Designing a Conflict Map Analysis to Inform the Policy Reform on Sex Work in Malta

Mina Tolu

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, and the degree of Master of Arts Conflict Resolution and Mediterranean Security at the University of Malta

September 2020

George Mason University
University of Malta

FUNDING ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The research work disclosed in this publication is partially funded by the Endeavour Scholarship Scheme (Malta). Scholarships are part-financed by the European Union - European Social Fund (ESF) - Operational Programme II – Cohesion Policy 2014-2020 *"Investing in human capital to create more opportunities and promote the well-being of society"*.

Operational Programme II -
European Structural and Investment Funds 2014-2020
"Investing in human capital to create more opportunities and promote the well-being of society"
Scholarships are part financed by the European Social Fund
Co-financing rate: 80% European Union Funds; 20% National Funds

ABSTRACT

In September 2019, the Government of Malta announced a public consultation to inform the reform of sex work related policies in Malta (MEAE, 2019). A number of stakeholders proposed policy recommendations to the reform, through submissions of policy papers and discussions at meetings of the Social Affairs Committee of the Parliament in March 2020. This dissertation looks to answer how a conflict mapping process can help to inform this policy reform on sex work in Malta. The methodology of critical reflection contributed to the design of a Conflict Map Analysis proposal to inform the reform. This proposal is situated in a human rights and harm reduction based framework, and aims to aid the advancement of active governance. Additionally, this dissertation offers an example of the benefits of conflict mapping to the policy reform process by applying a tailor-made Narrative Map Analysis to analyse the audio recording of the Social Affairs Committee meeting which was held on the 4th of March 2020. A key finding of this research is that a conflict mapping process, rooted in human rights values and harm reduction principles, can enhance active governance, and aid the Government of Malta to address the needs of sex workers in this policy reform.

Keywords: conflict mapping, sex work, sex work policy, Malta, human rights, harm reduction, policy making

Operational Programme II -
European Structural and Investment Funds 2014-2020
"Investing in human capital to create more opportunities and promote the well-being of society"
Scholarships are part financed by the European Social Fund
Co-financing rate: 80% European Union Funds; 20% National Funds

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude and thanks to...

Dr Omar Grech who guided me patiently through an extremely iterative process of writing, structuring, title changes, re-writing, re-structuring, and analysis.

My parents for their support and care as I embarked on my Masters course.

Ludo & Cee for proofreading parts of this research, for their emotional support, and kind words of affirmation.

Bear for reminding me when it's time to stop working and time to go out for walks in the countryside.

Bonnie for her support in staying focused, and amongst many other things, being available to discuss the benefits of the maps we have developed during our year of graduate studies at the University of Malta and George Mason University.

Ruth Baldacchino & Boglarka Fedorko - inspiring activist peers, colleagues, and dear friends - for teaching me so much about intersectionality, community building, and reminding me why I do what I do. As well as for being available to chat through some parts of this dissertation.

Dr Sam Murray, for being ready to pick up the phone and cheer me on at a moment's notice. As well as his helpful tips on how to write academically while not losing my activist spirit.

Carmn Ferrara for sharing with me their dissertation and analysis of Malta's active governance approach to policy making in the field of LGBTQI rights.

And, Dr Julie Shedd and Dr Susan Hirsch from George Mason University for engaging in dialogues on earlier iterations of my research ideas and design.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

“Policy is my love language.”

- Ayanna Pressley, politician.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

As a LGBTQI rights activist I closely follow the debates on sex work policy across Europe.[1] Since 2015, particularly, I have followed these debates in Berlin, Germany, where I lived, and in Malta where I am from. Over the years, I have noticed that across Europe discussions on sex work policy range between the decriminalisation of all aspects of sex work and the criminalisation of sex workers' clients. This debate is also currently present in discussions on the sex work policy reform in Malta, which was launched in 2019.

In moving beyond this debate, the Government of Malta looks to implement a human rights based approach to policy making that centres the needs of vulnerable people (MEAE, 2019). This is one mechanism which can guide democratic policy reform, and in this case led to a public consultation process between September 2019 and March 2020. This public consultation process invited stakeholders across levels of society to submit their comments and policy recommendations on 'Prostitution and Human Trafficking,' so that these could be considered as part of the reform of existing laws. This aspect of the public consultation, neither yielded input from sex workers or grassroots leaders in Malta, nor did it navigate the nuances required to address the needs of 'vulnerable' people (Kamra tad-Deputati, 2020).

As a Master's student in conflict analysis and resolution - who has directly experienced how conflict maps and conflict mapping can help make sense of data, facilitate conversations, avoid bias, and inform ideas for interventions - I wondered whether conflict maps and mapping could help the reform be more participatory, inclusive, and transformative. This dissertation therefore tackles the following research question, *how can conflict mapping inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta?*

[1] The historical and socio-cultural connections between LGBTQI activism and sex work are explored in *Chapter 2 - Literature Review* and *Chapter 3 - Methodology*.

Research Questions and Chapter Outline

In order to answer the research question, *how can conflict mapping inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta?* I found it was useful to break it down into parts.

The first part asks, what do I need to know about sex work and human rights approaches to policy making in order to guide the design of a conflict map or conflict mapping process? Additionally, what approaches to policy making have I learned about as an LGBTQI activist and Green politician that could be used to strengthen inclusive policy making? To answer this, *Chapter 2 - Literature Review* explores the connections between sex work, sex work in Malta, human rights, and harm reduction.[2] This review provides a clear context and basis for the design of a conflict mapping process which is tailor-made to inform the sex work policy reform in Malta.

Further deconstruction of my main research question led to another question, specifically, what research methodologies would help build this tailor-made conflict mapping process to inform the policy reform? To address this question, *Chapter 3 - Methodology* takes into consideration ethics and positionality as well as defines conflict mapping as both a method and outcome. Through reflection *Chapter 3 - Methodology* also explores the tools needed to address the main research question. In *Chapter 4 - Conflict Maps* I apply critical reflection and methodological understanding of conflict maps to harness these tools and learn from past mapping experiences. This allowed me to understand which existing conflict maps and other visual frameworks could be best applied to inform a policy reform on sex work in Malta.

In deconstructing my main research question, I also considered what a mapping process which informs policy from a human rights and harm reduction framework may look like.

[2] Harm reduction is an approach to policy making which I learned about through my engagement with young Greens across Europe, and our work on campaigning for the decriminalisation of marijuana.

Further, I asked, how could the Government of Malta effectively employ a tailor-made conflict mapping process to inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta? These aspects are explored in *Chapter 5 - Proposal* which outlines and proposes a comprehensive mapping process to be led by the Government of Malta. This proposal considers the three levels of stakeholders in this reform, Level 1 - Government, Level 2 - NGOs etc., and Level 3 - Grassroots. In this way *Chapter 5 - Proposal* looks to offer a remedy to the aforementioned absence of sex workers' voices in the current reform, and bridge the interests and needs of all stakeholders.

Chapter 6 - Narrative Analysis applies one of the mapping processes proposed in *Chapter 5 - Proposal,* to analyse the audio-recording and transcript of a public meeting on the sex work policy reform which was held on the 4th of March, 2020. This narrative analysis shows the dominant narrative of the reform, questions narrative authority, identifies hidden transcripts, illuminates narrative compression, points to frozen conflicts that impact the reform, and highlights areas for the opening of evolution of meaning, i.e. the transformation of conflict narratives. In this way, the narrative analysis map developed for this reform provides an example of how conflict mapping can aid the Government of Malta in facilitating a reform process 'to create effective policies and mechanisms that address and protect vulnerable people' (MEAE, 2019, p.1) as well as include their voices.

Finally, this dissertation concludes by revisiting the main research question, broadly discussing how conflict mapping can inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta. *Chapter 7 - Conclusion* also provides recommendations for future research in the areas of conflict mapping, sex work in Malta, and participatory methods of policy making.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

In this literature review I focus on the topics of this dissertation, i.e. sex work, sex work in Malta, human rights, and harm reduction. This review summarises the ways in which sex work is discussed in literature and identifies the main threads or categories in the conversations about this topic. It also summarises human rights values and harm reduction principles, and how these inform policy making. This review concludes by looking at how conflict mapping connects human rights values and harm reduction principles to sex work reform.

Specifically, a review of literature on sex work provides an understanding of the trends and divergences within literature, offers a background on sex work in Malta, and also narrows down how trends, divergences, and history play into the policy reform in Malta. A review of literature on human rights provides background on human rights value-laden frameworks and approaches to policy-making. A review of literature on harm reduction, presents the principles of harm reduction and how these can be applied to sex work policy. Together these reviews set the context to consider *how conflict mapping can inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta.*

Sex Work

Sex work is the provision of sexual services for money or goods. Sex work is consensual sex between adults and takes different forms. 'Sex workers are adults who receive money or goods in exchange for consensual sexual services or erotic performances, either regularly or occasionally' (OSF, 2019). Around the world, sex work is regulated through various legal and policy models, including decriminalisation (e.g. in New Zealand), prohibition (e.g. in

Albania), criminalisation of clients, i.e. the Nordic Model (e.g. in Sweden), and legalisation (e.g. in The Netherlands) (ICRSE, 2015b).

Research contended with for this dissertation, to offer a review of sex work, is sourced from peer-reviewed articles, grey literature i.e. those papers produced outside of academia by NGOs, books, dissertations, newspaper articles, and public consultation documents. Searches in the library databases of both the University of Malta and George Mason University led to no results for peer-reviewed articles which focus on sex work or prostitution in Malta specifically. The topic, however, appears briefly in peer-reviewed articles that specifically look at human trafficking and migration in Malta, (Vaughan-Williams and Pisani, 2020; Farrugia, 2012). Additionally, sex work and prostitution in Malta is discussed partly or at length in 12 Bachelor, 5 Masters and 3 Doctoral dissertations at the University of Malta from 1995 to 2019. In the last five years there has been one academic book, *Public Women: Prostitute Entrepreneurs in Valletta, 1630-1798* (Muscat, 2018). Criminologist Calafato (2017) has also published a comprehensive chapter on prostitution in Malta. This short review of the available scholarship on sex work in Malta highlights a gap in academic and peer-reviewed works available to contend with for this dissertation.

