



MSC in MANAGEMENT

MASTER THESIS

**Viability of using a Social Business to reintegrate
women formerly exploited in prostitution into
society and the workforce**

submitted by

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to investigate solutions for women who have been sold into sex slavery. The problem is vast, more than 27 million people are estimated to be trafficked by the United Nations Organization. Reasons for women to enter this business vary, each story is unique but the common factor is the difficulty of getting out of the vicious, exploitative network. As these women are often immigrants in the country they are working in, frequently have documents taken, and are systematically damaged emotionally in order to force them to collaborate without resistance, the challenge of not only rescuing them but integrating them into society is complex and tedious. It is investigated whether social entrepreneurship models offer the opportunity of adding a link to the system not only to help these individuals, but to give them tools to ultimately become independent and “help themselves”. In depth interviews are conducted with social workers and other experts. These interviews quickly showed that simply starting a social business for these women is not the solution; rather, women coming out of prostitution need a chain of steps to integrate back into the workforce step-by-step, the first step being first help and the second work training of a kind. A social business could support an association financially, without employing former victims. Opinions amongst the society vary, and differences in thinking cannot be grouped only demographically. What is most needed by reintegration associations are relationships with businesses who give women coming out of prostitution a “second chance”.

Introduction

Human trafficking is an immense problem that has a very poor amount of awareness. As of this year, an estimated number of up to 30 million people are victims of human trafficking. Compared with the vastness and complexity of the problem, not enough is done globally to help these victims from legal, economic and social perspectives, also due to the complexity of the issue. NGOs raising awareness and establishing rescue centers are the most visible combaters. Also, governments such as Sweden and France, having established the “Nordic Model” where the consumer is punished and not the

prostitute, are, in the opinion of human rights activists, a shining example for policy and lawmakers globally. However, raising awareness about the problem, working on legislation as well as hands-on rescuing victims are aimed at one side of the problem. Often after having been rescued out of human trafficking, these victims are traumatized, not only due to the nature of their work and experiences, but also broken mentally and systematically as this is the standard procedure for “breaking in” a human sex slave. After rescue and first aid, these women stand before nothing and often turn back to the industry as this is the only environment they are familiar with. Here it is called not only for NGOs but also social entrepreneurs to tackle this problem by developing programs of reintegration into society both on a psychological and emotional as well as professional level.

Social entrepreneurship is a growing trend as many companies try to make their business (appear) more social, and many entrepreneurs are not satisfied with creating a business to solely attain profits but additionally be beneficial to the good of society in other ways. It is also a helpful tool in providing aid to people in need, often with more dignity than the aid provided by NGOs if the beneficiary can contribute in some way to the creation of the value sold. However, no sufficient amount of social businesses is directed towards the reintegration of victims of human trafficking. It is crucial to find out the reasons behind that, be it awareness of the problem or the difficult emotional state these women are in after rescue. Thus, a social and sustainable as well as scalable solution for reintegrating formerly exploited women into the workforce and society should be identified in order to help victims reintegrate and gain once-lost dignity.

The main purpose of this thesis is to elaborate on the social problems that prostitution brings and get a better insight in potential solutions for reintegrating former trafficking victims back into society and the workforce, possibly with a social business. Expert interviews are conducted and a study on perception will be held. Then, two practical real-life cases of well-functioning reintegration organizations will be compared. This analysis is done in order to identify a workforce and society reintegration plan for the beneficiary group of vulnerable women at the margins of society due to former abuse including human trafficking and more specifically sex trafficking. This leads to the following research question: Which form of reintegration fits best to meet the needs of individuals, especially women who have suffered trafficking, and which role can a social business play?

This paper should investigate the underlying dynamics of the world of prostitution and its complexities. Furthermore, research will be done on the topic of human trafficking. A definition will

be found as well as the public perception of the existence and extent of the effects of human trafficking will be elaborated on. After a short review of the past of prostitution in various parts of the world over different time periods, the problem of modern day slavery will be discussed, the differences in legislation of Spain and Austria as well as the situation of prostitution in both respective countries and the European Union. Experts and (former) prostitutes will be interviewed on prostitution, and a study on the perception of society will be conducted.

The structure of the paper is first an overview of literature on human trafficking, then an extensive review of literature on social business. Further, methods of research are elaborated on, qualitative and quantitative, followed by the results. Limitations are described and the paper concluded with recommendations. An abstract can be found at the end of the paper.

Prostitution and Human Trafficking

Definition of Prostitution

Prostitution is defined as engaging in sexual relations with another person in exchange for materialistic compensation, most commonly money. According to the Oxford dictionary, Lexico, Prostitution is “the practice or occupation of engaging in sexual activity with someone for payment.” (“Lexico”, n.d.). Another concept interestingly related to prostitution speaks of how society views prostitution, namely being “The unworthy or corrupt use of one's talents for personal or financial gain.” (Prostitution | Definition of Prostitution by Lexico”, n.d.) In law text of the biggest countries of the European Union, the EU-15, prostitution is to be understood as “the direct exchange of sexual services for money or other utilities”. Danna states that “This definition is apparent from jurisprudence and legislation. Sometimes laws require the practice to be habitual, in order to be defined as prostitution, but often not.” (Danna, 2014, p. 6)

Also, prostitution has been defined in the following way: “Prostitution has been defined by social scientists in a way that places the emphasis from time to time on the requirement (1) a direct exchange of sexual services for money, (2) that takes place with a multiplicity of clients (3) that the latter are not selected (4), that this occurs in a situation of emotional indifference, and (5) that this source of earning is the main source of income of the person that carries out this exchange” (Davis, 1997, as in Danna, 2014). The problem with this definition, however, is that payment can be in other

currencies than money, the number of people involved can differ and it can be conducted with a much reduced amount of clients as well.

History of Prostitution and Social Perception of Prostitution in Society

Ancient European History

Often described as the oldest profession on earth, prostitution got a special status and new role in ancient Mesopotamia, where prostitutes were associated with the goddess of fertility and therefore enjoyed a special religious role in society. (Rostamzadeh, Abdul Rahim & Mohseni, 2016) In the tale of Gilgamesh, a temple prostitute is employed to civilise and weaken an opponent of the King. This portrays the view of sexuality of the time, which was one rather of practicality than morality. In ancient Greece, it is claimed that sexuality was not attached to stigma. Sexuality was rather a practice related to good health and vitality. The view ancient Greeks are said to have had on prostitution was also a practical one; men, driven by uncontrollable desires, needed safe outlets for their appetite in order to maintain a healthy and safe society. This is evident in Greek sagas such as the saga of Zeus and Europa, where the bull simply abducts Europa to sleep with her because of his desire for her. As marriage was a practical matter of securing blood lines, men sought sexual fulfilment outside the marriage bed. Also in the ancient Greek world, hetairai, the priestesses of Aphrodite, served as temple prostitutes. (Horn, 2013) (Rostamzadeh, Abdul Rahim & Mohseni, 2016)

In the Roman Empire, where Greek culture had a major influence, prostitutes were not as prestigious. However, prostitution was very common. Saint Augustine is to have lived a very free and immoral earlier life, to later denounce sex outside of marriage for his faith. However, he spoke against a ban of prostitution, stating that banning it would unsettle all balance in society. Thus, prostitution was accepted to avoid lesser evils such as rape. (History Channel, n.d.) (Horn, 2013)

Prostitution in the Habsburg Monarchy in the 19th Century

In the 19th century, prostitution and white slavery widely increased in practice and acceptance. This is largely due to this issue having become a matter of state regulation. Prostitution flourished alongside growing cities, where women seeking to engage or traffickers seeking to sell women into

prostitution had more anonymity of doing so. However, for several reasons, finding and relying on dependable numbers for this period is a difficult matter, as there are substantial differences in these numbers. First of all, this is due to the fact that many prostitutes were not registered and therefore were not counted into counts conducted by the police. Furthermore, it remains unclear whether arrests can be used as a basis to count and estimate the number of women engaged in the activity. Also, women not working in prostitution full-time but engaging in other activities or having other income sources might be hard to include in these statistics. Some numbers suggested a range from 7,000 to 80,000 women in prostitution in 1839 London, 30,000 to 120,000 in 1860s Paris or 5,000 to 68,000 in 1910 in Chicago; however, in Paris women were registered as prostitutes while in London and Chicago this was not the case. Counting one prostitute more or less for every twelve sexually active males of the big cities was a suggestion made by another source in order to derive an estimate of the number of prostitutes at the time. Concerning demand, medical records suggest that men from all social classes as well as age ranges went to seek out prostitutes. The reasons for demand rising in the 19th century in the way it did can be found on both sides of the supply and demand curve. First, industrialization as well as urbanization surged exponentially during this time. Urbanization facilitated anonymization, which definitely was a decisive factor for the increase in prostitutes and prostitution. Industrialization made it easier to travel, and the “New World” attracted hoards of bachelors to the United States of America, South American countries such as Argentina and Brazil as well as South Africa. This immigration wave resulted in an imbalance of males to females among these new settlers, which business-minded opportunistic individuals saw as an opportunity for the traffic of European women across the ocean; however, it was not always involuntary and part of a general migration wave from Europe to the New World. Around 15 million Europeans were part of this broad movement of people to the United States between 1890 and 1914. However, European prostitutes did not only go overseas, but stayed in the closer proximity of their origin. During this time, surprisingly for some, unmarried middle-class men made up the largest customer base. The background for this phenomenon could be that society assumed that men were to first be established financially and socially before starting a family. This resulted in a large number of unmarried young adult males and females in 19th century European urban centers which was unprecedented. In this context, prostitution provided an outlet for males’ sexual energies which would have been impossible to realize with women of their own class and standing. Nonetheless, prostitution was still engaged in by men after marriage, as the working class prostitute portrayed an erotic image and the sex as pleasurable, which the motherly, virtuous bourgeois wife did not. (Sautter, 2017)

Concerning the supply side, poverty due to being trapped in the working class, social disorientation and rootlessness, disrupted family lives, harsh factory work or domestic service were some of the newer realities women increasingly faced due to the consequences of industrialization. Different factors gave women an initiative to follow the path of prostitution as better job or even a job at all in a time where they had faced unemployment. The question might often not have been whether engaging in prostitution would mean a better life, but rather whether it was the least bad choice they had open. The context is important to understand why women would chose the path of prostitution or even be more prone to traffickers and procurers. With a rural exodus of sorts, many of the women migrating into urban areas sooner or later landed in prostitution. Personal background and individual motives further had an influence over why some women choose prostitution while others did not. Some sources from the time stated dismissively that women entered prostitution out of a search for fast money, extravagance and superficiality of a luxurious exterior and lifestyle, their idleness and lack of virtue leading them to prefer prostitution over hard factory or field work. While this is a tall claim and accusation, prostitution does reflect the search of women for a better life as women did manage to improve their conditions through prostitution. As much industrialization and commercialization took place in this century, prostitution was not exempt of the overall Zeitgeist. The government slowly transferred from the prohibition to the regulation of prostitution. (Sautter, 2017)

Demand and Supply Drivers for Prostitution

Concerning the demand of prostitution, there are various reasons for the growing demand for prostitutes. As a trade existing since ancient times as well as in as good as every country in the world, it is a challenge to identify all underlying drivers for the demand for buying sex, but clearly it has been perceived differently across cultures and centuries, with ancient Greek temple priestesses serving as prostitutes as well, while in other countries this act was punished with stoning or another death sentence. (History Channel, n.d.)

However, some underlying reasons for the increase in demand for sex can be identified. First of all, the modern, western society is very sexualized compared to only one hundred years ago. The level of sexualization as well as the rate at which this is increasing has put society in an imbalance. The main reason for this sexualization is modern, digital media and with it, pornography. Some decades ago, it was still hard to get to glossy pornographic magazines, while today it is impossible to navigate the

internet without encountering ads for porn or dating websites. Pornography available is getting increasingly more violent, graphic and extreme, and the feeling of love and the physical act of sex for bodily pleasure are kept further and further apart. As a Swedish study of 18-year-old males found, persons who often watch pornography are much more likely to have also consumed prostitution than their peers who do not frequently watch pornography. Child porn is one of the fastest growing businesses. Websites showing pornography receive more regular traffic than Netflix, Amazon, and Twitter together each month and 35% of all things downloaded have pornographic content. Also, young teenagers increasingly are more probable to have sex for the first time before they have their first kiss (fightthenewdrug, 2019). Porn is one of the main triggers for violence towards women. (Carretero 2017)

Another reason is a chauvinistic mindset – when men believe that women’s bodies can be paid and treated as commodities. Men separate prostitutes from “real” women, one individual using their services when he doesn’t have a girlfriend – which is a clear indicator for objectification of women and the causes of marginalization of prostitutes. (Fotheringham, 2019)

In Spain especially, and in the Netherlands (above all among tourists), consuming sex has become part of partying behavior to finish off a great party night. Especially in Spain the social stigma for consuming sexual services has greatly decreased and is often seen as normal. The diminishing of the stigma leads to an increase in consumption. Tourists, especially those seeking southern, warm locations by the coast, or places that are known for partying, sense that as they are far away from home and incognito, they can experiment as they please and leave these experiences in the place of vacation when they return home, without their social surroundings knowing of their behavior. This can increase the demand for prostitution, an effect which can especially be observed during conferences and sports events such as the olympics or the world cup, where human trafficking numbers and prostitution consumption greatly increase. (O’Day, 2018)

Concerning the supply side, poverty can be seen one of the main drivers for sex work (Abel 2018). For example, we can claim that the prostitutes mostly start their occupation because of a lack of opportunities to earn money otherwise. Therefore, as long as humanity fails to eradicate poverty, poverty-stricken women would be also more vulnerable for prostitution. This is shown by the fact that 90% of prostitutes come from the Balkans, South America, Africa (Nigeria), and China, all of which are developing and/ or poverty stricken regions. Women who consciously decide to prostitute themselves do so mainly out of financial need, and well as many of those being trafficked believe in

the promises of a job, e.g. nannying or the promise of a cleaning job or waiting tables. They pay to be taken abroad and their passports having been taken away, face the reality of having to prostitute themselves to “pay off the debt of transportation”. According to the European Commission’s report 2013 about the human trafficking the majority of the identified and presumed victims of human trafficking (62%) were trafficked for sexual exploitation. (Donevan, 2012)

Another reason is vulnerability due to spiritual beliefs – this technique is widespread in Africa, especially Nigeria, where women are groomed and their pubic hair is cut to spiritually bond them to their traffickers as they believe in voodoo-like powers. This is used to threaten their lives as well as their families. Threats to family upon not cooperating is also a major reason for women staying in prostitution. Another reason for the supply of prostitution is lack of education and skills, especially among migrant women who do not speak the language and have no formal education. In some countries, it is the only way they can make money – even legally, as in e.g. Austria migrant women can have few jobs – one of them being a self-employed prostitute. (Donevan, 2012)

Risks of and Problems with Prostitution

There are a number of risks involved with prostitution and consumption of prostitution. While the risks of consuming sex services are high, it is a false social concept that buyers of sex are at equally high risk as those selling. First, there are physical risks involved for the prostitute. This stems, among others, from the way sex buyers view prostitutes. Where business minded people might describe the procedure as sex between two consenting adults, this is far from the truth, as the act would not occur if it were not reciprocated with money. The nature of this exchange, mostly happens because the woman offering sex services is in that much of a vulnerable position that leads her to resort to making fast – not easy – money at such high risk. This is why prostitution is also described as a gendered survival strategy. Physical risks include sexual harassment, rape, and rape without a condom (Silbert, Pines and Lynch, 1982). Further risks include PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) as well as physical assault. Also, studies show prostitutes to be at an extremely high risk for HIV, one study showing a risk of over 90% (Ward and Day, 2006). On the psychological side, prostitution has proven to cause depression, eating disorders, dissociative disorders, substance abuse and suicide. While reasons for women entering into prostitution vary, as good as all entering prostitution without being

trafficked have had experiences of sexual assault in the past. Around 70% of women in prostitution have had some form of previous experience with abuse (Silbert, Pines and Lynch, 1982; Ward and Day, 2006).

Morality of Prostitution

Is Prostitution an immoral, dark profession and world, or does it serve a need in society? Some hold the opinion that prostitution actually protects respectable women, because it gives men an outlet for their sexual “needs” that are uncontrollable. The morality of prostitution is an old discussion, that is as relevant in this present day as it was in ancient Rome or in the Habsburg monarchy. The society’s perception of the morality of prostitution varies. Legislation of their respective countries might influence the perception of the morality of prostitution, as may religion and culture.

In this study, the problematic side of prostitution is focused on, as the aim of this paper is to give people trying to exit prostitution ways and alternatives. Evidently, prostitution is linked to numerous negative consequences and effects, especially for females. However, the issues society has found with prostitution might have shifted over time. However, a study of prostitution in the Habsburg monarchy shows that most issues were very similar to those currently discussed. (Sautter, 2017)

Policies and legislations have changed over time, and differ from country to country, which can also be brought into connection with differences in perception, culture and religion. Before the 19th century, prostitution was shunned and despised mostly as it was seen as a sin. With the 19th century and industrialization, society and governments became preoccupied with it due to sexually transmitted diseases. (Sautter, 2017)

According to Dadhania (2018) one of several ways of investigating how the view of the morality of women and attitudes towards or against selling sex have changed through the course of history are criminal laws. In the 20th century, laws started to hard and become stricter towards those selling sex as the social purity movement, a Christian movement, was underway (Dadhania 2018, 86-87). In the 1980s, the main problem discussed concerning prostitution was due to the HIV-crisis, according to Hubbard, Matthews and Scoular (2008). Currently, prostitution is criticised from a different viewpoint: that of gender violence and exploitation between social classes. However, there are prostitution unions that still argue for prostitution being legitimate work – sexwork. (Hubbard,

Matthews and Scoular 2008.) Conclusively, prostitution can be seen from various viewpoints heavily influenced by morals, position and interest in the matter. (Dadhania, 2018) (Hubbard, Matthews and Scoular, 2008)

As it concerns the human body, and most oftenly the female human body, as well as sexuality, prostitution is a sensitive topic per se. This sensitivity in matter and emotionally ladenness leads to challenges in policy making. Among others, Abel (2018) argues, is connected to the overall perception of sexuality. This could be formed by Jewish-Christian morality that pertains in the modern western world. Abel (2018) criticises that in ancient cultures such as the Greek and Roman, prostitution had a close to glamorous standing and prostitutes were honoured members of society. This claim is to be scrutinized; as mentioned above, there were differences in prostitutes and their standing e.g. in Greek culture and care must be taken as not to paint a black and white idealized picture of the past, which so often happens. On the other hand, the statistics on physical and mental harms prostitutes suffer in the course of a few years of occupation speak loudly, suggesting that criticism of prostitution does not only have to do with morality, ideology and culture. However, behind the different policies one can perceive the question, “Is selling and buying sex acceptable?” Policy makers are faced with challenging questions regarding a charged topic, which has resulted in different types of legislation – and often the lack of implementation and reinforcement of legislation and agreements. (Abel, 2018)

Human Trafficking

Different Forms of Trafficking

Trafficking, or modern slavery, takes on a variation of forms, such as sex trafficking, bonded labor, forced labor, involuntary domestic servitude, child soldiers and organ trade. In as good as every industry there are people in involuntary servitude.

The term “Trafficking” or “Human Trafficking” is not unanimously defined, which experts and scholars see as a problem. Most of the population, if ever having encountered or having been confronted with the term, have understood or been made to understand “trafficking” mainly as trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Very common trafficking forms such as forced labor have been almost excluded from the term or have been forgotten, because trafficking for sex

purposes has more of a sensational note and seems like a worse fate than manual labor as it involves very exposing and intimate activity. Labor trade takes on various forms, such as forced labor, bonded labor and involuntary domestic servitude.

Furthermore, the discussion is incessant as to where human trafficking begins and where it ends. “Some insist that “virtually any illegal migration for the purpose of obtaining work, and especially migration leading to prostitution, is trafficking—irrespective of whether the individual consented or was aware of the type and conditions of work at the destination” (Kara 2009; Yen 2008, as in Weitzer 2014). Thus any form of facilitation of illegal migration in order to work, whether the trafficked person is aware of what awaits them or not, and independent from whether they are actually exploited or taken advantage of or not, is trafficking. According to CdeBaca and Sigmon, the society is confronted with the following:

“Of the total number of 20.9 million victims, 18.7 million (90%) are exploited in the private economy by individuals or enterprises; the remaining 2.2 million are in state-imposed forms of forced labor. Of those exploited in the private economy, 4.5 million (22% of the total number) are victims of forced sexual exploitation, and 14.2 million (68% of the total number) are victims of forced labor exploitation. Women and girls comprise the majority of victims—11.4 million (55%)—representing nearly all the victims of forced sexual exploitation and approximately 40% of the victims of forced labor exploitation. Children represent approximately one-quarter (26%) of the victims of human trafficking. Victims spend, on average, approximately 18 months in forced labor.” (CdeBaca and Sigmon, 2014) (Kara 2009; Yen 2008, as in Weitzer 2014)

Forced Labor

Forced labor is described as labor that is to be performed in captivity. Forced, as well as bonded labor can occur in manufacturing, agriculture, fishing, mining, and domestic service. Also, Forced labor can occur when the person subjected is not physically held captive, but made to stay by threatening to do harm to his or her family members, or if the passport is taken away. Furthermore, it can involve physical, mental, emotional and sexual abuse.(lightup, n.d.)

Bonded Labor

Bonded labor, as opposed to forced labor, is labor in which the person is forced to work not by physically being held captive, but by having to pay back an unproportionately high debt that was unknown before entering the job, and on a very low wage or no wage at all, the excuse for lack of

payment being “that it goes towards the debt”. Often, there are forms of deprivation of liberty and strict monitoring and control. Like forced labor, bonded labor can involve physical, mental, emotional and sexual abuse. (lightup, n.d.)

Involuntary Domestic Servitude

Domestic servitude may appear normal, such as in a live-in help for managing the household or as a nanny. However, in many cases, people in these situations are no longer permitted to freely leave the house, or are not paid. As soon as they are no longer free, unpaid, are treated violently or threatened, are forced to work and prohibited from contacting friends or family, or their documents are taken away, they are counted as victims and have become slaves. Persons in these kinds of situations can also be victims of bonded labor, or of sexual labor or forced marriage, in addition. After being lured away from their home country with the promise of a job, documents are taken away and thus the ability to freely move about or take legal measures. The lack of knowledge of the local language and customs as well as complete lack of a local social network adds to their vulnerability. This traps the worker, often inside the house or home, and substantially infringes on their freedom of movement. These workers who have been enslaved often have to work extremely long hours, are beaten or abused verbally or in other ways, and humiliated. Often the slave keepers use their vulnerable position to humiliate them and freely exercise abusive power over them, e.g. by forcing them to work naked, or wear whatever humiliating costume they think of, behaving as an animal, and worse. (Endslaverynow.org, n.d.)

Child Soldiers

Children as young as 7 years old are being abducted and trained as soldiers, mainly in countries of Africa, but also in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. Around the globe, at least 250 000 children are child soldiers currently, according to the WHO (World Health Organization). The work they are forced to do includes fighting, being porters, serving as sex slaves, transmitting messages, spying and cooking. Immense psychological and physical harm is done to them, and not only when fighting. These children, trapped in non-functioning social ambiances, often fall sick with cholera, and are at risk of malnutrition and sometimes willfully mutilated. Especially girls and women, but also boys, are victims of systematic rape, and fistula, which is the tearing and infection of body tissue, is a common issue among girls, as well as complications during giving birth when girls bodies are not even physically ready to give birth. Furthermore, and most obvious, these children suffer war trauma, PTSD and severe or terminal war injuries. (Who.int, 2009)

The country with the highest amount of child soldiers currently is the Democratic Republic of Congo. Some years ago, however, in 2012, the problem of child soldiers got international attention because of the situation in Uganda, where an organization made a documentary called Kony 2012, which had a very wide reach. In Uganda, Joseph Rao Kony, who led the LRA (Lord's Resistance Army, a rebel group), changed the strategy of the resistance group after a period of little success by stealing supplies and abducting children, forcing them to serve as soldiers. First forcing the children to kill their parents and any near and dear to them, with the consequence of being killed in front of the other children so to instil fearful obedience, these children were trained to extreme brutality and mercilessness. If they refused to join, they were killed. In the ongoing conflict, an approximate of 20.000 children had been abducted. (Thelwell, 2019)

Today, the country with the biggest problem of child soldiers is the Democratic Republic of Congo. In this country, many children are abducted, but a large percentage of around 35% join voluntarily, often out of cultural beliefs in magical protection and power. A third are girls, abused as wives for the soldiers. Organizations involved in prevention and rehabilitation of child soldier victims are the United Nations with UNICEF, and CAJED.

Organ Trade

Organ trade is another form of human trafficking, whether victims are trafficked alive or organs are trafficked after having been extracted from their owners. The first time organ trade was defined, it was done so in the Declaration of Istanbul, 2008, during a convention held by "The Transplantation Society" and the "International Society of Nephrology". The statement reads that organ trafficking is *"the recruitment, transport, transfer, harboring or receipt of living or deceased persons or their organs by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, or of the giving to, or the receiving by, a third party of payments or benefits to achieve the transfer of control over the potential donor, for the purpose of exploitation by the removal of organs for transplantation."* (Participants in the International Summit on Transplant Tourism and Organ Trafficking convened by The Transplantation Society and International Society of Nephrology in Istanbul, Turkey, 2008) This definition is supported and used by the WHO. (Hottproject.com, n.d.)

