

Sex Work in Public Administration: Creating a Welcoming Environment

Seth J. Meyer

From both a policy and a social service perspective, sex workers interact with and are impacted by public administration. This study asks how public administration can be more supportive of sex workers within public policy and social services. Using qualitative data from a national survey of over 1,100 LGBTQIA+ individuals in the United States, I explore the experiences of sex workers in receiving social services. In this article, I explain how public administration can support sex workers including everything from the regulation of sex work to facilitating a way out of sex work when desired. To better understand the experiences of sex workers, sex work is divided into voluntary and exploitative. These categories allow us to create policies and design social services that meet the specific needs of workers. Both policy and social service recommendations for public administration are provided.

*“[N]ot preach and not judge but to be there for ANYTHING these people might need—
from being bailed out of jail to aid if they become ill.”*

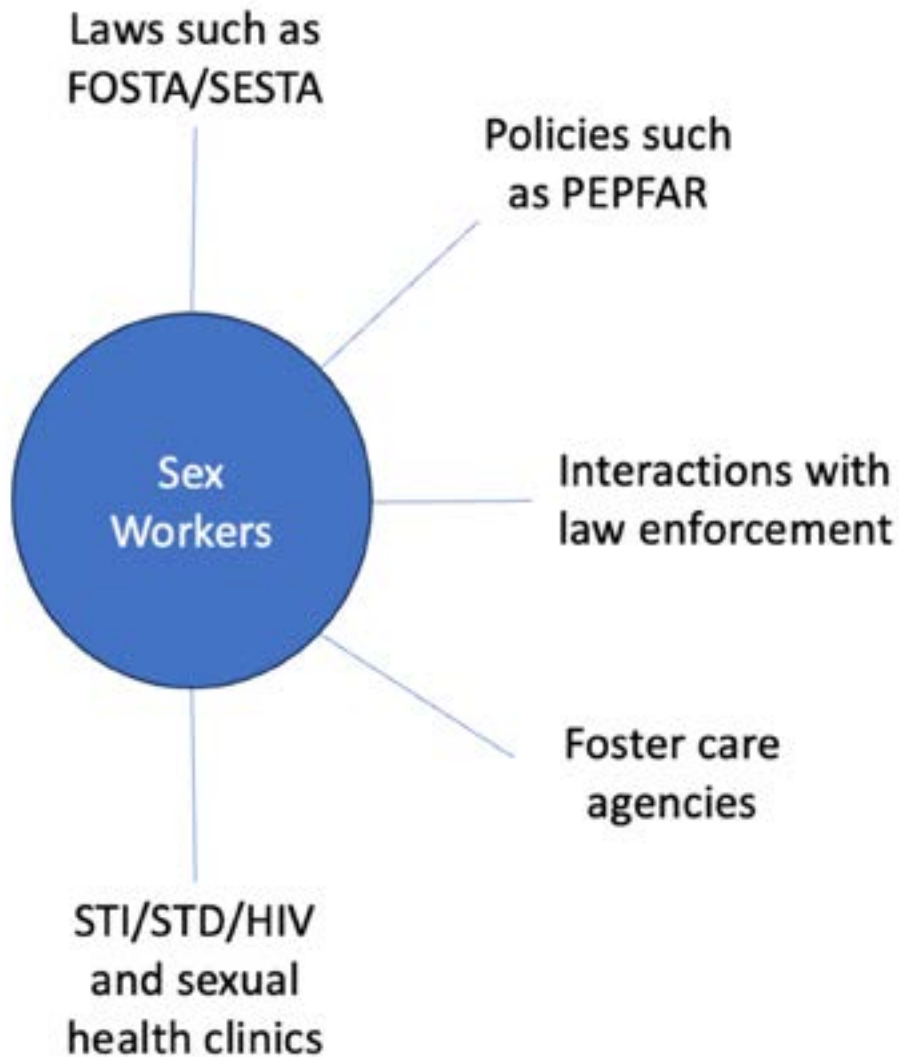
—Respondent to this question: What is the best way to support sex workers?

In 2023, the City of New York fired a judge due to his explicit OnlyFans¹ account. This type of sex work was deemed unprofessional for a judge based on rules for out-of-court behavior (Levine 2023). However, with the rise of platforms such as OnlyFans, sex work has increasingly become more profitable and accessible (Bernstein 2019). In public administration, discussions around sex workers are absent. There are two main areas where knowledge of sex work is important: public policy and service delivery. From a policy perspective, there is a growth in policies aimed at regulating the ways that the internet impacts the safety and security of sex workers. As a law, FOSTA-SESTA² provides an example. From a service-providing perspective, organizations need to know how to provide services that meet the actual needs of sex workers, not their perceived needs. This study explores the use of social services by sex workers and what public administration can do to better support LGBTQIA+ individuals who engage in sex work, both voluntarily and those who are exploited.

While not comprehensive, Figure 1 provides a look at how sex workers interact with public administration. For example, laws like FOSTA-SESTA, proposed to prevent sex trafficking, have taken away the ability of sex workers to use the internet as a safety mechanism to screen potential clients (Albert et al. 2021). It is not unusual for policies that are created to protect sex workers to actually lead to more marginalization (Showden and Majic 2014). Programs like PEPFAR,³ which supports HIV/AIDS organizations, have specific guidelines regarding discouraging sex work (Open Society Foundations 2012). Sex worker interactions with law enforcement have been well-documented (e.g., Fitzgerald et al. 2015; Lehti and Aromaa 2006; Mogul, Ritchie, and Whitlock 2011). Many sex workers have had interactions with foster care. For example, women in foster care were 62% more likely to enter sex work before the age of 18 (Surrat et al. 2012). Lastly,

1. OnlyFans and similar websites are platforms where adult film actors and other content creators create and distribute content on their own without requiring a studio (Bernstein 2019).
2. FOSTA-SESTA refers to a law passed in 2018. The acronym stands for Allow States and Victims to Fight Online Sex Trafficking (FOSTA), and Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act (SESTA).
3. The U.S. President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief.

Figure 1. Sex Workers' Interactions with Public Administration



sexual health clinics, both government and nonprofit, often interact with sex workers when they go in for testing. Overall, we can see that sex workers interact with a variety of public services. However, due to the perceptions of sex work and the legality of sex work, it can be hard for sex workers to receive services in a nonpunitive way (Fuentes 2023).

This study explores public administration interactions in the United States with sex workers from the LGBTQIA+ community. Specifically, I ask the question: how can public administration become more affirming to, and inclusive of, sex workers? To better explore this, I surveyed approximately 1,100 LGBTQIA+ individuals, 10% of whom identified as sex workers. Using a qualitative analysis, this study presents a picture of the experiences of sex workers in receiving social services. We learn that sex workers often find no support

through social services but would like diverse supports, including a path out of sex work, a lack of judgment by those who are working with sex workers, and STI/STD/HIV/AIDS testing. Through this analysis, sex work is divided into three types: Exploitative Sex Work, Semi-Exploitative Sex Work, and Voluntary Sex Work. Using this typology, services can create programming and policies that support those who want to take part in sex work while creating pathways out and safety for those who are being exploited. In the next section, we will look at sex work in the LGBTQIA+ community.