Considering this gap in literature and the aforementioned global discussion on sex work the following literature review first broadly explores the divergences in literature, in the form of theoretical, social and political debates surrounding the topic. Second, situates this debate in the Maltese context. And lastly, focuses in on grey literature directly related to the sex work policy reform in Malta. This comprehensive review of literature on sex work from the global discourse to the national context provides the background needed to design a conflict map analysis for the sex work policy reform.

Divergences

In reviewing literature for this dissertation a trend in debates reveals how divergences in **naming** influence divergences in **narrative**, and how both of these aspects influence policy. These elements, naming and narrative, frame a discussion on divergences in this section.

What's in a name? If we were to only consider Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, not much. When discussing sex work, however, a name is wrought with meaning and can imply politics or ideology (Skilbrei, 2019). Skilbrei (2019) eloquently captures this, stating 'the fields of prostitution scholarship and politics are conflicted as to what terms to apply, not least because the choice of terms is considered indicative of ideological and therefore political convictions' (p. 496). The following discussion on divergences in naming highlights the complexities which Skilbrei has captured.

Carol Leigh coined the phrase 'sex worker' in the 1970s with the intention to distance the person from the stigma associated with the word 'prostitute' (NSWP, n.d.). This phrase is commonly used in 21st century academic scholarship, by global agencies like the WHO (2020) and other UN bodies, and by sex worker led (e.g. the ICRSE) or ally organisations (Amnesty International). In this way the term 'sex work' offers an alternative to 'prostitution' in public discourse and has subsequently illuminated the power of naming for those who bare the brunt of it's divergence in ideological and political spheres.

Ghose et al., (2008) highlight how the terms 'sex work' and 'sex worker' provide a name that is not only an alternative to the stigmatising phrases 'prostitution' and 'prostitute', but also bares power to organise around a collective identity, as workers are people who have recognised rights and protections in capitalist economies. The Sonagachi Project was formed in 1992 in India with the aim to improve health and safety standards for sex workers. In 2002,

they achieved their goal by reframing prostitution as trade and claiming occupational rights, including the right to speak out, the right to good health and the right to education (Sarkar et al., 2004). By empowering and establishing group collectivity, and using naming to establish a workers' rights framework, the Sonagachi Project enabled the setting of new boundaries with respect to dominant narratives in society. Ghose et al. (2008) recount this correlation through sex worker testimonies which notably stress the importance of collective action, 'we can demand the rights of the worker, but if I say this alone, then Parliament won't listen to me' (p. 4). The Sonagachi Project case shows how naming can aid a shift from victimisation discourse to rights-based discourse. Specifically, the opportunity to organise around the term 'sex work' offered an opening for the 'evolution of meaning' in this conflict narrative. For Cobb (2013) the evolution of meaning can itself be a conflict resolution process, as it challenges domination and allows subordinate voices to be heard and impact change. Naming in this way is part of a broader narrative renaissance.

Narratives shape the way conflicts are tackled (Cobb, 2013). In regards to divergences in discourse on sex work, Muscat's (2018, p. 22) take is that, the most dominant debates fail to consider broader economic and social contexts. She summarises:

> Modern histories of prostitution are largely dominated by feminist notions of male exploitation, oppression and victimhood. Prostitutes are traditionally believed to be victims of various circumstances: patriarchy, poverty, weak family ties, marital breakdowns, abandonment and squalor. Notwithstanding the fact that these theories have withstood the pressure of time, they fail to offer an integrated economic, social and cultural history of the practice.

Muscat's summary highlights how the dominant narratives around sex work hold multiple debates. Dominant narratives indicate the public discourse, beliefs, norms, and value systems surrounding a conflict (Cobb, 2013). These debates on sex work dictate how policy reform is informed and implemented across Europe. These debates illuminate the divergence in narrative. This divergence is exemplified in two differing approaches to policy by The

European Women's Lobby (EWL) and the International Committee for the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe (ICRSE).

The European Women's Lobby campaigns for a 'Europe free from Prostitution' (2014). This campaign reveals one debate within the dominant narrative, which equates all prostitution to human trafficking and positions the criminalisation of clients as a solution that would lead to the abolition of prostitution. The EWL also frames prostitution as always and unequivocally being violence against women. Within this frame, they situate campaign messages on human rights, women's rights, the fight for gender equality, the reality of gender pay gaps, the prevalence of violence against women, and the underrepresentation of women in business, academia and politics.

The ICRSE offers an alternative debate, which does not centre the term 'prostitution.' They campaign for the decriminalisation of all aspects of sex work, including of clients, as a way to ensure respect for the rights of sex workers. The *Sex Workers in Europe Manifesto* (ICRSE, 2005) was collectively written by sex workers across Europe and focuses on rights-based discourses. It calls for the recognition of rights for sex workers: 'the right to be free from discrimination'; 'the right to our bodies'; 'the right to be heard'; 'the right to associate and gather'; and 'the right to mobility.' Further, the ICRSE continues to add nuance to the narrative on sex work by publishing briefing papers which discuss the intersectionality between sex workers rights and LGBT rights (2015a), migrants' rights (2016), labour rights (2017b), women's rights (2017a), and the right to health (2017c). Unlike the EWL, the ICRSE does not equate sex work to human trafficking. The *Sex Workers in Europe Manifesto* (ICRSE, 2005) acknowledges that 'alienation, exploitation, abuse and coercion do exist in the sex industry, as in any other industry sector, but it does not define us or our industry.' Additionally, La Strada International, the European Platform Against Trafficking in Human

Beings acknowledges that the sex industry is one of the sectors which is vulnerable for human trafficking, due to weak labour rights. They claim that 'the crime of trafficking in human beings can only be stopped if every person's rights as a human being are recognised, respected and realised' (2016). Further nuance is needed to fully understand the complexities of sex work in Europe.

To that regard, Stabile (2020) argues that racism is inherent in the European debates on sex work and the hegemonic Western feminist discourses on sex work abolitionism. This critique highlights another element of the dominant narrative. Stabile applies a 'transfeminist and decolonial perspective to understand how trans and gender-diverse people from the Global South' (p. 854) are affected by campaigns that call for the abolition of prostitution. Stabile concludes that:

> [..] many laws, regulation, and norms designed to confront trafficking in persons/migrants or to criminalize the purchase of sex bear a hidden interest [...] to eliminate prostitution and migrants from the Global South, especially those who deviate from moral Christian, white, and cisheteropatriarchal norms. (p. 865).

Through this critique Stabile (2020) adds nuance to the dominant narrative, and emphasises the need for space in these debates to critically engage with narrative violence.

From campaigns to abolish prostitution to those which fight for sex workers' rights, the dominant narrative on sex work converges on human rights approaches and diverges on policy recommendations. The next section reviews literature on sex work in Malta, and publicly available documents on the sex work policy reform in Malta, where the similar divergences of approaches to policy emerge.

Sex Work in Malta

Naming, narrative, and policy on sex work are also connected in Malta. From the historical naming of sex workers in the streets of Valletta in the 17th century, to the naming of a policy reform in the 21st Century, it is clear that naming and narratives both inform and are informed by policy practice.

Historically, sex workers in Malta have been referred to by different names which range from the vague to the vulgar. Muscat (2018) who writes about prostitution in Valletta between 1630 and 1798 asserts that these women were called 'pubbliche donne', i.e. public women. Therefore at this time, sex workers were only regarded in their relationship to the authorities (i.e. the Order of the Knights of St.John, and the Church) and more specifically to public health and safety concerns. This naming implies the removal of agency from the individual and further points to claims that only women can be and were sex workers.

In addition to Muscat's review of the historical naming of sex workers in Malta, Calafato (2017) lists more contemporary words, including those which would be considered derogatory, and the first ones in Maltese, 'prostituta, mara tax-xogħol, tiġġerra, bar maid, qaħba, escorts, lap dancers.' These names throughout the years show a tendency to equate all sex workers as women, and to connect them to their places of work. This connection of sex work to (cis) women is echoed in the reporting protocols of Malta's Vice Squad. For example, according to the Vice Squad there were 46 known sex workers in Malta in 2014, these numbers reflect whether sex workers are 'transgender' or 'female.' They note that the number of transgender sex workers known to the police has decreased between 2008 and 2014

(Calafato, 2017)[3]. No male sex workers are indicated, and there is a conflation of gender identity and sexual orientation. Transgender sex workers (who are presumably trans feminine and/or trans women) are mistakenly referred to as 'male sex workers,' (who are not reported as male). The differences between trans female sex workers and cis male sex workers seems to relate to the gender of their clients (cis men and cis women respectively) rather than their own gender identity. It is not easy to pinpoint the impact of these gender confusions beyond Calafato's own chapter, however, the way in which gender is conflated with sexual orientation is largely part of the dominant narrative of sex work in Malta. This dominant narrative conflates gender diversity and equates sex workers to cis women and denotes this connection based on the gender of the clients.

Additionally, in speaking to the Vice Squad of the Malta Police Force, Calafato (2017) asserts that there are 'three main kinds of prostitution practices and the three of them have clients with a different status' (p. 344). These are 'street sex workers' who have 'clients with less income,' sex workers in 'massage parlors' who have clients of a higher status and are wealthier than street sex workers, and 'escorts, usually girls from eastern European countries whose clients tend to be very rich people' (p. 344). Further, he points to root problems, including substance abuse and addiction as mitigating factors which might push or keep a person engaged in sex work.

Substance abuse and the development of addict or victim identities are factors which Scicluna and Clark (2019) expand upon in their article about victimisation and addictive careers amongst women in Malta. Scicluna and Clark (2019) use grounded theory

[3] I feel it is useful to offer some context, there was a significant increase in awareness on trans issues between 2008 and 2014. Which culminated in the GIGESC Act for legal gender recognition which was unanimously approved in Parliament on April 1st 2015. This act effectively addressed some of the socio-structural violence against transgender people. Therefore, this could perhaps explain the reasons for this decrease in numbers. Only further research in this area could confirm this hypothesis.

methodology, situated within a Maltese context, to highlight the complex interrelatedness between substance abuse and victimisation. Their results, from 12 interviews do not allow for theoretical sampling, however the visualisation in the forms of a systems map shows the connections between various factors, and stories, which when told and re-told, lead to the formation of self-identity. In their systems map, 'sex work' is connected, in a cyclical way, to contact with the criminal justice system, to the escalation and commitment to addiction, and to a continued victim identity. While sex work is not the focus of this systems map, it does emerge as one of the factors which contribute to the development of victim identities for the persons interviewed. The authors point to hidden transcripts, connected to national values of honour and shame, which lead towards the strengthening of victimisation of women who are drug users in Malta. The impact of a story that is both lived and told - that sex workers in Malta have a heightened vulnerability to destructive drug use - is one aspect of the dominant narrative in Malta that is often aired in political debates.