Organ trafficking is an exploratory procedure where vulnerable people either willingly sell their organs for often very little money, or they are abducted either alive and entirely. Alternatively, the organs are taken out of their bodies in the country of origin and are trafficked separately. Transplant

tourism falls under the category of organ trade, and the phenomenon of organ trade is usually that (wealthier) people from the “west” buy organs from poverty stricken local individuals . While some beneficiaries or organ recipients travel to have an organ implantation, where most know about the vulnerable situation of the donors or even know that these organs have been stolen out of abducted people’s bodies, trafficked organs even make their way to the west; to makeshift surgery rooms and even hospitals. Recipients receiving trafficked organs in the west may fall prey to traffickers masking themselves as serious non-profit organ matching organizations. Traffickers exploit both the often desperate donor as well as the beneficiary sides. The estimation of Global Financial Integrity (GFI) is that 10% of transplanted organs are trafficked. The organs trafficked include hearts, livers, lungs and kidneys. Kidneys are most commonly traded as there are two, thus people in financial need sell kidneys. The WHO estimates around 10.000 kidneys to be traded annually, which amounts to more than a kidney per hour. In reality, there is a vast amount of people waiting to find a donor match and a very limited amount of donors or donated organs. This imbalance naturally gives room for an organ black market, which ultimately leads to the question of how ethical organ transplantation really is. Questions such as “Should donors be compensated?” “If organs are taken from dead people, how is clinical death defined?” The problem with sourcing organs abroad is that upon “extracting” organs from people in other countries, most oftenly impoverished countries with a vulnerable population, this country will then lack donors for people in need of organs in their own country. (Bain and Mari, 2018) (May, 2017) (Jonsen, 2012)

Naturally, these forms of trafficking are not exclusive from each other, and often mixed forms occur. (Weitzer, 2014)

Human Trafficking and Prostitution

Prostitution and Trafficking in Spain

Spain, with 2000 brothels and 300.000 – 400.000 prostitutes has one of the highest numbers of prostitutes in the world. It is the world’s third highest ranked country in number of prostitutes, and has the highest numbers in Europe. The industry produces a revenue of 22 billion dollars annually; it is therefore sometimes referred to “the world capital of prostitution”. (Fotheringham, 2010) In Spain, the social acceptance of the matter is higher compared to that in other European countries. As many as 39% of men admittedly have consumed services of a prostitute at least one time in their

lives, compared to much lower numbers even in the liberal Netherlands, with a respective percentage of 14%. The average age for consumption of prostitution is dropping, and has gone from 40 to 30 on average. In interviews with young brothel goers, it has become quite clear that there is very little social stigma attached to consuming the services of prostitutes, quite the contrary. Often seen as the cherry on top to a “great night out partying”, even teenagers who have just reached legal age consume prostitution, as it is easier and faster than picking up a girl in the club. (Fotheringham, 2010)

In order to understand the reasons for this social acceptance, a number of factors must be considered. First, historically seen, some argue that the reason for the high amount of prostitution lies with the suppression during the Franco years and is seen as a liberation act. In any case, there is not one explanation, but a nationally liberal mindset, including concerning sexuality, might be part of the reason. (Fotheringham, 2010)

The legal framework might also have an influence on the situation. In Spain, prostitution exists in a legal vacuum of a kind. It was decriminalized in 1995, therefore it is not prohibited, but pimping and gaining financial benefits from prostitutes services in any form is prohibited, however owning a brothel is allowed. Furthermore, street soliciting is forbidden. What is more, Catalunya has made it possible for people to gather to “practice prostitution”. Because of this, prostitution is not considered work and therefore the workers union of sex workers, that was established in the past year, had to be shut down. (Benavides 2018) (Yen, 2008)

This situation leads to a lot of grey areas and especially makes it easier for human traffickers to operate. In Spain, 80-90% of prostitutes have been trafficked or enslaved in one way or another, even if only with realistic death threats to her family or having taken her passport away. Human trafficking is prosecuted with up to 15 years in prison in Spain whereas coercing someone is only prosecuted with up to 4 years, and most often it is not possible to differentiate between the two in practice, which is why the latter sentence is most often given. This extremely soft punishment compared to the lucrativity of the business, paired with great demand due to culture and tourism attracts human traffickers much more than other countries in Europe. (SICAR, 2018)

Currently, the party PSOE has declared to aim towards abolishing prostitution by implementing the Nordic Model. The party has won the elections on the 28th of April 2019, but whether and how the law will be implemented is to be seen. This law has been first implemented by the Swedish

government, followed by other Nordic countries (thus the name), as well as Ireland, France and, most recently, Israel. This is to address the policy vacuum that exists regarding the situation and to be effective in the combat of human trafficking. (Burgen, 2019)

Law on Prostitution in Spain

Prostitution in Spain is not regulated as such, nor is it legal or illegal in itself. The Spanish Penal Code does punish trafficking and procuring with prison sentences, while the Citizen Security Law has been prosecuting clients since 2015 if they pay for sexual services "in public transit areas" where there may be minors, such as parks and schools, or when there is "a risk to road safety". The so-called gag rule considers it a serious offence, with fines ranging from 601 to 30,000 euros. (Estiarte, n.d.) (RTVE.es, 2018)

The Criminal Code punishes anyone who "using violence, intimidation or deceit, or abusing a situation of superiority or of necessity or vulnerability of the victim, determines an adult to engage in or to remain in prostitution". ("Article 187 of the Spanish Penal Code – Conceptos Jurídicos", n.d.) The penalties are two to four years where the person "profits by exploiting the prostitution of another person, even with the consent of that person with two to five years' imprisonment". The punishment may be greater if the offense is done by a criminal organization or if the pimp is a public official. Spanish law also provides for imprisonment for "anyone who induces, promotes, favours or facilitates the prostitution of a minor or a person with a disability in need of special protection, or who profits from it". In the case of minors and disabled persons, the Penal Code also punishes with imprisonment anyone who "requests, accepts or obtains, in exchange for remuneration or promise, a sexual relationship". (Estiarte, n.d.) (RTVE.es, 2018)

Barcelona's civic ordinance included fines for street prostitution since six years. Fines for clients range from 1,000 to 3,000 euros, if they have sex on the same street. Sanctions for prostitutes range from 100 to 300 euros for offering or providing these services, but can reach 750 if done near a school. (Estiarte, n.d.) (RTVE.es, 2018)

In 2013, Madrid City Council approved a draft ordinance on citizen coexistence that considered fines of between 750 and 3,000 euros for clients, but was finally ruled out. Last May the PSOE left-wing party presented a proposal for an ordinance against prostitution and sexual exploitation. Already in

2017 the mayoress Manuela Carmena stated that "in many cases" customers of prostitution in the city are being fined because this is considered in the Citizen Security Law. (Estiarte, n.d.) (RTVE.es, 2018)

Since 2013, the City Council of Valencia has a new ordinance on prostitution that affects sanctions on customers and the prohibition of advertising and activity. (RTVE.es, 2018)

Prostitution and Trafficking in Austria

Austria is a transit country but also a destination country for sex traffickers. In the past, the "Wiener Unterwelt" or "Wiener Rotlicht", the Viennese red light business was well known, and the owners of brothels were known as legends and "kings". Responsibles from the police cultivated an amicable relationship with the brothel owners and tolerated it, in lines of the mindset of not chasing them away because then, they wouldn't even be able to control them anymore. Austria is known for issues with cronyism, and the situation before the change in law when the red light districts were still dominated by Austrian providers reflects this well. (DER STANDARD, 2014)

There was a law change in that prohibited street prostitution in residential areas in Vienna, which is why many brothels close to the train stations had to close. Now, the police is dealing with illegal pimping, and prostitution in apartments and studios as well as the street, from Bulgarian and especially and strongly increasingly from Chinese pimps who are associated with respective mafias. According to the European Commission's 2013 Eurostat report, the majority of victims of human trafficking come from EU countries such as Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary, and from non-EU countries such as Nigeria and China. After joining the EU in 2007, people from Eastern countries such as Bulgarian and Romanian citizens were allowed to work in Austria starting 2014. This is also when a sharp increase in prostitutes was noted, and migrant prostitutes became the norm. (DER STANDARD, 2014)

Austria is "the gate to the East" – not just concerning the topic of prostitution, but also in the business world in general. Many Eastern businesses do business with Austria first before expanding further into Central and Western Europe, and many Austrian businesses expand to the East. This also affects illegal profitable activities, such as human trafficking. Work migration from Balkan countries has its

effect on all sectors, but many women come to practice prostitution, escaping poverty or because of false job promises or with debts to their traffickers, as no education is necessary for prostitution and in Austria can be practiced as a free trade (ger.: "freies Gewerbe"). Also, people from surrounding countries such as Italy come to Austria for sex tourism, as prostitution is prohibited. (lightup, n.d.) Every year in Austria there are about 350 identified cases of human trafficking, and the number of unreported cases is assumed to be far higher. (Gesamte Rechtsvorschrift für Wiener Prostitutionsgesetz 2011)

What Austria does against Human Trafficking

Apart from several NGOs fighting trafficking in Austria, in 2004, a Task Force on Human Trafficking has been initiated under the leadership of the Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs and has been active since then. In 2005, Austria adopted the so-called "Palermo Protocol" of the United Nations for the prevention, combating and punishment of trafficking humans. The implementation of these standards is monitored by GRETA (Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings). Austria also takes part in pursuing the current EU Strategy to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings 2012-2016. (lightup, n.d.) (Eurostat, 2014)

Law on Prostitution in Austria

In Austria, the definition of prostitution according to the local Austrian law at country level define prostitution as "the commercial acquiescence to sexual acts on one's body or the commercial engagement in sexual activities" in consonance with the penal code. Other Austrian laws state that they regard occasional commercial relations as well and also give a definition of the client: "persons that take advantage of the soliciting for prostitution of another person, or have the intention of taking advantage", as in the law in Burgenland. The terminology used in the laws generally uses the words etymologically related to "prostitution", also in countries, as Austria, Germany and the Netherlands, that consider prostitution as sex work and have adopted laws that try to improve the situation of persons in prostitution (at least for nationals). Gewerbsmäßige Unzucht (professional immorality) is instead used in Vorarlberg (Austria). (Danna, 2014)

In Austria, while prostitution is legalized, it is forbidden to have regular income from another person's prostitution under Strafgesetzbuch § 216. Asylum seekers are not allowed to work in

Austria, but are allowed to be self-employed. The only work that comes into question here for many migrant women from poor backgrounds is prostitution. (Die Krone, 2007)

Comparison of Prostitution Situation Spain and Austria

In Austria, prostitution is legalized whereas in Spain, it is not. In Austria, prostitution has been legal since the year 1947, and eight years ago the status of prostitution being immoral has been lifted, which means contracts between male customers of prostitution and prostitutes are since then legitimate. In 2010, there were 990 brothels and other sex establishments in Austria, around 50% of these in the capital city, Vienna. (Wagenaar, Amesberger & Altink, 2017)

In Austria, laws that affect prostitution, e.g. criminal and immigration law, are under the jurisdiction of the federal state. However, the specifics such as when, where and under what conditions prostitution can be practised is decided by the Land. It is similar in Spain. Prostitution in Spain is neither legal nor illegal. However, the decision over the exact interpretation of this is with the municipalities. It is permitted to practice prostitution, but the practice is not recognized as a profession. As a result, prostitutes have no labor rights and therefore also no protection in case of exploitation. Human trafficking as well as pimping are forbidden by law in both countries. In Austria, a prostitute must denounce a pimp or trafficker for her to get proper victim protection and care, as well as a residence permit. This is crucial especially for victims from outside of the European Union.

Since 1995, the legal situation in Spain is that prostitution is legal, but as good as entirely unregulated. Since 01.07.2015, a new act has prohibited the purchase of sexual services in designated public places. (Reinschmidt, 2016)

In Spain the situation is similar to Austria, where a prostitute must denounce the trafficker or exploiter. How prostitution is handled in Spain falls under the jurisdiction of municipalities. Since it is not allowed to make a profit off of a prostitute, neither to operate a brothel, brothel owners in Spain simply call their establishments “hotels” or “motels”, and prostitutes are handled as clients. Whereas this model exists in Austria, it is not the only one, while in Spain it is predominant. Women working in brothels are subject to many fees and fines, e.g. for the towels and cleaning products they use, for behaving in a certain way etc. – on top of the room fees. In Austria, this is also common. Furthermore, in Austria women who prostitute themselves on the street are frequently fined for infringements

such as attracting customers by waving, for being outside designated zones, for parking wrong (with cars their pimps drive as they most often do not have a driving license). In Spain, some municipalities forbid street prostitution as a whole, and street prostitution frequently results in fining; however, some areas and municipalities generally overlook this and prostitution is still practiced. Since it is unregulated, this gives traffickers and pimps immense freedom while cases of trafficking are hard to prosecute. In both countries however, prostitution is titled as legal, whereas in Austria it is legal and regulated, but in Spain it is legal and unregulated. ("La prostitución en España, una actividad no regulada pero sí castigada en caso de proxenetismo y trata", 2018)

In both countries, women find themselves in similar situations: easy to exploit, it is hard to prosecute traffickers and disadvantaged from the side of the state, which offers no significant protective laws or regulations; quite the contrary. Prostitutes face a dilemma when on one hand they are oftentimes forced e.g. to work on the street and then on the other hand get fined by the police, (since the car the pimp drives is in their name, and pimps generally do not take responsibility for the prostitutes' fines). Prostitutes do not go to the police to denounce as they are most often scared, traumatized and afraid of being exported. Thus, they are easy prey for exploitation, while fines and debt are piling up both from their traffickers and pimps as well as from the government.

(Deana, 2020)

Prostitution in the European Union

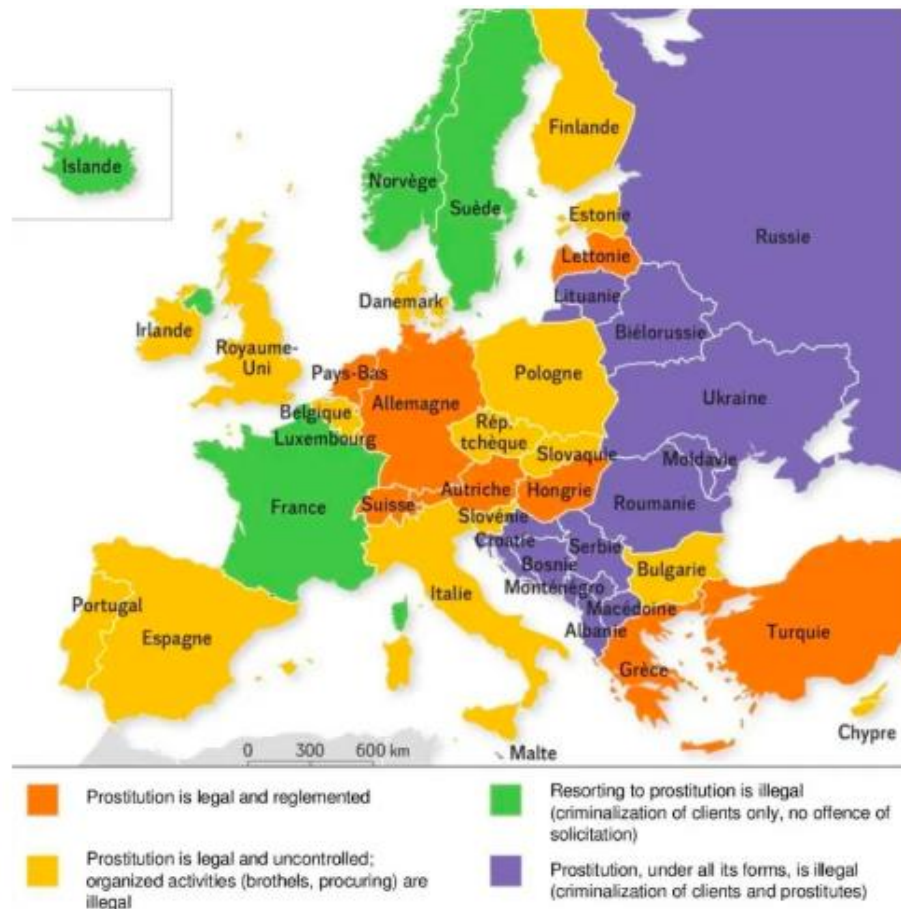
In the European Union it is most common to have a legal system which allows prostitution itself (exchanging sexual services for money) but associated activities (brothels, pimping, etc.) are prohibited. In many ex-communist Eastern European countries, prostitution is illegal. Sweden, Northern Ireland, Norway, Iceland, and France are using the "Nordic model" which makes criminalizes the buyer (demand side) and not the seller (supply side) of sex. In other countries like The United Kingdom and The Netherlands, prostitution is legal under specific circumstances. Visiting a prostitute who is "subjected to force" is a strict liability offence in many countries. The practice and enforcement of prostitution regulations varies by country. For example in Belgium, where brothels are in fact prohibited, but in reality, they are tolerated and operated quite openly, as in their neighbor country The Netherlands.

Most countries in Europe have signed the CEDAW (The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women). Even though none have ratified it, the pledge to work towards

these goals has been signed by the member states of the European Union. Article 6 of the CEDAW recommends that all countries criminalize all forms of sexual exploitation against women and trafficking, but this has not been achieved. ("Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women", 1979)

Prostitution Policies in Europe

There are three different ways different policies regarding prostitution can be categorized, but a popular way is categorizing them according the intentions of the policies: repressive, restrictive and integrative. Repressive policies are aimed at abolishing prostitution completely, by making buying and selling sexual services illegal. Restrictive policies regulate prostitution by setting different requirements, only criminalizing prostitution when not meeting these requirements. Integrative policies aim at integrating prostitution (and thus prostitutes) into society so that it is treated the same way as other occupations. (Abel, 2018) Sometimes a mix of these types of policies is used. In a resolution in 2014, the European Parliament officially recommended its member countries implementing the Nordic Model adapted to each country respectively. ("Prostitution ProCon.org -- Should prostitution be legal?", 2018)



Map of the different prostitution laws in the EU

D.Danna, 2014

This is due to the fact that in Germany and Holland, where Prostitution is legalized, trafficking numbers have increased exponentially and victims of sexual exploitation also increase. Traffickers and pimps are thus given the rights of entrepreneurs. Prostitution, leading women into prostitution and pimping is an act of gender violence. Over 90% of people working in prostitution are women and over 90% of clients are men; on average 70% of the prostitutes in the EU are migrant women, and mostly come from areas of poverty while working in urban areas or touristic areas.

“In Europe, the main region of origin of migrants engaged in prostitution is Central and Eastern Europe, including the Baltic and Balkan States, which together account for around 70%. 32% are from recent EU accession States (EU 8), and 37% from non-EU States in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Other places of origin are Africa (12%), Latin America and the Caribbean (11%), Asia-Pacific (4%), and other EU countries (4%). (Schulze, Novo Canto, Mason & Skalin, 2014)

In light of this, prostitution is to be viewed increasingly as exploitation of gender and socioeconomic background, and prostitutes as victims rather than as equal partakers of an open market. The rates of murders at the workplace for women in prostitution are 51 times higher than the next most dangerous occupation for them. The average age in which women first become trafficked is 15, and those who were trafficked as minors were frequently prostituted at an even younger age. A study found that over 33% of women and girls were trafficked between 11-13 years old. This strengthens the abolitionist perspective, and uncovers a call for a more victim centered approach. (Schulze, Novo Canto, Mason & Skalin, 2014) (Dalla, 2000) (Nixon, Tutty, Downe, Gorkoff & Ursel, 2002)

As a further result, significantly more weight needs to be given to policies protecting the wellbeing – mental, emotional and physical – of women in prostitution – trafficked or not – than finding ways to regulate prostitution and label it as business.

The Nordic Model

The Nordic Model uses this approach. This law was first implemented by Sweden, in 1999. The main approach behind the bill is tackling and criminalizing the demand for prostitution, because if demand is approximated to zero, prostitution can be abolished. Thus consuming or attempting to consume sex against compensation is illegal and penalized. This bill is built on the viewpoint of prostitution being gender violence and lack of gender equality. This shift of focus on the buyers and not the sellers makes the discussion of whether and how many prostitutes are victims or not, and whether prostitution should be made legal or illegal, irrelevant. Women are thus not punished. As a further result of this law, exploiting people who practice prostitution as well as providing a facility to practice prostitution are made offenses and thus are subject to punishment. Consuming prostitution is fined or punished with up to a year of imprisonment, as well as rehabilitation and treatment for sexual addiction or other psychological issues.

The outcomes of this law have been very good compared to their aims. Public opinion in light of the legal change, has changed as well. The demand for paid sex has gone down by 50%. Criminal investigations have shown traffickers to deter from targeting Sweden, as the demand has gone down. People in Sweden now perceive prostitution a topic of gender inequality. Reasons for the success include right implementation of the law, including creating a police unit especially for this subject. In

other countries, it is said that police are more or less corrupt on the matter, depending on the country, as legislative and executive often do not collaborate significantly, no matter the form of legislation. Further, the law has been accompanied by awareness raising campaigns (in schools, universities, etc.) to support and accelerate the change in mindset.

In application, where there was a doubt in how easy these offenses would be to prosecute, the cases have been surprisingly easy and uncomplicated to handle. Compared to other cities in Scandinavia, such as Norway and Denmark, Sweden had a population of prostitutes of 1/8th and 1/10th respectively compared to the other countries.

Social Entrepreneurship

What is Social Entrepreneurship?

In order to define social entrepreneurship, the terms need to be first defined separately. Entrepreneurship, as opposed to often falsely assumed, is most often not defined as a simple business starter or owner. The aspect of entrepreneurship is a different one. Entrepreneurship describes much more behavior around change. An entrepreneur is an opportunity seeker, according to Peter Drucker (Dees, 2001). Entrepreneurship is not to be defined solely as someone seeking wealth creation, but as the spirit of undertaking. In other words, an entrepreneur is an individual starting a for-profit venture with an innovative on-take. (Dees, 2001)

Another aspect of an entrepreneur is that it is an individual whose first successful undertakings lie in the past. An entrepreneur is not an entrepreneur solely by defining characteristics or attempts at entrepreneurship, but becomes one once his undertakings have proven successful. This makes it hard to exactly define an entrepreneur, as the understanding of the term is based on cases rather than a theoretical framework. (Martin, & Osberg, 2007)

Social entrepreneurship is a form of entrepreneurship. With the growing trend of social entrepreneurship, there has been an increasing need to define this subject. As the lines between social and non-social business are increasingly blurred, this need is even more urgent. However, certain attributions have been associated with social entrepreneurship as opposed to conventional entrepreneurship. (Martin, & Osberg, 2007)

First of all, social entrepreneurs do not serve the sole purpose of creating profit. There is always an innovative social aspect to their undertakings. However, wealth creation is part of their project. Second, as mentioned above, social entrepreneurs seek the silver lining. Instead of solely pitying individuals who are less fortunate or complaining about bad social or environmental situations, social entrepreneurs have set their mind on undertaking action and see opportunities. Needed to pursue a certain social vision for improvement are certain attributes, such as persistence and agility. (Martin & Osberg 2007) (Dees, 2001)

This leads to a third important aspect of social entrepreneurship – creativity and adaptability. Social entrepreneurs may not have to invent a whole idea or business model, also persons who simply improve an existing model or add social aspects to existing business models, thus making it their own, count as social entrepreneurs. Social entrepreneurs must show a willingness to try new and learn from mistakes. Also, social entrepreneurs do not always have the same amount of resources at their disposal. Benefiting a vulnerable social group often means this group benefiting from the social undertaking without being able to give back as much value in exchange. Therefore, sourcing needs to come from other places. Social entrepreneurs ideally are able to make use of a limited amount of resources and find new resources. (Martin, & Osberg, 2007)

Furthermore, according to Dees (2001), in the ideal case, social entrepreneurs “seek to provide real social improvements to their beneficiaries and their communicates, as well as attractive (social/ financial) return to their investors”. As can be seen, social entrepreneurship and its applicability varies greatly from case to case and cannot be applied for all social problems and all business industries. Therefore, the need of positioning and differentiating the image of the social entrepreneur is highly important. (Dees, 2001) A key aspect to differentiating social entrepreneurship from common entrepreneurship also lies embedded in the value proposition, the heart of the reason itself. (Martin & Osberg 2007) (Dees, 2001)

In accordance to the core of their purpose, social businesses aim to improve bad socio-economic situations in creative ways and motivate stakeholders and non stakeholders to take part in forming solutions and realizing them. In 2015, a poll was taken where over 1000 social businesses in 9 countries proved revenues of over EUR 6.06 billion. (This was the SEFORIS project in which the OECD IEED participated as well). Furthermore, these social businesses “produced provision of services and products to 871 million beneficiaries, job creation – especially for people with disabilities or from

migrant backgrounds – upwards of about half a million people, and job placement for around 5.5 million people”. (*Boosting Social Enterprise Development*, 2017)

A wide scope of partners, including strategy creators, business visionaries, residents and financial specialists, have gotten progressively keen on social undertakings and social enterprise because of this positive dynamic. "Millennials" specifically are demonstrating incredible ability to take an interest effectively in tending to cultural issues, through social business (UNICEF, 2007). Advanced education establishments endeavor to address this new intrigue and yearnings through a developing cluster of new courses and seats in social business enterprise.

Clients are additionally progressively receptive to the significance of moral and earth inviting viewpoints, as delineated by the reasonable exchange and "purchase social" marvel, which advocates the person's centrality in the monetary endeavor. Their craving to give direct help to social tasks in various movement segments is likewise outlined by the new participative financing models, for example, crowdfunding and crowdfunding platforms. Simultaneously, new financial actors and mediators are entering the field: social effect financial specialists, moral banks and adventure humanitarians give new wellsprings of subsidizing to social undertakings, yet in addition call for progressively through social effect appraisals, advancing a culture of estimation and assessment. (*Boosting Social Enterprise Development*, 2017)

In this specific situation, the European Commission received in 2011 the Social Business Initiative (SBI), which means to help the improvement of social undertakings by improving their entrance to financing, raising their perceivability and encouraging a friendlier legal framework.

Different Definitions of Social Businesses

Social Business has proven to be an emerging trend globally. Especially since social business is booming in developing countries, where the stage of founding traditional enterprises is skipped similarly to the phenomenon of developing countries overstepping the developmental stage of the landline and going directly for mobile phones. However, the term social business is not so easy to define, and emphasis is placed differently individually, in different cultures and also geographical zones. These four schools of thought concerning social business are that of income generation, social impact, job creation, and broader social change.

Cheriakova (2013) states that the first school of thought is focused on making financial profit or at least not loss. Social businesses are non-divided companies and seek to make a social impact but their main objective is to compete with commercial businesses.

Theas opposed to the previous, the second school of thought concerning social business is focused on the value of the solution found. The biggest network of social enterprises globally, Ashoka, defines Social Business as “disruptive innovation in resolving social problems in an entrepreneurial way” and social entrepreneurs as people “with innovative solutions to society's most pressing social, cultural, and environmental challenges”. Here, impacting local communities matters most.

