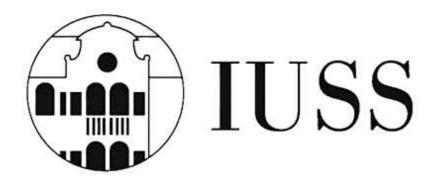
# UNIVERSITY OF PAVIA – IUSS SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED STUDIES PAVIA

Department of Brain and Behavioural Sciences (DBBS)

MSc in Psychology, Neuroscience and Human Sciences





TITLE: The Impact of Sex Industry and Sex Work Participation and Involvement on Self-

**Esteem: A Review of The Literature** 

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Academic year 2023/2024

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

To Professor Serena Barello, I thank you for your support and patience. Your presence and kindness have been invaluable to me.

To my family; my parents, sisters, nieces and nephews, we did it! Your love, and unwavering support held me. To my mother, Thalusani Nyeku, I am grateful for your prayers and commitment to my success. To my father, Budani Nyeku, your words lifted me. To my friends, this achievement is as much mine as it is yours. You walked the journey with me, weathered the storms and chaos. I hope you are proud to now stand by me in the peace of the journey being complete. My gratitude is boundless.

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#### 1. ABSTRACT

**INTRODUCTION**: The sex industry and sex work remain a complicated and heavily stigmatised industry, with implications for individuals' self-esteem across various dimensions. Understanding how different forms of sex industry participation and sex work influence self-esteem, is crucial for developing effective interventions and support systems.

**AIMS**: The aim of this review is to synthesise existing literature to identify the relationship between sex industry participation and self-esteem and further, identify the different forms of sex industry and explore if there are differences in the self-esteem of individuals among the different categories of sex industry work as posited by the literature.

METHODS: A comprehensive search strategy using specific key words was employed across multiple electronic databases, including PsycINFO, PubMed, ProQuest and Scopus. Studies were included if they addressed and identified different types of work in the sex industry and if they examined the relationship between sex industry work and self-esteem. Studies from January 2014 to June 2024 were considered. Quality assessment was conducted meticulously to establish proper evaluation of the research and its relevance to the scope of this review.

**CONCLUSION**: This systematic review highlights the need for comprehensive understanding of the impact of sex industry work on self-esteem of sex workers and the factors influencing this relationship. The findings may have implications for the development of targeted interventions and support services tailored to the diverse needs of individuals involved in the sex industry, aiming to promote positive self-esteem and well-being within this population.

**Key Words**: Sex Industry, Sex work, Prostitution, Commercial sex, Transactional sex, Adult entertainment, Escort services, Self-esteem, Self-worth, Self-authenticity, Self-efficacy, Psychological well-being, Mental health

# The Impact of Sex Industry and Sex Work Participation and Involvement on Self-Esteem:

#### A Review of The Literature

#### 2. INTRODUCTION

#### 2.1 Sex Work

Sex work involves the exchange of services performances, sexual or for material compensation. It includes acts of direct physical contact (prostitution, lap dancing) as well as titillation (pornography, commercial stripping, erotic webcam shows, telephone sex, live sex shows) (Ruberg, 2016). Other authors define sex work as involving one or more services where sex is exchanged for money or goods (Weatherall and Priestly, 2001; Burnes, 2012). It is said that over the past two decades, there has been an increase in internet-facilitated sex work, while street prostitution has decreased in some locations and professional phone sex organisations have lost a significant portion of their income to webcamming.

Commercial sex is perceived by many as a deviant activity, despite its scale, expansion, and large number of participants. It is perceived as being run by dubious individuals and encouraging immoral or perverse behaviour (Doherty and Bowen, 2024). Sex work is assumed to have a negative effect on self-esteem, usually low self-worth, due to its social stigma and unacceptability and despite the diversity of persons, positions and roles within the sex industry (Benoit 2018). Recognising sex labour as work is inextricably linked to decriminalisation efforts. The desire for decriminalisation is due to the belief that sex workers, as people, and members of society, deserve the same civil and labour rights and social safeguards as any other worker, regardless of occupation which would contribute to boosting their self-esteem (Brookes-Gordon, Morris and Sanders, 2021; Benoit, 2018).

# 2.2 Sex Industry

The sex industry refers to the workers, managers, owners, agencies, clubs, trade associations, and marketing involved in sexual commerce, of both legal and illegal varieties. To call it an "industry" is a bit of a misnomer, as many of these enterprises are artisanal and disconnected from each other. However, viewed collectively, sex-for-sale is a business sector that is growing throughout the world (Weitzer, 2023). In many countries this is a multi-billion industry which accounts for a significant portion of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), whilst supporting many family members who are linked to the sex workers. Research from global organisations such as The International Labour Organisation (ILO), it is estimated that sex workers support between five and eight other people with their earnings. Sex workers also contribute to the economy. In four countries surveyed, ILO found that the sex industry provides between 2 and 14 percent of gross domestic product. In Thailand, for example, the sex industry generated about US\$6.4 billion in 2015, a figure which accounted for 10 percent of Thailand's GDP. Thai sex workers send an annual average of US\$300 million to family members who reside in more rural areas of Thailand. Additionally, while 65 percent of sex industry workers are sex workers, the industry also generates employment for auxiliary cleaning, security and driving services (International Labour Organisation, 1998)

Sex workers' employment and working arrangements vary. Sex workers might be self-employed or employed, doing sex work part-time or full-time. Sex work can be official, since some sex workers have an employer-employee connection with an establishment. However, where criminalisation excludes sex work from national labour laws, sex workers have no option but to accept what are often exploitative working conditions. Additionally, criminalisation of third parties makes the establishment of formal workplaces, including establishing any contracts or workplace

regulations, illegal. However, much of the sex industry is informal, with sex workers operating independently, individually or collectively with other sex workers (Pitcher, 2015).

# 2.3 Legalities of Sex Work

Sex workers, like others in the informal sector, often lack social safeguards and face insecure working conditions. Most countries around the globe have criminalised the sex industry. While this is the case some countries have varying laws regarding criminalisation of sex work in various states and cities. For example, in Australia, regulations differ by jurisdiction, and include partial criminalisation in WA, decriminalisation in New South Wales (NSW), and legalisation with licensing regulation in Victoria.

Exploitation and unsafe and unhealthy working conditions exist in many labour sectors. Work does not change in the presence of these conditions. Even when performed under exploitative, unsafe or unhealthy conditions, sex work is still work. Indeed, criminalisation, by perpetuating stigma, discrimination and social marginalisation and by alienating sex workers from formal labour protections, creates conditions in which violations of sex workers' rights, including their labour rights, can continue unchecked. Recognition that sex work is work is the starting point for addressing these conditions, to be able to organise and advocate for improved work environments for sex workers (Network of Sex Work Projects, Policy Brief: Sex Work as Work, 2017).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states that "everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment (United Nations). These provisions are expanded and made legally binding in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which most countries have ratified. The ICESCR requires states to "recognise the right to work, which includes the right

of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right" (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner).

In most countries which have ratified the legally binding, international human rights treaties discussed above, sex work is criminalised. This contradiction potentially creates space for sex worker organisations to hold their governments accountable; recognition of sex work as work would oblige governments to acknowledge that international and national labour treaties, laws and policies also apply to sex work. By safeguarding the rights of sex workers, there would be movement in ensuring that they have access to and develop social and mental well-being and in turn, higher self-esteem as they would be recognised just like any other worker who also contributes to the countries' economy and also supports their families to give them livelihoods.

#### 2.4 Self-Esteem

Self-esteem has been defined as a self-evaluation that manifests as a positive and negative view of oneself (Rosenberg, 1965). Rosenberg, 1965 further stated that to be considered to have high self-esteem, a person must respect themselves and consider themselves worthy. Additionally, it has been posited that self-esteem refers to an individual's perception or subjective assessment of their self-worth, self-respect and self-confidence (Sedikides and Gress, 2003; Abdel-Khalek, 2016). It plays an important role in our relationships with ourselves and with others, as seen in the 'Looking Glass Self' theory that states that people view themselves from others' perspectives and then integrate those perceptions into existing self-concepts (Darney, Howcroft and Stroud,

2013). Therefore, how society and those close to us view us is important and can have great influence on how we feel about ourselves.

Early studies by Brown, Dutton and Cook, 2001, denoted that self-esteem could be used in 3 ways, being:

- a) The global or trait self-esteem with reference to how people usually feel about themselves.
- b) Self-evaluation which is reflective of how people evaluate their abilities and attributes.
- c) Self-esteem with reference to momentary emotional states for example, someone might describe themselves as having high self-esteem after passing an important exam or describe themselves as having low self-esteem after being body shamed.

Other researchers advocated for the introduction of a view of self-esteem that was not based on it being a purely psychological trait and motivating force but more as a social construct of emotion that is based on mood (Hewitt, 2002). This ideology of self-esteem was borrowed from a definition of self-esteem by Smith-Lovin, 1995, that states it is a 'reflexive emotion that has developed over time in social processes of invention, that individuals learn to experience and to talk about, that arises in predictable social circumstances, and that is subject to social control' (Abdel-Khalek, 2016).

Self-esteem is known to be made up of many dimensions or components, such as referring to either overall feelings of the self or specific aspects instead, including feelings about their social status, employment, academic performance, racial identity, looks, and other skills. Theories have been posited that made distinctions of the different types of self-esteem such as, implicit or explicit, authentic or false, stable or unstable, global or domain specific and so on (Abdel-Khalek,

2016). Specifically, to dimensions of self-esteem some researchers suggested it as a unitary global trait, whilst others viewed it as a multidimensional trait with separate sub-components being performance, social and physical self-esteem (Heatherton and Wyland, 2003)

For the purposes of this research, the dimensions of self-esteem as researched by Stets and Burke, 2014 and further, Benoit et al, 2018 in the specific context of sex workers and the sex industry, will be the dimensions highlighted. These being self-worth, self-authenticity and self-efficacy, particularly because the research was conducted with specific population of interest for this current research in mind.

