



(Three Worlds, n.d.)

INCREASING SAFE HOUSE UPTAKE

AN APPLIED POLICY PROJECT FOR PINK DOOR BERLIN

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DISCLAIMER

The author conducted this study as part of the program of professional education at the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy at the University of Virginia. This paper is submitted in partial fulfillment of the course requirements for the Master of Public Policy degree. The judgments and conclusions are solely those of the author and are not necessarily endorsed by the Batten School, by the University of Virginia, or by any other entity.

HONOR PLEDGE

On my honor as a student, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this assignment.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Molly Magoffin". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long, sweeping underline.

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KEY TERMS

Counseling	In this report, “counseling” does not necessarily refer to psychological counseling; primarily, it refers to the provision of relevant advice, guidance, and resources by social workers and/or subject specialists.
Freedom Business	A business that employs survivors of trafficking or sells goods they produce
Human Trafficking	Exploitation of an individual for profit, usually involving the transportation of an individual from one country or area to another; coercive action, means, and the purpose of exploitation are required for it to be legally determined to be human trafficking (S. von Scheele, personal communication, 2020)
John	Someone who purchases sex
Loverboy Method	A method of encouraging women to enter prostitution and facilitating human trafficking; usually, a man pretends to be in love with a young woman and encourages her to perform sexual acts for money by leveraging her feelings for him (Kirstges, 2014; Klein, 2019; Bundeskriminalamt, 2019)
Pimp	Someone who solicits customers for prostitutes and takes some of their profits in return
Prostitution	The exchange of sexual services for money
Red-Light District	An area with a concentrated amount of prostitution and sex-oriented businesses
Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)	A non-profit organization independent of any government involvement

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Problem

Hundreds of thousands of individuals work in prostitution in Germany, but research indicates that a majority of them wish to exit (Farley et al., 2004; Klein, 2019). Causes of forced prostitution include human trafficking, poverty, and a lack of education (Bundeskriminalamt, 2019; Klein, 2019; Schmollack, 2019). Individuals vulnerable to these factors are left without other options: they either face threats, violence, or other forms of coercion that keep them in prostitution, or their survival and ability to support their family is contingent on their participation in prostitution. Due to these barriers and other challenges faced by prostitutes, **too few prostitutes who want to exit prostitution take advantage of safe house programs offered by NGOs in Germany.**

Many variables affect an individual's ability to leave prostitution. Current exit and safe house programs address many of the barriers to exiting described in the literature, by providing housing, counseling, job training, education, and societal integration (Cimino, 2019). Qualitative data collected through surveys and interviews revealed that primary factors inhibiting full uptake of safe house services included the necessity of earning an income while participating in the program, fear of bureaucracy, discomfort with the rigidity of traditional safe house rules, and limited options for several underserved groups (Philips & Hommel, 2019).

Pink Door Berlin has operated a safe house in Berlin for several years using a traditional model in which women who have fully exited prostitution live in the safe house, take classes, and undergo psychosocial counseling with the goal of achieving long-term independence and stability. Pink Door is now undergoing significant changes as it opens a second location and re-evaluates its safe house model. It already plans to expand its services in the areas of counseling, uses for its country safe house, and creation of a freedom business while also increasing flexibility in the use of both safe accommodations.

Potential Solutions

In order to address the issue of low uptake, Pink Door Berlin could

1. Maintain their previous safe house model,
2. Reduce bureaucracy and increase flexibility,
3. Expand their program,
4. Pursue planned changes (moderately expand the program while increasing flexibility), or
5. Carry out an information campaign.

Recommendation and Implementation

Alternatives to address this problem were evaluated based on equity, effectiveness, cost, administrative feasibility, and social acceptability. Options 3, 4, and 5 were found to be most equitable and effective, but Option 3 was too costly and the projected administrative feasibility and social acceptability were low. Based on this evaluation of the alternatives, the best course of action would be to carry out **Option 4: Pursue planned changes** and **Option 5: Information Campaign**. Pink Door should pursue the planned changes with some alterations based on recommendations from the literature and qualitative data. An information campaign would support the implementation of Option 4 while also increasing uptake.

INTRODUCTION

Pink Door Berlin

Pink Door Berlin is a faith-based safe house organization that helps women exit prostitution or escape sex trafficking by focusing on the provision of secure accommodations, individual course offerings, and psychosocial counseling. They opened their doors in 2016; they have operated a safe house just outside of Berlin for the past four years.

As of this year, they now have an accommodation in the city for more stable participants who are ready for job integration (Pink Door City) as well as a home in the country for participants who need more space and time to recover and transition (Pink Door Country). Like other faith-based safe houses in Germany, they are grappling with the issue of uptake and how to best serve their target population. As they prepare to begin operating Pink Door Country, they are interested in adapting their program model to better serve the needs of prostitutes in Germany.

Their previous model involved three major phases:

1. Completion of courses and undergoing counseling while living in Pink Door's safe house
2. Moving into a shared flat or an individual apartment while maintaining contact with Pink Door and continuing to receive support from them
3. Full independence with limited contact with Pink Door, but provision of support as necessary

Women in the program were required to have fully exited prostitution. Individuals with substance abuse problems were not admitted to the program. Additionally, women with children were required to organize their own childcare.

Pink Door's mission is to help women to stay away from sexual exploitation, remain drug and alcohol free, live crime-free lifestyles, maintain education or employment, live independently, develop emotional stability, and, when applicable, parent adequately.

Networks Against Human Trafficking

The city of Berlin has a large population of prostitutes and a well-known red-light district in the Kurfürstenstraße area. Faith-based organizations Alabaster Jar and Café Neustart operate in the red-light district by providing necessities to prostitutes in the outreach café and through brothel outreach. All of these groups hope to improve the quality of life for prostitutes and to help anyone who wishes to exit the industry to do so. They coordinate to accomplish this goal (*Pink Door Berlin*, n.d.; R. Philips, personal communication, 2019; "Mitgliedsorganisationen," n.d.).

Organizations working to improve the lives of prostitutes and survivors of trafficking are present throughout Germany. These organizations include outreach organizations like Alabaster Jar and Café Neustart, exit programs like Pink Door, and advocacy and prevention programs. The networks Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel¹ and the Bundesweiter Koordinierungskreis gegen Menschenhandel (KOK)² serve to connect the various organizations and coordinate their efforts. The former network consists of faith-based and secular organizations, while the latter includes

¹ Together Against Human Trafficking

² Federal Coordination Circle Against Human Trafficking

primarily secular organizations. Representatives of member organizations from both networks were interviewed in the course of this project.

BACKGROUND

Prostitution in Germany

Prostitution, the exchange of sexual services for money, is legal in Germany. The last barriers to participating in prostitution were removed through a law that took effect on January 1, 2002. Currently, only prostitution of minors, forced prostitution, and prostitution in certain areas are illegal (Klein, 2019; *ProstG Prostitutionsgesetz*, n.d.). In 2017, a prostitution protection law was passed to protect women from violence or being forced into prostitution. This law requires brothels to register as businesses and women working as prostitutes to register with the government and to carry a license with them, colloquially known as a “whore’s passport” (Klein, 2019; *ProstSchG Prostituiertenschutzgesetz*, n.d.). Only approximately 7,000 women have registered, but there are an estimated 150,000 to one million prostitutes working in Germany (Klein, 2019; Nagel, 2013; Sahli, 2013; Schöler, 2019). A federal policymaker working on this topic estimates that there are 250,000 to 300,000 prostitutes working full- or part-time in Germany (F. Heinrich, personal communication, 2020). Estimates of the total number of prostitutes in Germany have been disputed, as collecting data on this population is incredibly difficult. This is due to several reasons. Firstly, even though prostitution is legal in Germany, the industry is still stigmatized (Schöler, 2019). Many individuals in this industry distrust the authorities who would conduct surveys due to fraught relationships with the police or with authorities in their home countries (Dernbach, 2019). Additionally, many prostitutes are migrants, posing significant language barriers that further complicate surveys of this group (Klein, 2019; Sahli, 2013).

Most prostitutes are women (*Why Prostitution Shouldn’t Be Legal*, n.d.). The majority of prostitutes in Germany come from other countries. Estimates of exactly how many vary from 60 to 90 percent (Klein, 2019; Sahli, 2013). Of those, many come from Romania, Hungary, and Bulgaria (Kirstges, 2014; Schmollack, 2019). As citizens of other EU countries, these individuals are permitted to be in Germany, which makes it difficult for the police to investigate whether or not they are there of their own volition. In the past couple of years, there has also been a significant increase of Nigerians working in prostitution in Germany, based on data collected through a Federal Criminal Office³ report on Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Bundeskriminalamt, 2019).

Causes of Prostitution

While some women enter prostitution by their own choice, it is estimated that between 85 and 95 percent of prostitutes do not wish to be in the industry (F. Heinrich, personal communication, 2020). The Loverboy method is one way in which women are brought into sex work in Germany unwillingly, often from other countries. It is a primary way by which German girls are introduced to prostitution (S. von Scheele, personal communication, 2020). In this strategy, usually a man will prey on a young woman and begin a relationship with her. He promises her a stable future, possibly involving a job prospect, and professes his love for her. He then introduces her into the world of prostitution, coercing her to engage in sex work through a combination of violence and professed love. The police can only help in such a situation if the victim tells them that she is being held against her will, but victims of this practice have many reasons to avoid doing so, such as past negative experiences with the police or other authorities, fear of their families finding out about their line of work, and the emotional bond with their pimp (Kirstges, 2014; Klein, 2019; Bundeskriminalamt, 2019).

³ Bundeskriminalamt

Other common causes for involuntary entry into prostitution are poverty and lack of education (Klein, 2019; Schmollack, 2019). As prostitution requires few skills or materials, individuals with limited education who need money to survive may become prostitutes due to a lack of other options. Poverty has been correlated with prostitution and especially street prostitution (Monroe, 2005).

As the world faces an impending global recession triggered by the COVID-19 pandemic, the relationship between poverty and prostitution is relevant to longer term planning around this issue (Shalal & Lawder, 2020). Additionally, the current pandemic increases the vulnerability of individuals engaging in survival prostitution who remain on the streets. Although brothels have been closed, prostitutes without any other way to earn income or social benefits from the welfare system will need to continue working to support themselves; they now have far fewer resources, may accept lower prices, and face a higher risk of contracting COVID-19 (Balcı & Denzel, 2020).

There are several additional factors which may push and/or pull individuals into prostitution, as shown in the table below (Cimino, 2012).

Push factors	Pull factors
Poverty	Excitement of risk
Unstable home life	Idea of a glamorous lifestyle
Childhood abuse	Loverboy method
Neglect	Desire for economic independence
Drug addiction	Feeling in control/empowered
	Encouragement from others

Negative Impacts of Prostitution

The frequency of women engaging in sex work against their will is alarming, even more so considering the negative impacts for prostitutes. A survey of women aged 16 to 25 in Germany in 2004 found that 92 percent of prostitutes had experienced sexual harassment; 82 percent had experienced psychological abuse; 87 percent had experienced physical violence; and 59 percent had experienced sexual assault (1. *Datenreport*, 2005). In a larger survey-based study with data from nine countries, including Germany, they found that in the course of engaging in prostitution, 95 percent of prostitutes had experienced sexual harassment; 70 to 95 percent had



experienced physical violence; 88 percent had received verbal abuse; and 60 to 75 percent had been raped. They also found that 89 percent of the prostitutes wanted to exit prostitution. In addition to these statistics, this latter study's main finding was that 68 percent of those surveyed met criteria for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) at a comparable severity to "treatment-seeking combat veterans, battered women seeking shelter, rape survivors, and refugees from state-organized torture." The rate of PTSD among prostitutes surveyed in Germany specifically was 60 percent (Farley et al., 2004). These studies indicate not only that the vast majority of prostitutes experience violence and abuse, but also that there is a significant population of prostitutes who wish to exit the industry, especially among street workers (Mayhew & Mossman, 2007). Additionally, several studies have shown that legalized prostitution increases human trafficking, another factor that would lead to a higher population of individuals in Germany who would theoretically want to exit prostitution (Cho et al., 2013).

Resources for Prostitutes in Germany

As of February 2019, only 76 prostitutes were registered for social welfare benefits from the government. The lack of individuals registering as prostitutes or able to receive social insurance belies a larger issue that they are still unable to receive protection from the government and the police despite legalization of their profession. Some sources blame this on the remaining stigmatization of prostitution; individuals may be unwilling to become officially recognized as prostitutes (Schöler, 2019). It may also be related to the prevalence of migrant women working in the industry. Most are not entitled to social benefits in Germany, even if they are EU citizens, which would give them no incentive to register (A. Tivig, personal communication, 2020).

There are many other resources for prostitutes in Germany. There are counseling centers for sexually transmitted disease (STD) testing, social services, and psychological counseling. Some of these are state-sponsored, while others are faith-based or charity-based. Comprehensive lists of associated organizations in Germany that offer services for prostitutes and survivors of trafficking are included in Appendix 1. These organizations engage in brothel and street outreach, are located in red-light districts, or use advertising and promotion to reach their target population (Czarnecki et al., 2014; *Mitgliedsorganisationen—KOK*, n.d.; "Mitgliedsorganisationen," n.d.; *Services4SexWorkers*, n.d.).

One specific type of resource for prostitutes and survivors of trafficking in Germany are NGO⁴-provided safe houses. These are different from state-sponsored Frauenhäuser,⁵ which are geared towards victims of domestic violence (F. Heinrich, personal communication, 2020). There are many independent safe houses throughout Germany, including Pink Door Berlin. These safe houses often offer services beyond accommodations: they may provide classes on a variety of topics, counseling, job training, and other integration services to help their clients transition to an independent life (R. Philips, personal communication, 2019). They fundraise in order to provide these services. These comprehensive exit and integration services are not currently provided by the German federal government; the government focuses on addressing the issue of forced prostitution through law enforcement and drop-in health and counseling centers rather than exit services (*Mitgliedsorganisationen—KOK*, n.d.; "Mitgliedsorganisationen," n.d.; *Services4SexWorkers*, n.d.; F. Heinrich, personal communication, 2020). Some counseling centers even provide entry counseling, which is advising for individuals interested in becoming prostitutes (*Hydra: Beratung bei Hydra*, n.d.).

⁴ Non-governmental organization

⁵ Direct translation: Women's houses

PROBLEM DEFINITION

Although the majority of prostitutes in Germany do not want to be in the industry, NGO-run exit programs in Germany are underutilized. They have more available spots than there are individuals to fill them. This indicates that an underlying issue is preventing full uptake of safe house services.

Some possible problems include that

- there could be incorrect data on the proportion of prostitutes hoping to exit the industry;
- incomplete information may be communicated to the target population on the services available;
- the safe houses could have incomplete information on what exactly those leaving prostitution need;
- there could be an excess of safe houses;
- a combination of several of these issues could be occurring;
- or other unknown factors could be contributing to the issue.

As the goal of safe houses is to help the target population as much as possible, it is important to determine where the problem here lies to ensure that this mission can be accomplished (R. Philips, personal communication, September 2019). A review of available literature on exit programs, surveys, and interviews were utilized to evaluate the accuracy of data on the target population and to assess their needs. Then, alternatives were generated to address the problem of low uptake at Pink Door. These options may also be relevant to other NGOs addressing this problem throughout Germany.

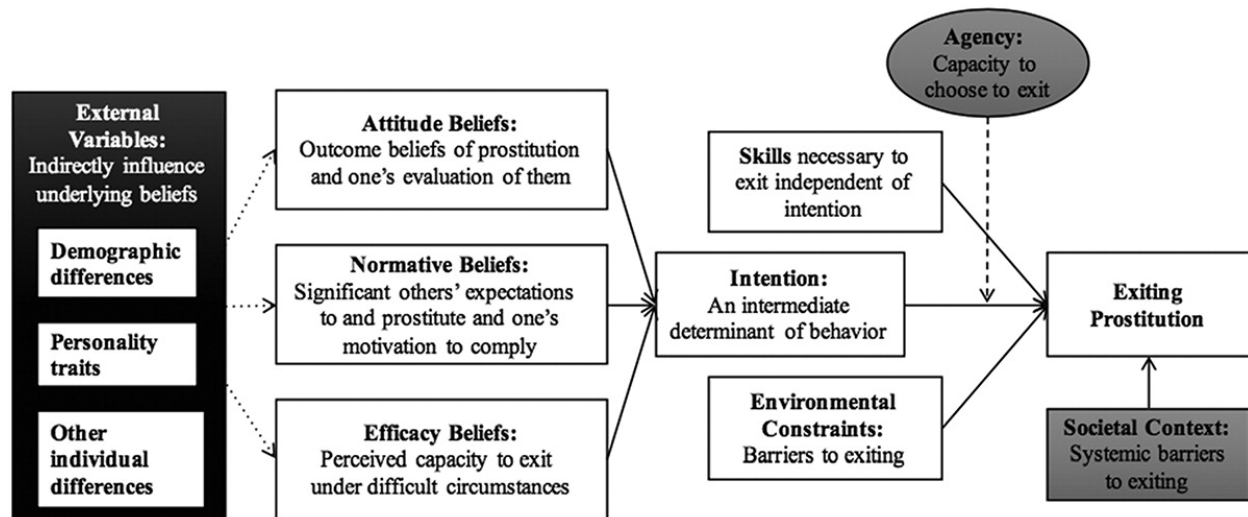
LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review evaluates the research behind why women choose to exit the prostitution industry, other existing exit service programs, the needs of the target population, and other comparable situations.

Deciding to Exit Prostitution

Prostitution is incredibly difficult to permanently exit; even women who do exit prostitution tend to return, creating a cycle of entry, exit, and reentry (Cimino, 2012). The process of leaving can take months or even years. The longer someone has been in prostitution, the longer it will take for them to fully exit (Brasnjo, 2015). Studies in New Zealand, the UK, and Canada found that around two-thirds of the prostitutes they surveyed had tried to exit at some point; prostitutes often tried five or six times before they were successful (Mayhew & Mossman, 2007). Larissa Brasnjo characterizes the full process of exiting as having three stages: Entscheidungsphase (decision phase), Ausstiegsphase (exit phase), and Nachsorge (aftercare). The decision phase involves an internal choice by the woman, whereas the process of exiting and the support in the aftercare phrase typically require external assistance (Brasnjo, 2015).

Studies of factors predictive of success in exiting prostitution show that there are numerous variables which influence ability to exit. These variables and their relationships to one another are shown in the chart below (Cimino, 2012).



Source: Cimino, A. N. (2019). Uncovering Intentions to Exit Prostitution: Findings from a Qualitative Study. *Victims & Offenders*, 14(5), 606–624. doi: 10.1080/15564886.2019.1628144

In a later study involving in-depth interviews with sixteen participants, Cimino found that specifically glamorization and risk-recognition attitudes, resilience and self-efficacy beliefs, agency, and stigma from significant others were factors influencing intent to exit prostitution. Additionally, other predictors of success in exiting prostitution are willingness to change, intent to leave old relationships and develop new ones, and ability to find housing and new employment (2019).

Exit Services

Exit services must address the push and pull factors⁶ that lead women to enter prostitution in the first place. Best practices involve holistic programs that address many push and pull factors and needs of women exiting prostitution simultaneously. Firstly, they must provide financial support so that they do not need to return to prostitution for survival. They may also provide housing, counseling, job training, substance abuse treatment, and education (Cimino, 2012; Oselin, 2010). More specifically, they ought to help women integrate into society: they should help participants open bank accounts; register for health insurance and take care of medical issues; and, if they are migrants, navigate the immigration process. Helping participants find a place to live both during and after the program is vital (Brasnjo, 2015).

Programs can also make the transition easier by insulating the participants from individuals associated with their time in prostitution, especially violent pimps and johns. Another way to help participants is through supporting them if they wish to conceal their past association with prostitution. As prostitutes are often stigmatized, many want to distance themselves from their past occupation (Oselin, 2010).

Prostitutes may struggle with severe mental health issues caused by their time in sex work, and they require intensive counseling to successfully transition out of their past life (Brasnjo, 2015). One study found that participants in a residential exit program who failed to complete the program were more likely to report symptoms of trauma than participants who did complete 90 days of treatment. This indicates that addressing symptoms of trauma early in exit programs is important to retain participants (Roe-Sepowitz et. al., 2012).

Pink Door and Similar Programs

A study in 2015 interviewed participants in a faith-based program similar to Pink Door in the U.S. southwest region and evaluated the components of the exit program. They developed nine recommendations; the most applicable to increasing uptake of Pink Door's services are the following:

- Screening for readiness to exit could help improve program success.
- Peer-to-peer mentoring between current participants and graduates of the program can be beneficial for both parties.
- Treatment needs to be individualized to each participant.
- Barriers to participation (childcare, healthcare, transportation, housing, financial assistance) need to be addressed.
- Expanding services to males and/or transgender participants could increase uptake.
- Trauma-informed care is necessary to support this population. (Preble et. al., 2015)

Another study of a similar U.S.-based program focused on the demographics of the target population for the program and developed recommendations from these demographic traits. They found that women in their program ranged from 18 to 54 years old, and a majority were single upon entering the program. Most participants had children. Eighty-seven percent reported illegal drug use. Most participants experienced mental health issues as well as physical health problems. Additionally, a majority experienced childhood trauma. The study recommended that exit programs address basic

⁶ Refer to Background section

needs, establish formal referral networks, and provide trauma-informed services (Hankel et. al., 2015). Clearly defining the target population and understanding their demographics is key in tailoring programs to best support participants. For example, evaluating the prevalence of drug use, mental and physical health issues, and family responsibilities in a safe house's intended population allows safe houses to devote an appropriate amount of resources to developing substance abuse counseling, health referral networks, and childcare services.

Related Programs

Substance Abuse

Studies evaluating drug treatment uptake provide insights into predictors of program uptake and completion for a solution to a problem closely related to prostitution. A study performed in Canada evaluated the success of a group model in uptake of hepatitis C (HCV) treatment, finding that past attendance was a strong predictor of future attendance, and that a peer support group, as opposed to individual treatment, increased uptake of the HCV treatment (Grebely et. al., 2007). Research in Australia a year later at the Sydney Medically Supervised Injecting Center assessed factors they thought may correlate with program uptake. They found that previous mental health problems, including self-harm specifically, was negatively correlated with drug treatment referral uptake. A primary takeaway from their study was that those with a history of mental health issues may require more intensive referral and case management (Kimber et. al., 2008).

Integration

Studies evaluating cultural integration programs in Germany for migrants are closely related to any evaluation of potential safe house programs, as many prostitutes and survivors of trafficking are migrants. Integration in Germany is defined by the current national executive program as a function of eleven policy areas: primary education, secondary education, labor market working life, minority hiring in the public sector, health, local community integration, language, sports, civic engagement, media, and culture (Dekker et. al., 2015; *Angebote*, n.d.). These key areas are focus points that safe house programs should consider in any integration courses.

A recent study on integration addressed the challenge of balancing motherhood and integration into German society. This is of interest to safe houses, because most prostitutes and survivors of trafficking are mothers (K. Welch, personal communication, 2020). The study focused on mothers who are also survivors of trafficking and the difficulties they face after arrival in the country. They have a higher risk of postpartum depression and PTSD, and they may feel like bad mothers as they struggle to provide for their children. A lack of sufficient childcare options makes it difficult for them to participate in language courses or other forms of education. Even in their children's education, migrant mothers are seldom incorporated as a part of their child's learning support system in kindergartens or schools. Several projects are addressing these main challenges, including the EU-funded project "Neighborhood Mothers"⁷, in which migrant mothers are trained as peer mentors to support integration and best parenting practices; so far, such projects have been successful (Wells, 2019). Like the substance abuse studies, this study highlights the importance of addressing mental health for safe house program participants as well as the potential for peer mentoring as a successful component of a program.

⁷ Stadtteilmütter

Takeaways

Decision Phase

Increasing potential participants' self-efficacy beliefs could increase uptake. As shown in Cimino's model, this is an important component in developing the intention to exit prostitution. Interventions in the decision phase of the process are difficult to tailor to individuals without knowing them well; developing relationships with outreach programs that develop personal relationships with current prostitutes and establishing formal referral relationships with them could alleviate this issue. Closer cooperation between safe house organizations and outreach organizations that have strong relationships to potential participants before they leave prostitution could help to develop trust and enable their exit.

Exit Phase

The implications of these findings for Pink Door's uptake is that the factors most commonly mentioned in the literature as inhibiting participants from engaging in these programs are basic needs such as housing, childcare, healthcare, transportation, and financial assistance. Depending on what the target population currently knows about safe houses, advertising how Pink Door can help address these needs could potentially increase uptake. Additionally, the literature reveals that creating a supportive environment is important due to the prevalence of mental health issues and substance abuse in the target population. Several studies support the strength of peer mentoring in multiple contexts.

Limitations of Existing Research

Most studies referenced here collected data from sample sizes of less than 50 women (Roe-Septowitz et. al., 2012; Baker et. al., 2010; Cimino, 2019; Preble et. al., 2015). As mentioned in the background, collecting data in this field is challenging. Information collected in these small groups is useful, as these individuals are similar in many ways to the target population for Pink Door Berlin, but the findings may not be fully generalizable. Another limitation of this literature is that several of the studies mentioned are from the U.S., where prostitution is illegal. The results found in these studies, while useful, may not directly translate to the German context. These limitations were mitigated through interviews with individuals working to support prostitutes and survivors of trafficking in Germany to assess how the situation there compares to the situations described in these studies. A survey of Pink Door staff was also conducted to collect more data on the situation faced by their target population.

SURVEY AND INTERVIEW FINDINGS

Surveys

Two surveys relevant to this research were conducted: a survey of exit program NGOs throughout Germany, conducted by Pink Door in late 2019, and a survey of Pink Door staff, conducted in February 2020. Both surveys provided important insights into the needs of individuals exiting prostitution as well as exit programs' capabilities. The full 2020 survey and responses and the most relevant questions and responses from the 2019 survey are included in Appendix 2. The primary takeaways from the two surveys were as follows.

Primary Issues Participants Face

Participants in the survey emphasized that safe houses must address psychological issues of participants, especially mental illness, trauma, psychological dependence on a pimp, and low self-esteem. They must also provide enough financial support so that the participants can forgo their income from prostitution. As many women have responsibilities to their families, they likely need a source of income for while they are in the safe house. Most prostitutes are mothers (K. Welch, personal communication, 2020). Participants in the program need to have options for childcare while they are in the safe house (Philips & Hommel, 2019).

