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FROM THE MARGIN TO THE MAINSTREAM

Reintegration into Community Life of Prostituted Women through Non-formal Education

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Prostitution is an issue of human development and human rights violation because it capitalizes on the vulnerability of women. A host of political, economic, socio-historical, and cultural factors reinforces its global existence and creates a negative impact on society, especially on women. Only a few government and non-government institutions focus on implementing reintegration programs, and their intervention strategies are not well-documented. Despite this dearth of information, however, there are remarkable stories of women's transformation and successful reintegration.[1]

Amponin and Derks[2] consider the psychosocial, economic, physical, and mental health of the women, their religious beliefs, gender-responsiveness, and depth of awareness of trafficking as critical factors for reintegration. Both recommend a holistic, community-based

[1]The Asia Foundation, *Reintegration Assistance for Trafficked Women and Children in Cambodia—A Review* (Sept. 2005), http://www.asiafoundation.org/women/trafficking.html (accessed February 27, 2006).

[2]L. V. G. Amponin, *Critical Factors for Enhancing Reintegration Programs for Returning Filipino Women Entertainers*, M.A. Thesis (Quezon City: College of Social Work and Community Development, University of the Philippines, 2003); A. Derks, *Reintegration of Victims of Trafficking in Cambodia* (International Organization for Migration, 1998).

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reintegration for prostituted/trafficked women. This is done through training and education that often resemble nonformal education (NFE) characteristics and methodologies. Like reintegration, NFE aims at achieving an individual's economic,[3] cognitive, psychological,[4] political,[5] and spiritual[6] empowerment.

In order to highlight various models for reintegrating prostituted women into society, there is, thus, a need to document both the reintegration journey of NGOs and the women. This study, therefore, aimed to describe the following: 1) the reintegration initiatives provided to women during and after their involvement in prostitution; 2) the knowledge, values, and skills learned by the women; 3) nonformal education methods in transmitting reintegration; 4) empowering strategies learned by the women that facilitated their decision to leave the flesh trade. Specifically, it aimed to 1) systematize approaches to reintegration initiatives provided by selected NGOs, 2) define the type of education embedded in reintegration, and 3) identify learning outcomes as experienced by the women.

Research Methodology

This research used the grounded theory approach, which developed a theory that "is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed."[7] Feminist qualitative research methodologies were

[3]R. C. Cabag, *Nonformal Education: A Handbook for Teacher Education Students, NFE Administrators, and Extension Program Implementors* (Quezon City: Katha Publishing Co., Inc., 1999).

[4]N. P. Stromquist, *The Theoretical and Practical Bases for Empowerment*, International Seminar on Women's Education and Empowerment (UNESCO Institute for Education, 1993).

[5]P. Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: Seabury Press, 1973).

[6]Derks, *Reintegration of Victims of Trafficking in Cambodia*.

[7]J. R. Fraenkel & N. E. Wallen, *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education*, 5th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2003), 438.

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employed, which are dialogical and female-friendly.[8] This resulted in a mutually beneficial and empowering experience for both the researcher and the research participants.

Nine women from three NGOs (LAKAS is rights-based and GABAY and SAMARITANA are faith-based) serving prostituted women were purposely chosen as research participants. The following criteria were used in selecting the women: 1) they have given up prostitution for at least a year; 2) they have undergone some form of training in organizations that serve prostituted women; 3) they have reintegrated into their families or communities. Data were collected from September of 2007 to January of 2008. The following data gathering activities were conducted: a) semi-structured interviews; b) focus group interviews; c) key informant interviews; d) training session documentation. The data analysis consisted of verbatim transcriptions of all the interviews, thematic categorization, data triangulation, and validation from existing studies.[9]

Results

Women's Profiles

The ages of women involved in the study range from 21 to 47 years old. Six out of nine women are single mothers, with one or two children living with them. Two women were married but later got separated from their partners. One is married and lives with her husband and children. A majority of the research participants reached the secondary level of education, while two women finished the elementary level of education. Among those who actively participate

[8]Sylvia H. Guerrero, ed., *What is Feminist Research? Gender-Sensitive and Feminist Methodologies: A Handbook for Health and Social Researchers* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2002).

[9]Guerrero, *What is Feminist Research?*

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in their respective organizations, five are pursuing formal education under the sponsorship programs of these organizations.

The women got involved in prostitution at a young age. Seven were in their teenage years (16 to 18 years old) while two of them were in their early twenties. Five became street girls, and four became bargirls. The duration of their involvement in prostitution varied from one week to 10 years. Three of them had 10 years of experience as street girls while the rest had one to three years experience as bargirls or street girls. The duration of their involvement in prostitution was either continuous or periodic, but majority spent most of these years in prostitution.

Shadows of the Past

The research participants had similar childhood experiences. Almost all of them are poor. The majority hailed from the provinces before they transferred residence to the city. Most of them had sad stories to tell about their childhood. Five of them were sexually abused as children, usually by their relatives or members of their household. They got disillusioned and did not fully understand how such evil acts could be done to them by their relatives or friends. All of them felt the shame and embarrassment deep within, and they grew up with bitterness and deep-seated anger toward their abusers.

Life in Prostitution

The majority of the women's entry to prostitution was facilitated by a pimp or *mamasan*. The street women were vulnerable to violence from sadistic customers. The bargirls were trapped by the whims of both their customers and *mamasan*. Failure to obey meant further violence or the loss of their "job." The law enforcers were brutal. They abused their authority by rounding them and beating them up, or they themselves became the women's customers. These experiences led the women to develop extreme feelings of shame, fear, anger, and isolation. The women's health also suffered. They acquired sexually transmitted diseases and underwent repeated abortions. To make matters worse, a

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majority of them got hooked on alcohol and drugs in order to numb their painful situations. They felt self-pity and had low self-esteem.

Bathsheba and Solomon: A Story of Reintegration

The critical questions for oral interviewers have to do with whose story the woman is asked to tell, who interprets it, and in what contexts. Dana C. Jack reminds us: "If the goal of the interview is to encourage the woman to tell her own story, to speak in her own terms, then how one asks questions, and with what words, becomes critical to the outcome of the interview."[10] These pointers served as guides and reminders for the researcher in conducting in-depth interviews with the women.

The following is a story of Bathsheba and Solomon (not their real names). Bathsheba chose these pseudonyms for herself and her son in order to symbolize her transformation.