Sex Work in the LGBTQIA+ Community

The LGBTQIA+ community includes many identities (Meyer and Elias 2023). Not a one-size-fits-all, the community also includes many intersectional identi-

ties (e.g., Butz and Gaynor 2022; Meyer and Benenson 2023), which impacts the ways that individuals interact not only within the community, but also how they interact with service providers. It can be hard to fully understand the LGBTQIA+ community as individuals will sometimes hide their identities (e.g., Sabharwal et al. 2019). These intersectionalities make it important to explore the LGBTQIA+ community both as a singular community and as multiple communities. One major group of LGBTQIA+ individuals is those who engage in sex work.

Sex work is a broad term encompassing many types of work of varying levels of safety and legality, including prostitution, exotic dancing, and pornography. With the expansion of websites such as OnlyFans, sex work has become part of the gig economy (Eastbrook-Smith 2023), making it easier for people to engage in sex work as either a full-time job or to supplement their income (James et al. 2019). Sex work can also be divided into “commercial” and “transactional,” with the former being more formal while the latter is more informal (Crankshaw and Freedman 2023). While some people enter this work voluntarily, others are coerced or manipulated into sex work (Cobbina and Oselin 2011). In the United States, there are approximately 1 to 2 million full-time sex workers (Sawicki et al. 2019).

Sex work is more common in the LGBTQIA+ community than in the cisgender/heterosexual community. Approximately 8% to 12% of transgender individuals have engaged in sex work (Jones 2020a). For transgender and nonbinary individuals, sex work sometimes plays a role in basic survival and accessing medical gender-affirming services (Jones 2020b). Other reasons people may stay in sex work could include exploitation/being forced, feeling that there are few other avenues to make a living, or because they enjoy the work and find that it pays (Open Society Foundations 2019). Considering the high number of LGBTQIA+ individuals who currently are or have been sex workers (Jones 2020a), if public administration wants to support LGBTQIA+ people as they are without imparting heteronormative expectations (Larson 2022; Meyer, Dale, and Willis 2024), it is important to include sex work in social equity discussions.

Research in sex work has been focused in the fields of sociology, criminal justice, and social work. In sociology, Weitzer (2009) discussed three theoretical

frameworks of sex work: deviance paradigm, oppression paradigm, and empowerment paradigm. These frameworks fail to understand the complexity and diversity of sex work. Indeed, sex work can be seen as “traversing the exploitation/empowerment binary” (Smith 2017, 344), with sex workers experiencing exploitation, empowerment, or some degree of both. While some enter sex work due to exploitation (Cobbina and Oselin 2011; Weitzer 2015) and/or drug addiction (Cobbina and Oselin 2011), others do it for financial stability (e.g., Jones 2020b; Sullivan 2021) or view the job as a glamorous and acceptable avenue of work (Cobbina and Oselin 2011). Furthermore, some transgender people enter sex work to pay for their gender-affirming care (van Schuylenbergh et al. 2019). Sex work is particularly prevalent among homeless LGBTQ individuals (Robinson 2020).

The criminal justice perspective of sex work focuses on policing, which is one of the aspects of public administration that sex workers often interact with, especially compared to LGBTQIA+ people who do not engage in sex work (Fitzgerald et al. 2015). A large portion of criminal justice research in sex work has discussed sex trafficking (e.g., Lehti and Aromaa 2006). Transgender people, in general, have a high level of interaction with police partially due to being perceived as sex workers, also called “walking while trans” (Mogul, Ritchie, and Whitlock 2011). Due to the negative experiences sex workers have with police, along with their fear of being arrested, many transgender people may prefer not to reach out to law enforcement when in danger (Treloar et al. 2021).

In social work, discussions around sex work focus on advocacy. For example, in response to COVID-19, Bromfield, Panichelli, and Capous-Desyllas (2021) recommended social workers advocate for the human rights and well-being of sex workers. Furthermore, Hu (2022) identified how some nonprofits create situations that make sex work more dangerous. Some groups of social workers advocate for a better understanding of sex workers within the social work community (e.g., Bromfield et al. 2021; Karandikar et al. 2022). Many who work within the sex work community believe it is best to decriminalize sex work (Anasti 2018). Professionalization of advocacy organizations for sex workers can help establish credibility (Anasti 2017). By advocating for the rights of sex workers, social workers can empower sex workers be-

yond the victim-criminal model (e.g., Majic 2014), and can reject paternalistic approaches to sex workers (Anasti 2020a).

Importantly, not all sex work is voluntary. Exploitative sex work, such as human trafficking, cannot be ignored or minimized (Weitzer 2015). Entrance into sex work can also be linked to experiencing childhood abuse and running away from home, which leads to a feeling of disempowerment, which then leads to engaging in sex work (Cobbina and Oselin 2011). Those working in street sex work are at high risk for drug addiction and sexual abuse (Oselin 2014). Greater understanding of sex work is necessary because it can lead to understanding how public organizations can better support those whom traffickers have victimized and can lead to policies that protect those who have been forced into sex work.

Though sex work can be seen as exploitative, many people report not being ashamed of engaging in sex work, seeing it as a voluntary and attractive avenue to earn “easy money” (Orchard et al. 2021). Websites such as OnlyFans provide an income for those seeking more financial stability and/or gender-affirming medical care (Jones 2021). When public administration talks about sex work, there needs to be inclusion of those who have/had full agency in their choice to do sex work and those who do not. This can be done using a social equity frame of reference.

Discussing sex work as a part of the LGBTQIA+ community would be a way to queer the field of public administration (Larson 2022; Lee, Learmonth, and Harding, 2008; Meyer, Dale, and Willis 2022). Heteronormativity assumes that sex is something within the family unit (Meyer, Dale, and Willis, 2024). This imposes heteronormative expectations on sex workers (that they are either ashamed or victims of human trafficking). This article aims to better understand the experiences of sex workers, how sex workers interact with public services, and the ways that public administration can create policy and social services that meet the diverse needs of this community through a queer-focused, sex-positive conversation. I explore how public administration can create a more welcoming environment for sex workers and meet the complex needs of this diverse community.

Table 1. Demographic Information

	Sex Workers (Percent)	Total Survey Respondents (Percent)
Race		
Hispanic	11.8%	10.5%
White	72.6%	67.5%
Black	12.6%	8.4%
Asian	8.4%	6.2%
Gender		
Male	23.9%	30.3%
Female	29.4%	34.2%
Nonbinary	41.3%	28.2%
Transgender	5.4%	7.3%
(Trans)gender identity		
Transgender	42.3%	38.8%
Cisgender	57.8%	61.2%
Sexual Orientation		
Gay	21.1%	22.7%
Lesbian	14.7%	17.2%
Straight	2.1%	1.8%
Queer	17.9%	11.1%
Bisexual/Pansexual	37.9%	36.3%
Asexual	6.3%	10.9%
Income		
Below \$50,000	67.06%	51.17%
Above \$50,000	32.94%	48.83%
Education		
High School or less	46.5%	38.3%
Associate's degree or trade school	15.1%	13.0%
Completed 4-year college	30.2%	33.3%
Master's degree or higher	8.1%	15.3%
Age		
19–29	49.5%	40.7%
30–39	29.5%	29.1%
40–49	9.9%	17.4%
50–59	6.9%	10.5%
60–69	2.9%	0.0%
Over 70	1.3%	2.3%

Methods

The data for this study comes from a survey conducted by the author of 1,117 LGBTQIA+ individuals across the United States. Open from July 2022 to July 2023, this study asked individuals 90 questions about themselves and their interactions with nonprofit organizations and social service providers. The survey was sent to nonprofit organizations that work with LGBTQIA+ individuals, distributed via social media (e.g., Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn, and Reddit), and through Prolific. The survey included open-ended questions to explore best practices and what respondents wish social service organizations had done differently or would provide in the future. A survey was used to get diverse representation from the LGBTQIA+ community.