Additionally, participants in the program must feel like they will have a future after they participate in the safe house. This means they need to be as independent as possible, and safe house programming should prepare them to pursue employment. They should also have options for community integration. In order to be stable members of society, they need to learn how to form new and healthy friendships and relationships. German skills are also important for participants who will have the option to stay in Germany (Philips & Hommel, 2019).

Potential Problems with Safe House Models

Responses to the surveys suggest that the primary problem with safe houses are the lack of options for work during the program. A way to earn an income is important both so that participants can provide for family members as well as to promote fulfillment and a sense of purpose. Several respondents also shared that rules at safe houses are too constraining and that organizations must clearly communicate what participation in a safe house program consists of in order to set realistic expectations (Philips & Hommel, 2019).

Finally, a major issue that participants raised is that there are not enough safe houses that accept participants with substance abuse problems or transgender prostitutes (Philips & Hommel, 2019).

Interviews

Transcriptions of the interviews are included in Appendix 3. The primary takeaways from the interviews were as follows.

Coordination

Several interviewees mentioned that organizations in this field could work more effectively together. One notable division is between secular and faith-based organizations. Secular organizations may be hesitant to refer potential participants to a faith-based organization, as some faith-based organizations focus on proselytizing above helping the target population. Acknowledging this concern and communicating that Pink Door prioritizes their participants and does not engage in missionary work is vital to promote collaboration with secular organizations.

Needs of the Target Population

Interviewees expressed that the greatest need of prostitutes hoping to exit are viable alternatives to prostitution. Without a legitimate alternative for earning an income, individuals will not exit the industry. Additionally, they may rely on receiving their income on a daily or weekly basis, often to support their families, which prevents them from entering exit programs where they are unable to earn money. Other major needs of individuals exiting prostitution include mental and physical health services, substance abuse treatment, housing, German classes, and greater legal protection if they have been trafficked.

Gaps

Gaps exist in resources for men, especially young men, and transgender prostitutes. There is also a lack of resources for prostitutes who struggle with substance abuse; typically, substance abuse treatment and exit programs from prostitution are mutually exclusive. This leaves prostitutes with substance abuse issues who wish to exit the industry with no options.

Additionally, data collection on this issue is insufficient. German voices and prostitutes by choice are overrepresented in discussions on this issue. There also are not very accurate estimates of the current number of prostitutes in Germany (L. Barlow, personal communication, 2020; F. Heinrich, personal communication, 2020; T. Hommel, personal communication, 2020; M. Labrenz, personal communication, 2020; A.-L. Reiferscheid, personal communication, 2020; A. Tivig, personal communication, 2020; S. von Scheele, personal communication, 2020; K. Welch, personal communication, 2020).

ALTERNATIVES

Challenges

Any alternative to address the issue of low uptake for faith-based safe houses must address the challenges preventing potential participants from entering safe houses. These challenges, identified through the literature review, surveys, and interviews, can be summarized as follows.

Situational Challenges

Women in prostitution often face financial challenges. Even if participating in a safe house program is free, they may also need a way to support their family while they participate in the program. Many women in prostitution also face drug or alcohol addiction as well as health problems. Meanwhile, safe houses often require prostitutes to abstain from drug use and/or alcohol consumption without providing resources for substance abuse treatment. Additionally, health problems can inhibit participation in the program. These challenges may discourage women from going to a safe house in the first place, as facing these issues may be overwhelming.

Individual Challenges

Going to a safe house often involves moving to a new city or area, giving up a SIM card or cell phone, living with other women, and following many rules. It may be difficult for the women to imagine living in a safe house, or they may lack an understanding of what the program entails. They may also lack the skills to navigate the bureaucratic elements of entering a safe house.

Logistical Challenges

In order to complete a safe house program, the organization must support basic needs such as housing, childcare, healthcare, and transportation. It must also provide emotional support such as therapy and a supportive environment. Tailoring the experience and determining which needs must be met for each individual participant is a logistical challenge for the safe house organization. Participants may not know that the organization will help to address these basic needs.

Any potential solution to this problem needs to address as many of these challenges as possible without overextending the organization's resources. With these challenges in mind and considering the perspectives shared through surveys and interviews, the following alternatives were determined most appropriate to address the problem.

Alternatives

Option 1: Status Quo

As described in the introduction, Pink Door currently provides accommodations for women exiting prostitution as well as classes on a variety of topics. Changing the existing program could reduce its effectiveness by redirecting resources or energy away from aspects of the program that have been shown to work for the participants who have already completed the program. Specifically, Pink Door's focus on psychosocial counseling and mental health is supported by the literature (Brasnjo, 2015; Kimber et. al., 2008; Preble et. al., 2015; Roe-Sepowitz et. al., 2012; Wells, 2019). It may be best to maintain the status quo rather than making drastic changes, which could have unpredictable impacts. With the new arrangement of Pink Door City and Pink Door Country, the status quo could be maintained by using the old model at Pink Door Country and using Pink Door City for the second phase of the original model in which participants leave the original safe house environment, take fewer classes, and start to regain independence.

Option 2: Reduce Bureaucracy and Increase Flexibility

The first change to pursue this alternative would be to reduce the bureaucracy of entering the safe house (Philips & Hommel, 2019). At Pink Door, the process currently consists of interviews with potential participants and some level of screening before women are admitted. This process could be expedited and made less bureaucratic. There is a trade-off here, however. Past research has shown that screening for readiness can increase the completion rate of the program (Preble et. al., 2015). It is unclear whether the increase in uptake from lowering the barriers to entry would be greater than the potential decrease in the program success rate. This change could be accomplished almost instantly, because it would primarily require decisions on which intake questions to eliminate.

The individual challenges described at the beginning of this section could potentially be better addressed if Pink Door's accommodations had fewer rules and fewer questions and requirements before entering the program. At Pink Door City, this would involve using a transition apartment model rather than a strict safe house model. The accommodation would have minimal rules. The focus could be on supporting women who do not need as much intensive support in finding a new job and a long-term new apartment while referring them to more resources (Philips & Hommel, 2019). Relaxed rules may attract more potential participants. This option could be implemented immediately, because a transition apartment model is already the vision for Pink Door City.

While Pink Door City would be used as a transition apartment, Pink Door Country could allow more temporary stays and be used as an emergency shelter as well as continuing its previous functions (Philips & Hommel, 2019). For full-time participants, they could be given more responsibility and an allowance for running and taking care of the house themselves. The short-term stays could either negatively impact full-time safe house program participants by reminding them of the lifestyle they are leaving behind, or they could benefit the full-time participants by allowing them to serve as peer mentors to the women staying short-term. It may make going to a safe house in the future seem more feasible to the women staying short-term. There is a lack of evidence on how well this would work for either set of participants. This option could be carried out within a few months; Pink Door Country has not yet opened.

In addition to altering the model for the two accommodations, increased focus on virtual counseling could also allow for greater flexibility. This would enable current prostitutes to seek advice on exiting without fully committing to leaving prostitution. It would also allow Pink Door to build relationships with current prostitutes without engaging in direct outreach work, which could be seen as interference with the work of existing outreach organizations.

These four steps together would make Pink Door a more flexible exit program rather than a strict safe house. It could accept current prostitutes as well as prostitutes who have already decided to exit. The changes described in this alternative are summarized in Figure 1 on the following page.

Figure 1: Summary of Option 2

Transition Apartment	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• At Pink Door City, focus on job integration for more stable participants
Flexible Safe House	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Use Pink Door Country as an emergency shelter; increase focus on autonomy
New Forms of Eligibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Flexible virtual counseling for current prostitutes regardless of gender
Reduce Bureaucracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Shorten intake process

Option 3: Expand Pink Door's Program

Rather than pursuing flexibility, Pink Door could maintain a traditional safe house model but expand their program by expanding eligibility for their program and offering new services. This option is summarized in Figure 2 on page 25.

Referrals and Networking

One way to increase uptake and program offerings without stretching limited resources would be to develop stronger partnerships with relevant outreach organizations and service providers (Hankel et al., 2015; Philips & Hommel, 2019). Pink Door already conducts significant outreach and networking (T. Hommel, personal communication, 2020). Reprioritizing and renewing outreach efforts could strengthen existing relationships and form new ones.

Outreach organizations could increase uptake if they provided more referrals, and service providers could provide Pink Door with more services to address the common challenges described at the beginning of this section. These networks could include the following kinds of organizations (Philips & Hommel, 2019).

Referral Network	Service Provider Network
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other safe houses • Other relevant NGOs (see Appendix 1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Advising/counseling centers ○ Street work organizations ○ Outreach teams • Homeless shelters • Doctors and therapists who may see prostitutes or survivors of trafficking • Prisons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doctors, especially those willing to treat patients without health insurance • Substance abuse treatment facilities • Therapists, especially those specializing in trauma • Lawyers • Government entities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Jobcenter⁸ ○ Police ○ Health department ○ Finance department ○ Migration officers ○ Resident registration office • Local community members <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Potential future employers for program participants ○ Childcare providers

Broaden Eligibility

Allowing male or transgender prostitutes to participate in safe house programs would likely increase uptake of the programs, as resources for these groups in prostitution are currently very limited (Philips & Hommel, 2019; Preble et. al., 2015). It would be important to determine the effect this would have on other participants, which could be done by working with focus groups or surveys of past participants. Separate living spaces could potentially reduce conflict or discomfort. This either could be done within a few months by designating the cottage at Pink Door Country as a space for male or transgender prostitutes.

Another way to expand the program would be to provide more resources for the accommodation of children and families (Preble et. al., 2015; Philips & Hommel, 2019). Facilitating the provision of childcare would allow women with children to participate in the program without abandoning their family or feeling as heavy of a financial burden to provide for them. This could be implemented at Pink Door Country within a few months.

Finally, as described in Option 2, providing counseling for current prostitutes, regardless of gender, could allow more prostitutes to benefit from Pink Door's services. This could take the form of virtual counseling through Pink Door's website. The primary consideration with this is that these participants would need to be provided with legitimate options for exit programs and job prospects for after they exit. If Pink Door does not have connections to organizations that support transgender prostitutes, male prostitutes, migrants, or prostitutes with substance abuse problems, then the counseling for current prostitutes will likely not result in those individuals exiting prostitution.

⁸ In Germany, "Jobcenter" is a joint venture of the federal Agency for Employment and local government to protect citizens' right to work and to distribute unemployment benefits.

Mentoring

Expanding the program to include home stays with approved families or individuals could encourage more women to complete the program. A study by Preble et. al. supported peer-to-peer mentoring between current participants and graduates of safe house programs (2015); potentially, more stable participants could stay with women who have already successfully completed the program to develop a closer bond and to have a fixed support provider. Alternatively, families could “adopt” a program participant short-term or long-term if they are willing to support them emotionally. A survey of prostitution exit-service organizations currently operating in Germany supports this alternative (Philips & Hommel, 2019). This process would take significant time and be ongoing, as relationships with different potential hosts would need to be developed over time.

Freedom Business

Another key way to expand the program offerings would be to develop a way for women to earn money while at the safe house. One safe house in Switzerland has an adjoining bed and breakfast where the safe house participants have to work to earn their keep (Philips & Hommel, 2019). There is a trade-off in that system between a source of income and security, as the women then can be more easily found by dangerous figures from their past life; however, that is not the only method for safe house participants to earn an income. Freedom businesses are any businesses that employ survivors of trafficking or sell goods produced by them, such as the bed and breakfast mentioned above. Developing a freedom business could provide more opportunities for women to earn money while at the safe house, give them a sense of purpose, and even provide more options for a future career after completing the safe house program. Implementing this option would likely take at least a year, as it would require the creation of an entire business.

Figure 2: Summary of Option 3

Outreach	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Communicate with outreach organizations• Encourage referrals from other actors
Network	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Partner with other organizations to provide additional services
Broaden Eligibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Include groups which typically don't have access to exit programs
Mentoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Involve past participants• Home stays
Freedom Business	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Provide a way for participants to earn money

Option 4: Complementing Projected Changes

This alternative involves moderately pursuing both Option 2 and Option 3 and balancing the central aspects of those alternatives: expanding the program and increasing flexibility. This alternative primarily involves the changes that Pink Door has already begun to implement, which are as follows:

- Increasing flexibility by providing virtual counseling for transgender prostitutes;
- establishing counseling for current prostitutes;
- using Pink Door Country as a short-term shelter for current prostitutes, prostitutes hoping to exit, and survivors of trafficking where the women can bring their children;
- and expanding the program through the creation of a freedom business called Cake International.

In addition to the planned changes, prioritizing network development and communication with partner organizations to make sure the new offerings are clear is vital. This will allow other organizations to refer potential participants to Pink Door. Additionally, one modification to the planned changes in this alternative would be to remove the in-person counseling for current prostitutes that Pink Door has planned to add. Adding this service is likely unnecessary, as it is already provided by outreach and street work organizations. Instead, focusing on virtual counseling for current prostitutes regardless of gender could expand access to Pink Door's services without interfering with the work of other organizations.

This option is summarized in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Summary of Option 4⁹

New Forms of Program Eligibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Virtual counseling for current prostitutes regardless of gender
Increase Flexibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More flexible safe house models at Pink Door City and Pink Door Country
Program Expansion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom business
Network and Outreach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase communication with other relevant organizations

Option 5: Information Campaign

There is a lack of understanding regarding what assistance is available to individuals hoping to exit prostitution. A better, more accessible explanation of what an exit program entails could increase uptake (Philips & Hommel, 2019). Other studies have shown that informational campaigns increase uptake of similar services, including programs to quit smoking, increase uptake of HPV vaccinations, or affect other health-related behaviors (McOwan et. al., 2002; Miller, 2003; Robertson, 2008; Wakefield et. al., 2010). This campaign could take many forms, such as videos, pamphlets, or in-person outreach. The materials would need to be produced in multiple languages, likely including German, English, Romanian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian. This alternative would take approximately a year to fully implement, and it would require partnerships and buy-in from other organizations in this field. Outlines for information campaign materials are included in Appendix 4.

⁹ Planned changes are in pink; suggested complementary changes in blue

CRITERIA

Overview

In order to evaluate alternatives to address this problem statement, criteria that get at the heart of the problem were used. The criteria of **equity** and **effectiveness** are most important for this. Leaving underserved groups out of exit programs or ineffective efforts inhibit uptake and program success. The criteria of **cost**, **administrative feasibility**, and **social acceptability** determine whether the alternatives can be successfully implemented. An alternative that does not fulfill these criteria would be impossible to incorporate into Pink Door's model. Each criterion was measured on a Likert scale (Vagias, 2006).

Problem-Solving Criteria

Each alternative's ability to solve the problem was evaluated by measuring its ability to promote effectiveness and equity.

Equity (Weight: 0.3)

This criterion was measured by projecting how accessible the alternative would be to different key underserved groups within the population of prostitutes in Germany. These groups are as follows: transgender prostitutes, male prostitutes, prostitutes with children, prostitutes struggling with substance abuse, and migrants. Any alternative that expands the target population of Pink Door program will be recognized as increasing equity to some extent. Pink Door currently only serves women who have fully exited prostitution; an alternative that includes current prostitutes would increase equity.

The Likert scale used to evaluate equity is as follows: 1) Not Equitable, 2) Somewhat Equitable, 3) Equitable, 4) Very Equitable, and 5) Extremely Equitable (Vagias, 2006).

Effectiveness (Weight: 0.7)

In order to measure the ability of alternatives to increase uptake and to successfully promote future success and stability of program participants, existing literature on similar programs as well as the qualitative data collected were used to project the alternatives' effectiveness. Effectiveness was measured on a Likert scale with the following options: 1) Not Effective, 2) Somewhat Effective, 3) Effective, 4) Very Effective, and 5) Extremely Effective (Vagias, 2006).

Implementation Criteria

An evaluation of the implementation feasibility of each alternative is provided. Each alternative needed to reach a certain threshold, described below, for each implementation criterion in order to be considered.

Direct Cost

The cost of an alternative was assessed through an evaluation of how much time it would take to implement as well as the materials necessary. The following Likert scale was used: 1) Not Costly, 2) Somewhat Costly, 3) Costly, 4) Very Costly, and 5) Extremely Costly (Vagias, 2006). In order for an alternative to be considered feasible, the direct cost would need to be below the threshold of "Very Costly."

Administrative Feasibility

The criterion of administrative feasibility determines the capability of Pink Door to implement each alternative. The Likert scale of 1) Not Administratively Feasible, 2) Somewhat Administratively Feasible, 3) Administratively Feasible, 4) Very Administratively Feasible, and 5) Extremely Administratively Feasible was used to measure this criterion (Vagias, 2006). In order for an alternative to be considered feasible, the administrative feasibility needed to be above the threshold of “Somewhat Administratively Feasible.”

Social Acceptability

Previous experiences interacting with the target population and interviews with outreach workers were used to assess the projected social acceptability of each alternative to the target population. The following Likert scale was used: 1) Not Socially Acceptable, 2) Somewhat Socially Acceptable, 3) Socially Acceptable, 4) Very Socially Acceptable, and 5) Extremely Socially Acceptable (Vagias, 2006). The social acceptability to the staff of Pink Door was also considered using the same Likert scale. For both, the social acceptability needed to be above the threshold of “Somewhat Socially Acceptable” for the option to be considered.

FINDINGS

Too few prostitutes who want to exit prostitution take advantage of existing safe house resources provided by NGOs. Alternatives for Pink Door Berlin to address this issue include maintaining the status quo; reducing bureaucracy and increasing flexibility; expanding the program; complementing projected changes; and an information campaign.

As described in the previous section, alternatives were evaluated on the criteria of equity, effectiveness in increasing program uptake and success, cost, administrative feasibility, and social acceptability. Equity has a weight of 0.3, and effectiveness has a weight of 0.7. Cost must be below *Very Costly* and administrative feasibility and social acceptability must be above *Somewhat Administratively Feasible* or *Somewhat Socially Acceptable*.

Option 1: Status Quo

This would involve preserving Pink Door's prior safe house model and replicating it at the new safe house location, Pink Door Country, while using the city apartment as phase 2 of their original model: an accommodation for more stable women who are ready to be more independent. All of the previous rules would be kept in place. Women would need to commit to fully exiting prostitution in order to participate in the safe house program.

- This option scores as **not equitable**, because it does not expand Pink Door's target population to include any additional groups. The current program only reaches women who are ready to fully exit prostitution and do not have significant substance abuse problems. Additionally, due to legal concerns, migrant women who do not have the right to remain in Germany cannot participate in Pink Door's program. This excludes several vulnerable groups.
- It is **effective**; Pink Door's existing program has been successful for some participants and has moderate uptake. They consistently have participants, but they also consistently have open spots. Pink Door emphasizes psychosocial counseling and support in its existing program, a focus which is supported by the literature and should be maintained throughout any changes the program goes through (Brasnjo, 2015; Kimber et. al., 2008; Preble et. al., 2015; Roe-Sepowitz et. al., 2012; Wells, 2019).
- Its **cost is negligible (N/A)**, because Pink Door already has the materials, staff, and knowledge to replicate the status quo at the new locations.
- This option is **extremely administratively feasible**; it has already been executed in the past.
- It is **socially acceptable**, as there is currently neither pushback to this format nor strong support from the target population or the Pink Door staff.

Option 2: Reduce Bureaucracy and Increase Flexibility

This option would reduce the length of the intake questionnaire, reduce the rules at the safe house locations, and provide the option of virtual or in-person counseling to current prostitutes.

- It is **somewhat equitable**, because it does not directly address the barriers to entering a safe house for the groups for which there are currently limited options, but it does provide some support to current prostitutes through virtual counseling, and the flexible model could later make it easier to expand access to the program to groups which are not currently accepted into the safe house program.

- It is **somewhat effective**; reducing bureaucracy addresses a key barrier to initial uptake, but it is not clear how much the increased flexibility would promote effectiveness for the rest of the program or program completion. Several survey responses and interviews indicated that navigating bureaucracy is a deterrent for potential participants who may otherwise be interested in safe house programs, but the literature shows that screening participants before they begin an exit program increases program success (Preble et. al., 2015). Additionally, there is a lack of evidence on how mixing short-term and long-term stays at Pink Door Country would affect the effectiveness for either group.
- It is **somewhat costly**. The shift to virtual counseling for current prostitutes could incur some cost as social workers on staff would potentially need to be trained on this new form of counseling. Fewer rules and greater participant autonomy could decrease costs.
- It is **very administratively feasible**, as fewer rules would require less work from staff to enforce them. The emphasis on autonomy would also increase administrative feasibility.
- It is **socially acceptable** to the target population, as the interviews and surveys indicate that members of the target population have expressed opposition to or frustration with the rigidity of the prior safe house model. It is only **somewhat socially acceptable** to the staff, who expressed concerns through a survey that a significant reduction in rules and screening procedures could cause security concerns.

Option 3: Expand Pink Door's Program

Pink Door could expand its reach by prioritizing outreach; networking; extending program eligibility to include transgender prostitutes, prostitutes with children, and current prostitutes; mentoring programs; and including a freedom business.

- This is **equitable**, as it would intentionally work to expand the program eligibility to groups that typically do not have as many options for exit programs.
- It is **extremely effective** in increasing uptake, because many more people would be eligible and it addresses several of the barriers to program uptake described in the literature, surveys, and interviews. Mentoring, formal referral networks, and program eligibility expansion are additions that are supported by the literature as methods that increase uptake (Grebely et. al., 2007; Hankel et. al., 2015; Preble et. al., 2015; Wells, 2019), while coordination with outreach organizations and freedom businesses were strongly recommended through the surveys and interviews.
- This option is **extremely costly**, as Pink Door would have to alter its model significantly in order to accommodate newly eligible groups. It would likely be necessary to provide separate living space for transgender prostitutes. Staff would require training to support these new groups. Additional staff would like be required to support the increased participants in the safe house accommodations, to advise current prostitutes, and to support the development of the freedom business. An outreach and networking coordinator may be necessary to cultivate the necessary relationships with other organizations and with potential mentors.
- This is only **somewhat administratively feasible**; the desire exists to include more groups in the target population, but limited resources make success with all of these groups unlikely at this point. Additionally, attempting to expand the program in so many ways at once would overwhelm administrative capacity.
- These changes would likely be **extremely socially acceptable** to the target population, as the freedom business component addresses the major concern of many potential

participants: earning income while undergoing the exit process. It also provides new resources to groups who otherwise have few or no options.

- It would be **somewhat socially acceptable** to Pink Door staff. Through the survey, concern was expressed that transgender prostitutes could not be easily included in the residential program. Additionally, it would be asking a lot of the staff to pursue all of these changes at once.

Option 4: Complementing Projected Changes

This alternative involves continuing to pursue the changes that Pink Door has started investing time into while incorporating additional changes supported by the literature and research. The planned changes include virtual counseling for transgender prostitutes; counseling for current prostitutes; use of Pink Door Country as a short-term shelter for current prostitutes, prostitutes hoping to exit, and survivors of trafficking where the women would be allowed to bring their children; use of Pink Door City as a transition apartment; and the creation of a freedom business called Cake International.

In pursuing these changes, this option balances the other alternatives of prioritizing expansion of the program and reduction of bureaucracy. An additional step would be to prioritize network development and coordination with outreach programs and to remove in-person counseling for current prostitutes, replacing it with more virtual counseling. This would preserve relationships with outreach organizations who already provide in-person counseling for current prostitutes.

- This alternative is **equitable**, because it includes support for current prostitutes, including trans prostitutes, through virtual counseling and allows current prostitutes and prostitutes with children to stay at Pink Door Country.
- It is **very effective**; based on the surveys and interviews, the greater flexibility, increased outreach, and potential source of income for participants would increase program uptake and success (Philips & Hommel, 2019). Additionally, the use of Pink Door Country as a temporary shelter where women can take a break and evaluate their options without committing to a longer-term plan fills a significant gap in exit programs in Germany (A. Reiferscheid, personal communication, 2020).
- Pink Door has already undergone significant financial planning and received support to make these changes possible, especially the freedom business, so this option is **costly**. It would require training to prepare social workers to provide virtual counseling. Pink Door has already invested in preparing the safe house locations to serve the purposes described in this option, so those costs are not included.
- This option is **very administratively feasible**, as Pink Door already has a plan for following through on most of these changes.
- Like Option 3, these changes would probably be **extremely socially acceptable** to the target population. The freedom business component allows participants to earn an income while participating in the program. The virtual counseling for trans prostitutes and counseling for current prostitutes allows groups with few other options to benefit from Pink Door's services, but it doesn't change the target population or organization mission so dramatically that it affects the social acceptability to Pink Door's staff, making it **socially acceptable** to them.

Option 5: Information Campaign

An information campaign could delineate current prostitutes' options for exiting as well as communicate to other NGOs what Pink Door specifically offers. This could set reasonable expectations for potential participants and strengthen a referral network between organizations.

- It is **equitable**, as it would provide information on the options available to the different groups within prostitution, and it would be produced in multiple languages.
- It is **very effective**, as the literature indicates that information campaigns do increase uptake as well as program completion of similar services (McOwan et. al., 2002; Miller, 2003; Robertson, 2008; Wakefield et. al., 2010). With a better idea of what a safe house program entails, individuals who choose to participate would be more likely to stay (L. Barlow, personal communication, 2020; Philips & Hommel, 2019).
- It is **somewhat costly**; it requires the time and resources to create informational materials. Translators would likely need to be either hired or recruited to translate materials on a volunteer basis. If the current staff does not have experience in graphic design, they would need to be trained in it or would need to outsource the work. It would not be as costly as major changes to the program itself, though.
- It is **very administratively feasible**. Although it requires some additional work from Pink Door staff, Pink Door has shown that it is capable of creating informational materials in the past, such as booklets about the organization.
- It is **socially acceptable** to the target population, as clearer information about their options could only help them. It is **very socially acceptable** to Pink Door staff, because this option would likely increase uptake and could reinforce Pink Door's credibility as an organization in this field.