> *Pinili ko ang pangalang Bathsheba kasi naaalala ko si Haring David, yung naging ka-relasyon niya, na hinangaan ko dahil isa siyang lalaki na malapit ang puso sa Diyos. Kahit na nagkasala si David dahil kinuha niya si Bathsheba kahit na [may] asawa siya, natauhan siya, inamin niya yung kasalanan niya at humingi siya ng tawad sa Diyos. Kagaya ko, pinatawad ako ng Diyos sa kabila ng nakaraan ko. Hindi dahil sa hindi na ako nagkakasala uli, dahil hindi ako perpekto. Pero malaking bagay na yung mapatawad ka, at pagkatapos kang patawarin, mamuhay ka nang malaya, na hindi ka na nahihiya* … (I chose the name Bathsheba because she reminds me of King David, her lover, whom I have always admired as a man after God's own heart. Even if David sinned against God by taking a married woman like Bathsheba, he came to his senses, confessed his sins to God and asked for forgiveness. Like me, I was forgiven by God despite my past. Not that I do not commit sins anymore, because I am not perfect. But it is one thing to be forgiven and after that, to live freely without shame …)

[10]Kathryn Anderson, Susan Armitage, Dana Jack, & Judith Wittner, "Beginning Where We Are: Feminist Methodology in Oral History," *Oral History Review* 15 (Spring 1987): 120. See also Kathryn Anderson & Dana C. Jack, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses," in Sherna Gluck & Daphne Patai, eds., *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 11–26.

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Even in her choice of names, Bathsheba is very meticulous. A reflective woman by nature, she takes to heart everything that happens—her past and present, and the things that happen to her loved ones, mean a lot to her. She is looked up to by other women in Samaritana when it comes to sharing her reflections because she creatively symbolizes what she feels, and her thoughts are often deep. I met Bathsheba 15 years ago when I was a volunteer in Samaritana. She had just given birth to her child, Solomon, who was born with cerebral palsy. Bathsheba loves Solomon very much. In fact, she often runs into trouble in his defense, especially when people get curious and stare at him or when children bully him because of his disability. She says she needs to take good care of him and protect him because she does not want him to suffer like she did in her younger years.

"You do not understand what I have been through!"

This was the usual battle cry of Bathsheba whenever she got hurt. She was only six years old when her father died. They were seven in the family, and for reasons which she did not understand, she was the only one among her siblings who was taken to the orphanage by her mother soon after her Daddy died. She stayed in a Christian home for homeless children until she was 13. Bathsheba remembers being a good girl. She was religious and felt close to God. She thinks she reached puberty sooner than the other girls her age. She observed her breasts starting to grow at the age of nine, and by eleven, she had her first monthly period. She did not know why, but she would like to believe that it was because of this that a lot of boys in the home were attracted to her. A few even attempted to sexually abuse her, but she always got away from their advances. In the fourth attempt, though, a 16-year old boy succeeded in raping her. Bathsheba was 13 then. After raping her, the boy threatened that he would spread rumors to the other children that she was his girlfriend, a move that Bathsheba believed would surely alarm the staff and make them scold her. With great fear in her heart, she left the orphanage without permission. She sought the help of her father's relatives who gladly took her in and sent her to school. Bathsheba never told anybody about what happened to

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her. She was so ashamed of and angry at what the boy did to her. She bottled up all of her anger inside her heart.

When she was in fourth year high school, her Mommy learned that she was in her aunt's custody, and so she started visiting her in the house where she lived. Bathsheba had already graduated from high school then, even though she admitted to doing many foolish things in school. As her Mommy continued to visit her, she was eventually persuaded to move in and live with her and her siblings, all of whom she met again after seven years of separation from them. Little did she know that her Mommy had a live-in partner. They all lived under one roof in Montalban, Rizal. In her second month in the house, something happened. One night, her stepfather attempted to rape her. She was fortunate enough to escape, and so when her Mommy arrived, she told her right away about what her stepfather did to her. To her surprise, her Mommy did not believe her, and sided with her stepfather instead. Enraged, Bathsheba left the house.

"Life on the streets is colorful ..."

Bathsheba landed in Cubao after she ran away from home. It was there that she began meeting high school students who went to school at daytime but walked the streets at night. *Gimik* was what they called giving customers sexual "services" in exchange for money. Soon, Bathsheba found herself doing the same thing. She started doing *gimik* as a way to earn money. She learned how to be a toughie in the area. Cubao became her turf. Extorting money from innocent teenagers became a pastime with her newfound gang. She would lead them to the malls, spotting students who looked innocent and *aanga-anga* (ignorant). They would follow them to the restroom, push them aside in one corner, and force them to shell out some money before they went out. Refusal to do so meant heavy beatings before the teenagers could get out. *Sa Cubao ako naging astig, matapang. Hindi ako nagpapatalo para hindi nila sabihing mahina ako. Sinasabayan ko sila. Kapag sinindak nila ako, sinisindak ko rin sila*, Bathsheba quipped. (It was in Cubao that I became a toughie. I would not allow myself to become a loser so that they would not call me a weakling. When other toughies tried to outdo me, I made sure that I was the first to outdo them.)

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She also learned how to take drugs. Bathsheba thinks that it was necessary for her to take drugs in order to muster the courage to extort money and get customers. Otherwise, she would not be able to do it. She did not stay long in Cubao, though, for then she discovered another hangout—Quezon Boulevard. She found lots of street girls there. Unlike in Cubao, customers had cars, and they paid street girls a higher price for their services. "Life was colorful in the area," Bathsheba said. There, she met different kinds of customers—some were kind, some were sadists. The sadist ones, she recalls, were really bad:

> There were a few times when I went with only one customer in a car, but upon reaching one corner, I was met by three to five other men who suddenly hopped in the van where I and the lone customer were riding. They brought me to a faraway place, and poked their guns at me so I would not be able to resist. When I begged for their mercy, they did not listen to me. Instead, one by one, they started using me. I often ended up without money and beaten up badly. Others were really stern and mean. When they shouted, "Strip!", they expected me to strip and face them naked right away. When I started to complain, they reasoned that they had already paid for my services, and so they had every right to do whatever they wanted with my body.