# 2.5 Self-Efficacy

Albert Bandura first proposed the concept of self-efficacy, in his own words, as a personal judgment of "how well one can execute courses of action required to deal with prospective situations" (Bandura, 1977). Self-Efficacy is an individual's set of beliefs that determine how well they can execute a plan of action in prospective situations (Bandura, 1977). Simply, self-efficacy is a person's belief in their ability to succeed in a particular situation.

Though self-efficacy has been examined by various researchers, Bandura is credited with popularising the concept. Kathy Kolbe (2009) asserts that a person's level of self-confidence can play a significant role in cognitive strength assessments. Since self-efficacy helps get past barriers that would prevent them from using their natural ability to accomplish goals, Kolbe suggests that self-efficacy also entails tenacity and endurance. These mental self-evaluations impact every aspect of the human experience, such as the objectives people pursue, the amount of effort they put out to reach those objectives, and the probability of achieving specific behavioural performance levels.

Research, clinical practice and education have all benefited greatly from the application of self-efficacy theory (SET). The concept of self-efficacy, has been used to describe a wide range of behaviours in the field of health psychology, including: Self-management of chronic disease, Smoking cessation, Alcohol use, Eating, Pain control, Exercise, etc. There are various contributing factors that can assist one to develop the self-efficacy dimension of self-esteem. It is informed by several main sources: personal experience, observation, persuasion, and emotion.

# • Personal Experience /Performance Outcomes

The most influential source is the perceived outcome of one's previous performance or mastery experience. This refers to the experiences gained when one accepts and successfully completes a new challenge. One of the most effective ways to learn a new skill or improve one's effectiveness in a given activity is to practice consistently (Bandura, 1997).

# • Observation / Vicarious Experiences

We also judge our own abilities by observing others. According to researchers, when we watch someone else achieve at an activity through hard work rather than innate aptitude, our self-efficacy increases. For example, if you have low self-efficacy for public speaking, observing a shy person acquire the skill may help you gain confidence. Bandura (1977) stated that "Seeing people similar to oneself succeed by sustained effort raises observers" beliefs that they too possess the capabilities to master comparable activities to succeed."

#### Social Persuasion

Other individuals may strive to boost our self-efficacy by providing support and encouragement.

However, this sort of persuasion does not always have a significant impact on self-efficacy,
especially when compared to the effect of personal experience. Receiving positive verbal

feedback while working on a complicated activity leads a person to assume that they have the skills and talents to achieve. Self-efficacy is influenced by encouragement and discouragement pertaining to an individual's performance or ability to perform (Redmond, 2010).

# • Emotional and Physiological States

A person's emotional, bodily, and psychological well-being might have an impact on how they perceive their own abilities in a given situation. For example, if one is battling with depression or anxiety, they may find it difficult to achieve a healthy level of well-being. Is it impossible to build self-efficacy while suffering from some of these struggles but boosting self-efficacy is much easier when one feels healthy and well (Bandura, 1982).

# 2.6 Self-Authenticity

The concept of authenticity refers to a multitude of concepts such as sincerity, truthfulness, originality, and the feeling and practice of being true to oneself or others (Vannini and Franzese, 2008). The self refers to a collection of ideas we each have about who we are. This includes our various social roles and secondary traits like curious, generous, or ambitious. The majority of us characterise ourselves based on a variety of roles and attributes, all of which are real but which may not always line up (Toure-Tillery and Fishbach, 2018).

Erich Fromm (1941), proposed a very different definition of authenticity, where he considered behaviour of any kind, even when it aligns with societal norms, to be authentic if it results from personal understanding and approval of its drives and origins, rather than merely from conformity with the received wisdom of the society. Therefore, an authentic individual according to Fromm, may behave in alignment with cultural norms, if those norms appear, on consideration, to be appropriate, rather than simply in the interest of conforming with what society dictates.

According to Fromm, authenticity is not a consequence of not living up to others' expectations, but rather a result of enlightened and informed motivation. Even while there are circumstances in which you must prioritise one component of yourself over another, being authentic is about recognising all of the aspects of who you are that are important to you and making sure that your actions are consistent with each of them.

Research suggests that authenticity is essential for finding meaning in life and maintaining optimum psychological functioning. It correlates with beneficial outcomes like self-actualisation, authentic expression, well-being, self-esteem, hope, and positive feeling (Sutton, 2020).

Authenticity and personal experience provide purpose and meaning.

# Authentic people:

- Are more resilient and do not need or seek the approval of others.
- Are more open and confident, and less defensive.
- Accept themselves and care less about self-criticism.
- Are less likely to conform to others.
- Know how to distance themselves from negative influences and people.
- Do not participate in comparison of themselves to others.

#### 2.7 Self-Worth

This is described as the extent to which people feel positive about themselves; that they feel that they are good and valuable (Stets and Burke, 2014).

The study of self-esteem is essential as it has an important impact on the mental health and well-being of all individuals. Researchers have found that low self-esteem often is found in conjunction with psychiatric disorders and is often an etiological factor in many mental illnesses. Studies found that low self-esteem was there in patients with eating disorders, major depressive disorder and substance abuse, with a cyclical relationship existing between low self-esteem and the onset of psychiatric disorders (Silverstone and Salsali, 2003; Murphy et al, 2005). Research has implied that low self-esteem can lead to mental illness such as depression or vice versa in adolescents (Sowislo and Orth, 2013). Moreover, research has found that victims of bullying experience negative psychosocial adaptations and negative long-term effects on their self-esteem (Tsaousis, 2016).

Low self-worth is characterised by a negative self-image, critical self-evaluation, and a negative self-value. Individuals with low self-worth tend to criticise themselves and their talents, dismiss praises and positive attributes, and focus on mistakes, lack of accomplishments, and perceived shortcomings of others.

The following are examples of low self-worth:

- In personal relationships, may become upset or distressed by any criticism or disapproval.
- They may bend over backwards to please others.
- Avoid or withdraw from intimacy, vulnerability, or social contact.
- Less likely to stand up for themselves from being abused or neglected.

There are numerous strategies to boost your self-worth. Self-compassion is a useful way to boost self-worth and involves treating oneself with kindness. Reminding ourselves that faults and

imperfections are part of the human experience. These tools can help you understand your selfworth and improve it.

#### 2.8 Assessment of Self-Esteem

Self-esteem can be assessed through various measures including explicit and implicit, state and trait measures and uni- and multi-dimensional scales (Abdel-Khalek, 2016). The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg 1979) is the most widely and frequently used measure of self-esteem as it covers global self-esteem, being people's overall feelings of acceptance and respect (Stets and Burke, 2014; Rosenberg et al, 1995).

# 2.9 High Self-Esteem

Since self-esteem is often viewed as a personality trait and is related to the concepts of self-conscience and self-image, like all personality traits, it can be viewed as existing on a continuum or bipolar dimension (Abdel-Khalek, 2016). Therefore, there exists individual differences at different levels or positions on the continuum. All people have the need to feel good about themselves and their actions thus having high self-esteem is an essential component to feeling happiness. Baumeister, Campbell, Kreuger and Vohs, 2003, conducted research that highlighted that self-esteem is essential to experiencing emotional well-being, with people with high self-esteem often experiencing higher levels of joy, motivation and happiness and more positive feelings than those with low self-esteem. Moreover, they generally experience fewer negative moods, depression and anxiety.

Further research showed that people with high self-esteem are likely to persevere in the face of hardship than those with low self-esteem (Baumeister, Campbell, Kreuger and Vohs, 2003). High

self-esteem is closely linked to resilience when experiencing challenges. It also allows individuals to experience happiness freely, whilst also having the ability to handle difficult or unpleasant moments. People with high levels of self-esteem can also effectively cope with the challenges they experience as well as participate and engage in close relationships with others and improve their strengths (Abdel-Khalek, 2016). It has been found that those with high self-esteem are more likely to persist in the face of failure and appear to be more attuned to self-regulating goal directed behaviour (Di Paula and Campbell, 2002). Importantly, self-esteem is essential for self-regulation and having good quality of life. Schmidt and Padilla, 2003, in their research showed that self-esteem in an individual increases when they experience success, praise and love from others, further supporting that self-esteem is not solely dependent on how one perceives themselves but is also reliant on the perceptions of others. A healthy self-esteem thus contributes massively to positive social and personal adjustment (Abdel-Khalek, 2016).

Though having high self-esteem is usually positive, the negative aspects should not be underestimated or ignored. Stets and Burke, 2014 state that researchers have found that high self-esteem can associated with aggression (Baumeister, Smart and Boden, 1996) as well as narcissism (Campbell, Rudich and Sedikides, 2002).

#### 2.10 Low Self-Esteem

Research by Mackinnon, 2015, showed that those with low self-esteem scores tend to have negative attitudes towards several things such as other people and their own personal circumstances. They tend to experience feelings of worthlessness, emotional instability and inferiority, which leads to being unhappy with life (Ha, 2006). When studied in adolescents, low self-esteem was linked to depression, aggression and decreased ability to overcome challenges and decreased well-being (Stavropoulos et al, 2015).

Further, Trzesniewski et al,2006, found that low self-esteem in adolescence poses as an increased risk factor for mental and physical health conditions, poor financial prospects and criminal conduct later in life. Ethier et al, 2006, also state that low self-esteem increases risks for early sex life debut, high risk sexual activity and high number of sexual partners. Stets and Burke, 2014, suggest that low self-esteem is at the root of the social and personal troubles that people experience.