Muscat's (2018) historical analysis provides a story of choice and agency that is also mirrored in current debates on sex work in Malta. This historical narrative frames sex workers as female entrepeneurs who freely chose to engage in sex work, as this allowed them to seek freedom, from traditional expectations for women of time, in the capital city. Calafato (2017) explains how this story changed in the 1900s where agency and choice no longer framed the narrative, as Malta, a colony of Great Britain, became a testing ground for health policies which sought to strongly regulate sex work as a response to the spread of 'venereal diseases'. This change, mirrors the framing of sex work as risky and rife for exploitation, abuse and coercion. This is reflected in contemporary times.

This story in contemporary times, connects prostitution to human trafficking. This is echoed in the Criminal Code of Malta[4] where articles on prostitution are bundled with those on human trafficking. The Criminal Code, as dominate discourse, sustains grey areas in a framework in which 'prostitution is legal, various prostitution-related activities, such as pimping, running brothels, or living off the earning of prostitution, are prohibited' (Calafato, 2017, p. 344). Further, Calafato claims that the current policies have 'create[d] more attrition between the police and sex workers. Mak[ing] prostitution go more underground, which consequently makes it more difficult to regulate' (p. 344). Calafato claims that 'the current policies do not help in managing prostitution in an effective manner but only look at the problem in a superficial way' (p. 343). These blurred lines between human trafficking and prostitution, nevertheless, set the framework for the policy reform in Malta, which is officially named 'Reform on Human Trafficking and Prostitution' (MEAE, 2019).

Both Muscat (2018) and Calafato (2017) note the absence of sex worker's own stories in the creation of the dominant narrative. This is one barrier that is present in the current policy reform. This illuminates a gap in the literature on sex work in Malta, as well as a space within which voices can emerge.

In this section it is clear that the voices of sex workers are missing from the dominant narrtive, and yet the naming and narrative dynamics of sex work directly impact and are impacted by regulatory policies in Malta. This gap and relationship between policy and narrative is echoed within the stories of sex work told from the 17th Century to the 21st Century. In order to overcome stagnant, or frozen, conflicts around sex work in Malta, the

[4] Chapter 9, Title VII 'of Crimes Affecting the Dignity of Persons', Sub-title II 'of Sexual Offences.' This sub-title covers rape, abduction, sexual abuse of children and minors, inducing persons under age to prostitution or participation in pornography, unlawful sexual activities, forced prostitution of adults, non-consensual sexual acts, pornography, solicitation of children and minors. 'Prostitution' is then covered again in Sub-Tilte VIII BIS 'of The Traffic of Persons'. (Criminal Code of Malta).

current policy reform must look to fill this gap with the voices of sex workers and evolve these stories to find new meaning through a transformation of narrative.

The Sex Work Policy Reform

In 2017, the Malta Labour Party announced that they would 'launch a debate on the regularisation and decriminalisation of prostitution' in Malta, with the aim to 'protect vulnerable people from being exploited as sex workers, and simultaneously further strengthen the fight against human trafficking' (Partit Laburista, 2017, p. 159). In September 2019, the Parliamentary Secretary for Reforms, Citizenship and Simplification of Administrative Processes, Julia Farrugia, within the Office of the Prime Minister of Malta launched an open consultation on the 'Reform on Human Trafficking and Prostitution.' It is not clear how many contributions were made to the open consultation, however it is only one of the steps undertaken by the Government in Malta in their broader policy reform in these areas. Indeed, the process of reform started much earlier and included 'preliminary discussions and consultations with key local and international actors to identify priority areas and potential limitations in the State's current approach to these issues' (MEAE, 2019, p. 3).

In spring 2020, after the open consultation process closed to written submissions, the Parliamentary Secretary of Equality and Reforms, Rosianne Cutajar, invited individuals, and representatives of national or local organisations who submitted their ideas during the public consultation, to present their submissions at meetings of the Social Affairs Committee (Parliament of Malta, 2020). Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, these committee meetings were postponed in March 2020, and no information about the reform process was available between March and August 2020. At the end of August 2020, however, it was announced that a technical committee was formed to draft the first bill (Magri, 2020).

This policy reform process on prostitution and human trafficking has, at times, been mired by controversy. The public process - written and oral consultation, and Government statements of intent - saw a divide on one particular point, whether the clients of sex workers should be criminalised or not. As aforementioned, this is a debate that is prominent in discussions on sex work policy around the world, where two models are often pitted against each other - criminalisaton of the client, i.e. the Nordic Model vs. decriminalisation, i.e. the New Zealand Model. In Malta, while there seemed to be almost unanimous agreement on the approaches that need to be taken to counter human trafficking, and on some broad strokes related to sex work, this moot point, on criminalisation, continued to drive conflict at the meetings of the Social Affairs Committee.

Further, national organisations that have previously worked together on proposing reforms on abortion and Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR), like Integra Foundation and aditus foundation on the one hand, and the Women's Rights Foundation on the other hand, were divided in this reform. While organisations who are on opposite sides of the abortion debate, like the Women's Rights Foundation and various Church-affiliated groups, found themselves working together on their campaign for the criminalisation of clients of sex workers.

Summaries of the contribution to the open consultation on prostitution and human trafficking which are available to the public are useful to understand the dominant narrative and the ways in which the sex work policy reform is being approached by various stakeholders. Various stakeholders focus on human rights, while interpreting these in different ways. Some stakeholders focus on harm reduction approaches. Not all stakeholders who have consulted on the reform have published their comments in the public domain.

The submission by the International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe (ICRSE) is endorsed by PICUM - Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants, La Strada International, and ILGA Europe - an LGBTI network. ICRSE's contribution focuses on the impact of the Swedish/Nordic model, outlining the detrimental effects of the law in Norway, France and Ireland. Overall, on sex work, they recommend to decriminalise all parties in the sex industry, facilitate comprehensive research on working conditions and human rights of sex workers in Malta, to consult with sex workers and ensure their participation at various levels of policy making, to provide funding to service providers who work with people who sell sex, and to implement HIV/STI guidlines issued by the UN and WHO (ICRSE, 2019).

In their submission (2019), Integra Foundation and aditus foundation, two NGOs based in Malta, stress the need to centre the voices of sex workers in the reform and allow a channel of communication between stakeholders. Further they state that the correlation of human trafficking with sex work and vice-versa causes confusion and can lead to harmful laws and narratives. They support full decriminalisation of adult consensual sex work, and believe this should be supported by a number of measures, including access to legal protections, and training for law enforcement, health and social service providers.

A submission by around 40 local and international organisations, including the Women's Rights Foundation (Malta), the European Women's Lobby, the European Network of Migrant Women, and the Department of Gender Studies at the University of Malta, amongst others

(2019),[5] stresses that 'trafficking and prostitution are forms of coercive violence. Violence cannot be legalised or regulated, only outlawed' (p. 1). They propose the 'decriminalisation of those who are prostituted', the criminalisation of clients, and the provision of high quality exit services. They claim that their proposal also prioritises the 'promotion of human rights and gender equality, and embrace[s] freedom and wellbeing' (2019, p. 1)

The contribution submitted by Alternattiva Demokratika - The Green Party[6] (AD, 2019) stresses the need to seperate the reform and not focus on prostitution and human trafficking within the same reform, even though there are common themes between the two. On prostitution, AD focus on harm reduction principles, consider all forms of sex work - including online sex work - and stress the need to offer holistic services to those who need them. Finally, they recommend that comprehensive research on prostitution in all its forms in Malta is carried out, for the participation of sex workers in the debate, and for a flexible reform which is updated as often as is necessary. They acknowledge that people of all genders might be involved in sex work, and that the agency of these people should be respected.

The General Workers Union pushes for laws which emphasise freedom of choice. Firstly, they call for research and studies on this topic to be made in Malta. So that the difficulties, factors and variables of people who chose this line of work are understood. Secondly, they stress the need to take all the time that is necessary to ensure the policy reform is carried out

[5] Full list of endorsements: Association for Equality, Attard Ladies Cultural Club, Azzjoni Kattolika Maltija, Caritas, Dar Hosea, Dar Merhba Bik, Department of Gender Studies (University of Malta), Department of Social Policy and Social Work (University of Malta), emPOWer Platform, Faculty of Theology (University of Malta), Għaqda Studenti tat-Teologija, Good Shepherd Sisters, Justice and Peace Commission, Local Councils' Association, Malta Confederation of Women's Organisations, Malta Medical Students Association, Malta Midwives Association, Men Against Violence, Saint Jeanne Antide Foundation, Solidarity Overseas Service, University Chaplaincy, Victim Support Malta, Women's Right Foundation, Coalition Abolition Prostitution International, Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, European Network of Migrant Women, European Women's Lobby, and Survivors of Prostitution Abuse Calling for Englightment International.

[6] As an executive committee member of Alternattiva Demokratika - the Green Party I was involved in the drafting of this consultation document.

properly. They ask for a new model to be developed for Malta, rather than the adoption or implementation of models from other countries or states (Kamra tad-Deputati, 2020).

There are convergences in the approaches to the reform, all of the public consultation documents available in the public domain highlight human rights and several allude to or implicitly state the need for harm reduction approaches to policy making. Further, they point to violence and exploitation including structural violence (e.g. patriarchal violence, state violence (Women's Rights Foundation et al., 2019)) and highlight the basic needs of sex workers (health care, economic rights, human rights (aditus foundation et al., 2019)). The divergences occur in the discourses drawn around violence, and the implications for policy.