Bathsheba says that it was not only the customers who treated her and the other street girls badly. The police who were assigned to patrol the area were also as brutal. But she was wise. She was able to find a way so that she would not get rounded up like the others. She says:

> *Ang mga pulis, kapag nahuli ka, kukursunadahin ka. Kaya natuto rin akong maging mautak. Naging "asset" nila ako, minsan, binu-boyfriend ko, para hindi ako hulihin. Kaya kapag may huli, ti-timbrehan nila ako para hindi ako lumabas.* (When the police rounded up street women, they also molested those they found attractive. That is why I have also learned to be wise. I became one of their "assets." I attracted their attention and made them my boyfriends. I would benefit from these relationships by getting warnings when there were scheduled roundups. They would find ways to tip me off or inform me so that I will not go out on such nights.)

Bathsheba thinks that not all the customers were that bad, though. There were men who, upon knowing about her life story, just gave

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her money and sent her home. She would like to believe that she was also generally kind to her "guests," another term that she uses for customers. She said that she was not a hustler like the others who only knew how to milk money from customers. Then, talking loudly, she says with emphasis:

> But of course, I generally hated men. It's because most of them gave me very difficult and painful times. So if there were a few men who seriously pursued me, I refused to believe them even if they promised to take me off the streets. I did not show any interest in their offer because I knew they were not serious in their intentions and they would just use me like the rest. So, instead of taking them seriously, I played tricks on them. Since I was young and beautiful, customers queued up for me. What I did was choose the one who had the highest offer. Then I would laugh out loud and mock those whom I did not choose and were left behind. That was my way of exacting vengeance on them.

Bathsheba was not always this tough. Deep in her heart, she pitied her condition and felt weak and helpless about her situation. She longed for companions but they were hard to find on the streets, so she learned not to trust anyone. She recalls:

> *May mga panahong naglalalakad ako nang mag-isa lang at naaawa ako sa sarili ko. Kasi mahirap din noon ang maki-grupo. Mainit sa hulihan kaya mas mabuti pa yung nag-iisa. Ang mga bugaw nga, nakakabangga ko rin, kasi maarte daw ako at nagso-solo flight. Eh paano ba naman, madalas, mas napapahamak ako. Kukunan kang kostumer na hindi man lang kinilatis, tapos sadista pala yun, kaya pagbalik ko pasa-pasa na yung mukha ko, ni hindi man lang ako maabutan ng yelo.* (In my solitary moments, though, I would remember walking along the Boulevard alone, and I would feel self-pity. I was a loner and did not choose to mingle with other street women. I was too careful not to be a friend with others especially because groups of street women were hot targets, so it is better to do "solo flight." The pimps, they hated me and thought I was just being self-centered. What they did not realize is that I got traumatized hanging out with them because I frequently ran into trouble when they pimped me. There was a time when one pimp got me a customer without sizing him up, but he happened to be a sadist who just beat me up and badly abused me. When I came back to the streets, my face was black and blue, but this pimp did not even care to buy ice for me.)

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"I felt loved and cared for ..."

Bathsheba continued living this kind of lifestyle for 10 years. She either lived on the streets or rented small houses with street girls or pimps in an urban poor community in Mother Ignacia, situated at the back of Quezon Boulevard. One time, she and her housemates were invited to attend a meeting for women who were working at night. Curious, Bathsheba attended and met the facilitators of the group. She learned that they were from Samaritana, a Christian ministry that wanted to help street girls and bargirls with whatever they needed. The facilitator, Ate Thelma, asked them how Samaritana could help the women. They offered to support those who wanted to take vocational courses. She recalls their meeting vividly: "They offered to support those who wanted to study. I wanted to take up a secretarial course, but I was not serious then, because I still enjoyed the streets. But when they visited, I always accommodated them."

After that first meeting, the Samaritana facilitators visited them regularly, almost once a week, and met with the same women in one of the bargirls' houses. Jenny, one of the staff members, led Bible studies, and they often talked about God's love and their lives in general. They also prayed for each other often. Bathsheba was drawn to the sessions and anticipated their weekly visits.

In 1992, she accidentally got pregnant by a customer. She immediately told Jenny about it, and the latter asked what her plans were for her baby. She did not know how to respond to her question because she was confused about what to do with her growing tummy. Jenny, sensing Bathsheba's need for guidance, visited her more frequently. Though Jenny did not ask her, Bathsheba sensed that Jenny was worried that she would abort her baby. When she realized that her tummy was getting bigger, she became lethargic and began to lose her desire to do *gimik* on the streets. It was then that she decided to ask for assistance from Jenny. She made a decision that she would take and follow whatever piece of advice or assistance Samaritana would offer because she needed their advice and assistance badly.

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Samaritana referred Bathsheba to a Christian ministry for pregnant mothers called Bethesda in Antipolo City. When Jenny brought her there, she was almost in her third month of pregnancy. The place was big, but comfortable and homey, Bathsheba thought. The staff there gave her and the other pregnant mothers an orientation about the rules and policies like following assigned work schedules, going for regular prenatal check-up, attending Bible studies, and undergoing occasional counseling sessions. Everything was provided to them for free, even their maternal clothes, toiletries, and expenses for their delivery. They agreed, though, that they could not leave the premises until they gave birth. Friends and family were allowed to visit on certain days. Jenny regularly visited her to find out how she was doing.

Bathsheba found the place a haven for pregnant mothers. She found the daily household chores light, and she felt cared for by the staff there. For almost eleven months, she developed the habit and discipline of following daily schedules, which she said she did not have on the streets. She fondly recounts one of her favorite daytime schedules:

> In the shelter, we had daily devotions. Every morning, all the pregnant women and the staff of Bethesda would gather together and select Bible verses to reflect on. These were read to us, and we would share how they spoke to our hearts or touched us. The organization gave me a personal copy of the Bible. To keep myself from getting bored, I turned to Bible reading as a hobby. This gave me strength of spirit. I suddenly realized that I needed to take life more seriously, and I felt this most especially when I had a major problem with my pregnancy.

Bathsheba had a risky pregnancy. Her blood pressure went up and down, and she experienced bleeding a few times. The doctor told her straight that her baby might have a problem when he comes out. She was so scared. She called on the Lord everyday for help. It was then that she surrendered everything to Him and asked Him to take over her life from then on. His words in the Bible became her inspiration, and she felt that her faith in God was renewed and strengthened even more when God answered her prayer for a safe delivery.

