that's not what I want. I would rather have a little less money and be able to do stuff that I actually care about because I have health to think about, my energy reserves are a lot more stretched.

Blu wants to have a work/life balance and blended SIWSQ and government supports in an attempt to create economic security, unfortunately, she was outed and sanctioned:

I'd been quite lucky but until the sanctions had them taken off me, but it was like I knew that I would get that money that I can count on. I would be able to pay my rent at least.

After completing a graduate degree and not finding work, benefits income was Blu's only stable revenue and the reductions there created strain on her health. This in addition to a betrayal she feels after completing her education and still not being able to find a decent job. Instead she finds herself juggling insecure work:

It's just so exhausting...and there are so many stigmas and not being able to make money is just so much work in a way that I didn't realize. We juggle so many different kinds of work in ways that people don't recognize it as work... there's not sick pay or holiday pay, so actually I would be happy to do it if there was stability of income but there's not. So, it's not the actual work it's everything else, so I guess my ideal thing would be a part time job maybe 3 days a week...enough to have a dignified quality of life.

Dealing with the 'work' of managing unstable SIWSQ jobs, a health issue, and the stigma and stress associated with being poor, brings insight into Blu's life. Some may critique Blu for engaging in SIW while on benefits. What should pop out for readers is her quest for dignity and how a job three-day week job for this postgrad is all it would take.

Another Anonymous Participant felt the betrayal of completing her PhD and not being able to find work. She did not expect that a high paying job would be guaranteed, only that she would be well-positioned for one:

I don't think that I'm so special and that there's anything special about me... faced with the reality that you've got no fucking money and there's literally the panic and my parents, they're middle class but they don't have any money for various reasons and so I can't really rely on them. I've done a PhD, I've got lots of educational capital and lots of cultural capital but about 1.5 years of finishing up really ruined me financially. I was always living off the edge of my maximum overdraft and part of that time I was living at home again because there was no way that I could pay rent. I borrowed a little bit off of my parents and then it came to graduation and I literally had like no money.

Like Blu, this Participant discussed having to rely on government support and the humiliation and stigma attached to being poor and the stress surrounding their interactions with government agents:

I had nothing, and I was signing on and they treated you like absolute shit! It's like ridiculous, disgusting! You think you've done something good, you've done a PhD and you think you're a person and you're a customer or whatever, but they just have a way of demeaning you so easily and subtly. ... they say 'oh what's your post code you're in the wrong place' and then make you like go over a mile from [home] and it seems a bit arbitrary. They don't allow you to go the job center closest to your home just to put you off... and they do things like randomly they would say that they called me to tell me to come in and they hadn't, or they'd call and hang up. Or they would

randomly tell me that I had to come in every day for no reason.

These negative encounters with the state were disheartening for those who needed support. Other participants also worry about income. Franco manages insecure work in both SIWSQ and is frustrated by the stereotype that SIW are rich:

... financial fear and financial insecurity. It's like where is my next money coming from... it really pisses my off, people think you're an escort and you are rich. 'You're charging a £100 or £250 an hour for escorting, you must be rich' and it's like if I was seeing 10 clients a week I would be, but it changes. And the insecurity of it, that fills me with a lot of fear.

Franco not only contents with his own fears about the 'boom and bust' nature of sex markets, but also gets no sympathy from those who do not acknowledge this element of SIW. Sierra echoes this and quips about the unpredictability of client in SW:

They are unpredictable... they won't call for 6 months and then suddenly it's like 'hi how are you doing?'

Encounters with clients also posed issues. In terms of safety issues, Helen compares dealing with challenging customers among the self-employed verses in SIW:

This is common with everybody else who is self-employed. If you're I don't know a painter and decorator, and somebody rings you up and says they want to come and paint their whole house but they're a bit shitty with you, you've got a choice to make. You think well if they're a lot more trouble than their worth, but I need to put food on the table for my kids. When you're self-employed, you

always got to make that choice, but in sex work...there's a lot more personal danger to you from taking on an unpleasant client than there would be if you were just building them a conservatory or washing their windows.

The lack of opportunity to turn down work is a theme that many small business owners and square workers can understand. As rightly pointed out, most square workers do not risk their lives doing so. Helen adds that duality relieves the desperation that she would feel if she could not refuse challenging customers in both SIWSQ:

Sometimes you have to decline work when you're self-employed and I did [square self-employed skilled work] and you don't want to be turning down jobs where you're trying to establish yourself but sometimes the clients that you get, you just think 'Christ I've spent so much time and maintenance on you, for very little money' when you consider the hours I've actually put in because of you know. The crappy demands, and you end up thinking I'm going to have to sack this client...But as a sex worker because of having the other stream of income I'm able to do that without even thinking twice about it.

The ability to 'sack' clients in her square business is the benefit of duality for Helen and others.

Participants talked about other issues that challenged their duality like the lack of policy protections if they were outed at work. There are no labour protections for those living DL. One participant remarked that if her square job found out about her SIW they could fire her under existing policies:

It would probably come under any clauses liable to bring the company into disrepute, which is the sort of catch all

phrase...this allows you to get rid of people on the basis ...like they've gone before the judge for drunk and disorderly and stuff like that. So, there is a threat there. I mean I'd fight it if they tried to get rid of me on that basis, because I'm not doing anything illegal you know. And I do take steps to try to keep a very clear demarcation between my two lives.

Lynn examines her working across SIWSQ in the context of a potential universal income:

I have to work because of capitalism...I'm definitely one of the people that if I had a guaranteed income I wouldn't work. I mean it's kind of hard to say like I would probably still do [charity job], but would that work even make sense if we had a truly universe-based income? ... a simple relationship to work where I do sex work when I need the money, and if the government wants to give me a £1000 pounds a month I would just stop...I would just like doss around, [laughter]!

As seen here, some participants reject the idea that we must work at all and would welcome relief from the alienating experience altogether.

Participants Sound Off

I asked participants if given the opportunity to scream something from the rooftops about their lives what would it be. They had some profound statements to share related to their right to work in safety, their need for respect and privacy, the effects of stigma and secret-keeping, and their lack of social protection. What they had to say fell into theme areas presented below.

We're here, right in front of your faces...

Here participants shared feelings of living and work *in plain sight* of the public. For some this was a titillating experience. They talked about feeling like spies and super heroes:

I'm a secret healer! (Franco)

Others spoke about people who live DL as being omnipresent:

Sex workers are among them all the time and they don't know about it. Um so like watch out, [laughter]! (Lynn)

Sex work is an option for many people and it doesn't make them any different to how they were before they did sex work. We are normal, we are women and we live among you! We are everywhere [laughter]! (Alice)

Stop victimizing us, sex work is work!

Since participants uniquely engage in both SIWSQ, they compared their jobs and felt that SIW ought to be accepted as work. Viewing SIW as a business and an exchange was a prominent theme:

Sex work is just as valid and valued a work as any other square work that people do. And it is as varied and diverse as square work, different forms of square work and basically, we're no different. You know, I think that's what I would want to convey like you know, don't judge us as different from you. (Wyatt)

Just please accept escorts as business people... (Darcy)

Sex work is a job like any job and there's no need to stigmatize us no matter what perspective you're from. Whether you do it out of hardship or for fun or for extras or full time, part time, at a young age or older age or being HIV positive, as a trans person... or no matter how, there's no need for the stigma. (Nova)

The only difference between civilian sex and my sex is just money. (Juno)

Sex as a natural act, like the music swells and your clothes fall off and you fall trembling into my arms... sex is about negotiating and trading, not just in terms of cash payment but it's an exchange and doesn't mean it's not also transcendental... we keep trying to turn it into binary or black and white when 80% of it is grey... I would say to the world: give me cake and that sex is pleasure, and the human body is built for pleasure! (Rain)

A few participants discussed a fabricated moral panic that surrounds sex work and argue that there is no need, or no benefits, associated with interventions into the SI from mainstream society:

Where's the fire? (June)

Leave us alone! (Tracey)

Messages to others who live dual lives or do sex work

Participants recognized that others like them work in secret and shared commentary that was uplifting or advisory.

Be who you are... just be true to yourself cause I'm surrounded by people who are just living in constant fear and constantly scared, worried and not being themselves... I've just come to the realization to just do it! ... I didn't start really being me until very late in life.

(Daisy)

Participants' tips, insights and strategies for living DL will be part of a subsequent animated video available to SI communities.

Discussion: Sex, Work and Escaping Poverty and Alienation

SIW experience among participants was consistent with those in other studies; ranging from less than five to 20 years. It appears that these off-street SIW moved between different contact and non-contact jobs like those in comparable research (see Scambler and Scambler, 2007; O’Doherty, 2011; 2015; Pitcher, 2015; Sanders et al., 2018; Law, 2011; Ham and Gilmour, 2016). In terms of motivation, participants consciously chose to participate in SIW like others examined by Hoigard and Finstad (1992) and Scambler and Scambler (1997). Not surprisingly, their central reason for doing so was income, followed by control and flexibility in schedules, and finally for the excitement and enjoyment of the work itself. These reasons were salient among studies of off-street workers (see Benoit et al., 2017; O’Doherty, 2011; 2015; Raguparan, 2017; Westerlik, 2009; Law, 2011; Ham and Gilmour, 2016; Sanders, 2007). Reasons to trade sex are as diverse as sex working populations and considering the high debt-load that Britons carry according to the Office for National Statistics (2017); the ever-widening wealth gap (Office for National Statistics, 2018); and the feminization of poverty among SIW noted in decades’ past (see Scambler and Scambler, 1997), choosing SIW is logical for some. Participants are open to work across SIWSQ and are instrumental in their choices. For parents in the sample, navigating precarity in employment with other duties such as caring for families is something that women have struggled with thorough the generations and the flexibility inherent in SIW is a noted remedy here and in other studies (see O’Doherty, 2011; 2015; Pitcher, 2015; Sanders, et al., 2018). Some women desired flexible, part term, part time work while raising children for example; however, this type of employment is among the most insecure and underpaid (Chaykowski, 2005). McCarthy et al., (2018) recently document this work-related stress and income insecurity faced by front-line workers, including SIW. Research indicates that many choose SIW precisely because it offers the blend of higher pay and flexible hours and my participants illustrate and reinforce this rationale.

As they shared the details of their journeys into duality, they reveal that they examine where they are in their lives, and where they would like to be, and make career decisions based on presenting facts and interpreted possibilities. Uniquely, this sample also held square jobs that spanned across all sectors; with 80% working in private and public sectors. Aside from the three participants who previously worked solely in the SI or who came from full-time education, the remaining 22 transitioned to duality from square jobs consistent with other studies of off-street SIW who moved into sole SIW (see Lucas, 2005; Sanders et al., 2015; Parent et al., 2013; Law, 2011; O’Doherty, 2015; Bowen, 2013). Possessing past experiences in both SIWSQ and as a result of that knowledge, choosing SIW challenges neo-prohibitionists who promote the idea that no one would ever chose SIW. Sex work scholars such as Connell Davidson (1998) argue that SIWs along with those not in the SIW have varying degrees of control over their work. Participants evaluated their options across SIWSQ and strategically transitioned to duality. Doing so contradicts some extant research about SIW transitioning that constructs the intersection of SIWSQ as completely chaotic or disorganized, and transition out of SIW as success (Baker et al., 2010; Mayhew and Mossman, 2007; Bowen, 2013; Månsson and Hedin, 1999; Koostera, 2010; Sanders, 2007; McIntyre, 2006; Dalla, 2006; Rickard, 2001; Oselin, 2014; O’Neill et al., 2010; Benoit et al., 2017; Westerik, 2009).

O’Neill and Campbell (2010) emphasize the complexity of exiting SIW, highlighting a matrix of structural and relational factors that influence opportunities and decision-making. Likewise, in addition to rejecting the term ‘exiting’ for SIW retirement, Law (2013) warned against this framing leaving SIW as success. Participants do exist under the pressures of unstable labour markets, and they experience financial strain and hardship; however, they still *chose* and premeditated their work in SIWSQ. This holds true with the exception of one participant who drifted into duality after being offered a square job unexpectedly. People talked about uncertainty and not wanting to do jobs that were beneath their skills and education, but no one was helplessly ‘dangling’! The sample comprises those who were suffering with health

issues or gaps in employment, like Blu and others, who drew income from the state, and from SIWSQ, where all revenue streams were unpredictable. Participants still thought through their options before engaging in duality. They did not differ from dancers in Sanders and Hardy (2013) who participated in a range of employment in and out of the SI, and for some, this was done alongside education and personal commitments.

Duality, for many, is an innovative response that gestures to (general) strain theorists (e.g. Merton, 1938; Agnew, 2006) since participants include SIW as a means to attaining cultural goals; although SIW is not a crime. As noted in the review of literature, duality is not a new adaptation. Integrating SIWSQ has been seen across culture and time, and has many names associated with it from the more benign ‘soft prostitution’ (Mishra and Neupane, 2015) and ‘interrelated occupations’ (Kempadoo 1999) to more insidious labels such as ‘sly prostitution’ (Tait, 1840). Conceiving duality as a possibility and then practicing it may be closely related to *habitus*, disposition as Wacquant and Bourdieu (1990) theorized, a way organizing the world to include such possibilities. Benoit et al., (2017) highlight that although individuals are under strain, they still select their careers. Levine’s (1976) four determinants for career selection, include factors such as socio-economics; personal factors; family and upbringing-related information; as well as socialization and credentials, that all contribute to how individuals blend SIWSQ. SIW by design is not usually full-time in the sense that many do not work cubical style 8-hour shifts with a one half our break, instead, much like small businesses it is client-based and intermittent.

Duality is undertaken for many reasons (Bowen, 2013; Pitcher, 2018) and is a response not only to labour precarity in SIWSQ but also as a resistance to other ‘gigs’ available. Several participants studied for many years to acquire the credentials needed for the professions that they held. Some held frustration that educational and time investments in careers do not yield a commensurate level of income. Those who worked in higher education felt particularly betrayed because after long years earning degrees they found

themselves in unstable, low-paying term employment. Some call this the ‘bullshitization of academic life’⁴². This trend had received international media attention, as the *Guardian* as some part-time adjunct professors in the USA live in shacks; experience homelessness and under-housing; and even trade sex.⁴³ Some post hoc rationalizations for duality that include a beneficial ‘time in / money out’ equation. Few studies include income earned because SIW, possibly because some researchers deemed it exploitation, and although recognizing money as a driver, it was not fully explored. Participants earned a total combined income from SIWSQ of up to £15,000 and £120,000 per annum where 12% of the sample earned below the national average. This is a compelling justification for duality as a means to become socially mobile. Koken (2012), in her study of 30 internet SIW in the USA, 63% (n=19) reporting earning more than 50,000 USD. O’Doherty (2015) documented earnings among her participants who disclosed similar levels. Conversely, for Sanders et al., (2018) the modal category of earnings among her recent sample of UK internet-based workers was less than £5000 gross annual income (Sanders, et al., 2018). More research is needed to determine the reasons for this disparity.

Participants were asked about the proportion of time in any given week that they would spend in SIWSQ to understand how people rationalized the high risks they would take living DL. Several participants shared that they spent less time in SIW with higher earnings as compared to the same amount of time in SQ. Here again, there are similarities with Sanders et al. (2018), as almost half of their sample (n=333/641) worked less than 25% of their work week in the SI, earning less than £20,000 per year. The allure of the high time/money ratio in SIW persists and has been documented by Pitcher (2015) in her exploration of self-employment among SIW. Sanders et al., (2018) indicate that roughly half of their sample spent less than 10-hours per week providing sexual services (n= 346/641) or related tasks (n=379/641). The

⁴² The Chronicle of Higher Learning (May, 6, 2018) ‘Are you in a BS job in academe, you’re hardly alone’ <https://www.chronicle.com/article/Are-You-in-a-BS-Job-In/243318?cid=FEATUREDNAV>

⁴³ The Guardian USA (Sept. 28, 2017) ‘Facing poverty, academics turn to sex work and sleeping in cars’ <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/sep/28/adjunct-professors-homeless-sex-work-academia-poverty>

business owners in this sample tended to include unpaid time as part of their articulation of the money/time rational for SIW, but many did not. The sentiment ‘whoring is boring’ (Scambler and Scambler, 1997 p.114) holds true for several participants; however, some are thankful for their DL and fill their downtime with school work and square jobs.

Creating wealth and security motivated some participants into duality (Bowen, 2013; Pitcher, 2015). Some used their incomes to build businesses, fund educations, pay off debt, and invest in property; these kinds of activities were also documented in Pitcher (2015) among off-street self-employed SIW. This appears linked to class conflict and strain, as the lack of approved means to attain cultural goals, and scarce resources led many to create their own paths to financial freedom through duality. Bartos and Wehr (2002) talk about conflict as being a struggle for ‘true interests’, for freedom from pain or harm, rights dignity etc. Participants too aimed to avoid hardship in their effort towards upward mobility. Some participants may rightly be classified as the *precariat* class, maybe in Standing’s (2015) sense of the term but they are not destitute. If we frame precarity as a process, as suggested by Alberti et al., (2018) we can then understand how it creeps in to the lives of those would otherwise be considered financially secure by way of short-term contracts, and ‘boom and bust’ client-driven market places. They state:

It is not only ‘the precariat’ that has to deal with increasing precarity. Instead it is imperative to recognize precarity as an inherent condition of producers with capitalism on the one hand, while on the other also demanding more nuance in identifying the different processes through which precarity may increase across a diverse range of employment contexts.

(Alberti, et al., 2018 p. 450)

Sex workers do not regulate their own industry and are susceptible to precarity due to stigma and criminalization, which create a buyer’s market.

Participants also live under threat of being outed, but they negotiate doing both SIWSQ in ways that would support them in living above subsistence despite the SI being unpredictable. As opportunities to enter the ‘propertied’ classes for the poor and working classes dwindle, more people may participate in the compromise and conciliation that George Simmel associates with class struggles (Wieviorka, 2013). Those who live DL may, within SIWSQ, or the ‘*fields of organized striving*’ (Martin, 2003 p. 20) navigate through various antagonisms to achieve financial goals.

My sample is 64% female-identified. Although this is not adequate to draw any conclusions about duality and gender, we know that the most marginalized groups in our societies, such as women and girls, suffer greatly from austerity measures and the lack of investment in family services, social programs, education and health services. My sample comprises working and middle-class individuals who would ordinarily have little to no opportunity for property or business ownership. Recent media coverage highlighted the challenges associated with housing in the UK despite the fall in interest rates. New home ownership for those under 45 years of age has fallen by one million since 2010⁴⁴. Some participants used SIWSQ earnings in financial investments and to get on the property ladder like Branwen for example. Several participants discussed pay high rents being a challenge and how property ownership would otherwise be out of reach. Others invested in their children’s educations to ensure that future generations would at least have a strong foundation to guard against poverty and financial insecurity. Joy for example, not only funded her child’s education, but duality ensured that the child would not incur any student debt. Further, duality supported people temporarily, to deal with various emergencies and financial shortfalls such as unexpected bills, paying off debt, cashflow issues, deposits, supporting relatives through challenging health crises, etc. Essentially, whether duality was a short-term, interim practice or a way of life, it has been established as

⁴⁴ The Guardian (May, 2, 2018) ‘£250M spent but no starter homes yet built under flagship fund’ <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/may/02/250m-spent-but-no-starter-homes-built-under-flagship-fund>

a means to traverse the class divide, improve quality of life, finance personal and familial development, education, investments, and even launch small businesses (Lucas, 2005; Bowen, 2013; 2015; Pitcher, 2015; 2018).

Some participants made the move to duality to reduce reliance on square jobs that they felt were frustrating, exploitive, low status or low paid. Participants described their public sector SQ environments as ‘toxic’, with poorer working conditions than found in the SI. Participants recognize that it may take years to acquire status and wealth in SQ. Further, that although there is downtime in SIW, the hourly rate is much higher than any other job available to participants. For example, a participant in Lucas (2005) remarked that earning \$80 after an 8-hour shift was idiotic, when one night of SIW would provide many times that and leave plenty of time to be home with children. Living a DL for ‘flexicurity’ McKay et al., (2012) to provide higher incomes and more time to put towards raising families and education echo findings documented for sole SIW participation (Sanders and Hardy, 2013; Mai, 2013; Orchard et al., 2012; Koken, 2012; O’Doherty, 2011; 2015; Bowen, 2013; Mayhew and Mossman, 2007; Månsson and Hedin, 1999). Past research highlights the boom and bust nature of SI markets and the precarity of SIW (Luca, 2005; Sanders, 2007; O’Doherty, 2011). Luca states that there are predictable times of low revenue in SIW such as Christmas, and unpredictable occasions, such as September 11th, 2001 (9-11) for American SIW.

Duality is not all about the money as documented by various studies of off-street workers and typologies (see Scambler, 2007; Lucas, 2005; O’Doherty, 2011; Brents and Sanders, 2010; Benoit et al., 2017). If money was the only motivation to do SIW, then maintaining square jobs for participants would be counterintuitive and counterproductive due to higher earnings in SIW. Doing full-time SIW was deemed untenable for all participants for the following reasons:

- a) the level of detachment they would have with the square world. This would be felt in the quality of their relationships. Not having

- associates outside of the SI was spoken about as a negative. Additionally, participants would have limited access to ways and means to live productive lives in the square world. Specifically, they would be undocumented non-citizens, without payroll, income tax histories, and other records;
- b) the potential desperation and financial insecurity that relying on one precarious source of SI would create. Several participants most feared being reliant upon exploitive or low-paying jobs, and those they otherwise felt unhappy in;
 - c) the unwillingness to put up with the lack of intellectual stimulation in SIW. The boredom of doing SIW and the downtime spent waiting for the next client was described by most as the worst parts of the job. Part of the boredom people experience may be attributed to their educational attainment, skillsets, entrepreneurial dispositions, and careers outside of SIW;
 - d) the stigmatized and marginalized nature of the work and the negative treatment SIW experience more generally. This could be linked to whole stigma and the relatively low status that SIW have in our society. They are rarely able to draw upon and utilize skills and social capital from SIW, nor are they afforded its conversion to cultural capital because they are denied status as workers. Participants can point to other accomplishments and use their square jobs and educations as a cover to hide SIW and as a shield to deflect the stigma attached to sole SIW by constructing themselves as exceptional for example. As a corollary, this othering is the ‘outlaw status’ (Lowman, 2000) attributed to SIW and the denial of their cultural citizenship highlighted by O’Neill (2010) and Mai (2009) and others, that contributes to isolation and their victimization.

It is essential not only to understand why people participate in duality but when and how they trade sex profoundly shapes income, risks and benefits. Many participants tour by going to specific destinations away from home. Tours and mini tours tended to be for short periods of time (a couple of weeks

or a weekend) where participants would establish themselves in a working flat/in-call or hotel and see pre-booked clients. Some discussed doing SIW like this once a month or a few times a year. There are many benefits to working this way: their SIW is contained, so to limit frustration with time wasters and ‘downtime; the time investment is low; there are reasonable breaks in between; the earnings are high; they get to travel as tours tend to be out of town or in other countries; they maintain the distance between both SIWSQ and personal lives, thereby reducing the risks of being outed; and they remain hot commodities because they are not always available. These workers maintain their allure and exclusivity, because getting bookings with them can be challenging. Working at the intersection of SIWSQ requires strategies to exploit locations and markets and mapping trends in order to work most effectively when SIW is not one’s only job.

Closing Remarks: (Sex) Work Experiences

This chapter helps readers understand why these participants live DL. Not all participants liked their jobs in either SIWSQ or liked working at all. This sentiment found in Mac and Smith (2018): ‘*You don’t have to like your job to want to keep it*’ (p.55). Participants’ rationales for taking the risks to live DL become clearer in the context of their SQ experiences, and the current environment of post-wage, insecure work. DL is interpreted as innovation and done to escape poverty and alienation. Participants engaged in hard graft. They are not strangers to work; however, in assessing what they want in the future (education, home ownership, being debt-free, savings and investments) duality was their best way forward.

In the next chapter, I delve into the practicalities of managing work and information across SIWSQ and how duality is lived in the practical sense.