Of the respondents, 95 reported being sex workers at some point (10.1% of respondents), based on the question “Have you ever engaged in sex work for money, drugs, or housing?”⁴ Demographic information on all respondents, as well as the sex worker subpopulation, can be found in Table 1. As can be seen, those who identified as sex workers were disproportionately White or Black compared to all respondents. Those who identified as

sex workers were (1) more likely to identify as nonbinary than other respondents (41.3% vs. 28.2%); (2) had lower incomes with 67% of sex workers having an income below \$50,000, and (3) had less education, with 46.5% of sex workers having a high school education or less.

In this study, transgender identity was asked about twice; first, it was asked as gender, with the categories male, female, and nonbinary. Second, it was included as a separate question (Do you identify as transgender?). This is because, while some people identify as transgender for their gender identity, others identify as transgender and as male, female, or nonbinary.

To better understand the experiences of sex workers as compared to the rest of the respondents, I looked at which nonprofit services were used by both the participants at large and those who identified as sex workers. This showed a high variability in the types of nonprofits used, as seen in Table 2. For example, sex workers were more likely to use certain nonprofits as compared to the LGBTQIA+ community at large, such as mental health services, houses of worship, drug and alcohol services, shelters for unhoused people, domestic and intimate partner violence shelters, sexually transmitted infection (STI) testing, and LGBTQIA+ Community Centers.

Table 2. Nonprofits Used

Nonprofit	Sex Workers (Number)	Sex Workers (Percent)	All Respondents (Percent)
Mental health (therapist)	44	46.32%	26.45%
Food pantry	28	29.47%	16.87%
LGBTQ community center	24	25.26%	16.61%
STI/STD/HIV testing center	23	24.21%	9.40%
College/University	21	22.11%	23.46%
Local community center	13	13.68%	7.73%
Arts organizations	12	12.63%	11.69%
House of worship	11	11.58%	8.26%
Drug and alcohol rehabilitation	10	10.53%	2.99%
Domestic violence/sexual assault organizations	9	9.47%	2.55%
Nonprofit hospital	9	9.47%	6.33%
Disability groups	7	7.37%	4.48%
Sports clubs/groups	4	4.21%	6.06%
Homeless shelter	2	2.10%	2.02%
Adoption agency	1	1.05%	0.97%

4. This percentage matches other studies of LGBTQIA+ communities, where studies of transgender individuals found that 8%–12% of respondents have been sex workers (e.g., Fitzgerald et al. 2015; Jones 2020a). It is possible, however, that there is underreporting of past and present sex work due to the stigma associated with it.

Table 3. Qualitative Codes

Codes	Responses (Percent)
No support found	50 (28.1%)
STD/STI/HIV/AIDS testing	30 (16.9%)
General support	20 (11.2%)
Decriminalization, normalization, and regulation	18 (10.1%)
Lack of judgment	17 (9.6%)
Counseling or trauma reduction	13 (7.3%)
Housing	13 (7.3%)
Financial support	9 (5.1%)
Protection and safety	8 (4.5%)
A path out of sex work	7 (3.9%)
Birth control	7 (3.9%)
Substance abuse support	6 (3.4%)
Job training	4 (2.2%)

Qualitative Analysis

Two open-ended questions were used: “In what ways have you seen nonprofits support those who engage in sex work?” and “What would you like to see nonprofits do to support those who engage in sex work?” Each question received a respective 89 responses. Their responses provide an important database of how sex workers have interacted with nonprofit and public organizations. The responses to these questions, ranging from simple one-word answers to paragraphs on best practices, were analyzed. Using a grounded theory approach (Charmaz 1990), I started the discovery phase by reading through all the responses to these questions and identifying codes and themes. Thirteen different themes, all of which are listed in Table 3, were identified during the first round of coding. During a second read-through, each response was coded. For some of the responses, multiple codes were assigned. For example, if someone talked about wanting housing and financial support, the quote was coded under both housing and financial support.

Once all of the codes were assigned, a document was created for each of the codes. Looking at all of the quotes together for each code, I was able to see how the information provided by respondents told a story of interactions with public and nonprofit organizations. By grouping the codes together, I was able to see where services were limited for sex workers and LGBTQIA+ people in general, and the positive experiences that LGBTQIA+ had when receiving social services.

Responses

The 13 codes identified are listed next. Through this analysis, the complexity of sex work is evident. For example, while a number of respondents reported wanting nonprofits to provide support and guidance out of sex work, others wanted to have more legitimization of sex work. Throughout this section, we see how the varied responses indicate how social service organizations can support the complex and diverse needs of sex workers.

No Support Found

Most people responded that there is no support or limited support for sex workers. Many people just responded with “none” when asked what a nonprofit has done to support sex workers. As one respondent said: “They just need to exist—there are no organizations for [sex workers].” Another respondent said, “I have rarely seen nonprofits support those who engage in sex work, and the ones who do are very hard to find.” Respondents reported that organizations that focus specifically on supporting sex workers are limited. One respondent said that social service supports for sex workers are mostly through queer organizations: “I honestly have not seen any nonprofits support sex work except for LGBT support organizations.” This lack of formal support may lead to lower use of social services by sex workers.

STI/HIV Screening

One aspect of support that came up often was the need for STI/HIV screening at low or no cost. Respondents mentioned getting free or low-cost screening and support for STI/HIV testing at local nonprofits, especially at Planned Parenthood. Getting STI/HIV screening and related services was mentioned by 30 respondents as important and either something they have received or wished they could receive. Building up an STI/HIV screening service that is nonjudgmental about sex work and the number of sexual partners may enhance ease of access, increase utilization, and reduce the number of sex workers with undiagnosed and/or untreated STIs and/or HIV and related consequences. As discussed later, sex workers may feel uncomfortable at STI clinics when professionals may judge sex workers (e.g., Anasti 2018).

General Support

General support means understanding what sex work is and “. . . provid[ing] resources to stay safe and healthy.” Another respondent talked about “better acknowledge

the full spectrum of both sex work and the settings where it occurs. It isn't just full-time street prostitution." This connects to what another respondent mentioned: "Be more open about supporting sex workers, train your people well in terms of sex work terminology, and hire on people who have had to do sex work in the past to get their perspectives on what unique areas [sex workers] need help with." Trainings that acknowledge the field of sex work are important, especially when working with the LGBTQIA+ community.

Decriminalization, Normalization, and Regulation

Sex work is complicated; some sex workers are victims of exploitation and some people do this work of their own volition. Some sex work is legal and some of it is not. For those engaging in prostitution, which is illegal in many jurisdictions in the United States, a focus on decriminalization and regulation was discussed to make sex work safer. For those doing legal sex work, such as pornography, there is a focus on normalization.