OUTCOMES MATRIX

	Problem-Solving Criteria			Implementation Criteria				
	<i>Equity (Weight: 0.3)</i>	<i>Effectiveness (Weight: 0.7)</i>	<i>Score (out of 5)</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Administrative Feasibility</i>	<i>Social Acceptability (target pop.)</i>	<i>Social Acceptability (PD staff)</i>	<i>Passes Thresholds?</i>
Option 1: Status Quo	Not Equitable (1)	Effective (3)	2.4	N/A	Extremely Administratively Feasible	Socially Acceptable	Socially Acceptable	Yes
Option 2: Reduce Bureaucracy, Increase Flexibility	Somewhat Equitable (2)	Somewhat Effective (2)	2	Somewhat Costly	Very Administratively Feasible	Socially Acceptable	Somewhat Socially Acceptable	No
Option 3: Expand Program	Equitable (3)	Extremely Effective (5)	4.4	Extremely Costly	Somewhat Administratively Feasible	Extremely Socially Acceptable	Somewhat Socially Acceptable	No
Option 4: Complement Projected Changes	Equitable (3)	Very Effective (4)	3.7	Costly	Very Administratively Feasible	Extremely Socially Acceptable	Socially Acceptable	Yes
Option 5: Information Campaign	Equitable (3)	Very Effective (4)	3.7	Somewhat Costly	Very Administratively Feasible	Socially Acceptable	Very Socially Acceptable	Yes

The highest scoring alternatives on the problem-solving criteria are Options 3, 4, and 5. Options 2 and 3 do not pass the thresholds for the implementation criteria (below “Very Costly” and above “Somewhat Administratively Feasible” and “Somewhat Socially Acceptable”).

RECOMMENDATION

Based on the evaluation of these alternatives against the criteria, **Pink Door should continue to pursue its planned changes with the complementary suggested additions while also carrying out an information campaign: Options 4 and 5.** While expanding the program in the ways described in Option 3 would likely greatly increase uptake, Pink Door does not currently have the capacity to re-orient the program so dramatically to include underserved groups in their residential programs or to quickly build their network to include outreach organizations, service providers, and mentors.

An information campaign to inform current prostitutes what their options are and to communicate what Pink Door does to other organizations, paired with virtual advising for current prostitutes, creation of a freedom business, and flexible use of the safe house locations would directly address the problem of low uptake and promote program success.

The recommendation is summarized in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4: Summary of the Recommendation¹⁰

New Forms of Program Eligibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Virtual counseling for current prostitutes regardless of gender
Increase Flexibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• More flexible safe house models at Pink Door City and Pink Door Country
Program Expansion	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Freedom business
Network and Outreach	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Increase communication with other relevant organizations
Information Campaign	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Develop materials to inform the target population about their options

¹⁰ Previously planned changes are in pink; suggested complementary changes are in blue

IMPLEMENTATION

Short-Term

Carrying out the recommended course of action requires involvement from key stakeholders. In order to successfully increase uptake by continuing with the planned changes, Pink Door must work with other NGOs and relevant government agencies. These key actors must be informed about Pink Door's current offerings if they are to refer potential participants to Pink Door. Specifically, this will involve outreach to street and brothel outreach organizations, other safe houses, Frauentreff Olga, Hydra,¹¹ local police, therapists, doctors, the health department, migration officers, and homeless shelters. Relationships must exist with these organizations if the program and the information campaign are to be successful.

In order to move the recommendation forward, the potential changes Pink Door has started to try would need to be institutionalized. Pink Door would need to promote the virtual counseling for current prostitutes, ensuring that the target population can access this resource, and delineate and reconcile the different ideas for the uses of Pink Door Country as a flexible shelter. It is important to be clear about who can and cannot be accepted at Pink Door Country since it will be available to a broader group than the prior safe house model. Other organizations can more easily make referrals if they understand who can take part in Pink Door's program.

The information campaign is an opportunity to be clear about what Pink Door does and who can take part, which can support the implementation of the planned changes for Pink Door. Materials should also establish Pink Door's credibility by highlighting its five years of existence and the work done in that time. Outlines for the materials for the information campaign are included in Appendix 4. Additionally, the concepts of simplicity, unexpectedness, concreteness, credibility, emotion, and stories from the book *Made to Stick* are useful to keep in mind while designing an information campaign (Heath & Heath, 2007). A reference further explaining these concepts is included in Appendix 5.

It is possible that some of the proposed changes will not work. Since several changes are being pursued at once, it may not be clear what is working and what is not. The strategies with the most support from the literature are prioritization of mental health and psychosocial counseling (Brasnjo, 2015; Kimber et. al., 2008; Preble et. al., 2015; Roe-Sepowitz et. al., 2012; Wells, 2019), creation of strong referral networks (Hankel et. al., 2015), and information campaigns (McOwan et. al., 2002; Miller, 2003; Robertson, 2008; Wakefield et. al., 2010). Support for changes such as inclusion of a freedom business, increased flexibility, and incorporation of underserved populations into the existing program comes primarily from qualitative data from surveys and interviews rather than peer-reviewed studies. Changes could be staggered in order to give a better idea of which ones are making the greatest difference. Pink Door could also plan to conduct an evaluation of the outcomes of their changes. If the planned changes seem to be unsuccessful, reorienting efforts towards evidence-based interventions could be helpful. If that happens, however, it is vital to communicate with partners as soon as possible about adjustments to the program.

¹¹ Frauentreff Olga and Hydra are two counseling center organizations supported by government funding.

Long-Term

Building trust and relationships takes a long time. Trust with other relevant organizations and with the target population is a primary factor that will increase uptake. Committing to pursuing the proposed changes will increase trust in the long term, because the changes show that Pink Door is committed to meeting the needs of the target population. Maintaining Pink Door's high level of professionalism will also lead to greater trust and stronger relationships. If organizations are hesitant to partner with Pink Door in the short-term, patience and holding steady are key strategies.

It is clear that there is a major gap in the limited services currently provided for prostitutes exiting the industry: resources for prostitutes struggling with substance abuse. Developing relationships with doctors and professionals in the field of substance abuse treatment could allow Pink Door to pursue options for that population in the longer-term. The organization Relentless could be a strong partner in this work (K. Welch, personal communication, 2020).

The suggestion in Option 3 to incorporate mentoring, though too costly to pursue in the short-term, should be considered for the long-term. Peer-to-peer mentoring has strong support from the literature (Grebely et. al., 2007; Preble et. al., 2015; Wells, 2019). Although developing relationships with and providing training for trustworthy mentors takes a great deal of time and effort, it would likely be effective in promoting program success. The German Integration Program for Survivors of Trafficking (GIPST) developed materials to training potential mentors, which can be found on their website (*German Integration Program for Survivors of Trafficking*, n.d.).

Another long-term goal should be to engage in advocacy work to support a change in legislation in Germany. Legalized prostitution has been correlated with an increase in human trafficking (Cho et al., 2013). Opposing fully legal prostitution would address the underlying cause of the problems that Pink Door's program addresses. Additionally, policy related to prostitution and human trafficking should not be misused as migration policy. There need to be clear policies providing individuals who have been trafficked or forced into prostitution with a clear path to remain in Germany if they so desire. The fear of deportation and the fear of facing unnavigable bureaucracy are both factors which prevent survivors of trafficking from seeking help (S. von Scheele, personal communication, 2020).

COVID-19

This analysis was largely written before the coronavirus crisis dramatically changed the situation in Germany. With recent rules shutting down brothels and requiring people to stay home, prostitutes no longer have as many customers and consequently require support (Balci & Denzel, 2020). Non-German citizens will not receive state support; outreach organizations are fundraising to support them. This crisis could inspire them to leave prostitution, as it is now an even less stable profession than before. It could also lead many prostitutes to return to their home countries to support family or to receive support from their government. The overall effect on uptake of exit programs in the long-term is unclear. The administrative work to prepare for the new changes to Pink Door's program can be prioritized while the situation for accepting new participants is unclear. Additionally, virtual counseling strategies can be further developed while in-person counseling is not an option.

APPENDIX 1: RELEVANT NGOS IN GERMANY

Organizations in the same state as Pink Door Country are highlighted in pink; other organizations in Berlin are highlighted in blue.
This information was found on each organization's website.

Name	Primary relevant services	Network	Location	Contact Information
Agisra	Exit counseling	KOK	Köln	info@agisra.org +49 0221 1390392
Alabaster Jar	Outreach	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Berlin	office@alabasterjar.de +49 30 80932859
Aldona	Outreach, exit counseling	KOK	Saarbrücken	aldona-ev@t-online.de +49 0681 373631
Amnesty for Women	Exit counseling and courses	KOK	Hamburg	info@amnestyforwomen.de +49 040 384753
AugsburgerInnen gegen Menschenhandel	Advocacy work	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Augsburg	info@auxgegenmh.de
Autonomes Frauenhaus Kassel	Safe house	KOK	Kassel	Frauenhaus-Kassel@web.de +49 0561 898889
Ban Ying	Exit counseling; advocacy	KOK	Berlin	info@ban-ying.de +49 030 4406373
Beratung für Betroffene von Menschenhandel und Zwangsprostitution im Verein für Innere Mission Bremen	Exit counseling	KOK	Bremen	bbmez@inneremission-bremen.de bbmez@imhb.de +49 0421 98966240

Bono Direkthilfe	Advocacy work/prevention	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Bergisch Gladbach; operates with partnerships in Bangladesh, India, and Nepal	info@bono-direkthilfe.org +49 02 2049199404
Café Neustart	Contact café; outreach	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Berlin	+49 030 55274107
Contra	Exit counseling	KOK	Kiel	contra@frauenwerk.nordkirche.de +49 0431 55779190
Crown Bridge	Raise awareness, outreach	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Franconia	office@crownbridge.org
Die Heilsarmee (Salvation Army)	Outreach	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Hamburg; throughout Germany	info@heilsarmee.de +49 221 208190
Eine Welt Zentrum Herne	Exit counseling; advocacy work	KOK	Herne	renate.hildburg@kk-ekvw.de katja.jaehnel@kk-ekvw.de +49 02323 9949719 +49 02323 9949720
Esther	Outreach, exit counseling and courses	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Stuttgart	+49 0711 96881543
Every Nation Kirche Berlin	Outreach	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Berlin	info@everynationberlin.de +49 0170 4494220
Fach- und Beratungsstelle Nachtfalter	Exit counseling	KOK	Essen	nachtfalter@cse.ruhr +49 0201 632569920
Fachstelle VERA	Exit counseling	KOK	Magdeburg	vera@awo-sachsenanhalt.de +49 0391 99977850
FRANKA	Exit counseling; advocacy work	KOK	Kassel	franka.verrein@dw-kassel.de

				franka.fachberatung@dw-region-kassel.de +49 0561 7128835 +49 0151 62815335
Frauenberatungsstelle Düsseldorf	Exit counseling; raise awareness; prevention	KOK	Düsseldorf	info@frauenberatungsstelle.de +49 0211 686879
Fraueninformationszentrum FIZ	Exit counseling; advocacy work	KOK	Stuttgart	fiz@vij-wuerttemberg.de +49 0711 2394124
Frauenrecht ist Menschenrecht	Exit counseling and courses; outreach; prevention	KOK	Frankfurt/Main	info@fim-beratungszentrum.de +49 069 97097970
Frauentreff Olga	Exit counseling	KOK	Berlin	olga@notdienstberlin.de +49 030 2628959
FreiJa Freiburg	Exit counseling; prevention	KOK	Freiburg	freiJa@diakonie-freiburg.de +49 0761 7671255
HoffnungsHaus	Contact café; outreach	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Stuttgart	kontakt@aktion-hoffnungsland.de +49 0711 9600140
Hope	Advocacy work; raise awareness; prevention; outreach	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Heilbronn	+49 0152 55692864
IN VIA	Exit counseling; outreach; prevention; raise awareness	KOK	Berlin	kub@invia-berlin.de +49 0163 6780338
INTAP (Intersectional Approach to the process of	Research on integrating survivors of human	N/A	N/A	https://intap-europe.eu/contact/

integration in Europe for survivors of human trafficking)	trafficking in Europe			
International Justice Mission Deutschland	Advocacy work; raise awareness; outreach	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Throughout Germany	info@ijm-deutschland.de +49 030 24636900
Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit	Advocacy work	KOK	Berlin	gegen.menschenhandel@wilpf.de +49 08233 3952
JADWIGA München	Exit counseling	KOK	München	muenchen@jadwiga-online.de +49 089 38534455
Kainos	Prevention; outreach	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Stuttgart	info@kainos-ev.com +49 162 7321460
KARO	Advocacy work; outreach; safe house	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel; KOK	Plauen	office@karo-ev.de +49 03741 276851
KOBRA	Exit counseling	KOK	Hannover	info@kobra-hannover.de +49 0511 21578225
KobraNet	Exit counseling	KOK	Dresden	info@kobranet.eu +49 0351 87323610
KOOFRA	Exit counseling	KOK	Hamburg	info@koofra.de +49 040 67999757
Lightup	Raise awareness; prevention; advocacy work	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	N/A	info@lightup-movement.de
Made for Humanity	Raise awareness	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Stuttgart	hello@madeforhumanity.org
Mission Freedom	Safe house	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Hamburg	kontakt@missionfreedom.de +49 040 36197115

Mitternachtsmission Heilbronn	Exit counseling	KOK	Heilbronn	mitternachtsmission@diakonie-heilbronn.de +49 07131 3901491
NADESCHDA	Exit counseling	KOK	Herford	info@nadeschda-owl.de +49 05221 840200
Netzwerk Ella	Advocacy work; raise awareness	N/A	N/A	post@netzwerk-ella.de huschke.mau@web.de
Netzwerk gegen Menschenhandel	Raise awareness; prevention	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Berlin	+49 030 35121868
ONA	Safe house	KOK	Berlin	ona-berlin@web.de +49 030 48096281
Parakaleo	Outreach; exit counseling	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Nürnberg	
PE/IX	Outreach; raise awareness; prevention	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Rhein-Main-Gebiet	info@pe-ix.de +49 069 42690705
Perlentor	Safe house	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	München	kontakt@perlentor-ev.de +49 89 58960967
Phoenix	Exit counseling	KOK	Hannover	kontakt@phoenix-beratung.de +49 0511 89828801
Projekt Schattentöchter	Safe house	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Not listed	info@projekt-schattentoechter.de +49 0157 87960907
Sisters	Exit counseling; raise awareness	N/A	Stuttgart	mail@sisters-ev.de
SOLWODI (Solidarity with women in distress)	Outreach; exit counseling and courses; safe houses	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel; KOK	Throughout Germany	info@solwodi.de +49 06741 2232

Terre des Femmes	Advocacy work; raise awareness	KOK	Berlin	info@frauenrechte.de +49 030 405046990
The Justice Project	Outreach	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Karlsruhe	info@thejusticeproject.de +49 0721 82102730
WeltBeweger	Outreach	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Chemnitz; Dresden; Erfurt	perla@weltbeweger.eu (Chemnitz) adamastoshope@gmail.com (Dresden) eliora-erfurt@gmx.de (Erfurt) info@weltbeweger.eu +49 0371 52454885
Windrose	Raise awareness	Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel	Düsseldorf	kontakt@windrose-ev.de +49 0211 93070888
ZORA	Exit counseling	KOK	Schwerin	zora@awo-schwerin.de +49 0385 52190542

APPENDIX 2: SURVEY RESULTS

Survey of Pink Door Staff

These responses have been translated to English and edited for clarity; the order of responses has been randomized for each question to preserve anonymity.

1. What factors make the exit process more difficult for women who want to leave prostitution?

- a. Low self-esteem, poverty, providing for family, threats and violence, and drug and/or alcohol abuse
- b. Trauma and its effects on the brain and body which can psychologically trap someone in exploitation, even if they are not physically bound
- c. Psychological dependence on a pimp
- d. Unstable financial situation; lack of healthy social contacts; lack of well-paid job prospects for people with few qualifications; the difficulty of finding jobs that allow them to stay in Germany (it's a long process for women to get permission to stay and then to start working); drug addiction; emotional attachment to pimps or family in the red-light district; lack of a place to live after the safe house; language barrier
- e. The difficulty of building new and healthy friendships; addiction (both substance-related and non-substance-related); lack of job prospects; difficulty of finding an apartment; the necessity of providing money to family abroad (inability to have any period of time in which she is not earning money); mental health challenges

2. What factors make the exit process easier for women who want to leave prostitution?

- a. A healthy social network or individual healthy friendships; perspective on life and goals; sometimes children (they may motivate a woman to exit); therapeutic support in addition to social worker support; community and encouragement; shared experiences and being seen as a person (not being reduced to their past self); little pressure in social work (by social workers and therapists), and instead adapting to the pace and goals of the woman
- b. Regular meetings, development of trust, room for mistakes, art, music, meditation, shared meals, high intrinsic motivation, resilience, accompanying women to challenging appointments, commitment, accountability
- c. Being well-informed about their options, guaranteed job, guaranteed housing, independence, financial support for them and for their family in their home country
- d. Hope, safety, a sense of agency and control over their own lives
- e. Encouragement, a loving community, support for each step of the exit process

3. What are reasons that have caused women to leave Pink Door?

- a. The bureaucratic process of entering the German job market or receiving social service benefits is too long; safe house rules are too constraining; drug addiction; trauma; loneliness; family obligations; lack of motivation to do the hard work
- b. Missing the “freedoms” they had before; loss of motivation or lack of purpose to forge a new path and a desire to return to what they know
- c. Return to prostitution; pressure from pimps; not enough money to support their family in their home country; return to their home country; relocation to another accommodation; unhealthy relationship with partners, also outside of the red-light district

- d. Pressure from pimps; drugs; return to their home country; desire to live autonomously; desire to earn money (return to prostitution); missing the red-light district and the rules there; repeated rule-breaking at Pink Door
- 4. Do you have suggestions for changes to Pink Door or safe house programs in general? Specifically, how could Pink Door or safe house programs improve uptake, program completion, or success of stabilization during the program?**
- a. Improving the communication in the team and to the women through conversation techniques; expanding knowledge and sharing it with the women; psychoeducation; establishing contact with women while they are still working in prostitution; more staff with higher hourly rates
 - b. More job integration (practical progress and work gives a sense of fulfillment); more community, including a living space with other women who are not part of the Pink Door program so that participants can experience normal life and community rather than isolation with other women who face the same challenges as them
 - c. Community and communal activities should be the priority so that women can just “be” (courses, job integration, and social work can be complementary activities to community); an immediate opportunity to pursue a responsibility (possibly a job that the woman can be trained in at the organization); housing for women with addiction problems; an accommodation where women to stay informally and quickly and if they are not yet sure whether a shelter is really right for them
 - d. Continuing team training and collaboration; understanding trauma; understanding the staff’s own pitfalls in working with traumatized women. What it looks like to meet the needs of the women is changing: for example, moving towards apartment and community-based support is good, so that Pink Door is not the only organization helping the women.
 - e. Expand the network; offer more independent housing options; form an outreach team; use an online portal on the website to give women access to social workers; give women in prostitution more information about their options; offer outpatient counseling services; expand the target group; make the intake process faster and easier
- 5. What are the most important needs of women who want to leave prostitution?**
- a. Drug rehab, safe housing, jobs, social work, trauma therapy
 - b. Financial stability, emotional support, stable relationships, job or activity
 - c. Belonging, purpose, self-worth, financial stability, love, acceptance, forgiveness
 - d. Safety, acceptance, control
 - e. Community, encouragement, people who are there for them, a safe place, job prospects, financial stability, housing possibilities
- 6. Do you think it would be possible to include men and/or transgender prostitutes in Pink Door’s program in any way? If yes, how? If no, why not?**
- a. I am convinced that men and transgender people also need options for help and that there are currently too few of them. I am currently of the opinion that their options for help must be separate from those for women.
 - b. No, because the other women would then feel unsafe and under pressure. There must be separate facilities for transgender people.
 - c. It is an area that could be explored. We would need to do research and be more informed about the needs of transgender people in prostitution, and we would need to connect with other organizations who have had success with this target group. We

would definitely need training and appropriate staff, possibly men. It could be possible to offer online advice from a social worker through our online portal.

- d. Absolutely. I hope Pink Door will move in this direction, especially for transgender prostitutes. Some training is needed, but not too much. For men, that is a whole other thing and probably not in Pink Door's scope for the immediate future.
 - e. I think it is definitely possible. They would need to stay in an apartment with other men, of course. Participation in the classes, social work, and job integration is definitely possible. I think it would be enriching, holistic, and healing for each gender to be engaged with the other gender in this healing process. Actually, I think this is necessary. Otherwise we create a "pseudo community" of only women, and are not really preparing them for the real world and interactions with the other gender. This will of course bring up more problems, but I think we are here for that and need to prepare our participants to lead a healthy, whole life. We can address how to process these feelings and meet their needs in healthy ways.
- 7. Do you think fewer program rules would increase uptake of safe house services?**
- a. Rules are not the problem. The issue is deeper.
 - b. Yes, and a combination with drug rehab or work therapy perhaps.
 - c. Yes and no. I think removing a curfew, for example, is good. The participants need to decide for themselves what is good. We can tell them going to bed earlier is better, and advise, but saying they have to be home at a certain time does not lead them to self-determination and independence. However, in the courses we do need rules and a structure of what is appropriate and what is not. The rules are not helpful when they restrict rather than nurture a healthy environment.
 - d. Yes.
 - e. Yes, but it could be that this endangers the safety of the location.
- 8. Do you think fewer rules would increase safe house program completion or the success of stabilization in a safe house?**
- a. It's possible.
 - b. There must be some rules to ensure the safety of the clients and the staff and to protect Pink Door's property. Perhaps a better explanation of why the rules are necessary could help?
 - c. Yes. The participants need to learn for themselves what is good and what is not. If make rules for X, Y, and Z, then the participants feel like children, like they are not able to make decisions for themselves, which is exactly the opposite of the goal we are trying to reach.
 - d. No, but the rules need to be explained in an understandable way on a personal level.
- 9. Do you think an information campaign could increase uptake of safe house services? If yes, what would need to be included?**
- a. I think more than anything streetworker volunteers need to be well-trained in how to lovingly challenge the women and invite them to other options, like uptake in a safe house program.
 - b. Yes. Clients want to be free to make their own decisions about their future. In order to make good decisions they must have information about the process, German bureaucracy, available services, expectations, rules, options, and goal-setting.
 - c. I think it is important to communicate to organizations how to recognize trauma and to inform society about concrete steps of how they can encounter and support women from prostitution.

- d. Yes. All women in prostitution should know that there are free shelters where they can receive help with professional reorientation and stabilization.
- 10. Do you think an information campaign could increase completion of safe house programs or the success of stabilization in the safe house?**
- a. I'm not sure. The trauma and dysfunction are so deep that it takes hard work to integrate and heal. Many have lost motivation and don't or can't do the hard work it takes to work through the trauma and dysfunction or integration into German life and jobs.
 - b. No.
 - c. Possibly; it depends on how well it is done. The campaign needs to clearly communicate what is to be expected in the program. If it is only communicated that everything will be great, the women will be loved, and they can start new, then the women will come expecting everything to be easy; they will come with false expectations, and that will work against them. The challenges and sacrifice also needs to be mentioned along with the perspective and hope of a fulfilled life.
 - d. Probably not.
- 11. Are there groups that Pink Door is not currently reaching that you think could be included in Pink Door's program? (e.g. transgender prostitutes, men, migrants, prostitutes with families, etc.)**
- a. Probably transgender people, but we would need to build up our capacity in that area and develop our knowledge on that subject.
 - b. Drug addicts; dissociative identity disorder (DID)
 - c. Refugee women; transgender people; women in porn, escort services, brothels; women selling sex online; women in prison who have been in prostitution (arrested because of drugs, not paying fines, etc.)
 - d. Transgender women, families, migrants
 - e. There is definitely a need for a program for addicts. If we could accommodate them, we would be full. It would be really daunting, though. We would need a lot of support from outside and work in cooperation with detox clinics and doctors.
- 12. Which network contacts can most improve the support for the women in safe house programs (e.g. police, Jobcenter, doctors, etc.)?**
- a. Jobcenter, medical professionals, therapists who speak eastern European languages, good psychological clinics, drug rehab facilities who take women without health insurance, personal contacts in government agencies, member organizations of the KOK Network, refugee centers, government ministries for social issues or women's issues, other organizations specializing in violence against women, outreach teams and organizations
 - b. Police, resident registration office, Jobcenter, companies where women could start to work, doctors, outreach organizations, therapists, other organization dealing with foreigners' rights in Germany, lawyers
 - c. Churches (positive community), therapists, doctors, police
 - d. Therapists, Jobcenter, companies, specialist counseling centers that work with women from ritual violence
- 13. How do you think the situation for prostitutes in Berlin compares to the situation of prostitutes in the rest of Germany?**
- a. I think in Berlin drugs are becoming more and more of an issue, as well as in Hamburg. There is a corridor of drug trafficking between the two cities. We also

have many migrants here because of poverty. Elsewhere in Germany, I can imagine there are more Germans in prostitution, especially in it via the Loverboy method (a woman falling in love with a man who then exploits her to sell her body for sex).

- b. It is worse in Berlin than other places, because there is not a protected area for them to prostitute, drug addiction is out of control, violence and organized crime are increasing, and social service offices are overloaded.
- c. Here there is a street prostitution area and the situation is very precarious. It is visible, but society tolerates it. There are a lot of brothels.
- d. In Berlin there is not very much support for exiting prostitution, because prostitution is viewed here as a normal profession. In some other state, this opinion is not represented as strongly and there are more options for help in exiting.

14. Do you have any additional thoughts on the topics of safe house program uptake and completion?

- a. This is a long-haul deal and very hard work for someone - but healing is possible!
- b. I think we need to move away from a "safe house" as a long-term concept. A "safe house" should just be a retreat for the first 1-3 months for stabilization, but then participants should move into living in apartments and in a community. For the most part, our participants left in those first 3 months. Therefore, the house should just be for stabilization, and then when the participant is ready, they can move into independent-living with a focus on job integration along with the internal healing.
- c. I think the accompaniment of women out of prostitution must be very individualized. There can't be just one program, that all women have to go through. Instead, it must be adapted to each woman individually. We need to work more closely with outreach teams and other exit programs. We need the possibility of women building trust with the safe houses before they go there (e.g. through online counseling). We need sponsors who can simply be friends and supports for the women for 1-2 years and can help the women build a healthy social network. We need more support possibilities for women from ritual violence.

Survey of Other Organizations

Pink Door conducted a survey of other organizations in 2019 to find out more about the work they do and their assessment of the needs of the women they serve. There were 45 respondents; most were outreach organizations (41), but there were also nine safe houses/shelters, four counseling centers, three health agencies, and seven "other" organizations. Most conducted their outreach efforts in brothels, apartment brothels, erotic massage salons/saunas, or on the streets. Relevant questions and answers that were used for this report are listed below. Questions and responses were translated to English and edited for clarity.

What are the greatest needs of women who wish to exit prostitution?

- Job prospects
- Living space
- Financial support
- Childcare
- Trauma therapy
- Security
- Transportation

- Love
- A break from responsibilities
- German skills
- Independence
- Medical care
- Treatment for drug/alcohol addiction

What needs of women hoping to leave prostitution are currently not being addressed?