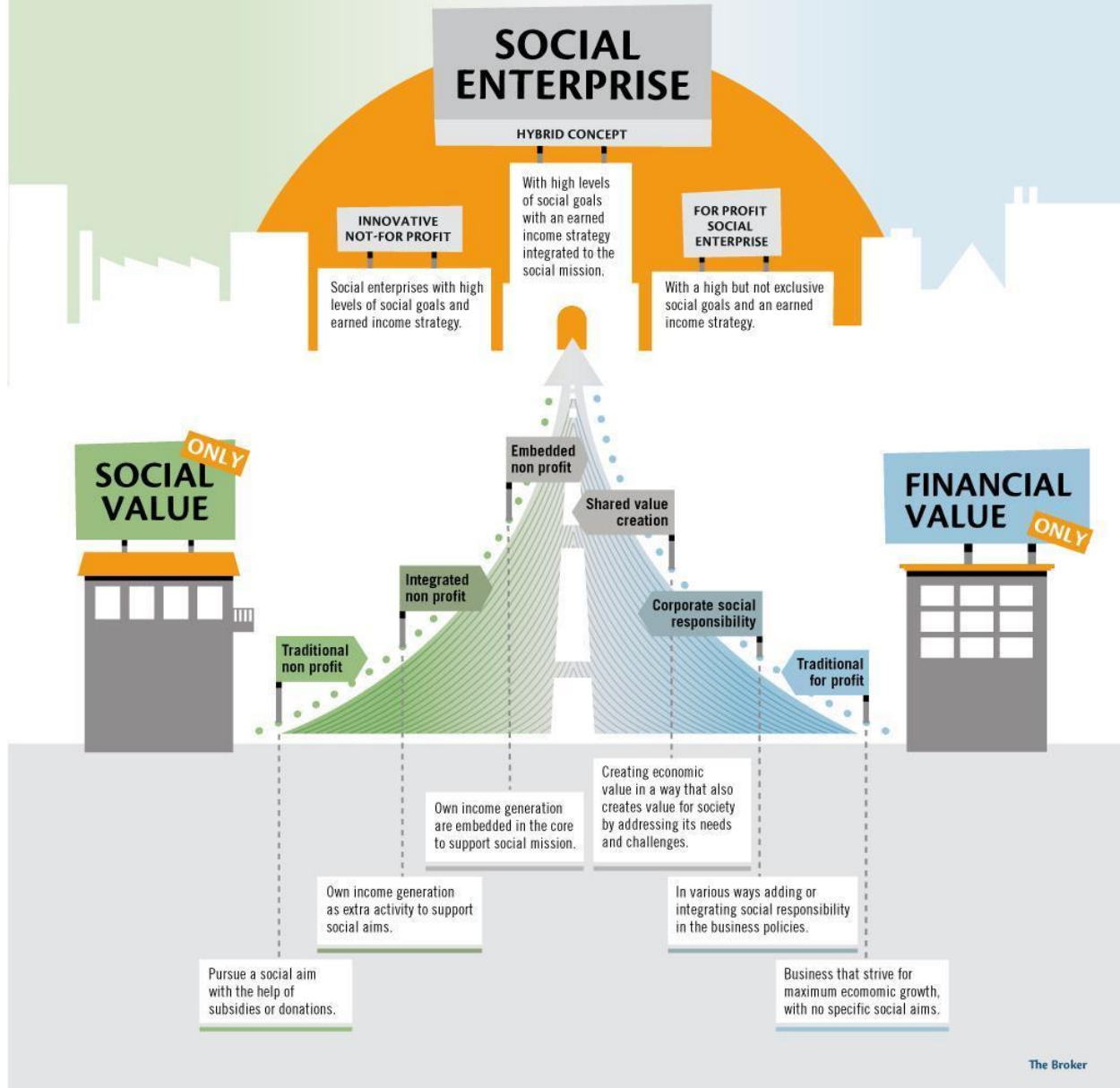
("Social Entrepreneurship", n.d.)

The third approach to entrepreneurship is one where the focus is placed on job creation for people with special needs, low-qualified or those in difficult social positions for some reason. These are called WISEs, work integration social enterprises, and aim to include people back into society through an activity where they can produce something or perform a service. An example for this kind of social business is “The Specialists” from Denmark, which hires people with autism.

The fourth school of thought looks at people starting social enterprises as social change agents. Much rather than just solving one issue, these individuals try to find innovative solutions as a way of life and in a more holistic context in their communities. This way of life invites continuous learning and creating social systems that maintain social improvements long term.

To conclude, social businesses are hybrid forms already, combining a social mission with an entrepreneurial undertaking. As such, there is ample room for interpretation of what a social business should and should not be. The degree of how much “social” and how much “entrepreneurship” a business has can be portrayed and thought of as on a scale. Optimally, there is a good balance between the two dimensions. (Cheriakova, 2013)

MOVEMENTS TOWARDS SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP



A. Cheriakova, 2013

Different Forms of Social Enterprises

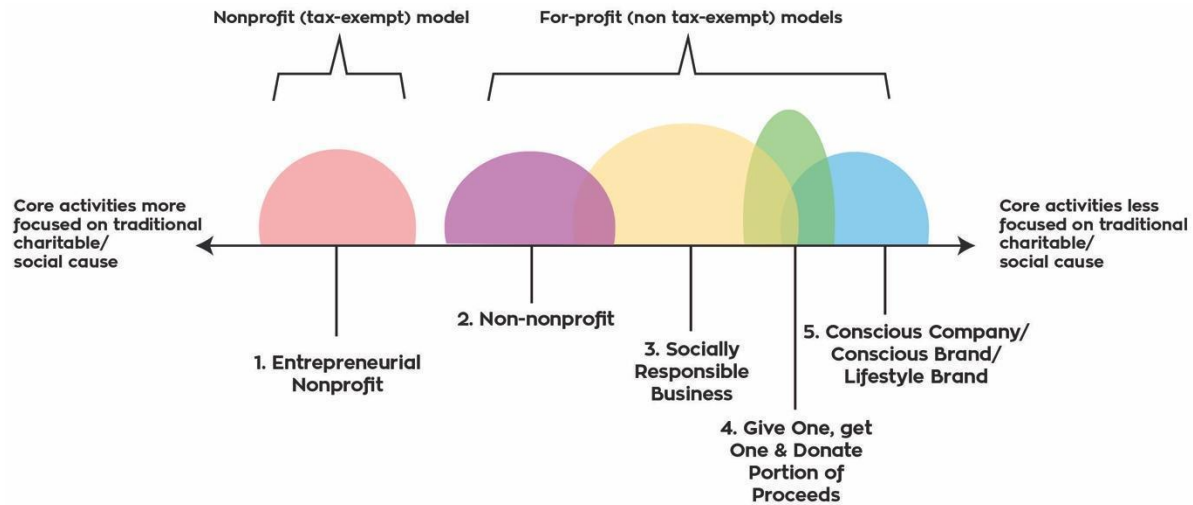
There are different forms of social entrepreneurship. On one side, there are closed loop and open loop systems. Closed loops systems describe social enterprises that are self-sustaining, whereas

open-loop enterprises are not. These are dependent on external, continuous donations and funding. (Mottel et al, 2007)

Another way of differentiating forms of social enterprises can be seen on graph 1.0. A differentiation is made between nonprofit and for-profit social businesses, whereas this is not a non-profit organization per se, but rather a so-called “entrepreneurial nonprofit”. These businesses are freed from taxes either entirely or partly. By integrating a form of revenue generation, these can be labeled as social enterprises. Further, there are “for-profit” models of social enterprises. (Mottel et al, 2007)

Non-nonprofit, as Mottel et al. (2007) have named this model, are mission-centric but have found a way of being profitable, thus making revenue but also including activities for change. The motivation of this kind of social business being profitable is not the profit per se, but rather in order to be able to operate on a larger and more impactful scale. The next social business model on the graph, the socially responsible business, is the most common form of social enterprise. The general idea of such a company is mostly not primarily to solve a certain problem, but to “do business better (Mottel et al, 2007).

Further, there are social enterprises that are based on “give one, get one”, or where the company donates a part of their proceeds. Business operations here are distinct and separated from their social support. Lastly on this spectrum, there are conscious or lifestyle brands and companies. These companies do not always tackle the problem per se, but rather exist to raise awareness to a certain problem. The authors state, however, that this is only one possible form of classification and that some companies do not fit in any of the categories. (Mottel et al, 2007)



N. Motter, 2018

Challenges within Social Entrepreneurship

Measuring Social Impact

Social entrepreneurs are faced with the challenge of how to measure the social impact generated through their activities. Whereas financial impact or profit is much easier to measure, as numbers serve as hard and reliable facts, social impact is a much more subjective matter. Thus the psychological well-being of beneficiaries or a long-lasting effect on physical well being should be measured. The outcomes of such measurements should serve as a basis as to whether a social enterprise is successful. Criteria for the measurement of both are very difficult to define and differ greatly with the beneficiary target group and the purpose of the social undertaking. If this undertaking has, e.g., the purpose of helping a certain vulnerable group in becoming independent and taking charge of their life, the measurement of impact is needed to succeed the duration of imminent contact with the beneficiary. (Dees, 2001)

Measurement of impact should take place months and years after having been an active beneficiary in order to measure long-lasting effects. Especially with a growing carefulness and importance of data security, this is a problem. Data of former participants may not be stored for a long or medium duration length of time, and the dilemma is increased when the data used and needed is sensitive data. In the case of individuals receiving or having once received social aid, this data is always

sensitive as it's leaking can have an impact on the social and professional life of the individual as well as affecting his or her self-confidence negatively through the feeling of shame. (Dees, 2001)

Furthermore, once in a better situation, former beneficiaries are quite unwilling to remember these very challenging and sad periods of their lives. For this reason, many beneficiaries cut contact with former aid organizations in the attempt of making a clear cut in their lives and starting fresh. What is more, is that these individuals, also if still in contact with social organizations, are quite reluctant to give a significant amount of insight into their former lives and speak of comparisons as this also reminds them of darker times. (Dees, 2001)

Social enterprises viability: surviving the developmental phase

It is crucial for social businesses startups, much more so than for traditional startups, to receive business support through the course of their entire developing stage. Public support that is specific, such as hubs, accelerators and incubators are indispensable for social businesses to have success independent of geography and sector. Furthermore, services such as coaching, training or consulting are crucial for developing abilities necessary to be a successful social entrepreneur. These abilities include measuring the impact of the social business, handling administrative processes, developing a business plan, finding investors and sourcing financial support and funding and finally becoming financially stable and independent. The professionals working for these supporting institutions and entities have an understanding of conventional businesses as well as social businesses. This implies that they have the ability to develop entrepreneurial thinking and acting without compromising on the social aspect of the undertaking. Financial advisors are also essential for helping social businesses to prepare for investment and help find the right means for becoming financially independent. Nevertheless, especially smaller social businesses are challenged when it comes to financing the extra cost for intermediary services. Being aware of this, some financial emissaries give out vouchers and grants to aid social businesses in receiving help and advice that caters exactly to their individual needs. Finally, public financial instruments can likewise give valuable help in such a manner. (*Boosting Social Enterprise Development, 2017*)

Social enterprises financing

“An action plan to improve access to finance for SMEs” (Small and medium sized enterprises), an action plan by the European commission, recognizes that “Europe’s economic success depends largely on the growth of SMEs but that difficulty in accessing finance is the main obstacle to their growth” (“EUR-Lex - 52011DC0870 - EN - EUR-Lex”, 2019). Social businesses are, in fact, mostly SMEs.

Even though social businesses are supported by grants and subsidies, depending on the government of the country or municipality they are based in, many social businesses look for financial resources from mainstream or novel funders (e.g. commercial banks or impact investors). Nevertheless, funders or investors see social businesses as high-risk clients, especially in their startup phases. Therefore they may be reluctant to choose to invest in them. Most banks have the same opinion, as social businesses may not have the ability to carry the loan costs or give financial guarantees. Policy makers need to encourage capacity-building, along with efforts to unlock and attract funds that are better suited to social enterprises.” One effective response to this challenge is guarantee schemes, which are widely known for sharing or amortising risk with mainstream funders, impact investors and commercial banks” (*Boosting Social Enterprise Development*, 2017).

Various agreements and grants are normally made accessible for organizations or associations who need to work with Directorate General (DG) for Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs or apply for financing. In the structure of open obtainment contracts, European Commission DG Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs normally composes calls for tenders. Calls for tenders are uncommon techniques to produce contending offers from various organizations hoping to acquire works, supply or administration contracts.

The DG also offers the chance to associations to get a few awards through calls for proposals. These are solicitations for providers to present a proposition on a particular ware or administration. An award or a subvention is a direct monetary commitment from the European Commission to help a particular activity or undertaking of a non-business nature, to take care of qualified expenses legitimately acquired by the recipients.

All in all, EU financing programs are not accessible as up-and-coming subsidizing. Any support is directed either through nearby, provincial, or national government, or, for example, through banks and investment associations that give subsidizing through financial instruments. Only projects that

contribute to the implementation of any EU programmes or policies receive direct financial support. ("Access to finance for SMEs", n.d.)

Profitability

Whereas social entrepreneurs do not follow a business model where monetary value or value for self is the only measure for success, making profit can be a challenge for social entrepreneurs. Many social enterprises depend on additional funds through sponsoring to support their business model. While it depends very much on the type of social business, it can be said that this poses a challenge. Where donors are integrated, there are more voices demanding certain outcomes or following different agendas. Donors are often not very connected with the daily running of the business, but due to their authority that results from having invested in the project, feel entitled to have a say in important decisions. The underlying issue here is that by not being involved in the daily running of the business, often donors do not understand main issues and subculture as well as the social entrepreneur and staff who are on the job on a regular basis. This may lead to compromise or friction and further result in the slowing down of the business. (Teasdale et al, 2013)

Motivation of Social Entrepreneurs

According to Christopoulos and Vogl (2014), the reasons individuals decide to become social entrepreneurs differ. It is often hard to understand what their initial motivation was, as people interviewed already were active as social entrepreneurs but according to these, reasons are both altruistic and egoistic. Often it is a mixture of both. On one hand, entrepreneurs give reasons such as gaining fulfilment through helping others as well as enjoying the work, on the other some mention that "ego" plays a role and some simply did not like the idea of being employed and classical reasons for entrepreneurship are mentioned. (Christopoulos and Vogl, 2014)

Methodology

Data Collection and Analysis

This section is written to give an overview as to how research is set up and conducted. Both quantitative and qualitative analytical methods will be used for this research. To find out how and if social business can be used to help trafficking victims and prostitutes to find alternative work options, social workers and persons with experience in prostitution will give insights, and public opinion will be assessed. These steps will lead to the results for this paper:

1. Personal interviews victims of human trafficking as well as specialist interviews with social workers will be held. Literature review shows that the discussion around the legislation situation of prostitution is heated. Some speak of prostitution being thoroughly infested by human trafficking and the mafia. Others state that it is a job like any other, and the free will of persons desiring to work in prostitution should be respected. Expert interviews should thus give more insight into the debate and give first hand information. Also, not much has been said about jobs that ex-prostitutes and those wanting to exit the industry would like to perform. While it has been made obvious that getting out of prostitution is not easy, personal interviews should give more insight into the reasons and dynamics.

For this study, a total of 10 interviewees are questioned. The questions are to deliver background information on the world of prostitution, human trafficking and on the interplay of the two topics. Questions will be very open, as the goal is to get insight into their everyday life either helping women coming from prostitution, from social workers, or in some cases the experiences of (former) prostitutes themselves. These questions might be the following: "Why did you decide to work with these women and how have you experienced it?", "What does the life of the women in prostitution look like?" "What are their main struggles?" or "How many want to switch to a different profession and what impedes them from doing so?". The questionnaire will be adapted in case former prostitutes themselves can be interviewed, and they will be asked questions such as: "How is life in prostitution really?" "Have you ever tried working something else?" or "Why did you decide to stop working in prostitution?" "What would you like to work if you could?" and "What is the biggest barrier for you to get where you would like to be?" The interviewee is encouraged to speak freely and answer extensively.

2. Next, a quantitative study of perception of prostitution by a sample group of the public will be conducted. A total 100 participants or more to the study are to be interviewed. The outcomes of the study will be controlled by gender, age, nationality, income level and education level. The aim of this

survey is to find out what the general public's perception of prostitution is, whether and how much they know about human trafficking, how they see prostitutes vs. how they see clients of prostitutes (which should give insight into possible sexist and stigmatising dispositions) as well as whether people would actually be willing to buy from organizations (for or non profit) that help former prostitutes and trafficking victims. Solutions are to be found and conclusions to be drawn from these results, and it should serve as an information base for decisions to be made about a possible social business. Literature research suggests that social business is a trend; questions are how people perceive prostitutes, how much they know about trafficking and whether there is a difference by socio demographic in opinion. Individuals from various backgrounds are to be surveyed in order to get a full picture of the matter. The material will be compared to what social workers, as specialists on the matter and (former) prostitutes and victims of trafficking have said in the qualitative interviews, and perception compared with reality. Reasons for these perceptions are to be investigated and elaborated on, as well as solutions in a business context. More specifically, the readiness to buy from social businesses supporting former prostitutes and trafficking victims should be investigated.

Questions

Perception on Choice and Conditions of Profession

1. Choose the word you most associate with prostitution.
2. How voluntarily do women work in prostitution?
3. Should offering sexual services be forbidden or allowed in Europe?
4. Should the consumption of prostitution be forbidden or allowed in Europe?
5. How many people working in prostitution are being exploited? (exploitation: the action or fact of treating someone unfairly in order to benefit from their work)
6. How many people working in prostitution are victims of human trafficking? (Human trafficking is the practice of illegally transporting people from one country or place to another, normally for the purposes of forced labor or sexual exploitation) ("Human Trafficking FAQs", n.d.)
7. What is the ratio of women:men working in prostitution?
8. How many people like working in prostitution?
9. Is prostitution a job like any other?
10. Why? / Why not?

11. Over 80% of people working in prostitution are immigrants. Do you know how most of them get into the country?
12. Is prostitution easily or hard-earned money?

Perception on Morality / Stigma

13. Is it morally ok for a single man to go to a brothel or not?
14. Why/ why not?
15. Should a person feel ashamed for consuming prostitution or not?
16. Do you think differently about a person when you know they have sold their sexual services?
17. In which way?
18. Would your perception change if you knew the person had been trafficked into prostitution or exploited?
19. In which way?
20. Does a single man lose dignity when he goes to a prostitute?
21. Does a woman lose dignity if she is a prostitute?
22. Would you take someone as a partner if you knew the person has worked in prostitution in the past?
23. Would you take someone as a partner if you knew this person has consumed prostitution in the past?

Concerning Social Business:

24. Would you rather consume products or services from a company employing former trafficking victims than from a company supporting no social cause?
25. Would you rather consume products or services from a company employing former trafficking victims than from a company supporting a different social cause?

Sociodemographics:

26. Age
27. Biological Gender
28. Nationality
29. Educational level
30. Income

Justification of Research Methods

A mixed methods approach is taken to this topic, first conducting qualitative in-depth interviews to gain insights. Next, a quantitative survey will be conducted. This method is chosen to close as many gaps as possible and avoid bias and errors. Persons interviewed in depth may feel pressure when answering questions, this is why a supervisor is involved before and during the interviews to make sure this is kept at a minimum. The interviews are invaluable, as insight may be gained into the trauma processing, rehabilitation and reintegration of former victims.

Also the quantitative questionnaire cannot be forgone as it is necessary to get an insight of opinions and way of thinking of the general public as possible consumers of prostitution, customers at organizations helping formerly trafficked women etc. The structure is to be decided upon after the in-depth interviews have been conducted, as it is important to gain a deeper understanding of the main issues in order to investigate them further. It is important to use this method for the topic as it includes very emotional elements, such as people being confronted with the topic of forced prostitution, maybe for the first time in their life. Since this can create bias, sample size cannot be minimized. This will give insights into public opinion, prejudice and other issues that may arise.

Limits of Research Methods

In terms of research methods, a mixed approach is understood to be quite reliable. However, it is hoped that a substantive sample size is achieved. The question remains whether the sample size is large enough to get a good insight into the topic, but this challenge can be overcome by carefully designing the survey.

Concerning ethical issues, this is a quite sensitive topic including sensitive data. If personal data is collected, it will be stored and encrypted as demanded by the GDPR (General Data Protection Regulation) given by the European Union. Also it will be made sure that all data no longer necessary after research will be deleted. Data will be available only to the researcher, supervisor, and coach. In order to avoid any bias and manipulation in the in-depth interviews as well as the questionnaire an expert will be consulted, as, again, this topic is very sensitive and answers may differ based on the emotional state and feeling of threat by the interviewee. This will assure a responsible handling of sensitive information and avoid any manipulation.

Target audience

As a target audience for this research, an academic audience of professionals and volunteers in touch with victims of human trafficking and prostitutes, business investors and entrepreneurs as well as budding entrepreneurs in Vienna and Barcelona have been selected. This target audience has been chosen as industry professionals who have decision making power or at least a position for raising awareness in their respective companies. Budding entrepreneurs can use this research as an inspiration for e.g. starting a social business with human trafficking victims and former prostitutes as beneficiaries. Impact investors should be made aware of the situation, so they will understand better why to choose to invest in social businesses aimed to help this beneficiary group. The reason this research is targeted at persons in Barcelona and Vienna is because research was conducted in these cities. However, this research can be helpful for stakeholders outside of these cities. However, the information is primarily relevant to Spain and Austria. Comparison is to be made between the opinions of the public and people in touch with the topic of prostitution in professionally. This sample has been chosen to get a good general perception of the problematic of reintegration of former sex slaves into society in Austria and Spain, especially Austria being a transit and consumption country and Spain being Europe's main consumption country. (Fotheringham, 2010)

Target Location

As the research is divided into two main parts, namely qualitative and quantitative, different locations are also planned. First, for the in-depth interviews, selected persons who have been in intense contact with human trafficking victims or even prior victims themselves will be interviewed

in Vienna and Barcelona. These persons are or have been working with organizations for helping former victims of trafficking, such as “Herzwerk” and “Hope for the future” in Vienna as well as “A21” and “Esclavitud XXI” in Barcelona.

The second, quantitative study is to take place online, with a natural focus in Austria and Spain, and it is preferred to be as diversified in location as possible. Persons from all backgrounds and viewpoints on human trafficking will be surveyed with the online survey tool SoSciSurvey. The reason for the choice of location is that prostitution is a global industry, and there is no country in the world that is not involved. It is a highly international affair, as most prostitutes working in Europe are working outside of their country of origin. In light of this situation, it will be interesting to investigate whether opinions on certain matters can be categorized by country of origin of the persons being surveyed, but it matters what the globalized society thinks as a whole, as this is such a transnational matter. Furthermore, the most critical aspect of this qualitative part of the study was quantity of responses, which could be attained by not limiting the study to any geographical region. (Fotheringham, 2010)

Procedure and Results

Qualitative Study

In the qualitative, first part of the study, 10 persons were interviewed who either had had experiences in prostitution, being current prostitutes (in this case with the aim of exiting the industry), or former prostitutes (and in some cases victims of human trafficking). Where it has posed big difficulties gaining access and the possibility of speaking with people in or formerly in prostitution without putting the researcher or the person interviewed at any substantial risk, it has been resorted to interview experts, in this case social workers helping women who come from prostitution out the different issues they may ask for help for. As a result, three women with direct former experience in prostitution as well as seven social workers have been interviewed in depth with interviews of a duration of at least one hour. Additionally, one of the women formerly working in prostitution has been active in social work and helping out women currently in prostitution. This 180 degree perspective gave a manifold image of the situation. The analysis will be done as in-text analysis, and underlying matters will be conceptualized. Even though the interviews were initiated

with the questionnaire as a guideline, it was not always followed and instead, interesting topics mentioned by the interviewee were investigated into depth.

The questions that were asked to persons with direct experience in prostitution were the following:

1. How did you get your job, tell them about your situation.
2. There are many ideas of work in prostitution - what is it really like?
3. What are the pros and cons of work in prostitution?
4. Would you like to do something different, is that an option?
5. What would you like to do, what would you definitely not do?
6. Have you already tried to do something else?
7. What would you need if you wanted to change jobs? What would improve her life situation?
Are there good alternatives/options?
8. Who can you contact?
9. Are there any barriers you would like to overcome and do not have any options?

These questions were slightly adapted when people were asked who worked with people in prostitution:

1. How did you come to work with this?
2. How do women you supervise normally get into prostitution - what is their situation?
3. There are many ideas of work in prostitution - what is it really like?
4. Are there people who like to work in prostitution?
5. What are the pros and cons of work in prostitution?
6. Do the women seek other employment, and if yes, what would they normally like to do?
7. What would they like to do, what would they definitely not do?
8. Have they already tried to do something else?
9. What would the women need if they wanted to change jobs? What would improve their life situation? (salary, job security, working environment, colleagues, job security?)
10. Are there good alternatives/options in terms of jobs?
11. Who can they turn to?
12. Are there any barriers they would like to overcome but have no possibility to do so?

Analysis (Conceptualization of Underlying matters)

Situation of Women in Prostitution:

"My health – I never know when something can happen. You get mentally completely broken, completely. The richest men are the worst. They may say they help you, but then they blame you for how much they paid for you. I do not want to go back to that coffeehouse. I know the waiter here. From work. That's the shit about this job. You meet them outside, and they do not forget your face. They always call me the arrogant one. But I'm not like that. I'm just like that there. I'm usually pretty nice anyway. There are girls who have children and they have their children here. One of them, she hardly knows her daughter anymore. She's always sleeping somewhere else, looking for men. She only says "grandma", she hardly knows her mother anymore. Some women have stritzis, some have men. That's possible, actually. The women say if you want me, I'll keep doing the job. The men stay because they love the woman. Sometimes it's just the woman who goes to work and the man's at home, she wants to help. One day you make 50, the next day nothing." (I1, a prostitute who at the time of being interviewed was in the process of leaving the business, on the question "How is prostitution really?")

Entry into Prostitution

"Women want to come to Austria and think something will turn up. And then prostitution is the alternative where you can earn money without a big hurdle. It is also attractive to get cash quickly. That is the option where it is the fastest way to get cash. There are different stories about how women end up where they are really strategically targeted and trafficked, or they think they work in a service job and then the service is different than they thought." (I2)

I1 shared about how the wife of her brother was always working in Austria, as a prostitute. I1 also wanted to go to work in Austria as a prostitute after she had a big fight with her brother. She described her process, and how she did not think about it very much, but just said she was going and left. From the way she spoke, it seemed that at that age she was already so desperate for a change and the pain drove her to this rebellion against her brother in this fight. She also lamented that she was so young when she made that decision, that she didn't know a lot about life and had no idea what she was going into. I3 confirms this when she says that most girls tell her it is so easy to get into the industry and so hard to get out.

A trafficking victim, I5, said: *"My family was in financial trouble and in China it is so that everyone thinks if you work abroad you earn well. When I arrived I realized that it is very different here and that I have to work as a prostitute. There is a lot of advertising on the internet. I didn't know what kind of work it would be, it just said "a job in Europe". (I5)* This is the situation for many Chinese women, she said. These girls are hard to find as they are kept in private apartments.

Concerning how women get into prostitution, I7 said: *"In Spain, a false offer of work. The girls look for a job online and then it is not what they expected. Many girls from South America come through their friends, their own network. They convince them that here there is work, to take care of children or work in a hotel. Another form is loverboys. This happens a lot with girls from Romania. These girls are mostly exploited by their own husband or partner. He tells her he cannot find work while suggesting she could earn a lot of money by working having sex in the club around the corner."*

I9, who used to be in prostitution and now voluntarily helps the girls on the streets, said that no little girl grows up wanting to be a prostitute. She herself started because she was struggling to maintain the baby she had (with a married man, in this situation she had to care for her herself). She was offered a job as a hostess but when she found out it was actually prostitution, she gave in thinking it was good money. She knew what she was getting into. However, she got in to prostitution in Europe through a mafia and had lots of debt that she needed to pay. Also, they retained her passport just like her friends' passports that had come with her. Later, she elaborated: *"My stepfather had raped me when I was very little. I could hold on to that. But I didn't, I could have decided to. I have lied, stolen, aborted. I haven't trafficked, but almost. I consumed cocaine. I could say the circumstances brought me to this, but no. I decided it."* This confirms what most social workers said: that most women who end up resorting to going into prostitution already have low self-esteem because of a break on their biography.

I10 also confirmed that the entry procedure and reason into prostitution in Spain is varies depending on which nation the woman is trafficked from. She stated that Romanians usually get into prostitution over loverboys, Nigerians because they are bound by voodoo and Arab ladies are often widows or runaways from situations of abuse in their home, and they are told they will get a job harvesting strawberries. However, they then have to work in prostitution. Latinas often come via family members that are already working in Europe.

Work environment

The working environment of women differs, but is by far not comparable to “normal” working standards.