Bethesda persuaded her to stay in the home until Solomon was four months old. The staff asked her to assist in taking care of the other

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babies who were surrendered for adoption by some mothers who had already left the home. Bathsheba did not think of surrendering her son for adoption. She was bent on keeping him and raising him by herself no matter what happened. After four months, she left the shelter. Not knowing what she should do, she went back to Mother Ignacia. That was when she noticed that there was something wrong with Solomon. She started taking him for medical check-ups and found out that he had cerebral palsy. The medical examinations depleted Bathsheba's meager resources, and so she was forced to go back to the streets to earn money. She also longed for a partner who would support her and her son financially, and so when she was courted by Johnny, an employee in a nearby film studio, she readily agreed to live with him. Johnny, though, was married. Bathsheba knew from the start that this relationship was not going to last because she believed it was wrong in the first place, and she was aware that she could never have him "wholly." At that time, Jenny still continued to visit her regularly and often advised her to trust in God and not in man.

Since they started living together, Johnny persuaded Bathsheba not to go back to the streets. He tried to provide for her and Solomon, and Bathsheba fell in love with him all the more. The relationship was short-lived. In their fourth month, Johnny's wife discovered their relationship, and so to avoid further problems, Bathsheba let him go and told him not to come back. She told him that he should just think that he did her and Solomon a good deed by providing for them for a period of time. Bathsheba remembers crying a lot during that time, but since she surrendered the matter to God, it was not so painful to let go of Johnny.

During that time, Samaritana offered her the opportunity to join its one-year residential training program. Bathsheba did not hesitate to join the training program because she did not want to go back to the streets anymore. In the program, she and the other trainees contributed only a minimal amount of money for the payment of utilities and food. She learned how to cook different kinds of food because it was part of their daily household chores. She also acquired livelihood skills, like cross-stitching, baking, and making pineapple jam, all of which generated some income for her while in training. Each trainee was

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given a notebook, in which they wrote the recipes and other things which they learned in doing livelihood. The livelihood coordinator demonstrated to the group or to individuals the proper way to do the livelihood to ensure good quality of the product. One by one, they were coached and monitored in their progress towards perfecting the quality of their product. Bathsheba found joy in doing all of these things, although it was difficult at first. She also struggled to produce good results because the staff took turns ensuring quality control, for the products were being sold to churches or to individuals in the Philippines or abroad, if there were orders. She experienced repairing her "rejects," her work which did not pass the quality control. It was difficult at first because she sometimes did not earn a lot due to rejects. But she said that she learned that a product has to be presentable and good to look at in order to be bought. In terms of the income that she generated in doing her livelihood, Bathsheba recalls:

> *Kumikita ako noon, pero hindi gaanong sapat. Pero kahit maliit ang kita namin, tinuruan kami ng isang staff na mag-save at mag-budget. Natuto akong mag-budget ng para sa aming pangangailangang mag-ina sa araw-araw, at itabi ang ilang percent para sa savings. Bulagsak kasi ako sa pera noon, pero nagawa kong mag-save. Kaya nung nag-graduate ako sa residential training ng SAMARITANA, may pera akong nabitbit.* (I earned money from these, but it was barely enough to meet our growing needs. Yet even though I earned only a little, one of the staff members taught me how to save and how to budget my resources. I learned how to apportion my earnings, distribute them according to our daily needs, and put aside even a small percentage for my savings. I realized how poor I was before at budgeting, but I was glad that I was able to save. I benefited from this habit because when I graduated from Samaritana's residential training program, I had accumulated some amount which I needed after I left the residence.)

Learning to give and to receive

One of the most important skills that Bathsheba learned from the training program was how to relate with others. Since they were five women trainees, each with one child, she struggled to accept the fact that they had different personalities and needs. She admitted to being a quarrelsome person, and, looking back now, she believes it was because she was not yet completely healed at that time. The weekly

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Bible studies and fellowship times helped her to have a more mature outlook in life. She recalls:

> During Bible studies, we opened our Bibles, read selected verses, and talked about what these meant to us, what were God's promises to me personally. At other times, we were asked to use drawing as a form of reflection. We drew things about the environment that we could relate with at the moment: the leaves, flowers, stones, trees, even the wind. Then we reflected and compared these to ourselves. We were asked to show our drawings, shared why we drew them and what it meant to us at the moment. Oh, how I loved doing this! This way, I was able to release whatever it was that I felt in my heart.

Bathsheba preferred telling her story this way. She believes that this holds true for the other women as well. She goes on to say:

> *Sa ganitong paraan kami nagkukuwento, para hindi kami mailang sa pagbabahagi ng nararamdaman namin. Masarap ang pakiramdam kasi nailalabas namin ang nararamdaman ng aming puso. Dati kasi, parang ayaw kong magkuwento tungkol sa sarili ko. Sa paghahambing, bigla mong naaalala ang Diyos na, "Ay, nilikha pala ako ng Diyos." Parang nakakawala ng moody; nakaka-relax ng isip. Isa pa, nagkakaroon ka ng tiwala sa tao na puwede mo palang isabi kung anong nararamdaman mo. Puwede mo rin palang ibigay ang sarili mo sa iba. Yung hindi ka bato, kundi may pakiramdam ka rin pala.* (For me, it was a safe and less awkward way of sharing how we felt. I used to dread sharing things about myself. But when we used drawings for comparison, I was suddenly reminded that I am God's creation. It banished my moodiness and relaxed my mind. Moreover, I guess sharing this way has taught me how to entrust myself to others, especially the way I feel. I discovered that I could also give myself to others. I realized that I was not a stone as I used to see myself before, but that I am someone who also has the capacity to feel.)

Attending Friday afternoon fellowship was also one of Bathsheba's regular schedules in the residential training center. During this time, Samaritana staff and other street women or bargirls are welcome to join. A staff member or volunteer of Samaritana usually facilitated the activity. They prayed for each other, played games, shared their reflections and stories, and sang heartwarming songs. Bathsheba particularly liked songs that moved her heart to tears. For instance, there was this song entitled *Kaibigan* (Friend). As she sang it with the

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group, she was always reminded about her life before on the streets, especially the pimps whom she trusted but who betrayed her trust and friendship. Unlike the previous friendships that she had, the relationships that she had formed with the other women in Samaritana were far different, and she felt it even more when they sang the song together. She says:

> I was touched by the songs because when we shared, I felt like we could easily give ourselves to each other since we shared similar past experiences, and that paved the way for us to understand each other better. It was not awkward to share our stories and there's no room for us to mock each other's stories. There, I learned how to gradually give myself to others. Gradually, too, I saw and realized that I should forgive my parents and those who have hurt me in the past. I began to wonder, how will I be able to give myself to others fully if I myself have closed my doors to my relatives?