Finally, throughout the reform thus far, there is seemingly an omission of the voices from sex workers (from various backgrounds and working in various fields of sex work), and clients of sex workers in public fora. Therefore it is not possible to review any literature or comment upon the contributions of sex workers or clients to the policy reform process thus far. A conflict mapping analysis geared towards conflict transformation necessitates these voices. Their absence needs to be remedied for a thorough conflict mapping analysis to be used to inform policy. The incorporation of sex worker voices advances a human rights based approach to policy making, and necessitates an understanding of harm reduction, socio-structural violence and basic human needs.

Human Rights

The Council of Europe (2017) outlines key values which 'lie at the core of the idea of human rights,' these are human dignity, equality, freedom, respect for others, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, and responsibility. These values have led to the recognition of human rights through mechanisms and systems like the Universal Declaration

of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948, and other regional systems for protecting human rights (e.g. the European Convention and the European Court on Human Rights, the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, etc.). While the UDHR is not legally binding, it establishes norms according to the principles that human rights are inalienable, indivisible, interdependent, interrelated and universal. Beyond legal mechanisms in place to protect human rights directly, human rights values, principles and norms have been used to inform policy making at various levels of society.

The Scottish Human Rights Commission (SRHC) have developed a framework which centres human rights in the development of policies and practices (2019). The SRHC human rights based approach, PANEL, focuses on five principles, which are Participation, Accountability, Non-Discrimination and Equality, Empowerment, and Legality. Participation indicates that 'everyone has the right to participate [actively, freely, and with meaning] in decisions which affect them' (SRHC, 2018, p.3). Accountability requires clear frameworks for human rights to be secured and for redress. For the principle of non-discrimination in policy making to be centred, all forms of discrimination must be 'prohibited, prevented and eliminated' (SRHC, 2018, p.5). Applying the principle of empowerment in human rights based approaches to policy making ensures the creation of supportive structures for participation. Finally, legality indicates that 'a human rights based approach requires the recognition of rights as legally enforceable entitlements, and is linked in to national and international human rights law' (SRHC, 2018, p.7). Some of these principles may overlap during the application of mechanisms which support a human rights based approach to policy making in different areas. The Government of Malta has applied a human rights based approach to policy making in their comprehensive reform on LGBTQI rights which began in

2013 and similarly, looks to employ a human rights approach to the sex work policy reform (MEAE, 2019).

In April 2013, Dr. Helena Dalli, at that point the minister for Social Dialogue and Civil Liberties in Malta, launched an LGBT consultative council. The consultative council was set up to 'advise [the] government and prepare legislation on LGBT rights' (MaltaToday, 2013). Members of the council include independent experts, representatives of national and local LGBTQI and Human Rights NGOs (MGRM, aditus foundation, LGBTI+ Gozo, Drachma, ARC - Allied Rainbow Communities) and representatives of political parties. The LGBTQI policy reform process, guided by the LGBT consultative council - therefore by the LGBT community themselves - led to the recognition of sexual orientation and gender identity as protected grounds in the Constitution in 2014; a fairly progressive civil unions act in 2014; the groundbreaking Gender Identity, Gender Expressions and Sex Characteristics Act (GIGESC) in 2015; improvements to the GIGESC law in 2016 to allow for trans youth access to Legal Gender Recognition; a ban on conversion therapies in 2016; equal marriage in 2017; and access to the X marker to hide F/M sex markers on identity cards and passports in 2017. (Ferrara, 2019, p. 15-18). Other policies continue to be discussed and approached strategically through the development of national LGBTQI action plans in 2015 and 2018.

Ferrara (2019) claims that Malta's participatory approach to policy-making for LGBTQI issues is an experience of active governance. They stress that lived experience should be established as a valid and important source of knowledge, i.e. that policy making should not only be in the hands of policy makers and legal experts, but should include voices from the margins. Interviewed by Ferrara (2019), Gabi Calleja, former chairperson of the MGRM - Malta LGBTQI Rights Movement - and current Head of the SOGIESC (Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression, Sex Characteristics) Unit at the Human Rights and

Integration Directorate (HRID) of the Ministry for Justice, Equality and Governance, has commented that:

> [The Consultative Council] was useful on different levels. One because there was a platform for all the NGOs to be together and that means all the discussion all the disagreement was discussed there first and in public it was the same message it was a united front. The other thing is that civil society was drafting a legislation. (p.78)

In this interview Calleja notes that various stakeholders were involved in the policy making process in different ways. Calleja also stresses the importance of lending space to narratives, acknowledging in particular the power of storytelling in informing the policy reform on intersex issues. She said, "[Helena Dalli] could hear their [(international intersex activists)] stories. And afterwards she was so touched that she herself insisted that Malta should have something on [intersex rights]" (Ferrara, p. 79). This anecdote tells about the opportunity for Dr. Dalli to be present at the Third International Intersex Forum, which was held in Malta in 2013. This forum had a number of interesex activists from across the globe present, and was crucial in ensuring the inclusion of intersex rights in Malta's laws - even though Malta has no intersex rights organisation or public intersex activists.

In considering sex work policy, the development of sex workers' human rights is essential. The creation of supportive environments for sex workers' meaningful and active involvement in laws and policies which directly impacts them can be crucial in this regard (Rekart, 2005). The case of active governance in the LGBT policy reform, reveals the possibility for Malta to also take a human rights based approach to policy making in regards to the sex work policy reform. While Ferrara (2019) only highlights the participatory aspect of the LGBT reforms, it is clear from the telling above, that other human rights principles also informed the process, including legality (the outcomes - the laws themselves) and empowerment (through the set-up and respect of various structures for consultation). A harm reduction approach would advance and build upon these principles in the practice of active governance. In considering how

mapping can aid policy reform, an understanding of the benefits of human rights values, principles and norms, can frame both the mapping process and outcome.

Harm Reduction

In essence, harm reduction is a philosophy which acknowledges that all persons are worthy of respect - regardless of their actions. Harm reduction emerged in the 1980s as a philosophy and strategy in response to policies and legal frameworks on drugs, and as a public health response to HIV (Cusick, 2006). It generally refers to programs, policies and interventions which aim to 'reduce or minimize the adverse health and social consequences associated with drug use without forcing individuals to stop or discontinue drug use' (CCSA, 2008, p. 2). 'Embracing the philosophy and underlying values of harm reduction creates a moral context in which drug use is acknowledged but not judged and action is supportive rather than punitive' (Pauly, 2008, p. 6). This approach to interventions and policy making has also been applied outside of substance use to approach the topics of sex work (Rekart, 2005; Cusick, 2006), health and safety, sex education (CCSA, 2008), access to healthcare (Pauly, 2008), abortion (Briozzo, 2016), homelessness (Pauly et al. 2013) and the intersections between a number of these topics.

The Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse (2008) outlines five key principles of harm reduction, these are: pragmatism; humane values; focus on harms; balancing costs and benefits; and the priority of immediate goals. The first principle of pragmatism centres realism and feasibility in the short term (CCSA, 2008), as well as recognises that many activities in life carry risks (Pauly, 2008). The second principle centres respect, worth and dignity of all persons regardless of their actions (Pauly, 2008), this 'does not imply approval of drug use' (CCSA, 2008). The third principle prioritises addressing risks of harm to an individual and others which results from an activity, rather than the abolition of the activity

itself (CCSA, 2008). The fourth principle, is a pragmatic and rational approach which informs interventions, and considers a balance between an individual and society as a whole (Pauly, 2008; CCSA, 2008). Finally, the fifth principle centres addressing the most immediate needs (CCSA, 2008), while also involving drug users in goal setting, this is a recognition of the expertise of drug users and puts a focus on collaboration and participation (Pauly, 2008).

Cusick (2006) argues that while harm reduction principles are often discussed in relation to drug use, it is possible to apply them more broadly. Learning from other approaches to harm reduction is possible since both sex workers and drug users 'share similar social and political histories of being stigmatised, criminalised, pathologised and occasionally celebrated' (p. 3). In order to address harms connected to sex work, Cusick divides these into three subsets - 1) 'factors thought to predict, explain or cause sex work' which offers a wide array of explanations for entry into sex work and recognises the nuances of an individual's story, 2) 'harms introduced by sex work' which are themselves not 'inherent problems of sex work but of vulnerability,' and 3) 'mutually reinforcing factors.' Cusick therefore shifts the narrative to discuss harm reduction with respect to sex work as 'vulnerability reduction.' This approach centres the harm reduction principles of 'priority of immediate goals' and a 'focus on harms.' Some harms and vulnerability are increased by abolitionist and prohibitionist interventions which prioritise criminalisation, and in so further stigmatise and penalise sex workers (Cusick, 2006). Cusick (2006) concludes by explaining that 'illicit and immoral status of sex work' creates space for further vulnerability, violence, abuse and exploitation to flourish underground.

Rekart (2005) pushes for strategies of sex work harm reduction which acknowledge the expertise of sex workers who have developed their own 'coping strategies based on personal knowledge, tradition and culture, experience, and future plans' (p. 2125) (some of these safety

tips are reproduced in Figure 1 below). Additionally policy makers should acknowledge the different needs of sex worker subgroups. Varying approaches to education, empowerment, prevention, access to healthcare, occupational health and safety, and human rights based approaches, can help to mitigate some of the harms related to sex work (see Figure 2). Rekart claims that it is the participation of sex workers in these efforts which will ensure their success, and concludes by stating that applying a harm reduction framework to sex work can help to shift a risky environment to a support environment, improve quality of life, reduce harm, and exchange vulnerability for empowerment.

Appearance	Wear shoes that you can run in
	Avoid scarves, necklaces, and bags that can be used to hold or choke you
	Wear clothing that can be left on during sex in case you have to run away
Negotiations	Stick to a price list and time limit
	Pick your own parking spot or hotel
	Have a supply of condoms and lubricant
	Get money up front
	Use the same stroll
The car	Approach from the driver's side
	Arrange service and location while outside car
	Circle the car looking for other passengers
	Take down the licence plate (or pretend to)
	Do not fasten the seatbelt
	Wave goodbye to someone and shout the time of your return (or pretend to)
Oral sex	Learn to put on condom with your mouth
	At ejaculation, keep pressure on condom with your lips to prevent leakage
	Gargle with mouthwash or liquor afterwards, but do not brush your teeth
Vaginal sex	Use birth control
	Keep genital area well lubricated with water-soluble lubricant
	Do not douche or use vaginal-drying substances
	Position yourself on top, facing customer
	Keep hand on base of penis to keep it hard and to avoid spillage
	After ejaculation, remove penis from vagina immediately
Anal sex	Try to negotiate out of it
	Charge too much for the customer to afford
	Use extra lubricant
	Use female condoms
Self-defence	Do not carry weapons
	Use your voice and speed (eg, scream, hit car horn)
	Attack body areas that are easily injured (eg, throat, eyes, testicles)
	Run away against traffic, towards lights and people
	Work with friends
	Tell workmates about bad customers

Panel adapted from information in references 8, 12, and 118, with permission.