The focus on destigmatization is complicated. As one person said, "I would like not just nonprofits, but everyone, to stop saying 'sex work' like it's a dirty word." Some people engage in sex work because that's what they would like to do. Even when people chose sex work, it might have been because they do not feel comfortable in other forms of work. As one person said: "Don't make them feel like what they do is wrong; some of us do this because it is the only way we have found to make a living because either you don't feel safe in other work environments, or you're not welcome." This focus connects with a future discussion about the lack of judgment for those who engage in sex work. This lack of judgment and outright legitimization of voluntary sex work is important for organizations to convey to gain the trust of sex workers who use their services. Decriminalization, meanwhile, could help support sex workers who are trying to get out of the profession. This is because, when people in sex work are exploited, there can be the fear that going to the authorities will lead to prosecution for prostitution or other illegal activity (Albright and D'Adamo 2017). The relationship between legalization of sex work and reducing rates of sex trafficking, though, is unclear (Burckley, Jeanis, and Fox 2023).

Lack of Judgment

No one wants to be judged when they are receiving support and services. This is reflected in the qualitative

responses, wherein being judged when getting services came up 17 times. Specifically, one person wanted "no judgment and not trying to get them to stop [doing sex work]." Instead of trying to stop individuals from engaging in sex work, social service agencies can just provide services that individuals need or want. Another respondent expanded on this by saying: "Stop judging and stop assuming this is a 'terrible life' and 'exploitation' every time. My only regret is that IT DID NOT pay at all, any time I tried it. Scammed again by our BS 'society.'" The difference between the exploitative aspect of sex work and the personal decision of sex work may be something that organizations do not know how to balance in outreach and do not know how to navigate while serving those involved in sex work.

When organizations are judgmental and do not know how to support sex workers in a trauma-informed and client-centered manner, it leads to sex workers not seeking services. As one person responded: "I'd like to see a lack of judgment and a culture of positivity surrounding sex work. Many nonprofits here will report and not serve [sex workers]." Organizations that report sex workers to the police and refuse to provide services to sex workers are unlikely to gain the trust of sex workers in their catchment area (e.g., Robinson 2020). A more sex-positive and nonjudgmental approach to service provision to sex workers would allow nonprofits to best support sex workers.

Counseling or Trauma Reduction

Mental health services were the most used nonprofit services by sex workers in this study. This is an area where a nonjudgmental space is vital for positive outcomes. As one person reported: "Offer a space free of judgment where physical and mental needs can continually be addressed. Provide an environment where people feel comfortable talking about their situation and know they will be seen as human and deserving of care just the same as others." This nonjudgmental perspective among counselors and other mental health service providers is necessary when serving sex workers, both those who freely choose to do this job and those who are exploited and have little or no agency in doing sex work. Having a nonjudgmental perspective for those who are exploited and forced into sex work can help counselors support sex workers. This would mean creating space in counseling education and nonprofits where sex work is discussed.

Housing

Discussions of housing came up quite a few times. Specification of what kind of housing was limited, as most respondents just said “housing” or “help with housing.” This could be due to a majority of organizations that focus assistance, or exclusively offer assistance, to people with children (LGBTQIA+ individuals are less likely to have children than their heterosexual and/or cisgender counterparts [Williams Institute 2018]), or because not many organizations provide housing at all. Finding housing and housing support can be a complicated process and difficult to navigate. Creating safe housing for sex workers where they can continue their work or use the housing as a first step out of sex work is a way in which public administration could support sex workers.

Financial Support

Some respondents reported that financial support was needed so they could leave sex work. One person expanded by saying: “Give people money instead of doing sex work.” This might be a way to reduce barriers for those who would like a way out of sex work, as well as to facilitate the creation of a stable financial environment for people who are doing sex work or recently ceased, who may not have that stability.

Protection and Safety

Safety and protection for sex workers in this study meant many different things. One respondent suggested “Providing safety guidelines, hotlines, outreach.” Guidelines can include providing information to sex workers on specific strategies that might reduce the risk of potential harm and increase safety. Resources such as hotlines and outreach require that nonprofits address and invest in the safety of sex workers. As another respondent discussed, “I guess resources to make sure they can reach out if they’re in a dangerous situation.” Lastly, a bad date list was also discussed by respondents: “Keeping bad date lists and warning clients known to engage in sex work about newly reported dangers.” This would require a coalition of sex workers to work together to provide these services and keep information up to date. Therefore, to increase sex worker protection and safety, it’s not enough to provide services; organizations need to make sure that sex workers are a central part of planning and implementation.

A Path Out of Sex Work

Though decriminalization, normalization, and legitimization are important for some, for others there was a focus on, as one person said, “A way out lol. But not possible.” Some people want nonprofits and public organizations to provide guidance on how to get out of sex work. While the respondent did not explain why it is not possible, a path out of sex work may be hard. Having an understanding of the practical aspects of leaving sex work, including issues with immigration, drugs, housing, or exploitation, is important. As another respondent said: “Provide resources to leave the life if wanted. Have workers who will accompany you to the hospital or make a police report so you are taken seriously and receive adequate care.” Providing the opportunity to leave sex work is not just about resources, but also about being taken seriously. For nonprofit organizations, this means managing an important balance: being nonjudgmental and supporting those who are voluntarily engaging in sex work and want to stay in this line of work while also advocating for those who do not want to continue in it and helping them find a way out.

Birth Control

As mentioned seven times, birth control was an important resource that sex workers reported wanting. Some sex workers had found low-cost birth control and sexual health services, as discussed here: “Planned Parenthood offers low-cost STD testing and birth control.” These birth control services need to be provided in a judgment-free manner. As mentioned earlier, one issue that sex workers experience is judgment from providers about their job and the number of people they have sex with; this judgment leads to sex workers not wanting to go to those organizations for birth control or other services and creates a significant barrier to care.

Substance Abuse Support

Members of the LGBTQIA+ community are more likely to experience substance use disorder (SUD) than the general population. According to the National Institute on Drug and Alcohol Abuse, 21.8% of sexual minority adults had reported an alcohol use disorder in 2020, over 10% higher than in the general population (National Institute on Drug Abuse n.d.). Internationally, approximately 35% of cis female sex workers reported using illicit drugs; data on cis males

and transgender individuals was unavailable (Iversen et al. 2021). SUD treatment services would best serve LGBTQIA+ sex workers using an ecological, multicomponent approach that is trauma-informed and affirming of LGBTQIA+ persons. As one respondent stated, such programs should: “Address trauma, drug addiction and use names and pronouns correctly.” SUD treatment services need to be both LGBTQIA+- and sex work-friendly to be fully inclusive.