As such, an individuals' self-esteem can be positive or negative, and is often affected by the expectations and opinions of society which in turn influence how an individual feels about themselves. With the sex-industry and sex work being heavily stigmatised and often criminalised components of society, there is bound to be an effect on how the individuals engaged in these activities view themselves. Thus, this research has the following aims and objectives:

#### 2.11 Aims:

 To explore the impact that participation in the sex industry has on a person's self-esteem, with focus on the three dimensions of self-esteem: self-worth, self-authenticity and self-efficacy.

# **Objectives:**

- 1. To review existing literature on self-esteem and its three dimensions as observed in the sex industry.
- 2. To identify key areas of impact that self-esteem and its three dimensions have on the individuals in the sex industry.

- 3. To discuss and analyse the key findings of the impact that self-esteem and its three dimensions have on the individuals in the sex industry.
- 4. To develop recommendations for interventions to improve the self-esteem and general psychological well-being of individuals in the sex-industry.

In summary, this systematic review aims to gather evidence on the impact that participating in the sex industry or sex work can have on the individual's self-esteem. To collate research that includes the concepts of self-worth, self-efficacy and self-authenticity as studies often use the terms synonymously or in conjunction with self-esteem, implying that it is an umbrella term with branches coming off it. In addition to this, there is an aim to highlight that because sex work is so heavily stigmatised, it involves human beings whose mental health is greatly impacted and are often vulnerable and exploited as a result. They are often left behind or excluded from psychosocial and economic support despite the vast need for it. Thus, there is need to contribute recommendations to inform inclusive policies, services and general practice.

#### 3. BACKGROUND

There is a growing body of literature that recognises the importance of how and why participation in the sex industry has an impact on the self-esteem of the women that work in it. Self-esteem as a concept has been widely researched for years and was shown to be influenced by what other individuals think of us as well their assessments of the type of work we do (Hughes, 1951; Benoit et al, 2018). Further, it is highlighted that the value or statuses placed on different professions has significance in how workers judge themselves, with workers in service jobs being categorised as 'esteem unworthy' (Bernstein, 2007a). Research has also shown that workers such as garbage

collectors, do not have a 'status shield' where their perceived lower positioning in the employment hierarchy fails to protect them from the disapproval of others (Hochschild, 1983).

Moreover, it was shown that those working in more customer facing jobs such as nail technicians, beauticians and food services, often needing to perform emotional labour to consumers regularly experience poor treatment from superiors and customers who often expect extreme obedience and passivity (Benoit et al, 2018). Sometimes workers internalise the stigma and view their own occupations and being of low status, which alienates them from their inner selves and can often lead to 'felt stigma' (Scambler, 2004) and decreased self-esteem (Corrigan, 2004).

#### 3.1 Sex work and self-esteem

Sex work is a heavily stigmatised profession, often leading those who participate in to either keep it a secret or being ostracised from society. There is usually shame attached to it as some come to it through unfavourable situations like low economic status and exploitation and in extreme examples, human and/or sex trafficking. Therefore, for the most part, sex work is held in low regard even in instances where it has been decriminalised (Foley, 2017; Lazarus et al, 2012). Sex workers are often 'othered' in general society, usually experiencing discrimination and being subject to being called derogatory terms such as prostitute and hooker that are often meant to hurt, insult and above all label and discredit them (Weitzer, 2012). Research has shown that sex workers, due to this, sometimes accept the denigration and adopt negative beliefs towards themselves and their work (Carrasco et al, 2017; Wong, Holroyd and Bingham 2011).

Studies have found sex workers in both indoor and outdoor locations reporting as having low self-esteem. For instance, Kramer's 2004 study, conducted predominantly on street-based sex

workers in America, found that above 75% of them reported decreased self-esteem following their involvement in sex work. Qualitative research conducted on people engaged in sex work has found feelings of being stereotyped (Koken, 2012) and other studies found that there was discourse and language use taking place that further exemplified that those involved in sex work were being ostracised (Gorry, Roen and Reilly 2010; Sallmann 2010). Some research has also shown that there are some who consistently implement ways to separate their lives as sex workers from their personal lives as a form of preserving and protecting their self-image from stigma (Nasir et al. 2010). This, however, can have detrimental psychological and social effects due to the secrecy (Kamise, 2013). In addition, some aspects that present themselves when engaged in sex work such as substance use, abuse, disempowerment, lack of control and exploitation also impede sex worker's abilities to experience positive self-esteem (Dodsworth 2012; Gorry, Roen and Reilly 2010; Smith and Marshall 2007).

On the other, there is research that suggests that sex work can sometimes have not much of an effect on sex workers' self-esteem. In the United States of America research by Downs, James and Cowan, 2006, comparing exotic dancers to college going women did not find significant differences in the two group's self-esteem scores. In New Zealand, in a study by Romans et al, 2001, on sex workers who were mainly based indoors, they reported 90% of their participants as feeling as good or better about themselves than most people (Benoit et al, 2018). In some instances, research has shown that being engaged in sex work has a positive impact on self-esteem, with majority of these findings occurring in studies that had indoor based participants. These participants were located in brothels and escort agencies (Bellhouse et al, 2015; Romans et al, 2001), freelance (Bellhouse et al, 2015; Koken, 2012; Lucas, 2005), strip clubs (Bouclin, 2006; Downs, James and Cowan, 2006; Scull 2015) and bars (Askew, 1999, Kamise 2013). A

study by Sweet and Tewksbury, 2000, found that exotic dancers had suffered from 'ugly duckling syndrome' when they were younger and had found stripping as a way to gain personal validation and proof that they had indeed grown into sexy and beautiful women (Benoit et al, 2018). Some research comparing men in the general population to male porn actors found the actors as having 'higher levels of self-esteem and quality of life especially in areas of sexual satisfaction, body image and physical safety' (Griffith et al, 2012).

Research into self-esteem of individuals within the sex industry can get be non-cohesive and scattered as researchers view and define it differently. Some research views it as being synonymous with self-worth (Rosenberg, 1995), whereas others view the combination of positive self-esteem and self-efficacy as working together to build positive self-concept (Dodsworth, 2012). Further, Berstein, 2007a, highlights self-authenticity as being an important cornerstone for middle class sex workers who want to view their profession as proper and esteem worthy (Leigh, 2004). There is an implication by Berstein, 2007a, that the more higher class and therefore privileged a sex worker is, the more they viewed their work as having 'authentic, yet bounded, interpersonal connection to their clients' (Benoit et al, 2018).

#### 4. METHODOLOGY

Ethical approval was not required for this research.

#### 4.1 Inclusion Criteria

The studies included had to meet certain criteria. It included qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods research published in English and included data specific to the sex industry, sex workers and their self-esteem. Studies that included qualitative and quantitative associations or relationships between the sex industry/sex work and self-esteem, self-concept, self-worth, self-

authenticity and self-efficacy as well as commentary of these domains in the methods and results were included. Articles containing unambiguous professions and behaviours in the sex industry such as street walking, escorting, exotic dancing, porn acting, and transactional sex were included. Sex workers were considered sex workers regardless of gender identity, therefore studies including men, women and transgender individuals engaged in sex work were included. Further only studies with participants over the age of 18 were included. Studies were excluded if they were completely unrelated to the topic of interest, were review papers themselves or were non-peer reviewed publications. Conference abstracts were also excluded.

# 4.2 Search Strategy

The searches were conducted in the PsycINFO, PubMed, ProQuest, and Scopus electronic databases, for per reviewed studies published between 2014 and 2024. The search strategy included Medical Subject Headings (MeSH) terms and specific keywords involving the sex industry or sex work and self-esteem and its' domains. The search terms used are outlined in the table below.

# Table 1 outline of key search terms and the search strategy

#### **Databases Searched**

PsycINFO, ProQuest, PubMed and Scopus	

# **Search Strategy for PsycINFO**

_		
- 11		
- #	!   Searches	
π	Scar enes	

1	"sex indust*" OR "sex work*" OR "female sex work*"OR "male sex work*" OR "trans sex
	work*" OR "prostitut*" OR "female prostitut*" OR "sex trad*" OR "transact* sex" OR
	"FSW*" OR "MSW*" OR "TSW*" OR "commercial sex" OR "sex-trade worker*" OR "adult
	service provider" OR "ASP"
2	"self-esteem" OR "self-worth" OR "self-efficacy" OR "self-authenticity"
3	1 AND 2

# **Search Strategy for ProQuest**

#	Searches
1	"sex indust*" OR "sex work*" OR "female sex work*" OR "male sex work*" OR "trans sex
	work*" OR "prostitut*" OR "female prostitut*" OR "sex trad*" OR "transact* sex" OR
	"FSW*" OR "MSW*" OR "TSW*" OR "commercial sex" OR "sex-trade worker*" OR "adult
	service provider" OR "ASP"
	DocType=All document types; peer reviewed Language=English;
2	"self-esteem" OR "self-worth" OR "self-efficacy" OR "self-authenticity"
	DocType=All document types; peer reviewed Language=English;
3	#2 AND #1
	DocType=All document types; Language=English

# **Search Strategy for PubMed**

#	Searches
1	Sex industry OR sex trade OR sex worker OR prostitution OR female sex worker OR
	male sex worker OR trans sex worker OR commercial sex OR adult service provider
	OR ("Sex Work/ethnology"[Mesh] OR "Sex Work/psychology"[Mesh] OR "Sex
	Work/statistics and numerical data"[Mesh])
2	Self-esteem OR Self-worth OR self-efficacy OR self-authenticity OR "Self-
	Concept"[Mesh] OR "Self-Efficacy"[Mesh]
3	#1 AND #2

# **Search Strategy for Scopus**

Searches
Sex industry OR sex trade OR sex worker OR prostitution OR female sex worker OR
male sex worker OR trans sex worker OR commercial sex OR adult service provider

	OR ("Sex Work/ethnology"[Mesh] OR "Sex Work/psychology"[Mesh] OR "Sex
	Work/statistics and numerical data"[Mesh])
2	Self-esteem OR Self-worth OR self-efficacy OR self-authenticity OR "Self-
	Concept"[Mesh] OR "Self-Efficacy"[Mesh]
3	#1 AND #2

# **4.3 Study Selection Process**

The results of the search strategies for each database were uploaded into the Rayyan website, an intelligent systematic review tool. During the initial screening phase, I screened the titles and abstracts of all the results, then screened the full texts of the studies that passed the initial phase. Studies were included if they met the inclusion criteria and excluded when they did not.