- The ability to leave their old life behind and start a new one
- Financial help
- Job prospects
- Apartment options
- Medical care
- Help with navigating bureaucracy
- German courses
- Education to improve job qualifications
- 24/7 childcare
- Advice centers in their native languages
- Therapy
- Treatment for drug/alcohol addiction

Which network contacts make it easier to support the women (e.g. police, Jobcenter, doctors, etc.)?

- Jobcenter
- Doctors (especially ones which accept patients who don't have insurance)
- Therapists (especially ones specializing in trauma)
- Other NGOs
- Advising/counseling centers
- Resident registration office (Einwohnermeldeamt)
- Health department (Gesundheitsamt)
- Local community
- Brothels
- Other safe houses
- Homeless shelters
- Churches
- Streetwork groups
- Migration officers
- Finance department (Finanzamt)
- Employer networks
- Lawyers

Do you have suggestions for changes or other thoughts about how to address issues that cause women to return to prostitution?

- More exit programs

- An informational video to help outreach workers explain things to the women more clearly
- Shelter accommodation options for male and trans prostitutes
- Transition apartment model: avoid forcing the women to give up their SIM cards or to be totally drug-free – instead, support them until they're ready for a full safe house
- Develop the network between safe houses
- Have individual families or people “adopt” one woman
- Do the women have to divulge so much information about themselves before they go to the safe house? The questions make them more skeptical and distant.
- Social workers, soul care (spiritual welfare), and therapy are necessary.
- Allow women to bring family.
- Give them women an allowance for doing chores or taking care of other responsibilities. This would preserve the women's worth and allow them to maintain a level of independence while still supporting them and making sure they don't have to go through things alone.
- Women need prospects for a new form of income to leave prostitution or to undergo an acute crisis situation before they will exit prostitution.
- There needs to be more options to accept women quickly and in an uncomplicated way. The bureaucracy gives women a lot of fear, and they give up more quickly. We need unbureaucratic solutions.
- A temporary free accommodation would be a good incentive
- Low-threshold support, few barriers, quick
- Transition apartment: a small apartment, where a woman can live for 2-6 months and in this time learn a trade and/or find a job while we help her to find a permanent apartment. Minimal rules so that they feel comfortable in the apartment and it can serve as the first step into an independent life.
- More options in eastern Germany
- Many, many more Freedom Businesses. Places where the women can earn enough money and have work conditions with understanding for their situation.
- Women need realistic work options. For example, women are accepted under the condition that they work in an adjoining bed and breakfast.
- Be more spontaneous and flexible and less bureaucratic.

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEWS

Transcripts of interviews conducted as part of this research are below. They have been edited for grammar and clarity; in some cases, they were translated from German to English.

Shannon von Scheele, Founder/Director of Netzwerk gegen Menschenhandel

Could you describe your organization?

The organization is called “Das Netzwerk gegen Menschenhandel.”¹² We were founded in 2006 and the organization is in Bekenntnisgemeinschaft with the Baptist Union here in Germany. That doesn’t mean too much – I mean... they like us, we like them, and they look in our books once a year, but that’s about it. We don’t get any funding from them, they don’t tell us what to do or anything like that. It’s a nice relationship that we have with them. In 2010, we became our own eingetragener Verein.¹³ When we started out, we were doing more networking and policy work as well – kind of what Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel¹⁴ is doing now. They came a bit after us; once they were there, we ceded some of the stuff we were doing to them because it made more sense, and then we decided to focus exclusively on our prevention and secondary prevention work. What we’re most known for is our program “Liebe ohne Zwang.”¹⁵ a prevention program for German schools, which has been very successful, so we’re very proud of that. Recently we’ve also been working with other professional groups that may have contact with trafficking victims. I’ve been working with pilots and flight attendants; I have done police in the past – we don’t do that as much because there are other groups doing that as well – and in the future, we’d like to do trainings also for other areas of transportation, maybe Flixbus drivers, because we know a lot of women are being transported that way. Also, healthcare professionals, hotel staff, these are areas we’d like to expand into.

What is the relationship between human trafficking and prostitution?

Oh, yeah, that’s a loaded question. I guess not all prostitution is human trafficking and not all human trafficking is prostitution, obviously, but there is a huge overlap. Most people that are trafficked are trafficked for their labor, not for sexual exploitation, and those that are trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation, a large percentage of them are in prostitution. My organization has a much broader definition of what forced prostitution is probably than other ones, so we would consider any lack of true alternatives or options to be considered forced prostitution. Women who are selling survival sex, we would consider that forced prostitution, because if they had other viable options, they would do that. Forced prostitution is a type of human trafficking: it’s in the international definition.

For any trafficking scenario, you need three things: you need an action, you need some sort of means, and you need the purpose of exploitation. And that action could be any sort of coercion, it could be threats, it could be kidnapping, so that’s the definition. You need to be able to prove all of

¹² Network against Human Trafficking

¹³ Registered organization

¹⁴ Together against human trafficking

¹⁵ Love without coercion

those things for it to be trafficking. Unless it's a minor, then you don't need coercion or anything like that, just a minor being brought into prostitution would count as human trafficking – the threshold is a bit lower as long as they're under 21.

What types of prostitution are people who are trafficked usually brought into? Street prostitution, brothels...?

I think it depends based on their age as well. So, if you're talking about minors, you're not going to usually see them doing street prostitution: it's much too exposed. They'll be in private homes or they'll be in apartments that are rented out for that purpose. Maybe some older women who are over 18 or 21, you would find them doing street prostitution, in brothels, being advertised online. Minors you would find being advertised online as well... of course, they're not going to say that they're minors, but they would say young, fresh, "Frisch Fleisch",¹⁶ something like that.

This is anecdotal, I personally have not seen this, but I've read that some traffickers are starting to use emojis to connote things about the people they have available. If it were an underage girl, for example, they would put cherry blossoms in the text. I've never seen this, but I've read about it.

What prevents prostitutes who have been trafficked from leaving prostitution? Threats, physical violence...?

Again, loaded question. It really depends on the situation of the woman. I think yes, of course it could be threats, it could be physical violence, it could be that she's monitored all the time and so physically cannot get away. It could be like with Nigerians who are trafficked that it's more something that's in their head binding them there because they've done this ritual in their home country, they've made this promise, so they honestly believe that if they leave then something bad may happen to them or their families. A lack of any other options could be a reason. They know the world of prostitution; they've somehow managed to find their way in this world. They know what to expect, even if it's dangerous and violent, and maybe they've even found a family in that world that they don't want to lose because before that maybe they didn't have a family. It could be any of those things.

What do prostitutes who actually do want to leave the industry need the most?

The number one thing that they do need is other options: viable alternatives to prostitution. More than a safe place to stay, more than anything else, that's what they really need. I think a lot of the organizations that run safe houses and things like that are finding that that isn't really meeting the needs of the women that they're trying to serve. They are very nervous about not earning any money while they're trying to recover; a lot of them aren't able to recover until they know that they are making money again and they're able to send that home to their families and they know that they're able to have their own apartment or know that if they need to get away, they can.

I think really, that honestly is the biggest thing they need: viable alternatives. If you look at any prostitution model in Europe, there are several different ones, all of them fall short in that area. Every single one of them. I mean, the Nordic model is better; some of the countries, they actually put a lot of resources into that, and that's good, but I think it can always be better, especially as far as migrant women go. They are the group that is most vulnerable and that really needs other options. We need to not misuse any prostitution policies we have as immigration policies. We really

¹⁶ Fresh meat

need to find viable alternatives for these women. I'm sorry, but I think it just cannot be that we live in a society where we just accept that a certain group of women, who are often foreign and poor, can be exploited in this way. It's just not okay. Most societies seem to have just accepted that that's better than not having any prostitution.

What resources are currently available in Germany to help prostitutes leaving the industry or to help survivors of trafficking?

Well, if you are officially recognized as a survivor of trafficking, you are granted a sort of a thinking period of a few months to decide what it is you want to do. During that time, you are provided with social services, with healthcare, a safe place to live [by the government], but those services are contingent upon cooperating with an investigation, so if she decides that she cannot cooperate for various reasons, then she is unlikely to get any further support if she is not an EU national. If she is an EU national, she does have other options. Theoretically, she is able to work in Germany, so she could try to find another job, but she's basically on her own in doing that, unless she has an NGO that might be helping her. But then there are all of these problems: how do you write a resume; how do you apply for jobs if you've been out of the workforce for such a long time? How do you get back into that? Germans have a very specific work ethic, as you know, that they may not be used to anymore or have ever been used to. These types of things could be barriers to regaining employment. If you're a German who's been trafficked, obviously there's no risk of you being deported. If you're an official victim of human trafficking, then you get a lot more services. Even if you decide not to cooperate in an investigation, you would still be eligible for unemployment benefits or other social services.

I notice you keep using the pronoun "she." Is it almost exclusively women that you've found to be the survivors of trafficking?

Yes, well, survivors of trafficking for sexual exploitation definitely. We can pretty much talk exclusively – say "Frauenhandel,"¹⁷ actually. There are men who are trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation; it's a very, very small percentage. I believe even in labor trafficking, the percentage of women trafficked is higher than men.

Are the resources available more tailored to women than men?

The resources available? Yes, that's very true. I know that the police, for example, are frustrated that there is a lack of options available for men, especially young men. When we had the refugee crisis, there was an increase in younger men and older boys, like from Afghanistan and Syria, who were being exploited in the sex industry. Some of them were using different drugs to numb the pain of the things that they had seen. The youth system here wasn't really able to help them in the way that they needed to be helped. Once they turned 18, they were phased out of the system or they left of their own volition. There were people waiting there to pick them right up and to say "you can get drugs if you prostitute yourself in the Tiergarten" or wherever. There was a lot of that going on, but there were no places for them, there were no safe houses for them, there were no programs for them specifically. I think that's changed now, but still if they're trying to place somebody, it's almost impossible. I was talking to a police officer about this at a conference last year, and they're very frustrated. What do you do, try to find places for the majority of the people, or... *(trails off)*

¹⁷ Women trafficking (as opposed to "Menschenhandel" or human trafficking)

How do the resources available factor in that the people they're helping might be addicted to drugs? Are there programs to help survivors of trafficking deal with drug addiction?

I'm not sure. I'm sure there are, but the programs I know are there to help women, survivors of trafficking, they usually say they cannot deal with a drug addiction, because it's a different beast. They would need to go to a drug program first. I'm not aware of any that mix them.

How is outreach conducted to support this population? Does your organization do outreach directly to prostitutes?

No, no we don't. We're one step removed from that. I used to volunteer at a couple organizations that did that, but that was a long time ago.

Does your organization work with those other organizations that do outreach?

We used to, a lot more than we do now, because now our focus is so narrow on prevention and secondary prevention that we don't work as much with them, but we used to.

Also in 2006, I was one of the founding members of Alabaster Jar actually. That was right before Neustart became Neustart as well; they were part of [unclear] before, I'm sure you know that already. The method at Alabaster Jar was about – I think it's about this in all outreach, actually – it's about building trust first of all with all of the women, whatever that entails, whether you're visiting them regularly and bringing small gifts or food or having a place like a café where you can invite them in. It's about building trust, but if you're offering the women things, then you have to come through. I think a lot of organizations make the mistake, especially at the beginning, when they're just starting out, that they want to help women exit who want to exit or they want to help victims of human trafficking, but they don't really have any real alternatives, and I think that's really dangerous, so all of those ducks need to be in a row. Having an exit plan really helps; Alabaster Jar had one. What do you do in each of these situations, who do you call, and you always need to be making sure that you're working with other organizations, because one organization can't do everything and shouldn't do everything. It's also not safe. The people that are doing outreach on the street really shouldn't be the ones that are running a safe house, or a transition home, or helping them into a job. Those should be separate, but they should be working together.

Who are the major actors in supporting survivors of trafficking and those who want to exit [prostitution]? You've mentioned your organization, Alabaster Jar, other organizations, but what does the government do? That's what I don't understand as well.

The police has these so-called Kooperationsverträge¹⁸ with very specific organizations. If they find a victim of human trafficking, they will only refer them to those organizations. Those organizations get state funding to help support those people – not enough funding, but they get some. Those victims are eligible for certain things, like we talked about, so they would get healthcare, they would get social support from the Arbeitsamt or the Jobcenter.¹⁹ I think that's where the money comes from.

¹⁸ Partnership agreements

¹⁹ Government agencies that address labor and workers' issues, including unemployment

Where do NGOs come in? Where is the government not providing, and where do the NGOs need to provide support or else it won't be there?

NGOs are the ones who can build relationships with the women, which the police and government agents don't have time to do. If the government wants women to cooperate in investigations, they need those people who are willing to build trust with these women. They need people who can go to appointments with them. They need people who can invest in them so that they do have a future, which is something that the government really can't provide, so I think that's where NGOs need to fill that gap. NGOs need to be a go-between also with the police to be able to say "that tactic that you're using isn't appropriate," things like that. They can train police and judges to work better with this population. They need funding for that, definitely. They need more staff.

How do survivors of trafficking and prostitutes feel about government agencies?

It depends on where they're from, usually. I think if we're talking about Germans, then they are usually very open to that type of help. If they have a criminal record, there may be less trust there, but in general, I would say there's more trust if they're from Germany.

Once you start getting to Eastern Europe or Africa there's virtually no trust in these institutions. This is partially because of experiences they've had in their own countries, partially because of things they're being told by the people who have trafficked them: that it isn't safe to talk to authorities, that no one will believe their stories anyway, that what they're doing is illegal so if they're caught they'll be thrown in jail (even though it's not). If they're here illegally, if they're here from a third country, then there's a whole host of immigration problems with that, so of course they are very scared of authorities. They probably don't believe that someone will help them or that they will be granted a visa to stay or a work permit if they do cooperate with authorities. It has happened that a woman has agreed to cooperate with authorities and then they decide her testimony isn't really relevant because of XYZ and then she gets deported anyway – stories like that get around.

It used to be in Italy, they had their so-called Italian model. I don't know if it's still like this actually, but in Italy it used to be that people that were recognized as victims of human trafficking received benefits from the state. They received a visa to stay with no strings attached – they were not forced to cooperate with the judiciary or anything – with the effect that the women felt so safe and so understood that most of them did cooperate and they got a lot more convictions than in most other European countries. That model of trust worked better.

How significant is the language barrier for women who have been trafficked from other countries? Do a lot of them learn German after they come here or some level of German?

The language barrier is significant – not speaking the language or being in the environment of a foreign country is even considered a vulnerability that is grounds for trafficking, so it's very serious, definitely. Most of the women learn some German – sure they do, they need to learn some German in order to communicate with the johns, with their clients – but I think maybe even a bigger problem is the illiteracy that's rampant among some of the ethnic groups that are usually trafficked. If it does come to getting help from authorities or when it's getting very legal or bureaucratic, that is something that could be terrifying for these women. I remember a long time ago we were helping a woman who ran away from a pimp, we had her in a safe house – we used to do that too, as a

Netzwerk, we had a network of short-term safe houses – and I was trying to help her get all of her ducks in a row so she could go to the authorities, and it was just a matter of her being able to sign her name on things. She was making an X, things like that, and she needed to be reading these things and understanding them, so I would be reading them out loud. I think that's a huge barrier to them being able to participate in their own cases. That's another way NGOs can really be helpful; stepping in with translators and that kind of language support. Even if they speak some German, it's not going to be enough for something like that. The women are very resourceful, and I'm always amazed at their language ability that they are able to learn so quickly, but it's not at the level they would need for a court case later.

How prevalent is the Loverboy method?

Very. If we're talking about minors being trafficked in Germany, it's the biggest cause of that definitely. Most of the girls that have been trafficked with this Loverboy method are German as well, so it is definitely a big issue here. Many women enter prostitution as minors, and a lot of them are entering through some sort of relationship, whether it's a romantic relationship or – I guess that's the genius of pimps or traffickers, they can usually spot what it is that a girl is missing in her life and then they can be that for her. We had a case a few years ago: there was a young woman who was an orphan who had grown up in state institutions, group homes, her whole life, and what she wanted more than anything else was a family, parents. She ended up meeting this guy online who was quite a bit older than her and he started filling that father role for her and that led to prostitution. I think it's the oldest trick in the book to use a relationship to get someone into prostitution. There are tons of people who are trafficked from their family members, people they actually know; that's probably the most common method. Those aren't romantic relationships, but they are relationships that are being exploited. Of course, I can't give you any figures. The past two years they just started counting Loverboy cases in Germany separately from other ones, so we're just starting to get a picture. You can find that in the Bundeskriminalamt Bundeslagebild Menschenhandel²⁰ that comes out every year.

How does the situation in Berlin compare to the situation in the rest of Germany?

In Germany, the hotspots for [the Loverboy] phenomenon are Berlin and Nordrhein-Westfalen. When we go into schools in both of those areas, we do a little questionnaire with the Schüler and Schülerinnen²¹ and we ask them if they know a victim or think they know one. Rarely there is a class where someone doesn't say yes. There was a woman named [unclear] who used to run No Loverboys; they've since closed unfortunately. She was a former Kriminalkommissarin²² with the police and she went into schools to do events in the auditorium for the whole school. She said when she did that, there wasn't a single school where a victim didn't approach her afterwards and say "this is happening to me right now." So, it's quite prevalent. Berlin is definitely a Drehscheibe²³ for Menschenhandel and prostitution in Germany: there's the most people here, Berlin has always been kind of wild and accepting of everything, the pro-prostitution lobby is very strong here, and the Hurenbewegung²⁴ has always been very strong here, even though it has changed a lot. There's so few

²⁰ Federal criminal office situation report on human trafficking

²¹ Students

²² Police detective

²³ Hub

²⁴ Whores' movement

Germans in actual prostitution now: it's mostly foreign women, mostly poor women, mostly migrant women. The whole face of the industry has changed, but the lobbying organizations haven't reflected that yet. They think that they speak for all of the women in prostitution, but they really only speak for their privileged set of women in prostitution who do speak the language, who can more set their rules than others can, who maybe are dominatrixes so they're not even being penetrated like a normal prostitute is. There was a Prostitutionschutzgesetz²⁵ that came into effect a few years ago and it took Berlin a very, very long time to start implementing that. I think they were one of the last Bundesländer²⁶ that even had a place where women could register, whereas in Nordrhein-Westfalen they were right on top of that. I think that also shows that the politische Wille²⁷ in Berlin is not very high.

*What proportion of prostitutes are doing this freiwillig?*²⁸

Honestly, what do you mean by that?

A very small percentage, I would say. I've talked to hundreds and hundreds of women over 20 years that have worked in prostitution, and I have met... two women who had other options, chose prostitution, and said that they enjoyed it, and I accept that; they were definitely the exception, not the rule. Even when speaking to women who have consciously made the decision – I'd much rather say they're consciously in prostitution and not voluntarily in prostitution – those women, they may even say “yes I've chosen this, and this is what I want to be doing” and when they do end up exiting, years later, they realize that was them trying to survive. They were telling themselves these things just to survive, to get through things. There are fantastic testimonials of survivors with the Netzwerk Ella. It's really encouraging to see survivors of the sex industry coming together and sharing their stories, especially in Germany and German women doing that, which I think is really important. Those women who do turn up in talk shows and talk about how great prostitution is, those are usually German women, and they don't speak for everybody. It's not the reality usually of what they're saying. I'm very impressed with these women who are courageous enough to come forward and share these stories of how it really is.

I think this way Germans look at prostitution is coming from a good place. Feminists very much lobbied for this in the 70s and 80s and it was really coming from a good place. With the law in 2002, they wanted to legalize and decriminalize everything so that supposedly it would be safer for the women and they would be able to enjoy the benefits of a social democracy that they weren't before. Those are all really good ideas. It obviously hasn't worked. Now we as a society need to start asking ourselves why and not be afraid to look at those answers and not be afraid to go back to a different model or think maybe we were wrong. I think especially the political parties that really pushed for the law in 2002 are afraid to do that or they don't want to admit that was the wrong way to go.

I also wasn't always for a Nordic model approach. I used to think “hey we need to support these women in their choice.” I'm still very much a supporter of prostitutes, but not prostitution. I honestly believe now it's inherently damaging for not just the women in it but society as a whole,

²⁵ Prostitution protection law

²⁶ States

²⁷ Political will/motivation

²⁸ Voluntarily

especially what it means for equality between men and women. You can't have it as long as prostitution exists.

It is really telling that, according to some studies, over 90 percent of women who are in prostitution have been sexually abused formerly in their lives. Again, is this the kind of society we want to be that we just accept that there's a certain percentage of women who have been damaged or who are not as white or who don't speak the language or aren't as rich as the others who are allowed to be treated in this way? I just don't accept that.

How typical is it for prostitutes to actually register with the government?

I mean, some of them are registering. I don't think it will protect the women, but it could be interesting in the sense that we may finally have an idea of how many women there are in prostitution and where they're going. That's only going to work if everybody registers and every time they move, they register, and that's obviously not happening, especially with the most vulnerable or at-risk women or women who have trafficked. They're definitely not being registered.

Is it legal to engage in prostitution without registering?

No. But, if you are found out, the women have to pay a fine. I believe the fine is 1000 Euro. Again, punishing the women for something they may or may not have any control over. It is insane.

How are the resources for trans prostitutes and survivors of trafficking?

I don't know. I would guess nonexistent, pretty much, but I really don't know.

Are there different resources available for survivors of trafficking with children?

In some cities, yes. This other EU project, called INTAP, the purpose of that is to help survivors of trafficking in a more holistic way, and one of those aspects is mothers with children. That might be a good resource for you to look at. The organizations involved in that are SOWOLDI, the Justice Project, Herzwirk, and Gemeinsam Gegen Menschenhandel is coordinating it. I wrote the grant, but we're not actually involved. Those aren't government resources, those are NGO resources, but that's definitely something that's on people's radar, because you have to treat women with children differently, they have different needs. It's often easier for them to stay, especially if their child is half-German, so that could be a good thing. On the other hand, it could be harder for them to integrate and heal. It has a whole other bunch of complications that come with it.

What are your thoughts on safe houses and how they can help survivors of trafficking and prostitutes hoping to exit?

I think they can work for local women – German women – better than foreign women. At least, from what I see, they seem to not be doing well with eastern European women. African women seem to do well in safe houses if they are in group living situations, not if they're alone. What often happens with them is that when they're in the group living situation at the beginning, everything is going well, but when they transition into their own apartment and they're cut off from the people they know, then things start going downhill again. It's a cultural thing, they're used to being constantly being surrounded by family and friends, and everyone helps with the kids. I think if

people are doing safe houses, they need to be really culturally sensitive to the population that they're serving. If you're serving mostly eastern Europeans, then you need to be thinking "well a traditional safe house probably is not going to work; we need to make sure that our first priority is getting them into another job and then dealing with whatever comes up after that." Whereas if you're working with African women, you need to make sure they have that support system in place and that it stays there. Then if you're working with German women, I think they probably do well in a typical safe house environment.

What proportion of prostitutes exiting or survivors of trafficking are German that you've encountered?

No, it's not mostly German women, because it's not mostly German women in prostitution, so I would say no. If you look at the statistics of the largest ethnic groups that are discovered cases of trafficking, German is always in the top three. It's always Bulgaria, Romania, Germany or Romania, Bulgaria, Germany. Now I think that doesn't mean necessarily that Germans are the third largest group. What it does mean is that they're being discovered more often. There could be lots of reasons; either because they feel more comfortable seeking help themselves or because they know that they have nothing to fear from the institutions here. It may be sort of an inflated number so we don't really know, so it's not mostly Germans exiting. I think they're exiting most successfully if they're staying in Germany, but there's not mostly Germans exiting.

If you could create the policies for Germany, what would you suggest Germany change about their laws to best help these populations?

I believe that Germany has a real opportunity to create a German model, something new, based on what we know of the Nordic model, what works there and doesn't, and then make it better. I would love to see in Germany something similar to the Nordic model. Definitely criminalizing sex buyers and brothel owners and pimps so that the purchase of sex is not allowed. That being very holistic like in Sweden: coming along with

- awareness raising in schools from the junior high level that it's not okay to buy other people and creating that awareness and having kids grow up with that,
- providing more resources for police to follow through on the new law,
- exit services with viable opportunities for these women once they exit,
- mental health services, and
- a basket of laws and policies with migration policy that does not allow this Nordic model to be misused as migration policy, so that, if a woman is in prostitution and wanting to exit, she is not deported, she is seen as a vulnerable woman that has experienced violence – even if she was supposedly doing it consciously, she deserves the same level of care as a trafficking victim, she is allowed to stay, she is allowed to learn a trade, get a job, and try to make something of her life.

I think that would up the success rate of the law. It attacks the problem from a few different sides, not just say we're going to ban the purchase of sex – that won't work, it has to be in line with all of these other policies.

The migration and the job opportunities, those are huge, those have got to be in there.

Dr. Andrea Tivig, Department for Trafficking of Women and Prostitution, Terres des Femmes

How would you describe Terre des Femmes?

Terres des Femmes is a women's rights organization. We were founded in 1981. We work on the issue of violence against women. We fight different forms of violence against women. We have five departments: the department on female genital mutilation, then a department that works on forced marriages and honor crimes, honor killings – so-called honor killings – and then there's a department that works on domestic and sexualized violence. My department works on human trafficking and prostitution. And then there's one department that works on gender equality and integration of migrants, refugees, and so on. And then we also support several international projects in some countries that have a women's shelter or some other program. They're not our projects, but we cooperate with local projects and help raise money for them here.

We do advocacy work and public awareness raising campaigns, and we try to do some work with communities that are affected, but we're not a counseling center. I personally do not work directly with victims of human trafficking or persons in prostitution. That's important as a caveat that a lot of the information about what is happening on the ground, I get from my colleagues, others in counseling centers, and other forms of information that I have access to.

I guess that that would be like the broad information maybe. So, we have 35 employees, but Terres des Femmes is kind of a democratic organizations in that our members – there are 2000 members – they vote for the positions that the organization takes and they elect the board of directors as well.

Based on my research, I noticed that the organization changed its opinion on prostitution sort of recently. Could you tell me about why that happened?

It's an interaction between the reality outside and the political changes and the internal changes. I think it would be fair to say that Terre des Femmes has always been skeptical about the issue of prostitution and worried about violence and coercion in prostitution, similar to the red-green government, so the SPD and the Greens that did the Prostitution Act in 2002. There was the hope that some regularization would improve the situation for women and would help improve protection and support and that kind of stuff. The decade afterwards showed that that wasn't happening at all.