Job Training

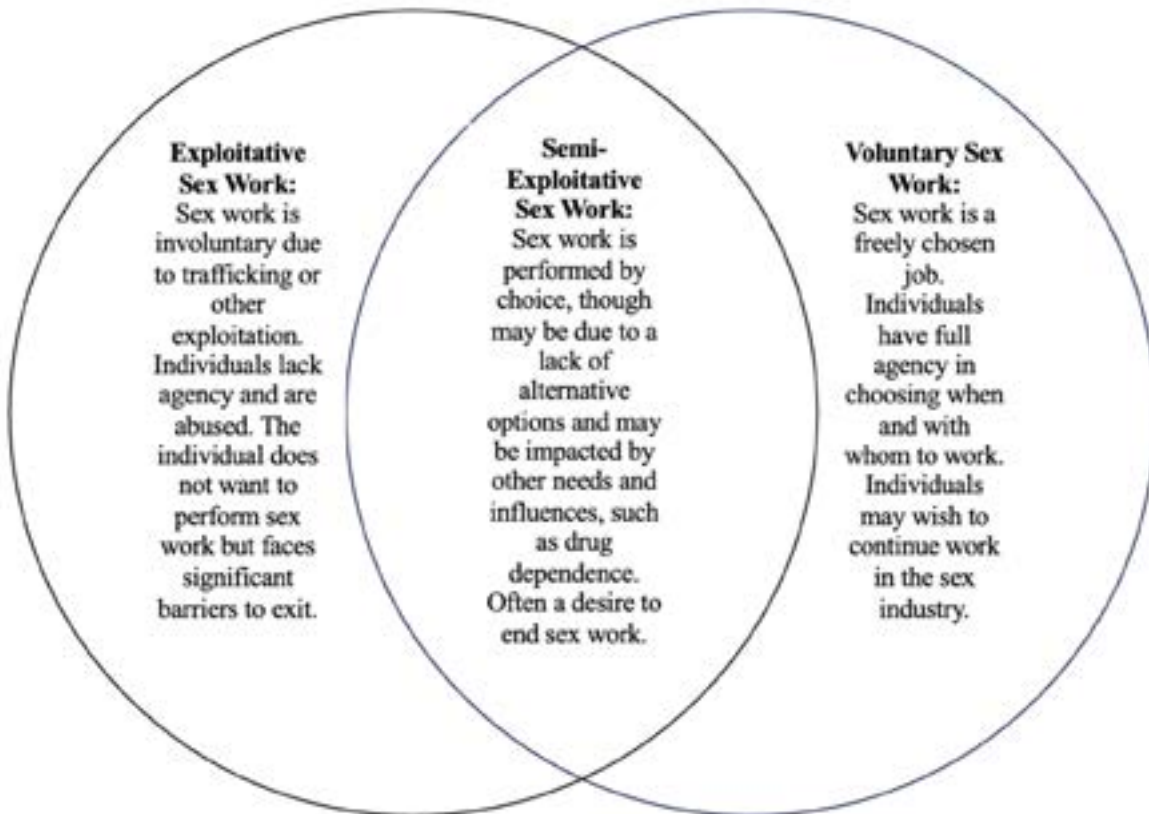
As mentioned earlier, while individuals may want to leave sex work, it is not simple. Leaving sex work requires navigating a plethora of potential challenges, including immigration, domestic or intimate partner violence, retaliation from traffickers, and housing stability. Furthermore, opportunities to gain the skills and training needed to get a different job greatly facilitate the transition out of sex work. Four people recommended job training as a program that agencies can implement to create such opportunities for those seeking a way to exit sex work. As one person discussed, “Job training

and employment support to help individuals transition out of sex work and into other forms of employment.” Job training programs for those exiting sex work require well-trained staff and an awareness of the hurdles for job-seekers. Building a job training program for current or former sex workers is not simple, but it is imperative for programs to effectively support LGBTQIA+ people who wish to stop engaging in sex work.

Discussion

This article has identified the high rate of service use by LGBTQIA+ sex workers. Based on this study, we learn of the complex intersectionality of sex work. Through qualitative analysis we see how individual goals differ greatly among sex workers. Some want to transition out, whereas others wish to continue performing sex work and want support to make their work safer. This creates a more complex understanding of sex work (Weitzer 2010). This section looks at implications from a micro and macro perspective and suggests how queer theory can help public administration better support sex workers.

Figure 2. Categories of Sex Work



A Micro Perspective

Sex work can sometimes be exploitative, while others have full agency and perform sex work voluntarily. Figure 2 provides a diagram looking at these differences, providing a delineation between voluntary, exploitative, and semi-exploitative sex work. These differences influence how nonprofits, government agencies, and other social service providers should approach sex workers. While a simplification, voluntary, exploitative, and semi-exploitative sex work all lead to differences in how sex workers interact with public administration and the types of support and services they want and need.

Voluntary sex work is when people choose, with great agency and of their own free will, to perform sex work as a primary or supplementary source of income. For some people, posting on a website such as OnlyFans, engaging in prostitution, stripping, or other forms of sex work may be viewed as akin to taking part in the gig economy, such as being a driver for Uber or Lyft (Jones 2020b). OnlyFans, camming,⁵ and other online platforms provide an attractive opportunity for people seeking to make an income via sex work (Jones 2020b, Jones 2021). While many of the people on these platforms are voluntary, others may be forced onto these platforms, with the alleged exploitation of Andrew Tate's and Jeffrey Epstein's victims being among the most high-profile examples (Dodgson 2023). As emphasized by Weitzer (2010), not everyone wants to leave sex work; for some, it is a profession in which they wish to remain. Public administration can support those engaged in voluntary sex work by focusing policy on regulation and decriminalization of sex work and building on the work of other organizations such as the Sex Workers Project at the Urban Justice Center.

Exploitative sex work is when someone is forced, coerced, manipulated, or otherwise entered into sex work under involuntary circumstances and/or with low agency in their involvement. This could be due to human trafficking or being forced due to immigration status and a lack of other options. In this type of sex work, people have no, or minimal, agency to end their engagement with sex work. Within this category of sex work, organizations serving individuals in exploitative sex work situations, including sex trafficked individuals, should focus on meeting their unique safety and security needs. Im-

portantly, among immigrants being sexually exploited, one of the concerns in attempting to free themselves from their abusers is that they may be deported in the process of reporting their sexual exploitation to authorities (e.g., Watson and Silkstone 2006). Future research should examine how public administration can best assist those who are exploited through sex work and human trafficking in a way that protects victims reporting their exploitation from prosecution and deportation.

Lastly, semi-exploitative sex work is focused on types of sex work in which the worker has some agency and is voluntarily working, but may have limited alternative options or other factors that make sex work the option that best serves their immediate needs, such as survival sex (e.g., Gerassi 2015). That is to say, individuals involved in semi-exploitative sex work are not necessarily forced by anyone into sex work but have assessed that sex work is their best option to get the drugs, money, housing, and/or other resources they need. Although it might be considered voluntary sex work, where the individual is freely deciding to do sex work, it may also be an undesired last resort and people being semi-exploited may still want an alternative way to meet their needs. We see this in the data, wherein people talked about wanting housing or other services so they did not have to continue to do sex work. For this group, social service agencies can focus on providing services so that people can exit sex work if they choose.

There are many reasons why people enter and continue sex work. When looking at sex work from a micro perspective, we can see the differences in how public and nonprofit organizations can support sex workers with a variety of services and policies. By creating social services and policies that center sex workers as creators, implementors, and receivers of services, public administration will be better positioned to provide nonjudgmental, effective, culturally competent services to people who are voluntarily, exploitatively, or semi-exploitably engaged in sex work.

A Macro Perspective

Because a significant number of sex workers receive services from public and nonprofit organizations, how services are provided is an important matter. As sex work is not uncommon in the LGBTQIA+ community, organizations need the capacity to appropriately serve

5. Erotic webcamming, or camming, is when sex workers perform sexual acts online, usually via webcam, along with talking via chat room or directly to customers (Jones 2020b).

this population (Jones 2020a). Public administration should expand its conversation of sex work to include a strong LGBTQIA+ perspective, as well as being inclusive of those for whom sex work is their freely chosen profession.