Bathsheba also valued counseling during her residential training. She identified two kinds of counseling: one-on-one and group counseling. She describes her one-on-one counseling this way:

> During my one-on-one counseling, I was freely allowed to release my feelings. The counselor just listened to me. She just allowed me to tell my stories without time limit. Then, she asked me at times if, by what I shared and thought, I had pleased the Lord or made Him happy. Or what have I realized that felt right, and what was good in what I shared? Well, I knew in the end that I would still be the one to answer the questions. I believe the counselor was just there to sort of wake me up. Because of that, I learned how to openly accept my mistakes and failures. I have learned how to be humble. Perhaps it is because I was made to feel that the counselor was saying to me, "Here I am, I am just here to listen to you."

As a result, Bathsheba also learned how to listen to others. She said, "What a nice feeling it is when you have learned to listen to others; it means they trust you. And that is how you also begin to desire to give yourself to others."

Bathsheba found group counseling to be fun yet a bit different from one-on-one counseling. They were made to sit in a circle, either on the floor or using chairs. The facilitator, usually Ate Thelma, used

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group sharing and discussion in pairs. She or someone else in the group would start off with a prayer, then they would proceed to group sharing. Bathsheba specifically enjoyed listening to different opinions, and appreciated that everybody listened to one another. She fondly recalls her group counseling experiences:

> We talked about what has happened to us the whole day, or what we have experienced in the past days. As we shared, each one of us was allowed to make comments, give encouragements, show our concern. We also gave pieces of advice. I felt like we were siblings. We also shared stories about our past experiences. There were many different stories. One thing I did learn was that, sometimes, you would think that you are the worst, but soon you realize that there are stories even far worse than yours. Then you recognize that you are not the only one who had problems. Through this, I have learned how not to be so self-centered. I realized that others had far worse problems than I had. All the while I thought that I was the only one who had problems, that I was the only one worthy of understanding. But I realized that I myself need to understand the situation of others.

Bathsheba believes that group counseling is a venue where women can strengthen one another. She recognizes that one's weakness can be another's strength. For instance, a woman is able to help other women by sharing how she has overcome her trials in life so that they can also learn from her experience. There is mutual learning as others share their own experiences too.

One thing that she found helpful during the training was the help that she got from Precious Jewels, a ministry partner of Samaritana. It is a ministry for urban poor children. On occasions when she would be away for out-of-town trainings or retreats, she would go to the ministry and leave Solomon in their temporary shelter. She found it beneficial for both of them because, not only did she feel secure to leave her son with them, she also learned how to understand Solomon's condition and respond to his physical needs. At times, they also referred him to institutions that specialized in Solomon's physical condition. Their love and care for Solomon gave Bathsheba the courage and strength to accept Solomon's condition and love him even more. This also helped her son grow in his social skills and relate better with other children.

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"Thank God for the training!"

As part of her preparation for transitioning out of the residential training program, Bathsheba was sent to a one-month training program on food processing methods such as peanut butter making, baking, and meat processing. It was held daily in the Department of Social Work and Development's Skills Training Center in Manila. The manner of teaching was hands-on and actual demonstration. Each student was asked to bring pen and notebooks, and they wrote down the recipes and the techniques of cooking and food preparation on their notebooks. Sometimes, photocopied materials were given to them, which Bathsheba compiled in a folder. They also did group cooking and food preparation, and they all tasted and ate their food together. Bathsheba was given a certificate of attendance when she finished the course.

With the loan assistance provided by Samaritana, she made peanut butter and sold these to people. She was able to recover her capital by selling all her products to other people. She then determined that this would be one of her income-generating livelihoods when she finished her residential training. Using her accumulated savings, she invested part of it as start-up capital right after she graduated from the one-year training program.

Samaritana staff guided Bathsheba in identifying her options for the future. Months before her final departure, she was accompanied by a staff member to explore if she could stay with her Mommy or live in another house where they were staying. This did not work out because, as she attempted to live there occasionally on weekends, they often quarreled, and so she gave up the idea and decided that they were both not prepared to live under one roof. She finally decided to go back to her former community in Mother Ignacia because that was the only place she knew which was safe for both her and her son, since most of them already knew her. As she settled in the place, she started making peanut butter, but this was not enough to meet their growing needs. Fortunately, a work opportunity came to her from a businessman friend of Samaritana. Bathsheba applied at Max's Restaurant as kitchen crew in the company's pantry. She was

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happy to note that her DSWD certification got her qualified for the kitchen crew job. Her earnings helped her and Solomon to get by every day. This continued only for a few months, though, since she found no one to take care of Solomon on a regular basis. She had to find an alternative livelihood, and so she grabbed every opportunity to attend short courses in cosmetology and massage/reflexology in her neighborhood and in other institutions which were close to her house. She learned how to do haircut, manicure, and pedicure, but the skill that she became most interested in was learning how to do foot spa and massage. It did not take long before she got customers from her place and from Samaritana. The staff, volunteers, and women willingly volunteered themselves for Bathsheba to practice her skills on, and she, in turn, opened herself up to their feedback and comments about the quality of her service. Through the years and until the present, she has maintained communication with them. Bathsheba now says:

> Since then, I had never thought of going back to the streets. First of all, my child is a special child. Secondly, I was tested negative for HIV. I used to pray before: "Lord, if in case I tested positive for HIV, I cannot do anything about it because it is a consequence of the work that I entered in, so it is my punishment." But despite my hard-headedness, I tested negative. That is why it is scary to go back. The Lord has given me a second chance to live, and anyway, we survive and get by every day, so it is really scary to go back and stay away from the Lord. I believe that if I do that, I would just end up being a loser in the end. Furthermore, Solomon was already walking and was growing up fast.

"God loves Solomon so much ..."

Bathsheba became nostalgic and emotional as she recalled Solomon's earlier days. She recalls:

> I remember then, there was a Christmas party in Samaritana, on December 20, 1997. During the party, we were asked what our prayer wishes were, so I told them that my wish is for my child to be able to walk. We prayed about it. December 24 came, and before the clock struck at 12 midnight, Solomon started taking steps and finally learned to walk. I cried because the Lord enabled him to walk. That means I trusted in him, and I believed in his miracle.