I3, a street worker, has had an encounter with a client that visited a sauna club and elaborated on how the women had to pay for everything, like sitting down on a towel naked. The client told her it added up and he thought it was disgusting how the women were taken advantage of. (I3)

I7 seemed very knowledgeable and explained dynamics into great detail. He explained that the average time a woman spends in a club is 1-3 years, and then the woman is too broken to keep working there. Often she already depends on drugs and alcohol by then. With no time schedule or times to eat, women have to rely on snacks such as sandwiches and energy drinks, and naps instead of a full night's sleep. This creates anxiety and depression and their physical state is a mess. He said: *“Some health studies show that 70% of the women that trafficked as well as the ones that have the freedom to choose, suffer from post-traumatic stress.(...) Also at the end of three years the woman becomes an alcoholic and drug addict for two reasons: the first one the club is the one that offers it to them and second the client wants to have a party experience so he will consume cocaine and make the woman consume too. They want a woman to join in the party, not someone quiet and still. So imagine doing it 30 times a day with all kinds of men and that also will insult you, and this is not something unusual.”*

Amelia Tiganus (women's rights activist and former victim of human trafficking) compared brothels to concentration camps. Being raped numerous times a day, no right to a sleep routine as one has to be constantly available to clients, having to make lines for everything, with inhumane treatment, punishments for small offenses such as chewing gum, having a number rather than a name, etc. (Partido Sain, 2019)

I9 elaborated on the situation very similarly to the one of Tiganus. She further said that on the streets, in places where prostitution is practiced, the climate is very bad: *“There is voodoo, drugs, abortions, it is a very depressing atmosphere the areas of the city where prostitution happens.”*

Pay

Concerning the question whether prostitution is actually a lucrative business or not, interview partner I3 made following statement: *It is fraud – we also have net and gross. The amount you want to see is what you see. You see the gross wage and are fascinated that they manage to earn so much. What is left over is not addressed. The lucrative phase is short, 2-3 years.* (I3) Other social workers in Vienna confirmed this; not all spoke about the “lucrative phase”.

I8, I9 and Tiganus and several of the social workers in Vienna explained it similarly. There is a network of exploitation; women have to pay high debts for their transfer to another country, especially the Nigerian ones (I8, I9). At the clubs, they often only get half of what they actually earn, or less. They have to pay fines or extra for as good as everything they use. (And from that money, have to pay back the mafia). I9 said *“They do not really earn that much but they think they do. They earn 30 Eur for every service, so they earn 70 EUR for a client. This is the mentality they have.”*

Housing

I4 spoke a lot about the dilemma that women face when they want to leave their job in prostitution and need to find a place to live while receiving little or no pay. She said: *“It really needs transitional solutions where the women can go, (...), Often they have already stopped working, but the difficulty in most cases is that they live in that environment. And as soon as you get out of there of course you will lose your place to live. There really is a need for small transitional housing for these women. For non-EU citizens, they are told “If you can't make it here, please go back.” It's not easy to find a place to live for non-EU citizens. As long as the housing situation is not stabilized and you do not feel safe, as long as the pressure is not gone ‘where will I live’; that is a basic need. Until then you can't go on, being threatened by homelessness – that's like a trauma.”*

Various other interview partners also touched upon this problem, but in connection with other issues. The nature of this social problem is that everything is linked; a woman working for a loverboy also lives with him, or Nigerian women working in prostitution often work together. I10 stated that having an emergency house where women can just go as soon as they are off the street is important; this shows the necessity of housing. However, interview partners in Vienna put more emphasis on housing, interestingly.

Freedom Level in Prostitution

I4 stated that some girls are really chained up somewhere, but the topic of freedom is more complex. Loverboys make up a huge amount of Pimps controlling prostitutes in Vienna, and the structures here are very difficult, as often the pimp is also the husband. Some are lured under false promises, and some have unrealistic expectations.

Concerning some prostitutes pleading for more rights instead of criminalization (even of clients, not just of those offering prostitution), with some even trying to form trade unions, I2 had a strong opinion. She stated that first of all, not every prostitute works in the same way. Some only have 2 clients a day and can choose who because they do it on the side. These prostitutes are not the majority, but might have a stronger voice in society. There are also those who stand on the street and have to decide whether they will do a job for 5€. Women who have such different realities and perceptions of the same job will speak about it differently. However, she states, in any profession, if someone of that profession was invited to a talk show, they would at least mention their colleagues in case people of that profession suffered some kind of abuse or discrimination. Her point was that there are prostitutes that appear on television and explain to the viewers that she is fine and happy working as a prostitute. However, in her opinion, these prostitutes should at least mention those of her colleagues, prostitutes who are indeed suffering, and that this would be the normal thing to do in any other profession as well. She states: *"I have never met a woman who didn't say she wouldn't rather do something else; so everybody really says if I had an alternative I would rather do something else. Most women are migrants. Show me another job where this is the case. Men are the customers, so gender equality isn't even a topic. (...) I am lacking creativity here if you want me to think of how this should be a job like any other."* (...) *What I also find fascinating: yesterday I read the flyer of the city of Vienna for prostitutes – on the page for working conditions, what they should work on: do not wear jewellery with which you can be strangled. But which employer provides guidelines for employees where the first sentence is "What you have to pay attention to in your job so that your client doesn't kill you"?!. That's when I think "huh?". (...) There are also women who say they do it voluntarily but experience violence and suffer. There we say that voluntariness and self-determination is the ultimate goal. But we also have limits to self-determination in other areas of society when it comes to injuries or violence or abuse or self-injury. Let's consider everything worthy of therapy or we criminalize, but in this area we say: "If the woman says she wants that, then let her.* This interview partner had a very academic language and very logical arguments. It gave confidence in the quality of the information she gave.

I3 stated that women borrow money from relatives and neighbors in China to come to Europe, and then in case she is evicted, an angry mob of people awaits her at home because she hasn't paid back. That is a major reason why women do not just go back; they are expected to pay up. Nigerian women know what expects them, but then realize the sum they have to pay is incomparably bigger than what they thought. Not many use the hotline for human trafficking. Some women who have a strong will do get out in the beginning. The other women who get out often do so because they had a client that fell in love with them or wants to help them for some other reason.

I4 described the following upon the question of how women get into prostitution: *"70 % of the women have a massive traumatic experience in their biography before prostitution, mostly in the sexual sphere. We say that there is a break in their biography. In their own way, if there was no healthy coping, then it is easier to have crossed such boundaries again. When you listen to her life story it is often no wonder."* Often Pimps abuse their (future) victims for years before they sell them into prostitution. Sex trafficking survivor and now activist Amelia Tiganus, born in Romania and living in Spain, reported that she wasn't even aware of having been trafficked, she just thought her situation was a consequence of having made bad decisions and trusting wrong people. Only during her studies did she discover that her traffickers methodically raped and abused her over years to break her will and then sell her for 300 Euros to a Spanish pimp (Partido Sain, 2019).

I5 was tricked into paying to get to Europe for a job, and then had to work in prostitution. She was a more classical case of human trafficking. She had little education, like many people in rural areas of China and smaller cities. This seemed to have been a cause for her to believe the advertisement she saw and followed.

I6 said: *"Nigerian and Chinese women (working in prostitution) are almost all victims of human trafficking. Hungary, Romania... it is of course the poverty in those countries. A monthly salary in Hungary is 300 euros and the cost of living is no less than in our country, how can you live there? What is shocking are old women who should enjoy their retirement and have to work in prostitution because they cannot afford it. In Romania, it is often a mafia that is behind it; the child is with the mother-in-law and they threaten or find out that 13 women on the street were directly related to each other. To get out of there is almost impossible, she can't come back. Especially with children."*

I7 said: "There is always going to be a debate, because it depends on your understanding of freedom. A member of the UCRIF, which is the organization within the police department that deals with investigation of criminal activities in Spain, said that after 17 years of working experience there he realised that the majority of women working in clubs were being exploited."

I9 stated that even if after paying the debt, one is free, but one stays in prostitution because it is the only thing one knows, and being a foreigner with poor education there are not many options.

Enjoyment of Work

Upon the question, "Do any prostitutes work in this job because they really want to and like to, most interview partners stated that they knew one, or only a handful, of women who worked voluntarily. Several also stated that they question the legitimacy of the statement of these prostitutes who claim to enjoy their jobs. However, there seems to be an exception. Also, interview partner I3 said that the first years, the women make money and feel empowered before seeing that it is all an illusion, and before they get older and less attractive and thus less successful. Interview partner I3 said she encountered only one woman who really said she liked the job.

"She said she's doing it willingly but for the money. She earns five times as much as if she was sitting at the cash register at the local supermarket. Otherwise she also knows her limits but if she gets out, she has tried it before, she didn't make it because she just couldn't cope with having so little money all of a sudden, then she would turn to us. She already had this posture of "I think it's great" but mainly because of the money. One woman said she was abused by her father and was introduced early in sexual acts and now she works in a bar and at least she gets money for it (sexual abuse). This is also a motivation for many. That is what they (believe they) can do. Just in the beginning at 18, you do not know anything else than this abuse and you shut yourself off, it's fast money. Better than doing something else and still being abused. At the end of the day, when women are young and tough, they do not want to get out. But after about 8 years then it goes downhill. Then they're no longer fresh meat, look too professional and are less attractive. (...) Most say they want to do it for 1-2 years but then they do not make it. Everyone says they want to stop.

I5 was tricked into prostitution and when she paid her debts to the traffickers, and only did as much as she needed for living until she got out. Asking whether she enjoyed the job was unnecessary and unfitting, it was apparent that it had been hell on earth for her especially as she had gotten severely sick because of it.

Social worker I6 seemed to agree with what I3 said, that most have a history of abuse before getting into prostitution. Social worker I8, on the other hand, stated that she never asks women whether they like their work, out of respect and as not to come off as judging them, as this is the last thing that they need.

Exiting and Exit Barriers

“(Many have) children, debts, legal status, trauma management, situational factors. The others are the individual factors. Often they support their families abroad. Living space. Initiative and self-motivation” (I2)

I6 also spoke about it being very hard when a woman comes from a poverty background and has children or a family expecting money. I5 has to support her family back home with money, that is Confucian thinking and engrained in Chinese culture. This pressured her to send money home regularly. I1 explained that she had been trying to get a job in housekeeping in a hotel, but lamented that they always wanted a CV, and she did not know what to write on a CV.

Social worker I3 said that in Austria, the women can legally exit in theory, but practically it is impossible because they do not have money to do so. Especially Nigerian women especially choose to have a child before they are 30 because in their culture otherwise they do not count as a woman – this makes getting out even harder. Also, she explained that many women have a lot of debt – up to 30.000€ in debt. These debts are due to parking the car wrong, and practicing prostitution in the wrong areas. She said:

“You can go to prison instead of paying them too, but only 6 weeks in a row every 6 months. Now it's hard to keep a job when you're gone for six weeks every six months. You do not get that much time off.” (I3)

Also, I3 spoke about the most common reason for women to exit. She said that it is actually very often a relationship with a customer who doesn't want her to work there anymore. She stated that she is happy about men that call, but it is of course by no means an ideal situation as often these men have their own issues such as sex addiction etc. Interview partner I4 confirmed this as well, stating: *“It's often the clients, the men who come forward. They fall in love or have pity. I think it's the most common reason. They often even come along.”* To the interviewer, it seems extreme for the social workers to

be happy that a customer helps a girl out, but it gives an interesting insight into their reality and helps understand how difficult it actually is for a woman to exit the industry. Concerning when women get out of the business, I3 described how when a woman knows she can't make money anymore in prostitution, she will either start pimping or try to get out. They get thrown out of the apartment or have some other very sobering experience. This is typically when they seek help from organizations. She thinks it is possible to get out, but she was honest about the fact that they do not see very many women successfully reintegrating and if they do, most of them take on cleaning jobs.

I5 had been trafficked into prostitution. When her authorization to practice prostitution ended, the government wanted to deport her and then she explained how she got here, as she had been trafficked. She testified against her trafficker and he got three years in prison. The traffickers in China also were punished. After the sentence, she got breast cancer. For this reason, she was not deported but treatment started. At the moment of the interview she had put in an application for asylum, and did not know whether it would be granted.

As a reason for why women often stay in prostitution even if they are offered help, I6 explained that one often sticks with the known terrible than with the unknown.

I7 compared prostitution to organ tourism where people sell their kidneys to richer people just to be able to survive. He also said that prostitutes are afraid of the police and therefore do not do not denounce.

I8 stated that women who were looking to get out of prostitution often want to work in jobs that are not demanded on the market, such as jobs as cosmeticians. It is assumed that she meant that there are a lot of offerings already and the market is saturated. Also she stated language to be a problem with women not coming from hispanic countries.

She said that the problems include *“Documentation, maintaining a training process, exploitation if they are being exploited,[...] one woman had found a job in a hotel and she earned little money, and since she hadn't noted down how many rooms she did they didn't pay her anything. So she went back.” (I8)*

After questioning why she didn't exit prostitution once she could go, I9 said: *“I paid my debt but I kept working. I didn't know anything else and I was a foreigner, I didn't have anywhere to go. I couldn't go*

and sue the club that trafficked me. The people who entered the club were policemen. Women who are trafficked do not go to the police because they know that the policemen are the clients. It is impossible to sue them.” And: “Women just need to ask someone – anyone – for help, but they do not trust. Fear is what most keeps them from getting out.”

I10 confirmed that many Romanian women are trapped because of loverboys and Nigerians because of voodoo.

Best Legislation

Even though this question was not part of the survey, I3 spoke about legislation and said that the good thing about the Austrian legal situation is that authorities are allowed to enter establishments legally and are protected by law. If pimps do something wrong, they will get thrown out of the country. However, she also pointed out that in Germany prostitution is also legal but the number of trafficking victims has increased massively. The downside is that it is harder to protect victims. Victim protection is key and the social worker mentioned it several times. The Swedish Model, she said, is a great idea in principle that needs to be developed and executed better.

“If the legislation says prostitution is a job like any other then I do not know where they are looking but certainly not in our everyday life” (I4). This social worker thinks legislation should not treat prostitution as a job like any other, because that is what people will think as legislation shapes their thinking.

I6 said, upon asking her what the best legislation model would be: *“I am for the Nordic model but it would have to be adapted. Now it doesn't matter what, women are always the affected. They're exploited by pimps. (...) They're in debt and it's getting worse. (...) One in our project outside comes from beggary, and he still has a case against the exploiters. He has a case against fraud, cell phone contracts, it looks good but it's all totally tedious. He has to pay back 4000€ but many women have to pay much more. The women often have to pay social security. If they do not have support it's very hard for them to get out. There needs to be victim protection.”* She said that the government should find better ways to protect women who are victims but instead, these women are fined again and again and when they try to exit the industry, they have a huge amount of debt to pay back.

I7, without even having been asked the question, stated that they had done a campaign for the government to implement the Nordic Model. He also stated that in Sweden prostitution has gone down a lot because the market is no longer attractive for traffickers and pimps.

Further, he elaborated on why regulating prostitution cannot be a solution: *The point is that when you regulate something you are sending a message to society saying it is okay for mafias to advertise and bring more women from eastern countries to exploit them. The only thing that changes is that these mafias are now business men that still do trafficking with women and abuse them but now it is legal. This attracts more mafias because they see that there is a place in the market and the message you are sending to the society is terribly wrong. Whatever is legal it is considered morally accepted by society.* (I7)

Reintegration

Impediments for Reintegration into Workforce after Prostitution

I2 spoke about women only coming once, or not managing to come regularly because they are still too traumatized. I4 confirmed: *"She goes into the street and sees a green car and then panics. Then she can't go to German class and concentrate for 3 hours.* She explained that the most important thing for the women is to be safe and have stability as well as no high expectations towards her. Sometimes in a conversation, women just get up and leave because it gets too much for them. She said *"We function in the rational area of our brain and they function in the brainstem, that's emotional."* Upon the question of how many make it out, she said: *"We work with a few who have really made it and are doing well. 10 years later they are often worse off than in prostitution. When they are out, the trauma comes up, you do not have to function anymore and panic attacks, depression, anxiety comes up.* She explained that the reintegration process is difficult and that it takes a very long time.

I1 stated a big problem was not having a CV or formal education: *"The problem with other jobs is always that they want a resume." (...) I want to clean now in the four star hotel but even in cleaning at a hotel you want to have an education."* (I1) I6 confirmed: *"There are always 2 questions – what do I live on and where should I go"*

I2 and I4 both mention the lack of language skills as a major issue. At the age that they try to get out, it is often too late to learn a language effectively.

I9 spoke about her process and how spiritual it was. One day, she just wanted to go to church. Upon entering, she asked whether she could come in. She was afraid, because she felt like she had the word “puta” (span.: “whore”) written on her forehead. *“No one can understand the luggage that one carries after this work.”* She stated that this and the warm welcome she received started a long process of inner healing for her. She stated to have received forgiveness from God: *“I have been really healed. It is impressive. God in his mercy has forgiven me a lot.” (...)* *“I have lied, stolen, aborted. I haven’t trafficked, but almost. I consumed cocaine.”* Upon inquiring further, she said: She had had a vision where she saw Jesus washing her clothes again and again, and every time she said “No, wash it more”. Finally, she understood that she was clean, accepted and forgiven. *“God totally, completely changed my life. I had a disastrous life.”*

I10 stated that the legal status is not the biggest problem but it is an issue that can be resolved. From her accounts it is evident that the mafia has more power in Spain than in Austria, as prostitution is not legally regulated.

Jobs Women look for after Prostitution

Most interview partners (e.g.: I3, I8) stated that this is as individual as every story and as every woman herself. I4 stated that often women are looking for extreme jobs and special kicks. She said: *“Body perception is also distorted. Many people watch extreme horror movies or go to the Prater, some kind of bad roller coasters. Or they want jobs in forensic medicine. As much blood as possible. These extremes. I say when there is so much going on, she can’t plan for the future.”* This seems to resonate with what I1 stated that she would like to do. *(“I want to be an interpreter.” I want to translate papers, or interpret for the police, with criminals (I1)).*

Another (I3) said that often women want to go into a caring position such as nursing, but then often realize very soon that it is too much for them on an emotional level. *“Many women want to do something in the medical field. The women often, often have a very good feeling for other people (in danger). Very fast to sense people to protect themselves. And therefore they are attracted to work with other people but many have found that they are then triggered and that this is too much, that they then explode emotionally.” (I3)*

I2 explains that women coming from prostitution are not able to dream far ahead and do not know what they want and what is possible. The women are facing an array of challenges to be resolved and it must be checked what possibilities a woman has.

I4 accounted rather soberingly that women coming out of prostitution work in cleaning companies, or they do trainings because they often have no interpersonal skills. Of those who have made it out, they have cleaning jobs or often no jobs at all, she said. *"I haven't seen any of them rise up and find a way to live a normal middle class life. Some go back (into prostitution)."* (I4)

I5 would like a residency permit for Austria (after having been trafficked here), learn German and would work anywhere she finds work. She would like to learn any trade. The translator asked her whether she might want to do a little test to find out her giftings and strengths, and she very excitedly said yes. It appeared that she did not really know what her talents were, or what she wanted to do. Her willingness to work anything is typical for the culture of her country, China, the translator commented.

I8 stated that every woman is a case in itself; this is what most interview partners said. *"They want to do aesthetics, supermarket, sewing, markets, each is very different, study nursing, each is very different."*

I10 said: *"Every woman has a different dream. Some women want to study nursing, some want to make clothes, they need the opportunities. Also, we need to look into works that are not typically for women. Maybe technological jobs. We need to open our eyes. When we ask them what they want to do they always say "cleaning" because as a society we have communicated to them that that is the only thing they can do. This is what they should ask for. We need to give them their dreams back."* She was generally more positive than some Austrian social workers about the success of reintegration of women. While she gave no numbers, she said it was absolutely possible for a woman to be reintegrated. This could of course be due to culture, but it seemed that their system was especially thorough and well-planned and organized.

Ideal Working Situations for Women after Prostitution

Accompaniment of the persons is better ensured if the organizations work together. They must form a seamless chain of integration for the women. After work integration, the women should be

transferred to companies, which is what our organization is currently working on. (I2) I2 called a work training site a social business, which is terminologically not correct, but mentioned an organization they collaborate with. She spoke about forming a chain of organizations that collaborate and accompany the women on their individual steps, and how important that is for women not only to get first aid, but reintegrate successfully.

I3 said that at the work training, it was much more about the social skills than the specific activity in itself. She said that women generally need to be working with something that is pleasing to work with. Having an end product will be therapeutic to them. She said: *“Frequent positive feedback, small goals, that is very important. (...) Mixing different activities and then everything for a while. (...) Since the woman loses her place of residence when she leaves the brothel, where she normally also lives, a hotel for reintegration would be ideal.”*

This interviewee (I3) also spoke about childcare being an issue for many women who are trying to get out of prostitution but have children. In the organization they collaborate with, there are several women that would like to participate in language courses for example, but they have no childcare. She said that *“a nanny in the house next door would be best. She can have up to 5 children and look after them during the day. A childminder has to do further training for this, the apartment has to be checked etc.”*.

Also, she spoke about life after prostitution, and stated that women get triggered when they have gotten out but see former customers at their job for example. She further elaborated that in Holland, there is a reintegration program by the government for prostitutes who want to stop working in prostitution. In Austria, this sort of program does exist but the organization she works for has been given access to the material from Holland and uses parts.

Concerning what work environment women need after prostitution, I4 seemed to have a similar opinion to the interviewees before her, stating that a woman coming from prostitution needs a protected working environment.

She said: *“To integrate them immediately into the primary labour market is impossible. It needs that ground between getting out and a job that helps them to flourish. (I4)”*

Upon questioning what would be ideal for women to work in, I4 answered thoughtfully: *"It is ideal for a woman to be part of something and not have any pressure. If she can do things she couldn't. A beautiful end product. No pressure to perform. Many feelings of success. A protected frame. (...) I think the seminar hotel is good because it covers living."* The hotel project, a project I4 had taken part in developing, is a hotel that gives 2 of their staff members a chance to reintegrate into the workforce at their hotel, without declaring their "good deeds" or using them for marketing reasons. She is sure there is a lot that can be done.

However, upon my question if I would want to start something now, what could be possible, she gave a very interesting answer:

"I'd start somewhere else. This very issue of human trafficking is now in people's minds. I'm not even in these ranks, but there are a lot of young entrepreneurs who come from university, very idealistically and who have a lot of potential to start things off. And with such people it is really cool to get access to this topic and because they are aware of the fact that "hey, there is actually a relatively large group of people in Austria who do not have a chance if we do not start offering them opportunities". So I would start to collect such contacts and make contacts and cooperate with them. But then so that it is not necessarily necessary for me to publicly state "In my company or in a cafe former victims or survivors of human trafficking are working" but entrepreneurs who say "I do not have to receive much praise and recognition for this, it is simply important to me". (...) Of course you might need something for fundraising but we have thought about how to keep it as hidden as possible. Otherwise everyone would ask themselves "Who is the person coming from trafficking" when they come to the hotel (and it's not that hard to figure out, I guess). But they just say yes, it's actually something if I want to make more money in my business but invest in people and and and then just look."

I6 answered to the question whether there is an ideal job for women after prostitution: *"No, it's totally different. They are in situations where they do not have that much choice. They can go to hotels and restaurants, they have to be grateful for what they can do. (...) With young people it is important to see what can be done in terms of training. It also depends on who wants to achieve more for their future. Personality development, housekeeping, finances – these are all things you have to learn, ideally."*

I6, who runs a work integration program where women sew bags, spoke about her dreams for the future: *"I also thought that it would be great to do something in the gastronomy, and to put the bags on*

display there. That they could then also train to be cooks or waiters. There is one in Tyrol who started with prisoners and built up a center, where mentally ill people work now... meanwhile they have carpentry, gardening, a furniture flea market, pottery, enamel work – I could well imagine such a real center.”

I7 stated that women need to learn a language and be emotionally restored. Often also spiritually, since most Nigerian women are bound by voodoo and live in terror of that, as they have sold their lives. He stated that some of them want to go back to their countries. He stated that they do some sort of work integration: *“They learn to make jewelry and they feel good when they do things with their hands and can earn money from an activity that is not prostitution.”* As the others interviewed, he stated that doing something with their hands, at their own speed, has a healing effect. He also stated that *“We have some girls that are already working that have been through this process and work in a coffee place that we own.”* These women have been successfully reintegrated and restored.

I8: *“Depends on her abilities. Discovering her abilities would be great. Something that is according to her abilities and aspirations. I got to know an organization in India where the women did men’s jobs, like working with metal and woodwork etc.”*

I10 stated that the biggest need was companies who actually employed these women. *“We really need more sensitivity in Spain among the businesses concerning reintegration of women into the workforce. If there are just 2 big companies that give 10% of their workplaces to women in this situation, that would be amazing.”* This is in line with what the leader of the work training program in Austria said, that they try their best to find partners in businesses that would give women coming out of prostitution a secure workplace.

Other New Findings

Transgenders have it the hardest and often go into prostitution because nothing else is open to them. They are mostly not fully operated because they earn more money if they still have male reproductive organs as well as female features. They often come from South America. (I4)

“Pornography is like the marketing of prostitution” (I7). One of the interview partners explained this further, several others touched upon it. The degree of violence experienced by women in prostitution today is much worse than some decades ago, and this is due to the clients wanting to experience what they see in pornography. Also, a man going to a prostitute normally has extensively exposed himself to pornography before. It is like the first, “softer” entry into going and consuming prostitution. It is addictive, and at some point, a client doesn’t just want to “watch” anymore. Actors in pornographic videos are forced by the mafia to say that they love their jobs. Later on, they confess having been forced to say it, and the mafia replace them with someone new. (I7) (Becerril, 2020)

I7 also spoke about the importance of rescuing women at the very beginning. He said that the successes they had in rescuing girls were mostly with girls who had just arrived or been in the country for less than 3 months. In those cases, the women are not yet as traumatized and have more self-will to actually exit and denounce.

Interpretation

Women coming from prostitution mostly **get into** the environment more easily than they can get out again. This is due to the fact that it is a whole parallel “world”. Women enter prostitution for all sorts of reasons; but it remains evident that it is mostly out of a position of need and vulnerability. Even women who have entered into prostitution freely, as two of the interview partners have, have been severely traumatized, humiliated, sick, experienced life-threatening situations and feel dirty. All had been in a situation of great financial need prior to entering.

Concerning the **enjoyment** of their work, none of the former prostitutes had enjoyed their work, and if asked, social workers or former prostitutes said they maybe knew one or two who really liked doing the job, but that they were either in the very beginning, or liked it for the money and not the occupation itself. The danger of unilaterally disregarding that there is a large number of prostitutes enjoying their work can be largely excluded; however, for the scope of this paper it is irrelevant, as the aim is to find ways to further help women who want to exit this occupation, not primarily to convince society or legislation. However, for a comprehensive overview of this topic, it has been included.

Regarding **help that women need**, many have stated that especially to establish first contact, a lot of respect is needed. This is how all social workers operate. If a woman has no desire to hold a conversation, she is not pressured. Help is offered, but not imposed. She is not asked unnecessary questions, nor is she lectured. This was very important to the majority of social workers interviewed.