From a social welfare perspective, this study explores how to support sex workers in meeting essential needs. There are diverse perspectives among the sex workers in this study regarding what they want from social service agencies. This includes everything from assistance in finding a way out of sex work to having access to organizations that maintain a nonjudgmental attitude toward those who choose to do sex work. The new 4Es of public administration, empathy, engagement, equity, and ethics (Meyer, Johnson III, and McCandless 2022) can help guide social welfare programs as they strive to meet the needs of sex workers. This includes empathy (e.g., Dolamore 2021; Fenley 2022) which can be used to understand why individuals engage in sex work and what trauma, if any, is connected to their journey into sex work. Engagement (e.g., Denhardt and Denhardt 2015) includes working with sex work communities as well as victims of human trafficking or other aspects of exploitation. Creating an equity frame for public administration for sex workers includes working with organizations that promote sex workers' perspectives and independence, such as the Red Umbrella Fund, Sex Workers Project, and Pineapple Support (FitzGerald et al. 2020; Majic 2014). Organizations created by sex work advocates can fight not just for political change but provide important social services for sex workers (Majic 2011). This also means taking into account the intersectionalities and diversity of the sex work community (e.g., Jones 2020a; Majic 2014; Sullivan 2021) to make sure that social services aren't distributed in an unequal manner (Song et al. 2020). Ethics (e.g., Elias and Olejarski 2020) helps guide us to make sure that we act in a way that supports sex workers' best interests. As can be seen in this research, there are diverse needs that sex workers have; understanding these can help public administrators as they provide services for sex workers.

From a policy perspective, policymakers need to understand the varied reasons why individuals do sex work and how to protect the rights and safety of those engaged in it. Indeed, when the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) shut down Rentboy.com in 2015, they were criticized that this move made the sex work landscape more dangerous for workers without making

anyone safer, as it forced sex work further underground and removed what had been a vital avenue to income for many LGBTQIA+ sex workers (e.g., Brinton 2015). Furthermore, considering that DHS specifically targeted an LGBTQIA+-focused website, there were charges of anti-queer bias (CBS News 2015). Therefore, when creating policy, the question should be "Who are we protecting and how?" For example, FOSTA-SESTA, which became law in 2018, was aimed at stopping sex trafficking online, but made it harder for sex workers to use webpages that allowed them to screen potential customers as a safety-enhancing strategy (Blunt and Wolf 2020; Tripp 2019). In comparison, New Zealand decriminalized prostitution in 2003 for people over the age of 18. Though not perfect, as migrants who engage in sex work are still vulnerable to exploitation (Bennachie et al. 2021), this model has made sex work safer and sex workers feel their rights are protected (Abel, Fitzgerald, and Brunton 2007). Creating policy that supports sex worker safety, while criminalizing those who traffic individuals, is a complicated task. But public administration should explore how to influence policymakers to create policy that accomplishes both goals.

A Querying Approach

Queer theory provides an important theoretical framework for understanding the ways in which public administration could create a welcoming environment for sex workers. Sex work, as voluntary, challenges the heteronormative ideas of family and profession (McKay 1999), though queer theory, as a field, has been relatively silent about it (Beloso 2017). Supporting sex workers the way that they want to be supported includes overthrowing heteronormative norms and expectations of work and sex (Showden 2012). To create this, organizations and governments can establish a coalition of sex workers and organizations who have an interest in supporting sex workers to break down the hierarchy and the penalization of sex work (Anasti 2020b). This visibility helps sex workers gain access to the support they need (e.g., Dwyer 2020). Lowering the stigma can help those who are exploited to gain the services they need without fear of being further penalized. As a field, we can start to query what the impact of these heteronormative structures has been on organizations that stigmatize groups like sex workers and, therefore, make sex work more dangerous (Larson 2022; Meyer et al. 2024).

Future Research

This study builds a discussion of how public administration can best serve individuals engaged in a variety of forms of sex work. This includes supporting voluntary and semi-exploited sex workers with a focus on decriminalization and regulation, while also serving sexually exploited and semi-exploited individuals with help and support, such as a safe exit from sex work. Those facing additional barriers, such as undocumented immigration status, make service delivery and policy complicated. Indeed, sex work may impact different minority groups in diverse manners; understanding the intersectionalities of sex workers can help public administration provide more focused and supportive services and policies.

Discussions on how public administration can better support undocumented immigrants who are being sexually exploited are important for both public administration processes and policy. Future research should explore how public administration can provide policy and social service recommendations to those being exploited. All of this connects to the social equity frame and queer theory, important tools for understanding how public administration can better support sex workers. Both of these can help public administration explore sex work from a client-focused perspective, allowing sex workers to tell their own stories. This can be used to change taken-for-granted assumptions about sex work in public administration and, instead, create inclusive, evidence-based social services and policies. Using the frames of exploitative, semi-exploitative, and voluntary sex work, public administration can create conversations on sex work that meet the needs of all of these groups.

Conclusion

Sex work is not uncommon in the LGBTQIA+ community. It is an income source that is more accessible than ever, but policies and social service agencies have lagged in response to the needs of those engaged in sex work. For the field of public administration to truly represent the public, there needs to be a larger conversation on sex work that includes how intersectionality impacts sex work, the ways in which policy and social services interact with sex workers, and the different types of sex work that exist. This article starts the conversation by looking at LGBTQIA+ sex workers, finding that many sex workers have found a complete absence of services

or at least access to services, or a lack of effective and affirming support when receiving available services. Respondents also highlighted their need for nonjudgmental service providers.

The findings in this study make it possible to look at sex work from three different avenues: Those who are doing the work voluntarily, those who are being exploited, and those who are somewhere in between. Each of these communities requires different policies and social services. By taking an individualized, client-centered approach, service providers will be better able to identify how a sex worker feels about their work and their specific needs. This will position nonprofit and government agencies to provide more effective support to sex workers and create better and safer policies.

References

- Abel, Gillian, Lisa Fitzgerald, and Cheryl Brunton. 2007. "The Impact of the Prostitution Reform Act on the Health and Safety Practices of Sex Workers: Report to the Prostitution Law Review Committee." November. https://www.otago.ac.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0027/248760/pdf-811-kb-018607.pdf
- Albert, Kendra et al. 2021. "FOSTA in Legal Context." *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*. 52 (3): 1084–1158.
- Albright, Erin, and Kate D'Adamo. 2017. "Decreasing Human Trafficking Through Sex Work Decriminalization." *AMA Journal of Ethics*, 19(1), 122–126. <https://doi.org/10.1001/journalofethics.2017.19.1.sect2-1701>
- Anasti, Theresa. 2017. "Radical Professionals? Sex Worker Rights Activists and Collaboration with Human Service Nonprofits." *Human Service Organizations: Management, Leadership & Governance* 41 (4): 416–437. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23303131.2016.1270243>
- Anasti, Theresa. 2018. "Survivor or Laborer: How Human Service Managers Perceive Sex Workers?" *Affilia* 33 (4): 453–476. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109918778075>
- Anasti, Theresa. 2020a. "Officers Are Doing the Best They Can': Concerns Around Law Enforcement and Social Service Collaboration in Service Provision to Sex Workers." *Affilia* 35 (1): 49–72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109919889034>
- Anasti, Theresa. 2020b. "The Strategic Action Field of Sex Work and Sex Trafficking: A Case Study of a Contentious Field in Chicago." *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 31