There were always different groups in the organizations. I mean, there were always people in the organizations who just thought that, you know, that prostitution is violence against women and that this distinction or that only reducing harm isn't the right approach, that there needs to be some more systematic approach. If you think about it as, let's say, as Sweden and other countries started introducing the abolitionist legislation, our members realized that harm reduction isn't the only possibility. There's something that's more like a more fundamental paradigm shift that can be done.

And I think that's what happened. In 2013, there was some scandal because one of the board of director members, who was also a member of the Green Party, presented prostitution as a sex between consenting adults.

That led our organization to start talking about what exactly are we? What exactly is our political demand and what are we trying to achieve?

There were a lot of meetings of the members and then votes on what the position was. We now have, from 2014, an agreed position paper on what the position of Terres des Femmes is on prostitution.

Yes, I read that position paper, actually. Is there anything that's changed since the writing of the position paper?

Well, I mean, the position paper is the position. It's not a full argumentation. I mean, you probably noticed, right, it just says what the position is, but it's not every detail. It obviously doesn't respond to some of the changes with the Prostitution Protection Act that was passed in 2016 and entered into force in 2017. So, yes, we have some additional positions on things that have developed since then. But the overarching position is the same.

So how has the situation for prostitutes changed since the legalization in the early 2000s?

Well, you have to be careful in your formulation, because it was legal before. Prostitution was never illegal in Germany. What it was considered to be, I guess, a vice, there was some moral...

*Die Sittenwidrigkeit.*²⁹

Yeah, I'm not sure what the exact English translation of the word is. What that meant was that persons in prostitution couldn't complain if they didn't get the money, because they couldn't use the normal system of asking for it. You know, contracts and that kind of stuff, and they couldn't get insurance as a person in prostitution. The 2002 act tried to change that. But it is not a legalization.

It's more of an institutionalization...?

Well, it's removing the last hurdle towards legalization. But it wasn't a decriminalization. It was important in that. Terres des Femmes is also against the criminalization of prostitution. And, of course, it is an issue if the situation is such that they don't feel comfortable going to the police and so on. But what the Prostitution Act of 2002 did is while removing those hurdles, it also removed the ability of the police to engage with the industry and control. I mean, this is different in different regional subunits of Germany. But in some of the Länder,³⁰ it was hard for the police to enter brothels and control what was happening there.

It's quite clear that the positive goals that the act was trying to achieve didn't fully work, but it also had a lot of negative consequences.

How is prostitution perceived in Germany in general?

I think the idea is that prostitution is something that's always there and that it would be stupid to pretend that it won't be there. There is a certain sense of "we're not prudish." There's a flawed link that they draw between sex positivity and thinking that prostitution is work or, you know, something

²⁹ Violation of morality

³⁰ Federal states

normal and should be embraced. There is in general agreement that no one should be forced to be in prostitution. I don't mean in the sense of human trafficking, but that, for example, the Arbeitsamt or Jobcenter³¹ should not refer persons to positions in brothels. Because in Germany, if you get offered a position by the Jobcenter and you decline it, there are sanctions. Right now, they don't refer people to brothels. But I think pretty much everyone in Germany agrees that they shouldn't.

That's in some way contradictory. Either it's a work like any other, and if you force people to be a cleaning personnel in a building, then what's the difference?

I think that there's a fascination with the idea of what is happening in prostitution. You often get these quite titillating articles in magazines about, I don't know, a female student who's earning some money as an escort and living the high life, that kind of stuff. There are similar phenomena about sugar daddies in the US. That hasn't fully arrived here yet, but something close to it. I think there's this fascination with the dirtiness of what is happening. It's not it's not a fully consistent position.

They also don't see the connection between prostitution and gender equality. Our main task is to communicate how one affects the other and how prostitution is a problem for gender equality as a whole.

Is that the primary focus of the lobbying and advocacy work that Terre des Femmes does?

I mean, you have to distinguish the advocacy with the political advocacy work with the kind of broad societal stuff. We have two strategies. One is political decision makers and the other is the general society where we try to, I guess, explain the connections. The brochure that I just gave you is part of the latter.

Last year in November – every November on the 25th of November, the International Day, no to violence against women, we always have an event in Berlin, but also in a lot of other cities where our members have their local groups. This year, the focus was on prostitution. And there were a lot of events and like screenings of documentaries and so on to try and raise awareness of what is happening here, the degree to which even people that might be German or people who say that there isn't any pimp behind them might still be subject to certain forms of coercion. And communicating what coercion is and that financial exchange of money changes the quality of what is happening when two people have sex.

So, from consensual sex, it changes into something where money is a coercive force. People who depend on money, if they consent, that has a different quality than someone who doesn't depend on that money. That's why, in a way, what is happening isn't sex in prostitution. It's something else. It's a certain form of sexualized violence.

Of course, there's also the distinction, too, right? I mean, I think that you can't equate if a person in prostitution has sexual contact with a client or a sex buyer, you can call that a certain form of sexualized violence, but that is still very different from if a sex buyer rapes a person in prostitution. I think in the same way that you have a spectrum between sexual harassment and rape, in the same way there's kind of a spectrum: they're both bad but the bad is to a differing degree.

³¹ Government agencies that address labor and workers' issues, including unemployment

But are they on the same spectrum, would you say?

I mean, they're non-consensual sex, right? I mean, that's the spectrum. You can argue where it is. I mean, maybe there is a gap, maybe it's not continuous, maybe there's a step or something like that. But it's different forms and to a differing degree a form of non-consensual sexual action. I mean, we know that rape is not doesn't require physical violence. You know, Germany introduced in 2016 the "no means no" legislation. But countries like Sweden have "yes means yes." If you think about what consent is, then you need to reach the point where if a person sleeps with someone just because they get money and they wouldn't otherwise sleep that changes what... that isn't consensual sex.

It doesn't mean that the sex that sex buyers are rapists, I wouldn't say that, but what they are doing is morally problematic, and we do think that it should become criminalized.

So how can general [German] people who oppose prostitution best advocate for a change in policy?

Well, I think it would be to talk to their local representatives and say that the current German approach isn't working, isn't okay. The nice thing is that I think everyone agrees that the Prostitute Protection Act of 2016 is really not good.

What did that change?

It had different provisions. One was that persons in prostitution have to go to health counseling and get a certificate that they've done that. I have to be clear, it's health counseling. It's not a forced physical exam. That was the case during the Nazi regime. That presence in prostitution had forced physical exams and then got some kind of certificate that they were clean. This isn't that. It's that they have gone to counseling and then they can register as a person in prostitution. That registration is valid for two years, unless you are under the age of 21.

On the other hand, brothel owners have to offer a business concept and get it approved.

Another part is that condom-less sex has become prohibited. There are fines for the sex buyer and the brothel owner, but not for the person in prostitution. Also, advertisement for condom-less sex or sex with pregnant women and so on are theoretically illegal; in practice, control has not really started yet.

One of the problems is that in order to register as a person in prostitution, you have to be permitted to work in Germany. So that means a large percentage of people in prostitution can't register, because they are here either without documentation; they don't have a work permit (they are here legally, but they have they don't have a work permit); or they are from countries where prostitution is illegal, and so they're threatened by the official – it is possible that the German government or some kind of public authority sends letters back to their country of origin with information. I mean, that's not just a source of blackmail, but they also might be subject to criminal prosecution of some kind.

There's a significant portion of the persons in prostitution who might receive social welfare. That means if they register as a person in prostitution, then the social welfare office will say, "well, so you're getting income." So therefore, they receive less welfare.

When there are all these reasons for prostitutes to not come forward and to stay out of the public eye, how do you involve prostitutes' voices in advocacy on this issue?

Well, I mean, that's one of the issues that the voices of persons in prostitution that you hear in the public are a very specific segment of the population. You have an overrepresentation of German persons in prostitution, of women who are working independently or in the BDSM sector. Nothing wrong with that, but the problem is that there they're both... the risk profile and also the bargaining position and all those kinds of things are different between working in the Domina³² studio compared to the average person in prostitution. That changes things.

No one challenges that the percentage of persons in prostitution with some kind of migrant background is extremely high. There are no numbers on where they're from. Well, actually, that is incorrect. In November of last year, the statistical federal office published the numbers of people who had registered by the end of 2018 and that's thirty-two thousand and something. And there you have thirty five percent Romanians, 10 percent Hungarians, 19 percent Germans, and I think this is exactly where it comes in. What I said earlier, that the Germans are overrepresented amongst this. I'm not sure what the percentages, but it's not 19 percent. I think it's just because they are the ones that can register and all of the others can't. So just statistically, it makes sense that they kind of overcount it.

What do the migrant women in prostitution need most, would you say, in terms of support?

Different kinds of things. In addition to the government health counselling they need independent counseling. Street work doesn't happen enough in Germany. I think they need exit programs that they have access to. I mean, exit programs are an issue whatever your nationality in Germany, I mean, they barely exist. Dialing up that quite significantly and making sure that it's not just German nationals and it's not just EU nationals, but also third country nationals that have access to exit programs, that's significant. I mean, that's one of the improvements of the French law compared to the Swedish law is exactly that: the French law gives people from third countries and other EU citizens access to exit programs in a way that they didn't have in Sweden.

Does that mean the people from third countries are allowed to stay?

Not forever and ever and ever, but they get access to exit programs. I'm not sure, I think at least six months, I'm not sure what exactly the procedure is. If you are there undocumented, it becomes a bit harder... I'm not sure how the practice works here, but at least the minimum is EU citizens having access. That's what the EU is built on, that EU citizens are treated the same as national citizens. And the distinction that happens also in Sweden is problematic, but also ideally it will soon be that third country nationals also have access to exit programs.

There are plenty of things that you need. Getting access to the social welfare system there have been some shifts in the last five years or so in that EU citizens don't have access to a social welfare system in the same way they did before – you need to be present for five years before you have access and so on. So those kinds of things make it harder for persons in prostitution from, let's say, Bulgaria or Romania to exit.

³² dominatrix

There's always this argument. Why do persons in prostitution that are Germans need exit programs – they can go on social welfare? Well, it's not that easy. It can be problematic because so why don't you continue working, right?

I think the official position of the social welfare office would be, of course, you have access, but in each individual instance, it might be more difficult actually getting it.

Well, it seems like there is not a great exact sense of how many migrant women there are in prostitution. What other data is missing in having a complete understanding of the situation?

The country of origins of those who don't register, but also actually I mean, one of the things that I found most astounding about the Prostitute Protection Act is that the statistics and data that this registration process is supposed to generate, it doesn't take note of the gender of the person registering.

I'm all for female, male and third option. I'm not saying you need a binary option. To not even register that data... I don't know. They probably thought it wasn't necessary because everyone knows most persons in prostitution are women, but it's a missed opportunity to actually get data on that.

In addition to that kind of statistic, you need scientific studies, quantitative and qualitative, that really reflect what the situation of prostitution is in Germany. There was a study in 2004 that looked at the lived reality of persons in prostitution and the degree to which they are subject to violence. It very clearly shows that persons in prostitution both experienced more violence in childhood, but also in the course of engaging in prostitution. It's a limited study. It's only about 100 persons in prostitution, so you can't generalize it. I definitely don't. I think it's really offensive to suggest every person in prostitution that “you have suffered from violence in childhood,” even if you say you didn't. I think that's really patronizing and that's really wrong. But that study suggests that a significant portion of people have. Something like that would need to be redone.

I would also like to get some sense of the mechanisms of that keep persons in prostitution. So, for example, the problem that in order to get another job, someone needs to be able to afford living for two to three weeks before their salary comes. If you don't have any money, you can't do that. You can't wait. You need a job that gives you daily money or at least weekly. If you also have family in your countries of origin that depend on your weekly money transfer, then you can't leave.

Also, one of the problems with exit programs is that a lot of people in prostitution are not in a position to have a normal job psychologically if they were traumatized. Not every person in prostitution is traumatized, but some are. That may mean that they get triggered really easily if they have a male boss or if someone shouts at them or there might be a lot of situations that make it really hard. Not just exit programs that give you financial support, but also a psychosocial support of some kind. It's essential.

Do you think exit programs are the main thing that's needed to currently help women in prostitution?

Not just exit programs. Unless women are offered alternatives or if they have access to alternatives or if they can accept an alternative, you also need support services for people who stay in prostitution. And this isn't a short-term thing; it's going to be a longer-term thing. You have to

accept that you're going to have a dual strategy: helping those who stay and helping those who want to leave. Through the abolitionist legislation, you're going to reduce demand, but that's not instantaneous and the demand isn't going to go to zero. The same way that you have demand for child pornography even though it's illegal everywhere. It's important to accept reality as it is, but not resign yourself to it, also push for resolving the contradictory situation that we have right now.

You mentioned there are currently some exit programs, but not enough. What other resources are currently available?

Not many. KOFV has a small shelter for victims of human trafficking, but they also give some access to people who want to leave prostitution. The line between human trafficking and prostitution isn't always very clear. If someone doesn't want to do it anymore, even if there's no pimp behind them, there's still coercive situations. It might be really hard for them to leave. There are some counseling centers that give advice on exiting and might support them in dealing with the social welfare system if they are German, but I think most people in the counseling centers for people in prostitution have very little that they can offer. I think often that's taken as they don't want to help people because they glorify prostitution, but I think that's not true. There's nothing that they can offer, so they have to help people deal with what the situation is, but that's not the same as ignoring what is happening. If can't offer something to something... yeah.

I think in general the problem is in Germany that a lot of shelters are not sufficient. Women's shelters... there's barely any spots left in Germany. Obviously, persons in prostitution wouldn't be the target group for women's shelters because women's shelters are mainly focused on domestic violence. I think there's the potential for having a lot of institutions that ensure that every person in prostitution who is in prostitution does so without any kind of coercion.

How likely do you think a change in state policy on prostitution is in the near future?

The evaluation comes out in 2025. Before that, there won't be much.

That's a significant amount of time.

Well, yes and no. As a political scientist, I do believe that laws have to be evaluated. They have to exist for a while before they can be evaluated. I would not like it if they introduced the sex buyers purchase law and then evaluated a year after and said "see, it didn't work, let's go back."

We have that situation in Northern Ireland and Ireland that they have an eval after three years, and that's really difficult if the law hasn't really been implemented yet. I guess I have to accept that that's the case also in this situation.

Dr. Katherine Welch, Director/Founder of Relentless

Could you describe Relentless?

Relentless is an organization under a larger organization in the States. I started it after 10 years of working in anti-trafficking with marginalized and vulnerable people. I wanted to see what it would look like for a doctor to devote all of her time and energy working at the intersection of health and human trafficking.

There are three basic aspects to the work of Relentless. The first, which I spend the majority of my time doing, is educating and building the capacity of organizations to develop a more robust health component to their interventions. For example, an outreach organization might have to know about how do you interact with the men or women on your street or how they can be safer people. A lot of it is involving trauma-informed care. When I'm working with aftercare organizations, such as Pink Door, I'm equipping their staff to understand health consequences. Some organizations I've worked with, especially in Asia, knew nothing about HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis B, a normal menstrual cycle, or even how to explain normal and abnormal menstrual cycles to women who don't have normal reproductive health or education. It's really equipping them to meet those needs with the men and women they're seeing every day. That's reproductive health, that's mental health, that's infectious disease, it's everything.

The majority of my time now is spent working on trauma and other mental health issues. I'm still [unclear] a lot of questions about health, especially in the area of transgender and for people working with transgender. That area of transgender medicine is emerging; there's a lot of conflicting reports, and a need to sort through what's right and what's not.

The third aspect is equipping doctors to understand trafficking, trauma, and their unique and important role in addressing this. It also goes into working on prevention, such as identifying child abuse and neglect, and understanding that abused and neglected kids are growing up to be victims and perpetrators. I want to get an abolition movement going among health professionals. I'm really looking forward to that; I think I can do something in Germany, in Europe.

How is Germany compared to the other contexts you've worked in?

It's pretty grim, actually. I think there's a concept of doing the right thing for refugees, so there's that, whereas Thailand and China and other Asian countries got a big fail on caring for these people. But the level of understanding about how trauma impacts all... trauma is not just a psychological problem, it's not even a psychological disease. Trauma is something unique and it's impacting all of your body, your brain, and your ability to learn, concentrate, grow, and develop. It's quite unique in that way.

I'm actually surprised about the depth of ignorance among professionals in this country. I expected judges and lawyers and other law enforcement to be totally ill-informed, but I'm discovering a lot of people, especially in the older generation of people – when I talk with people from the organization ECPAT about how they're trying to fight against child trafficking and abuse here it's like... what planet are these people from? Are they from the Middle Ages still? Also, when I talk with people from other Western European countries, their laws are just in the Dark Ages.

What are some of the common misconceptions of trafficking?

First of all, prostitution is legal in Germany, so there's a misconception that all prostitution that you see is above board and that it's fine. When there's a legality to it, what you can see, you think that must be legal and everyone must be fine, because prostitution is legal; if it weren't fine, how could that be allowed to go on? Well, that's the thing. Everyone is assuming, including the police, that it's all fine.

There are misconceptions about how gravely, deeply, thoroughly, and comprehensively chronic trauma impacts a person's life and ability to regulate themselves and think for themselves. Also, the fact that, especially in chronic childhood trauma, you might have a 30-year-old who's actually cognitively 12, emotionally 10, and that their frontal lobes are completely being hijacked by the amygdala. You don't need to be condescending and treat people like children, but, at the same time, I think there are assumptions that once these people have been "rescued" that they're fine, and that they were fine before. It's the tip of the iceberg, that experience that they've had, especially if you're talking about Roma or people from other Eastern European countries or refugees or things like that.

I think there's a misconception that, for example, in the Vietnamese community, there's a lot of trafficking there, and it's happening within and through the Vietnamese community and then it's "what stays there is there and it's not harming German society very much – we know that it's bad, but they're really just fighting among themselves and trafficking and doing organized crime between each other. Yeah, it's bad, and we need to care, but there are other problems." Well actually, it's not, I think it's a much bigger deal. That's a misconception: that when there's trafficking here, the problem is here. They want to keep shutting down the borders, but if they really want to solve it – for example, the lorry, in England, where they found those 39 people dead, the response was "oh my god we've got to inspect all the lorries." No, actually, you need to track those people back and find out who those snakeheads are – snakehead is a Chinese term. Who are those dodgy people who are collecting \$20,000 to send these Vietnamese people off?

They just have a very small view of the trafficking problem. That's a long answer to that question.

How does the health situation compare here, for these populations, to those other contexts?

Well the healthcare here is better, if you qualify for it. If you're in the system, it's great. If you're not, it's a struggle. I haven't done that much research on what healthcare looks like for refugees and people with asylum cards. I think if they're in, it's good. If you're not, it's not good.

For example, the women who are trafficked from Eastern Europe: they're not registered, they're not in the books, they don't have jobs... they're sort of in the Schengen area, but what does that mean? Do they have a Krankenkasse?³³ I'm not sure, I don't think it's quite comprehensive.

I know there are other people that I've worked with – Rhonda and some of their women – who had to be a little careful with going to the hospital, because they didn't have a card. That's another thing that I do. When you're working with people who have no healthcare or limited healthcare, deciding when you go to the hospital and when you don't, and trying to manage, especially in other resource-poor areas, you need a medical home for the survivors in assistance programs. Don't waste half a day and all of this money because you have a fever or a headache. Let me help you do these basic things you can manage at home. But the survivor gets all excited, you know "Oh I'm dying of a headache, take me to the hospital!" and they're like "Okay! She says she's dying!"

I think understanding how to manage basic healthcare – actually, there's a lot of issues, such as chronic pain. I mean there's this pain; people are just weeping because their body hurts from trauma, but there's no etiology for this pain. The doctor can do all of the exams, they've got nothing. That becomes frustrating for the doctor; the doctor wants to have something to treat. If there's nothing

³³ Health insurance

to treat, you feel like they're wasting your time, when actually this person needs to be heard, have compassion, and have some medicine. That's why it complicates healthcare delivery. When you don't have doctors who understand – of course, you're not going to announce every time you go to the hospital, "This person is formerly sex trafficked." No one wants that history broadcast to every stranger in the hospital. There are all kinds of barriers on the healthcare side and the patient side.

What are the health needs of prostitutes and survivors of trafficking? What are the problems that they typically have?

Apart from the psychological, emotional, mental, cognitive, social issues...? Well, there are all of these studies that show they have depression and anxiety. A lot of people won't meet the strict criteria for these DSM-5 mental disorders. But they have trauma, which is this nebulous thing of dissociation and anxiety and all of these kinds of things. Then they'll have reproductive health issues. They might have chronic infectious disease issues if they have some STD that wasn't taken care of in a timely manner and that turns chronic. They could have other chronic issues that haven't been taken care of. Maybe they have some kind of disability. Maybe they have a pregnancy that's unwanted.

That's not a very specific question. Basically, it could be anything.

In terms of the mental health challenges that they face: do you usually encounter some level of trauma?

Yeah, generally, but that doesn't mean that every survivor is completely incapacitated. I think their level of resilience has to do a lot with – I'd like to do a study on it – ACEs (adverse childhood experiences). I think that might play a role in building resilience in survivors. I'm not really sure. Not to say that they don't still suffer. The saying goes: "If you've seen one trauma patient, then you've seen one trauma patient." Everyone is different, and there's all kinds of modalities for therapy and counseling. Not everything will work for every patient.

How prevalent is drug use in this population of survivors of trafficking and prostitutes?

I can't quote any statistics off the top of my head. I think it's quite high, but there's also a spectrum of absolute drug dependence, abusing drugs, and then misuse of drugs. It's about how you're using the drugs: do you need to get so you can go out and work? Do you need to get high so you can stay awake and then take downers so you can sleep? Do you take drugs to self-medicate your trauma symptoms? Things like that. Are you drinking or taking drugs because your client is giving them to you? Do you work to support your drug habit or do you have a drug habit to support your sex work? I don't have any statistics, but I think I would be a drug addict if I had to do that. So, I think it's quite high.

And what do you consider a drug? Marijuana is technically illegal – is it dangerous for young kids? Yeah. If it helps you chill out, that's not the worst thing.

I think the problem is not "what's the prevalence," the problem comes with the dual diagnosis of the trauma and the drug abuse. There are programs that say "we can't take someone who is an alcoholic. They have to be clean before they come into our program." Most of the drug programs don't consider the trauma, and they want to take out this coping mechanism. It's working for them – not very well, there are better coping mechanisms – but you take out that, and they'll completely

fall apart. How can you work on getting off the drug without working on the trauma? A lot of these programs are confrontational, they're cold turkey, they're in your face, they're really rough. For some addicts, that really works. For some, you need to have a step down, kind of titration, about working in coping mechanisms to substitute the maladaptive coping mechanisms. That's the same with self-harm, drug addiction, other eating disorders. That's why I would like to actually start working with addiction more too and really supporting programs that want to accept people who are drug addicts.

Very few withdrawal symptoms are actually life-threatening. It is dangerous, and you should have some supervision, especially if you're an alcoholic. For most people, it's difficult, but with some adequate support and supervision, I think people can make it through when they're ready. There's a lot of recidivism with drug abuse. People exiting trafficking, especially sex trafficking, will quit and go back multiple times. That's another thing that the assistance people have to realize. Both for drug addiction and for exiting sex trafficking especially, there's a whole lot of identity wrapped up in there. They have to be prepared to hold people lightly.

What are the main resources in Germany for people leaving trafficking or prostitution?

Not very much. I'm still learning, I'm not really an expert on what's available. I think there are programs that want to assist. It depends on who you are. There are programs working with mostly Nigerians; they're in the South and they have a very successful program. They're working with refugees and they have a successful aftercare program and shelter, because that's what they really need. That's working for the Africans. For some other populations, they don't want a shelter, but they do need housing. They really need jobs. Germany gives very limited time for people to get their lives together and get a job if they want to stay, but that's expecting a lot for people who are full-on sex trafficked: for them to be on their own and get an Ausbildung³⁴ or something like that.

Those services are difficult. It seems like the government is still taking control over certain aspects and making these rules and registrations, like "you must go through this drug withdrawal program if you can," but their drug withdrawal programs are full and not fit for trauma patients. They're completely blind to the fact that the people who are trafficked aren't registered and don't have the Anmeldung³⁵ simply because of their trafficked situation. There's no space for them, no provision for people in this really awful, terrible state. Probably the definition of trafficking is rather narrow; that's true for a lot of nations. That's because the narrower you make it, the less responsibility the government has to actually do something about it.

I also think that it's not enough. I think the nature of aftercare is looking different in Germany and throughout Europe. As far as reaching out to refugees or labor trafficking, boys, transgenders, there's nothing. When I get more settled, I'd like to get more involved in that, when I can read Germany better. It's a lot of work. When I get fluent in German and get a license, I'll be able to move in that space.

How do the needs of men or transgender people in trafficking differ from women?

Transgender is mostly transgender women. I think programs that work with women can expand to include transgender women, but they do need to be aware of some of the health issues, some of the

³⁴ Education

³⁵ Registration; German citizens are required to register in order to benefit from the social system

trauma issues, some of the issues with gender identity and sexual orientation. The Christian organizations need to get their heads around that and not do this little Christian dance around all of that; they just need to get in there. The non-Christian organizations aren't working on this at all, because they just think everything is hunky dory, and it's not.

There's one very successful program (not in terms of numbers, but in terms of depth and understanding of the transgender community) in Bangkok, and I've learned a lot from them. I used to work with them. I don't think it necessarily requires a unique organization, but that would be ideal, because of the health needs, social needs, some of the other kinds of discrimination, and social work investment. I know what that looks like in Asia. I'm not quite sure what that looks like here.

Men... I think that requires a different program altogether, because usually the trauma is associated between the genders, and also there are different kinds of psychological dynamics. News flash: men and women are wired differently. I think they're different in how they process their emotions, shame, their issues, maybe other family issues... The whole approach might be a little bit different, especially when you deal with the social aspect, such as developing appropriate attachments and things like that, especially if those have been disrupted as children and compounded into adulthood. I think to get into that is beyond the scope of this, but it's quite different.

How are the needs of prostitutes and survivors of trafficking with children different?

You mean, the women in trafficking who have children? It's not different, because almost all of them have children. I'm working with a project called Global Health Promise; it's working with mothers who are prostituted, in sex work, trafficked, not trafficked, or whatever. Almost all have children. Maybe not in Germany, especially not the young people involved from Loverboy, but a lot of them worldwide do. I think statistics are showing this. No one sees these women as heads of vulnerable families. They are women who are vectors of disease. That's how public health or government are treating these people, but they've got children elsewhere or their children with them. If they're living with them, they're being drugged at night so they can sleep while they work and all that. Or they're being pimped out or abused or raped, as children. It's different, because it's often a compelling reason why women are doing this in the first place.