#### 4.4 Data Extraction

For each study I extracted the following data, year of publication, authors, study design, the aims of the study, sample demographics and size, key findings as well as the strengths and limitations. This is summarised and presented in table 2, Appendix B.

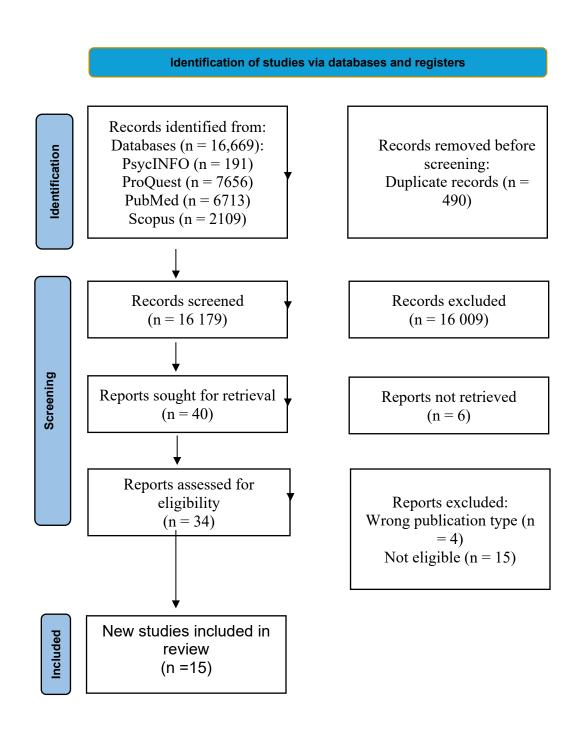
### 5. RESULTS

From the literature search, 16, 669 articles were identified. Thereafter, 490 duplicates were removed, leaving 16, 179 articles to be screened by title and abstract. After a full text screening, 16 articles met the inclusion criteria and were selected. Reasons for exclusion are outlined in the PRISMA flow chart below, Figure 1.

# **5.1 Study Characteristics**

Studies from Ethiopia, Canada, Greece and the USA were included. They included a variety of sex workers from different areas of the sex industry such as escorting, amateur porn and street-based sex work. The studies are further and more clearly summarised in Table 2, Appendix B.

Fig 1. Flow chart of included studies



# 5.2 Summary of Findings

#### 5.2.1 Self-Esteem

Benoit et al, found that the relationship between sex work and self-esteem was complex and that involvement in sex work had both positive and negative impacts on self-esteem and its domains. In their interviews with FSW's, Bellhouse et al, 2015 explored a theme of the positive impact that sex work had on the participants' relationships and more specifically themselves, with some participants stating that there had been a positive impact on their self-esteem, and they had confidence and pride in the work they did. These positive reports came from participants who viewed sex work as a part of their lives and their identity. They were less inclined to separate the home and work lives which in turn had positive outcomes in their lives and relationships. Kalemi et al, 2017 utilised the Rosenberg self-esteem scale on their participants and found that 22% (6/27) of the women presented low self-esteem, 74% (20/27) of them presented normal self-esteem and a 3,7% (1/27) presented high self-esteem.

Zaretsky and Baumgartner, 2020 found that their participants, who had left sex work, had good self-esteem due to earning "honest money", implying that they had low self-esteem when in sex work as they did view it as honest or legitimate work. The women felt empowered because the money they earned helped them look after themselves and in some cases their families. The pride they felt from doing lawful work also contributed positively to their self-esteem and feelings of self-worth. Kim and Peterson, 2020 carried out comparisons on incarcerated women who were split into three categories; those who had engaged in regular sex work, those who only did service work or care work (for example elderly care, childcare, housekeeping, waitressing,

cooking etc) and those who had done both. They assessed all the women with the Rosenberg self-esteem scale and found that women in care/service work had a lower level of self-esteem (mean = 26.6) compared with women in sex work (mean = 28.0) and women engaged in both (mean = 27.6).

Research by McCabe et al, 2014 involving psychocultural comparisons between male prostitutes in Dublin and San Francisco, assessed their self-esteem using the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory and found that there were no statistically significant differences in self-esteem between them. Similarly, Pedersen et al, 2015, compared female university students and exotic dancers and had them assessed on global self-esteem using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, finding no significant differences in self-esteem. Exotic dancers did, however, report higher, body consciousness. Gonzalez et al, 2021 found that there was an inverse relationship between self-esteem and loneliness implying that self-esteem can play a protective role in female sex worker's health behaviours and health status.

A study by Turcotte and Lanctot, 2021, focused on ex-sex workers, exploring their qualitative narratives of whether or not they had maintained their sense of self whilst engaged in sex work. The participants explained that despite their efforts, their sense of self was impacted to some degree by sex work. Emphasis was on the fact that they had failed to maintain their boundaries throughout their involvement in sex work, where at times, they overlooked their own rules and limits in exchange for money. They became less vigilant about the impact of sex work on their self-esteem and self-concept and failed to realise that their transgressions of their own boundaries were whittling away their self-esteem. On the other hand, Yaakobovitch, Bensimon and Idisis, 2024, researched the implications of participation in amateur pornography on a group of male participants' self-esteem and found that some of them reported positive. Some participants stated

that their self-esteem had improved due to their increased sense of desirability and positive reactions audiences. On the other hand, the negative outcomes experienced included social stigma as family and friends treated participants outcasts, and feelings of guilt amongst participants as relationships had broken down.

### **5.2.2 Self-Efficacy**

In the study by Asefa et al, 2022, researched the participant's self-efficacy in the context of their ability to organise and execute HIV prevention behaviours. Specifically, the participants' abilities and personal expectations with regards to whether or not prevention behaviours would be initiated, how much effort they would put in and how long they would maintain the behaviours should they find themselves facing barriers and unfavourable experiences. They found that, selfefficacy was significantly and positively correlated with HIV prevention behaviour (r = -0.097, p = <0.05). Self-efficacy and other variables were found to have statistical associations with HIV prevention behaviours amongst female sex workers older than 25 as compared to those younger. Benoit et al, 2018 found that, in contrast to concepts such as self-worth and authenticity, which focus on identity and self-conception, efficacy-based esteem emphasises the potential of individuals to enact change in their circumstances (Stets and Burke, 2014). In their study, 67 participants (33% of the total valid transcripts) referenced self-efficacy, with 36 individuals (54%) expressing positive sentiments, while 27 participants (40%) articulated negative views, and 4 participants exhibited ambivalence. Notably, those who engaged in socially stigmatised drug use were less inclined to report positive self-efficacy (10% compared to 25%, p < 0.05), and individuals perceiving higher stigma were more prone to describe their self-efficacy negatively (p < 0.05). Furthermore, participants who first engaged in sex work before the age of 19 (23% of the sample) were significantly more likely to recount negative self-efficacy experiences (p < 0.05), as were street-based workers in comparison to their indoor counterparts (p < 0.05), along with those exhibiting lower resilience scores (p < 0.05).

Positive self-efficacy was identified as a crucial factor enabling participants to assert control over various dimensions of their lives, including financial, social, and emotional aspects. They articulated how their involvement in sex work fostered a sense of independence and entrepreneurial spirit. Others felt good about having control over their bodies and what they did with them. Financial autonomy further contributed to self-efficacy.

Conversely, negative self-efficacy emerged as a theme characterised by a perceived lack of agency in engaging with sex work and a diminished belief in the ability to exit the profession. A minority of participants recounted experiences of coercion into sex work during their youth, especially after becoming involved with exploitative individuals.

Bird et al, 2016, their findings on self-efficacy for sex trade workers were that for most of the questions, most participants gave responses that implied high self-efficacy. Participants demonstrated a greater than 50% chance of agreement with the questions which focused on their ability to refuse or distance themselves from harmful examples. Cimino. A, 2019, researched efficacy beliefs with reference to exiting prostitution and found that the two still active sex workers lacked resilient self-efficacy, which is, they did not believe they deserved anything else other than what they had despite taking the necessary steps to change their situation. Those who had been able to exit sex work had shown some resilient self-efficacy, with their responses showing that regardless of how difficult leaving was, they wanted better for themselves and

going back or staying in sex work would not do that for them. Further, research by Deer, Zaretsky and Baumgartner, 2020.

Rogers et al, 2015, researched self-efficacy for safe sexual practices amongst sex trade workers using 7 sexual health—related items from an HIV risk behaviour self-efficacy scale. The scale asked participants to indicate their confidence to perform certain tasks (with 0 being not at all confident and 100 being completely confident. A depressed mood was linked to diminished self-efficacy regarding safe sexual health behaviours among sex trade workers (STWs) in the study. This finding is significant, as self-efficacy theory posits that individuals with lower self-efficacy are at greater risk for experiencing depression. Additionally, elevated self-efficacy concerning condom use has been correlated with higher rates of condom utilisation among STWs.

Consequently, effectively addressing and alleviating depressive symptoms may enhance safe sexual health practices, thereby decreasing the likelihood of HIV transmission.