- (1): 169–183. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-019-00161-0>
- Belos, Brooke M. 2017. “Queer Theory, Sex Work, and Foucault’s Unreason.” *Foucault Studies* 23: 141–166. <https://doi.org/10.22439/fs.v0i0.5345>
- Bennachie, Calum et al. 2021. “Unfinished Decriminalization: The Impact of Section 19 of the Prostitution Reform Act 2003 on Migrant Sex Workers’ Rights and Lives in Aotearoa New Zealand.” *Social Sciences* 10 (5): 179. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10050179>
- Bernstein, Jacob. 2019. “How OnlyFans Changed Sex Work Forever.” *New York Times*. February 9. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/09/style/onlyfans-porn-stars.html>
- Blunt, Danielle, and Ariel Wolf. 2020. “Erased: The Impact of FOSTA-SESTA and the Removal of Backpage on Sex Workers.” *Anti-Trafficking Review* 14: 117–121. <https://doi.org/10.14197/atr.201220148>
- Brinton, Sam. 2015. Op-ed: “The Real Ramifications of the Rentboy Raid.” *The Advocate*. September 2. <https://www.advocate.com/commentary/2015/09/02/op-ed-real-ramifications-rentboy-raid>
- Bromfield, Nicole F., Meg Panichelli, and Meg Capous-De-syllas. 2021. “At the Intersection of COVID-19 and Sex Work in the United States: A Call for Social Work Action.” *Affilia*. 36 (2): 140–148. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109920985131>
- Burckley, Jacquelyn, Michelle Jeanis, and Bryanna Fox. 2023. “On the Illegality of Sex Work and the Impact on Victimization, Health, and Human Trafficking: Is Criminalization a Cure or Disease?” *Victims & Offenders* 18 (3): 572–585. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2022.2134242>
- Butz, Adam M., and Tia Sherèe Gaynor. 2022. “Intersectionality and Social Welfare: Avoidance and Unequal Treatment Among Transgender Women of Color.” *Public Administration Review* 82 (3): 433–445. <https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.13468>
- CBS News. 2015. “Homeland Security Raid of Rentboy.com Raises Ire.” September 22. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/homeland-security-raid-rentboy-com-raises-ire/>
- Charmaz, Kathy. 1990. “‘Discovering’ Chronic Illness: Using Grounded Theory.” *Social Science & Medicine* 30 (11): 1161–1172. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536\(90\)90256-R](https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536(90)90256-R)
- Cobbina, Jennifer E., and Sharon S. Oselin. 2011. “It’s Not Only for the Money: An Analysis of Adolescent Versus Adult Entry into Street Prostitution.” *Sociological Inquiry* 81 (3): 310–332. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.2011.00375.x>
- Crankshaw, Tamaryn L., and Jane Freedman. 2023. “Sex Work or Transactional Sex? Shifting the Dialogue from Risk to Rights.” *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters* 31 (1): 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1080/26410397.2023.2210859>
- Denhardt, J. V., and Robert B. Denhardt. 2015. *The New Public Service: Serving, Not Steering*. Routledge.
- Dodgson, Lindsay. 2023. “Andrew Tate’s Victims Were Forced to Perform on Tiktok and OnlyFans Pages He Controlled, Legal Documents Say.” February 2. *Business Insider News*. <https://www.insider.com/andrew-tate-alleged-victims-onlyfans-tiktok-controlled-by-female-confidants-2023-2>
- Dolamore, Stephanie. 2021. “Detecting Empathy in Public Organizations: Creating a More Relational Public Administration.” *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 43 (1): 58–81. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10841806.2019.1700458>
- Dwyer, Angela. 2020. “Queering Police Administration: How Policing Administration Complicates LGBTIQ–Police Relations.” *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 42 (2): 172–190. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10841806.2019.1659047>
- Easterbrook-Smith, Gwyn. 2023. “OnlyFans as Gig-Economy Work: A Nexus of Precarity and Stigma.” *Porn Studies* 10 (3): 252–267. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23268743.2022.2096682>
- Elias, Nicole M., and Amanda Olejarski. 2020. *Ethics for Contemporary Bureaucrats: Navigating Constitutional Crossroads*. Routledge.
- Fenley, Vanessa M. 2022. “Caveats to Governing with Empathy.” *Public Integrity* 24 (4–5): 387–399. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10999922.2021.2015163>
- Fitzgerald, Erin, Sarah Elspeth, Darby Hickey, and Cherno Biko. 2015. *Meaningful Work: Transgender Experiences in the Sex Trade*. National Center for Transgender Equality. https://transequality.org/sites/default/files/Meaningful%20Work%20Executive%20Summary_REVISIED.pdf
- FitzGerald, Sharron, Maggie O’Neill, and Gillian Wylie. 2020. “Social Justice for Sex Workers as a ‘Politics of Doing’: Research, Policy and Practice.” *Irish Journal of Sociology* 28 (3): 257–279. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0791603520911344>
- Fuentes, Kimberly. 2023. “Sex Worker Collectives Within the Whorearchy: Intersectional Inquiry with Sex Workers in Los Angeles, CA.” *Affilia* 38 (2): 224–243.
- Gerassi, Lara. 2015. “From Exploitation to Industry: Definitions, Risks, and Consequences of Domestic Sexual Exploitation and Sex Work Among Women and Girls.” *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*