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> Sometimes, though, I rebel against the Lord, like in times when some of my prayers are not being answered. For instance, I used to cry hard because I would bring Solomon to school only to be rejected because of his special case. When that happens, I feel like they have taken away my child's right to study. I feel impatient and discouraged. I realized later, though, that I do not know how to wait upon what the Lord would give. Soon, I found out that there is a better place for Solomon to study. "Lord, sorry. I did not realize that you have planned to give good things to my child."

Four years after Bathsheba finished her residential training, she asked Samaritana's assistance to scout for a school for Solomon which catered to special children. Samaritana assisted her in enrolling him in a public school which suited his special needs. He became one of the children scholars being supported by the ministry, and has since improved his psycho-motor level. He is now fourteen years old and is studying in Batino, another school for special children. Bathsheba is very proud and happy that he is now able to go to school on his own, and is more physically independent.

Looking beyond the past and laying a foundation for the future

> *Kung iisipin ko ang kinabukasan at babalik-tanawin ko ang aking nakaraan, masasabi kong wala na akong balak bumalik sa dati kong buhay. Bagama't may mga bagay akong pinagsisisihan sa buhay ko, kagaya ng nagsayang ako ng panahon na ibinigay sa akin ng Panginoon para maging maayos ang buhay ko. Pero nanalig ako sa kanya. Dahil dito, nakaalis ako sa Quezon Boulevard* …. (If I were to think about the future and look back at my past, I would say that I no longer have any intention to go back to my former way of life. I must confess, though, that I regret some things which I should not have done before, like wasting those times God gave to me which I could have spent to make my life better. But I had faith in Him. Because of this, I was able to leave Quezon Boulevard ….)

Bathsheba looked far as if in deep thought while she uttered these parting words. Without batting an eyelash, she said that she could choose to go back to the streets—either through pimping or through having several boyfriends who could support her financially. Then, with a sudden look of conviction on her face, she emphasized that she will never do it again. She continues:

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> Do you know how I was able to step out of the streets? To prove to myself that I had no intention of going back, I disposed of the calling cards and address book which contained the contact information of my former "guests." That step helped me a lot and made it easier for me to let go of any thought of going back.
>
> It's both scary and hard to go back. The Lord might spank me if I do. Furthermore, I'm already applying the skills that God has allowed me to acquire according to my God-given capacities, and I am earning from them.

Presently, Bathsheba earns a living by providing services like foot spa, massage, manicure, and pedicure. At times, to increase her income, she does extra work by being a "barker" or "dispatcher" in jeepney terminals. She also accepts clothes repair services from friends and neighbors, like fixing broken zippers of pants or mending holes in clothes.

Bathsheba shows deep compassion for other women. In fact, she does volunteer work in Samaritana by getting involved in doing home visitations or helping them process their birth certificates. Twice, she joined their HIV/AIDS education seminar. There, she learned the proper ways of sharing HIV/AIDS information and how to discuss this topic with the women. She comments:

> I am now confident about sharing information with other women. You know, one thing that I value most from the residential training program is learning how to relate with others. After my training, it was not hard for me anymore to relate with others. I am now able to extend patience to others. I realized that outside, it's really different. Your patience will truly be tested. On my own, I visit HIV patients in San Lazaro. I bring two patients out to church so that they will be prayed for. When I do things like that, I really feel that I am doing it from the bottom of my heart, that I am giving myself to others. I realize that they need others, they need somebody to whom they could talk. After that, I go home, and that is the only time that I am reminded of my own problems. Outside, you give your all to them, and you do not really care so much about yourself and your own concerns. Before, it seemed like I never run out of problems. But now, if I have problems, I do not want to problematize them anymore. I do not want to die with a wrinkled forehead.

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She has several suggestions for supporting street women's desire to leave prostitution. She sees home visitation as necessary in order to know about the women's family background and problems, and to find ways to help them. She is aware of the woman's need to talk to somebody who could give her encouragement and good counsel so that her life will have better directions. She thinks that this has to be done simultaneously with livelihood training even while she is still on the streets, so that when the time comes for her to finally decide to leave prostitution, she will not be scared. She can use her acquired skills to earn income, even if she does her business at home. This will boost her courage. For instance, she can start a cooking business, or an organization can give her start-up capital for making beaded bracelets and earrings, to be sold to students in schools. She can also be sent to a training program in massage, pedicure, and manicure, like what Bathsheba herself did before. After that, she can earn from massage services—a good way to start when she says she wants to stop doing *gimik*. Bathsheba deems it necessary to encourage a woman by saying that it is possible for her to get off the streets. Equally important is to give her time to think through her decision to leave so that her life will be better.

One of Bathsheba's "highs" is when she is cited by her neighbors as a good example and a living testimony of a woman who was able to get off the streets. They now look up to her as a model. She says it really helps that there are eyes watching her because she gets reminded of her role as a model to other street women and bargirls. Regarding her relationship with her family, she remembers quarreling a lot with them before. But now, she believes that she is like a light and a bridge between her mother and her siblings so that they will finally be able to reconcile. She says she has offered them up to the Lord.

In all these, Bathsheba claims that the support given her by Samaritana and the Lord was very important for her transformation, having had no support from her family. Asked about how she could describe all that she has gone through, she looked at me straight in the eye and said: "*Mahal ako ng Panginoon* (The Lord loves me)." She then said nothing more.

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Encounter with NGOs, Assistance, and Approaches

The NGOs built relationships with the women through regular street and bar outreaches at night, and through home and jail visitation. The table below summarizes the types of reintegration assistance provided by the NGOs to the women while they were in prostitution and after they decided to leave prostitution.