# **5.2.3** Self-Authenticity

With regards to self-authenticity, Benoit et al, 2018 found participants in the study expressed their capacity to embody authenticity, both in relation to themselves and their interactions with others. Authenticity is characterised as an alignment with one's internal or personal standards regarding one's true identity (Stets and Burke, 2014). Conversely, inauthenticity in the context of one's professional role is described as a disconnect between the expected persona in a work environment and an individual's genuine self (Wharton, 2009). Among the 137 participants, 68% provided accounts related to authenticity. The impact of sex work on authenticity was perceived positively by 39 participants (28%) and negatively by 66 participants (48%), while the remaining

32 participants (23%) reported ambivalent feelings. Notably, the relationship between sex work and authenticity was more pronounced among indoor sex workers compared to their street-based counterparts, with a higher percentage of indoor sex workers articulating both positive (40% vs. 17%, p = .006) and negative (55% vs. 24%, p < 0.001) experiences. Additionally, those who articulated negative experiences of authenticity reported higher levels of perceived stigma (4.9 vs. 4.7 on a 6-point scale, p < 0.05).

The concept of enhanced authenticity, which entails self-discovery and the expression of one's true self, emerged. Participants articulated that sex work enabled them to explore sexual dimensions they would not have otherwise encountered, thereby enhancing their self-perception as a sexual being. Similarly, others reflected on their pre-engagement assessment of their skills, affirming their natural aptitude for sex work, a belief that was subsequently validated through experience. Other participants indicated that their authentic selves coexisted with their work and others highlighted the integral role of authenticity in their life context, asserting that sex work constituted merely a small aspect of their overall existence.

In contrast, inauthenticity was frequently discussed in terms of the necessity to conceal one's professional identity. Participants reported that the pressure to hide, misrepresent, or manage their work identity hindered their ability to engage authentically with others, resulting in identity discordance and feelings of inauthenticity. To mitigate the risk of being devalued, many participants exercised caution in disclosing their sex work status, which, while protective, limited their capacity to form genuine relationships.

#### 5.2.4 Self-Worth

Research by Benoit et al, 2018, 146 participants, representing 73% of the 201 usable transcripts, discussions regarding self-worth revealed that this perception is often shaped by social feedback from others (Stets and Burke, 2014). Among those who addressed self-worth, a significant majority (n = 84, 58%) indicated that their engagement in sex work positively enhanced their self-worth. Conversely, a smaller segment reported predominantly negative impacts (21%) or a combination of both positive and negative effects (21%). Notably, 63% of indoor sex workers reported experiences of positive self-worth, in contrast to only 34% of street-based sex workers (p < 0.01). Furthermore, a higher prevalence of negative self-worth was observed among outdoor workers (p < 0.001).

Participants expressing negative self-worth also exhibited elevated levels of perceived stigma compared to those who did not report such feelings (5.0 versus 4.7 on a 6-point scale, p < 0.05), and demonstrated lower resilience scores (5.0 vs 5.5, p < 0.01). Additionally, the accounts of negative self-worth varied among those who had recently used socially stigmatised substances, with 41% of participants reporting negative self-worth having used such drugs in the past month, compared to 59% who did not report negative feelings (p < 0.05). Gender differences were evident in the reports of positive self-worth, with 71% of women, 62% of transgender workers, and only 31% of men expressing a sense of positive self-worth (p < 0.05). However, no significant gender differences were found concerning negative self-worth.

Positive self-worth was often characterised by a confident self-assessment. Many participants attributed their enhanced self-worth to the skills they developed, which contributed to both their personal and professional identities. For one noted that sex work had enriched her life, fostering greater self-awareness regarding her limits and pleasures. Similarly, another expressed pride in her therapeutic role within the industry. Personal validation from clients emerged as a crucial

aspect of this enhancement. Some sex workers reflected on how their clients positively influenced their self-image with others emphasising that they felt valued beyond the physical services they provided, highlighting the importance of personal connection in their work. In contrast, negative self-worth was frequently associated with feelings of shame and unworthiness, reported by 31% of participants. Some articulated the internalisation of societal stigma, expressing feelings of dirtiness and low self-esteem. Others described a decline in self-esteem following their transition from conventional employment to sex work.

Tsang, 2021, researched the performance of femininity and its relationship to sex work amongst trans sex workers (TSW) (male to female) and found that through bodily experiences as TSWs the participants had developed self-worth and identity. They recognised their self-worth and the way the world and society marginalised and discriminated against them.

#### 6. DISCUSSION

The findings of this systematic review illuminate that the relationship between participation in the sex industry and self-esteem is a complex one, with both positive and negative self-esteem outcomes. The literature indicates that self-esteem among individuals involved in sex work is significantly influenced by societal stigma and subjective experiences within the industry. Studies reviewed demonstrate that sex workers often internalise societal judgments, leading to feelings of worthlessness and diminished self-esteem. For instance, Kramer (2004) found that over 75% of street-based sex workers reported decreased self-esteem, which aligns with the notion that stigma plays a crucial role in shaping self-perception.

On the other hand, some research suggests that certain groups of sex workers, particularly those in controlled environments such as brothels or escort services, report higher levels of self-esteem. Studies by Bellhouse et al. (2015) and Romans et al. (2001) indicate that these individuals often feel empowered and may experience an enhancement in self-worth and self-efficacy. This dichotomy suggests that the context of sex work; whether it is stigmatised or socially accepted; can significantly impact self-esteem outcomes. Research by Kim and Peterson, 2020, found that women engaged in sex work had higher self-esteem than those working service or care jobs that usually paid well below their needs. These findings were supported by previous research that found that women actively seek out alternative work such as sex work, as a choice, to overcome economic struggles (Rosen and Venkatesh, 2008). The act of choosing alternative and better paying work highlights their agency and can contribute to the feeling and sense of control (Kim and Peterson, 2020). The findings underscore the need for a clear understanding of self-esteem as it relates to sex work.

Theories of self-esteem, particularly those that emphasise social constructs and external validation, are particularly relevant here. The "Looking Glass Self", Charles Cooley, 1902, theory suggests that individuals form their self-concepts based on how they believe others perceive them (Darney, Howcroft and Stroud, 2013). In the context of sex work, this theory suggests that societal perceptions can profoundly affect the self-esteem of sex workers, often leading to a cycle of stigma and low self-worth. Further explorations of how self-esteem affects sex workers in various stages of their professional lives and how the nature of the profession, societal attitudes, and personal experiences shape their sense of self are highlighted;

#### 1. Self-Esteem and Entry into Sex Work

One of the most debated aspects regarding self-esteem and sex work is the question of why individuals enter this profession. Popular stereotypes often suggest that individuals with low selfesteem are more likely to become sex workers due to feelings of unworthiness or a lack of better options (Farley, 2004). However, research and personal accounts from sex workers present a more complex reality. Many sex workers, particularly those in more empowered and voluntary sectors of the industry, assert that they entered the profession due to financial necessity, flexibility, or the desire for autonomy, rather than out of desperation or low self-worth (Phoenix, 1999). Some have a strong sense of confidence in their bodies and sexual autonomy, viewing their work as a way to capitalise on these assets (van der Meulen, 2011). For these individuals, self-esteem may not be a determinant of entry but rather something they navigate and manage throughout their careers. However, for others, low self-esteem may contribute to choosing sex work, especially when alternative employment opportunities seem limited due to economic, educational, or social circumstances (Dalla, 2002). In such cases, sex work may appear as a viable option, not because it is aligned with an individual's self-image but because external factors have created limited alternatives. Vulnerability to exploitation may be heightened for those whose self-esteem has been undermined by trauma, social marginalisation, or other personal challenges (Farley, 2004).

## 2. Self-Esteem and Navigating the Profession

Once in the profession, a sex worker's self-esteem is shaped by a combination of personal, interpersonal, and societal factors. The attitudes of clients, coworkers, support networks, and broader society all have the potential to affect how sex workers feel about themselves and their work (Weitzer, 2009).

### a) Client Interactions

The quality of interactions with clients can have a significant impact on a sex worker's self-esteem. Positive, respectful client relationships may affirm a worker's value and professional identity, while demeaning or abusive encounters can diminish their self-worth (Koken, 2012). In a profession where physical appearance and sexual performance are often commodified, sex workers may experience fluctuations in self-esteem based on how clients perceive and treat them (Sanders, 2016). Validation from clients, particularly if it aligns with a worker's sense of control and autonomy, can reinforce positive self-esteem. Conversely, the depersonalisation and objectification inherent in many sex work settings can harm self-perception, especially when compounded by the imbalance of power between worker and client (Phoenix, 1999).

### b) Colleague and Peer Support

For many sex workers, peer support networks are a crucial source of affirmation. These communities can provide understanding and validation that is often missing from mainstream society (van der Meulen, 2011). In environments where sex work is decriminalised and there are organized labour movements or unions, workers may find that their self-esteem is bolstered by the recognition of their rights, the ability to advocate for better working conditions, and a sense of solidarity with others in the profession (Koken, 2012). However, in highly stigmatised or criminalised environments, sex workers may struggle with self-esteem due to the isolation that comes from societal judgment and legal pressures (Farley, 2004). Workers who are forced to operate in secretive or dangerous conditions may internalise societal stigma, leading to feelings of shame and worthlessness (Sanders, 2016).

## c) Public and Media Representation

The broader social stigma attached to sex work is one of the most significant factors affecting a worker's self-esteem. Sex work is often viewed through a lens of moral judgment, with sex workers stereotyped as victims, immoral, or deviant (Weitzer, 2009). This external condemnation can have a deeply negative impact on workers' self-esteem, especially when these narratives are internalised (Dalla, 2002). Media portrayals frequently focus on sensationalised or tragic depictions of sex work, further entrenching stereotypes that frame workers as lacking agency or value (Phoenix, 1999). However, recent years have seen a shift in how sex work is discussed in some progressive spaces, with more emphasis placed on autonomy, empowerment, and labour rights (Koken, 2012). This reframing can help sex workers to view their profession with pride and see themselves as empowered, competent individuals rather than passive victims.

### 3. Long-Term Impact on Self-Esteem

The long-term impact of sex work on an individual's self-esteem depends on various factors, including the duration of their involvement in the industry, the conditions under which they worked, and their experiences upon leaving the profession (Sanders, 2016).