The reasons why are different; if you're in Bangladesh or India and you get divorced, then you've lost all your social status and then you're basically nobody. What else are you going to do? Now I think there are certain sectors of the world where we're seeing young women, especially being trafficked by the Loverboys, or from their families, or by recruiters from their villages... I did this survey of almost 700 women over a couple years of doing clinics in Thailand, and it was close to 90% who had children.

Wow. I couldn't find any numbers on that.

No, you can't, because they do not care. Then that'd be a family, and then we'd have to care about families and children. No. You should look up Global Health Promise, it's really appalling.

When you lead workshops with prostitutes and survivors of trafficking, what questions do they have? What priorities do they have?

It depends. Usually, the workshops are coming up from questions that survivors have. It might be about reproductive health, trauma, or drugs and addiction. It depends on what they want to talk about. Or sometimes I'm leading a regular psychoeducation class with Pink Door. Then we're talking about "what is trauma doing to brains and bodies?" So, the questions are "Why are the flashbacks so real?" and "How can I avoid triggers?" You can't, by the way, not all of them. The point is to disconnect the trigger from the reaction, not to avoid the trigger, because it's impossible to avoid all of the triggers. It's really depending on what's been planned and what do they want to know and learn about. It can be a whole range of topics.

How do you pick a topic to work with a group on?

Usually, in the past, when I've had regular times... For example, I was doing a health class with this group of transgenders. I would talk with the staff ahead of time, and we'd set up a curriculum, a series, maybe six weeks, and then we'd see. They might have some new people, some turnover, things like that. It might be that the next year they would have a whole new group, and I would just repeat the same topics. For them, one topic would be about transgender medicine. What are those over-the-counter hormones doing to your body? Why should you not do that? They're not going to not do it, but they should know the risks. Can we help set up a relationship with a doctor that will help you take appropriate medicine? If you're afraid to go, that's okay, we can be your family and advocate when you go, but they should know things. Sometimes we talk about medications. Why shouldn't you just take the thing that your friend gives you? Sometimes, we've done role-plays on how you should be at the hospital. I was being the doctor, and I was acting like a typical doctor. They had to advocate. Patient advocacy. How can you get your questions answered? How can you be prepared? You're totally scared, because this doctor is mean and doesn't really care about you. This is good for everybody. Who isn't scared when they go to the doctor?

Contraception, reproductive health. I bring tampons to groups in Thailand, because they don't use tampons. I bring a Diva cup too, that really blows their mind. So, contraception. Abortion is not contraception. I don't say "abortion is evil" to shame or make people feel bad about abortion, that's not what I'm there to do, but there are risks to not preventing a pregnancy in the first place. That's why waiting until you're pregnant to get an abortion is dangerous in the first place. So, we talk about other methods. Actually, Thailand's public health program, if you qualify for certain things, you can have free contraceptives. For certain people. Just educating about what's available to them.

Those are the topics. Or just about brain stuff. Whatever they want. Sometimes it's one-off, sometimes I'm working with an organization to plan a series of talks.

If you could redesign policy on human trafficking and prostitution in Germany, what would you change about their current laws?

First of all, I would adjust the policy to have a version of the Nordic model. Not to cut and paste what's going on in the other country and have it in Germany, but the same basic ideas, adjusting that to work for Germany. Making it illegal to buy sex, but not illegal to sell sex. I don't know why the pro people are against that.

There will still be customers if that happens.

They will still have customers. Actually, the pro lobby doesn't want any rules – they want to go beyond legalization. They think it's a...

Job like any other?

No, if it's a job like any other, then it's regulated and ruled. They don't want to do any of that, because it restricts their liberty. "We want to do what we want with our bodies." I'm sure some of those other workers don't want to do what they're doing.

Some of them don't want any restrictions whatsoever. They want it decriminalized, not legalized. Completely free. Which is really dangerous.

So, I would do that. With that, I think I would expand awareness and services to understand that there are men and transgender and other genderqueer people, not just women, who are vulnerable to being sexually exploited. I would do a lot more to train all of the doctors, law enforcement, lawyers, and judges about childhood trauma and child trafficking to help them understand the situation. They really need to get on the cyber issue. They need to get in way more schools talking about the dangers of pornography and Loverboys. Way, way, way more prevention. The way we think of public health in the States is different from here. Part of the problem in Germany for doing this is the decentralization of the government. While I'm kind of a federalist in the States, I can get how I'd prefer that for some things, but I think in some respects, I'm a decentralized kind of person. At the same time, now I'm seeing there are some downsides to working on a problem that's fluid and impacting the country as a whole and people traveling from state to state and not having consistent laws and policies for certain things, like public health and also laws and certain national policies on how legal and health professionals are trained in general, but about trafficking, exploitation, and trauma in particular. There has to be prevention, because this can be prevented.

Other people can speak more about tracking money – I don't know what a blockchain is, I've heard of that. I'm acknowledging there are other issues.

Can you speak more about the public health implications of the current policy and the implications of prostitution being legal?

There are general public implications: because it's legal, any other forms of sexual exploitation are completely overlooked. If you go to Kurfürstenstraße or other parts of Berlin, there are all kinds of women on the street... I think there's only like 4,000 registered sex workers in Germany, which doesn't reflect the actual situation. That provides a back door to trafficking and exploitation where that's being overlooked. I think there's some misunderstanding about what the new prostitution law of 2017 actually provides. Women under a certain age have to go in every six months, or it's like every year or two years, for a health check. Well, I think the health check is being interpreted in different ways. It doesn't mean they're actually getting a health check or tested for HIV, it just means they have a list of questions. Are they being screened for exploitation or trafficking? I don't think so.

I'd get a job in public health and work in some neighborhood and have it be open and welcome to sex workers and provide full service and actually screen for trauma. I did clinics, and all of these prostitutes would come in and out of the clinic. It's tough, you can't help everyone, but you can

screen and let them know that help is available. You can do testing. You can do education. You can let them know that you are someone who actually cares and that they're actually being seen and recognized.

Right now, what would happen if they started screening? Who are they going to call? Where are they going to go? There's nothing in place, there's no program, no system. It's just the government doesn't give... poo. About that.

Also, how are the social workers working with the refugees? I read this report, it was from a newspaper, and I don't know if it's true or not... There are traffickers working... like the guards at refugee camps are traffickers. They're identifying vulnerable people and trafficking these refugees and asylum seekers who are barely making it, asking if they want a job and then trafficking them for sex or labor. The perpetrators are working with the government in refugee settlement areas. There are apartment blocks and camps in Berlin. Maybe you've seen them.

This population is immunocompromised, right?

Oh yeah. They're not sleeping, they're not eating, they treat their bodies like crap. No shame, no blame there. They've got other kinds of problems. They're living rough. It's bad. And they're sleeping around with no condoms. What's the HIV rate? Who knows.

How can these health vulnerabilities be considered in exit programs?

Good question. You need to be aware that they are. I have designed an intake questionnaire: a comprehensive health questionnaire. It's long. They don't have to ask all of the questions on the first day they show up. But over several weeks, they need to be screening and finding a good medical home. I'm looking forward to maybe doing that someday: having a place where they could come. Maybe I could do these health screening questions. Then, doing appropriate testing. Then, guiding healthcare from there. I have a whole intake program established. That considers vaccines, questions, a physical exam, recommended screening tests, a guided test based on the history and physical, and going through all of that.

Here's the thing: I'll go into a shelter and the women tell me things that they have that they never told the staff. They've maybe been working with the staff for months. And then I say, "Did you know she has this?" They say, "She never told me!" I say "Well, you need to get it checked." Then the staff get mad, like "why didn't they tell me?" Because I'm the doctor! Don't be offended, don't be mad at this person that they didn't tell you that they had a thyroid problem.

Ideally, when I can, I'm regularly in touch with programs to be a medical home. Too often, I'm called about emergencies. Don't call me about emergencies, I'd really like to be your home doctor. That would be ideal, to be involved. Also, to set up an area to handle these emergencies, so they know what to do.

You really don't know sometimes, and sometimes you'd really just better go to the hospital. Sometimes... they die. Sometimes, the hospital... Never mind, there are more stories. It just gets grim. When they go to the hospital, especially in Africa and Bangkok, they get treated like dirt. There have been a couple people who they basically let die. They refused to let me be in the room with her

anymore. I was in the ER, and then I moved up to the room, I was with the patient the whole time, yelling at them – well, being polite, because if you yell, that gets you nowhere – but as a doctor, I was saying she needs this, this, and this. I was bossing them around, but she was dying. A new doctor came on, and then she blows up. She’s like “What the hell is going on?” She realizes the patient has been ignored for hours. She is so pissed, because these doctors have ignored the patient. Now this person is really critical. She’s talking to me and I’m giving her the whole history, because I’ve been there. She goes up to the floor, we’re there for a while, and then she’s like “see ya.” Different floor, different doctors. I was pissed. I’ve been in doctor’s offices where they’ve basically said, “no, go away.” This is with kids with disabilities in China, or transgender, or people with HIV, and they won’t see you. They can do that and not get sued.

How would you describe your specialty in medicine?

Trauma. I’m thinking about getting a master’s in psychotherapy in the future, not to do therapy, but I would like to do more psychiatry.

Lynne Barlow, Director of Alabaster Jar

How would you describe Alabaster Jar?

It’s a Christian non-profit. We want to provide support and care to women who are involved in the Berlin sex industry. We do that through partnership with homeless shelters and emergency safe houses. We want to partner more with the police, social work organizations, and that kind of thing. We want to do that in order to provide them with viable options for a better future.

We’re motivated by the fact that we believe that every woman has dignity. That needs to be restored to them. We believe that transformation is possible and that we can help them take positive steps. That’s always been the heart.

Alabaster Jar has been around since 2006. There’s been a lot of change. The founder died. She was a visionary woman; I think she was a social worker or had studied psychology. There’s a quote by her in our annual report. She was an amazing woman. She passed on Alabaster Jar to Lynette, and then I’m Lynne.

Lynette had a real heart for the women. Her strength was not to grow and develop organizations. Basically, the history of Alabaster Jar has been up and down. Lots of learning, as with any organization. It’s now in a new season. The heart behind it is the same, but how we work and what we do has changed.

What do you do during outreach?

Outreach looks like going onto the streets, inviting women into the café, and going into strip clubs and brothels. Street outreach is basically on Wednesday nights – our team has grown recently – we have two frontline outreach teams. They’ll follow a route, going two different directions so that we can cover all seven streets. We’re based in the red-light district. Those seven streets are ones that we have picked strategically, because it’s where the women are. We’re reaching Hungarians, Romanians,

Bulgarians, Germans mostly. Some Greeks, some Albanians. 63% of the women we're reaching are from countries other than Germany.

Do you keep track of statistics?

We need to. It helps us not only figure out the women that we need to help, but also how we report that. If someone is supporting us, obviously we're a non-profit, I can say with all confidence, that no woman I've met on the street is there because she wants to be there. That's a vague statistic, but it's also very specific. It's impactful. It's all about how do we communicate that what we are doing is valuable for them. It is creating an impact. Even though we're not where we want to be yet, but we are certainly taking positive steps as an organization.

Street outreach is when two frontline teams go out with tea, coffee, condoms, gloves, doctors' numbers, and literature, and we connect with the women, build trust. This organization is all about building trust and relationships. If we don't do that, then the chances of a woman leaving or having the confidence to reach out in any shape or form are vastly reduced. This is why the transformation of the women is at the heart of the ministry. We'll build trust. They'll pour out their hearts to us; there are times when the women just want to talk, just want to be heard, and tell us about what they did last week. "Oh, I got my nails done!" Just be women. We afford them that opportunity and we give them that dignity as well, in that setting.

There was one woman who was speaking with Google translate in a language that we don't speak. Normally, it's kind of vague or a quick interaction with her because of that language barrier, but on that day, we decided we could actually use Google translate and to connect with her. We did, and she said, "Thank you for respecting me." And we were like, "Oh my goodness. They get it." They get the fact that we know that this work is extremely hard for them and that they don't want to be there. We know that they're sacrificing themselves for their families back in their countries, where they're suffering.

We meet homeless women; women who are pregnant while working; women who are under the control of someone else, and they get a call from their pimp as we approach; and women who are struggling with substance abuse in order to cope. That's sad, because when you've known a woman for a long time, and you've really built a relationship with her, you know that the longer you're on the streets, your life expectancy is vastly reduced, just by simply being homeless. It becomes their identity in their minds. We're like "No! You are important. We want to meet you where you're at; we think you're valuable." Some of them are just shocked that we want to come out on a freezing cold night and give them hot chocolate. That's really what we do.

The two frontline teams are accompanied by a prayer team. The prayer team always has the frontline team in sight. Sometimes there's communication between the two teams if there's something specific – for example, if someone is in pain or if a woman is missing their child or homesick, we'll pray for that woman, that they know that we love them and God loves them. The idea is just to walk alongside them.

Sometimes we've had women who we've met... There's this one story, it's my favorite. There was a woman we met, and she was an older woman. She was standing on the street. She could hardly hold herself up; she was in pain. She was really upset. She said that she hadn't eaten in eight days. We

brought her back to the café. She sat down; as she was sitting down on the seat, she just let out this roar of relief that I had never heard before. It was really like *ooooooooah*, like she hadn't sat down for months. We both cried. We had this moment where she knew someone was in this with her. The team gave her sandwiches and brought a blanket – even when we put that over her, she was so cold that the temperature difference made her “aaaaah that's so nice,” she was so thrilled. She couldn't stop saying “thank you.” We phoned the Kälterbus. It's a bus in Berlin that goes around the city and basically picks up those who don't have somewhere to sleep at night in the cold winter months. We phoned them. They know where all of the homeless shelters are and what spaces they have available. They then said, “Yes, we can take her to a homeless shelter.” They arrived; her face lit up when she got picked up. Off she went, and she had somewhere warm to sleep that night, and we knew she was safe. These things also happen on street outreach, so that's why I'm telling you that.

Café outreach is on Thursday afternoon. It's an opportunity for care and community. We help the women build their confidence. We read documents that they can't understand. We copy documents for them. They get a postal address at the café; many of them are homeless. We can set up meetings with social workers from there as well. They can rest. Many of them sleep. We paint our nails together, we play games, we're silly. We sit outside on the bench in the summer, and we just have fun with them. Some of the women come in and cry. Whatever they want to do. Sometimes we paint Easter eggs, sometimes we decorate Christmas cookies or the Christmas tree. We're learning. We like to allow the women to express some of their own creativity as well. That's really fun.

Then, the strip club and brothel outreach. We used to have brothel outreach in another area of Schöneberg. That was run by a number of volunteers who then ended up either moving away, getting too busy, having babies, or whatever. That naturally phased out; then, we felt that we were meant to focus in the red-light district where we were so that we could maybe start something on the Wednesday night as well. So that's the plan.

At Christmas, we approached the bouncers in front of a strip club. They were amazed that we wanted to give gifts to these women. They offered us a cup of coffee. We didn't go in that time, because they didn't let us in, but at Valentine's we went back with gifts and they let us in. It was amazing; there were fifty women inside, roughly. The first woman I met was called Lynne. I sat down beside her, I was like “Oh my goodness!” Great conversations. We're starting to build relationships. The women are very different. On the street, you're getting very vulnerable women. In the strip club that we went into, it's a completely different story. They're stunning. They'll obviously have their own stories of abuse and the rest of it – you know, it's still exploitation – but the women are different. We need to adjust our approach for that.

That was actually one of my questions. They're different in that they're less vulnerable...?

When you come into the café or you meet the women on the street, their hygiene isn't good. They've got teeth missing. Many of them sleep on the street. They wear donated clothing. It's poverty. It's like meeting homeless people. More of them are on drugs.

When we went into that specific strip club, the women were wearing very nice lingerie. They seemed fit, healthy, and educated. I met someone from Australia. A main observation we had was that many of them spoke English, which was surprising. On the street, I'm normally switching between

Spanish and German. The Romanians on the street speak Spanish, many of them, because it's a romance language.

They look like they're from a completely different layer of society, which is terrible, but it just means it's more about your approach. It's not aid, as such, it's not like "how can we help these women?" Our gifts have to be different. A woman on the street will appreciate a hand sanitizer, some nice nail polish, tampons, you know. A nice little kit. If you hand tampons to a woman in a brothel, she'll be like, "why are you giving me tampons?" It's different. We need to figure out how to do that and how to connect with them best.

How often do prostitutes that you meet tell you that they want to leave the industry? You said that it seems like all of them don't want to be there, but how often do they express that?

It's a difficult one, because many of them don't say... How do I express this well...? Many of them express their dissatisfaction: they're not happy, it's hard, there's not enough work, the competition is really high, and rates are low. Especially they say "the Hungarians come." In the summer, many more women join, so that means people are saying "I'll do XYZ for five Euros." With the competition, many women earn nothing. Their income is vastly reduced. One woman said to me recently, "Maybe it would be easier if I had a pimp, because maybe I would earn more." I was like, "No, no, no, you don't want to go there." And she was like, "I know, I don't mean that." Some of the women who have pimps, maybe there's a certain amount of money assured to them. I don't know how it works. She seemed to think "all of the women who have pimps get more than me." It's probably not true.

It's more that they express frustration than they actually want to take steps. They're scared to trust people is the number one thing. They are not informed, often. They do know that we are there and that we can offer help to them. Many of them know that we really care about them. So, if there was something, they would then come to us and say, "I need help with this." There's also Olga next door and Neustart.

There's one lady recently who said, "I applied for this job in a factory. I don't know if I'll get it, but I want out. I want it to end. I want to not be in this any longer." She had come back and forth between Germany and another city. At the same time, it's the challenge that they've got families back in Hungary, wherever. They're saying, "I can't do a regular job, because I need to send my mom money every week for her cancer treatment." I can think of two women off the top of my head who said that to me recently. Getting paid at the end of the month isn't going to cut it for them. There was one woman, I said, "How much do you need to earn every month?" We calculated it: it was like five thousand Euros. I'm just trying to even get my head around that and trying to understand her situation. That is a massive challenge.

It's the money. They're from poverty. They want to give their families a better future, their families are sick, or they want to visit their families on a regular basis. There's one lady who has a child in Spain and then she wants to go and visit, but you can't just up and leave every month to go visit your child. They are trying to be good mothers, some of them. They say they won't do it forever, they just want to get through this, they just want their mum to get better... but are they willing to go to a safe house? I'm not going to say never, because we want to partner with those who run safe houses and we do think that there are women who that is suitable for, but finding the right time as

well... Sometimes it's a timing thing, sometimes they're ready and they just go for it. But are we hearing a lot of "Oh, I want out?" No.

I say that, but there's another woman at Christmas who almost went to a safe house. She got cold feet at the last minute. Everything was set up; we worked with Neustart, we worked with another organization, we worked with Mission Freedom. It almost happened, and she decided not to. At the end of the day, as much as they might express something, it has to be them that actually – we can support them and enable them, but it has to be their choice.

Do you know any women who successfully have exited?

Yeah, I mean there have been, most definitely. Sometimes it's because their pimp has died, sometimes it's because a relationship has been built with the women. Maybe they're living with a client now though, but maybe they're not working actively in prostitution. It can look all different. Some of the women have gone back to their home countries. Some of the women have gone to a safe house and they're receiving support. Some women receive support and come back; it's like a re-offender, almost. Sometimes it can take eight times for them to leave. Ideally, you don't want that, but regardless of how many times they come back, we're there for them.

Can you think of any women who tried to exit and came back? Do you remember why they came back?

There was one woman who left and got a job in another city. It was terrible working hours. It was really not an ideal situation. These women have no family here. Then, they go to a new city and have no one, so they have no support. No friends or family cheering them on. Imagine how depressing that is: to go and work in a factory all in an effort to change your life. It's terrible; I'm not sure I would stick at it either. I don't know the ins and outs of that situation, but I do know it was very hard. Also, she hadn't gotten the support to deal with the trauma.

These women are traumatized. Long-term sustained change happens when you get support along the way, for any of us. In my life, I've got trauma. If I hadn't received the support and had the community on an ongoing basis cheering me on, I wouldn't be here. It's no different. They're women like we are. The important thing to remember is that every situation and every woman is so different. It could be that you meet a woman and you think you know her situation, you think you've seen it all before. You haven't. That's why it's really important to look at every situation with a clear mind, open eyes, and try to have the right partnerships as well that can help you ask the right questions. But I do think that the first thing is definitely a relationship, and that's what we're really good at. That's encouraging.

If a woman were to say to you, "I want to leave prostitution." Who would you refer them to? What would you do? Is there any sort of plan that Alabaster Jar gives volunteers for if that happens?

This is something we're talking about a lot at the moment, because we're looking at – I met with someone from Mission Freedom recently. I'm gathering information at this point, because I want to understand, as the Director of Alabaster Jar, what is the process. Say we were to partner with Mission Freedom. What does that mean? What kind of questions would you be asking the woman? How could we be involved? Because we don't want to just say, "Okay, here's a woman." We need to establish what our referral process would be. We would then walk with them and gradually loosen

our grip, put the woman's hand in Mission Freedom's – do you know what I'm saying? *hand holding motion demonstration•

No matter what organization that is, that would be the approach. Very relational, again. We do have questions; we have an exit plan. It's like an initial assessment of where the woman comes from:

- Does she have a pimp?
- What languages does she speak?
- Does she have any children?
- Is she on drugs?
- How long has she been in prostitution for?
- What kind of support is she already receiving?
- Anything else she tells you

There are other questions that we have written down. There was an organization that pushed us not so long ago, they said, "We have a woman. Can you help?" We went back and said, "In order to know if we can help, we need you to give us this information." It works both ways. It's simple; we try to keep everything simple so that we don't overcomplicate the process and shoot ourselves in the foot.

Sometimes, it's not easy to get out the information that you need, and it takes time. We would then most likely have a phone call with either Neustart, who has social workers, or if a woman wanted to leave, we could have a conversation with Mission Freedom, or Pink Door, or... yeah, it depends, because sometimes I think it's best to get them out of the city. That's why I like the idea of Mission Freedom, because we've worked with them before. There's a woman, a staff member there, who works in one of the safe houses, and she used to be an Alabaster Jar volunteer, so she knows some of the women already. I've got a great relationship with her. I understand what they offer, how they're going to do it, the questions they ask, and the support that they provide. So that, for me, is a big plus. What I'm going to do is establish who our potential partners are, where the safe houses are, how many spots they have available; this is what we're starting to do, build up that in terms of information.

We always ask the women, "Have you registered as a sex worker?" If they've registered, then after three years, they're able to claim government benefits. If they've not registered, they're working against themselves, really. We would then work with someone like Neustart to get them the support... maybe they need a Jobcenter appointment, something like that. Neustart is the social work side of things. But then Neustart also has few social workers. It's really difficult at the minute. Anna-Lena is on the board; she has been around with Neustart for quite a while. We have a good relationship with her. Even like "We have a situation, what would you advise?" or "This woman has expressed this." Anna-Lena is able to say, "Actually, I've got a meeting with her next week." or "We've provided XYZ support, maybe try this." We're definitely in closer communication than maybe we have been.

It's just about, if you have a change of staff – I've only been here for two years now – you need to establish something. The approach of Alabaster Jar hasn't been that strategic in the past. Although they might have these names of organizations listed, it's about establishing that relationship and understanding what the strengths are and how you can best tap into that. If there's a drug rehabilitation center, I need to understand how that works. Is it cold turkey? What does that even

mean? That takes time, but it's good and totally worth it. That's going to be one of the key focuses of establishing partners.

What would you say are the greatest needs that the women who want to leave have? Or just the women that you encounter in general?

- Being able to provide for their families.
- The frustration of not having enough work for them.
- I think the trauma care.
- Listening goes a long way, but I think it would be amazing if we had a social worker. That would be the best. That would be so good. I would love that. So, social work.
- Housing. That's a nightmare. To get a house, you need a job. To get a job, you need a house. The system does not work in any way in their favor. So, it's really hard. No wonder they're despairing at times. So, housing, many of them are homeless.
- The fact that, in their home countries, it's a cultural thing. Their culture teaches them it's about the collective; it's not about the individual. They're to provide for their parents, their families. As an individual, it feels like that don't have as much value if they compare it to the collective, that's what their culture says. Their culture doesn't value education. It's just very interesting.
- German. Imagine trying to integrate into Germany without German. It's hard. Then, some of the women have German, and many other languages, but they don't have the hope that their situation can change.
- Some of them just don't want to give up their regular daily income.
- I mean, their hygiene isn't good.

They could go the road of, "They need to know how to budget. They need to know basic hygiene skills. They need to know how to integrate into society. German skills." These are all things I'd love to do. I'd love to have a community center. I would love that.

How often is drug abuse a problem among the street prostitutes?

Higher than in the brothels. I heard that there was a trend that the clients wanted the women to take drugs, I think it was a certain type of drug, so that they would do more for their clients. That's why their clients wanted them to do that. The pimps obviously want them to take drugs so that they become more dependent on them. At the end of the day, it's all organized crime behind it. The sex in the street and the drugs in the street are just massively connected.

Pretty high, but at the same time, I think that society disses these women and says, "When they say they don't earn enough, they're probably using the money all on drugs." That's not always true. There are many women who have not taken drugs or are not taking drugs at present and do just want to help their families. I think it's important not to judge a book by its cover. It's a problem.

How often do you come across male or trans prostitutes?

There are definitely a few that I can think of that are difficult to work with.

What are the challenges that they have?

There's one in particular, this person is difficult to work with. There are times when we have this thing called Hausverbot, which means they aren't allowed to come into the café to get food or be with the other women, because they are being disruptive on a regular basis and could be a threat.

I think two years ago we had someone named Mona who was on Hausverbot.

Moni. She's still on Hausverbot. It's not getting any better with her, and it's really sad with her. Apparently, she was beautiful, and now... She's just not mentally there. It's the same with this other guy. That's why it's difficult; you can only reason with reasonable people that have got their minds. I don't know what hope there is for them, honestly. Apart from Jesus doing something amazing in their lives, I'm not sure. They can be aggressive.

Is that more common among male and trans prostitutes than among the women, would you say?

No, I wouldn't say that. Just that one guy. There was a time recently when we had to lock the café door and phone the police, because he was banging the wall and spat, and the women were like "Lock the doors!!" So, we all locked the doors. There's obviously a protocol.

It's taught us a few things as well. There are some men who turn up, not dressed as a woman, and expect us to know who they are. Maybe this is like, Ramona from Wednesday night, but we just don't know. So, the rule is that if they're not dressed as a woman, then they don't get in the café. I think that's fair. The women would hit the roof if there was a guy sitting in, because it's their space, and we want to honor that.