Reintegration Assistance	Shelter Program		Non-shelter Program	
	While in Prostitution	After Leaving Prostitution	While in Prostitution	After Leaving Prostitution
a. Training				
Women/peer organizing	√	√	√	√
Livelihood skills	√	√	√	√
Spiritual teaching	-	√	√	√
Life skills	-	√	√	√
b. Counseling				
One-on-one	√	√	√	√
Group	√	√	√	√
Mother and child	-	√	-	-
c. Educational sponsorship				
Vocational	-	√	√	√
Formal	-	√	-	√
Alternative Learning System	-	√	-	-
d. Employment	√	√	-	-
e. Emergency	√	√	-	-
f. Referral	-	-	-	-

Reintegration Assistance Provided to Women While in Prostitution and After Deciding to Leave Prostitution

Two categories of reintegration assistance were provided by the NGOs while the women were in prostitution and after they had decided to leave prostitution: the shelter program and the non-shelter program. The types of reintegration assistance provided were: a) training; b) counseling; c) educational assistance; d) employment; e) emergency assistance; f) referral to other organizations. Only LAKAS research

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participants experienced training on women organizing. This entailed learning about women's issues, particularly prostitution, trafficking, and other forms of violence against women. They also underwent paralegal training. They also attended training sessions on operationalizing their organization, and were constantly being mentored by staff members of their partner organization. On the other hand, spiritual teaching was emphasized by Gabay and Samaritana. This entailed learning from God's word, Christian living, and learning to relate better with each other.

Counseling is an important reintegration assistance among all the organizations. Through one-on-one or group sessions, women were given opportunities to understand themselves better and heal from their difficult pasts. On the other hand, women who were interested to pursue formal or vocational education were given educational sponsorships.

The training approach of the NGOs reflected their deep compassion and commitment to work for the healing and empowerment of prostituted women. These were mostly participatory and learner-centered. Learning needs analysis was conducted beforehand to know the interests of the women and their preferred learning styles. The staff of the NGOs also involved them in the planning, monitoring, and evaluation of their training sessions. The methods of training used were as follows: a) the use of prayers and icebreaker games/activities; b) group discussion/sharing; c) creative ways of training (e.g., use of drawings and symbols, personal and group reflection, and role playing); d) hands-on training; e) sharing their life testimonies; f) individual and group counseling.

Leaving Prostitution and Re-entering Family/Community

Majority of the women decided to leave prostitution because of the series of training and education programs which they received. Half of the women were employed by their organizations while the rest earned income from their small businesses (e.g., beauty parlor, food business). Because of this, they do not see any need to go back to prostitution. Other reasons that they gave for leaving the flesh trade

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are: a) fear that their children will grow up seeing and emulating their lifestyle; b) unhappiness in the trade and desire for a better life; c) fear of family reproach.

All the organizations made efforts to usher the women towards re-entering the community or going back to their families. They worked with the women in making step-by-step plans and implementing them so that they would be able to go home or settle in their chosen community. Along the way, the women encountered situations that challenged them to go back to prostitution. This was triggered by relational problems either with other women or the organizations. Eventually, upon personal reflection and with counseling, they made more stable decisions to leave prostitution for good.

Conclusion

According to this study, reintegrating prostituted women involves four stages: a) befriending them through home/street/bar/jail visitations, b) offering them shelter or non-shelter assistance, c) preparing them for re-entry to families or new communities, and d) providing them with continuous support (post-reintegration efforts). At the first and second stages, various types of assistance are offered to the women. These can be grouped into five components, namely: a) training (women organizing, livelihood and life skills teaching, and spiritual teaching), b) counseling (one-on-one and group), c) education (vocational and formal), d) social services (medical, child care, and social security assistance), and e) referrals to other organizations. Women avail of these assistance measures either while involved in prostitution or after leaving prostitution behind. At each stage, the facilitators of the organizations exercise precaution and sensitivity in order to show consideration for the women's preparedness to live independently in their chosen community. They use gender-sensitive methods in conducting training sessions, particularly the dialogical and group learning methods, in order to promote safety, connectedness, and a sense of community.

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As the women were assisted in various ways, they got empowered through the following processes: cognitive, economic, political, psychological, emotional, and spiritual. Through the provision of shelter as well as medical and legal assistance, they felt the organizations' concern and support, and this enabled them to regain their trust in other people. Through livelihood and life skills training, they were equipped with skills and developed the strength to look for alternative sources of income and secure employment. A few of them, through women or peer organizing, became aware of different women's issues such as trafficking, prostitution, and violence against women. This allowed them to understand not only their victimization but also their capacity to do something about their marginalized situation. Through counseling, the women gained self-confidence, learned how to relate better with each other, and reached out to other prostituted women. The spiritual teachings offered them hope, strengthened their faith in God, and gradually brought back their self-respect and sense of dignity. Along their reintegration journey, they encountered relational problems, either with their organizations or with their colleagues, and these posed challenges in their decision whether to leave or go back to prostitution. Despite trials and struggles, they are now able to live their lives free from prostitution and with greater stability.

The Language of Reintegration

Reintegration has its own language, communicated between the NGOs and the women. The first aspect is communicating trust, which is key to the women's healing and reintegration. The second aspect has to do with the staff taking on the role of the learner and not just that of a teacher. Thirdly, the use of group learning principles and methods allows women to interact with each other in order to learn. Group learning becomes a venue for affirming each other's worth and personhood, bonding together, learning from and correcting one another, and deciding what is best for their lives. Their cognitions translate later on to new behavioural manifestations which are proof that learning has become effective. For example, they realize that they do not know how to discipline their children, and thus end up seeking ways to become better parents. The fourth aspect points to creating

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situations for one-on-one counseling and individual training. When women are given personal attention and understanding, they develop self-confidence, experience emotional healing, and eventually decide to leave prostitution. Furthermore, those who are ushered to develop a personal relationship with God experience peace and a sense of wholeness in their being.

The Link Between Education and Reintegration

Three types of education were present in reintegration: formal, nonformal, and informal education. Formal education was represented by the women's schooling and fostered a positive outlook in life. They saw education as a ticket to a more stable source of income and as a symbol of regained dignity. Nonformal education, which was largely employed in the reintegration process, was observed through the participatory and learner-centered methods of teaching, and through its impact in transforming social structures in prostitution. This was evident in the women organizing of LAKAS which translated into joining collective activities that sought to change laws that do not look after the welfare of prostituted women. Informal education was mostly demonstrated by the staff through modelling of good values and through informal chats on the *how-tos* of living.

From Exclusion to Reintegration: A Conceptual Framework for Reintegrating Prostituted Women into Community Life

The situation of a prostituted woman is a picture of disconnection from society. She is typically poor, unschooled, and unskilled. She most probably grew up with low self-esteem because of childhood experiences of physical or sexual abuse. She lives with guilt and shame and views herself as dirty and wrecked. In the sight of her neighbors or even her family, the prostituted woman is an immoral person who should feel guilty because her "work" is shameless. Being the usual object of gossip, she feels inferior and is often embarrassed to participate in the social activities of her community. She acquires

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sexually-transmitted diseases and other kinds of illnesses; her health is poor. When she encounters violence, injustice, and oppression from her customers, employers, and even her live-in partner or husband, she rarely gets any ally. Thus, she feels isolated and socially excluded.