CHAPTER FIVE

**IDENTITY, ROLE TRANSITION AND THE CONTINUUM OF SEX
WORK INVOLVEMENT**

Being a sex worker, I already had some familiarity around identity management and coming out, and that kind of thing. And this had informed my experiences of negotiating identity...having a marginalized and very criminalized identity.

Rain

Identity, Work and Roles across SIWSQ

I approach duality with the assumption that people seek non-dualism, in relation to how work and identity intersect. This is not to say that all participants want every aspect of their lives and relationships integrated, only that as we move through our worlds of relations, we want to feel psychologically intact in some way. This oneness was discussed by philosophers such as Rumi, Plato and Plutarch and Goffman, who posited *back places*, where the stigmatized can feel most whole, stop ‘performing’ and associate with the ‘own’ and the ‘wise’. Wacquant (1990) also explored this idea that we seek, in our mundane existences, to have our behaviors match our convictions. Participants were asked about how their SIWSQ may influence their concepts of self as they constructed different personas or social roles (complete with pseudonyms, wardrobe and other attributes) in respective fields as they moved in and out of SIWSQ.

Helen believes that she is skilled in mentally compartmentalizing her world and being *who is required* in each situation. She finds the roots for this in her upbringing and sees it as aiding her in duality:

I probably have learned to compartmentalize as a result of my upbringing. Our parents were quite weird, and I was a very different person at school than what I was at home, so in a way that's probably given me a grounding in how to be two different people. And how-to kind of be a certain way with certain people and not with others.

Several participants identified with both jobs as expressions of who they are, and others resisted the idea that they ought to identify with work at all, and even challenged my line of questioning. Some identified more with SIW because they experience it as more creative, flexible and a space where they forged deeper relationships with their clientele as compared to SQ, but this is not without challenges. Juno explains her feelings about both jobs:

I enjoy my job as a [public-sector professional] don't get me wrong but you have to be very square very boring you know, Angel Gabriel all the time...Escorting, you know what I can be a little bit crazy and a little bit unconventional and wear some crazy clothes and it's fine and I like that ...I do like both of my jobs it's just unfortunate people won't accept that I can do both and be like a safe person as a [public-sector professional] and as an escort.

Juno recognizes that the world is not ready to accept her in all her work roles. Daisy was feeling uninspired with her square job in the public sector, but when she began to do SIW alongside it changed her outlook on work:

My passion for [public sector] work was just dying so then when I started escorting that's when I found a new passion ...and I started doing my nails and started to just love it!

For others, their square careers and education are best in line with their self-concepts. Joy explains:

I identify the most with the real me which is my job as a [private-sector professional] ...in the beginning of sex work it felt almost surreal being this other person answering to a name that's not your own, so I don't actually identify with the sex work at all. I am a sex worker, but I've had very very little opportunity to talk to... or to engage with other sex workers other than on forums and websites like [omitted]. So, because I'm not, it's just something I do principally for the finance for the money, but I don't identify with, that must sound pretty bizarre.

There were several participants who did not feel that their SIW or their SQ defined who they were or contributed to their senses of identity or senses of self. The work was what they did and not who they believed themselves to be. When asked about potentially doing SIW full-time at some point in her career, Joy said the following:

I don't do sex work full-time because I don't want to lose my identity of who I perceive myself to be. I also need some form of mental intellectual stimulation and I want to stay within the mainstream because sex work is very much a hidden thing, and very much something that I don't want anyone in the world to know that I'm doing.

SIW is something that participants must hide, so they tend not to incorporate it as part of who they are; however, participants who were also participating in the sex workers' rights movement seemed to define themselves through their SIW. Mary also identifies with her square job primarily:

You know with your straight job it's easy to kind of like you build up your career, you build up your CV, you speak to people day to day whereas with sex work it's hard to see the like longevity of it sometimes, it's a bit um, it feels a lot more precarious work.

Mary and Joy's lack of identification with SIW due to its hidden and precarious nature brings some insight into how social identity and stigma-avoidance may operate. Zane also identifies with his SQ much more because of the emotional attachment he has with that work and not with SIW:

I think with sex work I don't identify... if I do three massages a week or work at [public sector job] and I still feel like sex work is a big part of my identity, but in general I put much more time in [square job] and the

emotional work that is involved with doing [square job] ...so my [square job] is my main identity.

Participants are unable to publicly claim SIW, and the skills and successes that they may have because of stigma. They do not have the same considerations with their square jobs and can more readily discuss these jobs and claim them as part of who they are.

Helen is new to duality and does not identify with SIW but enjoys it: *I've taken to it like a duck to water, I love doing it you know.* Cat does not feel like she is more herself in one job verses the other:

If sex work was legal and safe I would consider going into it full-time, but I do really like the jobs that I have now. I don't feel like I'm not my real self at one and my real self at the other.

Cat works in a very progressive SQ environment and is not concerned about hiding parts of who she is to avoid stigma. Similarly, Juno embraces jobs in both SIWSQ equally:

I think they're kind of equal because I've got like lots of sides to me and in my sex work I can be myself a lot as well...it's the same 'performance' you know...I think they're both kind of quite expressive... They're almost like two sides of the same coin really.

For Alice, things are not quite as clear:

The jobs that I work in now are so different than what I've done before and it's not what I trained in. I work with [named various influential professionals in the private sector] ...so I'm probably not totally myself in that

environment...I have been doing sex work for so long but I'm reluctant to say that I'm more me in the sex work.

Alice, like Juno and others in the sample, 'perform' in their work roles and do not fully feel that they are all of who they are in either SIWSQ. Franco also wrestles with how he identifies across fields of interaction:

I read about your research and the duality... I launched my [square business] only a year ago and it basically wasn't working, and I was really confused and I had a couple of clients and it didn't feel quite right. I felt like a fraud, you know, I'm a hooker and a [public-sector professional] and I felt like I shouldn't really be doing both, because it's one or the other and in my head...The problem was that I only felt like myself when I was doing the escorting...I felt guilty.... I actually think that that's a little bit of internalized whoraphobia and I think that 'oh I can't do [square job] because I'm an escort' and what I'm actually doing is delegitimizing the sex work.

Franco acknowledges that his internalized whorephobia delegitimizes his work as a SIW. Laith is not bothered with the idea of identifying with his work. When asked which job he identifies with, he said the following:

Both of them! People are complicated ... Anybody who's focused on one thing probably isn't a very interesting person.... I have friends of mine who left university in their 20s and became shit-bored out of their skulls by their 40s ...I reinvent myself every few years. Of course, this carries risks but for me the risk of being bored to tears is the thing that I don't find acceptable.

Laith wants to live an exciting and worthwhile life. Blaze identifies with both jobs and acknowledges the performative aspects roles of work in both SIWSQ:

I can identify with both of these jobs because they express different parts and different aspects of my life or my personality...when I'm in the [square] job I have to put on an act and I have to pretend that I'm interested in things that I'm not particularly interested in...but sometimes in sex work it's not all like fake... it's work.

Participants had at least three distinct personas; one for each job in SIWSQ and a range of personas among family members, in addition to others related to educational environments, for those who were students. Joy explains:

Because sex work is so stigmatized it's very very important that you actually have two separate identities. If eventually you wish to merge those as some people have done, that's fine, but it's not as if there's sort of rights and there's wrongs. there's just consequences... that's why I could never.

Their self-concepts were very much linked to the roles that they were undertaking in each environment and were performed in ways expected. Participants were meticulous about their presentations, in part to ensure that there were no gestures, talk or cues that could 'out' them in front of the wrong audience.

Finally, Kora challenged my asking of a question that presupposes individuals identify with work, or in some way ought to. I gave space for the dialogue that I had with her to be represented here as she explains the complexities of stigma, identity and SIW:

I approach it very politically and I can hardly detach from what I know it means if I say I identify with a job. And I am completely aware that it's absolutely fine to want to identify as a sex worker but I hate the fact that in neoliberalism we have to identify with our work... if you were to identify as a sex worker and taking it as your

identity and not as a job you do, you risk reproducing the stigma on yourself, unless you are the one determining what it means to be a sex worker... maybe at some point it would have been as a sex worker but I'm scared of saying it.

We discussed stigma avoidance strategies and she examines stigma more fully:

I totally don't identify with any of my jobs. [Omitted] in order not to say that I'm a sex worker sometimes it's like the covering thing... I don't see my identity as being any one thing but a very complex mixture...The thing that is important is that sex work has this stigma and the stigma is very gendered and it's got to do with my identity automatically, so of course the fact that I am now a sex worker and I have been for many years on and off, as probably marked me more and marked my identity more than my [square work] or my university studies or my [private sector] job...The fact that if you're a sex worker you're automatically denied agency and subjectivity... my identity is definitely more influenced by my experience of sex work but not so much by the job, more by what it means in society to have done sex work.

Kora comes to express the stigma that lies beneath her resistance to identify with SIW as doing so will be to take in all of society's distain. She adds:

Well you know 'once a sex worker forever a sex worker' is a big cliché but it is what the stigma is about...We live in this world which is utterly sexist, racist and stigmatizing, and anti-sex worker. So, we've got to

internalize [stigma] whether we want it or not...it's part of my identity of course.

Kora's comments here about the lasting effects of stigma for SIW, echo those of participants in this study and others. Participants are not free to identify with their jobs as other workers may. This forces a disassociation with the SIW identity for some, others like Kora, chose to resist.

Role Transition: Mental Preparation, Switching and Spatial Demarcation

Participants were asked about the practicalities of physically and mentally moving in and out of roles in SIWSQ. I wanted to get a sense of any preparation, rituals and techniques used to transition to and from personas and jobs that are disparate in light of whore stigma.

Joy talks about the juxtaposition of her intellectually stimulating work in the private sector verses her SIW:

I think that there's no mental preparation at all actually...But when I am engaging in real time sex work I can have a million other thoughts and quite complex thoughts. I can organize things in my head, I can...it's a complete detachment and I appear to be mentally present.

Joy finds SIW so boring that she is not mentally present during client interactions. For her, SIW takes little to no mental preparation.

Mary questions how she is even able to mentally transition:

I don't know if this is about internalized stigma or shame, but sometimes I ask the question how I can do it? Like why it's easy for me to flip in between roles? To put on different personalities, to put on different personas? ... I know that one of my skills is that I'm a bit of a chameleon.

Mary is a social chameleon and links her ability to perform and to move between roles in SIWSQ to internalized whore stigma. She adds:

... There's two sides to being [able to move between SIWSQ] and the other side is like if you do it so often. Like you need to make sure you have a grounding about who you are because otherwise you can add on all of these layers to your personality or switch your personalities so flippantly and easily ... you just need to remember exactly who you are and what your foundations are. I think for me now having kids makes it a lot easier cause that's the most that you're ever yourself.

Mary beautifully ties in identity, stigma and role transition. Laith on the other hand, feels that having different personas that one moves in and out of is unhealthy:

I am me whatever I'm doing...I've seen people [have different personas] and it's always struck me as unhealthy cause I've always felt that when people do that, one of them isn't real.

Laith's roles and tasks shift as he moves across SIWSQ, but he has no need to mentally psyche himself up for a role or make any preparations because he does not compartmentalize his life. Similarly, over time, Helen has no trouble mentally switching between her private sector job and SIW:

It's quite automatic now. The first few times I was kind of like 'oh god I'm being a sex worker now' [laughter], it was quite freaky ...I found it quite difficult... I got used to that quite quickly and it's become quite easy.

Cleo was another participant who did not have challenges mentally switching roles. She explains:

I would be quite nervous before I saw a client and then kind of maybe a bit of like adrenalin or something but otherwise mentally Not mentally... I didn't feel like there was a huge switch or a huge separation there in terms of my mental state...I mean I know people who have like more specific rituals for sort of changing from one into the other and I don't think I've ever really had that.

Juno requires some mental preparation to switch from her square job to SIW. She explains her strategy:

I don't really take on the spot bookings unless I've got the day off, so if I went to do a shift at [square] work I would know about that booking before I go to work, so I've got it in my head that I'm going to do [square job]...and then it's time for escorting, so I kind of have it in my mind which mentally gets me quite ready and thinking about it.

Several participants took same-day bookings and did not know if they would see a client that day or who they are going to see in their allotted SIW time. Pre-booking was discussed by Juno and others as effective in mentally transitioning. One Anonymous Participant is a lifestyle submissive and she is open about that in her SQ:

While I am a lifestyle submissive, I'm not going to walk into work and kneel at my bosses' feet or I'm not going to start browsing Fetlife™ with the pictures in full view. Just because [square colleagues] know it and understand it, doesn't mean that they need to see it all the time. I would be the same way if I was religious. I wouldn't be pushing bible passages at people.

Her SIW and her square jobs are similarly subservient and as a result, she requires no mental preparation for role transition:

I've gone from [square] work and then straight to my Dom's house for pro-subbing, and I haven't really done anything physically or mentally to kind of switch gears. I don't know if just being a lifestyle submissive helps that.

Participants who did not explicitly compartmentalize their roles or hide parts of who they are as they engaged in SIWSQ, still selectively disclosed information about their SIW. Both Laith and this Anonymous Participant stated that they did not hide nor flaunt their SIW. Rain and Sage felt similarly. Rain works from home and does not have to physically 'present' herself to colleagues in her square job. She explains:

I do my square job from home...I basically communicate over email and I don't have a lot of human interaction, so I don't really have that management of demeanor. I don't have to worry about censoring myself.

And Sage felt that she does not have a SIW persona that diverges from her core identity, thus no mental shift is required:

I am the same me in bookings as I am out... it's the same role you step into in [square job] ... you become a become a hyper version of yourself and so many lies that you spin when you're in [square job] and you do it in sex work. It's actually a skill set about being charming and engaging, and disarming. Getting people to warm up to you...

Sage draws similarities between the parts of herself required in SIWSQ and does not experience much of a mental shift because she is drawing on the same customer relations skillsets.

A few participants were quite well-known in the SI and have a fan base. They discussed challenges with mentally switching away from their SIW roles on a night out for example. Being recognized by fans makes their attempt at downtime impossible. An Anonymous Participant explains:

Becoming famous like for example, I went to [country outside the UK] to stay with friends and to just get away from England and just recharge and everywhere I went people heard of me so I would have these fan interactions. I would go to a party as myself, just wanting to hang out... and have some fun and people would be coming up to me like 'oh [sex work name]' and I'm like 'no no no!' ... I'm literally running on fumes. I just need to go and hide, and I can't arrange my face for human consumption anymore.

Participants like this one were virtually unrecognizable in square communities, but when they socialized among SI-related populations or those well-versed in pop culture icons, they were not able to switch out of SIW personas. For some, this led to withdrawal and social isolation. Conversely, Kora had some challenges switching from her square roles to a specific SI role. She explains:

I'm one of these sex workers who are absolutely able to lie a lot, and to make up stories. I'm absolutely super me when I do sex work. I of course don't tell my real name, but nearly anything else I tell. I'm very me, so I don't need to [mentally prepare] too much. I did use to do it, when I was doing Domme work, but if it's just plain vanilla sex then no worries. But when I was a Domme I needed to because it's not my natural being. It challenged me a lot to have to get into this dominant persona.

For Kora, taking on the role of a Domme required more preparation because she is not naturally sexually dominant. Alice had some challenges switching when she first started living a DL:

I found it quite difficult to start with in that I would be doing square work and just hacking away at my email and then my sex work phone would ring and then be [sex

worker name], so it was a bit of a head fuck, but I can just do it now.

To mentally switch away from SIW, June tries to avoid her SIW phone by turning it off. (Device management as it relates to audience segregation will be discussed more fully in Chapter Six). She explains:

Sometimes when I'm off I don't want to look at my phone and I don't want to answer messages, and then I'm like maybe I would do better if I would check my messages more regularly... You know what would really improve my life is a secretary... especially if a few of us shared someone and who could schedule us, it would be amazing.

June suggests sharing an admin staff person with other SIWs to help her manage incoming calls and to support the mental transition away from SIW to improve a work/live balance. Remi did hire a personal assistant (PA) and benefits greatly from doing so:

I try to be efficient and my time is so precious...in 2014 I hired a PA for the first time and it was a massive deal...I now have four contractors who work for me part time at different times and I just got really good at delegating.

Although some participants experienced the mental journey between SIWSQ as challenging, for the majority, it was something that they practiced and became proficient at over time.

Role Transition: Body and Spatial Demarcation

Alongside the mental preparation for roles, came the rituals and physical transformations of participant's bodies and work spaces.

Dress for Success!

Those who engaged in SIWSQ from home, or other spaces that they were in control of, were asked to describe the layout of their environments and any alterations they made associated with role transition. Several participants had clothing associated with their roles and personas in SIWSQ. Cleo would not wear the same clothes for both roles. Remi was similar. She explains her differential investment in her appearance:

The only time I bother to put makeup on now as my personal self is if I'm going to like a bar. If I'm just going out for dinner I won't put make-up on and I keep my clothes separate. I didn't for years because I was like 'oh no, I wear stuff like both of my selves.' I found myself compartmentalizing, and my sex work persona has all of these old fashioned smart mumsy clothes like a teacher or an auntie would wear. Which I would never wear as my personal self. And when I'm being me, I wear a lot like ... hippie stuff and my sex work persona would never wear that... My presentation is nicely compartmentalized in a way that serves me not feeling like I'm working all of the time and I feel like I'm keeping enough back. There's dress up possibilities and there's wardrobe possibilities which I never give to my sex work persona.

We see here that the material separation of attire and when make-up is worn supports the mental divisions that Remi makes between roles in SIWSQ. She discusses 'keeping enough back' meaning that she is not fully herself in her SIW role, so that she has the desire to dress up in her personal life.

Helen explains her rituals when transitioning from SQ to SIW:

I drive home from the office and so as soon as I get in, I'm usually wearing just like office gear, so I take all of that off and then ... go and get a shower... I have sets of lingerie and underwear that I only ever wear on bookings

[sex work] ... so I'd get into those. I have specific jewelry that I wear...I have earrings of which I call my 'whorrings' and my necklace which I call my 'whorlace' and [laughter] I have a specific perfume I wear as well. Even when I'm only doing [non-contact sex work]. I put that same perfume on because it just kind of gets me in that headspace, and all I wear is just my lingerie and my wig.

Helen's wardrobe and jewelry separation are meticulous and creative, even in the naming of SIW jewelry and wearing her SIW fragrance, even for non-contact SIW.

Conversely, June is often rushed when she transitions from her square job to SIW at her working flat. She discusses her physical transformation:

If I'm going to the flat I would just wear my normal clothes. I don't know if there is much of a transition. I'm more of like a super harried last minute, like I could be running in the door and throwing my clothes off and have a client in 5 minutes. This is like usual for me... I don't know if I have any rituals. I would love to have rituals! I would love to be a lot more kind of 'okay and now I'm transitioning here' but it's usually like run in the door and jump in the shower kind of thing... my life is fairly fluid.

Duality at Home

Several participants strategically created separate work spaces for SIWSQ to demarcate their work roles and their personal lives. For example, Joy has a separate room in her residence for her SIW. She describes:

I have a very large [describes residence] and I have little room next door to my study, so one room is for [square] work and the other room is the [sex work] room. The [sex work] room is actually a small bedroom and I've got it

split up into two parts and it's much easier when you have a permanent space because the lighting is set up, [omitted details] for the naughty MILF and the [omitted details] horny housewife...I literally walk into the space and... I'm ready!

Helen has a similar strategy separating SIWSQ at home by either SIW in a separate room or from a working flat:

I try and keep my day job different from escorting in terms of having a separate bedroom for working from or different premises. And that helps me to kind of block things off.

Alice has a room for SIW and has client no-go zones in here home to ensure that there is separation between SIW, SQ and life:

I don't have clients in my lounge. I used to do that. Sit them down and show them around and give them a cup of tea. I don't any more... I think part of me does that to separate it a little bit.

Similarly, Wyatt demarcates client space from his life space in his home:

People always say 'oh it must feel weird to do [sex] work at home' but it's such a defined space. The clients are only in the bedroom and the bathroom, and they're never in any other parts of the flat so it really does feel like the flat is mine. And they just occupy that space. When I blow out the candles, switch off the lights, put the laundry in the basket, close the door, then it feels like that's fine. It doesn't stay with me.

After Wyatt closes the door of his SIW room he can shut off thoughts related to that job but not his SQ:

The square work is much harder to shut off from because the laptop is [in the lounge] ... in the relaxing room, so the laptop is always here. The phone's going with emails. It's much harder to switch off the square work.

More information about the issues that participants had with managing technology and duality is discussed in the next chapter. Interesting to note here that participants included those who could more easily mentally let go of SIW in transitioning like Wyatt, and those who found SQ easier to transition from. Juno describes her process of leaving her square job and getting ready for in-calls in the evening:

I get home I have a shower and make sure my bedroom is totally ready ...it's usually like I have an hour before hand to just hang out and listen to some cool music and kind of forget the [square] job and get ready to you know escort... I only use that room when I'm doing sex work.

She also has a room in her house that she only uses for SIW. This seems to be a trend for many participants. Alice explains how she arranges her space as we converse on video chat:

I call this my office space...the desk in the corner of the lounge... the client walks in and they have a bedroom and access to a bathroom and not the lounge... I do know women who don't like doing sex work from home because they don't want clients in their space. It never bothered me.

I asked Alice to describe her walk down her hallway, when she is both mentally and physically transitioning between roles. She shared the following:

I can do it easy now...I can spend hours working at home with one job and then do a client and switch right back into it now. And I would say now I work in my stockings

and no pants and do [square job] phone calls, [laughter]! So yeah and occasionally my boss would be 'oh let's do a skype call' and I'm thinking 'no! I have no clothes on, hang on!' So yeah, I mean I have no problem at all now really.

Doing SIWSQ from home can also be a challenge for some. Zane explains how he is managing:

Like now I'm on my computer, and then I'm writing [square work] and that's my problem is like I do both jobs... I'm checking my email for [sex work] clients and so I'm not as focused as I should be on my [square] work. And then I will have a client so I will stop doing my reports, prepare the room, the client comes, I usually do a massage in shorts or naked, but while doing the massage with the client I'm probably thinking about the report I'm writing anyway [laughter].

Like Kora, Zane has more of a challenge moving from SQ to SIW. The type of SIW one does appears to affect the ability to transition. Zane explains:

I mostly do massage now, and it basically doesn't require much preparation. Like when I was doing domination for example or escorting... the way you present is somehow much more important, and you kind of have to put yourself in a mood and dress in a certain way ...for escorting or domination if the guy wants to be bottom then I would take Viagra™ for example but then with massage now I can be ready in 10 minutes. I'm wearing sportswear, so I wouldn't even have to change, probably just put some more deodorant and get the room ready so light some incense, close the window, close the curtain and put some candles on and prepare the massage table...I try to look

presentable if I haven't shaved for a couple days I would shave.

Remi's home is set up for both SIWSQ and she manages tasks in both almost simultaneously. She usually sees clients outside of her home and this is part of her establishing boundaries between roles and identities. Remi's home is decorated according to the tastes or *habitus* of her non-SIW persona and she engages in ICT supported non-contact SIW as well as SQ from that work space. She explains her boundaries:

I've only ever once had a client visit the flat and that was when an emergency happened, and our venue fell through...I definitely don't want clients in the space. It's definitely not decorated as a client space. There is a boundary between work and play. Like I don't work in my bedroom. That's just part of what I think of as hygiene. I've spent enough time in my 20s being self-employed in a one-bedroom studio to know that being able to leave my work space and go to bed is very important.

The transformation of space through candles and other signifiers, also no-go zones for clients in home office work spaces, and the processes mental switching, are all part of role transitioning between SIWSQ.

Commuting and Situating SIWSQ

Commuting for the purposes of maintaining duality was a key theme in discussions with participants. Several participants were strategic commuting between SIWSQ and their homes. For others, who had less choice in how they were located in time and space risked being outed. Geography, modes of travel and temporal considerations of *when* they are seen; *as what*, as it relates to their attire/presentation; by *which audiences*; and *where*, were all some

core preoccupations. Being in the right or wrong place at the right or wrong time, presenting the wrong persona (SIW or SQ) could lead to damaging exposures.