In Austria as in Spain, the **biggest issues European women** have when they want to leave prostitution are where to live after their occupation and what to do to earn money. Further, problems include not having worked regular day jobs for a long time. Women coming from prostitution have not had a normal working routine. They are not used to working an 8 hour job, having a daily routine, and some are not used to seeing lots of daylight. Punctuality, anger management and reliability must be learned. Of course, there is a lot of trauma involved and this needs to be dealt with patiently; these women need trauma therapy for an extended period of time.

Several of the social workers suggested a **work** where they are not expected to perform; where they can do an activity for as long as they can and do not feel the threat of being fired as soon as they make a mistake. A protected working environment, similar to that given to people with handicaps. Further, they stated that it would be healing and ideal for this work to be kinesthetic, where they can work with pleasant materials and colors and see an end product they can be proud of and that builds their confidence. Concerning stay, solutions to this issue are a rare commodity. Currently, one organization is trying to negotiate with student dorms on whether vacant dorm rooms can be used as a place women can temporarily go after exiting prostitution.

The one biggest problem that women coming from prostitution have is their **vulnerability** in itself. They have come to this point because of vulnerability; the main task is to help them over barriers that trap them in this position of vulnerability. Most of the women lack education; which is why it can be especially difficult finding a job and can pose a bigger difficulty when they attempt learning the local language.

For **non-European women**, the main issue is most often their legal status. However, most of these women are also more evidently victims of human trafficking. In Austria they come from Nigeria and China, mostly, as Spain; in Spain, there are also many women from South America in addition to that. However, it must be stressed that each woman's situation is unique, as are her talents, her desires for the future, her degree of trauma, and the issues she most needs solutions to.

Social workers seem to agree on the fact that concerning **legislation**, the Nordic Model would be a great fit; no matter if in Spain or in Austria. It would penalize consuming prostitution, and drive down demand as well as influence the society's view on consuming prostitution, while ensuring victim protection for the women. However, most are also sceptical and mention situations in which this model has failed or not fully come into action. Therefore, most say that it would be an improvement, but that still more would have to be done than just implementing the Nordic Model.

It seems that in Austria, there is more room for social workers since it is regulated. As in Spain pimping is forbidden in theory, but in practice not persecuted, mafia has more room to work, and it is even harder to help women.

Conclusion

The findings from these interviews bring a big turn to this paper and study. Most of the experts interviewed stated that bringing a person coming from prostitution directly into a social business would not be ideal. It would be too early integrating them into the standard labor market. The traumatization of most people having exited prostitution had been underestimated. One organization, of which social workers had been interviewed for this paper, does streetwork and works together closely with a work training organization. This organization teaches women the basics of normal workplace interactions and ways of doing things, such as punctuality, anger management and reliability. Further, this organization seeks employment opportunities for the women that have successfully finished their program into businesses open to supporting the cause without having to use their caritative deed of giving these people a chance for customer relationship management.

Quantitative Study

Introduction and Demographics

101 persons have responded to the survey on perception on prostitution. The link to the survey on the online platform 'SoSciSurvey' has been sent out via social media and electronic mail to as many

people of all demographic backgrounds as possible. The aim of the study is to understand the perception of society concerning prostitution, human trafficking and the level of stigmatization. Furthermore, as the initial aim of this paper is to find solutions for women for reintegrating back into the workforce, the last questions of the survey aim to investigate the willingness of people to buy from social businesses, and especially social businesses that help women exiting prostitution. With these findings, further conclusions will be drawn in regards to how to help women in these situations.

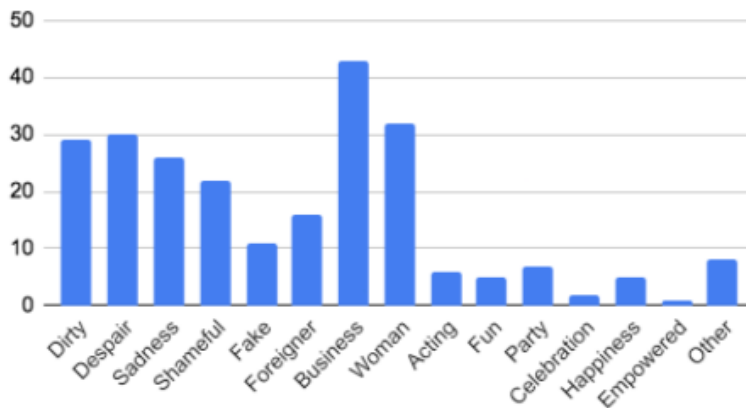
As seen in table 1 (C1), the ratio of men and women surveyed as well as that of people with superior studies and those without is quite balanced; concerning ages, most respondents are between 25-39 years of age. Most respondents were Austrians, and the nationality with the second highest amount of respondents was Spain. Most respondents had an income of over 2500.

Table 1 (T1)											
Gender		Age		Nationality		Education		Income			
Women	53	0-24	22	Austrian	67	Superior Studies	58	under 1000	22		
Men	48	25-39	37	Spanish	13	Non Superior Studies	43	1000 - 2500	28		
		40-54	30	Other	21	No Answer		over 2500	38		
		>55	12					No Answer	13		
Total	101		101		101				101		101

Frequency Tables

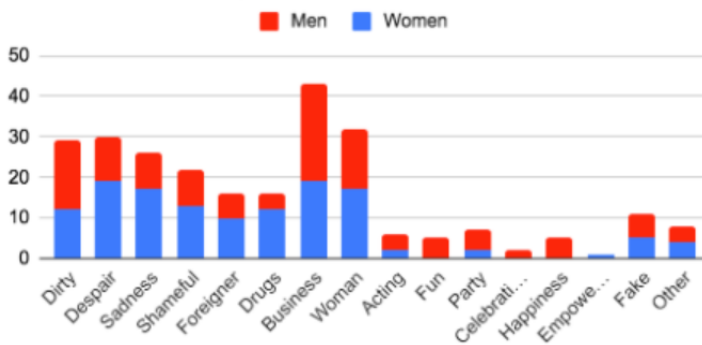
1. Association

Participants were asked to check the terms they associated the word prostitution with. The options were dirty, despair, sadness, shameful, foreigner, drugs, business, woman, acting, fun, party, celebration, happiness, empowered, fake and other. In general, as can be seen in Chart 1, people rather associated “negative” terms with prostitution, such as “drugs” or “shameful” rather than “party” and “happiness”. The term that was most marked was “business”. This is interesting, as business is a rather neutral term that can be interpreted either as negative or positive, or neither.



C1: First Association with Prostitution

Concerning the comparison of associations by gender as seen in Chart 2, more men than women associate prostitution with business. Also more men associate prostitution with being dirty, while more women than men associate prostitution with despair and sadness, as well as shameful. Generally more men associate prostitution with terms such as “party”, “happiness” and “fun”.



C2: Association by Gender

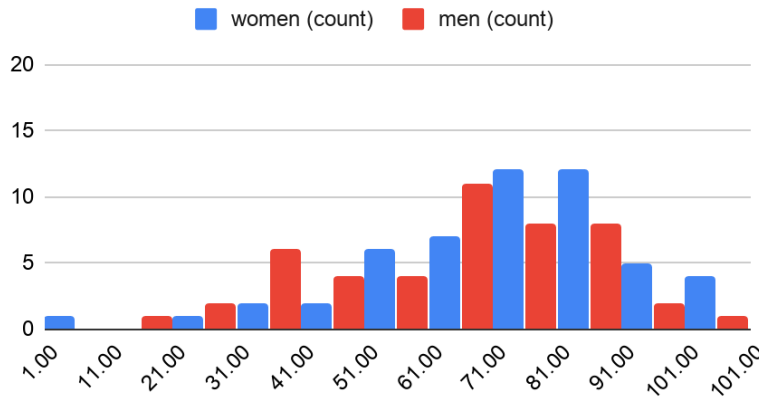
2. Perception of Prostitution

Do people like working in Prostitution - differences by Gender

As portrayed in graph C3, respondents were asked to answer the question “Do people like working in prostitution” on a scale from “not that bad” (1) to “hell on earth” (101). The higher the value, the worse the respondents think that working in prostitution is, and the lower the number, the better the respondent thinks that working in prostitution feels. The graph at the bottom shows that the majority of participants in the study think that working in prostitution is rather bad, whereas there

are more men who chose values between 30 and 40, while more women chose values between 71 and 81.

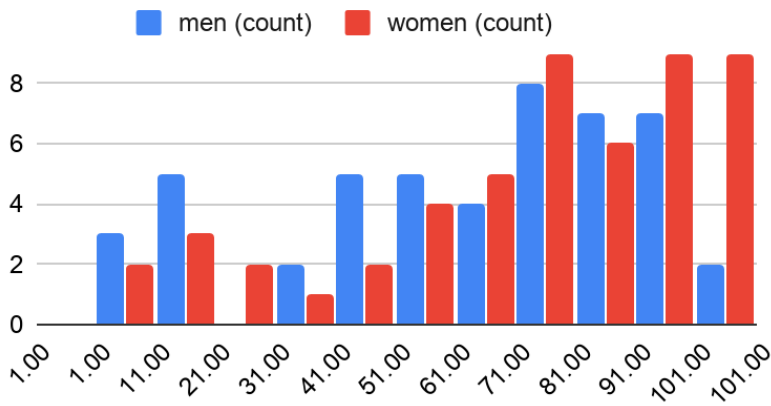
Results point in the expected direction, but results are not significant (one-tailed $p=0.115$).



C3: Do people like working in prostitution?

Easy or hard: Is prostitution easily or hard earned money? – Differences by Gender

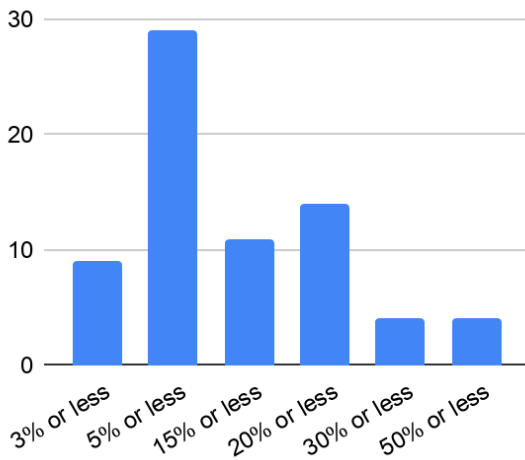
In the graph C4 below, respondents were asked to estimate how hard or easy work in prostitution is. It is apparent that this is a very subjective question and answers given are bound to be subjective as well. This question was posed to get a sentiment for the notion of prostitution people have. Participants were asked to move the bar on a scale from “easy” here represented with the value 1, to hard, represented by the value 101. In this graph, it can be seen that women definitely think working in prostitution is harder than men do. The opinions of men are more scattered than those of women and especially on the lower end (easier work) men are represented more strongly. On the absolute highest end of the scale, women are clearly higher represented than men. This is very interesting and can have several implications. Firstly, a woman can relate more to another woman in prostitution. It is common knowledge that men and women experience sex differently, where women tend to get emotionally attached more than men. This could be another reason for this difference in opinion. in prostitution. A Mann-Whitney U test gives a p-value of 0.17, with the mean for women lying at 73.18, and that of mean at 61.20. This confirms the hypothesis that women think on average that prostitution is harder than men do.



C4: Easy or hard: Is prostitution easily or hard earned money?

Men in Prostitution

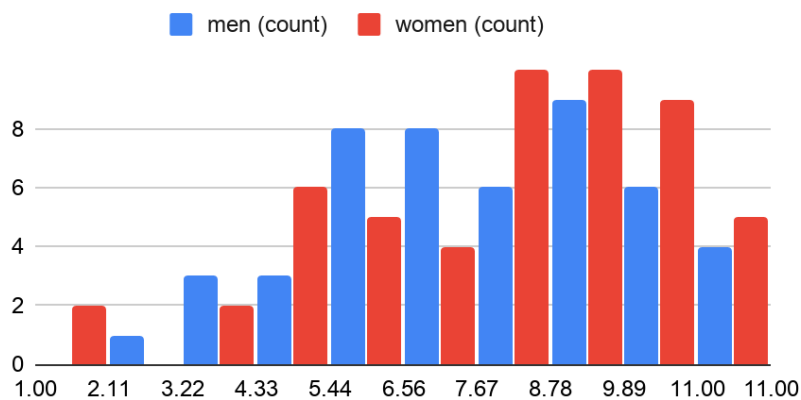
Participants were asked to make an approximation of how many men are occupied in prostitution. As can be seen in C5, of those surveyed, 29 thought that there are 5% or less of the prostitutes are men. Only 4 thought it was 50% and 30% respectively. In reality it is hard to tell how many males are involved in prostitution, but it is approximated that 8% of sex workers are male. This shows that in general, people do see prostitution as a female occupation, partly even more so than what it really is (Kumar & Grov, 2017).



C5: Men in Prostitution

Difference in gender of perception of how many people working in prostitution are being exploited

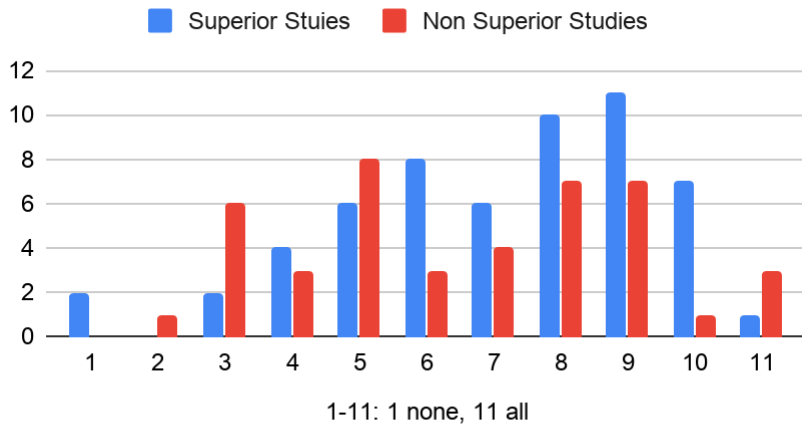
When respondents had to answer the question of how many people are being exploited that are working in prostitution, they had to indicate the level of assumed exploitation from 1 to 11, one being “few are exploited” to 11 being “all are completely exploited”. As with the previous questions, the distribution is centered to the right, so participants think that prostitutes are rather exploited than not. A Mann-Whitney U test is run giving a p-value of 0.884, showing that it cannot be proven that there is a significant difference in the perception of men and women. There is a slight difference in means, with the mean of women being 7.61 and that of men being 7.78, which shows men might even think the degree of exploitation is higher than what women think. However, there is no significant result. The graph C6 below visualizes these numbers.



C6: How many people working in prostitution are being exploited?

Exploitation: How many people working in prostitution are being exploited? – by Education

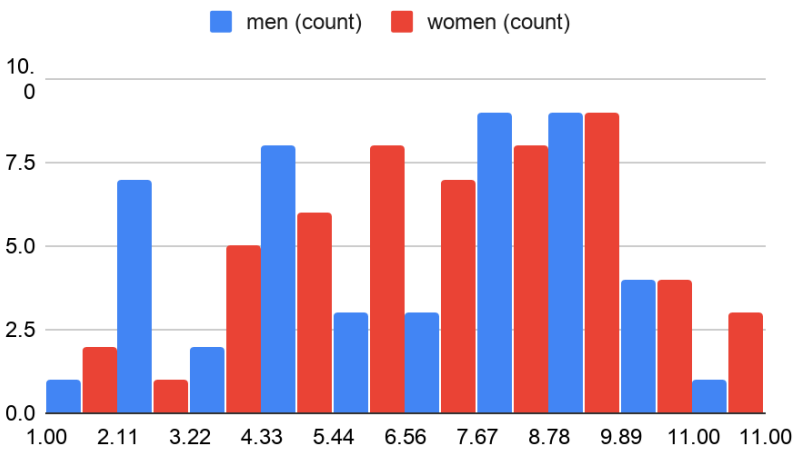
Concerning the sociodemographic of education, differences can be found between those participants with superior studies vs. those who didn’t attend university or the like. As can be seen in the graph C7 below, participants with superior studies tend to rate a higher number of people as being exploited, peaking at 8 out of 11 and 9 out of 11, than those without superior studies. More people with non superior studies rated the level of exploitation being at 3 out of 11 or 4 out of 11. This may be due to the fact that during more years of studies, people have more general knowledge.



C7: How many people working in prostitution are being exploited? - by Education

Exploitation: How many people working in prostitution are victims of human trafficking? By Gender

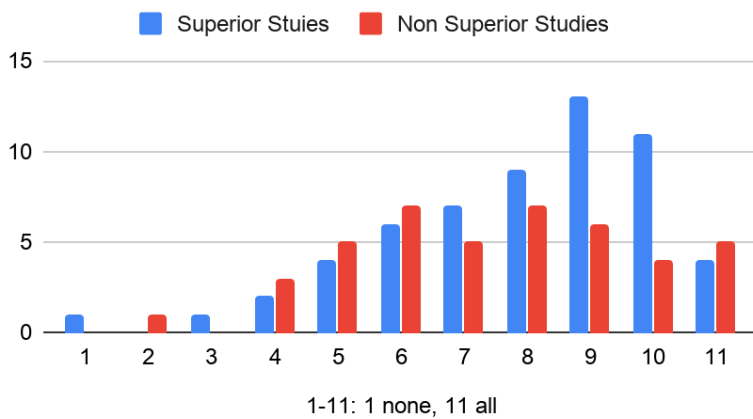
This question followed the same structure as the one above. Differences between men and women are visualized in the graph C8 below. The lowest value stands for none are trafficked and the highest for all are trafficked. It can be seen that the distribution of answers varies more than in the previous question. Women definitively think that more people have been trafficked into prostitution than men do. The distribution of how many people are trafficked leans to the right; to the side stating that rather more people have been trafficked. The distribution of men’s answers varies much more. A Mann-Whitney test shows a p-value of 0.821, showing that there is no significant result. With a mean of 6.91, women think on average that there are slightly more victims of human trafficking working in prostitution than what men think with a mean of 6.76, however this is not significant.



C8: How many people working in prostitution are victims of human trafficking?

Exploitation: How many people working in prostitution are victims of human trafficking? Differences by Education.

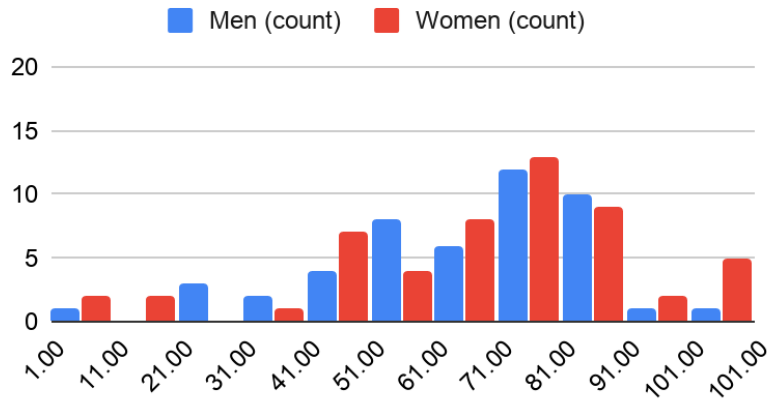
This graph C9 follows a similar pattern as the previous graph where level of study was compared to whether people think and to what degree people think prostitutes are being exploited. Again, what is striking is that people with superior studies believe that a higher amount of people are victims of human trafficking than people with non superior studies. 13 people with superior studies gave a rating equivalent to 9 out of 11, and 11 people with superior studies 10 out of 11. The highest rated numbers by people with non superior studies are 6 out of 11 and 8 out of 11.



C9: How many are victims of HT - by Education

Free Will: How voluntarily do women work in prostitution? Differences by Gender

Participants had to state how voluntarily they believe that women work in prostitution, and give an approximation on a slider scale. In this histogram, C10, on the horizontal axis, the values mean the following: 1 means completely out of a free will, and 101 meaning them being completely forced. The answers were distributed as seen below. It appears that men think that the degree of free will of women in prostitution is higher than what women think their degree of freedom to be. A Mann-Whitney-U test gives a p-value of 0.821 and thus the test has no significant outcome. On average, men think the degree of freedom is 65.20 (with 101 being completely forced), and women on average give it a slightly lower degree of freedom with 67.61.



C10: How voluntarily do women work in prostitution?

3. Morality

Moral perception of consuming prostitution

Participants of the survey were asked whether they thought it was morally ok for a single man to consume prostitution. Purposefully, the question specified “a single man” to exclude the factor of cheating. The question hence was not to be about whether cheating on a partner was immoral, but rather the act of going to a prostitute in itself. Nine options were given:

1. It's ok because he helps the prostitute earn money
2. It's ok because the prostitute likes having sex for money
3. It's not ok because prostitution is based on exploitation and subduance
4. It's not ok to buy sex, sex should not be given in exchange for compensation
5. It's not ok because he becomes part of the trafficking and exploitative network
6. It's not ok because it further the transmission of STDs
7. It's ok because it is safer for society if men go to prostitutes with their needs.
8. It's ok because it is a service like any other

9. Other

Gender:

For this topic, pie charts were used to portray participant's sentiments in the best way. A pie chart was made for men and women, respectively (C11, C12). Shades of green stand for the answers positive towards prostitution, thinking it is ok for a man to go to a brothel, and parts with shades of red stand for the answers with a negative stance towards consuming prostitution. More than half of the men think that it is ok for a man to go to a brothel, while only a bit over $\frac{1}{4}$ of women think it is ok. The majority of men who think it is ok state to do so because "it is a service like any other" and "it is ok because it is safer for society if men go to prostitutes with their needs. This way, less rapes happen." The answer most selected by men for why it was not ok was that "it's not ok because he becomes part of the trafficking and exploitative network" followed by "it's not ok because prostitution is based on exploitation and oppression". Women's main reason for stating it is not ok for a man to go to a prostitute is because "he becomes part of the trafficking and exploitative network", followed by "it's not ok to buy sex, sex should not be given in exchange for compensation". The biggest reasons for women to state it was ok for men to go to a prostitute were the same as those men gave, but "safety for society" being the first. This is highly interesting, as for women the underlying concept of giving sex for some sort of compensation is more immoral than for men. Men's reasons not to go to prostitutes are rather about the exploitation side of it, but it could be further investigated whether if a woman were not exploited at all, they would think it were morally ok. This may not seem like a significant difference, but it is. It demonstrates males and females different approaches and expectations from sexuality. It can also be argued and investigated further on whether in an ideal society, sex is not seen as a commodity but as a level of intimacy following other more shallow levels of intimacy. This opens a discussion about principles and can be very personal, which will not be elaborated on but can give food for thought.

The conducted factor analysis suggests a 2-Factor solution, but did not lead to interpretable factors (see Table 2 and Scree Plot in Appendix, Chart 30). Therefore, the formation of further cumulative scores was refrained from, and a sum score analysis was done.

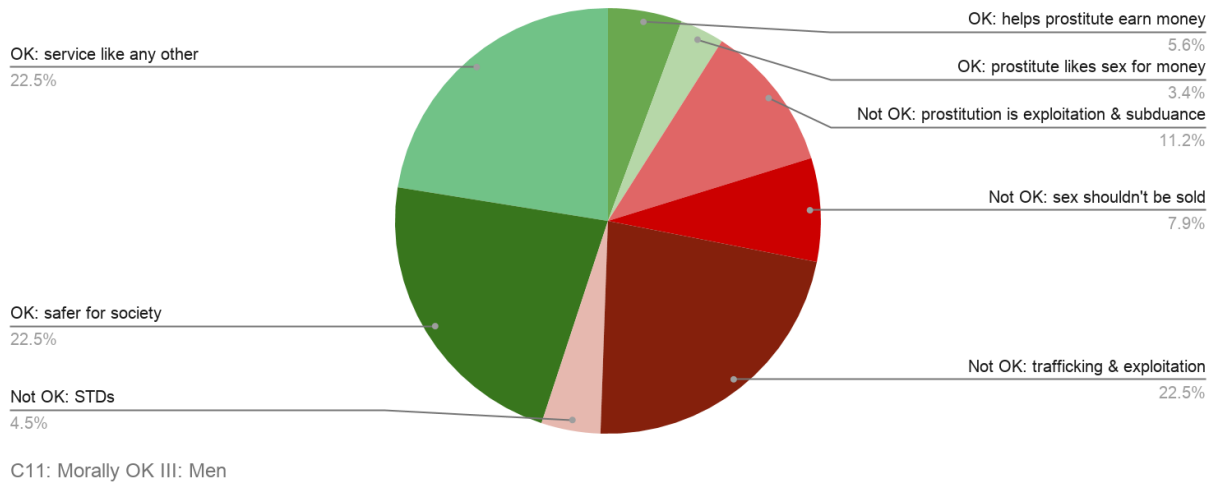
A sum of scores was calculated summing up negative and positive answers. From it, a one-tailed Mann-Whitney U test was run, with the expectation that women evaluate prostitution more

negatively than men. The direction was forecast accurately, thus it is tested with $p=0.097$ and divided by 2, which gives a significant result of $p=0.0485$. The median for men is 2 and the median for women is 0, which confirms significance. This confirms the hypothesis that men rather think it is morally ok to buy sex than women do. A regression (Table 3) is also run with an r^2 of 0.11, a quite moderate relationship.