### a) Exit Strategies and Reintegration

For those who choose to leave sex work, self-esteem can be influenced by how successfully they transition into other forms of employment or social roles (Dalla, 2002). Workers who are able to leave on their own terms, perhaps having saved money or gained skills that allow them to transition smoothly, may feel a strong sense of self-worth and accomplishment (Koken, 2012). However, those who leave due to burnout, trauma, or external pressure may struggle with feelings of failure or inadequacy, especially if they encounter barriers to reintegration into mainstream employment (Farley, 2004). In many cases, societal attitudes towards former sex

workers also play a significant role. The stigma of having been a sex worker can continue to affect a person's self-esteem long after they leave the industry (van der Meulen, 2011), especially if they face discrimination or social ostracism based on their past profession.

#### b) Mental Health and Coping Mechanisms

Mental health challenges, including anxiety, depression, and trauma, are prevalent among sex workers, especially in sectors of the industry where exploitation or violence is more common (Dalla, 2002). These conditions often intertwine with self-esteem, creating a cycle in which poor mental health exacerbates feelings of worthlessness, and low self-esteem fuels further mental health struggles (Farley, 2004). However, some workers develop robust coping mechanisms and resilience, especially when supported by strong peer networks, mental health services, or advocacy groups (van der Meulen, 2011).

For implementation in practice, these insights have significant implications for the development of targeted interventions aimed at improving the well-being, mental health and self-esteem of individuals involved in the sex industry. Programs that focus on destignatisation, empowerment, and social support could be beneficial. Additionally, mental health services tailored to the unique experiences of sex workers, led or supported by their peers, could help mitigate the negative impacts of stigma and enhance self-esteem.

#### **6.1 Strengths**

Some of the studies utilised qualitative research which allowed for detailed analysis of the subject matter. Participants were free to explain themselves and expand on their responses which allowed

for collection of richer data. Further, there were contributions made to areas of research that catered to underrepresented populations and highlighted valuable contributions to the literature.

#### **6.2 Limitations**

This review has provided valuable insights into the impact of sex work and sex industry involvement on self-esteem, one limitation is that there is a lot of variability in how self-esteem is defined and measured across the different studies, which complicates the ability to compare findings. In most of the research, self-esteem and its domains made up only a small part of the research scope. Very little literature was available that had the specific interests of this review at the forefront. Thus, this review was disproportionately reliant on the research by Benoit et al, 2018, for data as it was the most relevant with regards to the interests of the current research. Moreover, majority of the studies relied on the participants' self-disclosure and self-reporting for their data which may introduce social desirability bias and collection of inaccurate information. This occurring because the subject matter of the research was usually highly sensitive and stigmatised topics such as sex work and HIV/AIDS. In addition to this, a lot of the studies had small sample sizes, which may not be representative of the wider population. Further, some studies relied on convenience sampling which means that the data collected can only be generalised to the specific populations of sex workers, however in this instance, that may be a benefit. Importantly, the little amount of research available makes generalising the findings of the few studies available, difficult.

#### 6.3 Implications for future research and practice

Therefore, future research could aim for a more standardised approach to defining and measuring self-esteem in the context of the sex industry and sex work to allow for clearer comparisons and conclusions to be made. Future research can be conducted to increase the wealth of information

available on this area to promote greater understanding and contribute to what is available to inform policies and interventions. Moreover, exploration of the longitudinal effects of sex work on self-esteem should take place as experiences may change over time and different contexts. Research should also be conducted that offers comparisons between the impacts of the different forms of sex work and the different locations. For instance, sex workers active in resource rich countries of the "west" such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom might have different or similar experiences to those in the global south. Availability of this kind of information would allow international non-governmental organisations to help more individuals widely if their experiences are similar or to tailor existing interventions to specific needs. The unique experiences and locations of different sex workers, intersect with their other identities, such as race, their socio-economic background and status and gender identity which leads to different individuals experiencing the effects of the same occupation differently. Research into this intersectionality might provide more comprehensive understanding of self-esteem. Further research into the strategies of how those involved in the sex industry as a collective cope with the multitudes of issues they face that may impact their self-esteem and further, their mental health.

#### 7. CONCLUSION

This study sought to collate the existing literature on the impact that involvement in the sex industry and/or sex work has on self-esteem and its domains of self-worth, self-efficacy and self-authenticity. It highlighted that the relationship between involvement in sex work or the sex industry with self-esteem is a complex one that is not entirely negative or entirely positive. The relationship between sex work and self-esteem is shown to be multifaceted and influenced by a many varied factors. The individual experiences of sex workers and the reactions of their society,

families and friends have a significant impact as well. There requires nuance to understand and a distinct lack judgement and bias from researchers. Not much exists in the way of research on these areas specifically but there is a wealth of research on stigma. Future research could emphasise the relationship between stigma and self-esteem and thus collect, collate and highlight literature on the impact of the stigma experienced from engaging in sex work on self-esteem. Further, research can look at the effectiveness of relevant interventions such as peer to peer counselling, the implementation of proper societal and structural support systems and education.

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# 9. Appendix

# 9.1 Appendix A

# Table 1 outline of key search terms and the search strategy

## **Databases Searched**

PsycIN	NFO, ProQuest, 1	PubMed and Sco	pus		

# **Search Strategy for PsycINFO**

#	Searches
1	"sex indust*" OR "sex work*" OR "female sex work*"OR "male sex work*" OR "trans sex
	work*" OR "prostitut*" OR "female prostitut*" OR "sex trad*" OR "transact* sex" OR
	"FSW*" OR "MSW*" OR "TSW*" OR "commercial sex" OR "sex-trade worker*" OR "adult
	service provider" OR "ASP"
2	"self-esteem" OR "self-worth" OR "self-efficacy" OR "self-authenticity"
3	1 AND 2

# **Search Strategy for ProQuest**

#	Searches
1	"sex indust*" OR "sex work*" OR "female sex work*" OR "male sex work*" OR "trans sex
	work*" OR "prostitut*" OR "female prostitut*" OR "sex trad*" OR "transact* sex" OR
	"FSW*" OR "MSW*" OR "TSW*" OR "commercial sex" OR "sex-trade worker*" OR "adult
	service provider" OR "ASP"
	DocType=All document types; peer reviewed Language=English;
2	"self-esteem" OR "self-worth" OR "self-efficacy" OR "self-authenticity"
	DocType=All document types; peer reviewed Language=English;
3	#2 AND #1
	DocType=All document types; Language=English

# Search Strategy for PubMed

#	Searches
1	Sex industry OR sex trade OR sex worker OR prostitution OR female sex worker OR
	male sex worker OR trans sex worker OR commercial sex OR adult service provider
	male sex worker oft dans sex worker oft commercial sex oft addit service provider

	OR ("Sex Work/ethnology"[Mesh] OR "Sex Work/psychology"[Mesh] OR "Sex
	Work/statistics and numerical data"[Mesh])
2	Self-esteem OR Self-worth OR self-efficacy OR self-authenticity OR "Self-
	Concept"[Mesh] OR "Self-Efficacy"[Mesh]
3	#1 AND #2

# **Search Strategy for Scopus**

#	Searches
1	Sex industry OR sex trade OR sex worker OR prostitution OR female sex worker OR
	male sex worker OR trans sex worker OR commercial sex OR adult service provider
	OR ("Sex Work/ethnology"[Mesh] OR "Sex Work/psychology"[Mesh] OR "Sex
	Work/statistics and numerical data"[Mesh])
2	Self-esteem OR Self-worth OR self-efficacy OR self-authenticity OR "Self-
	Concept"[Mesh] OR "Self-Efficacy"[Mesh]
3	#1 AND #2

# 9.2 Appendix B

**Table 2: Summary of Studies** 

Author, Year	Aims, Study	Location, Sample	Data collection and	Key Findings	Strengths &
Title	design,	Demographic,	Analysis		Limitations
	Methodology	size,			
		characteristics &			
		recruitment			
		method			
Asefa et al, 2022	- aimed at	- Dima District,	- Independent variables	- self-efficacy was	Strengths: -is based on
Does the	assessing HIV	Agnuak zone Gambella	comprised socio-	significantly and	a theoretical
perception of	prevention	region Ethiopia	demographic	positively correlated	framework guided by
HIV risk among	behaviours among	- 449 female sex	characteristics (Age,	to the prevention	the Health Belief
Female sex	FSWs in the	workers who stayed in	marital status, religion,	behaviour ( $r = -0.097$ ,	Model, the most
workers affect	District, using	the area more than 6	educational status, place	p < 0.05	recommended model
HIV prevention	Health Belief	months and those too	of residence), alcohol	- respondents who	for forecasting why
behaviour?	Model	ill or unable to	use, khat chewing,	had high self-efficacy	people do not take
application of the	-Community based	communicate were	knowledge of HIV,	in HIV prevention	preventive measures
Health Belief	cross-sectional	excluded	HBM constructs	methods were 1.667	for health promotion
Model (HBM)	study	-Snowball sampling	(perceived susceptibility,	more likely to	and disease prevention
	-	7 6	perceived severity,	practice HIV	-the study considered
			perceived benefit,	prevention methods	other variables beyond
			perceived barrier, cue to	than those with low	the HBM constructs, including knowledge of
			prevention behaviours,	self-efficacy (AOR =	c c
			and self-efficacy).	1.667, 95% CI:	HIV/AIDS and attitude
				1.107, 2.511).	toward HIV prevention
					methods