Among those who commuted is Sierra, who views the mental transition and commuting as an adventure:

I think that the commuting part, whether you just go somewhere in a taxi or you take a train, this is a shift. The geographical distance and that commuting thing, that's where the shift happens for me. You're taken to a different world on an adventure!

Helen creates distance between her home community, square job and SIW:

My civvy [square] job is only a couple of miles away from where I live. And when I'm escorting I do out calls in this city as well as going a bit further afield... I usually do them outside of the city. So, I try and get sort of like at least 30 miles' distance because I really don't want to have people knocking on my door that you know...and end up servicing my next-door neighbor or something!

Participants were very aware of their surroundings, audiences and potential interactions. Establishing comfortable and manageable distances to separate SIWSQ was the goal for most. When learning about how much distance is required, some participants determined this based on experiences of running into people who they were trying to avoid and the likelihood of these encounters. Alternatively, Juno benefits from the short proximity of her SIWSQ but pays a high price for this:

In terms of being outed, I think it's such a really fine line. I feel worried like people knowing that I'm a [professional]... working and then sex working in the

local area not far from where I live, that's kind of a big risk. Every time I see someone [sex work client] I'm like 'Oh God I hope I don't know them' you know.

Decisions about where to live and work involved an evaluation of labour markets; pricing for services in various regions in the UK; the time and cost of customer acquisition; and (for those with ties to SIW communities) sharing and obtaining information about working conditions, customers and trends, and safety issues. Participants incorporated how SIWs were received by the public in their decision-making. Blaze considered a few of these factors:

There are certain areas that are well known that have working girls in them...if you're in an area with lots of young professionals they going to be out working most of the time, so I don't really see that as an issue. If it's somewhere residential and suburban, like a house but I would never get a house cause I feel like you're so much more exposed.

When choosing a SIW location, Blu prioritized health and safety:

When I've had done outcalls ... cause of my disabilities, the travelling is strenuous but my friend's flat that I use is quite close to me and I would pay them to use it.

Locations for SIW were tied in with other considerations that included rationalizing inputs such as time for relationship-building and advertising, and outputs of an expanding a consumer base and increasing revenue. For example, Lynn lives and works in a Northern location. She avoids locations in the South, particularly London, because she is not willing to invest the time and resources necessary to yield a good income in that location. She explains:

London is a much more cut-throat sex work market. People have to put more effort into their work in order to make money and people also have to work harder because

rents are higher. If you put more effort in, you can charge more per hour...the time thing comes with putting quite a lot of effort into advertising and putting a lot of emotional labour into relationships with your clients.

Decisions about the geographical location and distance between jobs in SIWSQ were also made based on two factors: convenience and the desire for anonymity. Participants who chose to do SIW at home or closer to home, enjoyed convenience but risked anonymity. They had an increased likelihood of being outed accidentally if seen by SIW clients, family members or by associates from their SQ. Conversely, ensuring a greater distance between SIWSQ jobs reduced the possibility of being spotted by associates but required more time, careful planning. Participants established working flats, conducted market research of the area chosen, and orchestrated the timings of sessions with clients if pre-booked. Participants also had to explain their whereabouts to close relations.

Kora worked in both SIWSQ in the South of England. She provides outcall escort services to clients in hotels and in a colleagues' working flat that are both near to her home and her square job:

I went by bicycle a lot to see clients. I was an 'escort on a bike' even when I was living in [city]. It was quite funny! ...I often had outcalls close by... it was at hotels around the corner from where would work as [private sector].

Similarly, Juno, who is a licensed public-sector professional, lives unintentionally close to her SIW location:

I'm about 8 miles only [laughter]. So, it's pretty close and I didn't intend it to be that close, but it just ended up that I'm living in this house where I am now. Every time I'm always so nervous [doing sex work].

Cleo, unlike Kora and Juno created distance between SIWSQ by leaving her home community and working out of a hotel for a couple of days:

I do in-calls and outcalls to hotels...I typically work like 2 or 3 days a week, that way my life was separate from sex work. I would just put all of my work stuff into a suitcase and then go to the hotel for a couple of days and then, yeah and then come back...it was sort of like going into another world.

Sage saw new clients and regulars in different locations to not only separate her SIW from her square life, but also to segregate her trusted clients from new ones:

The regular clients that I have known for some time I see them in my house. I have a second bedroom set up for that but new clients I would see a different space and sometimes I work from Air BNB. Some of the listings do specifically have 'no prostitution' on them but I feel safe using them for new clients.

Some participants took extraordinary risks to work in both SIWSQ conveniently in their home communities, but several others such as Joy commuted long distances:

I do what they call 'tours' and I literally go hundreds and hundreds of miles away from home to [location] and I would do full sex work. I would rent a short-term let for 3-4 days, usually just off a major motorway rather than being in the middle of a huge city.

Mary described her commute and role transition from SIW to being a mother:

I would have a shower after my client and I would clean up the flat, get the candles off and I'll put back on my

normal clothes. I've always got my jeans and comfortable shoes ... having a wash, drying my hair and then get into the car. By the time I get home I find that that I've stopped thinking about it [SIW] ... There are times when I work too much in a day because I needed a bit of more money so I would do a bit more sex work and see many more clients in a day and by the time I get home I'm exhausted. I find it quite hard to get home and do the washing and take care of the [children] when I've worked too much so I try not to do that now.

Like many working parents, Mary balances work with family responsibilities and uses her commute to mentally transition.

Participants discussed changing their clothes during their commutes. Branwen describes changing in public:

*I've had to go out and get dressed in a tube station toilet!
You know you have to do these things.*

When June does outcalls and leaves or returns home, she changes on her commute to avoid creating suspicion among her family members. She describes:

I always have a shower... I put my shoes in my bag and like I usually change in the taxi. I try and wear something that can like easily swap in the back of a taxi, so the amount of times I've gotten changed in the back of a taxi [laughter]! But you know I don't really care if the taxi driver knows. I suppose it's a bit bold really, but that's what I do [laughter]!

Nova expresses the how commuting, changing attire, and mental switching are all overlapping considerations:

I rely on in-calls and I don't go to private residences, so this would only apply when they had a hotel somewhere... I don't have a driving license, so I always travel by public transit, so buses and trains. It requires a lot of organizing to travel, but yeah, I didn't ever feel that I had to change like sort of mentally or prepare, it's more like practical. You have to bring all of your stuff and sometimes I make sure that the outfits for during the day [for square work] are the same as during the night, that I could change just a few accessories. Like from the ballerina shoes you change them for high heels. You put some extra make-up on and you replace the tights for the nice stockings. It's something to think about in the days before, so I it takes a time investment to organize all of that.

Discussion: Identity, Role Transition and the Continuum of Sex Work SIWSQ

We are both actors within, and producers of the social domain. Accepting Rosenberg's (1979) framework of self-concept being an amalgamation of self-referring dispositions or values and tendencies; physical characteristics; and various personal, role and membership-based identities; then self-making involves the individual and social co-creation of a personal narrative from which all others emerge (Owens, et al., 2010). Participants are tasked with managing whore stigma, because they work in an under-value and stigmatized profession, and this may be one of few constants in their social interactions. In this respect, participants' worlds are split into the *knowing and unknowing* (Goffman, 1963) where this *surface* or *deep acting* (Hochschild (1979) would be necessary. Participants perform roles (McCall and Simmons, 1966) and internalize identity and perceptions of identities

(Burke and Reitzes, 1991) in ways that hold a prefabricated set of meanings. In addition to this, participants also create and respond to what is presenting in interaction, and their personal and social identities are more emergent and relational. It seems more fitting, that individuals enact the best ‘identity’ to achieve their aims as suggested by Tajfel and Turner (1979; 1982) and later by Barreto and Ellemers (2003) who posit that people have adaptive personal and social identities. They are *becoming* (Hall, 1994). We measure ourselves against an ever-changing dynamic social and relational backdrop of norms and expectations. As Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) put it, they play their cards (forms of capitals) according to the rules of the game, and what is at stake, while taking the opportunity to re-value capital and change the rules in pursuance of their goals.

Participants are strategic about avoiding mixed company and segregating their audiences, as well as managing what they ‘give’ and ‘give off’ (Goffman, 1959). Since internal identities may not match external social categories or perceptions as Barreto and Ellemers (2003) suggest, participants can perform in their skins and ‘surface act’ while keeping intact their true internal yet evolving identities across performances in SIWSQ. In this way, their identities or self-making activities become what Shoemaker (2006) described as a set of *mental states* that persist but adding that these are influenced over time. We must incorporate the tenets of social identity theories and reflexivity that Giddens (1991) asserts, as well as the differential power that our relationships with significant and relevant others, reference groups and generalized others (Perinbanayagam, 1975) have on self-formation. Issues arise when our feelings and thoughts do not match the situations we are in or the behavior that is called for. In this way Hochschild’s (1979) ‘emotion work’ underpins identity, behavior and conviction.

When asked which roles in SIWSQ participants identified with, several named SIW, because they have more control over their work as entrepreneurs and also for the creativity and expressive nature of the job, which are elements researchers have found in other studies of (Pitcher, 2018; Lucas, 2005;

Scambler and Scambler, 1997; O'Doherty, 2011; 2015; Bernstein, 2007; Ham and Gilmour, 2017; Sanders and Hardy, 2012; Sanders, et al., 2018). Other participants name their square jobs as ones that they attach their identities more readily to. Participants who did not identify with SIW may be engaged in stigma-avoidance and are surely involved in self-preservation among *significant and relevant others* (Mead, 1925); and passing in a *forbidden place* (Goffman, 1963). This distancing, being in SIW but not of it, was pointed out by Scambler (2007) as part of the construction of a SIW persona and was seen among my MA participants and those in other studies as well. Several participants identified with both jobs and a few did not accept identification with work at all. Kora challenged my line of questioning and the underlying neoliberal assumption that we *ought* to identify with work. This supports Wacquant's (1990) assertion that we may not cling on to roles for meaning-making or identity formation in the ways that Ebaugh (1988) and other role transition or SI 'exiting' theorists may have conceptualized. Personal and social identities are both enduring and emergent, where individuals can have sustained self-beliefs that may not match external social categories, discourse or the roles that they take up in SIWSQ. Our cultural identities are a 'positionality' that changes. According to Hall we must think of identity '*as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside representation*' (1994, p. 222). Even still, they chose and test aspects of self that they display and conceal in any given situation.

Presentations of self, including Goffman's 'face-work' are both responsive and premeditated and always contextualized within biography (Giddens, 1991), or in the case of participants 'double biography' (Goffman, 1963) and history (Mills, 2000). Dodsworth (2014) discusses the challenges associated with managing dual identities of 'sex worker' and 'good mother' as the two roles are disassociated in the minds of the public. For her participants, there is a double condemnation for being a SIW and a mother. One group identified as SIWs and the other did not, believing that: '*[sex work] was what they did not who they were*' (Dodsworth, 2014 p. 102). Participants in Dodsworth

(2014) who did not identify with SIW, and who had some challenges with motherhood, separated personal and social identities to play several roles that supported simultaneous SIW and motherhood. Some participants here similarly did not take on the identity of ‘sex worker’ but all identified as workers who chose duality as a short, interim or long-term strategy to improve the quality of their lives. Identity, role and transition are linked as we are made to behave in accordance with role-expectations proscribed by relations (individuals, groups, institutions). Some past studies of role transition and SIW were limited because they did not fully evaluate the intersection of SIWSQ as a dynamic realm of possibilities, ways to identify and of organized ‘striving’ (Martin, 2003). Sex work was just deviant.

Transitioning was framed as ‘exit’ or a desired unidirectional departure from SIW. This is in part due to ideological preferences against SIW as work and as a product of our political economy. Ensuing theorizing and models (see Baker et al., 2010 for example) were developed, largely based on the experiences of street-based and sometimes destitute, mostly female SIWs. The intersection of SIWSQ was unsurprisingly depicted as a chaotic place where one would spiral into exploitation or deviance, to then be ensnared or trapped (Månsson and Hedin, 1999), with little acknowledgment of the aspects of *square work* that make it unattractive, exploitive or circumscribing of life chances. SQ was the ‘goal’ that people felt SIWs should exit to achieve, thus romanticizing or misrepresenting some types of work as more fulfilling than others. As we saw in the associated review of literature on labour in Chapter One, and findings in Chapter Four, reliance solely on square jobs for some meant alienation and precarity. These ‘soft prostitutes’ (Mishra and Neupane, 2015) who have experienced both SIWSQ bring unique analyses about labour and how several forms of work can be both beneficial and exploitive; income insecurity; and stigma.

As noted in the literature, micro and macro role transitioning involves mental and physical journeying between personas and across space, place and time (Ashforth, et al., 2000). Ashforth et al., explain that roles contain central

features such as specific skills –Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) would add to this cultural capital– and peripheral features like intelligence, and I would include *habitus* and disposition, based on my reading of Wacquant (1990). These features of roles are either segmented or integrated, and this will determine the amount of psychological and physical preparation transitioning will require. For the most part, participants saw their abilities to engage in role transition as a skillset with challenges related to losing a core identity if one does not have a life outside of SIWSQ. Ashforth et al., (2000) asserted that segmented roles that required a reliance on disparate core features would be a more challenging to transition in and out of due to the switching of cognitive framings (van Gennep, 1960). Some participants, such as Sage, Laith and Cleo, smoothly transitioned between SIWSQ without the need to mentally psyche themselves up because they felt that neither kind of work affected how they behaved or thought of themselves. Strategies such as not providing same-day bookings aided mental preparation for SIW. A couple participants were famous SI workers and discussed requiring a lot of preparation to don their SIW personas. Also, their encounters with fans was emotionally draining, so they needed to prepare for those interactions or avoid these audiences during their downtime. The provision of Domme/Dom services required mental preparation for those who were not naturally sexually dominant and due to setting up scenes and scripts, etc. Ultimately, mentally switching became easier and routinized over time as participants became more familiar with the mental faculties and energies needed to transition between both kinds of work.

The segmentation or integration of roles and the work of transitioning for DL appears to be related to the rites of movement as theorized by Ashforth et al. (2000) as well as information management across audiences and continuously assessing the risks of being outed. For some, their jobs were starkly different in terms of skills required such as financial management and full-service massage, or more integrated like lecturing and domination (with respect to preparation, taking control of a space, people and activities) but what made these roles integrated or segregated was the information that various

audiences were privy to about the participant. I expected to see more Jekyll and Hyde type dualism, due to segmented central and peripheral features that Ashforth et al. (2000) discussed; however, participants shared insights about which skills were transferrable and even which capital was utilized across SIWSQ but did not discuss their myriad of skills as having any particularly segregating or integrating power.

Participants demonstrated the ‘double consciousness’ that WEB Du Bois (1903) writes about in *The Souls of Black Folk*, where he describes how black people managed to live in diverse and conflicting social worlds in both white and black America, that were in part, constructed by those who observed them. For black people, creating a psychological division between who they were in one field versus another was described by Du Bois as a maladaptive coping and survival strategy (Moore, 2005). People who live DL must be just as hypervigilant about what they *gave* and *gave off* (Goffman, 1959) in the differing SIWSQ environments. Du Bois’ work on the management of the veil, of dispositions, allegiances, performances, and self-perception, in disparate worlds, predates later analyses from Bourdieu, Goffman and others who build upon their works. I suggest that Du Bois’ double self, *Habitus clivé* (Bourdieu) and double or double double biography (Goffman) are articulations of the same phenomenon. Du Bois’ framework is most applicable here because being black and American in the time of his writing, and being a SIW and square worker now, both require a profound movement of *being*, between legitimacy and illegitimacy, belonging and marginalization, survival and obscurity.

Relatedly, transforming themselves mentally, physically, and changing work spaces, for those who did both SIWSQ from the same location, was an essential practice of role transition. This is the set and the wardrobe that coincides with shifting and re-situating oneself mentally within a role. Some participants spoke at length about their separation of SIWSQ clothing, make up, and the different investments they would make in their appearances being depend upon which persona they were in. Participants had ‘uniforms’ for

SIWSQ and for some, neither wardrobe are full expressions of who they are. Instead they shed both SIWSQ wardrobes and personas to enjoy a personal life. Participants separated jewelry ('whorrings' and 'whorelaces') in addition to attire specific to SWSQ jobs. This separation of clothing, bathing and wardrobe changes may appear obvious and instrumental for role transition. Physical transformation for men moving from SQ to SIW involved taking Viagra™ in addition to attire and grooming. Participants also used candles and perfume to scent and light their environments and shift mental states into SIW, whether that work involved physical contact with clients or not. Perfume, showering, changing clothes and putting on 'whorrings', candle light and music were all rituals and cues or *rites of separation* (Ashforth, et al., 2000). This outfitting is also related to Goffman's (1967) dramaturgical model of social life, where we manage *appearance* (outfitting), *manner* (how we perform our roles) and *front* (impression) as part of engagement with the world. People living DL have premeditated and staged their performances to guard against accidentally revealing discrediting and personal information, and to make transitioning effortless.

Some participants who did both SIWSQ from home had a room or a space that was only for SIW and had locations in their residences that were off limits to SI clients. This was done to contain SIW within time and space and to ensure that their homes remained 'theirs' in the psychological sense. A sanctuary of sorts. This establishment of boundaries and demarcations in the home mirrors mental segregations of personas, dispositions and roles, and the segregation of audiences. Further and more practically, participants prevented clients from accessing spaces where the décor and information in the space, such as documents, credentials, photos, awards etc. would reveal aspects that they did not want clients to know about.

Some participants who lived at home, sat 'at the ready' to be pulled to either SIWSQ, and they talked about how they transformed space to signify the beginning or end of a role. Role transition also involves a suppression or concealment of thoughts and skills, dispositions, and in fact, *habitus*, and a

revelation of the same when most advantageous. Participants discussed the encroachment of thoughts about SQ tasks while doing SIW, but that they are prepared for whatever arose. A couple participants noted that they do SQ from home with ‘*no pants*’ in preparation for SIW clients. Participants discussed how they change their spaces back to being ready for SQ or their personal lives. Their rituals include stripping beds, blowing out candles, doing laundry, again showering, and shutting the door to their SIW rooms as a ritual to reclaim space.

Finally, commuting was discussed among those who do SIWSQ outside of their homes. Participants segregated audiences and managed information, as evident in the locations they chose to live and (sex) work. Over two-thirds of the sample lived in England. Those who planned the locations of SIWSQ ensured that there was a comfortable buffer zone between these worlds. Here again we see *rites of incorporation* (Ashforth et al., 2000) the changing of setting, as a deliberate part of SIWSQ role transition for some. One participant established a minimal 30-mile distance between SIWSQ to ensure that audiences would not mix. Others were similarly strategic about working away from SQ jobs and personal lives. Several participants went on tours to other cities and countries, where they would engage in SIW for a contained time, and then return home to SQ lives. This way of working was documented in a contemporaneous study Sanders et al. (2018), whose participants travelled between regions in England for intermittent SIW. There was a myriad of other factors that informed decisions about where participants lived, such as costs related to maintaining homes and working flats. Also choosing to locate SIW in the North of England to kept costs down, although earnings were higher in the South. Health was also a consideration for participants who chose to commute.

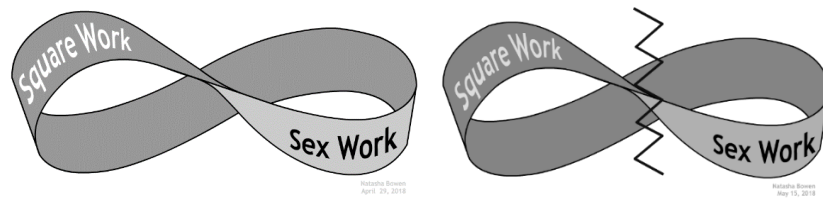
Goffman (1963) warns about those living double-double lives who are susceptible to accidental disclosure of discrediting information. Although participants still ran into clients from time to time, they felt safe in the distances they established between their fields in SIWSQ. Conversely, some

participants, like Kora, our ‘escort on a bike’, did not create a buffer zone between SIWSQ, and constantly worried and ran into people who were not her intended audience. Individuals like Kora shared humorous and devastating stories of near misses or discussed the risks they take and the stress and anxiety associated with worrying that their worlds will collide. In these situations, managing ‘line’ and ‘face’ (Goffman, 1967) were paramount. These participants engaged in macro role transition strategies such *biographical reconstruction* (Snow and Machalek, 1983) or selectively disclosed biographical information in mixed company as part of the ‘double biographies’ Goffman (1963). Additionally, participants *suspended analogical reasoning* and *embraced their new roles* (Snow and Machalek, 1983) albeit temporarily. Some suspended other ways of understanding the world in the company of SI clients for example, fully embracing the stereotype of SIW being of lower intellect. This was seen most among those who did not share their level of education with SI clientele, or information about their professions and square jobs with SI associates. Most participants embraced their SIW roles and suspended or changed their ‘universe of discourses’ (Snow and Machalek, 1983) while reinforcing negative stereotypes about SIW as a strategy to *hide in plain sight*. Participants implemented strategies noted in literature on micro and macro role transitions and by showcasing diverse parts of their personalities based on the situations they found themselves in. In this way, they remained in character while doing SIW or SQ.

Participants were subjected to the social environments that they co-created. These worlds of relations were protective in that they could manage information to shield them from being discovered, yet they were also at the mercy of these relations and had to engage in self-monitoring, information management and audience segregation to maintain personas and façades. DL participants demonstrated Abrahams and Ingram’s (2013) concept of *chameleon habitus* by holding back skills, dispositions, capitals not transferrable, in order to perform optimally in either SIWSQ. I adopt the analogy and image of the Möbius Strip to best illustrate how smoothly some

move between SIWSQ. This one-sided, one-edged strip was not named after its original discoverer, German mathematician Johann Listing who created it in July 1858, but after astronomer and mathematician Ferdinand Möbius who developed the idea in September of that year.⁴⁵

FIGURE 1 MÖBIUS STRIP



The Möbius strip, is embedded in my project logo and depicts an unencumbered transition to and from SIWSQ. If an ant were to traverse the surface there would be no noticeable demarcation from one side to the other. For most participants, moving between SIWSQ is constructed in ways that favor smooth mental and physical shifts. This is not to say that their practices are unchanged, but just that for some, there is no need to hide or alter who they perceive themselves to be. There is an invisible jagged line in the photo on the left to account for the expected mental and physical transformations made by those who pause before passing through the curtains (to evoke Goffman's 1959 dramaturgical analysis of the presentation of self) and entering the stage of either SIWSQ. The rudimentary illustration on the right portrays transition between SIWSQ in which participants discuss a sensory mental barrier that is surely erected due to whore stigma and role expectations, where participants prepare for changing character and personas. This is highly related to *habitus clivé* (Bourdieu 1977 in Friedman, 2016), who theorized the splitting of embodied ways of being in the world to perform best in two distinct fields. The jagged line may also represent more challenging mental shifts made possible through rituals of showering, dressing, scenting environments, moving into SIW only spaces, and commuting, etc.

⁴⁵ Möbius Strip https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C3%B6bius_strip

Stryker (2008) notes for example, that identities are hierarchical, and are interactionally or affectively committed to, but that, as Thoits (2003) asserted, they can cause stress or drain energy when role-identities conflict. The ways that participants talked about switching between SIWSQ personas also reflect arguments by Burke and Reitzes (1991) where internal or personal identities are ‘meaning-sets’, shaped and reaffirmed in interaction. In this framework, behavior is adjusted to accommodate role expectations. Transition between SIWSQ is best explained through theories that describe identity as emergent and situational such as Alexander and Knight’s (1971) or Alexander and Wiley (1981) and Hall (1994). For these theorists, identity is not part of a person but is an element of social intercourse, situational cues and discourse. Participants are vigilant about what their dress, gestures and speech would not only ‘give’ or ‘give off’ as Goffman explicates impression management, that would be detrimental to sustaining DL. Appearance, information and impression management are all linked to identity and the performativity of roles. Participants engaged in the showing and a holding back cards in a game of their co-construction as Bourdieu describes, and a traversing consciousness’s according to Du Bois (1903).