Figure 1: Safety tips for sex workers… by sex workers (Rekart, 2005).

	Initiatives	Harms reduced
Education	Peer education, outreach programmes, accessible and appropriate materials, sex worker involvement	Drug use, disease, violence, debt, exploitation
Empowerment	Self-esteem, individual control, safe sex, solidarity, personal safety, negotiating skills, refusal to clients, service access, acceptance by society	Drug use, disease, violence, debt, discrimination, exploitation
Prevention	Male and female condoms, lubricant, vaccines, behavioural change, voluntary HIV counselling and testing, participation in research	Drug use, disease
Care	Accessible, acceptable, high-quality, integrated care; prevention-care synergy; prophylaxis; STIs, HIV/AIDS, and psychological care; social support	Drug use, disease, violence, exploitation
Occupational health and safety	Control exposures and hazards, treatment for injuries and diseases, employer duties, worker rights	Drug use, disease, violence, debt, exploitation
Decriminalisation of sex workers	Sex worker organisations, sex work projects, non-governmental organisations	Criminalisation, discrimination, violence
Rights-based approach	Education, telephone hotlines, training targeted and user-friendly services, government action, media, PREVENT,* refugee package, community development	Exploitation (ie, child prostitution, human trafficking, exploitation of mobile populations)

*PREVENT=psychological counselling, reproductive health services, education, vaccinations, early detection, nutrition, treatment.

Figure 2: Interventions for sex work harm reduction (Rekart, 2005).

The Positive Women's Network USA (2019), provides several examples of what harm reduction strategies for sex workers may look like in practice, while cautioning that these interventions must be adapted to the needs of the community being served. These examples include: providing education and sharing information on sex worker rights and 'bad date' lists [7]; offering free or low-cost counseling, testing and primary care health care services that are accessible to anyone regardless of status; and decriminalising sex work as a policy intervention to ensure that sex workers are not as risk of criminalisation based on their activities. The Positive Women's Network USA connects work on harm reduction to human rights and public health based practices and principles. They apply an intersectional lens by acknowledging that Black and migrant communities in the U.S. are most at risk of criminalisation, and the harms of the policing of their bodies and actions.

[7] A bad date list is "a community-based violence intervention tool utilized by sex workers to share information regarding "bad dates." A Bad Date may be any person who threatens, behaves violently towards, robs, extorts, or engages in any behavior that violates the agreed upon terms and boundaries of the exchange. This list may also be used to report bad encounters with law enforcement." (St James Infirmary, 2017

In conclusion, harm reduction is a pragmatic approach which acknowledges problems and offers support, and is contrary to frameworks of *moral* judgement and punishment. Harm reduction acknowledges the basic and most urgent needs of individuals, and addresses these first before passing judgement. A harm reduction approach to policy making would consider the five principles of harm reduction in both the process (development) and outcomes (interventions) of policy reform.

Conclusion

This literature review on sex work, human rights, and harm reduction provides a clear context in which a conflict map analysis can be designed to inform the sex work policy reform in Malta. Some trends emerge, in particular on the exclusion of sex workers' voices from both the policy reform and from literature. Participatory and empowering approaches to policy making which are rooted in human rights values and harm reduction principles, can redress this by ensuring that sex workers, those most impacted by sex work policy, are included in the reform consultation as well as protected from vulnerabilities, risks, and harm.

The debates and discussions on sex work are situated within a dominant narrative which on the one hand equates sex work to discourses of agency, integrity, and free-will, and on the other equates sex work to coercion, abuse, exploitation, and human trafficking. These debates also emerge through a review of the positions put forward by international and national NGOs, Unions, and parties, in response to the launch of the policy reform on sex work in Malta. The absence of the voices of both sex workers and their clients thus far, in both peer-reviewed research on the topic in Malta and in the public discourse on the policy reform, indicates an absence which transformational conflict mapping analysis should seek to address.

Human rights values, norms and principles have served as a framework for the reform of LGBTQI policies and laws in Malta since 2013. This case-study shows the impact of active governance, and how important it is to actively provide spaces for participation to all stakeholders impacted by a reform. A policy reform on sex work in Malta should employ a human rights based approach to policy making in both the consultation *process* and the outcomes. A human rights based approach to policy making considers the principles of Participation, Accountability, Non-Discrimination and Equality, Empowerment, and Legality (i.e. PANEL) as central pillars (SHRC, 2018).

Harm reduction, an approach rooted in policy responses to drug policy and healthcare, is based on five principles. In essence, harm reduction calls for supportive rather than punitive actions. Cusick (2006) and Rekart (2005) show how this approach can be applied to sex work policy, and its connections to human rights.

Limitations to this review of literature include the lack of peer-reviewed research on sex work in Malta, as well as no review of approaches to policy making, beyond a human rights based approach. By critically engaging with this limitation, this dissertation seeks to use conflict analysis and critical narrative theory to look beyond these limitations and examine spaces for resolution.

In answering, *how can conflict mapping inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta?* This review helps to identify key conflicts and divergences, the dominant narrative on sex work in Malta, key stakeholders, and the ways in which human rights and harm reduction can inform policy making. All of which are important aspects for consideration in the design of a targeted conflict map analysis process which serves to inform the policy reform.

CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY

This dissertation discusses how conflict mapping can be used as an analytical framework to inform a policy reform on sex work - a topic which has been considered from multiple frames by various researchers. In this chapter I reflect on my positionality as a researcher and outline the opportunities and limitations which conflict maps and conflict mapping offer as methodological approaches. Specifically, this chapter serves to answer, *what research methodologies would help build a tailor-made conflict mapping process to inform the policy reform?*

As mentioned in *Chapter 2 - Literature Review* when it comes to sex work, the choice of terms is considered indicative of ideological and therefore political convictions. In the choice of naming in this research, i.e. using the word 'sex work' despite the official name of the political reform being 'prostitution,' my political convictions and ideology as a researcher are already apparent. Therefore, this chapter outlines my already existing roles in this conflict, and how these roles offer both opportunities and limitations - to explain the positionality of the researcher in undertaking this study, as well as the use of reflective approaches in undergoing this research. Conflict maps and conflict mapping are not clearly described as qualitative methodology, therefore in this chapter I also outline and consider 'conflict mapping' as a tool for qualitative analysis.

This dissertation has changed considerably since the first research proposal was submitted in January 2020 and its current and final iteration, eight months later. Many of the changes, indeed, too many to go into here, were a result of adapting to the COVID-19 pandemic, and the impact of this on universities and academia as a whole. This resulted in shifting from a methods approach which centered participatory action research and focus groups as part of a conflict mapping process, to a methods approach which centres the problematization of a

conflict map that informs policy, and its application to a specific case-study. Due to the ongoing state of uncertainty related to the COVID-19 pandemic any idea of setting out interviews and focus groups, whether virtual or not, were shelved.

Ethical Considerations and Researcher Positionality

As a campaigner and politician I feel the need to locate myself and my personal positions in relation to my research. Especially to consider how these positions might influence the research. I also must lay bare the research context - and how this influences the results. Further, this centres critical reflection, as one of the ongoing approaches in analysing this conflict, and the methodology being employed to do so.

With respect to the reform...

Trans sex workers have been at the forefront of a number of LGBTQI movements across the world - from the Stonewall riots in New York in 1969 (Stern, 2019), to trans movements closer to home in Spain (Espejo, Cuenca, Tarres, 2020) and Italy (Marcasciano, 2018). There are a number of common concerns between trans people and sex workers (TGEU, 2016). Therefore, as mentioned in the introduction, my engagement with the topic of sex work also stems from my involvement in the trans movement, as a trans person and a LGBTQI activist. When I worked for Transgender Europe as a communications officer, this meant designing and organising campaigns that were inclusive of sex workers, including campaigns to mark the Transgender Day of Rememberance, on 20th November every year, (61% of known murdered trans people in the world between 2008 and 2019 are sex workers (TvT, Trans Murder Monitoring, 2019)), for the International Day to End Violence Against Sex Workers (December 17th), and for the International Day of Sex Workers (June 2nd).

In Malta, as an LGBTQI activist, my involvement has been on a different level and has included co-organising a community discussion for Malta Pride 2017 on "LGBTIQ People and Sex Workers' Rights", where members of the LGBTIQ community had the opportunity to discuss Sex Work with international experts, and my former colleague at TGEU, Boglarka Fedorko, and Luca Stevenson from the International Committee on the Rights for Sex Workers in Europe (Baldacchino, Tolu, Sammut, 2017).

Through my work at Transgender Europe from 2015 to 2018, and beyond, these opportunities have granted me access to speak to and listen to the voices of sex workers in Europe, particularly those most impacted by systemic violence - trans women, Black and women of colour, Roma sex workers, those who are HIV-positive, and gay men - I am grateful for their creativity and patience in telling their stories, so that those of us with more power can attempt to make impactful change.

It is with this background - as an activist - and comparatively more voice and power, that as a green politician in Malta I contributed to AD's position paper on sex work and consultation submission in October 2019, later presenting this position at a meeting of the Social Affairs Committee and on a nationally broadcast TV program in March 2020.

Therefore, in terms of this research, which is designed in response to an ongoing political reform on sex work in Malta, to which I have contributed, I am to some extents an insider. From this point of view I have observed conversations and discussions which were increasingly frustrating. Firstly, because no sex workers were actively involved or being involved in the discussion. Secondly, because of the conflation of human trafficking with sex work. Third, because we would often find ourselves circling around the same points without space, motivation or intent for mediation or resolution. Finally, because there did not seem to

be one common frame of values or language for the debate - we moved from human rights discourse to legalese, and Christian ethics and morality to notions of harm reduction.