A crucial factor in determining what reintegration program to initiate is the underlying perspective that propels organizations to help prostituted women. Prostitution as a product of domination, subordination, oppression, and human rights violation gives rise to a reintegration program that seeks women's liberation from oppression and works toward their humanization. Basically, it involves four stages: a) befriending, b) equipping and establishing, c) preparation for re-entry into family or community, and d) post-reintegration.

Stage 1: Befriending

The first stage starts with befriending prostituted women where they are—on the streets, in jails, or in bars. Visits to them extend to their homes, which give a more complete description of their individual and household situations. Ample time is spent listening to their stories, giving them appropriate affirmation and encouragement. It is important for them to believe in their personal capacities to develop themselves, no matter how small their goals in life are to begin with. Moreover, opportunities to provide for their emergency needs can be expected, since the women often encounter crisis situations that call for support from people whom they trust.

Stage 2: Equipping and Establishing

As women respond to friendship, they begin to feel safe and to trust the sincerity of other persons. This is the stage where they become more open and attentive to envision the good things that are in store for them—something which they may have hoped for but have given up on because of their suffering and helplessness. Equipping refers to the provision of various reintegration assistance measures that respond appropriately to the women's physical (health- or economic-related), emotional, intellectual, psychological, political, spiritual, and social needs.

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Depending on the organization's perspectives and capacity, a reintegration assistance program can offer either a shelter training program, a non-shelter training program, or both. The overall assistance program must consist of the following components: a) training, b) educational assistance, c) social services, and d) referral assistance. The training component has four interrelated sub-components, namely: women organizing, livelihood skills/employment training, counseling, and spiritual teaching. As spiritual teaching is recognized by the women as a major component for their transformation and healing, so it must serve as their foundation for women organizing, counseling, and livelihood skills/employment training. This means imparting values that will reinforce and inspire these three sub-components of training. Examples of these are values related to self-worth, respect, faith in God, integrity, wholeness, belief in the innate giftedness of each person, their capacity for self-development, and other life skills. Critical thinking and reflection should be developed among the women, whether as part of women organizing or as part of counseling. In women organizing, emphasis must be placed on awakening their consciousness about the following: 1) women and gender issues, 2) basic rights and laws pertaining to violence against women and children, and 3) other related topics. Their leadership and negotiating skills must also be developed. Counseling must cater to individual or group sessions since each woman has uniquely different psychological and emotional needs.

Regarding educational assistance, the women must be encouraged to resume formal/vocational education or any alternative learning system of education, as this helps boost their self-confidence and raise their hopes for themselves and for their family members. Furthermore, organizations would do well to prepare for emergency assistance, particularly legal and medical assistance for the women and their children. In between equipping and establishing, the women make and weigh their decision to leave or stay in prostitution. Establishing refers to a time when they have made the decision to leave the flesh trade and to continue on with their training. Basically, this stage sets up the women to think through the kind of life that they want to lead after their reintegration training.

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Stage 3: Preparation for Re-entry into Family or Community

This is an interim stage for women who desire to go back to their families who live in another place (e.g., province) or to settle in another community. Preparation for re-entry happens as they are in the process of training. As they apply the knowledge and skills that they learn, and as they live out the values that they have acquired, they are prepared to reflect and plan on how they want to envision themselves starting a new life with their family or another community. With guidance from their mentor-facilitators, the women draft tentative step-by-step plans and suggest action points that will move them towards implementing and achieving those plans. Together with their facilitators, they periodically assess their preparedness to reintegrate into their family or community and eventually live their lives on their own. The facilitators take an active part in providing the various resources needed for their transition. Most importantly, they make sure that the women's families or communities where they will eventually reintegrate are safe for the women to start their lives anew.

Stage 4: Post-Reintegration Stage

This stage is optional for the women since they are the ones who can tell if they still need support after the reintegration training. The organizations maintain their availability and supportiveness for the women and ensure that the latter are prevented from being re-trafficked or going back to prostitution.

Training Methods

The ideal training and educational method for the whole reintegration period makes use of a combination of formal, nonformal, and informal teaching and learning methods. A dialogical and participatory culture is to be encouraged and developed among the facilitators and the women. Likewise, from planning to teaching, a learner-centered approach should be employed.

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Empowerment

Empowerment is central to reintegration. The kind of empowerment that manifests in the women's lives is a product of the training and assistance that the women have received during the reintegration process. This framework aims to show that as the women's physical, intellectual, political, socio-cultural, psychological, and spiritual needs are responded to and addressed through various reintegration assistance measures, corresponding empowerment takes place in those same aspects of their lives. When former prostituted women are empowered, they become active and productive members of a community.

The work of reintegrating prostituted women into community life is still in process. At any stage during their reintegration journey, women may vacillate and go back to prostitution. Service providers should make efforts to exercise patience, understanding, and care in handling such situations, and maintain open communication between them and the women. Moreover, it is best to take note of the learning gained during the reintegration process in order to evaluate and improve the programs, thus appropriately addressing the needs and the context of the women.

Issues

Certain issues arise which merit some consideration when implementing reintegration. The first refers to the contextual approach to learning, especially regarding power relations between the women and the NGOs in the learning process. There is a need to take precaution that assistance is always provided and implemented in the best interest of the women. Facilitators should constantly be mindful that the women's contribution to their own development is affirmed and acknowledged. Secondly, holism could be seen from the viewpoint not only of the service providers but also of the women. NGOs must be open to certain perspectives that, in the viewpoint of the women, will contribute to their full humanization and well-being. Lastly, while there needs to be constant refinement and improvement

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of reintegration efforts, service providers must not forget to work also for the prevention of prostitution, which means rooting out the problem of this social phenomenon. This means addressing not only the women's concerns but the multi-dimensional factors that perpetuate prostitution as well.

Recommendation

A levelling off of local reintegration practices among service providers is highly recommended to strengthen and firm up reintegration practices. Likewise, as education is one of the major factors that ensure a successful reintegration of prostituted women, efforts in crafting a training and educational approach for reintegration should be promoted. This needs the complementation of a trainors' training program on educational approaches for transitioning women out of the flesh trade.

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