The Continuum of ~~Sex-Work~~ SIWSQ

In my MA work, I celebrated the diverse ways of *being* a SIW that were illuminated in examining transition and duality. Based on the findings in this PhD study I take the position that locations along a continuum of SIW involvement are expressed as a gradated blending of sets of practices and relationships across SIWSQ and not a type of worker. The management of work, identity, relations and information in SIWSQ can be expressed as a continuum that is in essence a *choice architecture* (Leonard, 2008; Thaler, Sunstein, and Balz, 2014) a term used in behavioral economics and Nudge theory (Kosters and Van der Heijden, 2015; Thaler, Sunstein, and Pavillet, 1949). It is applicable here in the sense that the design of environments influences the range of choices available to be made. This seems deterministic,

but people are creative in the ways that they engage in work. Whore stigma, for example, may limit the ways that one can identify and limit possibilities, but it may also open new possibilities and ways of working and being across SIWSQ. This echoes Bourdieusian analogies of field and capitals (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) and highlights the relational aspects of agency and environment (Dépelteau, 2015; Veenstra and Burnett, 2014; Archer, 2010; Emirbayer, 1997). At the intersection of SIWSQ, there are several ways of doing, being and identifying. Relational sociology has influenced my interpretations of how participants have arranged their lives and activities within social structures that are in fact their relationships. These relationships are amendable social worlds, just as Bourdieu suggests that the value of capitals can be changed in a field if one has the faculties to envisage and carry out the alterations. A change in relations may correlate to a change in the structures that influence participants' lives. They may change the way they identify with their jobs as they become more socially mobile, but the practices of duality are still bounded to the SIWSQ field.

Based on how participants discussed their work experiences in both SIWSQ, I shifted from my initial goals of populating a 'continuum of sex work involvement' which would have unintentionally problematized SIW, to instead develop a 'continuum of SIWSQ involvement' that acknowledges sex work as work, and places both kinds of work on a lateral plane. Both SQ work and SIW have the potential to exploit and liberate because work itself does both. The continuum of SIWSQ (Figure 2) is a major contribution of this work. Participants made decisions about how much SIWSQ to engage in based on: financial goals and motivations; abilities to practically manage work in both fields; whore stigma and risks of being outed; and their abilities to manage roles and (discrediting) information.

As we saw in Chapter Four, participants had various work histories and motivations for duality. They were asked about how much time they spent in each job, and the income earned (See Tables 6,7, 8 and 9). Participants discussed their journeys into concurrent SIWSQ and were asked what they were

doing for work immediately before engaging in duality. Nineteen of the twenty-five (76%) participants transitioned from full/part-time SQ, education or unemployment into duality. Several of these participants had been involved in SIW in the past. The remaining six (24%) moved into DL from full-time SIW. Based the amount of time participants spent in SIWSQ, and their short, interim and long-term motivations for engaging, sets of practices along a continuum can be created to elucidate duality. The categories of SIW involvement that fall within but are not examined in this work include those who are incidentally involved in SIW, with no premeditation or financial goals; and those who experience survival work or forced labour. People who live DL already work mainstream jobs and although they may experience hardships related to low income or the precarious nature of some SIWSQ work, they are by no means enslaved or indentured. In many cases, SIW offered relief from the exploitation that occurs in mainstream service-oriented work.

To explore the nature of duality, it was important to capture whether participants felt that they were standing still or moving towards sole SIW or SQ and not DL. Financial reasons for duality ranged from needing money to address *emergencies* or predictable short-falls, and cash flow issues that come at specific times of year. Six participants (24%) expressed participating in duality for emergencies. For example, before Christmas and before school starts, when people are expected to pay for tuition, books, transportation, school uniforms, etc. Other emergencies included financially supporting themselves while they were between jobs; dealing with sick relatives; holding temporary square gigs; being on benefits; or newly graduated from university. Eleven participants (44%) had *interim length finite projects* (with an end date) such as of paying off debt or tuition for themselves or their children; getting on the property ladder; and acquiring financial security and savings or investment accounts for capital acquisition. Some desired flexibility in their employment while dealing with a health issue or wanted to be more available during the day to raise children. Finally, eight participants (32%) were engaged in duality as a *lifestyle* or for long-term financial stability that would

continue into the foreseeable future. These latter participants viewed DL as an ongoing way to mitigate financial hardships through savings and various investments that they believed could only be made with revenue from DL. This is not to say that they may not take breaks from either kind of work, only that both DL will be an ongoing feature of their working and financial lives.

The time investments in SIWSQ is a reliable but not an absolute indication of where one's practices would fall along the continuum. For example, someone who engages in duality as long-term financial strategy may only do SIW 25% of the time, or someone who is merely dabbling in SQ may spend over 75% of their work week doing that kind of job. The nascent concept of duality can be expressed through three sets of practices:

- **Dabbling:** 'testing the waters' in SIW or in conventional work less than 25% of the time. This is bidirectional. Unlike incidental sex workers, who may not acknowledge that they sell sex or identify as sex industry workers, who do not have financial goals associated (*Bohemians to Scambler 2007*), dabbling involves monetary motivations. Some participants were disillusioned by sole SIW or sole square work and sought more flexibility in their working lives. Branwen's experiences of having to wake early for a square job in which people spat at her is an example of this frustration with square work. Blaze, Nova, Sierra and others felt that both SIWSQ were precarious and stressful.

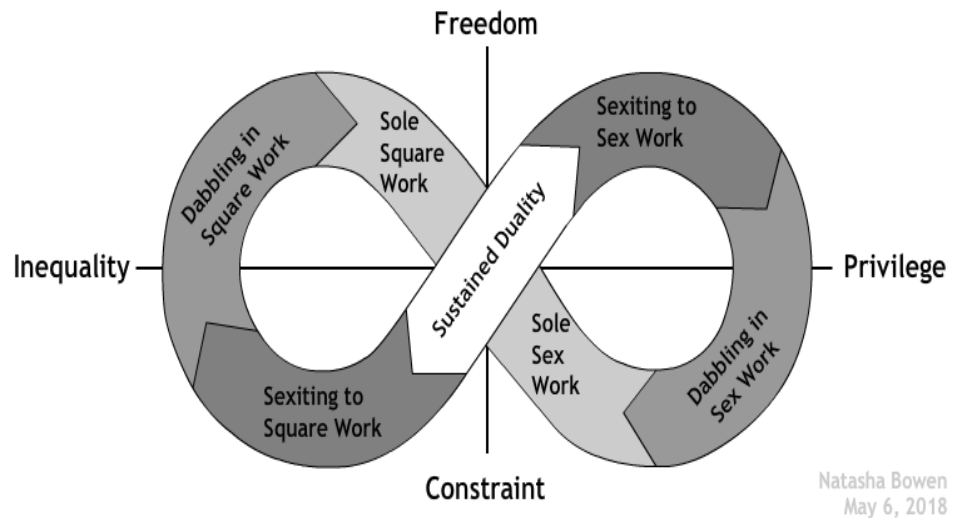
Lucas' (2005) *casual workers*, who did very little SIW, may characterize some participants who dabble. In this sample, dabblers tended to make up to £10,000 per annum in either SIWSQ.

- **Sexiting:** comprises behaviors associated with engaging in duality to transition to sole/full-time SQ or sole/full-time SIW. This 'transition hustle' expands my original conceptualization in 2013 that described 'sexiting' as sex working to exit the SI. This is now expressed as bi-

directional and acknowledges the reality that many engage in SIW to escape SQ. The *instrumental* group of participants in Lucas (2005) may work this way, as they also had specific financial goals to address. In this study Joy participated in duality to pay for her child's university education. Many individuals here have interim level goals and participate in DL between 25-50% of their average work week or month. Several do SIW a few days a month or tour a few times a year. For example, Cleo and Nova worked went on tours. They participated in SIW regularly and took on mainstream contracts, 'gigs' or other nonpermanent employment as they sought stability. Sexiting participants earned between £10,000 and £27,000 per year, combined income from SIWSQ.

- **Sustained Duality:** The key feature of this set of practices is time. People moved between each type of work seasonally, or due to market pressures or changing goals and needs, all in pursuit of life-long goals, such as avoiding debt slavery or wage slavery. Scambler (2007) identified people who included SIW as a career as *workers* and Lucas (2005) as *savvy business women*. Both theorists saw long term SIWs as a category of identity. Participants in this study could professionalized their SIW but not accept it as their identity. They are skilled in both SIWSQ and may not identify with either. They utilized skills and education to work in the SI in ways that suited them best. For example, Helen analyzed the market and strategically worked at times and in locations that would put her in front of her ideal client. Juno used the interpersonal skills she attained in SIW to improve her square career. Participants who committed to duality for social mobility in this sample spent any percentage of time working across SIWSQ, drawing combined incomes of between £10,000 and £120,000 per annum.

FIGURE 2 THE CONTINUUM OF SIWSQ



The continuum exists where SIWSQ overlap, and within social networks of constraints and opportunities, privileges and deprivations that will be difference for everyone. From a relational perspective, duality will be shaped by who you are (personal characteristics) who you know (social capital), what they know (information management) and how one is able to play their cards (performance, cultural capital, line and face) to attain their goals (social mobility, income security, flexicurity). The dynamics that surrounds the continuum (Constraint-Freedom, Inequality-Privilege) represents what may be at stake within a given field, and could be easily be replaced with capitals in the Bourdieusian sense, or other values such as social status, cultural citizenship, integrity, etc. This continuum challenges binary understandings of SIWSQ by offering a more accurate picture of why and how individuals practice DL. The bidirectional nature of *dabbling* and *sexiting* is a novel way of conceptualizing this fluidity. The motivations and levels of participation in SQ should be just as interesting and problematic given participants' experience of precarity. This conceptualization advances analyses from SIW being at issue, to exploring the relationships people who live DL have with work, and how they construct their social worlds consequently.

Closing Remarks: Identity, Role Transition and the Continuum of SIWSQ

Participants talked about their identities and self-concepts as they split their consciousness's between SIWSQ. Some did not internalize the SIW identity because SIW was temporary or stigmatizing. Some identified with jobs in one or the other, and some resisted identifying with work at all. Irrespective of how they related work, they compartmentalized their jobs and tasks, to organize time in both SIWSQ and their personal lives. Transitioning between roles and personas involved an 'outfitting' and transformation of work spaces, and for some, mental preparation. The Möbius strip (Figure 1) aptly illustrates WEB Du Bois' veil or Bourdieu's *habitus clivé*, that participants traversed. The Continuum of SIWSQ (Figure 2) depicts 'sexiting', 'dabbling', 'sole SIW', 'sole SQ', and 'sustained duality'. Participants worked with the choices available to them in the field and found their unique balances between SIWSQ. They adjusted and shifted their ways of being in the world (*habitus clivé*) to suit the field while actively constructing it through practice. One participant became so well-versed at moving from SIW to SQ, that she questioned whether her SIW 'self' even existed.

In the next chapter, participants' experiences and fears of being outed are disclosed. This is followed by some of the strategies they use to guard against stigma, and the fields and relationships they must navigate to sustain duality.

CHAPTER SIX

LIAR, LIAR! STIGMA, AVOIDANCE AND DECEPTION

As sex workers we're so vulnerable to violence, to blackmail, to being outed. To just someone saying some like horribly homophobic comments that are really hurtful. I think if you're keeping a secret from someone, even though it's a big secret, you're doing that to keep yourself safe and you shouldn't feel bad about it.

Lynn

‘Outed’: Stigma, Secrets and Emotional Costs

Stigma, secret-keeping, the fear of being outed, stress, and strategies/tactics for managing discrediting information were discussed by participants as a mind field of interrelated, sometimes causal factors that affected how they managed on- and offline DL. As expected, participants experienced direct or indirect whole stigma and vicarious whole stigma (Bowen and Bungay, 2015) by being in the presence of SIWs who were being stigmatized but they themselves remained undetected, in addition to other forms of discrimination. The sources of stigma included state agents, landlords, co-workers, employers, SI clients, relatives, significant others (e.g. ex-partners), media, and members of the public. Participants were gossiped about, outed through anonymous tips to employers and government agencies; and were outed in social media and tabloid newspapers. Eleven participants experienced being outed publicly. I share experiences of being outed in the chapter. In some instances, their pseudonyms are withheld for added protection because they may have shared these stories with others and might be identifiable. Such participants will be referred to as ‘Anonymous’.

Experiences of stigma not associated with SIW include interactions between state actors and participants who are otherwise marginalized through disability and poverty for example. Blaze had to access benefits after the completion of her PhD and was treated badly. She explains:

I’ve done a PhD. I’ve got lots of educational capital and lots of cultural capital but about 1.5 years of finishing up really ruined me financially. I was always living off the edge of my maximum overdraft and part of that time I was living at home again because there was no way that I could pay rent... I had nothing, and I was signing on and they treated you like absolute shit. It’s like ridiculous, disgusting...you think you’ve done something good. You’ve done a PhD and you think you’re a person and

you're a customer or whatever but they [government staff] just have a way of demeaning you.

Experiences like these are only compounded by whore stigma. Most experiences of whore stigma among participants are indirect, vicarious or coincided experiences of being 'outed.' An Anonymous Participant experienced whore stigma among associates who were involved in criminal behavior. These individuals knew about her SIW, as they were involved in underground economies themselves; however, they censured her for being a SIW. She explains:

I went to buy some drugs and there were these guys and you know they were just thieves, not quite violent criminals but they were doing dodgy shit and I walked in and there were all of these Christmas presents and they were unwrapping them. They broke into the back of a car and stole somebody's presents for their kids and they were unwrapping them to sell them...I said 'oh what a difficult day I've had'... and they were horrified. They were like 'don't fucking bring that shit in here!'

This participant was shunned for attempting to debrief her day in sex work by drug dealers who had just stolen Christmas gifts. This incident illustrates that even people engaged in despicable acts have the audacity to stigmatize sex workers.

Lynn hides both her SIWSQ from family members. She works in the third sector health services with sex workers. She explains:

I kind of conceal both kinds of work from [family] because they inform the other so clearly... I told my parents about my [square] job and like framed it as like really emphasizing the kind of 'HIV-ness' of it, because that seemed more legitimate ... I'm sure people in the HIV

sector would feel often that they are stigmatized, but compared to sex work, like HIV is so legitimate [laughter]!

One participant discussed shielding their clients from courtesy stigma by identifying as a masseuse:

It's a different type of client who book escorts and massages... They don't want to be like 'oh I'm a client of sex worker.' Booking a massage is like a professional service and there might be hand job at the end or a blowjob, so they don't see it as sex work. If I'm in a category of like I'm a prostitute, that puts the client in the well 'I'm a client of a sex worker' and it's kind of dirtying it a bit.

Mary discussed her internalizing whore stigma and how living a DL makes her feel better than full-time SIWs:

It's probably a self-shaming... if you've got a straight job as well it gives you like, you feel a lot more credible when you compare yourself to other people who only do sex work.

As Cleo built relationships within the SI, she came to recognize SIW as work, and then was outed by an in-law. She explains:

I guess like my parents finding out was a big thing... slowly then I was like okay, I'm not actually like worried about anything anymore, even though it didn't go down well ... I was planning to tell them ...I was getting involved in sex worker rights and then my [family member] actually told them which was a big move but... even though it was a horrible thing to do it worked out I think for the best.

An Anonymous Participant was living a dual life and was outed in the tabloids. This exposure rendered this individual unemployable and they entered SIW

full-time before obtaining SQ again sometime later. This participant discussed the very real practice of employers investigating job candidates' online profiles as part of employment screening processes:

I was outed in one of the tabloid newspapers, which was just hideous. I had to resign, it was a nightmare... this forced me into full-time sex work and one of the things was, when I had a problem getting other work is that you only have to google my real name and the article still pops up on the internet... it made me scared to apply for other jobs because you know companies google these days and unfortunately my name is unique.

Another participant, Alice was also outed in the tabloids:

Well pretty much all of my friends know that I do both [duality] actually... my parents were not impressed when I was outed in [named tabloid paper] ... my parents didn't talk to me for a long time afterwards and they are the only people who I would lie to ... I know some of my father's family saw the article, but it's never been spoken about [laughter]. We're all British, and we never speak of these things!

The conspiracy of silence in the family means that the Alice's DL remains ignored and unresolved. She adds:

I can cope with losing my job but the effect it had on the relationship with my parents was the worst thing.

Yet another Anonymous Participant explains being outed by an ex-partner to the tabloids:

[Ex-partner] was madly in love with me and I kinda dumped [ex-partner] and [they] started stalking me and then [they] told me that [they] had a mate who was a journalist. I thought [they] were just saying that, but then a couple of months after that [tabloid] showed up on my doorstep and said that they saw my website and yada yada, and did I have any comment, and I said 'no' ... [the tabloid] also rang my [square job] for comment...I was home that day and they rang me and I was suspended and then I was asked to resign.

Being outed in the digital age presents new challenges for containing information after a disclosure has been made. Media stories that out participants are available online in perpetuity and, since participants' real names were also published, loved ones, in addition to participants, will likely suffer long-term effects. Information communications technologies (ICTs) is double-edged as they facilitate and threatens duality in ways that will be examined more fully in this chapter.

An Anonymous Participant was experiencing hardship and loss of square employment due to health issues. This individual accessed Job Seekers and signed on while engaging in SIW to maintain a household until another square job could be found. During this time of economic insecurity, this participant was outed to government officials:

Someone reported me to job seekers and so I had to take [Adult Services Website profile] all down.

When asked who this participant thought disclosed their SIW, they stated:

I honestly have no idea...I was quite upset ...it's all a bit fucked but it's kind of ironic that in reporting me I'm going to be pushed into less safe ways of working.

This participant was sanctioned for not appropriately declaring household income⁴⁶. With the loss government support, lack of square employment, precarious SIW, and health issues, this individual has been in a dire situation. Currently, this participant is contemplating high risk SIW options for survival. In this instance, high risk means instead of working as an independent SIW, advertising and receiving support through online worker sites, they would take shifts at venues that are managed by members of organized crime.

An Anonymous Participant was adopted and recently reunited with family members. This participant was normally out about SIW and their DL, now experiences fear of being outed:

*I didn't have any family for a long time and I found my dad and my [other family] in June. I found them, and we've been reunited... I always told everybody what I do for a living because I'm actually very very proud of it—
—at dinner dates, on social occasions, at the pictures! ...Then when I found my family and I was thinking I really don't want them to know. So, that has now probably for the first time in about 15 years I'm starting to feel a little bit frightened of being exposed...I don't think my dad would reject me ... but I'm actually pretty sure he wouldn't understand it.*

Participants shared stories about being present while SIWs were being stigmatized, as well as anecdotes and media coverage about others who experienced whore stigma. For example, Joy talked about a mother who was outed and the impacts on that woman's young child:

[Name of famous sex worker], who would never had come forward to expose herself was actually outed by a tabloid

⁴⁶ <https://www.gov.uk/benefit-fraud>

newspaper... so when she was exposed the damage, it's done! Now she has to defend herself and part of her defense is to share that she is an intelligent, compassionate woman who cares deeply about people, not just sex workers rights, but everyone's rights, worker's rights...but the damage that the tabloid press did to her [child] and her... the emotional fallout from schools, and even other parents from school, and living in a small community was horrible!

These kinds of vicarious trauma added to participants' fears of being outed and increased stress related to secret-keeping; however, Joy was not particularly worried about being outed because her square jobs and routines are a good cover for SIW. Joy is very visible in her home community. She is either out gardening, taking care of animals or busy with home renovations. Her neighbors are not likely to suspect that she leaves periodically to go on tour:

I don't worry at all because for example, I'm going today actually, tonight for the first time in a while. I'm going down to [city] to an apartment and it's a 4.5-hour drive from my home and if anybody saw me here, I give the perception that I'm fully occupied in a day job and in my [home life]. I come across as being a completely other person, because almost all of my life is accountable...I don't think anybody would actually ever think I'm engaged in sex work.

Helen does not worry about the legality of SIW, but is concerned about losing her square job in a conservative workplace:

I worry about anonymity because although you know escorting isn't illegal, but it's certainly frowned upon by

the majority of society. And I think if it was to become known at my [square job] that I escort then there would be consequences...I could lose my job ... or they would find an excuse you know to get rid of me, because you know it's like a [financial institution] and you know a 'family values' kind of career.

Most participants were hiding *in plain sight*, and deeply affected by vicarious whore stigma at the hands of square associates, the media and people in the community more generally. These kinds of stigmatizing interactions, directly experienced or socially learned, made some participants feel fearful and unsafe. This led to hypervigilance, and extreme monitoring of their own thoughts, utterances and behaviors. Hypervigilance was intensified by the fear of being seen or recognized by the wrong audience of square or SIW associates. Juno explains:

It's horrible actually. It's really stressful like, every [client in square job] I get... thinking 'gosh who is this person?' 'Do I recognize that name?' And then you see things in the media like, people being outed and whatever. It's so horrible ...I just hope for the best to be honest. I've been very lucky.

Several participants discussed the stress related to keeping secrets and the risks that they were taking to live a DL. Rain articulates this well:

I think that all secrets have pressure, however benign...secrets have weight. And in a particular situation where...say for example I've got a tattoo and I don't want you to know about it, all I've got to do is keep my top on, but if you're in a situation where people are talking about the work they do or how they earn money, the first question when you meet someone is 'what do you do?' So, you not only have the secret, you have this whole

construction and it's a lot of practical hard work ...I'm not aware of anything that tells people how to do that.

Rain is at risk being outed when associating with SIWs:

I was in a situation recently ...it was a meeting with sex workers where you walk into a room and I'm like 'actually my life could fall apart.' ... there was this woman who knew me from my straight identity and I just said to her well I'm feeling ill and I've got to go. I said to like it was a political meeting for sex workers and luckily, she didn't react to it. I ended up with withdrawing from the group completely.'

Participants shared experiences like this where being seen by an associate in the wrong field of interaction can expose a concealed identity. Rain considers the risks:

This is kind of thing that makes things dangerous. I think many people may not think about it...but their ability to deal with those situations and respond to those situations is affected by a whole set of circumstances and privileges which you may not be aware of.

For Juno, not having access to police protection because of the impacts of being known to the state as a sex worker affects her level of safety:

I had something stolen from my house and I just left it on the side and somebody did take it. A client. And I would have loved to like called the police... but I couldn't because if I did that, they would go 'why was he in your house?' 'What was he doing there?' ... it means that if something happens to me or any other girl you know, you can't do anything. You're stuck, so why is that okay? ... If

something does happen, what can you do? and clients who are looking for trouble, they can come ... and they're very likely to get away with it...a lot of sex workers are not out or are in vulnerable situations. They can't you know go to police ...It does my head in.

Keeping secrets was stressful. Alice describes her experiences:

The stress is unbelievable; it is really horrible...if your main career is important I wouldn't risk it for sex work, but equally I understand that people are in positions where they need the money, which I was at that point. I wouldn't have done it if I didn't need the money.

An Anonymous Participant explained that a friend was outed by an ex-boyfriend and this has her worried that her ex will do the same:

One of my friend's ex- boyfriend outed her. He printed a page of her website and posted it to her family and her new boyfriend. That was only last week. But it's awful and I guess it would be the worst thing ever because I would lose my job and I would lose my family ... But my ex-boyfriend like, it hasn't been that long, and I think he only told one of his friends about my job and that's because I encouraged him to because he was having a hard time with it all... but if it comes out then he's going to lose me forever, I swear!

This Anonymous Participant has the added worry that her outing would threaten her sponsorship to work here in the UK:

I would have to leave the country because the [square employer] is sponsoring me. I would lose my visa...What

am I gonna do like? There's nothing I can do if it comes out.

Joy had similar concerns about employment, status loss and the risks she takes in living a DL. She shares what she thinks would happen if outed:

I would be literally unemployable, and in the future, I may decide to take a route of doing some work for government or whatever. Then I would have difficulty obtaining that type of job if somewhere there's a note against my name that I am a sex worker.