Additionally, I do use the word 'sex work' instead of 'prostitute' - as I am wary of the stigma connected to the word. Even when the reform is officially called a 'reform on human trafficking and prostitution.' Further, I do grapple with the concepts of 'expert' and 'expertise' and what these might mean in this reform.

Aware of my biases, this research offers me the opportunity to challenge and also critically reflect on my own positions. And as a student of conflict analysis and resolution, I wonder whether my recent studies and understanding of theoretical approaches to conflict analysis and resolution, could help to move beyond the frozen conflicts which emerged through the reform. As a student I have also learnt that conflict maps can be ideal companions for those who wish to move beyond bias and facilitate conversations beyond differences. In this particular case, I believe they offer the opportunity to develop more streamlined approaches for policy making with an aim to solve problems and suggest modes for conflict management, resolution, and transformation.

With respect to conflict mapping...

Chapter 2 - Literature Review points to the need for custom approaches, a national approach, to sex work policy. While it can borrow from other approaches it must consider Maltese cultural and social values and norms. Further, a decision on which conflict maps should be applied for analysis, in order to inform a policy reform, should not be taken out of context. Each map should be considered within a set of criteria and placed within a national context. Further, the positionality of the researcher, in this case myself, but also conflict

analysts seeking to apply this model, or policy makers leading the process would impact the reform.

As a student-researcher who has used conflict maps inside and outside the classroom, I am aware of the limitations and opportunities offered by these tools. In order to propose which maps would be best suited to inform the sex work policy reform, I first undertake considerable critical reflection of conflict maps which already exist. To do this I must first place this critical reflection within a deeper understanding of conflict maps and conflict mapping as methodology.

Defining Conflict Mapping

As a Master's student of Conflict Analysis and Resolution I have learnt that a *conflict map* is a diagram which represents key elements and a basic analysis of a conflict. A conflict map centres the analysis of a conflict from the point of view of a theory from the field of conflict analysis and resolution, and/or seeks to inform interventions for resolution. *Conflict mapping* refers to the activity and process involved in creating a conflict map. Conflict mapping allows analysts to creatively understand conflicts, categorise qualitative data, and analyse aspects of social conflict. These elements include stakeholders, relationships, narratives, systems, and modes of intervention. Many different conflict maps exist, and each one may be used to serve a different aim. The outline or base model of the conflict map may be informed by different theories or frameworks. In the process of conflict mapping, an analyst may choose to use more than one conflict map in order to have a broader and more holistic analysis of the conflict at hand.

A search for the term 'conflict mapping' in SAGE research methods database[8] yielded no results. Therefore, to understand conflict mapping as a tool for qualitative analysis other similar methods have been considered, and these approaches inform the grounding of conflict maps as methods. The methods considered are facet theory, situational analysis, and concept mapping. This approach has assisted in forming a comprehension of the limitations and opportunities offered by these qualitative methodologies, and the possibility to apply some of these to 'conflict mapping' as a tool for qualitative analysis. Of course, not all the conditions related to these three methods would align with conflict mapping, however they do help to contextualise conflict mapping as a qualitative methodology.

Facet Theory

In their introduction to facet theory, Shye and Elizur (1994) argue that mapping 'is so fundamental that often we do not even notice that we do it.' In essence, they continue, a map is a 'systematic mental transformation of one thing into another' and this holds true from geographical mapping to mathematical mapping. The process of 'mapping' is transformational, i.e. something is transformed and assigned from one set, a domain, to another, a range. While the outcomes of geographical, mathematical, concept, and other mapping is different - the process is similar. Shye and Elizur (1994) also assert the need to 'state explicitly what kinds of mapping are being conducted' in response to observational questions or hypotheses. Setting a clear framework for mapping can contribute to 'flexibility in designing and investigating a research question.'

[8] The SAGE research methods database was accessed on 16th August 2020, through access granted by the GMU online library.

Situational Analysis

Situational analysis both uses and extends on grounded theory, by applying grounded theory to historical, visual and discursive materials and employing coding and memoing strategies. Situational analysis is used to situate a project within a broader system, and the different situational maps (situational map, social world map, and positional map) can either be used together or separately to understand a bigger picture (Clarke, 2005). In an introduction to this methodology, Clarke (2005) focuses on a discussion of three broad caveats in applying it to research. These caveats are that 1) the outcome (map) produced by situational analysis is not always a final analytic product, the process allows for the interrogation of data in a 'fresh way', 2) coded data can be used, to help overcome analysis paralysis, and 3) since the process of situational mapping stimulates thinking, thorough memo-ing of the process is useful for researchers - indeed the researchers' own experience in making use of the maps becomes part of the analysis.

Concept Mapping

Kane and Trochim (2013), argue that concept mapping enables a connection from theory to practice, which is often a challenge for social scientists who use a number of conceptual frames in response to their hypotheses, observations, and conclusions. For Kane and Trochim, conceptual maps are only those processes which generate 'pictorial representation', i.e. the visual or graphical element is important, and they are 'flexible, transferable and scalable'. These conceptual maps can provide 'visual summar[ies] of a theory of abstract ideas' and 'provide a view of how a person or group thinks the world operates in the context being considered.' These maps (be they mind maps, mental maps, or cognitive maps) may be applied for 'individual learning, organizing or writing', additionally they can also be used in structured ways for data input as part of collaborative group processes. These researchers

stress that these group processes in particular could offer unique outcomes, 'that would be difficult to arrive at through other more traditional means.'

Conflict Mapping

Facet theory, situational analysis, and concept mapping offer some guidelines on how to position conflict mapping, which overlaps onto the previous methodologies, as a distinct qualitative analysis tool. In going forward in this research, I therefore consider the following constraints for conflict maps and conflict mapping:

1. Flexibility, transferability, scalability;
2. That the *process*, mapping, can be transformational;
3. That the *output*, map, is a visual representation;
4. That multiple maps may be used within a process to help to understand a broader picture of a conflict; and
5. That the experience of using the map can become a part of data analysis.

The first constraint, 'flexibility, transferability, scalability' indicates that a conflict map should be able to be moulded and adapted in response to a research question and hypothesis. The second constraint centres the process of mapping and points to the fact that processes, whether as a group or individual, can be useful not only to forego bias but to mediate difficult conversations. The process can allow for fresh ways in which to analyse previously coded data, as well as offer conclusions which might otherwise not be reached through more traditional means of qualitative analysis. The third constraint limits conflict mapping to those processes which result in a map - outcome - which is visual in some way. This visual output can serve different means, and might not always serve as a final analytical product. For example, it might be the basis on which further analysis is then built. Multiple maps can be used together to understand the broader picture, and to help make up for each other's

limitations. And finally, the cartographer's own experience of mapping is crucial and transformative.

Applying these limits to conflict mapping, which are informed by similar qualitative methodologies, allows me to centre and ground this research. There is a necessity to first consider existing conflict maps and similar models as a methodology - to understand whether they can be scaled or transferred to answer the research question which is posed by this dissertation. This requires a reflective approach of engagement with existing conflict maps and other similar models. This must be done while considering the conflict as set out through the literature review.

Critical Reflection

In introducing critical reflection as a part of action research, Coghlan and Brydon-Miller (2014) state that first it is necessary to understand the differences between reflection, critical reflection and reflexivity. Reflection is reengaging with a previous experience and critical reflection allows a researcher to learn from that experience through inquiry based questioning or other methods. While reflexivity 'is a process used to make overt an action researcher's internal dialogue about attitudes, values, beliefs, decisions and thoughts on the research' (n.p.). Engaging in critical reflection must be deliberate, and there are many different methods and tools that allow for this engagement to happen, including creating concept maps, building models and using creative processes like autobiographical storytelling and sketching.

In *Chapter 4 - Conflict Maps,* I will engage in critical reflection in order to analyse conflict maps which I have used in the past, and consider whether these maps would be useful tools in informing the policy reform on sex work in Malta.

Conclusion

My positionality as an activist, politician, and conflict analysis and resolution student impacts the ways in which I approach this research. Conflict mapping, as a methodology, helps to overcome some of these biases themselves.

Facet theory, situational analysis, and concept mapping offer a methodological framework in which to consider conflict mapping. This elaboration of conflict mapping as a methodological approach outlines five constraints to the research method. These constraints are, 1)Flexibility, transferability, scalability; 2) That the *process*, mapping, can be transformational; 3) That the *output*, map, is a visual representation; 4) That multiple maps may be used within a process to help to understand a broader picture of a conflict; and 5)That the experience of using the map can become a part of data analysis.

Finally, an understanding of critical reflection provides a framework for the analysis of conflict maps themselves. This analysis takes place in *Chapter 4 - Conflict Maps,* where I reflect on past conflict mapping experiences, and consider which conflict maps can be applied to inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta.

CHAPTER 4 - CONFLICT MAPS

Like many students of conflict analysis I was introduced to conflict maps and the benefits of mapping - as a process - in the classroom. It was there that I was invited to critically and creatively engage with conflict analysis through the application of various visual maps, tools and frameworks. I was further encouraged to use these tools to imagine alternatives, and to bridge conflict analysis to ideas for conflict resolution and transformation. Additionally, my academic and professional background in visual communications allowed me to easily adopt and adapt these tools for conflict analysis in the classroom. These experiences inform my approach to analysing conflict maps, this is two-fold, first by reflecting on mapping processes which I have already participated in, and second by applying some of the other maps to basic examples, in order to analyse them in practice.

As discussed in *Chapter 3 - Methodology*, a reflective approach and engagement with existing conflict maps helps to lay out which conflict map or conflict mapping process might be applied to the case-study of the policy reform on sex work in Malta. In this chapter, this reflective analysis is applied to existing conflict maps and other frameworks and models which are used in the fields of conflict analysis and resolution, campaigning, and policy making.