Honestly, some of the trans people are just so lovely. I can think of a couple that are just really, really sweet. Many of the women are really, really sweet. We don't often have difficult... It's all complex, but many of them, they say "thank you," they're really appreciative, especially on the Thursday, that someone baked for them, made all of this nice food, took time to listen to them and give them a hug when they're crying. It's just, it's the ones that have, unfortunately, gone a bit too far or haven't received help soon enough or have taken too many drugs or who knows. But I wouldn't say that the trans are more difficult.

As far as I understand, there's a trans area that we haven't ventured into yet. We do know some of them from that area. That could be interesting in the future. Some of them experience... There's one trans guy who has a car pull up beside him to throw stuff and things like that. Some of them have really experienced bad treatment.

I think they experience more violence, too.

It could be. I'm not sure. I know that they're not all that popular among the women, either, at times. If you're not popular among the women, if then society is like "well what are they doing," if they have randomers driving up beside them and throwing stuff, then that's not very nice. It doesn't instill a lot of hope that society is for you and that change is possible. We treat trans just like anyone. It's not our job to judge what they're doing. We just meet them and love them where they're at. No

matter what they look like. It's just the rule that they can't come into the café if they're not dressed like a woman. I think that's fair.

What role does religion play in the outreach efforts?

It's really important. To be honest, I wouldn't be here if that wasn't the heart and the motivation behind the organization. There's one volunteer who's on the board; she always says "If Jesus were on the Earth, that's where he'd be. He'd be amongst the poor, the women, those who have nothing." It's true.

The women themselves, they tell us they pray. There was one woman who came into the café a couple of weeks ago, dropped to her knees, and prayed for another woman. There's a woman who came in and said to me, "Where do we pray?" To many of them, it's very important, because they are crying out to God for help. There's a shame element, for definite, but we tell them all the time, "God loves you." And they're like, "I know God loves me, I know."

There was a conversation that a volunteer had with a woman recently; they were talking about how the woman said she felt hopeless. Our volunteer was sharing about how Jesus is her hope and how Jesus offers hope. This woman took out a necklace she had, it was a cross, and she said, "I know Jesus is my only hope."

For us, we're really motivated by the love of Christ, and we think he would be there, and we think it's a real privilege for us to be able to show that love and to help practically, and we do think that the Church, aka people who follow Jesus, should be involved in helping the poor and seeing life transformation. I don't think it's much more complex than that.

Ultimately, we're not here to shove a Bible in a woman's face and say: "You must convert to receive help." We can't convert anyone. That's not our agenda. We're here to offer prayer and stand with them if they need that, because we have experienced the love of Christ for ourselves, and we know that prayer makes a difference. So, they know that's the deal, but it's not in any way "you must," it's "this is who we are; tell us who you are, and we'll get to know each other."

We see the power of prayer, we really do. The women come into our monthly worship nights as well. That was because they initiated it as well. We were worshipping as a team, singing songs, and one woman knocked on the door and said, "That music is amazing – can we join?"

Do you have any other thoughts on this topic or the topic of options available to individuals who want to leave prostitution?

Number one, I think the question is always "what impact have you seen? How many women have left?" Our mission statement is all about seeing life transformation among the individuals in Berlin's sex industry by communicating the love of Christ. The question is: "What is life transformation?" We think that life transformation is lots of steps along the way. We value each of those steps. There's a woman who got a flat, and it was unfurnished, and we did a Facebook fundraiser and raised a couple hundred Euros, and we were able to give her some stuff for her house. Now, is that life transformation? I think so. For her, it was massive to get her own place and to know that there

were people who just wanted to support her in that new start. I think it's not to underestimate the care, the love, and the power in that.

Another thought would be just the challenge around prostitution and everything related to it being legal. I've got friends who work for organizations in Norway and the UK, and they go to prosecute the crime of purchasing sex, because they're able to do that. They do the raids and all of that, because it's not legal. The police here – it's really hard to distinguish if someone is a victim of human trafficking or not, or if they're doing this by “choice.” The police are in a really difficult position, because if the woman doesn't testify, how can you prove anything? It's really complex. That's why a relational approach is absolutely vital in this world.

I do think there could be more effort put into reaching out to the men. I mean, 1.6 million men purchase sex every day in Germany. The demand is massive. I think the temptation when you hear that kind of statistic is “all men are bad.” I don't think that's the case. The men are just as captive, but in a different way. When I'm on the street, I look at the men like they're captive just like the women, just in a different way. Yes, they are doing something very wrong, and we don't in any way endorse that. However, spiritually speaking, we're all broken, and I try to keep a balanced view. If I didn't, I would start to think all men are bad, and that's not a good thing.

I think prayer has to be key. I think for us, it has to be the first thing that we do. Also, to help us process what we're seeing as well, we always have debriefing after outreach. It's about taking care of everyone in this kind of ministry as well.

We're learning. Some of the things I've told you might not be 100% true, but these are things I've seen and experienced and what we've learned along the way. We'll make adjustments along the way as well. It's a real privilege to be involved in this work. Hard work, but good work.

Frank Heinrich, Chair of Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel

What does Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel do? What is the purpose? What are its goals?

Maybe I have to go back to the history... Some years ago, people walked up to me and were talking about human rights, because I'm in the human rights committee. They talk about human rights violations all over the world. “Do you know, Frank, that one of them is really present here?” That one is trafficking, especially in the area of prostitution and sexual exploitation. I knew, sort of, because coming from the Salvation Army, we know and work in the red-light areas, but I did not know the amount. We had some meetings and roundtables, and we said, “If we want to invest in certain issues, then we need to have a Verein,³⁶ an NGO, that is an umbrella. We need donations, because we cannot ask for money from one organization and give it to another, because maybe it's not in their program, and then we would have tax problems or problems with the other Vereine or NGOs.” We decided to form one ourselves, and we decided to have four main topics.

The first would be to raise awareness, to make information available, and to put it in the media so that people talk about it in an informed way.

³⁶ Association

Secondly, we wanted to go into prevention: looking into low-level approaches. In that, telling people who work in that area what the law situation is, telling that what they're not supposed to do, or maybe where open doors would be. Maybe approach them in their language or in their countries about the situation in Germany.

Thirdly, we wanted to have a network of organizations – the whole thing is a network – in safe-house-accepting ministry. For example, a safe house in Hamburg can accept people from Göttingen or Stuttgart or Munich where they either could not find one or should not go into one, because of the mafia being too close. So, they go to another city. If they build one up, an organization, that must not be the safe house, so they can learn from each other.

And the fourth would be investing into law: lawmaking change on the national, maybe even European, but primarily national, state, and city levels.

What do you do in the Bundestag regarding this issue?

What we do is raise the issue. We try to find out who would be partners for change in that area and in what direction they want to have change. In my party, we now try to raise the subject ourselves, in our working group on humanitarian aid and human rights and in the working group of family affairs. We try to find people who teach us. Then, I founded a group with a Social Democrat where we meet every few months and invite people from the area: media; prostitutes themselves, sex workers; Gerhardt from Neustart, so the leader of an NGO of a Kontaktcafe;³⁷ a former pimp; people working in counseling prostitutes after the new law, how their experiences are; and then, from our parties. It's an all-party group to raise the awareness of where we need to go and where we are currently. Then, we'll have a congress, at least in my party. In the summer, maybe we will have our first idea of in what direction it will go.

What is the policy conversation on this issue like right now? How are people feeling after the two recent laws: the one in 2002 and the one in 2016? How has the policy environment changed?

In 2002, some say it was the legalization. That's rubbish. It was legalized before, it was just not after a certain... moral, not put under a certain pressure. It gave it a different image; since then, it is no problem morally for anyone to go into a brothel. Society would call that "modern." When three years after that, they opened borders to more Europeans, there was the possibility of bachelor or bachelorette parties or parties after the Abitur³⁸ walking through a German city and thinking about whether they'll have the evening together in a pub to drink as much as possible and have something to eat; go to a cinema and have popcorn or whatever; or go to a brothel that would be, in the end, the same price. The value system shifted. Then, the prices dropped. People from Romania, Bulgaria, and other countries were drawn here hoping to earn as much as possible. The market went up from both sides.³⁹ Then, the Ministry of Family, the responsible ministry, did research evaluating the outcome of the law of 2002. They found out it wasn't good, but they didn't change anything. Nobody wanted to touch that "modern" thing. If you touched it, you would be called a moralist.

³⁷ Outreach cafe

³⁸ Final high school exam

³⁹ Supply and demand

Then, in 2013, there came the rumor that – because we did not go with a human trafficking law of the EU – the media recognized that we were doing something wrong in this area. It was just a little thing that we missed, but through that, the media woke up and they called Germany the “brothel of Europe.” Two other countries would be close to that too, but that was in the media, and we were the big ones. Then, the discussion started. Media went up in both directions, but generally to raise the awareness. Then, we had discussions. A little change passed this parliament, but not the second chamber, so we had to start from scratch. In the election program and the coalition statement, there were the first mentions that we wanted to change something.

Then, there was quite a struggle. What should be in there? We wanted to have more; the coalition partner did not. We came out with a compromise that almost nobody is really happy with. But it is much more than before, and it is the right direction. It is raising awareness. Cities have now seen the problems. They have to react. They have to bring in social workers to the health department or the social department. There are some small steps, but it’s not enough. Some say we should just take it away again. Some say we should go with the Nordic or Swedish model.

How well is the registration requirement for prostitutes working? I can’t find many numbers on how many people have registered out of the total populations.

That is different, because we have a federal system. We make a law, but the federal states have to apply it. Then, the cities have to work it out. Some took much longer than others. Some made just counseling offices. It is quite different. At least, in some researches, they found that they have three or four or five times more places, that is not equivalent with persons, where prostitution is happening than as they thought before. Now, it is the official rule that you have to register once every two years – or if you’re under 21, once every year – and then you have to go to see a counsel for health, which we wanted to have be an examination. There has been – and that could be – the first moment or only moment that a person who is really trafficked approaches a German person that could get them out. There are these positive effects that could help with the awareness to even go on with that, but some dismiss it.

What other resources are available through the state to current prostitutes, especially prostitutes who want to exit?

There are almost none. It depends on the state, how much they invest in it. Some counsel offices that are paid for by the state even do entrance counseling: if they want to go to prostitution, how they should do so. To make sure they are sure. Which is, if they want to, fine. I accept that they can get entrance counseling if they want it, but this is not the intention of the law. It could be a side effect of the law, but if that’s the only counseling, that’s not helping people get out.

So, there is almost no money going towards that. States had that or use the possibilities they already have in that area.

How do you think that faith-based organizations and networks could better work with the existing state resources?

They should go as close as possible to the state institutions and ask where they are needed. They should not just tell the state where they are wrong. The way they approach is sometimes hindering them in the long run. They should not come with the Christian approach. Now, they should *use* the Christian approach, but they should not use it in the interface of working with them. They can have

it in the name, they can have it in the mission statement – the mission statement is a problem sometimes depending on how they word it – but they should not approach with that, because then they are moral, and then they get thrown out by the competing organizations.

They could really try to prove that they are doing well. They should work with good people, educated people, well-informed – not just saying *gasp* trouble, and then not knowing the right numbers. If they have numbers, they should really quote where they are from, so that they are not making themselves useless by using wrong stuff. That depends on if you're in a big city or in a small city, that depends on if there's a prostitution market there how and what is necessary. And it depends on do you do a welcome service and go to them or if you do a safe house, big difference.

It seems like most of the organizations in Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel are faith-based. Are there rules that they have to follow like not proselytizing?

No.

How do you make sure that they have the right motivation to help these people?

If they want to become members of Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel, then we try to figure out what they've been doing. Then we try to have some persons around and say "okay they're doing well," "they're not okay, be careful," or whatever. We do not have a list of pre-requisites.

One time, we had the national group there, all members, which in German law you have to do once to go through the budget and everything. Then, someone said "Now, let's pray for the subject." Someone else said, "No." Because this is not the place to pray. Now, you can pray there in your place and we can pray outside, but this is not to be said of us. That is not saying to anyone to not pray. But there could be just one person or two offended by that because you grabbed them into something that they don't want. Then we disintegrate. Then we make our own goal, we divert that to a certain extent. In the motivation, that's totally fine. Not in that togetherness.

Yes, the number 10 in the list of things we urge people to do⁴⁰ is pray. It is not required.

Back to the government side. How do government organizations help women who want to leave the industry?

We had a European grant to research how companies could get involved and be useful and helpful as well what is good from their side and not. There would be a grant from taxpayer. Some organizations get money. But not Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel. We run totally on donations. That's just a network. We are not doing something ourselves. We do leaflets, the big ones, we do that book, we try to go to fairs and inform, but we are not having our own program. We just have one paid person. We have Gerhardt doing the PR. We have one person doing connection, but that person is just half-time. We are trying to just have the network.

In the future, how would you want the state support of the Ausstiegsprozess to look different?

⁴⁰ On their website and in their materials, Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel has a list of ten recommendations for what people should do to address the issue

That's a good question. It's looking different; because it's looking different, they would have to invest different. In the moment, it's just setting them free, sort of, if they want to become free, and making possible doors open, but no one would want to go through a door if you have no clue what's coming after. Or sending them back. There's more fear, so they'd rather stay in, because there, they know what's happening. To make it secure – I don't mean just the safe houses – a way, would need money. Grants. Maybe it could be a national program. Usually money cannot be given by the nation exactly to programs, but it could be a national pilot program. The states could apply for it and we give it. That could be an idea. I think that needs to be thought through. But it is seeing first and then acting accordingly.

How would you want to change legislation regarding prostitution and human trafficking?

Now, I would like to have in the end a German model. I especially don't like the word "Nordic;" it's a Nordic model, and we're not Nordic! We have different value systems, although we are all European. I would want to find out if there is even a better idea that, in short, forbidding the buying of sexual services. For that, we would need at least 10 to 15 percent more awareness and openness in society, which has changed since 2010, 2015, 2016 especially. But still I don't believe that it's 20 percent yet who have a clue (maybe just a clue). Then, I would want to have a discussion, but if no discussion or no other idea comes up, then we would specify a Swedish or Nordic model on the German situation. I am not saying that I want that, but it would be that if we don't find a German idea. Some have talked about "fair sex." If we could have, for the ones that – I believe it's five percent of prostitution – that do it deliberately, freely – even if it is 10 or 15 percent, we have to give the other 85 to 95 percent security. If we would find a place for the prostitutes freely working to do their "job" and the others aren't harmed, then we could find a logo for "fair trade" that really assures the buyer that this is harm-free. If we could find a solution there, which I cannot see yet, then I would agree that there would be peace on both sides. If not, then we're going to protect the 85 to 95 percent, and that would be something like the Nordic model.

What are the arguments that come up against the Nordic model?

It would be criminalizing prostitution, which I don't understand. Now, it criminalizes the men, yes, but the prostitution organizations, unions, and representations, they say it would criminalize the women directly or indirectly, which is a fluffy argument. I just don't get it.

On the other hand, they say it's not helpful at all: the side effect of a man being criminalized is that then he doesn't care about violence on top of it. That is a solid argument. If he's already broken a law, then he doesn't care about breaking another one. That's true, for the percentage that will stay users. Those would be the two or three main arguments.

And for sure the liberal⁴¹ argument would come up in Germany: "I can do what I want with my body and you are not supposed to forbid it."

Where do different parties fall on these issues?

In my group? All parties are in it. Not every time all of them. The Greens are split; I think they were part of the lawmakers in 2002. I think they are split unequally towards staying with what we have or

⁴¹ What he calls "liberal" sounds like what Americans would call "libertarian."

going back, not doing anything. Some are addressing it from the human rights perspective. Not the voice of liberals like Amnesty International, for example, but for women's rights. I think, in the Green Party, that's not the majority yet. In the Social Democrats, I think we'd have that percentage too; we wouldn't have a majority yet. In my party, it would be at least 2/3 or more for that idea of the Nordic model. The AfD, I have no clue. I thought they'd go for the "Christian thing" to make something up, but all comments I've heard of them was "no." That was really interesting. They made an affront in some cases. Then, we have the liberals. They are half and half I would guess. But if we had a vote right now, we wouldn't get them, because it doesn't feel liberal if we forbid something. Then, the easy arguments come. Then the left-wing party, there are just a few that would go for it, and the rest would not go for it.

Are conversations happening on how far in the future new policy on this issue will be possible?

No, we're discussing that; that's why we created this working group.

It's still at the beginning?

Yes.

What about in Berlin? I know that on Kurfürstenstraße there are new building projects for new apartments. Do you know what will happen with policy regarding prostitution in Berlin?

Now, we're having struggle with prostitution and with the reaction of the state of Berlin to prostitution. That feels like they fell for the lobby of the prostitution. It seems like they just give grants to things that will even sponsor prostitution, not the opposite. Not directly, but yeah. But it's red-red-green,⁴² the coalition here, and the tendency is toward leaving it as is. It's a big market for a big city.

Do you think it would be possible for the government-sponsored Frauenhäuser⁴³ to start working with prostitutes? Or are they completely overwhelmed with domestic violence survivors?

No, I would not advise that. That's a totally different – there will be, even now, people in Frauenhäuser with backgrounds in prostitutions. But that puts the other women in danger.

How so? How are they put in danger?

From the background in prostitution, there are mafia connections. If the mafia starts looking for them – single fathers, husbands, will be looking for their women too, and they can be violent as well – so the location is secret, but the mafia will find out. If that happens, then the other women are in danger.

What do you think prostitutes hoping to leave prostitution need the most from Ausstiegshilfe⁴⁴ organizations?

⁴² Social democrats, the left-wing party, and the Greens

⁴³ Women's shelters

⁴⁴ Exit help

They need information. To accept the information, they need trust and closeness. Or the information from a neutral party, like the government. If you get a medication, you're supposed to read first what you have there, so when I said fair sex fair trade whatever, it could be that every prostitute will have to acknowledge the possibilities of exit. Their choice. That their bosses, if they have one – most have them – are not supposed to tell them what they should be doing, and that's the law. But these people don't know. So, it's information, either directly or through trust and relationships.

The second thing – if they still want to choose that, they should get the best health, not just counsel, but help from the department. If they still want to stay, they should get counsel about not just the law but every possibility in the system. Even the risk of being criminalized or whatever, the danger, and they should know their rights. And then to get out, they should know that they are not falling into something they have no clue of.

That would be Ausstiegshilfe in means of organizations, jobs, bridges into society.

How do you think job integration programs for this population can be successful?

That is still to be tried. That is still a moral thing. If a company wants to implement someone and is open to that, then what are the requirements? Is it just what they've learned before, what they get through education? If it's a secret that they've been prostitutes or in prostitution, what do they do if someone finds out? All of this. It correlates. That hasn't been tried very often yet. Even there, it should be a good information towards companies and how they should use that. Maybe companies can be given 20 percent of the money for the first three years if they re-integrate or integrate somebody.

How do you think most Germans feel about prostitution? Did the Sittenwidrigkeit really disappear with that law in 2002?

No; that was the big change in 2002 that I'm happy of. It directly criminalized everybody working in prostitution. In their heads, that's biased. Many Germans think "ah we don't talk about it." The reason for that is still on the one side *sittenwidrig*. What would that be in English?

Kind of like... morally reprehensible almost? There's not a good word for it.

Yes, against the morals. Secondly, it is still labelling people as low. On the other hand, being moral, and there I think that's men, they don't care. I would guess that 10% of Germans or more have been buying prostitution. Even there, you cannot really calculate, because it's still in that secret area. The law of 2002 did not change the idea to make it more secure for people in that area. It is not a normal job as they wanted to make it. They gave them the opportunity, which I'm finding fine, to use the official health system, the Krankenkasse. I think at the biggest moment it was about 50-70 that used it in a year. Of 100,000 or 200,000, we don't know really. Even just for the prostitute to say to the Krankenkasse, the insurance company, that I am working in that area was to open up too much that that could be misused. So, their own idea, image, was not that it was a normal job. Then it's biased by men. They say it's a normal thing, they think it, but they would never send their girls to do it. Now that's a normal job? How come you don't?

*It seems really contradictory. One person I interviewed mentioned that the Jobcenter can refer people to be cleaning workers, do all kinds of things, and if they don't do it there's some kind of sanction, but they **never** refer them to a brothel.*

Once, they did. That was a little scandal right away. Not a brothel, but in a red-light district in a dance bar. It was not prostitution at the core, but it was close to it.

What happened?

It was a little scandal – not nationally but regionally. The outcome of that message is that it's not a normal job. For women? I don't know, coming from a Catholic background – Germany in general, I mean – I think people have just closed their eyes. With women, I think they just close their eyes. They accept it, sort of, the necessity, the importance, of a sexual act for men, mainly men. If they are not fine with it, they close their eyes to it happening somewhere else so they are not burdened with it anymore. And that is hindering a real discussion, a real process.

When I opened discussion in my party group in parliament, I said something about it. I said "Just imagine – we are 199 men in the room. By percentage, everybody in this room has been in a brothel in the last 6 to 8 weeks. Now I suppose maybe we haven't. So that means 199 other men have been twice, just by percentage." Later on, two men walked up to me and made a joke about it that I had a prejudice on them. I said, "What sort of prejudice?" They said, "You thought I've not been to a brothel." At the first moment, I didn't get it. The prejudice they found in my middle sentence, that I supposed they hadn't. You see, it's not discussed.

It's an interesting time for German politics, because Merkel is stepping down. Do you think that with whatever government comes next, this will still be a topic that gets discussed?

Yes. This topic is not depending on Merkel. It will depend on the party. If we don't get further, nobody will. The drive has to come out of our party.

The Social Democrats have a louder voice; one person is a louder voice, but she's just saying "Nordic model." I'm saying no, I still want to open the door for new ideas, as I said, a German model, as well as the idea that's not in my mind yet – fair, clear, secure – whatever that is, to have that liberal side represented in the law. Who should be the organization to prove it? Is it on the service side? I don't trust them. Who from the state system could know enough to give the stamp of approval?

In the end, if we don't get our party with it, it will not come across. Maybe the drive comes from someone else, the initial one, I'm expecting a first draft in the next six weeks.

What information is missing on this issue that would be helpful to make policy on it? I know it's hard to get an exact estimate of how many prostitutes there are in Germany.

That exactly what I want to do at the beginning: ask a ministry or one or two to fund research, give it to the university, applied research, something. Right now, these numbers that come up from the states – which ones have registered – give us at least a certain hint. Then we put on top the ones that advertise: openly say they are reachable. Then we see that we have in that village or city or whatever

town 100 or 200 average. Then we can multiply that on cities of that size. Not on all Germany, because we have regions where it's not allowed at all. We have to be very careful.

The prostitution lobby now said it's 90,000. I have to at least do a question mark and ask how they came to that number. But still, 90,000 is quite something, you know. It's not just a few.

I've seen a lot of different estimates from 10,000 to a million or more.

This is crazy. If we don't count the ones who prostitute themselves sometimes. I mean not business style and even not part-time but if someone gives you money for it you do it but you're not a prostitute. This is not the problem. The problem is the trafficking. The force. The sort of slavery. Then, I do care for the one plus one plus one and if that ends at 90,000 I don't care, but I would want that added to the ones in the grey or shadowy area.

I would believe it's 250,000 to 300,000 that are affected or are working in that market full- or part-time.

Marina Labrenz, Brothel Outreach Coordinator for Every Nation Kirche Berlin

Where are you working now?

I don't work for Alabaster Jar anymore, and GIPST is also over, but I am now working for my church community, Every Nation Kirche Berlin. Ever since they were founded, they always had it in their hearts that they wanted to do something in the area of human trafficking. Alabaster Jar was disbanding their team for brothels, because there weren't any volunteers left. I had previously led this. It lasted until the end of the year when GIPST also ended. Then both were gone. I needed a new job, and I prayed a lot, and God opened the door in the church community. My pastor actually came to me shortly before the end of [GIPST] and asked me if I would work for them full-time. Now I'm build this work there – the outreach work in the brothels. It has not properly started. We're doing team-building and praying right now – it is very, very important – and I hope this year we'll start the outreach.

When you do brothel outreach wat do you do?

The typical process is that we first meet. We have gifts that we sometimes have to prepare. We have team time when we orient ourselves towards God, pray, and decide on things. Then we go. We have a prayer team and a team that goes directly in. The prayer team is outside and just prays in front of the brothel. It's also there for security. The ones who go in... they just go in. The very first time is very exciting, because one does not know what will happen. It's important that one immediately asks where the boss is and if we can speak with them. Then one introduces oneself and says "I'm from the church. We want to do something nice for the women."

What do they say?

I think it's important for them to hear that we're not from the police. They have to be able to place us. That's why we always say very directly: "We are Christians." Then it is usually something like "Ah, they just want to pray. That's not bad." Usually, they let us in. We try to build a relationship

with the owner, because they are the important people who can always decide to close the door to us. Because of that, it's important. Then we speak with the women, build relationships, and regularly go – every week at least.

What is the purpose of brothel outreach?

The purpose is to build relationships – the women are very distrustful of other people, because many of them have already experienced a lot. Because of this, relationships and trust must be built up first so that the women can confide in us and tell us what is really going on in their lives or what is happening. When they are open to us, then they can come to us and say: “Hey, I need help in this or this way.” Then the goal is to be a bridge from the brothel to the help system. We are not the social workers – and we couldn't be, we're volunteers – but there are many social workers in the city who care for these women, so we take them to them. We make an appointment with the social worker and connect them there, but we are always continuing to build a relationship with the person.

Is that what happens if a woman says “I want out, I want to exit”?

Exactly. Luckily, there's a good network here in Berlin through Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel. Then one already knows who to go to for what question or problem. One accompanies the woman there and hopes that then more happens. Our task is also really the social integration, because the social workers can't connect with the women in their free time or provide community. That's where we have a capability, because we're a church community. We already have a lot of community and we can bring them into it. Through that, healing happens and they can have positive experiences with people. That's another thing that we really hope for.

That's where we're already there – we already have women in our church community, that we connect with and accompany step by step and help them to heal through this community.

How is the situation different for prostitutes in brothels and prostitutes on the street?

In brothels they have a roof over their heads. It's not cold.

That's a good question. They are not exposed to everyone's glances – on the street, anyone can see. That is good on one hand, not good on the other hand. On one side, women on the street have the advantage that other people can see them when they need help. In brothels, they don't have the protection of being in public; no one can see if they are doing poorly. That's not so good.

In brothels they have the advantage that they often have an official employer; through that, they may have insurance and all of that. They can also be an independent freelancer. I think it has advantages and disadvantages when it comes to protection. It is not always true that they're more protected in brothels, because no one can see them. A lot can happen behind closed doors.