For Joy and others, the risk of being discovered doing SIW and having that information recorded by the state or known to family and associates limits life chances.

Participants also talked about being inauthentic and how the secrets they keep leave them feeling like they betray people who they care about. Juno discussed how proud her family is about her accomplishments in her square career:

My family is like 'she's a [professional] and we're so proud of her' you know and if I came out, I'm not sure how they would take that at all...they're very old fashioned like sex is not spoken about, ever!

Lying to friends and family for long periods means that Juno has come to the realization that she can never disclose her SIW:

My friends, they just know me as a [professional] and I just think like if I came out and say, 'oh by the way I've been escorting for 6 years [laughter]', they'd probably be

feeling a little bit betrayed that I didn't tell them, which would just make it even more difficult. If I had come out in the beginning I don't think they would have been okay with it, but to tell them after 6 years of them being mates with me, they probably wouldn't think that they know me at all ... so I can't really tell anyone.

Darcy describes her deflection tactics when people ask her about herself, and the stress of lying:

It's so stressful and a bit anxious because when people come up to you about this and that and you tell your lies but you're half cringing, but you have to do what you do with kids which is distraction. All of a sudden just change the subject! And go 'oh there's blah blah blah' or 'did you hear about this?' It's stressful, it's not comfortable. It's like a heart pain... anxiety that's it.

An Anonymous Participant was recently outed and is worried about continued offline victimization by those who would search for personal information about them online and make contact:

I think the main thing is the risk of being outed and having people finding out. Like I have gone through that, when people find out they go through your profile...that is more of a fear for me than the isolation...I worry sometimes when somebody calls me...is it somebody that I know that's just calling to see if they can embarrass me? ... there is a bit of anxiety behind every phone call and every person that comes to the door, it's like 'oh my God what if I know them' or 'what if they know somebody I know.'

This Anonymous Participant underlines the ongoing fear that some participants have about being outed, publicly shamed, and victimized in various ways. Managing SIWSQ means keeping a mind to what one would do if outed.

For Juno, working as a SIW and paying taxes in the EU will become complicated when Brexit is complete. She explains:

I work in [the EU] ... And when Brexit happens I'm not really sure what will happen, like I get a sex worker's permit from the government, just for tax, and to do that you have to have an EU passport. I mean in a few years if I'm not going to have an EU passport then that would certainly affect me...I pay my taxes and I don't think they give a crap as I'm paying. They see 'oh you've got a British passport' and here is your registration tax number, and if you make more than so many euros you start paying tax. But I mean I was really nervous that that was going to trickle through and become a problem for me in the UK, but I've been doing it for years and nothing ever happened.

SIWs experience stigma from most people who find out about what they do. An Anonymous Participant was outed, evicted from her home and lost clients in her square business as a result:

When I got kicked out of my home and outed in [date] someone from the [public] found out I was a hooker and then oh my God, I lost all my advertising contracts and clients were starting to pull out. I had no money and when I shut down the [square] business people were like 'oh she's a scam, she shut down and is running off with everyone's money!' It got out on the internet that I was a

sex worker, and so people thought they would make my life difficult.

There was no recourse for this participant. She began doing full-time SIW to recover and re-start her square business.

Another Anonymous Participant disclosed that she spends time in disguise after learning about others who have been outed:

When I've been on TV I wear a wig and glasses! There are about half a dozen people who I know who have been outed by the media and police. I don't want my neighbors... like they could tell my landlord and stuff like that. I want to make that wiggle room between 'Oh my God, we don't know what she looks like.'

Some participants talked about being subject to online hate through reviews by clients or anyone posing as a client. Blaze reflects on her experience:

The most difficult part of the job is the clients...I've received a lot of text messages that were not nice or that were just plain rude or just stupid rubbish. They have no plans to hire me ...The sex is not difficult, traumatic or anything, the thing the most bothersome are these trolls and timewasters... That's when you feel like you're the repository for these men's undigested emotions you know. They see you as a legitimate place to put all of their shit... They don't even think you're a real person.... It doesn't only happen to sex workers; it happens to anybody who's got any kind of public presence or an opinion.

Participants take great risks to live DL all to establish income security and flexibility in their work. They have careers in SIWSQ at stake as well as their relations and futures, and the lives and reputations of their loved ones to consider. To mitigate risks of being outed and losing everything, participants adopt several stigma-avoidance strategies.

ICT, Audience Segregation and Deception: Stigma-Avoidance and the Management of Information

Participants were asked what role technology played in the management of their duality. People who live DL manage information and keep secrets to reduce the risk of being outed. The core strategy that participants implemented was to create separation between roles and identities and their private lives and relationships. They engage in on- and offline audience segregation and are both challenged and facilitated by information communications technologies (ICTs). At times, participants used their square jobs as a cover for SIW, to explain their whereabouts and income. Stigma-avoidance activities require deception. The ability to lie or conceal is interpreted as a skill-set by some participants; however, participants felt forced to lie because of whore stigma, and how SIWs and their families are treated in our society.

Remi wanted to live a fully integrated life but cannot be open about her work due to stigma. She manages a separate identity online; however, all career successes and achievements related to SIW are unclaimable:

Probably a year ago I would have said that I wanted to live a fully integrated and fully reviewed life. I wanted to be able to have a website under my real name that would say that I'm also [sex work name] and link that ...to own all of my work in both of the spaces that I inhabit, instead of having to hide away all of the time, and not get full credit for the full person that I am.

Remi goes on to explain her information management tactics and reasons:

I've been maintaining identity separation for so long and after 10 years you still can't link one name to my other [sex work] name by google... I've been very careful about that but the reason that I was doing that was for the sake of my family. For five years, they didn't know about [working name] And then when I did tell them about it ...like it was a really strong for them that their name wasn't associated with my work because the jobs that they are in are very sensitive. I was very happy to honor that...It's important for me to have separation as well for my own mental health and my privacy.

Remi, like other participants, hid SIW to protect the reputations of family members, and for their own mental health and work/life balance. Remi explored integrating her identities but was advised against it:

I think if I was fully integrated and fully revealed that life would be harder... I've talked to elders in the activist community about all of this... They're like 'do you have kids?' and I'm like 'no, but I want them' and they say 'don't come out if you want to have them' [laughter]. They said, 'stigma sucks and don't rush into it because once you are out you can't go back.'

Sage also discussed not being able to claim credit for her accomplishments in SIW. Even though the skills themselves represent viable cultural capital, the means through which these skills were acquired (SIW) are viewed as illegitimate:

It's an interesting dilemma that what I do under [sex work name] ... because I want the work to be credited to me as

a [professional] ... I quite often get clients in sex work saying send me a link to your [square business] and I'm like 'No. no, piss off!' And in fact, I keep things separate so that if I'm outed then my business isn't going to be affected because that's the biggest fear when you have two lives is that your worlds will clash. When people find out you're a hooker, they think that they're entitled to ask questions and I'm like 'piss off!' I'm not apologizing and I'm not going to explain shit so go away!

Sage adds that she would like to merge her worlds, but stigma is a barrier to this:

I want to set up [square business] as a proper profit-making entity...at that point I can have my worlds merge, but the sex work prevents me from sharing my life and sharing my achievements with people. I can't bloody share them on Facebook™!

Many must avoid having an online presence in their personal lives or go to great lengths to ensure that there is no crossover between SIWSQ identities. ICT can support DL participants as they are able avoid showing pictures in their advertising, control how much personal information is shared, but technology and devices can also out people. Participants talked about the integrating features of some computer applications and how they manage their devices to prevent revelation of SIW.

Lynn highlights how difficult it is to have a conversation about some of the most mundane things on social media due to audience segregation:

I was able to talk a little about [square job] with my mom but keep the secret of both my actual sex work and my [square job]. On occasions when I'm hanging out with

people who I'm keeping those secrets from, it's kind of striking how difficult it is to talk to them... there's so much being held back. Like, everything! And even like minor stuff like on Twitter™ When hanging out with my mom I hold back on that for fear that she might like 'oh you use Twitter™, so what's your Twitter™ handle?'

Blaze felt that technology was helpful in assisting her manage her online SIW profile and thus protecting her square career aspirations:

I never show my face ...I try to be as anonymous as possible... I mean technology massively helps...Somebody like me who is like kind of an aspiring middle-class academic, I don't have to put myself in the potentially discrediting situations that some women do.

For Blaze and others, advertising online allows them to contact potential clients confidentially. Sierra also hides her face in profile images although if family members saw her ad, they would be able to identify her:

I don't show my face, but I wear glasses and there are pictures where you wouldn't actually be able to see me properly, or you can see my body and my body type...I think that very close family will be able tell that it's me on my profile ... I don't think people would put it together that that's my picture. It's a silhouette.

Those who do full-time SIW may not show their faces to avoid whore stigma more generally; however, DL participants have the added concern of protecting their square careers and networks in addition to their personal lives. Branwen discusses the risks that she and others take when they do outcalls where clients may record them:

If I say 'no photographs taken' you have to manage that ...If we were to have sex in his bedroom, it's like you'd have to walk in and you'd have to make sure that one you're comfortable and you can't see any video equipment... you can get a camera today the size of a button.

Clients may violate SIWs' privacy and commit an offence by illegally recording their interactions.

Remi initially posted revealing photos of herself online, and later reconsidered:

When I first started, I think I did a couple of [niche photos] under my real name, but then I realized it felt weird ...I never used my surname, but it was using my real first name... I wanted to have a character to hide behind like it was just part of being a performer.

Laith is unique among the sample because he recommends against women in the SI hiding their faces and identities online:

If what you want to do is a little bit of escorting on the side and not show your face, then I think it's very difficult indeed. Do you know [named a mutual friend]? ...We had a conversation about photos and she very famously never shows her pictures, but she has a very specific and clear marketing strategy...She still hooks a bunch of idiots, but it's designed to hook a certain type of bloke, and that's not possible for most people.

Laith believes that hiding one's face will attract dangerous men:

If you hide your face what you're really saying 'I'm not comfortable with this' ... First of all a lot of the guys who you would want to hook you won't call you because most guys like to be having sex with someone they think wants to be there. If you're there having sex with someone who doesn't really want to be there, then it gets worse. It means that if you're up there [online] when they got you with a blurred face, the market that's going to be attracted to you is the kind of guy who wants to be engaged in a power-dominating relationship with a girl who doesn't necessarily want to be there and isn't comfortable with it. The reason that the pretty girls in their early 20s have bad experiences is because they don't understand that they are attracting exactly the kind of person that they don't want.

When asked to comment on women who have other careers, who cannot show their faces in SIW adverts, Laith had this to offer:

Well if a woman said to me that she can't show her face ... given the fight we've got, don't do the work! And certainly, in the West... short of people who've got really messed up lives, like drug problems and they need a very high cash flow with no skill set, most people who are in the industry part-time, for the money, it's not so they can live. It's so that they can have a better lifestyle than they could ordinarily have and if you're totally upfront about it, that's fine. But if you're trying to do that and hide, you're effectively trying to juggle too many things.

Whether those who live DL ought to show their faces in their advertisements is a personal choice based on what's at stake for the individual. Decisions about disclosure in the context of ICT are well-considered by participants because they can be irreversible.

'iPhones are a killer': Device Management, Integrating Software and Audience Segregation

Participants not only protected their identities by hiding distinguishing features about themselves in online adverts, duality was also facilitated or challenged by integrative software, device management activities and audience segregation.

Sierra explains the importance of maintaining separation between SIWSQ because of the ways that people are monitored by technology and how DL participants can be outed:

As for technology, I was thinking that because internet is so dangerous right, they are tracking everything about you. I was thinking about it a lot, how not to give enough clues to any side of the line so they can't find the other [identity]... I was pretty stupid at the beginning. I had one picture which I had on my Facebook™ like a complete idiot, and I did not realize that people can search images... then I separated it completely.

Sierra adds:

I forget passwords for things so I just save things on the browser, so I can go there straight away. Then I realize that I can't do that...I did not fucking realize! So then I was like 'oh shit I have to just delete all of that history every time I'm on any device' and go there again and type the password and try to remember the password. Online

remembers everything... it's like fuck off! ... You have to turn off the location thing on Facebook™ because you don't want people to know that you're in London: 'What did you do in London?' 'Why were you there?' So, there are so many traces left online... you're on CCTV everywhere!

Sierra also acknowledges that technology facilitates her SIW:

On the one hand the technology allows me to do what I do because without a website I won't be able to have this anonymity... and on the other hand technology works against me.

Some participants in this study used dating sites as opposed to ASWs to meet clients. An Anonymous Participant does this to have some ambiguity as she is aware of being monitored by the state online:

If MI5 is interested in my [sex] working, I would be able to say that it's not a sex work website, it's dating website... I can always say that I'm dating there and who's gonna decide whether the guy paid for my travel and then he gave me some extra money? It's a dating thing or it's a sex work thing?

This ambiguity is also effective when meeting with clients, as she can back out of any intimacy because the relationship starts out like many other online blind date.

Saving passwords in browsers, clearing browser histories, device locations, CCTV and MI5 are just a few of the considerations that participants had in relation to technology and duality. Nova was concerned about the information requested by websites in the UK to create and maintain accounts:

There are two main websites and one of them is quite nice, and they ask for a lot of things like your phone bill or energy bill, a copy of your ID and I'm not used to that... this [website] is really big and a lot of people advertise on it, and I find it quite surprising that so many people consent to sharing personal data with a website like that. Maybe they feel that they have to, but I don't know.

Nova also works in another part of the world that does not require SIWs to provide addresses, real names and other identification for ASW accounts, but she supports the idea of doing this to reduce fake ads.

It is not only the content that participants put online that may out them, computer software itself poses risks. Mary describes an incident of almost being outed by computer at her square job:

I think [ICT] has the potential to help but actually if you don't know what you're doing, it has quite a dangerous potential to out you in loads of different ways. For example, like I, on my Mac when I open it up it says like 'top listed pages' so like [named ASW] would come up and escorts in [region of UK] and all these adult sex sites when I opened it up in my square work. And I think 'oh my gosh.' I was sitting down beside one of the [investors] and that all came up... and it's quite hard to keep it separate from your square technology.

This accidental revelation of Mary's 'most visited' websites upon opening her laptop was a jarring experience. To avoid being outed via browsers, Juno goes incognito:

When I'm on my laptop using [ASW] I go into a private browser so like if someone was to steal my laptop they

wouldn't know that I was on that site. And when I get an email from a client, you can see how many times they've sent emails to escorts, and how many bookings they've made for example, so before I even bother to reply I just check that they haven't send like 10,000 emails and never made a booking.

The added advantage of being able to screen clients by seeing how many emails they have sent and how bookings they have made is a benefit to working through ASWs.

Alice's main issues are remembering to tweet from the correct account:

It's just a matter of being doubly sure that if I see something I'm tweeting from the right account because I have so many apps going at once.

Mary explains device management and challenges that come due to cloud software:

Often you use the same technology in your square jobs and with phones like with the bloody cloud! I got two phones but the calls they're both going to iCloud even though they are two different accounts. And sometimes when somebody calls me on my personal phone it will come up as their name or like 'creepy guy from Edinburgh.' I don't know why it does that but that's my personal phone and that's the way that technology makes it less safe when you're living a double life... We're so tracked by technology.

Daisy also uses the strategy of multiple devices to manage duality. She discusses how she brandishes both phones to people and finds herself having to explain them:

I have two phones now but I always whip them both out in front of everyone and they're like 'why do you have two phones are you a drug dealer?' and I'm like 'yeah I'm a drug dealer' and then I go into a whole story about 'oh yeah I got this new phone and then I realized that I couldn't cancel this one because I have a contract on this one without realizing, but it's cool because this phone works in [home country] and has unlimited data.' I you know I have to give this whole spiel each and every time and they're just like 'okay cool' but I'm always looking at both phones because I told them that I have Instagram on one to save data.

Although managing two phones is cumbersome, Daisy feels that technology is very helpful to her duality:

I like having two phones, so the technology really helps because like I've got the work phone which the emails go directly to, and anyone who is a client or associated with a client or another sex worker friend, who's not a real friend all... they only go that number. And that's really good because Facebook™ is crazy! When you look at Facebook™ sometimes it kind of suggests your friends and if you've got a client's number in your phone they come up as a suggested friend.

Daisy has a clear management scheme to keep her SIW audiences (workers, clients and related individuals) separate from her personal phone to prevent Facebook™ from merging her networks. She explains her strategy at length:

With Facebook™ like I'm trying to minimize my online presence as much as possible, so I've made a lot of things private and I've changed my name because one of my clients was looking for me. The only thing I have is like a sex worker support group on Facebook™. That is a private group, so you can post, and it can't be seen if you're not part of the group, but if you are part of the group then they can see my Facebook™. They can see my page but I'm not friends with them, so they can only see my profile picture which is just a picture of [omitted] and my name which isn't my full name. They can't see any of my other friends, they can only see things that I like. I've made it so that people who are not my friends on Facebook™ can't see much at all. But I've got to keep checking that because they [Facebook™] keep changing the settings.

Sage is unable to share her achievements and take advantage of deep links to her crowdsourcing activities on Facebook™ because some of her 'friends' there do not know that she lives a DL:

[Crowdsourcing application] says share it with people on Facebook™ to build trust and use that as a profile. I'm not able to because some of my Facebook™ people don't know about my sex work. I can put my photo on from Facebook™ and the [crowdsourcing application] will link the two and I can't link the two. So, I can't build trust and raise funds. I'm doing something quite remarkable, but I can't share it.

Another Anonymous Participant echoes the sentiment that products and software pose a risk to maintaining audience segregation:

*Never ever use an Apple product on your work phone!
Apple wants to own your life, so they get their tentacles*

into everything. I would never ever use an iPhone for [sex] work. It's just totally far too risky...now your photos are on the iCloud, oh brilliant [sarcasim]! Thanks very much! I don't use iPhone at all now. I have an iPad which I loved but I don't use it for anything really more than watching Netflix™ and reading books. iPhones are a killer.

Remi also has an aversion to using Apple products to manage her DL:

I'm not an apple user because it forces a lot of integration that I don't want. Like I didn't get on Telegram™ which is a chat client that synchs to your phone, until I had two phones because I didn't want to sign up for that tool. Then have my clients be added to my contact list on Telegram™... like I'm so trying to be smart about that sort of thing. [Her sex work name] has her own Twitter™. She has her own Facebook™. She has her own Google™ account. I have two accounts with my domain registrar, so I have a sex work account on my domain registrar and all of the domains that have anything to do with sex work and porn. And then I have another account that I use as my personal domain, for my personal email and my website stuff. I've always kept it really separate.

Unlike Remi, Lynn does not consider herself to be tech-savvy and has issues with only having one phone:

I'm not like this super sophisticated user of technologies. Like, I have a ridiculous problem of only actually having one phone for work and for life which, is really unusual among sex workers for obvious reasons. That does cause some problems like there's a time when, last summer, when my [pet] went missing. He came back fine but I wanted to put my mobile phone number onto my Twitter™

to be like 'if anyone's seen a [pet] call this number' and I felt like I couldn't because if anyone Googled my number it would automatically bring up my sex work ads. Which isn't something wanted people on my Twitter™ to be able to have access to.

Lynn's current phone number is verified with and ASW and it cannot be changed without much difficulty:

I haven't changed my phone number because my profile on [ASW] is verified and when I try and change the number it like comes back that I'm not supposed to change a number on a verified profile, and the logistics of changing it is like too much hassle to think about.

In order to keep her worlds from colliding, Blu manages her devices:

I have separate phones and at one point I started to try and separate everything a bit more. I tried to like not look at my [sex] work twitter on my normal ...I've tried not be accessible [for sex work] all of the time, so if I was going out for the evening with my friends I would not to take my [sex] work phone.

Similarly, June began the practice of turning her sex work phone off as part of her role transition:

I remember in the beginning I wouldn't remember to turn my phone off when I got home...I'm seriously technologically challenged, so you know technology is great, it allows me to do what I do and be independent. I love technology for that, but I'm so challenged. And the worst thing is like, every time I need to figure something out my kids show me on my [sex] work phone. I'm

completely lost. I had two separate phones because I'm so disorganized and a bit chaotic.

Helen not only manages her devices, but all items on her person that could out her:

You know I'm very careful about not taking any identifying documents or anything out with me like if I go on an outcall. I don't take my civie [square] phone. I don't take my purse with any of my credit cards in it or anything. So, if a punter was to rob me or if I was to get in an accident you know, I wouldn't be identifiable... When I webcam I wear a wig. I don't show my face in free mode, and I don't show my face on any of my advertising pictures. That's probably the hardest part for me... is retaining that anonymity and you know you do kind of think to yourself 'what would happen if I went to an outcall and it happened to be a colleague?'

Helen's need to conceal her identity from SIW clients highlights a safety issue echoed among other participants. She carries nothing that identifies her in addition to no one knowing that she does SIW.

Joy also discusses her intentional lack of personal social media presence:

I've no personal social media at all... I've never been particularly interested in it. I've obviously got a [square work] social media account, but in terms of the sex work, it's simply a [ASW] profile. When I go to [region of the UK] to work, I put up an escort profile and that's it...I have one email address for work, one for sex work, and I have a laptop for sex work...I don't have a Facebook™ profile or anything at all like that. I just keep it completely and utterly separate.

Although participants are strategic about their use of ICTs, and concealing and separating their identities, their social realms are further subdivided into the trusted and the untrusted.

Backstage Pass: The Trusted and the Untrusted

To understand selective disclosure among participants, they were asked who knows that they live DL and who they concealed this information from. For some participants, their clients and me were the only people who knew. Most participants hid their DL from family members. The two most important reasons for this were 1) to avoid whore stigma and status loss; and 2) to prevent family members from being subjected to courtesy stigma.

Joy highlights the strain of keeping secrets and the desire to disclose, but warns against this:

I think you absolutely have to keep up two different identities and keep these identities separate both online and offline...It's so natural to want to confess, it's so natural to want to sort of you know 'offload' that you're doing this [duality], to tell your secret to get the weight off of your mind, and because by telling someone else you are almost processing what you're doing. I would say be very very careful about who you tell and be your own counsel but be very careful about who you tell.

Many participants have shared this sentiment and referred to the secrets they are forced to keep as a heavy burden because they know about how people are treated when their SIW involvement is made public. June stated that she keeps her SIW from her family members because she does not want to burden them:

I wouldn't tell anybody in my family... I wouldn't tell my children because I feel that it's unfair to them in the sense that if somebody asks what their mom does, it's not

something that they could tell them. So, I don't want the onus of having to lie about it on them ...I think they would actually be quite accepting of it... I tell them that I'm working in a bar so that explains me having to do strange hours.

Remi told her parents about her DL and this has not reduced her stress:

Now that I'm not out... like my life has been so much more stressful since I told them. The net amount of stress hasn't gone down, it's just that they're dealing with it now, not me so it's kind of a selfish thing to do really...The stigma is there, and I think it's fair enough that they shouldn't have to experience stigma for something that they haven't chosen to do.

An Anonymous Participant disclosed her SIW to her sister, but later came to regret sharing it:

So, I told my sister about my sex work a couple of years ago because I really value my close relationship ...keeping secrets would mean that we couldn't have a real relationship. In a way, sometimes I feel a little guilty about telling her because it was a lot to burden her with. And a couple months ago I got a text message that she had a nightmare about me being not safe at work... So, like we don't talk about my sex work very much at all and like I have a sense that she worries about it and that isn't great.

She adds that she is comfortable with keeping her SIW from her parents:

Apart from that I have a quite 'boundaried' relationship with both of my parents because they're both quite emotionally 'vampirish' so, whatever my life is I'd want to be keeping it away from them.

Another Anonymous Participant disclosed SIW to her sister which increased her worry:

I told my sister about it all relatively recently ... I've always wanted to, but it was quite difficult... It went okay but she said to me last week that she's not okay with it, and we need to find something sustainable... she's worried about my health because I have long standing health issues along with mobility but the mental health issues... I live a quite different world to what my sister's world is, like most of my friends are queer and mentally ill and skint!