1	I				Limitational anaryhall
					Limitations: -snowball
					sampling may impact
					generalisability to
					wider SW population
					- social desirability bias
					as it utilised self-
					reported data, so risk of
					overestimating findings
Bellhouse C,	- aimed to explore	- Victoria, Australia	- anonymous	- majority of the	Strengths: - the
Crebbin S,	the impact sex	-55 sex workers, over	questionnaire – 54 item	women who were in	research adds to what
Fairley CK,	work has on	18, understood English	self-report questionnaire	relationships believed	is already limited data
Bilardi	women's personal	and employed in	- member checking: after	that overall, sex work	on the impact of sex
JE, 2015	romantic	licensed brothel,	questionnaire data	affected their	work on women's
The Impact of	relationships and	massage parlour or	collection 6 more women	romantic	personal intimate
Sex Work on	the use of mental	private escort	were recruited for semi-	relationships (78%)	relationships
Women's	separation as a	-opportunity sampling.	structured qualitative	in mainly negative	-focused on sex
Personal	coping mechanism	Recruited by nurses at	interviews	ways.	workers employed in
Romantic	to balance the two	sexual health clinic	-SPSS for questionnaires	- positive impact	the legal sex industry
Relationships and	aspects of their	during their 3 month	Si SS for questionnaires	some of the women	where occupational
the Mental	lives.	check up	-Open ended were	felt that sex work had	health and safety
Separation of	-exploratory study	<b>r</b>	transcribed and	enabled them to	measures are in place
Their Work and	-mixed methods		thematically analysed	experience deeper	and enforced
Personal Lives:				intimacy with their	- qualitative aspect
A				partners and that sex	allowed for in-depth
Mixed-Methods				work improved their	exploration of the
Study.				private sex life as	Women's' experiences
				well as their self-	
	,	<u> </u>	<u>.                                    </u>		

				esteem and	-anonymity may have
				confidence.	allowed for participants
					to be more honest
					Limitations: -small
					sample of indoor sex
					workers so may not be
					generalisable to wider
					sex worker population
					-self-reported nature
					not allowed for full
					exploration of feelings
Benoit et al, 2018	- the paper	-Canada	-closed ended section of	- Most participants'	Strengths: - might be
Sex work and	presents a	- 218 participants,	data collection got	accounts addressed	the only study that
three dimensions	qualitative account	mean age = 34, 19	demographic data	more than one type of	captures in detail the
of self-esteem:	of how self-esteem	years and older, legal	-assessed resilience,	self-esteem, with	findings in relation to
self-worth,	is understood by a	working status in the	perceived stigma,	59% reporting	self-esteem for
authenticity and	heterogeneous	country, and have	substance use	elements of at least	relatively large and
self-efficacy	sample of adults	received money in	-grouped participants as	two of them and 19%	heterogenous sample
	engaged in sex	exchange for sexual	indoor and indoor based	mentioning all three	Limitations: - lack of
	work in Canada.	services on at least 15	indoor and indoor based	components	validated measure of
	- multi-project	different occasions in	-data analysed using		self-esteem
	community	previous 12 months	SPSS; bivariate analysis		-non-random sampling
	engaged study	-76% women, 17%	on quantitative measures		reduces generalisability
	-mixed methods	men, 7% other	including t-tests and chi		222222 Seneralisaemity
	-macu memous	men, 770 ouici	squared		-participants may have
		- non-random	-qualitative analysis on		been biased to only
		sampling, participants	set open ended questions		give positive accounts
		were recruited via	•		
		contact online, through			
	<u> </u>	l		l	

		research posters in	coded using NVivo and		of themselves and their
		•			
		newspapers, through	thematic analysis		experiences
		social and health			
		services, non-profit			
		community partners			
		and referrals from other			
		participants			
		-given CA\$60			
		honorarium for			
		participation			
Yelena Bird,	- purpose of this	-Saskatoon,	-sex trade workers	-all relevant questions	Strengths: - unique
Mark Lemstra,	study was to (a)	Saskatchewan, Canada	identified as those who	demonstrated a	contributions of sex
Marla Rogers &	describe the	-convenience sampling	answered 'yes' to if they	greater than 50%	trade worker data
John Moraros,	demographic and		had ever given sex to get	chance of agreement	Limitations: -
2016	socio-economic	- 340 sex trade workers	money in the last 6	implying high self-	convenience sample of
Third-	characteristics of	at risk of contracting	months and if they had	efficacy	self-reported data so
world realities in	the sex trade	HIV	ever given sex to get		there might be
a first-world	workers in the	-only 18 or older who	drugs within the last 6		desirability bias and
setting: A study	health region, (b)	gave both informed and	months		over or under reporting
of the	identify their	written consent	-Socio-demographic and		11
HIV/AIDS-	significant life	-69.9% women and	socio-economic data		- lack of
related conditions	events, self-	30.1% men	HIV/AIDCl.4. 1		generalisability to
and risk	reported problems,		-HIV/AIDS related		wider sex trade worker
behaviors of sex	knowledge,	- \$20 honorarium for	knowledge and		population
trade workers in	attitudes,	participation	behaviours		
Saskatoon,	behaviours, self-		-SPSS used for analysis		
·	efficacy, and				
Saskatchewan,	barriers regarding				
Canada	HIV, and (c)				

Andrea N. Cimino, 2019 Uncovering Intentions to Exit Prostitution: Findings from a Qualitative Study	determine the significant independent risk indicators for STW self- reporting a chance of greater than 50% of becoming infected with HIV/AIDS -quantitative cross- sectional descriptive study - purpose of the current study is to qualitatively elucidate IEP/IMBP (Integrative model of Behavioural Prediction) theoretical constructs (i.e., attitude, norm, and efficacy beliefs, agency) related to	-14 former and 2 active prostitutes; 13 female and 3 male and 2 of the male participants self- identified as gay  - recruitment through adverts posted in high prostitution neighbourhoods, support group and adult jobs section of Backpage.com a site	-qualitative interviews -template analysis for flexibility and use of a priori themes based on IEP/IMBP constructs	- what the participants who had exited were describing was resilient self-efficacy, the notion that in spite of challenging circumstance, I believe I can do better and I deserve better Upon re-analysing	Strengths: - the sampling method used helped improve the research's transferability  Limitations: - qualitative data so no quantitative criteria to measure quality or make generalisable conclusions
	attitude, norm, and			better.	
	efficacy beliefs, agency) related to the prostitution	Backpage.com a site		the narratives, all of	
	exiting process	prostitution		the exiters exemplified resilient	

	44			10.00	
	-qualitative	-stratified purposeful		self-efficacy to some	
	component of an	sapling to get		degree.	
	exploratory	participants that were			
	sequential mixed	representative of major			
	methods study	variations of			
		prostitution in the USA			
		and the exiting process			
Shannon Deer,	-purpose of this	- 10 women	-2 semi-structured	-All 10 participants	Strengths: - findings
Jill Zarestky,	study was to	participated, English	interviews with open	valued the positive	support evidence that
Lisa M.	explore women's	speaking, over 18 years	ended questions	influence earning an	self-efficacy is a
Baumgartner,	experiences	old, engaged in sex		income, providing for	critical factor in
2020	transitioning from	work in Texas, for at		themselves and, in	transferring skills from
	illegal engagement	least 12 months and		some cases,	one context; sex work;
Learn how to	in the sex trade to	had exited prior to		providing for their	to another; legal work
hustle for good":	legal employment	inclusion		families had on their	Limitations: - lack of
Women's work	- qualitative	-Organisations in		self-esteem	diversity of participants
transitions out of	research design	Texas that support			in race, gender and
the sex trade		women exiting the sex			category of sex work
		trade assisted in			engaged in
		participant recruitment.			
		organisations' leaders			
		initiated all contact			
		with potential			
		participants by sending			
		the corresponding			
		author's contact			
		information and a			
		summary of the study			
		to potential participants			

		via email, phone, or in			
		person, and inviting			
		potential participants to			
		reach out to the first			
		author if they were			
		interested in			
		participating			
		-purposive sampling			
G. Kalemi, 1 S.	-the study	-Greece	-semi structured	-Rosenberg self-	Strengths: - provided
Gkioka, 1 P.	attempted to	- 27 imprisoned and	interviews developed by	esteem scale 22%	additional insights on
Tsapatsari, 1 G.	identify specific	HIV positive sex	the multidisciplinary	(6/27) of the women	stigma and self-esteem
Tzeferakos, 1 T.	ways	workers, aged between	team of the Forensic Unit	presented low	Limitations: - cannot
Kandri, 2	in which stigma	18 and 48	aiming specifically to	self-esteem, 74%	draw causal
M.L. Psarra, 1 F.	may affect female	10 and 40	outline the HIV-positive	(20/27) of them	relationship just
Konstantopoulou,	HIV positive street	-convenience sampling	sex workers' experience	presented normal	associations between
1 A. Douzenis,	workers		after their personal	self-esteem and a	variables
2017	stigmatized by the		information exposure in	3,7% (1/27)	variables
Stigma and self-	media in Greece of		national media, and to	presented high self-	-participants were
esteem:	2012,		investigate how this	esteem	interviewed whilst
A case of HIV-	and how the		experience along with		imprisoned so they did
positive sex-	stigmatization was		their lifestyle and the		not experience the
workers	related to their		new issues uplifted		stigmatising events
WOIRCIS	self-		(imprisonment, HIV),		directly, they were
	esteem		affected their feelings		informed of them
			and thoughts about		
	-		themselves and their life		
			in		
			general		

			-descriptive statistics		
			calculated for		
			behavioural and medical		
			data		
			-Interpretative		
			Phenomenological		
			Analysis for interview		
			data		
			- Rosenberg Self-Esteem		
			Scale		
Sage J. Kim and	- study examined	-Cook County Jail,	-Centre for	-women in	Strengths: - findings
Caryn Peterson,	incarcerated	Chicago, Illinois, USA	Epidemiological Studies	care/service work	add valuable insight to
2020	women's	-400 women detained	Depression Scale	jobs exclusively	existing literature
The health effects of	engagement in sex work and low-	in a large urban jail in original study	- Rosenberg Self-Esteem  Scale	reported lower levels of self-esteem than	Limitations: - the data was self-reported
gendered and devalued work:	wage care/service work and the	-68.6% black	-socio demographic	women engaging in sex work	which might introduce
health outcomes	impact of this	-final sample n=277	characteristics		regards to data on illicit
of	work on their	women	-social support survey		activities
incarcerated	health and	-24% engaged	and adverse childhood		-highly specific group
women engaging	wellbeing	exclusively in sex work	events survey		of women so
in sex work	-	and 34% in	-Analysis using Strata;		generalisability is a
and care/service		care/service work.	chi square and t-tests and		problem
work		However, 41% of	multivariable logistic and		_
		women held both sex	linear regression		
		work and care/service			
		work jobs before			
		incarceration			