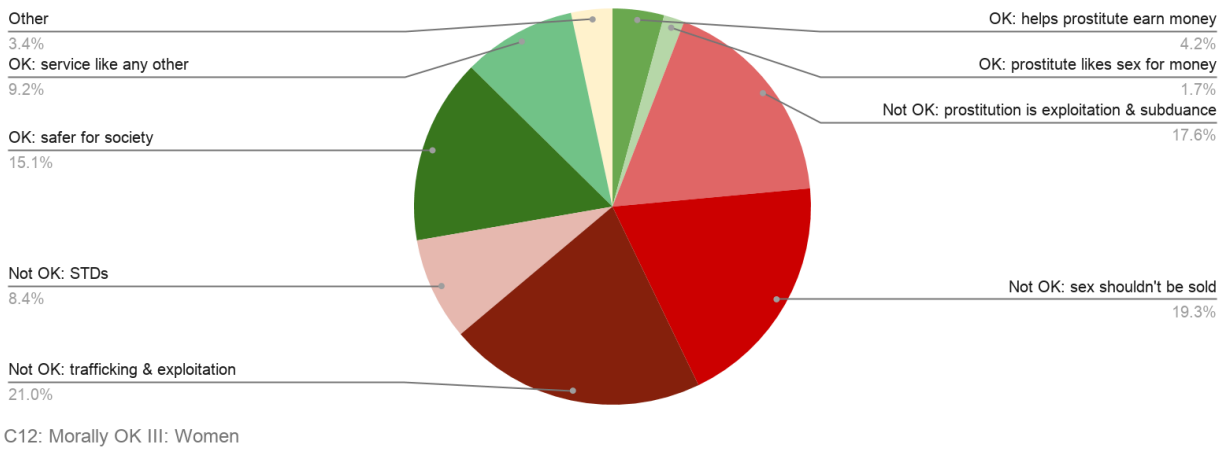
Table 2 (T2): Factor Analysis - Morally OK III			
	Component		
Rotated Component Matrix	1	2	3
OK: helps prostitute earn money	0.11	-0.31	0.77
OK: prostitute likes sex for money	0.88	0.11	0.34
Not OK: prostitution is exploitation & subduance	0.87	0.14	0.36
Not OK: sex shouldn't be sold	0.04	0.75	0.14
Not OK: trafficking & exploitation	-0.08	0.65	0.28
Not OK: STDs	0.26	0.3	0.74
OK: safer for society	-0.12	-0.67	0.25
OK: service like any other	-0.05	-0.71	0.14
Other	0.81	-0.08	-0.14

Table 3 (T3) - Regression: Perception of Morality			
	B Coefficient	t	Sig.
(Constant)	2.13	3.70	0.000
Gender	.35	1.53	0.131
Educational Level	-.09	-1.65	0.104
Income	.00	-2.07	0.041
Age	-.06	-1.57	0.12

Men:



Women:

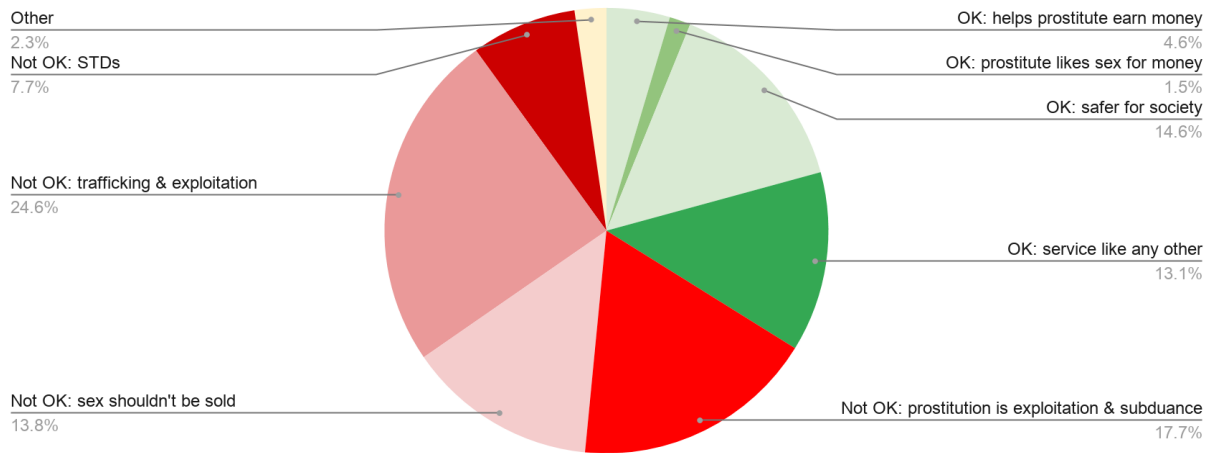


Education:

The graphs below (C13, C14) show the distribution of participants by education on why or why not they think it is ok for single men to consume prostitution. In these graphs, it is evident that of those surveyed who had superior studies, less thought it was ok to consume prostitution as a single man than those without superior studies. Of those with superior studies, $\frac{3}{5}$ thought it was not ok, and of those without, around half thought it was ok and half did not. The most important reasons given by those with superior studies for why it was not ok was because “it supported the trafficking and

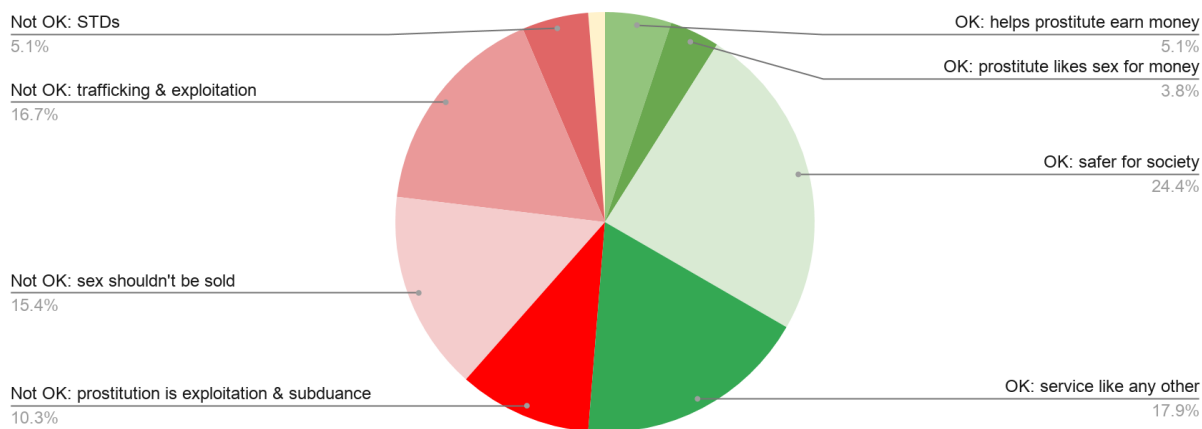
exploitative network” followed by “prostitution is based on exploitation and subduance”. For those that found it ok, the majority thought it was safer for society if men go to prostitutes with their needs. This way, less rapes happen.” as well as because it was a “service like any other”. Of those without superior studies, the main reasons why those who thought it was not ok thought so included trafficking as well, followed by because sex should not be paid for. The reasons for those without superior studies to think it was ok were also because it was “safer for society” and because it was a “service like any other”. Reasons are quite similar, but in general there are more people with higher education who think it is not moral for a single man to go to a prostitute.

Superior Studies



C13: Morally OK III: Superior Studies

Non Superior Studies



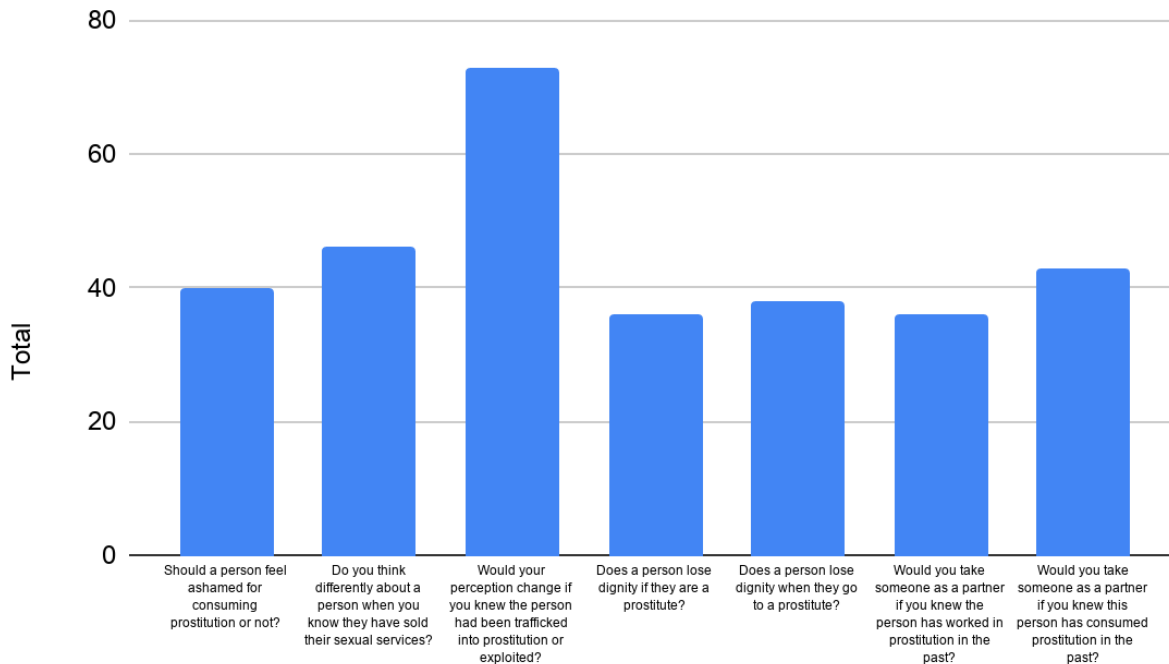
C14: Morally OK III: Non Superior Studies

4. Perception of Morality

Several questions were asked concerning the perception of morality of prostitution. The reason for these questions was to find out whether and how much stigma actually exists. These questions were “Should a person feel ashamed for consuming prostitution or not?”, “Do you think differently about a person when you know they have sold their sexual services?”, “Would your perception change if you knew the person had been trafficked into prostitution or exploited?”, “Does a person lose dignity if they are a prostitute?”, “Does a person lose dignity when they go to a prostitute?”, “Would you take someone as a partner if you knew the person has worked in prostitution in the past?”, and “Would you take someone as a partner if you knew this person has consumed prostitution in the past?”. The graph below (C15) shows the outcome: out of 101 people surveyed, 40 thought that a person should feel ashamed for consuming prostitution; the others thought they should not feel ashamed. Almost half stated they would think differently about people if they found out they were working in prostitution. This does show that there is some stigma, even though people would like to think of themselves that they are not stigmatized.

Less than half of the participants answered yes on these questions except for one question. Below, find a histogram depicting the amount of positive answers to each question. Around 40% of the respondents think that people who have consumed prostitution should be ashamed. A bit less than half of them would think differently about a person if they know that the person was a prostitute, but

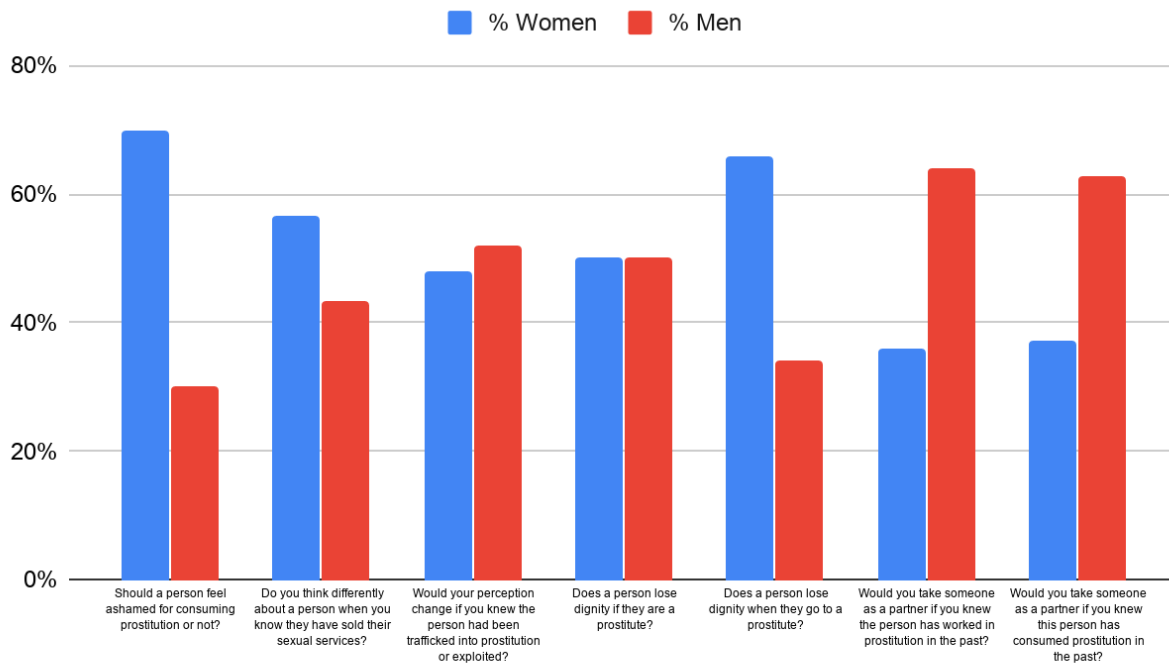
over 70% of them would think differently about them if they knew that the person was a victim of human trafficking. The questions concerning loss of dignity show that there is not really a differentiation between loss of dignity if a person goes to a prostitute than when a person offers prostitution. Slightly more people would take someone as a partner that has consumed prostitution in the past than if they had worked in prostitution in the past.



C15: Perception Morality - General

Gender

The most significance in difference between genders is with the first question, whether a person should “feel ashamed for consuming prostitution”. C16 visualizes that more than double the amount of women state yes. Men and women have the same opinion on people losing dignity if they are prostitutes, around 50% say they do. However, compared to women, only half of the amount of men think that men lose dignity when they go to a prostitute. This shows that more men find that while a prostitute loses her dignity in the act, men do less so when they consume prostitution.



C16: Perception Morality - Gender

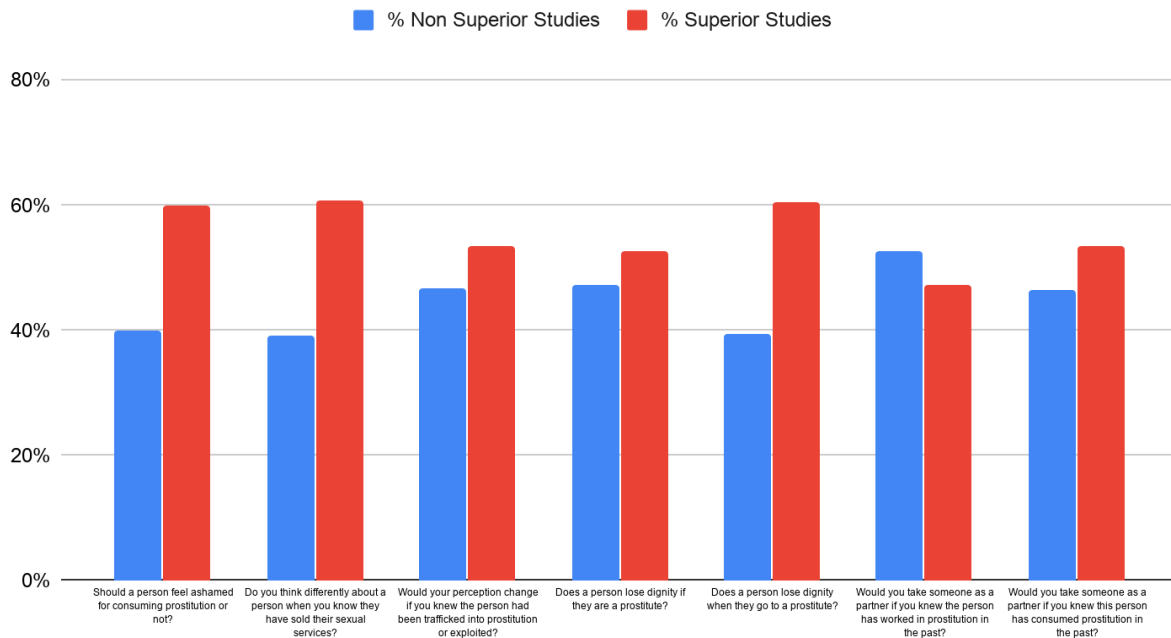
	Males	Females	Total
No	29	37	66
Yes	15	16	31
Total	44	53	97

The cross table above (T4) shows the genders, men and women, and whether they answered with yes or no concerning whether people lose dignity when they practice prostitution. As can be seen, 15 men and 16 women think that people lose dignity when they work in prostitution, and 29 men as well as 37 women think that they do not. A Mann-Whitney-U test shows no significance at $p=0.683$ regarding this question in difference between men and women. The mean of women thinking that dignity is lost when a person goes to a prostitute is 1.46, and the mean of men is 1.21 (1 means no, 2 meaning yes, thus women rather think people lose dignity, but the results are not significant.)

Education

Concerning differences in responses by education, significantly more people with superior studies believe that people consuming prostitution should be ashamed than people with no superior studies,

according to the histogram below (C17). Also, a bit over 60% of people who think differently about a person who has been in prostitution have superior studies, but only under 40% of those people who would think differently do not have superior studies. A big difference can be found in the perception of the loss of dignity. Of those who would think differently about a person who has worked in prostitution, the amount of people with superior studies and of those without superior studies are quite similar. However, for the following question, regarding whether a man would lose dignity if they go to a prostitute, the opinions differ. 40% of the people who think that a person loses dignity if they go to a prostitute, have no superior studies, while 60% of those that think that people lose dignity if they go to a prostitute have superior studies. Slightly more people would take a former consumer of prostitution as a partner if they have superior studies than if they didn't.

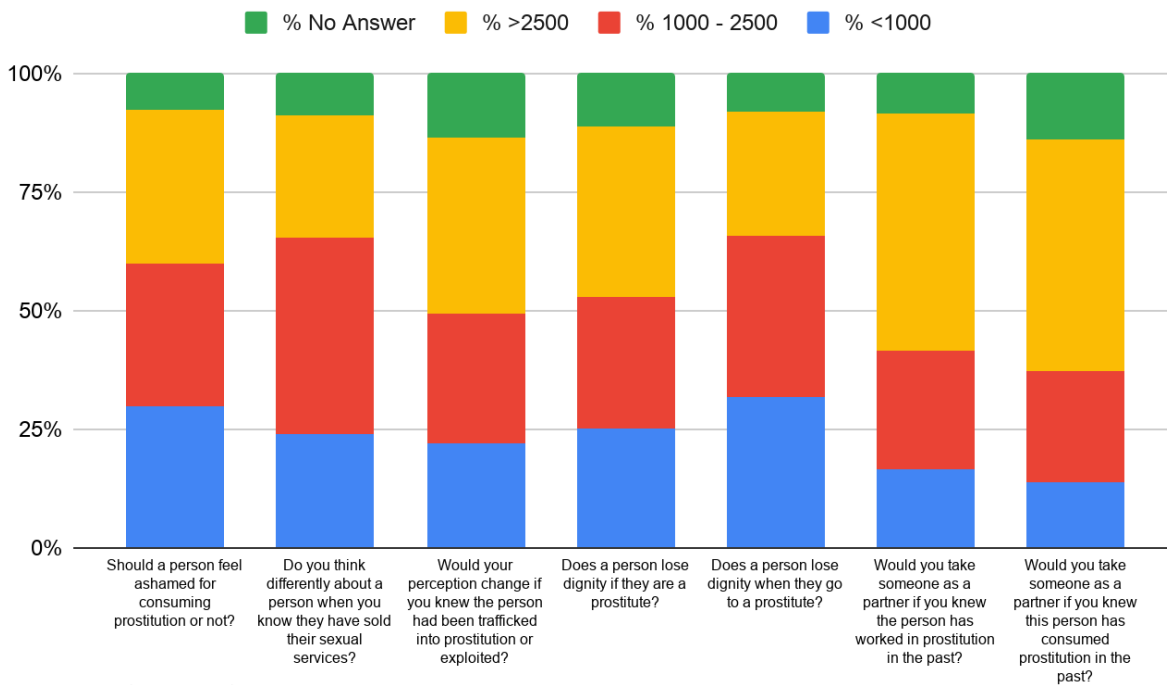


C17: Perception Morality - Degree of Education Education

Income

The bottom graph, C18, shows all people who answered yes to any of the respective questions as 100%. The bars are then segmented into different colors. Thus, of those who answered yes to “Should a person feel ashamed to consume prostitution or not”, most earn over 2500 Euros. The income group that would most think differently about a person if they knew that they were in prostitution are those earning between € 1000 - 2500. The most positive answers given by those earning €1000 or less are

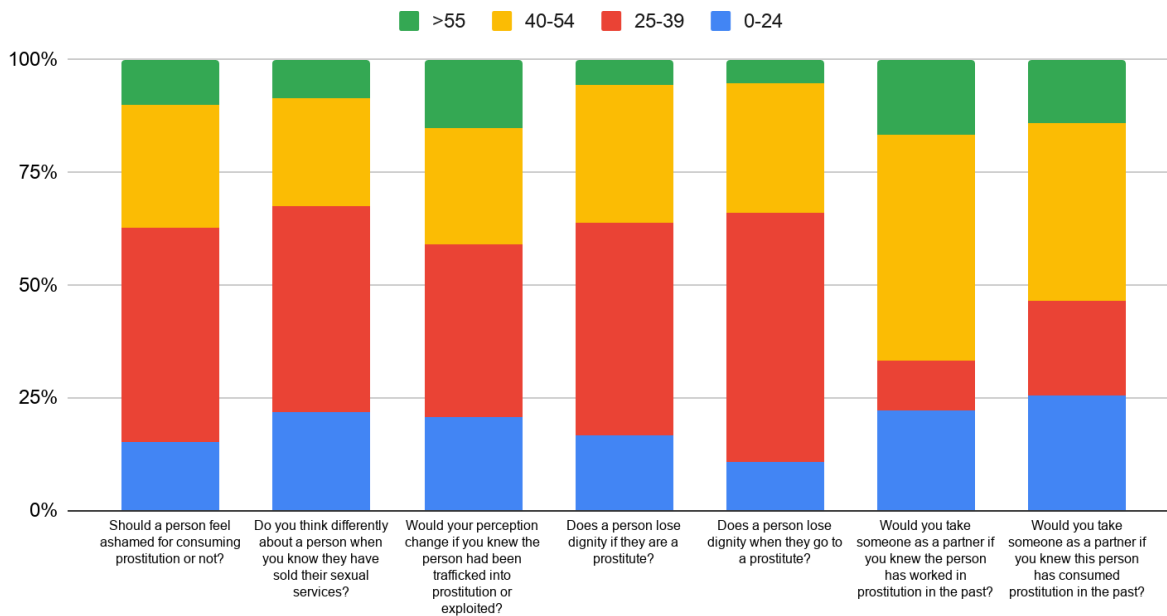
“Should a person feel ashamed for consuming prostitution or not?” and “Does a person lose dignity when they go to a prostitute?”. The most positive rated answer of the income segment €1000 – €2500 is “Do you think differently about a person when you know they have sold their sexual services?”. Curiously, the answers most rated positively by those earning €2500 and upward are “Would you take someone as a partner if you knew this person had consumed prostitution in the past?” and “Would you take someone as a partner if you knew the person has worked in prostitution in the past?”.



C18: Perception Morality - Income

Age

C19 shows all people who answered yes to any of the respective questions as 100%. The bars are then segmented into different colors as can be seen in the color code. The question with the most positive answers by under 24 year olds is “Would you take someone as a partner if you knew this person has consumed prostitution in the past?”. 25-39 year olds gave most positive answers to the question “Does a person lose dignity when they go to a prostitute?”. Participants aged 40-54 gave most positive answers to the question whether they would take someone as a partner if they knew they had worked in prostitution in the past. Of those aged 55 and over, the most positive answers given by this group is to the same question as the 40-54 year olds.



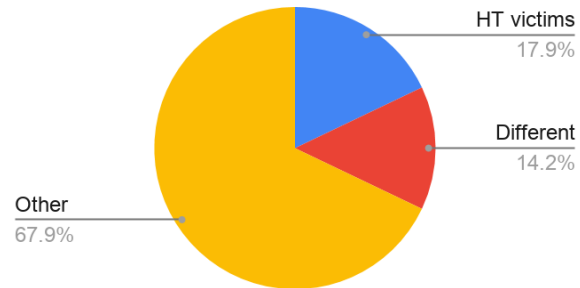
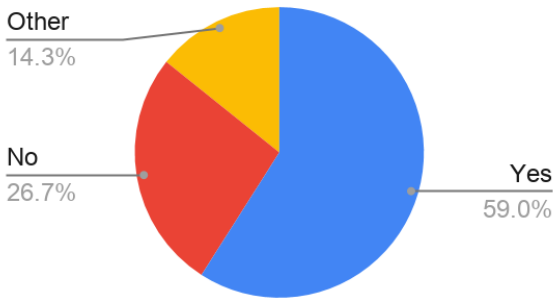
C19: Perception Morality - Age

5. Social Business

Respondents were asked to answer the following questions concerning social business: “Would you consume a social business?” (Yes/ No/ Other) and “Would you prefer supporting a social business that helps human trafficking victims or one that supports a different social cause?” (Human trafficking victims/ Different cause/ I decide by other criteria).

General:

The majority of respondents, without differentiating between socio demographics, responded that yes, they would buy from a social business with 59%, as can be seen in the pie chart C10. Surprisingly, 26.7% of them stated that they would not, which is quite remarkable. Also, 14,3% gave the answer “other”. Concerning the second question regarding social business, most, 67%, gave the answer “other” as can be seen in C21. 18,1% said they would support a social business helping trafficking victims and 14,3% stated they would prefer buying from another social business.

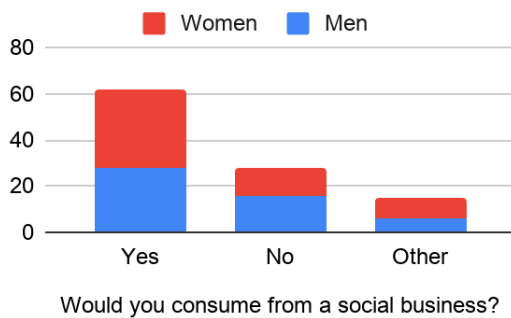


Differentiation by Gender

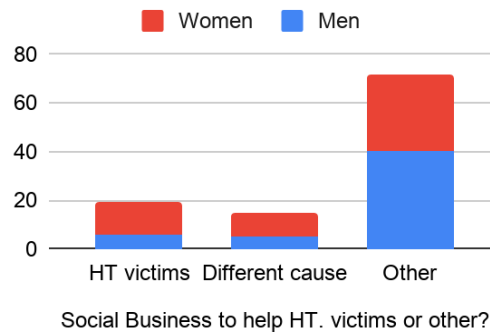
In the bottom graph, the difference between men and women and their disposition towards consuming from a social business varies. More men than women state they would not consume from a social business, and more women than men state they would consume from a social business. Further, clearly more women than men would support a social business helping trafficked women, but also more women state to prefer another cause. The opinions are very divided here. However, concerning which social business to support, most answered that they would decide by other criteria. Slightly more men than women stated they would choose where to buy for other reasons. Some of these reasons were: “Hard to answer. I wish every company would support a social cause but I also would not discriminate against hard working people just to feed their own family”; some stated simply that other criteria was decisive. Yet another participant answered “(...) I choose the best service available”. The amount of people answering “other criteria” on the question “Would you rather buy from a social business supporting victims of human trafficking or would you rather support another social cause?” is so high, because the answer was not mutually exclusive. Thus, people gave comments on “other criteria” while answering yes or no as well.

	Males	Females	Total
No	16	27	43
Yes	25	26	51
Total	41	53	94

For this question, “other” was not considered in the analysis, as it is mainly interesting to find out about those responding positively to the question. Table 5 (T5) as well as the charts C22 and C23 show the genders, men and women, and whether they answered with yes or no concerning whether they would consume from a social business. Thus, as can be observed, 16 men said no and 27 women said no; 25 men said yes and 26 women said yes. In total, 51 people chose the answer “yes”. Performing a Mann-Whitney-U test gives a p-value of 0.253, which shows it is not significant. The mean of answers of men is 1.49 and that of women is 1.62, showing that the readiness to buy from a social business is slightly higher among women than men but not significantly so. Running a Mann-Whitney-U test for the second question, whether people would rather buy from a social business helping trafficked women or another cause, gives a p-value of 0.257, similar to that of the abovementioned question. The mean of women is 1.26 and that of men 1.17. Both values are quite low, as 1 means they would not and 2 they would prefer buying from a social business, showing that it can be generalized that there is not enough concern or awareness among society to prefer buying from a social business over buying from another social business or even traditional business.