Basic Stakeholder Map

This analysis begins with a reflection on a basic stakeholder map, which is also known as a stakeholder network and simply, a basic conflict map (Fisher et. al., 2000). This challenge of naming is common in the field of conflict analysis and resolution, and Wohlfeld (2010, p.24) comments on this stating that, ‘unlike in the human rights literature, the literature on conflict cycles and on conflict resolution does not have an agreed upon vocabulary.’ The basic stakeholder map, maps out stakeholders in a conflict and the relationships between them. The

connections between parties is shown through various links between nodes and there are some conventional graphics used in these maps. These are often described in a key which is attached to the map, as seen on the next page in Figure 3. In many ways this map is rather comprehensive and can illustrate a conflict rather clearly and concisely. As a conflict occurs in the relationships between individuals or groups, understanding the various ways these stakeholders are impacted by or impact a conflict is important. This map can help to understand the roles of various stakeholders in a conflict, as well as their relationships to each other and the conflicts between them.

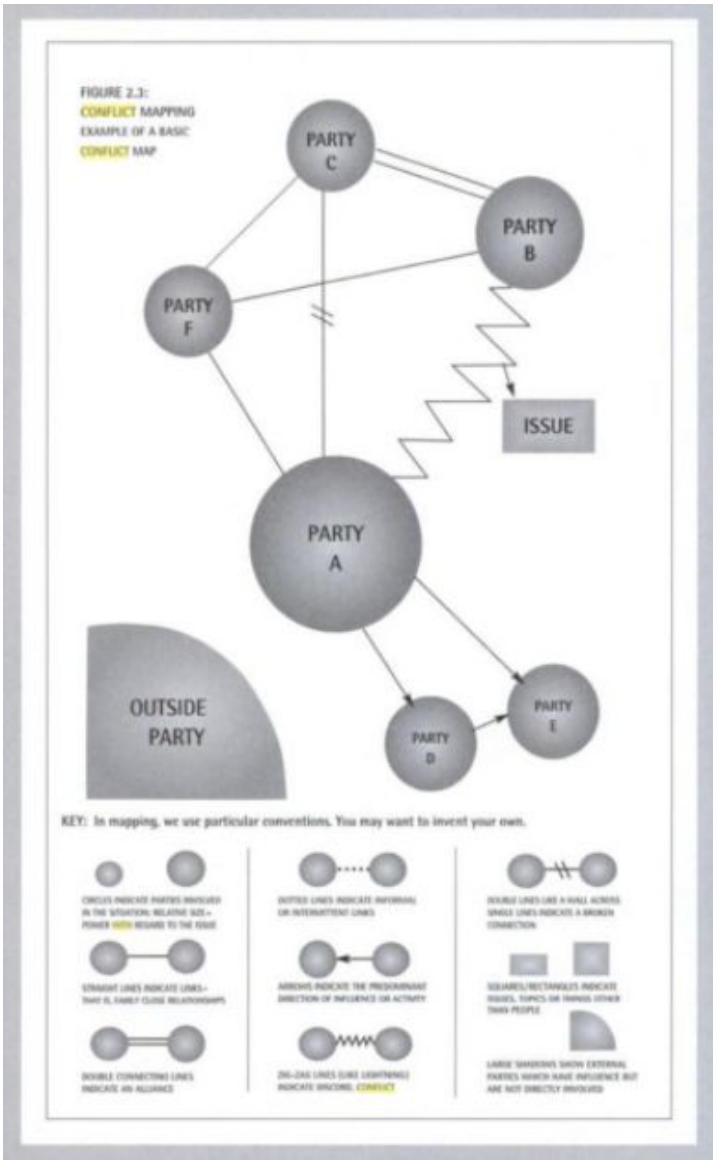

Figure 3: Conflict *or* Basic Stakeholder Mapping (Fisher et. al, 2000).

I have experienced using this map in the classroom, as part of an Experiential Learning Activity (ELA) called 'Community at Odds in Voinjama, Liberia (Part 1): Introduction to Conflict Mapping'. In this ELA, students are divided into groups, and handed data-sets to use as the basis of their analysis. These data-sets included photos, press releases, news articles and community interviews. Together with my colleagues Bonnie Cooper and Deema Mimi, we went through a process of at least three iterations and drafts, until we settled on the one which is shown in Figure 4 below.

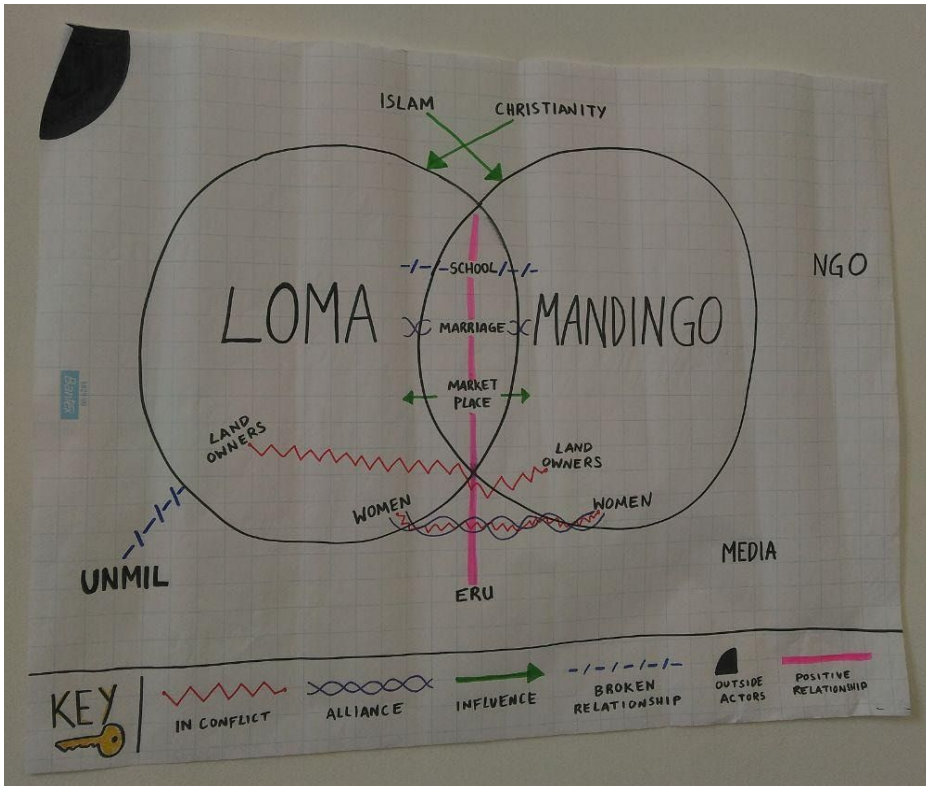

Figure 4: A basic stakeholder map developed during a class ELA (Tolu, Cooper, Mimi, 2019).

Through the application of the *Basic Stakeholder Map* I have learned that this is overall a flexible tool, and while it is basic, it can take a few iterations to make it most accurately reflect the conflict being analysed. It can be a good map to understand the bigger picture, and to understand where interventions might be applied. Considering this relational aspect, I think that this map can also inform a discussion on interventions, while not directly resulting in

direct ideas for interventions. Having a broad overview of as many stakeholders as possible and an understanding of their relationships is useful in this regard. Perhaps, when it comes to policy making this tool can help to remind the analysts about which stakeholders might be directly impacted by a policy intervention. However other maps or mapping processes might be needed to understand whether a policy directly addresses a conflict, or whether the introduction of a policy itself may further exacerbate tensions between groups of communities.

The map itself also offers a clear visual output, which can be an effective communications tool. The key helps those outside of the analysis to understand the broad picture it is presenting. All of these factors are aided by the fact that the learning curve to use this map is very small. From the perspective of conflict mapping as a qualitative method for analysis, the basic stakeholder map offers a broad overview of a conflict, and can be an appropriate starting point, if accompanied by analysis with other conflict maps.

Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid

Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid (1997) is also known as the Peace Triangle (Figure 5), it is a basic framework for understanding the connection between actors or stakeholders and potential interventions. This map puts into the focus power and hierarchical structures, and how these might change the approach for intervention in peacebuilding. This map is particular to peacebuilding rather than conflict analysis and resolution more broadly, and this is clear by the actors which are already grouped in predestined levels of, 1) the top level which includes politicians, state leaders etc., 2) mid-range leaders which include religious leaders, academics, and experts in various sectors, and 3) grassroots leadership and community. For each of these three levels, Lederach also suggests specific interventions which these actors could tackle.