June discussed the stress related to keeping secrets and the embarrassment of being untruthful in front of her partner, who knows that she does SIW:

It's stressful, I always forget what my boyfriend told his parents about what I do, and I never know what he's told acquaintances and that can be quite stressful...It's the stress of worrying about it when I'm meeting people and I don't like lying in front of somebody who knows you know. I'm out about it with my partner and when somebody asks about it I feel a bit uncomfortable lying.

The complexities of concealing information or being forced to lie about SIW and doing so in the presence of those who know, creates additional stress for participants. To avoid having to lie about SIW, some participants did not

build relationships with some people in their square worlds. Wyatt is unusual among participants because his family and some friends as well as colleagues at his square job all knew that he does SIW, but he conceals this information from fellow students:

I mean my family know, my close family do, and my square work, like all of my colleagues do, my [PhD] supervisor knows...like in terms of the [PhD], no one else at the university knows. I don't share with other PhD students, just my supervisor...and it's just anxieties because word travels fast and if I did want an academic career which I don't think I do, but if I did, then I have to not be out.

Wyatt, like Remi, sought advice about disclosing his SIW:

I spoke to [academic] about being out cause I was also quite gung-ho and she was like 'no don't.' [Academic] was speaking at [conference in the USA] and I asked a question about coming out, and a few people came up to me afterwards and said don't risk it!

Sierra has told two or three friends about her DL, but no one in her academic life knows:

Yeah, my academic world and my family would find out. These are the ones who can't ever find out... maybe some people would have a suspicion in the academic world... but maybe it's my paranoia but the other PhD students...If I hang out with them...if they put one and one together and they figure out that from my jobs I can't make enough money to survive, it would not be difficult I think.

Unlike Wyatt, Sierra builds relationships fellow PhD students. She tells her friends that her family sends her money, and that she goes on dates with people she meets online and uses this as a cover to account for her whereabouts. In her academic life, Sierra is a feminist, and this also shields her SIW:

Who calls themselves feminist and does sex work? People when they think about feminism in general they would say 'OMG no way she would ever do that because it's against feminism right.'

Although Sierra is a feminist and a SIW, she benefits from stereotypes about anti-sex prohibitionist feminists who the ways that some women blend intimacy and commerce.

Keeping SIW secret leaves the door open for employment and advancement in square careers, yet there are five participants in this study who have disclosed their duality to current mainstream employers. Alice explains how this is possible for her:

It slightly helps that the woman I work for knows about the sex work, which is probably unusual. I'd gotten the work through a mutual friend... I had a 4-year gap in my CV, so I was quite nervous about having to make up stuff and my friend said to me if anyone is going to be fine about the sex work it's going to be her. So, I rang her up and we had a conversation and she was fine with it.... she knows I've done it full-time and she knows I do it now.

Alice adds:

[Her employer] was interested to know more about [her sex work] but I don't think I want to talk about it with her.

I think if she had been 40 years younger she'd be doing it herself [laughter]! She's terribly open minded and... she wouldn't discuss it. I mean I think her husband knows, but she was really supportive!

Once open about SIW, participants then had to worry about whether those they trusted with their secrets would keep them in confidence.

Daisy limited the people who knew about her duality to a couple of friends and a SIW who disclosed to her first:

The girl who got me into it, when I met her she told me straight up that she was a sex worker. And then we just remained friends and for months and months we were doing everything together ... So then, she was 'like what are you doing?' So she obviously knew, and so did her friend who's also an escort. So, us three and then my best friend, I told him.

Daisy must avoid telling other friends about her DL because it is too juicy a secret for them to manage to conceal. Blaze similarly states:

I've got a lot of friends that I'm quite close to and that I know care about me, but I think this would be too much of a juicy gossip down in the pub not to pass on. Not necessarily with my name attached explicitly, but you know how cool it is to know a sex worker! ... especially the fucking middle-class lefties!... I've got a lot of gay male friends and they love this kind of thing, [laughter]! So, it's not that I think that they would say it maliciously, it's just that the temptation for them would be too large!

Blaze is engaging in duality temporarily and plans to transition to a fully square life. Having her SIW become a master status-determining trait (Hughes, 1945) was not advantageous:

I have another flat mate who's a guy and I don't want to tell him... he's like one of these guys that considers himself very liberal and polyamorous and all the rest of it, and I know that he would just lap it up. It would just be like capital for him to say, 'oh I live with a sex worker.' ...I don't want to be on his lips or on anyone's lips ... It would end up dominating how I'm thought of.

Blaze explains why she is able to trust other SIWs, when so many other participants will not risk it:

Well they're hookers as well! We can, like there's an understanding: 'don't fuck with me and I won't fuck with you.' That's sounds really harsh actually, but we're all equally vulnerable.

The clients of participants are among those who obviously know that they sell sex. Clients are the 'own' or co-stigmatized according to Goffman, and they hold SIWs' secrets as well as expecting their secret of buying sex be kept confidential in turn. This secret-keeping and trust between SIWs and clients is tested when parties encounter each other in square environments. Several participants shared instances where they would run into clients while 'off-duty' as SIW and how they managed these encounters, but June lives in a small community and sees clients on a regular basis:

My clients... I've seen like the check-out guy at Marks and Spencer's, the guy who worked at my local corner shop [laughter]. I mean [omitted] is a really small place. You

don't realize how small it is until you become a sex worker here!

June has had the most extensive interactions with clients because of the short distance between her SIW location and her home:

It's about a 5-minute walk [laughter]... it can be a little problematic because I have to walk by my house to get to the like nearest coffee shop. I have to pull my hood up when I'm walking by [laughter].

June describes running into clients:

There's no acknowledgment generally. If I'm on my own walking down the street, there's been the occasion when we've [her and a client] both nodded to each other or said 'hi' because we're both alone, but I always wait for them to say 'hi' first... It's been a little like weird cause like when I'm with my partner or something I see clients everywhere. I went on holiday in [omitted] and I saw one of my regulars on the platform when I was with my partner and it was really weird... we look at each other but like you know, especially if they're with a partner or with their kids ... it's our shared dirty secret.

June adds:

One time I had a knock on my door and it was [news media] and I had a new neighbor who moved in next door, and they wanted to run some line through my backyard or something like that. And a guy standing behind was one of my punters, and he just moved in next door [laughter]! I'm standing there in my dressing gown going 'oh no!'

Juno on the other hand, has not run into a client while off-duty but worries about this happening:

Well, when I'm [public-sector professional] I have my hair up and I don't really wear makeup, and when I'm escorting I don't wear a wig or anything. I still have the same hair and makeup, but I dress differently obviously, and my makeup is much nicer, that kind of thing. But you would still recognize me in the street if I've been seeing them for however long... I work under one name as an escort and obviously my real name is different, and I always panic about that because I think gosh if I bump into them in the street they'd say, 'oh hi [working name]' and I'd be 'oh that's not actually my name.' I can't even say that 'oh that's someone who you know from work' I mean how do you explain that [laughter].

Although Juno makes light of the idea of running into a SIW client while she is working as a public-sector professional, she is the sample participant most at risk of being outed because of the nature of her public-sector work, and the close proximity between SIWSQ locations and home. Also, virtually no one knows about her DL:

I'm not out to anybody... nobody knows what I'm doing except sex workers...and like if you're a good person and you're giving back to the community and that kind of stuff, but as a sex worker, everybody judges you.

For some, other SIWs are 'backstage' and a welcome resource to share their secrets and discuss their work and arising issues. Mary has a network of SIWs that she trusts and some family members:

Other sex workers like know everything... they know exactly what I work, when I work, what kind of work I do. They know it all, but my [square] friends know that I sex work, but they don't know that I have a working flat for example. Like they think that I just meet clients in hotels or at their homes ...I don't really describe it ...and then there's another tier, like my family knows that I work but we don't talk about it. We don't talk about the details.

Cleo similarly disclosed her duality:

A few of my close friends know. I was living with my brother and he knew about it straight away. He was one of the first people who I told about it and he was always really cool about it. My family live in [omitted] and none of them knew about it.

Just like several participants, Cleo plans to transition from duality to a square career, but she does not do well with keeping secrets:

I just kind of tend to just tell people I guess, or it just kind of comes out and I just say 'oh my God I'm telling too many people' and actually it became about not being able to keep it a secret very well...I found that the idea of a split between telling and not telling was a thing that came really unnaturally to me because even around other things, like my sexual life or whatever, I was always quite open about it with friends.

Sage's strategy to managing her secret SIW included a willingness to cut people out of her life:

You're constantly managing people, and you have to turn your friend groups down into segments: these are the people who know me from this place, these are the people who know me from the other place, so your life is quite segmented. I guess sometimes you just have to be prepared to cut people off and go okay they just found out about my sex work, they have to go!

For other participants, audience segregation, on and offline information management and device management took far too much energy. Instead, they opted to tell virtually no one about their DL. Laith believes that there is discretion around SIW among the middle-class, and that this is a feature of being British:

I'm British, I don't run around and flaunt it [sex working] in the faces of people I know you know...So, some people know, and some people don't. I'm British, we don't really talk about it. I mean if somebody asks me the questions they get the answers, but I don't ask about what's it's like for them to be an accountant on a daily basis!... I'm not running around being American. I'm not on Oprah!

Blaze also mentioned middle-class company as being an environment where she felt least at risk of being outed:

In the end, no one is going to just suddenly come up to you and say, 'are you a sex worker I think I saw you?'... unless you're showing your face, but even if you are, in polite middle-class company, nobody...I think it's different, nobody can really challenge you.

Some participants may not agree with Laith and Blaze, especially those citizens who have been outed on British tabloids, talk shows and in polite, middle-class British society. Secret-keeping is an ongoing process of

determining when to tell what to who, and how to manage discrediting and stigmatizing information. Cleo explains this complexity:

I mean it's hard to juggle being more out cause there's obviously stages of being out, and I'm out in some situations but in others. I just can't be bothered to out myself to people, but I guess it's maybe just to look at like, where the anxiety comes from. Who I'm most anxious about finding out? I mean if somebody can never talk about it, I think maybe you just kind of have to know where those spots are...the people who I know I'm going to see again or spend a lot of time around, I would disclose it, but if it's just like my hair dresser or something I mean I'm just I would say that I don't want to have this conversation.

Finally, participants talked about having very few spaces to openly debrief about their SIW. Rain explains:

The whole Friday night in the pub sort of thing, we have very few equivalents... if you work in a brothel and with other sex workers ... there's almost no space for us to talk like that. I think even if we're out to our friends and family, due to the nature of our work...for example I had a situation with a regular client where we're getting to the end of the appointment and I had his dick in my mouth ... and his phone rang, and it was his mom! And she leaves this long message about how 'I'm thinking about you' and 'I love you' and 'I hope you're having a good time [laughter]!' And I'm like 'what's the etiquette?' Do you carry on? ... Do you bob your head? And it's the kind of situation where, like is he getting soft? Is he getting harder? That's not even funny actually! That is one of the funniest things that has happened to me, but you don't

want to have a conversation with your best mate or your boyfriend or your mom.

Discussion: Sex, Lies and Dual Lives

SIWs are characterized as ‘dirty workers’ (Ashforth and Keiner, 1999) and as such participants must avoid being publicly ‘marked’ (Koken, 2012; Bruckert, 2012). SIWs are both subject to a unique form of censure or ‘whore stigma’ (Pheterson, 1993) that penalizes them for commercializing sexual intimacy; and are pushed to the margins of society where they can be ‘disposed of’ (Lowman, 2000) for daring to sell what for some is sacred. For participants, SIW taints and delegitimizes square work and interferes with self-making and ‘felt identities’ (Goffman, 1963). Some participants distanced themselves from their SIW identity and discussed this as internalization of whore stigma. They recognized that being associated with SIW would be an inescapably label (Koken, 2012; Scambler, 2007; Sanders et al., 2015; Bowen and Bungay, 2015) and were concerned about how it had the potential to affect their cultural capital, that took the form of university credentials that they took years to acquire. Participants’ avoidance strategies illustrate Goffman’s (1963) conceptualization of stigma being *deeply* discrediting and discreditable. Participants implemented several strategies documented in the literature (Scambler, 2007; Mai, 2009; Koken, 2014; Koken et al, 2004; Day and Ward; 2014) which included separate working names; maintaining non-continuous ‘double biographies’; working in secret; and selective disclosure to hide a ‘shady past’ (Goffman, 1963 p 64). The concealing of SIW is essential to successful duality, and complicated participants’ relationships and social interactions with both those who knew, (because they were forced to lie in front of people who they loved) and those who did not (because it circumscribed their behaviors).

Participants know that stigma kills. Their behaviors were shaped by the outing of those who they knew, the likelihood that they would be found out, and what was at stake for them, in addition to the fact that there are several examples in the public domain of what happens to people when information

about their SIW becomes known. Jessica McGraa's murder⁴⁷ for example, may have been prevented if she felt that calling the police on a man who was harassing her would have led to his prosecution, and not the official documenting of her as a SIW. Jessica was a woman of color with a young son, who lived in England and worked as a SIW in Scotland. Being 'known' as a SIW would have likely had deleterious effects on her life. The headlines are filled with stories of how SIWs are treated. For example, the Metropolitan Police Service were accused of threatening SIWs who reported robberies at brothels,⁴⁸ or Welsh sex workers who would not access the police for help after rape.⁴⁹ The story of a Queens New York SIW made international news after she jumped out of a window to avoid being arrested in a police sting operation and died.⁵⁰ A Brazilian SIW who was robbed and knifepoint in the UK, after reporting the incident to police, was faced deportation⁵¹. SIWs are subject to victimization due to their lack of status (Mai, 2013). Migrant sex workers in this study had to keep SIW secret and risked the loss of their rights to remain in the UK, in addition to loss of employment. Sub Rosa duality is thus forced as participants will pay a high price if outed. Participants talked about the lack of police protection which meant that they remain targets for robbery and other crimes with no access to justice. The denial of sex work as work coupled with 'social taint' leaves SIWs vulnerable to unchecked criminalization, stigma, and hate both on and offline,

Ultimately, secret-keeping is done for self-protection (Afifi and Caughin, 1999). English participants believed that not discussing SIW was part of being British and did not feel at risk of being outed in middle-class society. Even still, participants concealed their SIW from friends and family members, not

⁴⁷ Jessica McGraa <http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/aberdeen-escort-murder-no-matter-9664375>

⁴⁸ 'Police accused of threatening sex workers rather than pursuing brothel thieves.' The Guardian <https://amp.theguardian.com/society/2017/aug/03/police-sex-workers-brothel-thieves-london-keirstarmer>

⁴⁹ 'Sex workers 'not going to police after attacks and rapes' BBC News <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-south-west-wales-43227579>

⁵⁰ 'Prostitute dies trying to evade cops by jumping out of window.' New York Post <https://nypost.com/2017/11/26/prostitute-dies-trying-to-evade-cops-by-jumping-out-of-window/>

⁵¹ 'Sex worker robbed at knifepoint faces deportation after contacting police.' Politics.co.uk <http://www.politics.co.uk/news/2017/08/11/sex-worker-robbed-at-knifepoint-faces-deportation-after-cont>

only because the information is stigmatizing, but also to avoid forcing family members to lie for them, and to protect their loved ones from the negative effects of courtesy stigma, as documented by Dodsworth (2014). Participants shared that courtesy and whore stigmas would affect the careers of parents if this discrediting information was to be made public. Some contemplated sharing information about their SIW, just as described by Goffman, wrestling between whether to '*display or not to display, tell or not to tell*' (1963, p. 42) and were preoccupied gestures and speech, and self-monitoring to observe what they were 'giving off.' This was described by Wegner (1999) and Afifi and Caughlin (2006) where those keeping secrets would ruminate on the information that they were concealing to maintain a hypervigilance and 'pass' in social interactions. Interestingly, Rain discussed her ability to maneuver out of a situation where she would have been outed as made possible by a '*whole set of circumstances and privileges*', which echoes Mai's (2007) ability to be *self-reflexive* in relation to his migrant sex working research participants. He states: '*I was able to translate myself across differently social and cultural settings, while [his participant] was stuck... linguistically, discursively and socially*' (Mai, 2007 p. 16). Participants like Rain recognized and made use of the many gifts that privilege affords, including the ability to articulate their experiences in such a sophisticated way and *translate* themselves across worlds. DL is revealing itself as an instrument of upwardly mobile segments of the sex working community.

Participants discussed concealing their square identities, careers and educational achievements from SIW clients and other industry associates as disclosures here would also put them at risk of being outed. They did however, tell some people about SIW because *we do not lie to everyone* (Goffman, 1959). Afifi and Steuber (2010) and Newheiser and Barreto (2014) state that some conceal discrediting information in order to increase social acceptance; however, the opposite is true because hiding reduces intimacy. Barreto et al. (2006) explained that hiding who one is due to stigma has negative effects on confidence and compromises intimacy because it requires deception, threatens well-being, and elicits feelings of shame. Participants discussed

these burdens of lying by omission. They selectively disclosed among SIWs and SQ associates— to *the wise* and *the own* (Goffman, 1963) in respective fields, while avoiding social situations and mixed audiences where their double double lives could be revealed accidentally. Off-street sex workers in O’Neill (2017) also indicated that kept their work a secret and maintained few friends who are sex workers. Secret-keeping and disclosure are interactional in that the psychological well-being of those who share secrets is argued to be correlated with how the recipient of the secret reacts (Chaudoir and Quinn, 2006; Afifi and Caughlin, 2006). Literature documents that SIWs lie to cover, pass, protect partners and loved ones, and to avoid stigma and stress (O’Neill, 2010; Koken, 2012; Ham and Gilmour, 2017). SIWs in other studies talked about avoiding stigma by telling some family and loved ones about their SIW (Koken, et al, 2004; Day and Ward, 2014; Sanders et al, 2015). Those who told siblings and parents about their SIW in this study often regretted the disclosure because of the stress and worry it caused for the recipients of the information.

Further, some participants in this sample would like to live an integrated life, where they can be whole—this is the non-dualism or unity that Plato, Rumi and other philosophers discuss. They could then claim their successes and failures in all work fields; however, Koken (2012) reminds us that individuals are prevented from claiming skills and successes in SIW due to stigma. Lying has been conceptualized as inherent to social interaction by thinkers such as Nietzsche, who asserts its functionality. In this way, lying as theorized by Meltzer (2003) and face-work (Goffman, 1967) are functions of duality. Participants who had been outed by ex-partners or the media etc., experienced the loss of relationships, employment, and for some, housing. They learn very quickly that deception is a way of (dual) life!

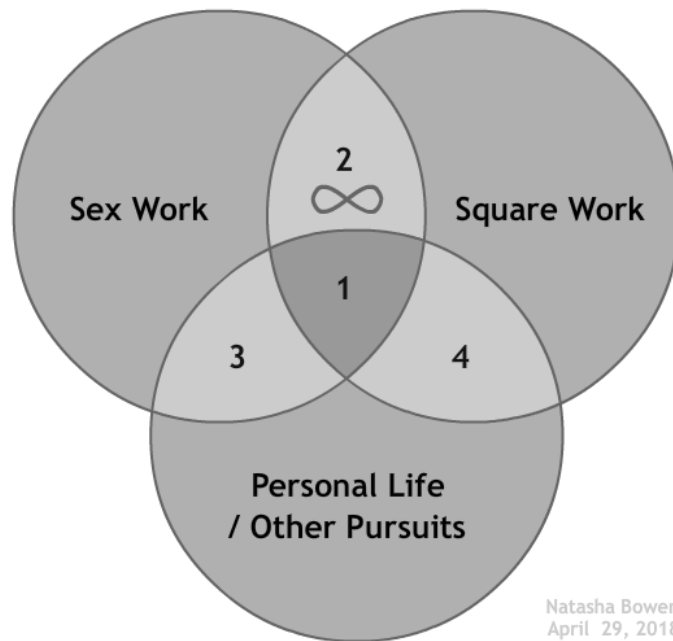
Dual-life Relational Paradigm

From the perspective of relational sociology, duality exists within chains of trans-action that are part of a deeper series of *acting* across relationships where participants shared the aspirations, negotiated capitals, took risks, and competed for rewards in a field. Gloria Anzaldua's 1987 poem⁵² '*What does it mean to live in the Borderland?*' can be applied to understanding those who work at the border of SIWSQ. Anzaldua argues that those who live at the border have no place of safety, are both at home and strangers. It is a place where '*people walk through you*' and the person becomes the battlefield itself...both the embodiment and the location of conflict. In this respect, participants embody the antagonisms between those with means and the have-nots; of alienation and acceptance; of respectability and taint; concealment and revelation; of conformity and innovation; because they live both. Their identities are emergent and are (re)formed through the practice of living DL.

I introduce this Dual-life Relational Paradigm to illustrate life at the borderland, to show how the life-worlds of participants may be organized in terms of relational spheres, audiences and differential knowledges. Participants experience double consciousness and practice strategies of identity management, the negotiation of capitals, concealment, and selective disclosure.

⁵² <https://www.powerpoetry.org/content/live-borderlands> from *Borderlands-La Frontera. The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987), pp. 194-195.

FIGURE 3 THE DUAL-LIFE RELATIONAL PARADIGM



Building upon my past conceptualization of duality and Goffman's (1963) description of a 'double double life', this tripartite illustration was inspired by Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical model of social life (performance, setting, appearance, manner, front, front stage, back stage, off stage). This is a simple articulation of the borders between sets of relations that participants manage both on and offline. Participants are spread psychologically and physically across seven fields:

Relational Field One: Contains the 'Me' (as theorized by Mead), an inner world; intact plural identities at play *back* and *off-stage*. Participants may be interacting with the 'own' and the 'wise' (Goffman). This space may represent the 'oneness' to Fanon's 'twoness'; however, this zone is a potentially explosive social arrangement, where relations from SIW, SQ and one's personal life may converge in uncomfortable and detrimental ways. For example, an anonymous participant disclosed her SIW to her sister. She states: *...keeping secrets would mean that we couldn't have a real relationship.... I feel a little guilty about telling her because it was a lot to burden her with* (Anonymous Participant).

Relational Field Two: Here we find the Continuum of SIWSQ (**Figure 2**) and the Möbius Strip (**Figure 1**) placed within this field as it hosts relations that overlap SIWSQ. Goffman's 'double double life', Du Bois' 'double consciousness' and Bourdieu's *habitus clivé* are all at play in this field, where one will have interactions with people who do not know that they are holding a secret. Those hiding SQ from SI associates, and SIW from square associates will avoid these mixed environments at all costs and may isolate themselves to sustain DL. Joy for example, discusses keeping her relationships and identities cleaved: *...you absolutely have to keep up two different identities and keep these identities separate both online and offline.*

Relational Field Three: Personal relationships and those in SIW overlap here causing issues for many who hide SIW from family and friends. For some this is a back or off-stage of sorts, if family members know and are supportive of SIW. Also, SI associates and clients who are friends and lovers may comprise these relations. Participants who engage in SIW activism or scholarship may have relationships that exist in this zone. Blaze for example, actively keeps her SIW away from most friends: *'I've got a lot of friends... I think this would be too much of a juicy gossip down in the pub not to pass on'.*

Relational Field Four: Personal and square relations overlap here, which may be benign with respect to duality. This may represent the sets of relationships and forms of information management that most readers are familiar with. For example, one may keep secrets related to family life or their proclivities that they do not want exposed to colleagues.

The Dual-life Relational paradigm has seven fields, the three non-overlapping areas of the SIW, SQ and Personal life spheres could be considered back or off-stage, when participants are in relatively homogenous groups. These zones are temporal as well as geographical and cyber. For example, some participants discussed touring and doing SIW for a few days and then returning to their home communities, just as working-class students move back and forth from middle-class schools (Abrahams and Ingram 2013).

Participants are actively forming all of these fields, through the material and discursive practices of duality. The paradigm illustrates a new way of understanding the on and offline relational aspects of duality and borderlands, as it denotes the characteristics of relevant fields and what may be available or at stake; and the complexities associated with managing (personal and social) identities, information, presentation, and *deep acting* (Hochschild (1979) to mixed audiences.