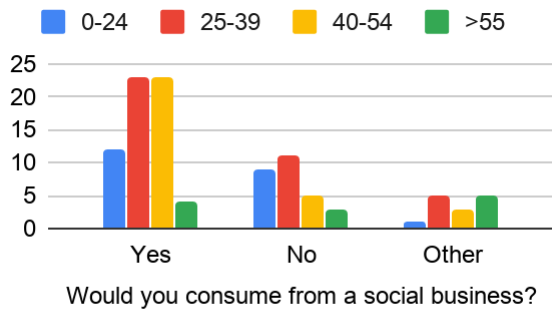
C22: Social Business I - Gender



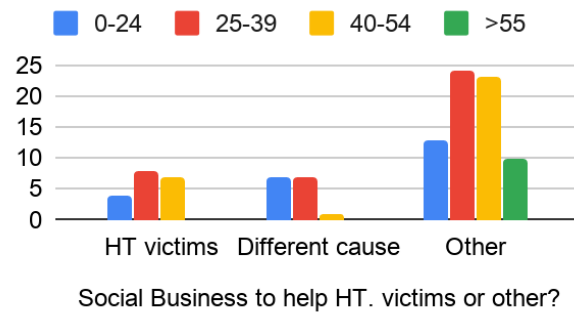
C23: Social Business II - Gender

Differentiation by Age

Concerning variation in answers by age difference, adults between 25-39 and 40-54 are most likely to buy from a social business, as can be seen in C24. People over the age of 55 are least likely to buy from a social business, and younger people, from 0-24, second least likely. People from 25-39 are also most likely to support a business supporting victims of human trafficking, as C25 shows. Most people however stated they would decide where to buy by other criteria.



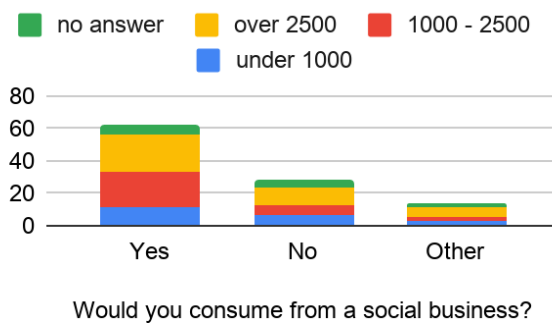
C24: Social Business I - Age



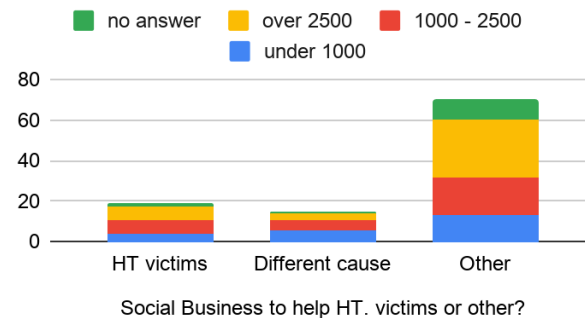
C25: Social Business II - Age

Differentiation by Income

Concerning the first question, “Would you consume from a social business?”, the biggest difference in answers dividing the participants by income level can be seen with those with an income of 1000 - 2500 (C26). The majority of participants from that income bracket would consume from a social business. The same goes for the income group of “over 2500”. The smallest difference found is of those earning 1000 or less. Concerning the second question, those most likely to buy from a social business supporting former human trafficking victims are those earning over 2500 as well as those earning 1000-2500 as shown in graph C27. However, there does not seem to be significant differences between the income groups. This may be due to the fact that they stretch across different countries with different average income levels and costs of living. An income of 1500 in Norway does not offer the same status and life quality as an income of 1500 in Spain.



C26: Social Business I - Income

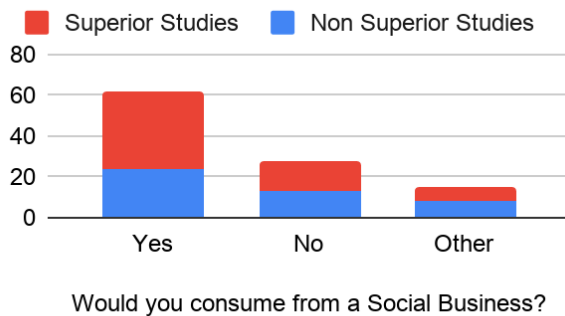


C27: Social Business II - Income

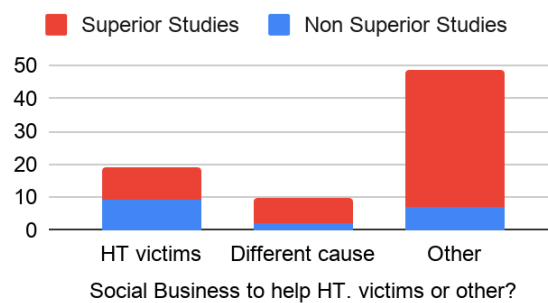
Differentiation by Education

Concerning education, persons with superior studies are more likely to buy from a social business than people who do not have superior studies (C28). People with superior studies were also those

who gave comments on which type of social business they would buy from, while most people with non superior studies said they would buy from businesses supporting human trafficking victims (C29). This can be interpreted as that people with superior studies have more specific requirements as to where they buy from and why. Universities teach corporate social responsibility and students are made aware of the fact that greenwashing is an underlying problem in many companies' CSR. Answers like "depends on the employing conditions, no strict yes or no possible" support this interpretation.



C28: Social Business I - Education



C29: Social Business II - Education

Concerning the first question about social business, when logistic regression was run using only gender as the independent variable and "Would you buy from a social business" as a dependent variable, outcomes of the test run were an r^2 of 0.01 (Cox & Snell). However, when other variables were added, namely age, and education level, the r^2 rose to 0.19 (Cox & Snell). From the data collected, concerning the 2nd question related to social business, most of the responses were in the category "other" which had a lot of variation. As a consequence, no test was run.

Statistical Findings

Hypothesis testing shows no significant differences except in the perception of morality ($p=$), where it shows that men rather think it is ok to consume prostitution that women do. With a sample of 101 participants, this outcome is quite reliable. It had previously been assumed that men are rather prone to underestimate the plight of women who are trafficked, and to stigmatize them more. It was also assumed that women would rather buy from a social business than men. However, none of these assumptions can be validated. Graphs show some differences, but these differences are not significant enough. This leads us to rethink: both males and females seem to be aware of the difficulties that prostitutes face and have a similar understanding of the morality of prostitution.

However, from the data it is possible to derive that awareness raising still needs to be done. Especially with regard to association that people have with prostitution, more awareness of the problems with trafficking and exploitation would be possible. Results have been very heterogeneous.

Comparison of two organizations helping women exit prostitution

Amor Dragoste, Life Cafe, Madrid

Amor Dragoste started with a food bank. Also they started to raise awareness about human trafficking in schools etc. in 2010. Starting in 2014, the first safehouse opened, with the project “Casa Refugio” (Rescue House), where social workers work with survivors of human trafficking. Here they get an all encompassing treatment, with an educational part, judicial, psychological, health, looking for a job, leisurely activities, so that they can reintegrate into society. As soon as they find work and get papers, they go to the second house that the association has, which is an autonomous house. They live independently, everyone goes to their work, makes their own food, and that way they save money so that some time they can rent their own apartment or house. The association employs a psychologist, a lawyer and more professionals to help the women. The organization has more projects as well: “Unidad Movil” is the project under which the employees and volunteers go out to the street once a month and talk to the women in the red light district of Madrid. There, they talk to the girls on the street and offer them an exit. Further, they have the project where they raise awareness in the society, they go to schools and talk about human trafficking, give courses at the university, and sensitize people in hospitals so they can detect victims of human trafficking. Our aim is for the society to learn about this topic and we teach them about indicators. In October 2018 the association opened a cafeteria. The profits from this cafeteria supports the projects. What would still be needed is an emergency house where the women can come before they begin the program.

The association adapts the work and life reintegration training to the individual needs of each woman. Depending on her country of origin and her story, every woman has specific needs. Women are always taken to a rescue house that is far away from where they used to work, out of security

reasons, and the locations of these shelters are secret. They work as a network of shelters and organizations and if a woman is rescued in the South of Spain, she may be sent to the North, etc.

Often these women take on cleaning jobs or taking care of children or the elderly. However, it is important to the social workers that women are encouraged to look for occupation beyond these professions, and state that their self esteem – to even dare to believe they can do something else – must be built up.

Women go through the reintegration program for about 18 months, and then they spend around 24 months in the second. However, it depends how much time each individual woman needs.

There, when they are emotionally stable and over the emergency situation, more secure and have more self-confidence, and are not scared to go out alone, they will start working and start having a normal life. Some things will never change: they cannot make a social media profile, for example, especially not with their real name, but apart from some safety measures, start living normally, often for the first time. In the beginning they do little day jobs, but when they have regular work they go to the second house. There they pay gas, light, etc. but the association gives it back to them at the end. They do this because the women should learn to live by themselves this way. This way they learn to become independent, and that is a crucial step. According to the social worker interviewed, the program is very successful (however, no numbers have been given), and they hold alumni dinners every year for the women that have been rescued in the past. Some women choose not to stay in the country but go back to their country of origin, and they are supported so that they do not become exploited again. Many also bring their families.

The coffee shop is at its beginnings, but has been running since late 2018. Customers know that the business supports social projects that aim for equality in opportunities for people and with that “Amor Dragoste”, which also has other projects such as drug rehabilitation. The association also gets public as well as private subventions. (In depth interview with I10) (“Casa Refugio -”, n.d.)

Hope for the Future, Vienna

Hope for the future is an association for the promotion of people affected by human trafficking and prostitution in Austria. The organization was founded by Andrea Staudenherz in Vienna. They

collaborate closely with several organizations. One organization, Herzwirk, that gives “first aid” to women in prostitution, seeks them out in the streets and helps them with medical, legal, financial and emotional issues. This organization tells women who want to leave prostitution but need a different job that they can do work integration training with Hope for the Future. Hope for the Future also works with Solwodi, who have a shelter, but they are frequently full.

Hope for the Future teaches them German and sewing, and they produce different kinds of bags. However, the founder states that it is not so much about the bags and producing them, but rather about helping the women find back into normal life and teaching them to be reliable, on time, sociable, communicating and managing their emotions. Some might not like sewing bags, but the concept is not and was never for them to stay with the organization for a long time, but to train them and ideally find other placements for them while teaching them the German language, which is also very important because attaining the B1 level is very important for the residence permit.

Their next step is adding computer training to the skill set that women should learn in order to find a following job. The women stay with Hope for the Future on average 6 months. They are given the opportunity to live at the same place and as they are not allowed to be compensated financially, get vouchers for supermarkets as compensation. This is a creative solution as there is no organization like Hope for the Future yet in Austria, and the founder stated that there is a need for better legislation and victim protection. She compared the initial difficulties these women to mentally impaired people or former soldiers with severe PTSD and the victim protection that they get, and stated that women coming out of prostitution need the same kind of treatment.

The company has a trade license to sell what they produce. They receive donations for fabrics that the women can work with to cut down on costs. Also, they receive financial donations, and have just been granted donation deductibility the previous year, which is a big success to them. This makes it more stress free for all the stakeholders, and women might not feel as bad about “messing up” if they do make mistakes. An important aspect of the work is for women to find confidence in their abilities again and to become assertive and confident. The social workers involved are convinced that working with nice materials and colors, without pressure for performing in a certain way, is therapeutic for the women.

Even with such friendly conditions, it is very challenging for women to adapt to the new lifestyle and schedule. Some do not manage; they come and participate sporadically and then cancel because they have too many other issues to resolve. Another hurdle for a woman to participate is when she has children that need childcare. Women in such vulnerable positions do not have the capacities to find childcare on a regular basis while they learn with Hope for the Future. This would be something to look into resolving to optimize the process. In the future, the founder wants to start her own social business in the sewing area. She would like to have a big center where women can learn all kinds of things.

Hope for the Future is a member of the Platform for Human Trafficking and Exploitation, which is also about political work and public work, but the mills grind very slowly according to Andrea Staudenherz.

Difference between Association and Social Business in the Case of Hope for the Future

The main difference is that in a social business, larger quantities are sold in social businesses than currently is sold in an association. The organization already has orders where to make 100 shopping bags, a lot in religious circles but also for hospitals, and now they are working on another order for an association. The founder hopes that when in 2020 plastic bags will be banned, maybe they can extend the business. She sees the benefit of one day having a social business in creating jobs because not everybody is willing to leave Vienna (as the organization had good placement contacts in Lower Austria) and some people really enjoy sewing and would like to keep doing it. (In depth interview with Andrea Staudenherz, founder, I6)

Comparison between both Associations

Firstly, as the two organisations operate in different countries with different legislation, the basis for operation is a different one. While in Spain there is a legal vacuum surrounding prostitution, in Austria it is legalized. This allows social workers legal access to prostitutes in brothels. In Spain, this

access is not granted, and deriving from interviews, social workers rather focus on streetwork. In Spain many organizations are connected and work together, sending girls that are rescued from one place to another at least 400 km away. There is a longer chain of institutions working together in Amor Dragoste, from a rescue house (Amor Dragoste does not have one itself but works with organizations that do), to a rehabilitation house, to a house where the women live together but working independently. There are professionals with different backgrounds helping these women; a psychologist and a lawyer included. The Austrian organization is built up differently; the organization that does streetwork and helps women with legal advice etc. does not also offer them a place for rehabilitation, but helps them find different solutions. One of these options is a work reintegration program. However, it does not have such a strict protocol as Amor Dragoste does, as e.g. not all women who obtain work training there live in the same place, etc. In general, both organizations do work training and help women look for further occupation. Both programs are working together with a social business, in both cases the social business does not claim to employ former victims of human trafficking.

Conclusion

As a result of these studies, a number of conclusions can be drawn. Not all women want to leave prostitution, but the majority. In the end, the debate over voluntarism is redundant, as the majority of women actually would like to work in a different field; and they only work in prostitution because at one point they were in great need. This is difficult to measure as many psychological issues are involved. There seems to be no black and white in the question of free will in this case, taking into consideration the obvious vulnerability of persons working in this field. Many prostitutes do not even know that they have been trafficked and are being exploited; many are being exploited by the people they love and who supposedly love them. They see prostitution as the only way out of a situation of poverty and need in their own country that seems far worse to them in the beginning than selling themselves. Many have experienced that it is very easy to get into prostitution, but very hard to get out. The degree of suffering has been elaborated on in various parts of this project; however, the words of Amelia Tiganus, former trafficking victim and now human rights advocate, sums it up well: “(working in a brothel) is like a concentration camp, but worse, since the hope of a war won and resulting freedom is not given”. (Partido Sain, 2019)

This debate can be taken extremely far. Women are more prone to prostitute themselves than men as the consumers are to most extent men. Men in vulnerable positions might not have the option to prostitute themselves as women do, and for lack of that option have to find other ways to survive even in their position of vulnerability. However, they might be exploited in other ways. As one interview partner stated, she was in a very vulnerable position with a daughter to feed and no money or education to get a better paying job than selling vegetables on the market. Thus, she accepted a position as an escort lady, and when she found out that that was not her job actually, but to prostitute herself, she consented. Retrospectively, she stated during the interview that she did have a chance to say no, and not to take the opportunity out of necessity. This is a very interesting viewpoint that can be discussed further. However, the amount of persons trafficked and tricked into prostitution is vast; it often even involves children. Thus the need to combat the situation more seriously is urgent – for that, the society needs to be made aware of these issues. As a bottom line, for her reintegration into society, it is beside the point to discuss why a woman landed in prostitution and how much of it is “her own fault or decision” or not. If she wants to leave a profession in which most suffer PTSD and other psychological issues, psychological and physical threats as well as her health being at great risk, ideally she must be given the opportunity to do so.

Prostitution involves so many aspects, so the support given to women upon exiting must be all encompassing and different benefactors and organizations must work closely together. Derived from the examples of Amor Dragoste in Spain and Herzwerk in Austria, it seems that the better the different organizations work together and are linked, the more successful the reintegration of the vulnerable person. However, this could be investigated further in future research. For helping women to exit prostitution, a lot of patience is required as well as a well-structured step-by-step process where different organizations work together in a good way. There must be a first aid or streetwork organization. Normally, these organizations have first contact with the vulnerable women. They offer them help in different areas, such as legal, health and other. Then, there must be a shelter where women can stay as soon as they decide to leave prostitution. Both in Austria and in Spain there is more need for these emergency shelters. After this, a reintegration training should begin, together with psychological treatment, language courses and work training in a different field. In Spain, the organization examined then gives women the possibility to live independently in another house together. They pay bills and go to work, but as a surprise, at the end of their stay there, before they go about their own life, these bills and rents are given back to them as savings to start a new life. In Austria, sheltered workplaces are sought. Organizations in both countries state the greatest need in

this system is finding companies who are willing to employ women coming out of prostitution despite their lack of CV and skills.

Prostitution might be called “the oldest profession in the world”, but that does not legitimize it. Prostitution is gender violence. This is not only a feminist approach; in a “profession” with over 80% of females serving over 95% of males, and with over 80% of the workers being immigrants, the exploitative and unbalanced nature of the matter is statistically evident. Society needs to be further educated about the reality behind prostitution and pornography, even though according to the findings a lot of awareness exists already. This is good, as it increases the probability of people supporting and buying from a social business that financially supports reintegration of women coming from prostitution.

People react very differently to the topic of prostitution, as can be seen in the quantitative study performed. However, differences cannot be statistically proven between how men and women react to the matter, and also between people with superior education or non superior education only minor differences can be seen in the histograms, but statistical validity cannot be attained in this study. Personal convictions seem to transcend the categories of gender or education and be different from individual to individual.

Social business is a great means to do good in society while creating wealth. This type of business model has helped a lot of people already and will continue to do so, as social business is a trending buzzword in the business world. People have the desire to do good while making profits and to solve a problem. Social entrepreneurs and impact investors might have different motivations for this. While no matter the motivation, people may still be helped, the greatest impact can be achieved when motivations are pure, as potential customers are weary of hypocritical greenwashing that companies often conduct in order to improve marketing and PR. This was observed in the responses of the quantitative survey. If customers believe that a business is legitimately interested in doing good, they are more prone to consume goods and services from this business.

The aim of this paper was to find out how to reintegrate former human trafficking victims and women forced into prostitution back into the workforce and society by using social business. It has been found that using a social business may not be the ideal way in this specific case. Women coming out of prostitution cannot be directly integrated into the workforce, but need rehabilitation and work

training in a stress-free environment where they can relearn the basics of interaction. Only then can they slowly be reintegrated into the workforce, first doing little sporadic jobs, and then more regularly until they can take on a fulltime job. Thus, the first step to reintegration must be work training apart from any financial responsibility of a business that has financial goals to achieve. However, based on the qualitative interviews conducted for this research, a social business can be used to financially support such a work training association. Some social establishments whose employees were interviewed are already using this model, and others are aiming to (I6, I10). Formerly trafficked women should not work at a business openly stating that they help former victims of human trafficking and prostitution, as not to be exposed or put in danger. Companies employing women must do so out of good will, and not to brush up their CSR, according to interview partner I4. This could also be derived from the strategy of the organization interview partner I10 works for. If any social activity by the business is communicated, in order to get donations for example, it must be done so very carefully. The side benefit of incorporating a social business, e.g. a coffee shop, into the support network, is that it can serve as a platform to sensitize and inform society about human trafficking and forced prostitution. The quantitative analysis shows that even though there is awareness, a lot of work can still be done in this area. Also, the perception of prostitution seems to differ from person to person, as no statistical validity was found discriminating between sociodemographics. A hospitality business could create an ideal framework for people from all different backgrounds to come together and could become a meeting place to discuss such convictions. Any given social business aiming for this has the opportunity to inform, in a casual setting, their customers about the causes they support without overwhelming them. The study shows that a significant amount of people would rather support a business with a different cause, and that many rely on other criteria in their choice of whether to consume from such a business or not. Thus, it may be commendable not only to support associations rescuing women out of trafficking, but e.g. homeless and drug addicts as well. This can be further investigated but would also be left over to future research.

Limitations

Limitations of this study may include the subjectivity of answers given by individuals interviewed and questioned.

First, one main limitation to this study is that it has been extremely hard to get any information directly from former victims, especially sensitive information about their past and processes. Getting more of these insights would of course be beneficial for the study, but interviewing social workers, of whom some have spent decades working with these survivors and victims, has given an insight as well and might even be more objective.

On one hand, interviewed people with direct experience in prostitution have had trauma and every story is radically different from the next. Another limitation is language barrier, as interviews were given in German, Spanish and Chinese. This may have led to the fact that not all details given by the interviewee have been recorded. However, translators have aided in interpretation, so there remains confidence in the accuracy of the matters elaborated on.

On the other hand, social workers can act protectively over the people they aim to help. This can result in a one-sidedness, a professional blindness. However, most of the social workers interviewed have not reacted bitterly and did not make the impression to be out of balance, overly emotional or lack sobriety concerning the matter. Interviews were balanced and factual.

Also, several of the social workers interviewed, as well as some former prostitutes, have a Christian background or, in the case of the women with direct experience in prostitution, attribute their state of mental health to finding strength in the Christian faith in their time of difficulty. This may skew the results as they may see situations through the lense of Christian principles. However, these non-governmental organizations were willing to give invaluable insight into the prostitution situation. It was significantly more challenging to attain interviews from state organizations. However, the interviews given by some social workers, such as the one employed by the municipality of Barcelona, as well the former prostitute with no such background, were in line with those given by social workers employed in organizations with a Christian background.

As it was difficult to find interview partners, especially women with a background in prostitution, time was also a major limitation on this study. With more time, more interview partners might have been found.

Concerning the quantitative study on perception of prostitution, limitations include the size of the sample as well as the randomness. Many of the respondents were university students as well as bank

employees. Also, the study may have been taken part in by an above average number of churchgoers in Spain. This may have influenced the results as moral is a key factor to perception and support for a social business (caritative factor). For this reason, sociodemographics have not been elaborated on any further to avoid any bias, even though results would have been very interesting. However, responses varied greatly, which shows that either people going to church have very varied opinions, or that not many church goers actually partook in the survey. This could have been investigated by including a sociodemographic question concerning religion, but this was seen as too invasive.

A limitation to the realization of the recommendations of this paper is the complexity of legal frameworks, which might present a bottleneck to any social entrepreneurial undertaking in this area. Also, evaluation of different business/ NPO models in theory does not assure success in practice.

Future research could elaborate on how to make these victims' reintegration especially sustainable, how to increase awareness of the problem of human trafficking in the society through business undertakings and how to better solve the housing situation for people wanting to exit prostitution.

Recommendations

Upon investigating so many aspects around the topic of prostitution, a number of recommendations can be given to solve the problem of women who are in prostitution and would like to change careers, or those who have been trafficked. First, from an economic point of view, a change in society must be brought about. Whereas the Nordic Model is by no means perfect, and needs improvement and correct implementation accompanied by raising awareness strategically, it is an improvement to shift the blame from women over to consumers, pimps and traffickers. Governments should take the recommendation of the European Union seriously and implement the Nordic Model EU-wide. Based on literature concerning the entry into prostitution, and why specifically so many young men turn to prostitution, the recommendation can be given that this should also be accompanied by programs to treat persons for sex-addictions or abnormalities, and ban pornography websites as well as restrict pornographic content in movies, advertisements and other media. This recommendation may seem like a drastic measure, but for society to experience a reset in the way they think about the female body, the latter cannot longer be sexualized for profit. Pornography is a big contributor to that. It is the marketing of prostitution; men are usually extensively exposed to pornography before going to a

prostitute. (Becerril, 2020) Also, women in porn material are often just as much victims of trafficking and exploitation, with the difference that their faces are recorded forever and the whole world can watch them being raped over and over again. (Partido Sain, 2019)

Apart from these measures, there must be systematic awareness raising campaigns at schools and universities, as well as at the workplace. Schoolbooks and study materials should incorporate content that makes people aware of trafficking and the exploitative nature of prostitution. Documentaries should be shown. The government must make sure to train society more to recognize trafficking victims at airports, hotels and the like. The quantitative study shows that people with a higher degree of studies are rather aware of the reality of human trafficking than those without superior studies. This may imply that education and making aware of the situation is essential to a right perception of prostitution; namely, that it is a lucrative and highly exploitative network where mafias are the main benefactors. As a further step, it is recommended to bodies of government to facilitate women exiting the industry and reintegrating by improved legislation, and applying quotas to businesses to train people coming out of vulnerable positions. This can only be achieved if there is no corruption, police itself is not involved in consuming prostitution (which has been stated to be the case by interviewees) and especially if persons of the government are not personally involved in the crime of human trafficking. Governments must stand above seeing prostitution and sex tourism as lucrative for the national economy.

During the qualitative interviews, it became apparent that only starting a social business for women coming from prostitution was not the way to go. This was the underlying assumption at the beginning of this project; that a social business would be an ideal solution to the issues with reintegration into the society and the workforce of women out of trafficking and prostitution. However, the matters surrounding successful reintegration are quite complex. While there is no one perfect and right answer and solution to the problem, this paper has investigated successful strategies. Amor Dragoste in Spain is already further advanced and organized than the organizations in Austria, and they do have a social business as part of their strategy and their chains are very tight, in fact, there is a closely knit network of organizations all over the country of Spain. However, the coffeeshop that they run does not employ former human trafficking victims and use this for their marketing and CSR. This would be extremely exposing to these individuals and could put them in uncomfortable and even severely dangerous situations if they had fled their previous conditions.

Rather, the coffeeshop is used to generate income for the safe houses and double functions as a platform for raising awareness about different social matters. The fact that the business does not only inform about human trafficking and donate to a corresponding organization only for trafficking victims, but rather makes aware of different social problems and donates to an organization covering multiple issues is ideal, since it addresses a bigger group of people. As could be seen in the statistical analysis of the perception of society concerning prostitution and human trafficking, not everyone would be willing to support or purchase at an organization supporting trafficking victims, so raising awareness of different social projects simultaneously is recommendable.

Another factor that is indispensable is that the organizations involved work closely together. A nation-wide network should be established as has been done in Spain, and the Spanish one should be expanded. There is always a need for more emergency housing in the specific case of Spain. Austria does not have such a network yet; they work together with German organizations and loosely with the European Union, but they are by no means as well organized as the network in Spain. Organizations involved in the matter are recommended to take a closer look at how organizations work together in Spain to help integrate women and copy it, adapting it to the specifics of their own nation.

In both Spain and Austria, experts have stated the need for, on one hand, emergency housing, and on the other hand have shifted the entire question as to how to which problem to find a solution for. In both countries, social workers and other experts stated that what would be needed most is not one single social business that employs some former victims of trafficking; but much rather, a network of businesses that are willing to give vulnerable women a second chance and with that, a protected workplace. Work training prior to that is indispensable, but even with having complete work training, they need a protected workplace where the pressure of being fired the first time they make a mistake is relieved. (It depends on the extent of the reintegration training, as the organization interviewed in Austria has a shorter program than that in Spain and thus women in Austria might be more in need of protection at their first workplace.) Spain might naturally be a better environment for that because of their more relaxed work culture; however, more jobs are available in Austria, so different factors might balance each other out.