How many of the prostitutes that you meet say that they want to leave prostitution? Does that happen often?

Yes, actually. Often, they don't say it directly – instead, it's indirect. I have observed that at the beginning, where we're there the first few times, many say that they're doing it voluntarily and that

everything is fine, but after you've really built a relationship, then there's eventually a conversation where they say: "It is breaking me and I actually don't want it, but this and this and this are the reasons why I stay."

What are the most common reasons that they mention?

Often dependence on other people, I would say. One person was dependent on her boss, because the boss had really cared for her, and she had the feeling that if she left, then the shop would go out of business, and then the boss would be in trouble. That was the only thing keeping her there. Other dependencies are also on money, easy money. They don't find another place to work. Or their family in their home country is impoverished. If they don't send the money, then their whole village or their family will go hungry. Such dependencies.

How many of the prostitutes are men or transgender?

Hmm... in the past, I've done this work in different cities...

Which cities?

In Darmstadt and in Berlin-Schöneberg. That was two years ago.

There were maybe... I don't know, five that I saw, but I think that the number is increasing. I always hear from others that they see many transgender prostitutes. There are also special brothels for them. Here in Prenzlauer Berg there are lots of brothels for gay people. Almost all of the prostitutes there are transgender.

How common is drug consumption for prostitutes in the brothels?

I think a lot of them take drugs. I've seen it happen every once in a while. I also know some who don't take any drugs. The question is: what counts as drugs? Also alcohol? Only hard drugs?

For hard drugs... it happens. I saw a boss sell drugs to the women. I think in the brothels many of the women took drugs. But it also happens often that the women use alcohol. Many told us that they drank two bottles of wine a day. It plays a big role.

What are the greatest needs of women who want to leave prostitution?

A job. Just alternatives, which hardly exist. To get a job, you need a lot of other things, that are also necessities. We encountered this in the GIPST project: everything that stands in the way of getting a job in Germany. Many women who come from eastern European countries have it hard because they don't speak German well, for example, or they don't have any trainings or education, or they don't have health insurance, or an address... Those are all huge barriers to getting a job. I think that if it were easier, they would exit very quickly.

Do you know women who successfully exited?

Yes. I don't have contact with them anymore, but I know a few who succeeded.

How did they do it?

One got married. I hope the guy was a good one... it seems like it, sometimes I see pictures on WhatsApp. Now she doesn't need to work, because he has enough money. That was one thing.

The other got a job. There was also something to do with a man. She went back to him or something. These relationships are often a factor in whether or not they succeed. Someone who looks after them.

Do you know women who tried to exit but didn't succeed?

I can't really think of any who really truly tried. It was always shortly before. Then it didn't come to an exit, because they were afraid or something. Their will wasn't strong enough as they tried.

What role does religion play in the brothel outreach?

Religion doesn't really, but Jesus plays a large role. We have experienced that many of the women grew up religious. Jesus is a concept they know, and many also want to pray. When we offer a prayer, women don't often say no. We are very open about it. We don't force anyone, but we tell them about what Jesus has done in our lives and what the Gospel is if the women want to hear that. In many of the outreach efforts, women have actually chosen Jesus. That's exciting, how open they often are, and how in demand it is to have someone pray with them, appreciate them, love them – only Jesus can do that so properly. Therefore, it's a very, very big topic for us.

What resources are available for women who want to exit?

It's difficult for women who don't know the ropes in Germany, who don't know how to find the counseling centers. There's a registration – when you register as a prostitute, then you apparently get an overview of the options for helps. If you don't register, then you don't get that and then you don't have any information about it. There are also social workers, professionals, who go into the brothels and let them know about options for help, but they do that at most twice a year, and they don't have a relationship with the women. It's really important that you're there regularly and can go anytime with a woman to a counseling center or can point her to a safe house. Often, they need that very quickly. It is very situation dependent. If they don't have any idea of how and where and what, then it's difficult to take this step all alone. But there are options, for sure! There are safe houses, there are counseling centers – women have to just trust!

How can faith-based organizations work better with secular organizations? I've heard that there's a separation. How do you work around that?

I have done this in two cities; in Darmstadt, we had a really good partnership with the professional counseling centers. We were able to see our different strengths. As volunteers and Christians – it doesn't really matter if we're Christians or not – we have relationships to the women and we're there with them. They can't do that in their offices. They sit in their offices and wait for the women to come to them. When you acknowledge the strengths of each other and leave beliefs to the side, you can really see "They have relationships to the women, they are there, and they have the potential to function as a bridge to our services." The professionals, I can't do what they do, I value them so

much, and we really need each other. Exactly, I believe it's so important to see each other's strengths.

One thing to note is that some counseling centers support prostitution. That's a line for us – we don't bring women to places where we know they promote prostitution. But counseling centers where they see it as a danger just like us, we love to work with them. Based on my experience, it can work really well.

Anna-Lena Reiferscheid, Social Worker at Café Neustart

Could you describe your work with prostitutes?

I work at Café Neustart. That is a low-threshold advising café on Kurfürstenstraße in the street prostitution area in the middle of Berlin. The café has five shifts in the week during which it's open for a few hours. In this time, women come to the café to eat, drink, and stay for a while. On Monday and Tuesday afternoons, they can also receive social counseling. I provide social counseling for the women, primarily exit counseling, and I support women who then come to me in my consultation hours. I discuss with them issues related to exiting or further development and support them in shaping their lives differently however much they would like to. We have an individual pedagogical approach, which means that we always look at what every individual woman wants and what their current status is and where they would like to work, and we try to accompany them without pressuring them.

How would you describe the purpose or the goals of Café Neustart?

We are an exit-oriented institution. That means that we believe that prostitution exploits and uses women and that prostitution infringes on human rights, because the rights of the women in prostitution are regularly violated and injured. Consequently, we as Café Neustart are interested in protecting women's value and making them feel valuable through an attitude of valuing their worth. Through this, we embolden them to lead a self-determined life and to decide to leave the red-light district if they want to.

We don't force anyone and we are centered in pedagogics, but in principle our goal is that the women leave prostitution and receive everything they need to do so, whether it's therapy, conversation, resolving their debts, a change in where they live, accommodation in a shelter, etc. That is our work

What are the greatest needs of women who want to leave prostitution?

Actually, living space is most important – a place to live. Most women have a very precarious living situation. They either live on the street and are homeless or they are living in an apartment with a John or with their pimp in a hotel, etc. If they leave prostitution, then they don't know where they can live. That is the main need: security in their living situation.

Most of the women have a really chaotic paper situation. Most already have an ID and some are naturally legally in Germany, but they may have debts. They have a lot of papers such as letters that

they've been ignoring for months. That means they need to sort out the whole chaos that is their paper situation. They need to bring some order to their lives on the bureaucratic side.

A huge need is resolving the codependency with their partner or pimp. That's often muddled. You can't clearly separate if they are a partner or a pimp – it's not black and white, it's a grey area. That means that the women are often psychologically dependent on their partner. They don't believe in their ability to leave the relationship and prostitution. That means continuous conversations and maybe some form of therapy to help the women find the courage to leave the relationship and also prostitution.

Another primary need of the women in the street prostitution area is a detox or methadone program or something similar, because often the women are so addicted to drugs that they're not in the position to make long-term decisions, because they are working for their next fix. Because of that, they need therapy and a spot in a detox program.

I think those are the greatest needs that need to be addressed: living situation, bureaucratic situation, codependency and relationships – relationships to the men in the red-light district – and drug addiction.

Do you also encounter transgender women in Café Neustart? Are their needs different or similar?

They're fundamentally the same needs. They also find themselves in codependent relationships, often have pimps who exploit them and who take the majority of their profits from prostitution, and are in just as precarious of situations as the women. Bad living situation, a great deal of trauma – they're exactly the same needs.

Do you know women who successfully exited? How did that happen? How did that go?

I know women who exited. Not many, but a few. Sometimes you lose track of that, though – you help a woman to exit and she goes to a shelter and you don't know what happens next. It can also happen that you lose contact, and you hope that everything is okay. The women who I supported in exiting and who today live self-determined lives, they are huge, incredible individuals. It is a small miracle every time. They have to really trust themselves to be able to exit. They often need multiple attempts. Sometimes they have to decide four, five, six times that they want to exit, and it doesn't always work.

It's unbelievably important in the social work to stay with it and to not let the women fall through the cracks just because they have again decided against going through with it. I'm currently thinking about a woman for whom her pimp really had to die first. He had cancer and died very quickly. Right afterwards she was so free, psychologically, that she decided to exit and went through everything "super straight" – cleared up her papers, got her debt situation under control, and registered at the Jobcenter. I was able to support her in this, and that was incredible, and today she is free.

In that case it went really, really well, but that was really her herself, because she has a strong character and at that location and time I was there. I offered her help every single time we did street work. "I'm here if you want to exit, just call me." It was over three years, and then, at the end of the

third year, she called me and said “Yes, now I am finally done.” Above all else, it requires patience and time.

Do you also know women, who tried to exit and failed? What happened?

Many more. It also has to do with the system: what isn’t there for the women.

I find that most countries in the world have simply failed to understand it. In Germany, prostitution is legal. That means, it’s naturally not recognized that women from prostitution could eventually have a need for help, because prostitution is a job like any other. Why should we build them safe houses? It’s a normal job; bakers or social workers don’t have safe houses. The awareness isn’t there, and consequently there is no system that detects the women. And there are no rights for them really. I don’t know of any nationwide exit programs. It is very difficult. The bureaucratic hurdles are so high for them, that they don’t trust them.

Additionally, there are often also emotional bonds to the partner and/or pimp, which makes it even more difficult to succeed.

I think that is the problem in almost all countries worldwide – that they don’t recognize that prostitution is a problem. Or there are countries that recognize it’s a problem – the US, for example, or other countries where prostitution is illegal – and the women are punished for prostituting themselves and then there are many prostitutes sitting in jail. That is also unhelpful. It is addressed so poorly by so many countries, and they are really to blame for how difficult it is for women to exit.

Another point: most prostitutes in Germany are from other eastern European countries. For example, they are from Romania, Bulgaria, or Hungary. They don’t really have a claim to social benefits in Germany, meaning that they have to fulfill specific criteria. For example, you have to either have been registered in Germany for five years or have an specific official job. If you can’t enter the social system because you are in prostitution or being forced to participate in prostitution, then you don’t have the right to any social benefits.

That really means that when the women exit, they don’t receive any money from the state. There is no social system there to support them. That makes the social work very difficult, because you can’t offer the women much. You can say “you can exit, but you won’t receive any money from the government, so we’ll have to figure this out another way.” That makes it less attractive and more challenging.

If a woman tells you “I want to exit.” What do you say? What resources are there?

First you need to assess the situation and sit down with the woman to find out:

- Where do you live now?
- What is your situation?
- Are you a survivor of human trafficking?

If a woman is a survivor of trafficking and wants to exit, then it’s very clear. Women first have to leave the city and go to a shelter. That means that I call all of the possible shelters where there are open spots and I try to send the woman to one as soon as possible.

If a woman is in the grey area, of which we have far more women, in which she has a pimp, but she's not necessarily a survivor of trafficking and instead is somewhere in the middle, then it's relevant to see where the shoe is pinching the most [idiomatic]. Does she have a stable apartment, is she registered – if she's registered, it's much easier. Then you can try to find a regular job for her, for example a mini job with five or six hours a week as a cleaning woman. Then with a small job she can enter the social system, because then she can register with the Jobcenter and receive a certain percentage of social benefits from the state and have health insurance.

If a woman is not registered and doesn't have an address, then it's really, really difficult. Then you have to consider: where could she register? What can you do, when you can't register anywhere? In Berlin and in Germany it's illegal to register somewhere you don't live. That means, there are people who would say "you can register using my address," but they can't do that because it's illegal.

That means that women don't have an apartment because they don't have work, but they don't have work because they don't have an apartment. It's a vicious cycle. Then you can't do much, you can only continue to support the woman and look for other options. You can also discuss if a woman is willing to go to a shelter, because then she can at least register and stay there and try to exit. In the best case, the woman is registered and lives somewhere. Then she can work.

There are really few options. Because most of the women live on the street and are homeless, it's very difficult and you can't just bring them to a homeless shelter. They do exist, they're provided by the government and there are a lot of them – Germany doesn't have a bad social system, it's actually very good, there are just holes for specific groups of people. The spots in a homeless shelter have to be paid for. The government only pays for spots for people who have the right to social benefits. You have a right to social benefits if you're German or you've been registered for five years or you have a job here. It's a big dilemma. It's very frustrating for the woman, the most frustrating of course, but it's also frustrating for social workers.

What role do state-supported programs have in exit resources?

They exist for sure. They're usually pretty small; they exist only in bigger cities like Berlin for example, there's a state-supported exit program here.

That's a bit difficult. In Germany the pro-prostitution lobby is very big. That means that the money often goes to NGOs that are very pro-prostitution and really stand for sex worker rights rather than seeing prostitution critically. That means, the organization in Berlin that receives money for exit programs – it's called Hydra – they receive money for exit programs, but they mostly provide entry programs. Women go there who want to work in prostitution and they help them to enter. I think that's a conflict of interest. An NGO doing one can't do the other.

The debate in Germany is very, very pro-prostitution and the lobby for prostitution is huge here. It mostly consists of brothel owners and people who make a lot of money with prostitution: escorts or dominatrices working in very expensive dominatrix studios. That's a small percentage of the sex workers, but they make a ton of money with it, and they do this lobby work because they're interested in keeping prostitution as it is. But the 80, 85 percent of the women who don't have a lobby aren't represented in these discussions.

Hydra had an interesting evaluation of one of their programs. I forget what it's called. Something with Gold? When they did this program, they documented how many women exited over three years. It was so minimal. They advised so few women. I believe it was 27 women over about three years. I speak with 27 women in one month at Neustart. The number who exited was also super, super small for that amount of time.

There are not many exit programs on one hand because of what I already explained and on the other hand because the awareness of how prostitution is a problem is not there in the federal government. There are a few people like Frank Heinrich, who you spoke with, who are very aware that it's a problem. This unfortunately means that exit programs don't receive much money.

How could faith-based organizations better work together with state or secular organizations?

I think with good dialogue. It's not simple. I think there are problems on both sides. I find that the Christian NGOs often don't interact well with the secular ones and some Christian NGOs also have very unprofessional work in which they let missionizing and evangelization mix with social work. I find that to be very, very dangerous and negligent and completely wrong. Many secular organizations correctly accuse Christian organizations of this. On the other side, many secular organizations have major prejudices and they have no interest in working with Christian organizations, no matter how many times they try to prove that they're professional. That is very, very difficult. That makes this conflict worse.

In Germany, there are a lot of secular organizations that are pro-prostitution and Christian organizations that are critical of prostitution. The political conflict and the history are so big. But I think it can work really well with communication and dialogue. In Berlin, we're well-connected with some secular organizations, primarily from the feminist area, who I value a lot, and we have a really good exchange. It works really well to meet on this level. Okay we're critical of prostitution. We believe that prostitution is exploitation of women through the patriarchy.

It also works well in organizations that are communities of interest where individuals can meet together. Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel is an umbrella organization that many NGOs belong to and many come together through that. That's great. It is really about communication and always approaching each other and communicating transparently and really trying to meet professional standards

But there is in spite of this too little communication and too little collaboration. It is really very difficult. I know many hostilities and big conflicts between Christian and secular NGOs. It is really a war. It is very stressful. You sometimes can't be in the same room anymore without it escalating. Very unnecessary. It is especially strong in Berlin. I actually am not from Berlin. I used to do this work in another city and it wasn't so bad.

There are also more NGOs here and the money is tight. That means everyone is afraid that someone else will get their funding. There's also the whole pro-prostitution lobby here. That naturally makes it worse, because the ideologies come into conflict. Many try to overcome these differences and promote communication. Sometimes it works. Sometimes it is really so entrenched that you can't get anywhere.

Those were all of my questions, but if you have other thoughts you'd like to add... my topic is exit resources for women in prostitution in Germany. I study public policy and I'm writing a really specific thesis through that. We have to work with an organization, find a problem they are facing, identify options to address it, and then make a recommendation. That's what I'm doing with Pink Door. My topic is researching how safe houses can better support their clients.

I think a topic we've been discussing in Berlin, also with Pink Door, is that the missing link in this whole system is a transition accommodation. An in-between place to live before a woman goes to a shelter, because most of the shelters are so high-threshold and have such a high level of conditions that need to be fulfilled that one can't move in there. There are many rules. The address is anonymous. They're usually further outside the city. You have to change your SIM card, you shouldn't go anywhere else, etc.

Those all make sense and are very good rules for a shelter, but for many women it's very difficult. It's a huge jump. I think that's part of why it often doesn't work. I think the women often need something in between to think about it. There is an interesting approach in various work with homeless people. It's called Housing First. Before a person works on their life or before one does social work with the person, the person first gets a stable place where they can live and sleep. Then you can work on the other topics.

It's somewhat oriented on Maslow's hierarchy of needs, a model from psychology and pedagogy. There's a pyramid, and the base of the pyramid are banal physical needs: sleep, shelter, food, water. When these needs aren't fulfilled, you can't reach the other levels of life direction, further development, spiritual development, etc., because when the base is missing, then the pyramid collapse. I think this is a fundamental aspect of the work with women in prostitution.

I think we should have an option for Housing First, that women can first just sleep in an apartment, and then we can sit down and say "Okay. What is your situation? Where do you want to go? You might be addicted to drugs. Let's see if we can find a detox program for you. Who would pay? How do we do that?" You usually can't do that earlier. If I have an appointment with a woman in the afternoon and talk to her about her life for two hours and she doesn't know where she's sleeping that night or where she'll go tomorrow, it's very clear that she can't have other priorities in mind.

That means that I think a transition house would be super essential for women, where that can stay for three months or take time to organize to plan for what happens next. You can sit together, plan, and think about it. Something really low-threshold. Also, for women who are addicted to drugs and alcohol. There should be house rules, of course, but not as many as in a shelter. Then at the end of the three months the woman can decide if she can exit by herself, if she will go back to the red-light district, or if she wants to go to a shelter.

I think that would raise the success rate of shelters and would embolden more women to change something, because they know "Okay, I will sleep here today and tomorrow and also for the next three weeks." And then they can get a clear idea. That is important to us all. I think it's a model that doesn't really exist yet. That would really help people. It's frustrating that it doesn't exist.

But it costs a lot of money. Who should pay it? The state won't support it, because it's for a group that has often no right to social benefits. It's hard.

Do prostitutes sometimes go to women's shelters for survivors of domestic violence?

That also costs more money. You can request that, but then you have to apply for money for the women. The women usually have no right to the benefits. That means that maybe they can stay there for a couple nights but then they have to leave, because that's also paid for by the Sozialamt here. Every spot in the women's shelter is very expensive. It has to be paid.

This is why there are not many options. As long as it is this way, it'll stay this way. This is why so many lobby organizations against human trafficking are fighting for a political change, a new model, like the Nordic model for example. That would change things, because the demand would be lower and fewer women and fewer eastern European women who are trafficked here by pimps would be in prostitution. That is also not an optimal solution. It's addressing the symptoms. But women will still stay on the street and not know what to do. There will be fewer customers and less money – what will happen to the women? As long as the social system isn't reconstructed for the women, nothing will happen.

It seems so difficult to help women with migration backgrounds. It seems like they have almost no options to be helped by the state.

Absolutely. The problem also is that so many women in prostitution come from eastern Europe. The social system isn't designed for these women. As EU-citizens, they are allowed to travel freely – that's the advantage of the EU. We are all allowed to travel and live freely. I can move to France tomorrow. Everyone can. It's okay, it's wonderful. It's generally a good project, the EU. But through that, people who have already lived precariously can be shut out of a social system, specifically many women that we have here. For example, many of the Bulgarian women are Roma. Roma women have very precarious and difficult lives in Bulgaria, because they're part of a group that is discriminated against and is also handled poorly by the government there. Many live in ghettos or slums in Sofia or Warna or other cities. That means, they've already been discriminated against, and they come here with the hope of a better life. But they can't keep up with Germany's achievement-oriented society. Germany is a very capitalist country and very achievement-oriented. That means that you have to have specific skills and education in order to make something of yourself here. They come here and then things are again precarious, they're discriminated against further, they are here on the street and get exploited further.

It's a disgrace that individuals, mostly women, who have been discriminated against their whole lives, continue to be discriminated against here, but also through the government system. They're good enough to prostitute themselves and to be used by men here, but not good enough to enter into the social system. At the same time, it's also often a problem with social work or NGOs that work with these women. They reduce women to their role as a victim and become so reduced to "They're victims of their situations. They need to be helped." That's often a very white, colonialist perspective. It's also wrong because the women are not treated as experts and survival artists. That's something I try to do – I don't believe that I always succeed – but in the counseling and the work I try to implement it. First of all, sitting in front of me is an adult woman, who is the expert of her own situation: she survived it. She is so competent for her life, and I want to treat her in that way. I don't want to tell her for my white social worker colonialist perspective "everything that happen in your life so far or the things you've decided are wrong. I'll now show you how to lead a self-determined life." It's also very intrusive, and I'd overstep boundaries with that, and that happens a

lot in social work in Germany with women in prostitution, especially in Christian social work with women in prostitution.

I find that so important, because I believe that if you don't have that, then you're denying the women their worth again. You can have good intentions and want to do the right thing and want to help women, but typically the woman has already had a life of people denying her worth and that she's competent and has knowledge and autonomy. When we continue to serve this image and reproduce it further, then we're not helping the woman to decide things for her own life herself, and we're not using the resources she has, because we have the mindset of "she has no resources, we have to give her resources."

This aspect is not addressed enough in exit counseling and counseling of women who are in prostitution. Reflecting on yourself as a social worker and counselor. What am I bringing in my own mindset? What am I projecting on the woman who sits in front of me? Can't I also learn a lot from this woman? Can't we learn a lot from each other? I think that's often missing. Because of that, some women in this exit process feel like they're treated a bit as inferior and stay in this helplessness: "I let everything happen to me, but I don't shape my own exit process, and I don't shape my own life, instead I am somewhat frozen and I wait until I'm helped further, but I can't participate actively."

The way you use language is so important. When you say "survivor of trafficking" or "victim of trafficking," it changes everything.

It also changes everything for the women. They're labels that are hard to get rid of. Discourse on this is missing, you need to discuss this more, as a shelter you need to ask yourself the question: "where are we colonialist, where is what we do not okay, where do we need to think about giving the women more room to shape things for themselves?"

This is something I find really interesting at a few women's shelters that I know of. Not that everything is better, that's not what I mean. But they don't have 24/7 supervision. These are shelters for women who find themselves in acute situations of violence and then call and say they want out, and they can go there. But they don't have social assistance 24 hours a day. There isn't a social worker there the whole day. She is there for a few hours, then she's gone. The shelter is relatively small and it's taken care of by the women who stay there. The women there are so autonomous, that they answer the phone themselves. I mean that if the social worker is there until 3 p.m. and then leaves, if a survivor of domestic violence calls and says "My husband just hit me and I need to get out of here!", then the women decide together if they accept the women and then take care of the entry process for the woman. I find that totally interesting. Giving back this power from the social worker to the women. You say, "Okay, you all are so competent and you're way more of experts on this situation than we as social workers could be. You can decide if we accept this person."

And it actually works, at least in the women's shelter.

What do we know about how it is as two white middle-class girls? No idea. I can try to put myself in their perspective. Most survivors are stronger and tougher than we are. You don't always see that at first glance. I find that so interesting in general about the women on the street. When I sit with the women in the Café and snack or chat with a group of women for two hours, I see how different the

women often are and often there's a lot of arguments on the street. There are conflicts and jealousy about money, customers, etc. But whenever it's about something bigger – if a John hit a woman on the street or didn't pay her, if a drug dealer clocked a woman because she didn't pay, or a woman had her child taken from her by the law. That all happens a lot. Then there's this huge solidarity there. These women are so different and they're all doing differently. Some are doing really poorly, like the ones who have been addicted to heroin for years. Some are a bit more fit, fresh, etc. In spite of that, there's a feeling that we're all women. We're all the lowest level of society. We face a lot of disadvantages and discrimination. Through this there's this union, and everyone is suddenly mad together or boycotts this John or doesn't buy from this dealer or gives a cigarette to the mother, who is crying because she just had her children taken away. Small things like these show the strong connection the women have. When I am allowed to be a part of this when I sit and hear or maybe speak with them, I'm always moved by this deep womanness, this deep connection they have. Somehow, even when they're not in the same situation, they can understand. Above all else, they're women.

I find that really moving and it always makes me humble in that moment. Then I think, wow, it's so cool that I am allowed to be part of this group in this moment.

APPENDIX 4: INFORMATION CAMPAIGN OUTLINE

- Potential materials for current prostitutes – should be provided in multiple languages
 - Videos
 - A day in the life of a safe house participant
 - Set expectations for what participating in a safe house program is really like
 - Explain potential course offerings, psychosocial counseling, living with other participants
 - Going through the exit process
 - Walk through the process from going to a counseling center, getting into contact with a safe house, and then actually going to the safe house
 - Brochures/flyers
 - Lists of current exit counseling and exit program resources available by city and/or for specific groups (transgender, male, mothers, etc.)
 - Describe the organizations and what they offer
 - Provide contact information
 - Pink Door-specific
 - Explain what Pink Door offers and who is eligible
 - Describe how to get in contact with Pink Door and the process for beginning Pink Door's program
 - Address how Pink Door helps participants meet their basic needs and face personal and situational challenges to starting an exit program
- Potential materials for organizations that provide exit counseling services and/or conduct outreach
 - Brochures/flyers
 - Explain Pink Door's history and commitment to serving the target population
 - Include a disclaimer that Pink Door is motivated by faith, but does not proselytize
 - Detail exactly what Pink Door offers and who is eligible
 - Delineate the process for beginning Pink Door's program
 - Provide contact information

APPENDIX 5: MADE TO STICK PRINCIPLES

Made to Stick is a book about how to make messages more memorable to a general audience. It describes six main principles that make messages “sticky.”

Principle	Definition
Simple	Prioritize the core message.
Unexpected	Subvert the audience’s expectations; lead with something that makes the audience curious.
Concrete	Be descriptive and specific.
Credible	Establish yourself as an authority on the subject. Also, let the program’s credibility speak for itself by providing details about how it has worked in the past.
Emotional	Use emotional language and descriptions to make people feel for the people facing the problem and care about addressing the problem.
Stories	Use an anecdote to convey the message. Walking the audience through a story helps them to understand the “why” and the “how.”

(Heath & Heath, 2007)

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