Finally, ICTs have undeniably transformed our interactions. We can now have broader experiences of the world at our finger tips. The internet, social media, and existing and emerging technologies present opportunities to expand networks, conduct business, as well as change how we can present ourselves in public; however, there are heightened risks to engaging in online dwellings such as ASWs and utilizing technologies if one is living DL. Participants shared stories of being outed and concerns about the risks by way of ICTs and software. They talked about how they manage devices, online profiles, and audiences to avoid stigma and protect their identities and loved ones. Technology provided greater access to clients and support networks via ASWs, as well as access to tips and strategies to improve working conditions. Koken (2012) stated that the internet was a great resource supporting SIW towards independence from third parties. Being online and using some applications, especially those that integrated preferences and contacts posed risks.

Trottier (2012) contends that social media has forced a redefinition of public and private information. People wrestle with the pressure to be visible and the need for privacy; however, they develop public profiles and online networks with institutions and workplaces in both SIWSQ to be marketable. There are several activities that make using technology to manage duality challenging, and these include: a) the enactment of SESTA/FOSTA in the USA and the ripple effect this is having in the UK; b) the capacity for online monitoring and data harvesting/scrapping seen in the activities of Cambridge Analytica;

c) spying practices exposed by whistleblower Edward Snowden⁵³ about the US National Security Agency (NSA) and; d) the admission by UK police officers who admit that despite not being properly resourced they were ‘*considering, or had already commenced some form of scoping exercise into internet-based sex work...and some had already undertaken their own mapping exercises*’ (Sanders, et al., 2018 p. 135). Those who live DL may adapt more sophisticated strategies to ‘go grey’⁵⁴ and avoid being the targets of the enforcement gaze. Similar to project participants here, those in Sanders et al. (2018) implanted strategies to conceal their identities such as using pseudonyms (n=567); separate work and personal profiles (n=543); obscuring faces in ads (n=303); hiding identifying body parts (n=179); and using VPNs (n=80). Unfortunately, these tactics and others discussed by participants of segregating devices, avoiding integrating software, incognito browsing, etc. may prove ineffective in reducing the panopticism of the state as governments move towards eliminating online dwellings. SIWs have started their own social media communities and using apps they have created such as SWITTER⁵⁵. These too will be surveilled. Criminalization and the elimination of online safe spaces may be part of larger initiatives to push SIWs to the deep web and the dark net, but it appears that they will continue to reinvent their communities, and negotiate for space, safety and rights.

Closing Remarks: Liar Liar!

Participants live and work under threat of being outed as a SIWs. They discussed how such an event either did take place in their pasts or has the potential to in the future. Audience segregation, device management, as well as secret-keeping and deception, are highlighted as strategies used by participants to keep their worlds apart. They managed identities both on and offline, while utilizing as well as resisting intrusive and integrating software

⁵³ ‘Edward Snowden: American Intelligence Contractor’, Encyclopaedia Britannica <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-Snowden>

⁵⁴ Refers to ‘Grey Man’, to act inconspicuously in modern colloquialism. See <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=The%20Grey%20Man>

⁵⁵ <https://switter.at/about>

and technologies. The Dual-life Relational Paradigm captures seven fields of interaction that DL participants negotiated. These fields provided opportunities through the relationships therein, for social mobility and ‘flexicurity’.

In the next chapter, participants share their plans for the future, and I discuss the project dissemination, limitations and themes for future research.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DUAL LIVES MATTER!

The fact that if you're a sex worker, you're automatically denied agency and subjectivity... My identity is definitely more influenced by my experience of sex work, but not so much by the job, more by what it means in society to have done sex work.

Kora

What is the Nature of Duality?

This thesis shares the duality experiences of 25 individuals who live in the UK. They respond to research questions about how they integrated SIWSQ and why they did so: *What is the nature of duality? How are identities performed and relationships negotiated and across SIWSQ?* The goal here was to capture what duality is, strategies for duality, the ways of identifying with SIWSQ, and role transition. Participants discussed their gender, sexuality, race/culture, age, education and personal lives as it related to money, identity and jobs in SIWSQ. Their experiences contributed to the formulation of a UK whorearchy, that became a prominent organizing feature of the SI, influenced by the 2016 EU referendum. This study made room for an airing of SIWs' voices as they related to Brexit, colorism and Balkanism, as well as sex-based hierarchies that influenced valuation and earning potentials in the SI. These elements contributed to articulation of the whorearchy among participants who were comprised almost exclusively of white British and white migrant sex workers.

Participants explained that duality was done in response to financial insecurities and for social mobility. The Continuum of SIWSQ (Figure 2), provides and exposé of the sets of practices existing where both kinds of work intersected. The ways of *doing* DL are no doubt molded to the contours of this unique field when one is concealing information, such as SIW or SQ from those they interact with. Sole SQ and SIW were considered extreme ways of working, with participants preferring a blend of both as ideal. Their practices fell into clusters: *dabbling* (bidirectional) with monetary motivations; *sexiting* (bidirectional) engagement in SIW or SQ, with an aim to transition a sole job in either; and a *sustained duality*, for long-term projects and social mobility, with no premeditated end.

With respect to identity, some stated that they did not identify with SIW due to stigma, and they were more invested in their educational investments and square careers. Some identified with both kinds of work and others, neither. Participants' experiences of role transition included tactics of macro role

transition (Snow and Machelek, 1983), where they suspended analogical reasoning for example, while in SIW or SQ, to carefully monitor what they ‘gave off’ (Goffman, 1959) and perform optimally in a role. They also engaged in strategies associated with micro role transitions, such as *rites of passage*, described by Ashforth et al. (2000). Participants managed identities that were forming (Hall, 1994) as they traversed roles in SIWSQ through strategies such as ‘double consciousness’ (Du Bois, 1903) and related concepts of *double double biographies* and a *multiplicity of selves* (Goffman, 1963), Fannon’s (1952; 1967) ‘twoness’, and Bourdieu’s *Habitus clivé*. They saw themselves as others would see them to pass and conceal discrediting information. The Möbius strip (Figure 1) best illustrates the smooth role transition that some experienced, who felt that they did not change *who they were* in either kind of work. Role transition took a concerted effort for others, who passed through a curtain or ‘veil’ (Du Bois) of sorts, where the threat of being outed, and not the central and peripheral features of a role, determined the mental and physical preparation needed to transition. Meaning that as they moved across roles in SIWSQ, there was a splitting of *habitus*—their internalizations of structures and ways of being in the world— in order to conceal discrediting information and *perform both shows* (Goffman, 1963).

The Dual-life Relational Paradigm (Figure 3) is a simple Venn diagram that illustrated the various relationships, dynamics, information and possibilities available in and across seven fields of trans-action, where SIWSQ meet. Participants negotiated their social mobility and managed identity, stigma, work, time, money, family, by segregating audiences, hiding and selectively disclosed discrediting and personal information. The seven fields depicted in the Dual-life Relational Paradigm comprised mixed audiences of relations, where ‘line’ and ‘face’ (Goffman, 1967) as well as introspection (Mai, 2007) had to be operationalized in order to respond to situational issues that can arise when one’s world collides. For example, recall Juno and Kora who lived near their SIW and risked running into clients while off-duty. Participants engaged in the emotion work of *deep acting* (Hochschild, 1979) to guard against accidentally outing themselves. Ultimately, the management of

SIWSQ, identity and stigma were complicated; however, both the Dual-life Relational Paradigm and embedded Continuum of SIWSQ contribute to explicating the nature of duality.

Absenting SI Workers: Implications for Research and Policy

Participants responded to research questions that sought to draw out labour experiences: What insights can be contributed to understanding precarious labour markets and problematizing sex work ‘exiting’ discourses by those who live dual lives? People in this study managed diverse SIW alongside careers and contract work in managerial, retail, education health, enforcement and finance. Some would rather have just one secure full-time square job. Their motivations for duality were linked to income insecurity and larger conflicts and class struggles and the unequal distribution of wealth. This was complicated by the fact that SIWs, as Shah (2009) suggests, are classified as the *lumpenproletariat*, as not ‘worker’, but other. I find that they are in fact members of the *precariat*, as theorized by Guy Standing (2015). Although their earning levels may double or triple (or more) the national average in come of £26, 884 (as of May 2018), they still teetered on a knife’s edge because both their SIWSQ jobs can be unstable. And if outed, participants lose status in both worlds and lose family and friends. Not all capitals are transferable across SIWSQ. Participants discussed that their skills and relationships in SIW cannot be shared with square audiences because of stigma and the lack of acceptance of sex work as work. Their surmounting contributions not only to our knowledge about SIW, but also to labour and precarization, and manifestations of alienation and larger class struggles, as well as innovation and resistance. Participants were frustrated with previous and sole SQ and SIW, and the jobs in both fields were very similar in terms of what is required of them, such as deep acting (Hochschild (1979), face-work (Goffman, 1967) and other elements of Goffman’s Dramaturgical model of social life (performance, setting, appearance, manner, front, etc.). Work itself was a frustration.

The theories that shaped the analysis of duality involved relational approaches that aided me in seeing links between the individual and the social; duality and the labour market; SIW and work; us and them. Goffman (1963) stated that there are striking similarities between what is required of roles performed in both ‘normal’ and stigmatized contexts. Further, the nature of duality is that it is not an act in isolation. It is both a response to, and a producer of class struggle. More specifically, as people find innovative and ‘illegitimate’ means to attain economic security, it does not make resources more available or more equally shared, it only makes it more challenging to acquire economic stability. The intersecting markets of SIWSQ produce identities, discursive practices, and ways of working, being and *becoming*, that are beyond binary and simplistic strategies to ‘exit’ people from sex work or to deny sex can be work. There are new opportunities here to more fully explore industrial sociology and the sociology of work in this context. Moonlighting and engaging in side hustles to make house payments and pay school fees and tuition are not novel, but historic. Depending on what one’s side hustle is they are either deemed deviant or industrious. Alberti et al., (2018) discuss precarization in our post-wage community, where everyone from Deliveroo™ and Uber™ drivers, to managers and lecturers, are in insecure work. Labour market research by Chaykowski, (2005), McKay, et al. (2012), the Trade Union Congress (2015) paint a bleak picture, where workers are expected to do more, and be more elastic. Structural inequalities and financial issues drive people to take on more work, more gigs and stretch to make ends meet. We must fully investigate post-work world that we are all producing, because there is a limit to elasticity. From a relationalist perspective, we are all a combination of victims *and* perpetrators of our economic condition. Bringing this nuanced understanding of human action to duality allows me to process the experiences of participants as individuals, as a unique group of workers responding to the financial insecurities they face, and as architects of their social worlds.

This study has implications for policy and future research. We are not thoroughly investigating industrial relations if we exclude SIWs and simply

allow for their vilification and ‘invisibilization.’ Unfortunately, when sex workers can be characterized as deviants and undesirables, or victims of the patriarchy, they are easily ignored when they share the benefits of sex work and the challenges of survival sex and the conditions that constrain choice in both instances. Sadly, a way to cut through the violence of social exclusion is to examine how sex work manifests in our society more broadly by including members of other skilled work forces. Study participants’ experiences of (sex) working forces a greater analysis of labour because they cannot be said not to have the ability to thrive in square jobs. Labour market and industry researchers will only ever capture part of the picture, for some of the workers, and in doing so, we set the bar of policy-informed governance and labour rights far too low. Research by Scambler (1997; 2007), Sanders and Hardy (2013a, 2013b), Sanders, et al. (2015); O’Neill and Jobe (2016); Pitcher (2015; 2018), Sanders, Scoular, et al., (2018) are broadening the scope of experiences that shape our knowledge around policy and sex as work. When we deny employment status and exclude the experiences of SIWs in our constructions of work and society, we are blind to the larger architecture of the labour market and sex workers’ contributions to the economy. We alienate them from their product and production, and ourselves from them as other workers. We can no longer deny the role we play in the subjugation of other workers.

In our current context, sex work is only work when there is an opportunity to penalize people. Such was the case for a participant in this project whose benefits were sanctioned for six months when she was outed as a sex worker. SIW was a *job* in that instance, and she did not declare *income*. She is denied employment status and rights as a sex worker because some deem it purely exploitation, but she can be penalized and consequently pushed into more dangerous ways of engaging in underground economies to make up for the loss of income due to being sanctioned. She was ‘sexiting’ (Bowen, 2013) and had goals to full-time employment; however, transitioning is not funded appropriately, and benefit levels were too low to gain traction for social mobility. She experienced legislated poverty. We could not claim to be

seeking understanding of sex work, sex work ‘exiting’ and transitioning, the impacts of austerity, and labour trends among diverse populations of (marginalized) workers if we do not include the experiences of these participants when crafting law and policy in housing, Universal Credit, and other income supports. Unfortunately, SIWs and those living DL are forced to conceal what they do, because of our policy and social environments. Studies like this one, bring their plight to the foreground, ensuring that those who live DL, who are admittedly not generally accessible, are included within and beyond sex industry research.

On a personal note, as I take on my new role as Chief Executive Officer of National Ugly Mugs⁵⁶, a charity that documents victimization among SIWs in the UK, I take forward the experiences of those living DL, in addition to broader population of SIWs, towards knowledge translation that informs law and policy related to labour, stigma and rights, and victim supports.

Duality: The Future

As demonstrated throughout, participants took a lot of risks and initiative to carve out dual lives. I was curious about whether they felt that there was longevity in duality, because the levels of hypervigilance required to keep their secrets must take their toll. Participants were asked what their ‘end game’ was in terms of continued duality. One-third of participants (n=8), after considering factors such as aging out of SIW, and some of the practical challenges of living a DL, planned to do so in an ongoing way. Alice, for example, was initially considering ending her DL but after experienced how having a square job alongside SIW increases her control of her SIW she plans to continue:

⁵⁶ uglymugs.org

I thought that I wanted to give up sex work, that was my goal, but then I realized that I didn't...I have an income from elsewhere, I can be a lot choosier about who I see. The desperation...not desperation, but the need isn't there as much as it was previously because I would get a lump sum at the end of the month from my other work...there isn't quite the urgency to do sex work...I've been around 7 years I have a lot of regular clients, so I don't have to see new men very often. It's really changed how I work.

Mary would like to have a square job and continue being a mom because duality gives her the 'flexicurity' that she needs in her life right now:

I feel like at the moment it's good to have both [SIWSQ] but what I would like in the future is to have a straight job that afforded me enough to just pay all of my expenses and enough time with the kids and the family... Like being a mom and doing this is ideal because you can pick your own hour, there isn't a set thing. If your kid's sick you don't have to go into work, not having a boss, and there's all the kind of flexibility that comes with sex work and [being an entrepreneur in square job].

For Helen, and 68% (n=17) of the sample, duality is done to achieve a specific project or goal, with an end in mind. Helen discusses her plans to take part in the Government's 'Affordable Home Ownership Scheme' with an individual savings account.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/affordable-home-ownership-schemes/help-to-buy-isa>

I want to escort and do civie [square] work for at least the next year, but I've got a call in with my boss tomorrow to ask if I can reduce my hours slightly on my civie job and that would allow me to do escorting one day during the week. To do weekday calls for business clients who can just pop out of the office for an hour you know... then I plan to basically do that for the next year, bank really hard and putting everything away to earn the maximum amount to buy an ISA.

Sierra expresses her goals for class mobility:

At the end of the day I just want to be middle class you know...I just want security. I don't want to be rich rich, I just want to be sure that I don't have to worry from month to month about how I'm gonna pay the rent... I do all these fucking ventures, and all this bullshit study...just to get that middle-class bullshit heterosexual dream, but that's the reality unfortunately...just to get a middle-class life and a family and be happy.

Sierra's statement represents a desire for income security which is a salient theme among participants and is the core rationale for duality. Interestingly, no participants planned to move from duality to full-time, sole SIW. This is in part due to the stigma associated with SIW as a sole occupation, and the limitations of only having SI-related contacts and associations. This, in addition to the boredom of SIW; the frustration with dealing with clients exclusively; and the high amounts of downtime. Participants arranged social worlds in which they could address immediate or interim-term financial shortfalls through DL. For some, DL will fund their transitions to sole SQ jobs and careers, savings accounts, investments and ultimately finance their social mobility. Economic security was so desired that participants were willing to

risk being outed as sex workers, which would likely lead to a loss of status, employment, credentials/licenses and relationships.

Duality in Living Color: Animated Content as Policy Oriented Praxis

Due to the intentional concealment of DL, I chose to disseminate findings creatively and broadly, by creating a short-length animation that contains an overview of the project, major themes and contributions, and commentary from participants. This animation will be available immediately after this thesis is deposited. An additional short animation will be made available in 2019/20 that contains tips and strategies for living a DL. This latter animation will be available to SI professionals, SIW driven organizations, and ASWs, who share strategies to reduce harm and victimization. The aims for the animations are twofold: 1) to increase knowledge and creatively yet safely share the lived experiences, insights and strategies of people who live DL with others in SI, academic communities and the public; and 2) to reduce isolation experienced among those who live secret DL by sharing the experiences of their counterparts.

Animation provides a visual experience used to communicate a variety of stories and messages. Duality is a delicate topic and animation had been used for such issues. For example, there is a video that is used at college inductions among freshmen in the UK. The YouTube™ video, entitled 'Tea Consent' discusses the difficult and complicated topic of sexual consent, using a serving tea analogy. This '*Tea Consent*' video is criticized for its levity, and has been parodied; however, I want to test how the experiences of my participants will translate through this visual medium and lay the foundation for future work, that may involve visualizations of findings in this way. The project animation video is available on YouTube™ using this link: [<https://youtu.be/5-WSJFhDU7I>]. I will share this animation on social media and will embed a link to a poll that will capture feedback on the content and modality.

Limitations and Future Research

As an exploratory study of duality, participant experiences broaden understandings of why people may participate in SIW alongside other occupations. A qualitative methodological approach was most appropriate given that those who live DL are a hidden population within off-street industries. The prevalence of duality was not the aim of this study but is an area of interest, most especially because this population offers great insights into the effects of austerity, universal credit and labour markets trends towards precariousness, and the public's responses to these conditions. In future projects, I will undertake mixed methods approaches to exploring duality, labour precarity and strategies for managing work, identity and stigma. I suspect the numbers of individuals, as well as their characteristics, will continue to challenge stereotypes of who SIWs are, and their agency, education and capacities. Further, the information and identity management strategies of those who live DL, the emotional costs of stigma and secret-keeping are all important topics for future research in social psychology and other fields. Also, this sample was limited to those who identified what they do as SIW. Recruitment began as purposive sample, with advertising in my network and an ASW. This was the most practical place to start but is by no means the only way to begin. The demographic make-up of the population must be expanded using improved sampling strategies and include a structural analysis of how participants identify within systems of patriarchy, capitalism and colonialism. Armed with the insights after having done this study and more developed networks in this regard, future recruitment strategies will capture be better equipped to capture DL among mainstream on- and offline communities.

Additionally, hearing from more men, of a range of sexual identities will be important, because as Laith pointed out, men cannot make a living from the SIW alone. Their duality, as it intersects with masculinity and work, sexuality and other factors is of great interest to me. Further, how their identities and positionality contribute or challenge sustained duality as compared to other population would be a worthwhile contribution to literature. A comparative

study of the experiences of people of color, eastern Europeans ‘Balkans’, the undocumented, and otherwise sexually and socially marginalized populations underrepresented in this research would be in order. A deeper investigation of Balkanism (Todorova, 1997) and Orientalism (Said, 1978) with respect to the whorearchy, hierarchies of whiteness and the sex hierarchy (Rubin, 1992; Koken, 2012) would contribute knowledge around studies on sex, work, identity, colonialism and critical race theory. Generally, examining how gender, race, citizenship and migration status, age and other identity and social markers play into one’s ability to hide *in plain sight* is of interest.

There are limitations posed by my recruitment strategy. I sought participants initially through my research and activist networks, and through adult services websites. I was specifically looking to investigate people who did off-street sex work and square jobs which implies not only a relatively high level of income, but also status and the cultural capital needed to hide and deflect their sex working in order and sustain duality. My investigation of duality led me to understand it as a practice as not only requiring the interpersonal skills and information/identity management tactics that participants discuss, it also requires a level of privilege. Managing a public identity that is beyond reproach while one participates in heavily stigmatized and criminalized work is socially and psychologically astounding and has a lot of ‘moving parts’ in terms of relationships and managing the differential knowledge possessed by others, in addition to managing one’s role expectations and presentation. Participants in this study needed a level of agency to construct their social relations in ways conducive to living a DL, and drawing on Wacquant (1990) and Mai’s (2007) insights, they needed the cognitive ability to first envisage duality as part of their mental landscape; manifest it in ways that increased their incomes and life chances; negotiate work and identities stretched across SIWSQ; manage the *scene* if and when they risked or were outed; and finally articulate all of these aspects of live at the intersection of sex work and square work to me, a stranger. We talked through *how* they lived DL and not always *that* they did. Future work may explore duality among those who attempted but could not successfully

implement it, and in doing so, the characteristics of my current sample, the limitations of my sampling will be nested within broader knowledge of duality.

Furthermore, I excluded the Canadian sample of ten (n=10) participants, nine of whom I interviewed in the MA work due to space issues. As I mentioned in my methodology section, they form the beginning my interest in DL and the basis of a longitudinal analysis of transition and duality. Their experiences as compared to this sample will be shared in a future publication.

Participants are engaged in duality for social mobility. The ways in which *habitus* operates within and across fields, and through their trajectories towards social advancement needs further investigation. Specifically, in Friedman's (2016) work explicating *habitus clivé*, describing the mismatch between habitus and the field. There are costs and challenges faced by individuals who must split from or betray the dispositions and *habitus* as they move into new environments that are 'classed' differently for example. Relationally, social mobility means that one is interacting with new structures embodied in a new people, with different *habitus* and valuations of such. As Freidman (2016) describes, through social advancement, people may struggle with identity and managing primary socialization. Their practiced ways of being in the world may not be accepted within new fields up the social ladder. He states that dispositions associated with masculinity, culture or being working-class may be rejected in new fields as people advance (Friedman, 2016). They will juggle several identities or 'performances' and a double consciousnesses (Du Bois, 1903) as they move between their working-class realms and middle and upper-class environments. They split or dissociate from their practiced ways of being, and the challenge comes from deciding whether to keep these prior dispositions intact or let go of them. Either way, it will change self-concepts, cultural identities, relations and possibilities. People who live DL are already engaging within networks that are disparate, and as they are acquiring financial and cultural capital, they are crossing boundaries and borderlands into the next field. Their *double consciousness* is

compounded by the fact that they are advancing in not one career but two! Future work must draw on Friedman and examine the nature of various cleavages of primary *habitus*, identity, and the emotional effects of social mobility within stigmatized and criminalized fields.

Further, what are some of the ‘negative sanctions’ (Bourdieu 1977 in Friedman, 2016) and ridicule that those who live DL face when they advance and enjoy the benefits of earning more money such as buying a home, travelling, etc.? How do people who know that they secretly do SIW on the side respond? What affects does this have on their relationships and risks of being outed? Also, duality studies ought to explore ‘*chameleon habitus*’ (Abrahams and Ingram, 2013) seen among students who creatively illustrated how they managed fields, class markers (‘attire’ according to Goffman), and ways of being with respect to living in a working class home and going to university among the elite. Like my participants, the students examined by Abrahams and Ingram (2013) had two separate lives but functioned within both, adapting their behaviors, switching between fields, internalizing structure (which are people in interaction) and at times concealing their markers of being working-class. One of my participants literally described herself as a chameleon, living between worlds in the ‘third space’ (Bhabha 1994 cited in Abrahams and Ingram 2013). Uniquely, as my Dual-life relational paradigm depicts that for participants there is not one ‘third space’ but four overlapping fields where ‘chameleonism’ is required to hold the space and manage work, information, identity and relationships. Including samples of SIWs like these, within studies that examine *habitus* will provide an enriched understanding of how the internalized structures and privileges that make duality possible are lived. This will contribute greatly to how *habitus clivé*, *double consciousness*, *chameleon habitus*, and the spaces between worlds are conceptualized.