In any case, a main recommendation of this paper is to create a network of companies – no matter in which country as all are affected by human trafficking – who are ready to give a small percentage of

their available jobs, or even just one position, to people coming from these vulnerable backgrounds. Also, much rather than starting any social business as a first step, a work integration program should be started before that.

Concerning starting a work integration program, the founder of Hope for the Future, the work training organization for former prostitutes and victims of human trafficking gave the advice to be well connected in case one would like to start a similar project. It is indispensable to have good contact with a streetwork organization, with someone who has a shelter. Also, when working with these vulnerable people, it is important to set clear lines. She stated that one client has the possibility to keep 8 people busy. She warned that working with people who come out of trafficking can be a challenge.. Through all the experience and trauma, many have been stuck in childhood. She states that one often feels as if one is talking to a small child. In time, they need to learn to get by on their own, and achieving that for the organization is success. Also, she pointed out the importance of having a good social worker to support.

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Interviews I1 - I6: interviews 1 to 6 were carried out in Austria with former and current prostitutes as well as human trafficking victims. Social workers were also interviewed. In order to comply with EU Data Protection Directive and to protect the identity and anonymity of the interviewees, all personal data was agreed to be not included.

Interviews I7 - I10: interviews 7 to 10 were carried out in Spain with former and current prostitutes as well as human trafficking victims. Social workers were also interviewed. In order to comply with EU Data Protection Directive and to protect the identity and anonymity of the interviewees, all personal data was agreed to be not included.

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Charts with data from 103 individuals anonymously using SoSci Survey:

C1: First Association of Prostitution

C2: Association by Gender

C3: Do people like working in prostitution?

C4: Easy or Hard - is prostitution easily made or hard earned money?

C5: Men in prostitution

C6: How many people working in prostitution are being exploited? - Differences by Gender

C7: How many people working in prostitution are being exploited? - Differences by Education

C8: How many people working in prostitution are victims of human trafficking? Differences by Gender

C9: How many people working in prostitution are victims of human trafficking? Differences by Education.

C10: How voluntarily do women work in prostitution

C11: Morally OK III: Men

C12: Morally Ok III: Women

C13: Morally OK III: Superior Studies

C14: Morally OK III: Non-Superior Studies

C15: Perception of Morality: Total

C16: Perception of Morality grouped by Gender

C17: Perception of Morality grouped by Education level

C18: Perception of Morality grouped by Income

C19: Perception of Morality grouped by Age

C20: Social Business I: Would you consume from a social business? (Total)

C21: Social Business II: Would you rather support a social business to help human trafficking victims or another cause? (Total)

C22: Social Business I grouped by Gender: Would you consume from a social business?

C23: Social Business II grouped by Gender: Would you rather support a social business to help human trafficking victims or another cause?

C24: Social Business I grouped by Age: Would you consume from a social business?

C25: Social Business II grouped by Age: Would you rather support a social business to help human trafficking victims or another cause?

C26: Social Business I grouped by Income: Would you consume from a social business?

C27: Social Business II grouped by Income: Would you rather support a social business to help human trafficking victims or another cause?

C28: Social Business I grouped by Education: Would you consume from a social business?

C29: Social Business II grouped by Education: Would you rather support a social business to help human trafficking victims or another cause?

C30: Scree Plot Two Factor Theory, Appendix

Tables with data from 103 individuals anonymously using SoSci Survey:

Table 1 (T 1): Demographics

Table 2 (T2): Factor Analysis - Morally OK III

Table 3 (T 3): Regression: Perception of Morality

Table 4 (T 4): Lose Dignity (Prostitute)

Table 5 (T 5): Consume from Social Business

2nd interview in Austria

What do you do and what is your experience with work integration?

Accompanying people is better ensured when the organizations work together. I am in Germany in a working group that is trying to create a holistic concept to form a seamless chain of integration for women. This should then be given to other NGOs and organizations. A building site is also how Social Businesses can work with other partners. The people should be trained and accompanied by the Social Businesses in order to become fully fledged enough to find their way in the labour market. And I do not know of any other project that does this as interlocked as this one.

To want to talk to people who are still in prostitution is good and I can understand that, but many people can't say what they need and that's a long process. On the one hand, because sometimes they do not approach things so analytically. When people have lived in traumatic states for a long time and are traumatized, they are not yet able to do anything at all in terms of brain physiology - there is still so much going on in the emotional sphere that in the areas of planning, reliability, getting to work on time, following simple guidelines and implementing them ... everything has to be learnt again (because they are used to being available day and night and also to sleeping at work). And the one is from the world where they come from, the other is if they have hardly any education then they do not know what is possible. Some say we just want to do something else. It is hard when they only know broken German, the residence permit has to be clarified, the living situation has to be clarified. So you have to see what is possible at all. We also have people who are not yet allowed to work here. That makes the whole thing complex and challenging. We advise the women where they come from, what they want, what is feasible. Our experience is that they often can't even name it. How must your working day be arranged? ... I need work. Often they support the family abroad or have some other kind of debt and therefore it is often a process. 2 steps back one step. Often the women disappear again. These are all individually tailored processes. It is very encouraging when you notice when a woman has new motivation and a sense of achievement. That is totally encouraging.

Question: One does not know what they need. How is that from your perspective? Can you say that they need it most of the time?

D. can maybe say them even more but I think it's always about that - from the outside to the inside. The factors: paperwork, what is legally possible... we do not want to develop wild dreams with the woman and then it turns out that it's not possible. My answer: this is very person-specific. If she has a child, she can only work at certain times... If she is not yet stable enough to work regularly... she needs therapy... but the women do not have the time or money to simply take six months off. The question comes up how to formulate this in the CV when a job comes along that doesn't require so many skills.

What are the biggest hurdles?

Child, debt, legal status, trauma management, situational factors. The others are the individual factors. Housing - you cannot apply for a job in Austria if you do not have a registered residence. But if the one in the Laufhaus had her room or lived with some friend... It is always about housing, financial situation etc. These are the situational conditions, the country of origin and your individual situation. Then there are women who have a stronger self-motivation. Then you tell the woman ok, this is the next appointment and then you bring these and these papers. Some of them are proactive and already have everything with them, some cancel the appointment at short notice or have only done half of it or nothing. Maybe T. will tell you something else but I have not met anybody who already knew exactly what she knew, and only needs help with how to do it all. It's a step-by-step process. And a social business like this happens a lot beyond the actual work. People can develop self-confidence there - I can get up, go to work, I produced this bag...a big issue is, and that is why hope for the future also offers language courses, you need the language and an official certificate for almost every job. There was one person who was dyslexic and that was a big hurdle because many jobs are lost when you really can't read or write.

And you do streetwork...?

We have different areas. Volunteers who help us with the language, we do regular streetwork. In Vienna we mainly have women from China, Nigeria, Romania and Bulgaria. We hand out our cards and have an open coffee once a week. At the counselling they make an appointment beforehand. That means the outreach work and the counselling here. Then we also have a network with other institutions and organizations in Vienna - a gynaecologist, psychological support, even if it is the integration of third country nationals because the situation with residence status is even more complex. Political and research work too, and then strategic networking where we are networked with other organizations in Europe. Hope for the Future also arose from the fact that the founder realised that it takes a lot to reintegrate.

The legal: Residence status - the only thing you can do is prostitution?

I do not know how that really is, but I would still be interested in it myself. EU citizens within the EU have the Freedom of Work Act but the ideas are often very flowery. Also in the hope to get to Austria. Something will be found then. And then prostitution is the alternative where you can earn money without a big hurdle. That is the option where it is the fastest way to get cash. There are different stories how women end up where they get hit strategically or they think they work in the service and then the service is different than they thought.

How many do it voluntarily and how many do not?

I can't tell you that about the situation in Austria but in Germany, and it is very similar. The German-speaking countries are very closely connected, the women are often a few weeks in Vienna, then Munich and Zurich, so the German-speaking countries are often very closely connected. What I find striking is that there are certainly many women who have a lot of freedom in their working day, or 2 regular customers who come by a few times a week. Between that and a woman on the street who thinks about whether she does the job for 5 Euros or not because she needs the 5 Euros, there are

simply light years in between. And of course the woman who has 2-3 regular customers and determines what happens when she meets them, she has different ideas about her job and then finds herself in some trade union to stand up for her labour rights and voluntariness, I find a bit understandable. But I do not find it recommendable. But what I miss completely is that NGOs are doing the outreach work, I do not know of any that say that this self-determined life is the rule and that there are a few others who live under bad conditions is not so. Most of them are really living under very bad circumstances and I have been doing outreach work for 5 years - I have never met a woman who didn't say she wouldn't rather do something else; so everybody really says if I had an alternative I would rather do something else. And what I find interesting is - in D are the numbers and that is not different here ... and as a psychologist I know how to deal with numbers in science so I am so hm, but over 90% of the women in prostitution have a migration background so show me another profession where it is the same. So why do migrant women find their vocation in prostitution? I also find - why are 90% women in the profession and men the customers. So equal rights are not an issue. Somehow I lack the imagination. I also find it interesting if you look at the life story of the woman and how she got into prostitution. There is correlation to abuse in childhood and youth and that you work in prostitution because then you feel like a controller. Now I can use what happened to me to make money. Can also be a coping strategy for many. What I also find fascinating - I also read the flyer of the city of Vienna for prostitutes yesterday - on the page for working conditions, what they should work on: do not wear jewellery with which you can be strangled. But which employer provides guidelines for employees where the first sentence is "What you have to pay attention to in your job so that your client doesn't kill you". That's when I think "huh?" That's how I feel. There I have an impression of the topic with the voluntariness... which I also find intriguing. There are also women who say they do it voluntarily but have experiences of violence and suffering. There we say that voluntariness and self-determination is the ultimate goal.

But we also have limits to self-determination in other areas of society when it comes to injuries or violence or abuse, or self-injury. If we consider everything worthy of therapy or we criminalize, but in that area we say "If the woman says she wants it, let her go". Well, for me, there are a lot of arguments. And what I find interesting is with associations that say you just have to improve the conditions and everything has to be legal; what I miss is when I am invited there as a psychologist and I know that 80% - 90% of the psychologists in my country experience violence, are stigmatized and mistreated ... then I would say with such a platform I want to talk about my colleagues who are not doing as well as I am. I have a lot of freedom but there are women who are oppressed. I would like to see this from a sex worker who pleads for voluntariness, then I would find it more credible. I have never experienced this before. I have seen more of an attitude "The victimization of sex workers is annoying, many of us do it voluntarily and we are annoyed that it is always about victims of human trafficking. I think they tell it that way because they have experienced something different and they miss it. They do not deny that there is violence and oppression. They have more like this: we want to talk about our message and our degrees of freedom. Which I can understand from their perspective. But I lack the empathy and a willingness to say, yes, there are a lot of people who do not have the possibilities I have".

One more question: What is streetwork really like?

Most of the women I meet have a good sense of what you really want or what agenda you come up with. And when they realize that you simply have an interest in them as a person, and want to get into conversation and do things in a subliminal, unagitated way, then it usually goes down well. If a woman doesn't feel like dealing with a stranger on a particular day, then we just go on to the women who are open. We usually go out two by two. The street opens only at 10 and we are on the way with a bus. The women stand there every few meters. The nice thing about us is that we have been working for 12 years and we are outside every week. They know us too and are happy too. If a woman doesn't want to talk to somebody then just go on, like in any other conversation. It's not about mega deep conversations, the women enjoy that they can concentrate on something else, laugh or fool around and realize that nobody wants anything from me right now. Also: we visit the women at work and there they are also different than here in the consultation. We are then careful that the woman does not fall apart at work and that we cannot catch this. If this is a first contact then we say hello and give her a card. Then it depends on which language she speaks. We often have all sorts of toiletries etc. We say we are from HW and offer advice and then see how they react, offer her some of our souvenirs. Those who have known HW for a long time often just tell her about their last problem.

Dangerous?

I have never experienced it, but some have told me that sometimes a pimp jumps out of a bush and signals that it is enough. But basically their attitude is that even if the deaconry comes the girls are happy and get their condoms and work better. So there is also a tolerant attitude. Also at houses we ring the bell and then there is a security...there are no visitors allowed and you have to be known / that's ok... And there (a specific organization) has good connections. The single woman may not be worth that much, they think if one is gone then another one will come. Unless there is a relationship in play.

Thanks!

Yes I think that's great what you are doing and I can try to get you some more contacts or if you have more questions...the direct interviews are hard because of our own research but I'll see how I can help you.

2nd Interview in Spain

1. How do the women you supervise usually get into prostitution, what is their situation?

You can't generalize. I find it ironic that on TV that prostitutes are always related to criminality, drugs, violence. It's always under one hat. We have to look at it case for case. If we generalize it. Every statistic is a person. I can see that the women who have been trafficked, depending on the country the capture is in, are very different. Depending on the network that they had fallen for. A Nigerian can be cheated differently than a Romanian. Nigerians have problems with debt, voodoo.. **(Why are Romanians susceptible to loverboys?)** They are only 18, come from destroyed families, just finished studies, lots of them have suffered violence in the past in the family. It depends on the

demand and the type of vulnerability of the pais de origen. It is very dynamic! Prostitution: there are women who are not being trafficked, but they have no education and are poverty stricken and they go because of that. Many women have no papers. They do not have education, papers, ...often the pimps just say you have a debt - they do not control them strictly but they know they have to pay the debt.. It's very complex, often they do not know what they're getting themselves into

How many have kids?

I do not know. Depends. Many Romanians get pregnant just when they come. Honeymoon phase. Victims are hard to detect, every case is different. Sometimes the family is the ones who make them be in this situation, sometimes the pimp..Women who are in prostitution for a long time, they get older, and they become exploiters and they bring their daughters and then they exploit their daughters. In Nigeria, it almost doesn't happen - they are almost always minors. But control over the women is crazy, when they have children they can be controlled. Some women when they are in prostitution and they have to pay a debt, sometimes they also rob etc. They are illegally here and they have problems with the judicial system. All that is a problem for them cause it makes it even more difficult for them to become legal. So they are more vulnerable to the exploiters, they "help you and make everything easier". Who protects you. Noone else is interested in these women, they are associated with criminality and have a strong stigma. Networks have control. A woman who is under age, or her passport is fake. She will never tell you she is under age. She then has to go to an institution. And during this time they can't be in the street and pay the debt. Sometimes the traffickers order the woman to get pregnant, so she can stay in the country.

2. How do women welcome you?

Some do not want contact but that is ok. We asked women how their lives could improve. Their answers were a work e.g. "in a supermarket, as a nurse, as a costurera, a garden worker, i'd like to have documents" .., Nigerians really wanted to have documents. The Romanians are in the EU so that's not a topic for them. Depending on the zone too. In Les Corts, (the transsexuals) wanted to be able to have social security. Or scholarships, that government would make courses and the women would get money. no racism.

3. Are there people who like to work in prostitution?

I never ask them if they like their work because of respect. We shouldn't focus on them, but on why men can pay for getting a body.its a form of power abuse. We can never judge to work with these women. They need someone who doesn't judge them. I am not in their situation. There is a lot of respect and support needed.

4. Are women looking for another job and, if so, what would they normally like to do?

Most women look for other work. There is isolation, mental blackmail, they can't take decisions for their lives. The women I've been in contact with want to work sth else. Many times, they have to first get education. They normally have to do "easy" work (trabajos precarios). Many have had other

experiences before, selling fish or meat, some have gone to university, who have been captured. Often for this stigma of having worked in prostitution we assume they only are able to work easy jobs that's why it discourages them to go out of prostitution. But when a woman is successful in getting out... they want to do work that is not needed (hair, nails), or that they need expensive courses for ..

5. What would they like to do, what would they definitely not do?

Aesthetics, supermarket, sewing, markets, each is very different, study nursing,

6. What do women need if they want to change jobs? What's so hard in getting out? What would improve their life situation (salary, job security, work environment, colleagues, job security?)

Documentation, mantener un proceso formativo, exploitation if they are being exploited, ... one woman had found a job in a hotel and she earned little money, and since she hadn't apuntado how many rooms she did they didn't pay her anything. So she went back. Cuidar viejos, do braids, those are black market jobs. Family situations also make it harder for the women to get out. Often they have to feed kids or send money home. Language. Not all women live in the same place as where they work, so that's not a generalized problem. But especially Nigerian women live often with the women that they work with.

7. Are there good alternatives/options in terms of employment?

Depends on her abilities. Discovering her abilities would be great. Something that is according to her abilities and aspirations. I got to know an organization in India where the women did men's jobs, like working with metal and woodwork etc.

8. What do you do?

I work for women who want to do sth else. I go to the street and establish a first contact. I ask how they are and offer a service. Going to gynecologists, tell them and help them to protect themselves sexually, this way we create a connection with the woman and thus she can come to us in the future if she wants to get out. This way we invite the women to come to our office. We imagine that women are chained up but actually trata is a phenomenon that is very psychological, with voodoo, and she needs to be set free in every area of her life. The police are the one who has to save women who are really chained but women in the street have invisible barriers. Loverboys - women who got in though those, they do not know that they are victims of loverboys. We women are all in a way affected, we just live with what is normal for us.

(And also social exploitation?) Yes it affects everything..

4th Survey Spain

How do the women you supervise usually get into prostitution, what is their trafficking situation in Spain?

Spain is the first country in consumption of prostitution and the third on a worldwide level. I think they are after Thailand and Brazil but I would need to look that up. Being so illegal it is hard to tell the exact numbers but there are reports that speak of 45 thousand women and underage girls,.. This is the statistic. Women in Spain come from Nigeria, from Morocco, from Romania and also Latin America; from Honduras, from Colombia and every country has a method of capturing women. In Nigeria the most common is that they had promised the women a false job offer and that they threaten her with voodoo. This is a type of witchcraft that when they leave the job their families will die, they will become crazy etc. From Morocco, older women come. They get work contracts to work in the strawberry fields in the South. When they are there two weeks, they tell them that they cannot work there anymore and they take them to an apartment and there they have to work in prostitution. In Romania there is the phenomena of loverboys, as you know this is trapping the woman through falling in love, who asks her to prostitute herself because he cannot find a job etc. and he keeps all the money. From South America, right now there is news of traffickers taking advantage of the vulnerability of women from Venezuela, with work and sexual exploitation, they clean homes or take care of elderly people without being paid or suffer from sexual exploitation but we haven't personally had a case from Venezuela. Prostitution here is neither legal or illegal, there is no type of written law so the mafia has perfect liberty there is no law that prohibits prostitution or that charges the client so it's much easier to operate.

Why is prostitution so popular and number one on Europe?

Here in Spain it is very normalized. It is a lot in the culture that a man brings his son to the club when he is 18. Prostitution is an expression of gender violence. Before, older men went to prostitutes, but now young guys are very visible and it is very normal for them to go. No one is surprised to see them there, it has become really normalized. It is a leisure activity and because the industry has fought a lot to portray it as that. Porn is a really big trigger for them to go to a prostitute. There is a lot of violence in porn and guys growing up watching that take it to their relationships and expect it from the prostitutes. Since it is not legal nor illegal, the society doesn't see it as anything bad.

What do you do?

We started with a food bank. Also we started to raise awareness about human trafficking in schools etc. in 2010. Starting in 2014 the first safehouse opened, with the project "Casa Refugio", where we work with survivors of human trafficking. Here they get an all encompassing treatment, with an educational part, judicial, psychological, health, looking for a job, leisurely activities, so that they can reintegrate into society. As soon as they find work and get papers, they go to the second house that we have, which is an autonomous house. They live independently, everyone does their work, makes their own food, and that way they save money and some time have their own house or rent their own

apartment or house. I am the psychologist of the foundation, so I am in the area of health. I am also in the area of projects, I look for subventions and sponsors. The organization has more projects though. Unidad Movil is the project under which we go out to the street once a month and talk to the women in the red light district (of Madrid). There we talk to the girls on the street and offer them an exit. Then we have the project where we raise awareness in the society, we go to schools and talk about human trafficking, we give courses at the university, we sensitize people in hospitals so they can detect victims of human trafficking. Our aim is for the society to learn about this topic and we teach them about indicators. In 2018 we opened a cafeteria. We make sure that the profits from this cafeteria supports the projects. It has been open since October 2018.

You guys do everything, you have the whole chain, no?

Yes, what we are really missing is an emergency house, normally these projects have an emergency house where the women are 1-3 months, depending, and then they can go to the permanent house. But the house we have now is both in one. Girls come here directly from the street.

How is the process for a woman that wants to leave the street? What does she need?

Depends on the nationality. The Romanians are captured with the loverboy method. This is a partner and they have an emotional attachment. It isn't purely economic but also emotional dependency. With those it is hard to help them out. We have Romanians. Those are women who do not have studies, they are sold since they are very little - in Romania this begins from when they are very little. They need to learn to read and write. Romanians normally speak Spanish well, but often since they have never worked before they need to learn what a work is, how one has to behave at a workplace, what opportunities will she have, the control of emotions, depends. It depends. The Arab women are tricked, they think that they will work in strawberry fields. These are women that are often widowed, or they have been victims of relational violence, these women are often a bit older, around 40. They really need the language, they will not get a job until they have the language. Then the Latinas have the advantage that they know the language. Their process is faster. Then the Nigerian women, the way they are captured is voodoo. It is very powerful. They also have to learn Spanish. They all need to regulate their administrative situation. So they need documentation. Without, they cannot get a good job. Article 159bis states that women who sue their traffickers have a right to a residency permit. But that is not so easy, imagine what that implies. They have to be emotionally prepared, learn how that process goes, know what to say and have interrogations, it is a difficult process and not all can do it. So we try in different ways, like political asylum.

Do they have a problem when they leave prostitution with the living situation?

Yes, sure, when they come out, we offer them to live in a different place than where they are at. So if they are rescued in Madrid, we take them to a completely different place in Spain. For security reasons. All the houses are in secret places. So that the mafia cannot get to us. The Romanians live in clubs. The Nigerians are so controlled by voodoo, that they do not need to be supervised more closely.

They know they need to pay. The Arabs live in terrible situations, really terrible. The Latinos live in secret flats. They take them to places where the police say that the mafia isn't a danger anymore.

How do you find the women?

We go out and we bring a kit. We go and we say we bring you a gift, how long have you been here, do you have a kid and family, and we tell them if they want help that we give them our phone number. Many women do not immediately want to come live with us for various reasons. So we help them with what we can. E.g. with Spanish, or with legal help. When we help her out we try to already give her a housing resource. We need to win her trust. Because we go out regularly, they start to trust.

You say that an emergency house is the thing you need most right now, right?

Ideally yes, we would need it but it's ok because we work with a network and many in those networks have emergency houses.

From street to complete reintegration, what is needed the most?

What is really necessary is awareness among the companies. At the end, the work that they do is cleaning, taking care of the elderly, taking care of babies, and that is where it ends. There are not many offers for women with this profile. When we register them, there is not even the option to state that someone is illiterate. But there are women who are. We need companies who from their CSR point of view say we will help these women. These are capable, resilient women who can learn what you teach them just like us. But there is a lot of prejudice. That closes doors. The main barrier is the work integration. That they can find a job that they like, with good conditions, with a work contract.

What is the best work for them and what do they want to do?

Every woman has a different dream. Some women want to study nursing, some want to make clothes, they need the opportunities. Also, we need to look into works that are not typically for women. Maybe technological jobs. We need to open our eyes. When we ask them what they want to do they always say "cleaning" because as a society we have communicated to them that that is the only thing they can do. This is what they should ask for. We need to give them their dreams back.

When they finish their process with you are they ready to work normally?

When they are emotionally stable and outside of the emergency situation, more secure and have more self confidence, and are not scared to go out alone, they will start working and have a normal life. They do not make a social media profile of course with their name but they start a normal life. In the beginning they do little jobs, like day jobs, but when they have a fixed work they go to the second house. There they pay gas, light, etc. but we give it back to them at the end. We do that because we

want them to learn to live by themselves. If we give them everything for free, they would not get adapted to a normal life. So this way they learn to become independent.

How long is a process for a woman?

18 months in the first, 24 months in the second. But it depends how much time the women need. It is not obligatory but this is around the time they spend here.

Is this process successful?

Yes, totally, it is precious when they come and volunteer helping the women here. We do dinners for them and it is so nice to see how thankful they are. It is really nice. Like a family. Some women go away and go to their home country but that is ok, they are also successful.

In Austria there is a project where those who do Streetwork collaborate with a work training.

Yes, most of the projects here are similar. When a woman wants to go back to her country, we also make sure that that can be secure. In our project, there are not many that go back, rather they bring their family.

If someone doesn't have papers and can't denounce what happens?

Arraigo social or other ways, there are ways. The lawyer here knows these things better.

How does the coffee shop work?

We are just starting up, but the idea is that we are a place where we tell people that with this coffeeshop we support social projects that aim for equality in opportunities for people.

So people do not know this helps women?

They know yes that it helps Amor Dragoste. Another organization has a clothing shop and inside the women are there working. It is different, we do not expose women in that way. So we speak more in general about the different projects or the association, not only about trafficking. It is very general. The profits of the cafe go to the "casa de refugios".

How do you finance yourself?

Public and private subventions. Like most NGOs.

What is better - create one business where women can work or create relationships with existing businesses?

An NGO doesn't have resources to create lots of businesses, that is why it is better to create contacts with different businesses. We really need more sensitivity in Spain among the businesses concerning

reintegration of women into the workforce. If there are just 2 big companies that give 10% of their workplaces to women in this situation, that would be amazing.

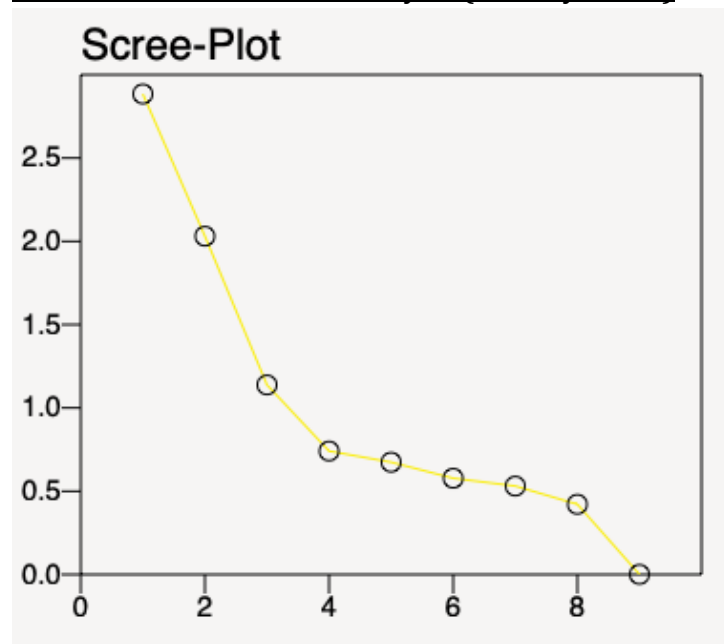
How do women overcome that trauma?

I recommend this book: Judith German - Trauma and Recovery. In this book the trauma of these women is compared to PTSD, it is a long and complicated process but humans are also very strong and resilient, and that way it is possible to get out of this context with the right help.

Thank you so much! Have a great day.

No problem, you are doing something very important.

Scree Plot C30: 2 Factor Analysis (Morally OK III)



**(y-Axis: Intrinsic Value
x-Axis: Component number)**