- 25 (6): 591–605. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2014.991055>
- Hu, Ran. 2022. “Problematizing the Educational Messaging on Sex Trafficking in the US ‘End-Demand’ Movement: The (Mis)Representation of Victims and Anti-Sex Work Rhetoric.” *Affilia* 37 (3): 448–465. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08861099211058827>
- Iversen, J., Pike Long, Alexandra Lutnick, and Lisa Maher. 2021. “Patterns and Epidemiology of Illicit Drug Use Among Sex Workers Globally: A Systematic Review.” In *Sex Work, Health, and Human Rights*, edited by Shira M. Goldenberg, Ruth Morgan Thomas, Anna Forbes, and Stefan Baral, 95–118. Springer.
- James, Sandy E., Jody Herman, Mara Keisling, Lisa Mottet, and Ma’ayan Anafi. 2019. 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey (USTS). Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2019-05-22. <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR37229.v1>
- Jones, Angela. 2020a. “Where the Trans Men and Enbies At?: Cissexism, Sexual Threat, and the Study of Sex Work.” *Sociology Compass* 14 (2): 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12750>
- Jones, Angela. 2020b. *Camming: Money, Power, and Pleasure in the Sex Work Industry*. NYU Press.
- Jones, Angela. 2021. “Cumming to a Screen Near You: Transmasculine and Non-binary People in the Camming Industry.” *Porn Studies* 8 (2): 239–254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23268743.2020.1757498>
- Karandikar, Sharavari, Kaitlin Casassa, Logan Knight, Megan Espana, and Njeri Kagotho. 2022. “‘I Am Almost a Breadwinner for My Family’: Exploring the Manifestation of Agency in Sex Workers’ Personal and Professional Contexts.” *Affilia* 37 (1): 26–41. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08861099211022717>
- Larson, Samantha June. 2022. “Actions for Queering American Public Administration.” *Administration & Society* 54 (1): 145–163. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00953997211011937>
- Lee, Hugh, Mark Learmonth, and Nancy Harding. 2008. “Queer(y)ing Public Administration.” *Public Administration* 86 (1): 149–167. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2007.00707.x>
- Lehti, Martti, and Kauko Aromaa. 2006. “Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation.” *Crime and Justice* 34 (1): 133–227.
- Levine, Jon. 2023. “Fired NYC Judge Moonlighting as Porn Star on OnlyFans” *New York Post*. March 25. <https://nypost.com/2023/03/25/ex-nyc-judge-gregory-a-locke-moonlighting-as-onlyfans-star/>
- Majic, Samantha. 2011. “Serving Sex Workers and Promoting Democratic Engagement: Rethinking Nonprofits’ Role in American Civic and Political Life.” *Perspectives on Politics* 9 (4): 821–839. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592711003951>
- Majic, Samantha. 2014. “Beyond ‘Victim-Criminals’ Sex Workers, Nonprofit Organizations, and Gender Ideologies.” *Gender & Society* 28 (3): 463–485. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243214524623>
- McKay, Corina. 1999. “Is Sex Work Queer?” *Social Alternatives* 18 (3): 48–53.
- Meyer, Seth J., and Jodi Benenson. 2023. “Chai Pride: Using LGBTQIA+ Jewish Identities to Understand Intersectionality in Public Administration.” *Administration & Society* 55 (8): 1623–1646. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00953997231182998>
- Meyer, Seth J., and Nicole M. Elias. 2023. “Rainbow Research: Challenges and Recommendations for Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity and Expression (SOGIE) Survey Design.” *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 34: 84–90. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-021-00436-5>
- Meyer, Seth J., Elizabeth J. Dale, and Kareem K. M. Willis. 2022. “‘Where My Gays At?’ The Status of LGBTQ People and Queer Theory in Nonprofit Research.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 51 (3): 566–586. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08997640211021497>
- Meyer, Seth J., Elizabeth Dale, and Kareem K. M. Willis. 2024. “Burn It to the Ground: Queer Theory, (Hetero)normativities, and Binaries in Nonprofit Organizations” in *Handbook of Critical Perspectives on Nonprofit Organizing and Voluntary Action: Concepts, Applications and Future Directions*, edited by Roseanne M. Mirabella, Tracey M. Coule, and Angela M. Eikenberry, 132–148. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Meyer, Seth J., Richard Gregory Johnson III, and Sean McCandless. 2022. “Meet the New Es: Empathy, Engagement, Equity, and Ethics in Public Administration.” *Public Integrity* 24 (4–5): 353–363. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10999922.2022.2074764>
- Mogul, Joey L., Andrea J. Ritchie, and Kay Whitlock. 2011. *Queer (In)Justice: The Criminalization of LGBT People in the United States*. Beacon Press.
- National Institute on Drug and Alcohol Abuse. n.d. “LGBTQI+ People and Substance Use.” <https://nida.nih.gov/research-topics/substance-use-suds-in-lgbtq-populations>
- Open Society Foundations. 2012. “Laws and Policies Affecting Sex Work.” <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/laws-and-policies-affecting-sex-work>
- Open Society Foundations. 2019. “Understanding Sex Work in an Open Society.” <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/explainers/understanding-sex-work-open-society#:~:text=Many%20sex%20>

- workers%20struggle%20with,explore%20and%20express%20their%20sexuality
- Orchard, Treena, Katherine Salter, Mary Bunch, and Cecilia Benoit. 2021. "Money, Agency, and Self-Care Among Cisgender and Trans People in Sex Work." *Social Sciences* 10 (1): 6. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10010006>
- Oselin, Sharon S. 2014. *Leaving Prostitution: Getting Out and Staying Out of Sex Work*. New York University Press.
- Robinson, Brandon Andrew. 2020. "The Lavender Scare in Homonormative Times: Policing, Hyper-Incarceration, and LGBTQ Youth Homelessness." *Gender & Society* 34 (2): 210–232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243220906172>
- Sabharwal, Meghna, Helisse Levine, Maria D'Agostino, and Tiffany Nguyen. 2019. "Inclusive Work Practices: Turnover Intentions Among LGBT Employees of the U.S. Federal Government." *American Review of Public Administration* 49 (4): 482–494. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0275074018817376>
- Sawicki, Danielle A., Brienna N. Meffert, Kate Read, and Adrienne J. Heinz. 2019. "Culturally Competent Health Care for Sex Workers: An Examination of Myths That Stigmatize Sex Work and Hinder Access to Care." *Sexual and Relationship Therapy* 34 (3): 355–371. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681994.2019.1574970>
- Showden, Carisa R. 2012. "Theorising Maybe: A Feminist/Queer Theory Convergence." *Feminist Theory* 13 (1): 3–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700111429898>
- Showden, Carisa R. and Samantha Majic. 2014. *Negotiating Sex Work: Unintended Consequences of Policy and Advocacy*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Smith, Elizabeth Megan. 2017. "‘It Gets Very Intimate for Me’: Discursive Boundaries of Pleasure and Performance in Sex Work." *Sexualities* 20 (3): 344–363. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460716665781>
- Song, Miyeon, Minjung Kim, and Nathan Favero. 2020. "Social Class, Ingroup–Outgroup Comparison, and Citizen Evaluations: Is User Satisfaction Linked to Outcome Disparities?" *American Review of Public Administration* 50 (2): 205–218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0275074019874445>
- Sullivan, Corrinne. 2021. "‘Hot, Young, Buff’: An Indigenous Australian Gay Male View of Sex Work." *Social Inclusion* 9 (2): 52–60. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v9i2.3459>
- Surratt Hilary L., Steven P. Kurtz, Mingxing Chen, and Angela A. Mooss. 2012. "HIV Risk Among Female Sex Workers in Miami: The Impact of Violent Victimization and Untreated Mental Illness." *AIDS Care* 24 (5): 553–561.
- Treloar, Carla, Zahra Stardust, Elena Cama, and Jules Kim. 2021. "Rethinking the Relationship Between Sex Work, Mental Health and Stigma: A Qualitative Study of Sex Workers in Australia." *Social Science & Medicine* 268: 113468. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2020.113468>
- Tripp, Heidi. 2019. "All Sex Workers Deserve Protection: How FOSTA/SESTA Overlooks Consensual Sex Workers in an Attempt to Protect Sex Trafficking Victims." *Penn State Law Review* 124 (1): 219–246.
- Van Schuylenbergh, Judith, Joz Motmans, Justine Defreyne, Anna Somers, and Guy T'Sjoen. 2019. "Sexual Health, Transition-Related Risk Behavior and Need for Health Care Among Transgender Sex Workers." *International Journal of Transgenderism* 20 (4): 388–402. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15532739.2019.1617217>
- Watson, Joy, and Christine Silkstone. 2006. "Human Trafficking as a Form of Gender-Based Violence—Protecting the Victim." *Agenda* 20 (70): 110–118.
- Weitzer, Ronald. 2009. "Sociology of Sex Work." *Annual Review of Sociology* 35: 213–234. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-120025>
- Weitzer, Ronald. 2010. "The Mythology of Prostitution: Advocacy Research and Public Policy." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 7: 15–29. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-010-0002-5>
- Weitzer, Ronald. 2015. "Human Trafficking and Contemporary Slavery." *Annual Review of Sociology* 41: 223–242. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112506>
- Williams Institute. 2018. "How Many Same-Sex Couples in the U.S. Are Raising Children." <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Same-Sex-Parents-Jul-2018.pdf>

Seth J. Meyer (he/him) (S2MEYER@bridgew.edu) is an Associate Professor of Public Administration in the Department of Political Science at Bridgewater State University. His research focuses on social equity and LGBTQIA+/Queer communities as well as organizational theory and behavior of nonprofit organizations. His edited volume (with Richard Gregory Johnson III), *Lessons in Social Equity: A Case Study Book* (2022), is available from Birkdale Publishers.