Although this was not a participatory study, I held firm to PAR principles of participant centeredness and supporting their interrogation of my work. My concepts of SIWSQ was challenged by a participant due to my demarcation

between public and concealed. I assumed that SI related work would be hidden, and SQ would not be. This was errant. Tracey interpreted her exotic dancing as being 'square' and her full-service escorting as SIW. She rationalized this by saying that everyone knew that she a dancer and it was legitimate paid work:

My mother knew that I did that[stripping], like everyone knew that I did that so and I did it in public and it was just not okay to be doing sex work at the same time. And it was like I had this secret.

In discussing the concealed and revealed aspects of the work that people may do, my future research will more broadly focus on work that is hidden verses public, and not assume that all SIW would be stigmatized to the extent that it would also be clandestine. Further to my participatory ethos, SIWs can offer feedback after viewing the study animation and offer ideas for further research.

Finally, the nature of duality being that of successfully managing employment in SIWSQ meant that participants were very aware of the deleterious effects of stigma and rightfully feared being outed. Several participants asked for my commitment, as a condition of interviewing them, not present this thesis in traditional ways where participants are profiled through the sharing of demographical information with quotes clearly attributed each speaker. Some participants were familiar with how qualitative empirical studies were presented and felt that assigning them a pseudonym would not be enough protection from potentially being outed in this research. This affected the readability of the thesis is a limitation; however, the only way to make this work public is to ensure that a reverse-engineering of participant profiles is not possible. Future publications will offer a composite of profiles that reconstruct biographies in ways that will address the need to link biography with the phenomenon of duality.

Concluding Remarks: Dual Lives Matter!

Duality offers a quality of life above subsistence levels, flexicurity and a way to engage in SIW that they may benefit from the financial capital and using it to expand cultural and social capital in the square world. Among sex workers in general, we have policed and ‘policied’ our way to a current state in which there are dwindling safe spaces for the congregation of adult SIWs; we have mischaracterized their work; ignored their descriptions of their lives; and labelled SIW as wholly trafficking or exploitation. Furthermore, we deny SIWs labour rights; increase their dependencies on their parties (some of who are exploiters); and defined their relationships with clients as heteronormative and exploitive. Our past regulation of sex is riddled with harmful welfarism, and one form of failed legislation after another, but we have yet to do for SIWs what we were forced to do for other marginalized populations such as LGBTQI2S and formally enslaved populations, and that is to grant SIWs human and labour rights, social protections and decriminalize their work. Why should adults who trade sex be pushed to dark alleys and the dark net? Duality and by extension, SIW is a product of the combined forces of colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy. We must begin to ask ourselves, who benefits from the disenfranchisement of SIWs? Who benefits from their lack of social and police protection. and the denial of sex work as work? I can only think of one group of individuals who would want to see a continuation of their current state, it is those who financially and morally benefit from their subjugation. These include exploiters and traffickers of course, but also other entities whose careers are built and sustained on the backs of the chaos that ill-informed policies create.

As we move towards post-wage economies and post-fact, evidence-averse policy environments, studies like this one may become less possible. SIWs more broadly, and those who live DL specifically, have no incentive to share their experiences of work if doing so continues to lead to oppression, heighten monitoring, mischaracterizations, criminalization, and stigma. We force them to lie and hide their work as we actively stigmatize SIWs with impunity. The stereotypes that many have about SIWs as being destitute, uneducated and

unskilled or chemically dependent, prevents most people from discovering study participants who remain hidden *in plain sight*. I echo O'Neill's (2010) sentiments that the othering of SIW reproduces whole stigma, reinforces interpersonal and state violence, and denies that SIWs are reflective of society's values, norms and practices—thus excluding SIWs from cultural citizenship. Dual lives matter! I urge policy-makers and enforcement entities, to keep channels open for scholarship and dialogue among diverse and clandestine SIWs, who take risks to share their experiences of the social environments that we all create. There is a lot to learn from people who resist oppressive economic policies, and who innovate towards income security or a flexicurity, that were the promise of mainstream jobs. Their experiences of SIW and the labour market, along with their contributions to knowledge in areas highlighted herein, help complete the record as we document our respective biographies and collective history.

Unlike anti-sex feminists and prohibitionists, I do not make any value judgements about people who trade sex, but instead aim to understand the larger constructs that influence their decisions. My participant do not need our help to 'exit' to mainstream conventional work because they are concurrently employed in those industries. Nor do they need to be the targets of a witch hunt or the subjects of moral panic. I do not suggest that sex industry work or duality are the ways forward for those facing financial insecurity in our society. To be clear, I want to ensure people in the sex industry enjoy the same rights as other workers, and that we work *with* them to design out the harm that they identify. Also, for those who would rather be doing other kinds of work, it is our duty to ensure that livable waged jobs exist! We must examine labour markets, legislated poverty, our values, and the inequalities that we reproduce and make change, instead of criminalizing and shaming those who engage in labour at the margins in order to thrive in the mainstream.

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix One: Core Research Questions

The interview questions below served as a guide to examining duality.

1. What is the nature of Duality? How are identities and relationships negotiated and performed across sex work (stigmatized, criminalized and marginalized forms of employment) and square work (mainstream jobs that do not involve trade in sex, sexual services or derivatives)?

a. What are the motivations, strategies, benefits, risks, involved in engaging in SIW and SQ simultaneously? How do people rationalize, interpret and understand their practices at the nexus of SIWSQ?

b. What kinds of ‘identifying’ with work in SIWSQ are discussed by participants?

c. What is entailed in the transition in and out of roles in SIWSQ?

d. How does the 2016 decision to leave the EU impact SIWSQ? (**Added later**)

e. Given the risks of being outed as a SIW, and the known negative outcomes associated with stigma, how do people manage ‘discrediting’ and personal information on- and offline? How are information and relationships in SIWSQ and one’s private life organized?

2. What insights from participants can contribute to our understandings of precarious labour markets? How do participants’ DL problematize sex work ‘exiting’ discourses?

Appendix Two: Participant Information Sheet

In Plain Sight: An Examination of 'Duality', the Simultaneous Involvement in Sex Work and Square Work

About the Project

Do you work a square job (paid work that does not include the exchange of sexual services for money) while doing sex work? If so, I would like to interview you! I'm looking to chat with people over 18 years old, who juggle both kinds of work at the same time, to better understand the skills, motivations, challenges and benefits of working this way.

Other aims of the study are to explore the impacts of hiding sex work or square work and to learn some of the strategies that people use to avoid stigma and other harm.

Why Participate

There is very little known about how people who do sex work and square work. People who work this way may not tell anybody out of fear and may also work in isolation.

Participating in this study will add to what is known about people who do sex work and square work at the same time and will be useful to share information and reduce isolation among people who work this way. Also, information about duality will support advocacy efforts aimed to reduce stigma as well as inform the creation of options and interventions for people who want to better balance sex work and conventional work or who want to make a career change.

Risks

There are some risks to participating in this study or any research study. Participants may choose whether to have in-person or virtual interviews. Virtual interviews can be conducted over the phone or via computer assisted voice-image, e.g., Skype™. I will take every step to ensure confidentiality. Given that CCTV and other forms of surveillance exist in public venues, interview locations may include private rooms in public buildings such as a booked room in a library or community organization that is accessible to you.

Interviews in these types of locations will ensure that conversations and any written/drawn materials created remain private. Only oral consent to participate will be requested. Although sex work itself is not illegal, some activities related to sex work are criminalized. Consequently, **no identifying information will be collected**. Interview questions will include: general demographics, questions about what proportion of paid work (sex work and square) is done and how these roles are lived; role transitioning activities; and secret-keeping and relationships. Participants are free to decline to answer questions posed. Confidentiality will be limited if serious harm to oneself or others is disclosed.

Interviews will take about an hour and will be recorded on an encrypted audio recorder. Participants can contact me to withdraw consent to participate in the study up until the time of transcription. Audio files will be destroyed immediately after transcription. At which point, all transcripts will be cleaned of any identifying information such as specific names or locations. Transcripts will be given a participant code and false names will be used for quotes in written material. Research data will be stored in an encrypted external drive. Once transcribed, interviewed will be uploaded to NVivo™ data analysis software and aggregated. This study received ethics approval on May 13th, 2016.

Additional Information

- You will receive an honorarium in the form of an Amazon gift card/ecard (Value £25) as a thank you;
- You will have this information sheet and my contact information to access any publications that come out of this research and you are welcome to attend any events where the findings are being presented.

Contact Me (Raven): dualitystudy@gmail.com Ph: XXXX XXXXXXXX

[View My Bio at the University of York](#)

Contact My Supervisor: Prof. Maggie O'Neill maggie.oneill@york.ac.uk Ph:
XXXX XXXXXXXX

Appendix Three: Interview Guide

In Plain Sight: An Examination of 'Duality,' the Simultaneous Involvement in Sex Work and Square Work

Section One: Opening

1. Tell me about your current jobs in sex work and square work?
 - a. Describe formal and informal skills, certification and education.
 - b. Years in square job? When started?
 - c. Years in sex work?
 - d. Age of entry?
 - e. Types of industry work
 - f. Years doing sex work and square jobs at the same time?

Section Two: Continuum

1. How did you come to work in those particular jobs (sex work/square work)?
 - a. Sole sex work to gradual incorporation of square work
 - b. Sole square work to gradual incorporation of sex work
 - c. Sole sex work to sole square work then incorporation of sex work
 - d. Sole square work to sole sex work then incorporation of square work
 - e. No work to sex work then square work
 - f. No work to square work then sex work
2. Which job do you identify with the most? Why?
3. Where would you place yourself along this continuum?
 - a. What is the income split? Is income from either job more or less reliable? Explain
 - b. Time split?
4. What are the benefits?
5. What challenges or threatens the way you work now?
6. Are you moving or staying still? Entering/sexiting? Plans?

Section Three: Micro/Macro Role Transitions

1. You have sex work, your square job and home. Is there any other place that you spend a lot of time or energy (not home, sex work or work)?
2. How much physical distance is there between your jobs in sex work, square work and home? What is your commute like?
3. Walk me through a typical switch. Do you have particular routines for working the way that you do?
4. How regularly do you switch roles?
5. How do you prepare mentally and physically for your job in sex work? In square work? Role at home/other?
 - a. Is there anything that you remain mindful of after you've switched from one job to another?
6. How does technology support or challenge the way you work? Do you have different social media for different jobs/roles?
7. What skills and knowledge do you use or not use in both kinds of work and at home?
8. Do you turn off or on any parts of your personality in either job?

Section Four: Secrets

1. Who do you trust with information about your sex work/square work? Who knows everything?
 - a. Is there a reason why these people know?
2. Who do you keep information about your sex work/square work from?
 - a. Is there a reason why these people don't know?
3. Does anything worry you about or do you feel stress or guilt related to the secrets you've described?
4. Have you ever been outed or faced stigma related to your work? Describe. What happened as a result?
 - a. If no, what would happen if [people info hidden from] found out about sex work job? About square work job?
5. Did you expect to keep these secrets for as long as you work this way? Do you have an end game?
6. Do you have any tips and strategies for others about managing information or secrets or jobs in both worlds?

Section Five: Demographics not yet disclosed

How do you identify in terms of:

- a. Gender
 - b. Sexuality
 - c. Culture/race
2. Age
 3. Country and region of residence
 4. Does anything about your age, gender, sexuality, culture or location affect your dual life?
 5. Do you have dependents (parents, kids or pets) who you are financially responsible for?
 6. Average annual income

Closing

1. What is it about you that makes doing both jobs possible? Skills or upbringing?
2. What message do you have for the square world about the way you work?
Rooftop Exclamation
3. [Added after interview four]: Do you foresee the Brexit vote affecting your sex work or square work?
4. Who else should I interview?

Appendix Four: Code Book

Hierarchical Name	Name	Description	# of Coding Refs
Nodes\\Duality Sample	Duality Sample		
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Brexit_PCEPA_Law_Policy	Brexit_PCEPA_Law_Policy	All discussion about Brexit and the EU given the referendum vote for Britain to leave the EU. In Canada, all talk of PCEPA and trafficking etc, also criminalization and decrim chat Also, thoughts about support organizations etc; Trafficking discourse and laws; Sex worker rights, human rights activism in this regard.	151
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Challenges_Risks_Frustrations	Challenges_Risks_Frustrations	All challenges and obstacles to life, work, identity, stigma, clients, etc.	359
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Clients	Clients	References to clients, relationships, perspectives and interpretations of client behavior.	201
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Clients\\Negotiations_Tactics	Negotiations_Tactics	Strategies to manage interactions with clients re sex work and duality. Will merge with Tactics under Duality Tactics section	68
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Clients\\Public Encounters	Public Encounters	Talk about running into clients outside of sex work. Includes reflections and interactions.	50
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Consent	Consent	Verbal consent to participate	35
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Demographics	Demographics		144

In Plain Sight: An Examination of Duality

Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Demographic s\\Age	Age	Age in context. All meaning-making re Age, numerical and otherwise	167
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Demographic s\\Culture_Race_Origin	Culture_Race_Origin	All cultural and racial identity talk include country of origin.	88
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Demographic s\\Education_Skills	Education_Skills		210
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Demographic s\\Education_Skills\\Transferrable Skills	Transferrable Skills	All content related to skills utilized across sex work, square work, school work and other roles. Also, discussions of how skills may not transfer across or are masked or attributed differently.	47
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Demographic s\\Family_Friends_Lovers	Family_Friends_Lovers	Financially responsible for...Significant others, lovers, parents etc. Friends included	254
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Demographic s\\Gender_Sexuality	Gender_Sexuality	All talk re sex and gender identity	217
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Demographic s\\Past Interview CDN	Past Interview CDN	Canadian participants: background details from MA study and info about whether they were sex work no more, sex work maybe or duality	11
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Demographic s\\Upbringing_Background	Upbringing_Background	Referencing to growing up, childhood issues/information. History issues that shape decisions. May merge as child node of identity	87
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Duality	Duality	Everything discussed about splitting time/money/energy. comparisons between ways of making money, jobs, benefits, challenges, meaning. ** Include role	98

		<p>transition, ICTs and social media; All nodes will be coded under this one eventually.</p> <p><i>Revised:</i> now includes how people rationalize, interpret and explain their dual lives</p>	
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Duality\Rationale_Duality_SexWork Exp	Rationale_Duality_SexWork Exp	<p>Goals, end game, Benefits, reasons. All about rationale and how people discuss motives for duality. Merged in Reflections: What people think about the tips, or thoughts about why people ought to implement strategies like this. Includes personal statements and reflections that may be used to animate, voice over talking head cut scenes. Also, now July 25th, 2017 includes reflections about living a dual life more generally; the opportunities, issues and challenges it all poses. Includes commentary on Capitalism, labour.</p>	259
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Health_Drugs	Health_Drugs	All Health-related disclosures and topics, GFE, physical and emotional health, burn out, Drugs etc.	90
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Health_Drugs \Drugs_Alcohol	Drugs_Alcohol		37
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Health_Drugs \Mental Health	Mental Health	Strategies for health and wellness. Talk of stress and its causes. Remedies, opportunities and practices that contribute to good or ill mental health.	82

Nodes\\Duality Sample\Health_Drugs \Physical Health	Physical Health	Drug use, disease, chronic or acute illness. All talk of being well or ill as it relates to duality, stigma, secrets, etc.	84
Nodes\\Duality Sample\ICT	ICT	All talk of use of cell phones, internet, social media, profiles, ads, etc. INSTAGOOGLETW EETFACE	107
Nodes\\Duality Sample\ICT\Audience _Seg	Audience_Seg	Ways that people use ICT to separate their worlds of relations (Schutz) and front stage or presentation/performance. May expand to include non-cyber ways of separating audiences or relationships. Issues with integrating people's lives	25
Nodes\\Duality Sample\ICT\Device Management	Device Management	Which devices people use, how many? How they set them up i.e. text only, never online or when they choose the use them or carry them. Can also be programs like VPN, ghost IPs etc.	21
Nodes\\Duality Sample\ICT\ICT_Pro files_Strategies	ICT_Profiles_Strategies	Descriptions on online presentations and profiles. The way people use telecommunications, locations, pictures, screening, etc. to achieve duality and present selves in online environments. ** Includes Webcammers and people who access client populations online. * Also includes talk about clients reviewing or being reviewed.	146

Nodes\\Duality Sample\ICT\Online Hate	Online Hate	Online hate or haters, harassment. Will merge with stigma at some point	1
Nodes\\Duality Sample\ICT\Tech_Ta lk	Tech_Talk	General conversations about technology and human interfaces	3
Nodes\\Duality Sample\ICT\Tracking _Monitoring_Intel_O uting	Tracking_Monitori ng_Intel_Outin	Discussion about being observed and tracked by governments and corporations. And being outed online in some way and chat about the internet being used as a tool to find out about their current or past sex work.	31
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Identity	Identity	Identity with jobs in sex work and square work, who a participant is in relation to their practices. biographical competency	172
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Insights_Ref lections_Thoughts	Insights_Reflection s_Thoughts	All insights related to major nodes of Stigma, Role transition, Brexit, ICT, etc. Contains reflections on all behavior, on moving in or out of sex work. and moving in and out of jobs within sex work and square work	333
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Insights_Ref lections_Thoughts\Exi t_Transition Experience_Insight	Exit_Transition Experience_Insight	Canadians talking about transition experiences, years, any experience of going back and forth, In or out, as these are people that are in or out. Any duality is coded to rationale or insights.	45
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Insights_Ref lections_Thoughts\Fut ure Plans	Future Plans		72

Nodes\\Duality Sample\Jobs_Time_Money	Jobs_Time_Money	Type of jobs held in both sex work and square work. Includes time, money and discussion about how these are proportioned.	307
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Jobs_Time_Money\Exp_Labour_Career	Exp_Labour_Career	Practicality of the work, how it's done and how it fits into their lives and in relation to other work, Various work experiences and stories. History of how began in sex work or square work. Details about sex work/square work experience. **Also, insights about work, labour market, pitfalls and benefits of waged labour, etc.	440
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Jobs_Time_Money\Money_Class	Money_Class	All talk about money made in sex work and square work. any comparative conversations, rationales etc. **Merging this with the money class node so now includes class: Discussion of class, income, money and pricing, rates, payment, investments, etc..	290
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Jobs_Time_Money\Time_Investment	Time_Investment	Time spent in each kind of work. All discussions about balancing time in jobs; also, investment in working such as clients, admin and other paid or unpaid input. Schedule	87
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Jobs_Time_Money\Yrs_Type Sex Work	Yrs_Type Sex Work		169
Nodes\\Duality Sample\Jobs_Time_Money\Yrs_Type Square Work	Yrs_Type Square Work	All references to jobs that are not sex work	125

Money\Yrs_Type Square Work		related, including sex worker organizations	
Nodes\Duality Sample\Labelling	Labelling	How participants label and describe sex work and square work; how they compare the two in relation to discourse, power and embedded difference i.e. my normal job, regular job, civie job. Will use this content for discourse analysis and to get clues into internalized stigma or resistance.	36
Nodes\Duality Sample\Quotes_Animation	Quotes_Animation	Compelling, stop you in your tracks kind of comments and exchanges; Include Messages to the world here. Also add in segments of script that could be animated in to a 2-3-minute scene that shares neat parts of the interviews, compelling, funny, sad, etc.	347
Nodes\Duality Sample\Role Transitions	Role Transitions	Rituals and markers of change from one role to another. meaning and reflections. Practical. Details related to mental and physical moving. Preparations.	62
Nodes\Duality Sample\Role Transitions\Mental Switching	Mental Switching	Mental preparations for role transition. Linked to spatial but more about how people prepare for doing another role or move in and out of role. Include all comments about this, even if people say that they don't really mentally psyche selves up because their roles are smooth, or they don't change who they are	64

Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Role Transitions\\Physical Transformation	Physical Transformation	Any physical preparation and transformation for role transition. Linked to spatial. Captures all changes to settings as people move specifically to and from sex work. Also, linked to spatial and how people change environment depending on the work they are doing in that space.	55
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Secrets_Stigma	Secrets_Stigma	All secrets related to sex work and square work, who knows, who doesn't, why, etc. All stigmas: Whore stigma, reverse stigmatization, fear, threat, etc. Stereotypes, limitations in understanding experiences of dual lifers, clients, SI, law etc. Include incidents, sources, insights and strategies. may code down later. Include incidence of being outted, etc. problematizing stigma as emotional labour and the burdens of telling secrets and stigma	170
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Secrets_Stigma \\Experiences_Secrets _Stigma_Judgement	Experiences_Secrets_Stigma_Judgement	Examples of the secrets participants keep and from whom. Also instances of secrets being exposed. Experiences of being outted or stigmatized and sources of censure	145
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Spatial_Related	Spatial_Related	Geo locations of sex work and square work. Layout of space that duality takes place	81

Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Spatial_Related\\Geo_Location	Geo_Location	Where people live and work. Country, city, Region. Most of this content is anonymized but any commentary on the kind of environment they live in and qualities of the environment. Include travel to and from sex work, home, square work. Location in cities. May want to distinguish in-calls in hotels, workers say it's an in-call when they rent the hotel room and outcall when the client gets the hotel.	141
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Spatial_Related\\Residence_Layout	Residence_Layout	Layout of home if working and living in same place. Details about how work, sex work and living are divided in physical dimensions.	62
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Strategies_All	Strategies_All	All Strategies people discuss re info management, Hiding, finding positive elements to promote, deflection, Duality, safely, etc.	169
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Strategies_All \\Audience Seg_Stigma	Audience Seg_Stigma Avoiding Contact_Stigma	Ways that people separate worlds of relations. Will merge with ICT Audience seg	19
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Strategies_All \\Avoiding Contact_Stigma	Avoiding Contact_Stigma		12
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Strategies_All \\Covering_Passing_Lying	Covering_Passing_Lying	Discussions of deflecting or covering according to Goffman. Using one job or thing to cover the fact of sex work or square work. Trying to pass as square, etc. Lying by	157

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		omission or commission. All info management by straight up lying! Also, half-truths, etc Hiding appearance or information. Also includes disclosures about sex work or square work and any insights because of that.	
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Strategies_All \\Tactics_Duality_Exit	Tactics_Duality_Exit Tips_Advice	Include descriptions of processes for living a dual life. Strategies (plans) and Tactics (how). Also Strategies for transitioning i.e. keeping regulars, etc. all advice, tips and strategies for living a dual life here. Separate from Tactics node. Sept 3rd: May merge with other tips node	88
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Strategies_All \\Tactics_Duality_Exit \\Tips_Advice			23
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Strategies_All \\Trusted_Untrusted People	Trusted_Untrusted People	Include who knows secrets, who doesn't and why. also Who outed them. Sources of stigma can also include entities like school, co-workers etc.	130
Nodes\\Duality Sample\\Violence_Safety	Violence_Safety	Discussion about violence issues in sex work and safety from violence, emotional safety etc.	103
Nodes\\Participant Monologues	Participant Monologues	Just Participant responses	4,626

Appendix Five: Glossary and Abbreviations

Terms	Abbreviations	Descriptions
SI Work/Worker/Workers	SIW	All SI work included jobs with and without physical contact with clients.
SI	SI	
Square Work/Life/ square people	SQ	This represents all non-SI jobs, mainstream and conventional.
SI Work and/or Square Work	SIWSQ	See above
Duality, Dual Life, Dual lives, Dual-life participants	DL	The phenomenon of engaging in concurrent SIWSQ (Bowen, 2013)
Sexiting		A neologism to denote engagement in sex work to transition to sole square work or to SI work (Bowen, 2013)
Full Service		The provision of intimate service to SI clients. Include intercourse and may include oral sex.
Bondage, Discipline/dominance, Sadomasochism	BDSM	Playing with power associated with dominant and submissive roles, discipline and bondage.
Doms, Dommies and pro subs		Roles in performed in dominant-submissive relations, associated with BDSM.

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