Ian Mc Cabe,	- the aim of the	- 23 MSPs; 11 in San	-semi structured	-There were no	Limitations: - very
Rónán Mills,	study is to identify	Francisco; 12 in Dublin	interview	statistically	small sample size
Donnchadh	psychocultural	- non-random direct	-Beck Depression	significant	- participation selection
Murphy, Sarah-	differences and	approach and snowball	Inventory	differences in self-	was non-random,
Jane Winders,	similarities	sampling	•	esteem, suicidal	limited to the working
Judy Hayden,	between male		-Beck Scale for Suicidal	ideation, or alcohol or	environment in San
Deirdre	street prostitutes in	-a flyer was distributed	Ideation	other drug	Francisco and the
Reynolds, Jenny	Dublin and San	providing contact	-Drug Assessment	dependencies	social environment in
Mc Cabe & Anne	Francisco	details of the head	Screening Test		Dublin so samples may
McQuaid, 2014	-quantitative; cross	researcher	-CAGE questionnaire		not be identical
A psychocultural	cultural	-each participant would	-CAGE questionnaire		not be identical
	Cultural	receive \$20 or the	-Coopersmith Self-		-data relied on self-
comparison of		equivalent in Dublin.	Esteem Inventory.		disclosure so it may not
male street					accurate
prostitutes in		-All participants were			
Dublin and San		offered free			
Francisco		counselling with a			
		counselling			
		psychologist in San			
		Francisco and a			
		psychiatrist in Dublin,			
		in the event of resultant			
		distress			
Cory L.	-the aim of this	-Canada	- demographic	- study indicated no	Limitations: - the study
Pedersen,	study was to	-230 women, 18 – 49	information and	significant	was not longitudinal
Amanda R.	evaluate	years, predominantly	descriptive statistics	differences between	- difficulty in recruiting
Champion 1,	similarities and	English speaking	-Rosenberg Self-Esteem	university students	exotic dancers to
Cassandra L.	differences		Scale	and exotic dancers on	participate means that
Hesse, Brodie J.	between exotic	-178 students from	Seale	self-esteem, or on the	those who took part
Lewis, 2015	dancers and non-	research participant		personality variables	may not be
		I .		I .	

Deviancy: university students Canadian University Questionnaire Brief or extrav  Comparing on demographic -52 exotic dancers  Version	ersion average dancer -sample only reflects a
-52 exotic dancers	-sample only reflects a
F ( D ) 11 10	
Exotic Dancers variables, self-recruited through site -Brief Sexual Attitudes	small portion of the
and Female esteem, aspects of visits to 9 exotic dance Scale	exotic dancer
University personality, clubs the snowball	population
Students attitudes toward sampling -Attitudes Toward Exotic	
sex and sexuality, Dance Scale	
and attitudes -students completed the	
toward exotic surveys in exchange for	
dance and exotic course credit and exotic	
dancers entered their	
names into a gift	
- quantitative certificate draw	
Ruth Pinedo -This study uses - autonomous region of - Social and Emotional - self-estee	m has a Limitations: - sample
González,1 the theory of Spain Loneliness Scale for protector	role on was not random and
Andrés Palacios loneliness to -146 female sex Adults Short Version lonelin	thus may not be
Picos,1 explore the workers; 19% being -Rosenberg Self-Esteem	representative
and Myriam de la relations among transgender women Scale	- self-reported data, so
Iglesia Gutiérrez, violence, self-	responses might be
esteem, loneliness, -Purposive sampling; -WHOQOL-BREF	subject to social
"Surviving the health, and drug participants were questionnaire for quality	desirability bias
violence. recruited with the help of life	
Of local NGOs that Humiliation, and	
Loneliness support sex workers	
Means -Participants were	
Getting High": engaged in different	
Violence, types of prostitution,	
Loneliness, and  14% on the street, 23%	

Health of		in nightclubs, and 63%			
Female Sex		in brothels			
Workers		-mean age of			
		participants was 30.88			
		years old (SD = $7.63$ ),			
		ranging from 19 to 53			
		years old			
		-Most participants were			
		of non-Spanish origin			
		(77.4%) but they were			
		native Spanish			
		speakers			
Marla Rochelle	- aimed to	-Saskatoon, Canada	- Center for	- study suggests that	Limitations: - study
Rogers, MPA;	determine the	-299 people, 18 and	Epidemiologic Studies	high rates of	was cross-sectional
Mark Edgar	prevalence of	over who have traded	Depression Scale	depressed mood	and, therefore, unable
Lemstra, PhD,	depressed mood	sex for money	-measure self-efficacy	among people who	to determine causation.
John Simeon	among people who	-	for safe sexual practices,	have traded sex for	-Although validated
Moraros, PhD,	have traded sex for	-recruited from a	the research team used 7	money is associated	scales were used, all of
2015	money in SHR; to	primary care clinic in	sexual health-related	with injection drug	the information
Risk Indicators	determine adjusted	one of the low income	items from an HIV risk	use and low self-	generated was based on
of Depressed	risk factors for	neighbourhoods;	behaviour self-efficacy	efficacy for safe	self-report thus subject
Mood Among	having depressed	needle exchange and	scale	sexual health	to bias
Sex-Trade	mood among this	primary care facility,	seare	practices	to oras
Workers	sample; and to	AIDS Saskatoon and	-Analysed using SPSS		-study did not
and Implications	determine if	from a facility that			discriminate between
for HIV Risk	depressed mood	offers free meals			the various types of
Behaviour	was associated				STWs or the conditions
Denaviour	with decreased				under which they
	self-efficacy for				traded sex for money.
		i l	II.	i e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e	i l

	safe sexual	-\$20 was given to each			
	practices and	participant for taking			
	injection drug use	part			
	among people who				
	have traded sex for				
	money				
Tsang, E.Y.H.,	- study uses the	-Tianjin, North China	-recorded in-depth	- Embracing their	Strength: - Research
2021	conceptual	-49 male to female	interviews and post field	femininity constitutes	focuses on an
"Be the	framework of	(MTF) transgender sex	notes	a self-help program,	underrepresented
Dream Queen":	gender	workers (TSWs); 23 -	- interviews were	enabling them to	population,
Gender	performativity,	48 years old	recorded, transcribed,	build self-confidence	contributing to the
Performativity,	that is, gender is	- TSWs knew that the	and analysed with the	and develop a	literature
Femininity, and	performative and	author was a full-time	guidance of grounded	positive self-image	Limitations: - small
Transgender Sex	distinct from	researcher but not a	theory		sample
Workers in China	physical bodies	full-time bartender	-translated into English		
	and binary	which is how the	and NVivo software used		
	classifications	researcher recruited	for coding and analysis		
	-qualitative	participants	101 County and analysis		
		participants			
		-all signed consent			
		forms			
Mathilde	- objectives were	-Quebec, Canada	-qualitative narratives,	- Findings show that	Strengths: -
Turcotte1 and	to identify	-14 participants; 18	semi structured	ex-sex workers were	contributions of first
Nadine Lanctôt,	strategies they	years and older who	interviews	very aware of the	hand perspectives such
2021	used to protect	were former sex	-QDA Miner was used	risks of sex work for	as the shame, guilt, and
Managing the toll	their self-concept	workers	for coding and analysis	their self-concept.	tendency to self-blame
of sex work with	and better			Indeed, they used a	of ex-sex workers, who
bounded agency:	understand the	-Practitioners who		variety of strategies	perceived their
	challenges they	work with sex workers		to avoid being	decisions to relax their
	,		<u> </u>	<u> </u>	ļ.

Perspectives of	faced in their	or vulnerable women		discovered and to	rules and to
ex-sex workers	efforts to keep sex	helped recruit		protect their sense of	compromise with
	work within their	participants or		self	boundaries caused a
	comfort zone	participants also			gradual weakening of
	-qualitative	referred others			their sense of self
		-Participants were give			Limitation: - focus on
		\$50 gift certificate for			narratives by ex sex
		participation			workers only limits
					transferability to active
					sex workers
					-small sample, so not
Tal	- study focuses on	-27 Israeli male	-Semi Structured	- positive	Limitations: - could not
	•			-	
Yaakobovitch,	amateur porn male	amateur porn actors	Interview	implications such as	recruit an equal number
Moshe	actors' lived	-21 years and over	-interpretative	increased self-esteem	of female participants
Bensimon, Yael	experiences and	-21 identified	phenomenological	and gaining	-could not recruit equal
Idisis, 2024	initially explores	themselves as gay, 5 as	analysis	admiration and	numbers in terms of
A qualitative	their motivations,			appreciation, as well	sexual orientation
analysis of male	challenges, and	heterosexual and 1 was		as negative	
actors in amateur	ways of coping	bisexual		implications, such as	
pornography:	with particular	- they were recruited		impaired	
motivations,	difficulties in this	through internet dating		interpersonal	
implications and	business	sites and		relationships, social	
challenges	-qualitative	advertisements and		stigmatization,	
5	1	porn producers were		harassments and	
		asked to send the		persecutions, and	
		researchers' invitation		physical and	
		to actors			

		psychological work	
		injuries	

## 9.3 Appendix C

Fig 1. Flow chart of included studies