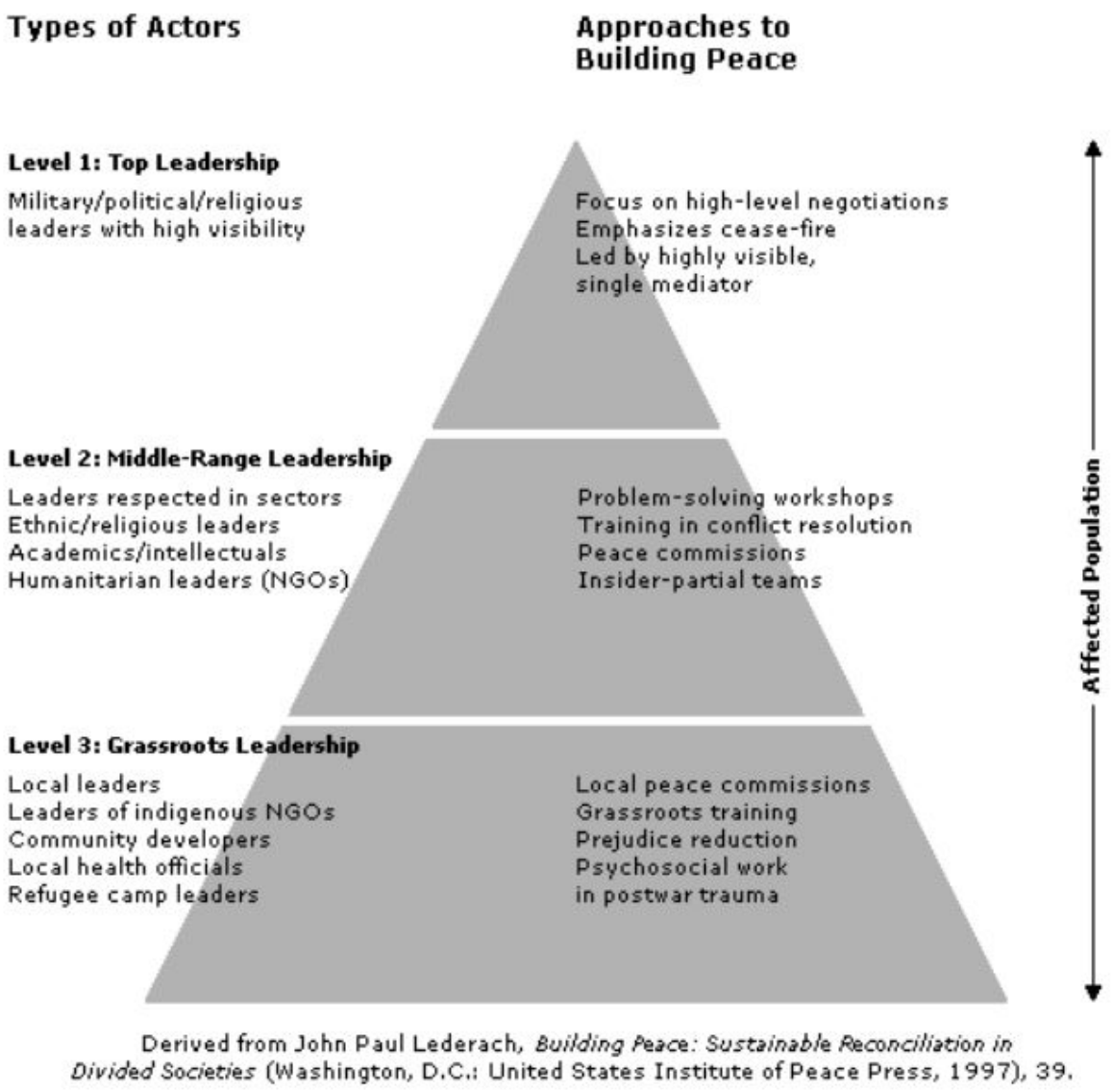

Figure 5: Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid (1997).

I think that as it stands, this map or model has too many constraints which might restrict its use. However it can be creatively adapted to apply to more contexts. One limitation for policy making in particular is that it would visually reinforce hierarchy in terms of decision making and might not involve grassroots community in policy decisions. Shouldn't the people most impacted have more power, and doesn't reinforcing existing power structures subvert the role of conflict analysis? When addressing socio-structural issues, as many issues connected to sex work are, wouldn't the sex worker be at the top? In this way this map may not be useful for

guiding a reform, but could provide insight into social hierarchies that need to be critically challenged for a productive reform.

Dugan's Nested Model of Conflict

Dugan's Nested Model of Conflict (Figure 6) was developed to show the ways in which conflict intervention might change, depending on the level at which it is being analysed (Dugan, 1996). It allows for the analysis of a conflict at four different levels which are interrelated, 1) issue-specific level, most often the place where an interpersonal conflict might manifest itself, 2) relational level, 3) structural, sub-system level, and 4) structural, system level. Dugan's Nested Model of Conflict is both visually effective and simple to use.

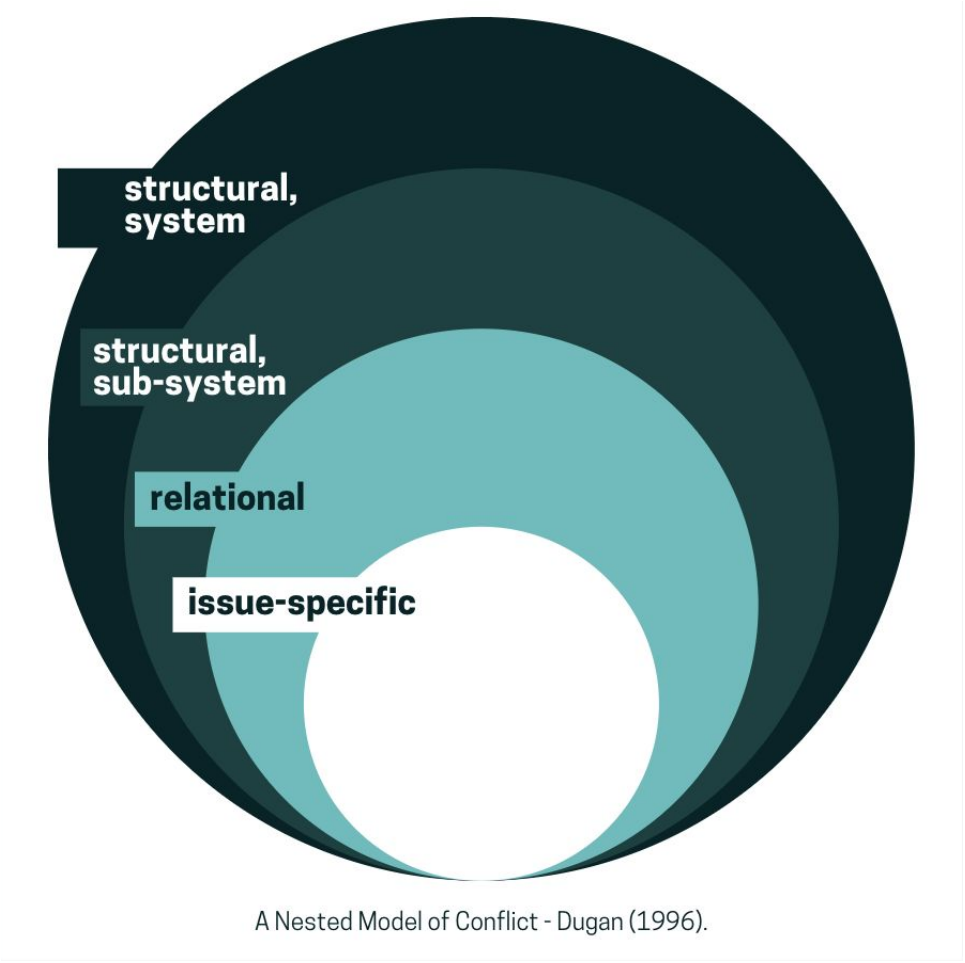

Figure 6: Dugan's Nested Model of Conflict.

Noting how straightforward this model is, I chose to apply it to a personal issue-specific conflict (Figure 7) in order to directly experience how it is applied, and to note whether any key elements might be useful in informing policy making. The results of this consideration are below.

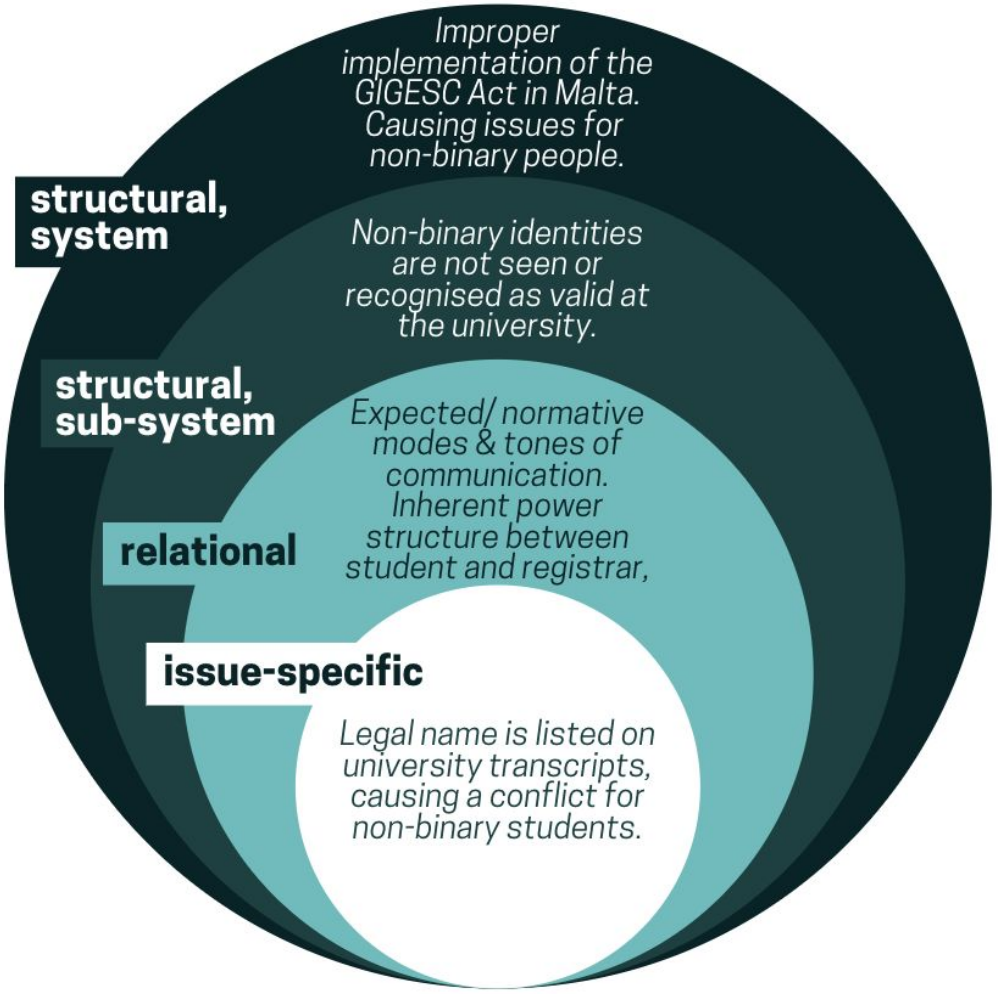

Figure 7: A Nested Model of Conflict - Name Changes for Non-Binary People in Malta, application of Dugan's Nested Model of Conflict to a personal, issue-specific conflict.

The issue-specific conflict I analyse relates to not being able to have my chosen name, rather than legal name, on my University transcript. On the relational level I felt that communication about this issue-specific conflict and the stress it was causing me as a non-binary trans person, was impacted by the expected and normative modes of

communication and inherent power structure between a student and the University. Originally, it was on this level that I chose to tackle the conflict, reaching out to faculty and the students' council for support in communicating with the registrar. These kinds of interventions are short-term focused and can allow for conflict management rather than conflict resolution to take place. This is shown clearly in the adaptation of Dugan's model by Lederach (1997) which also considers the different levels in connection to intervention and responses (Figure 8).

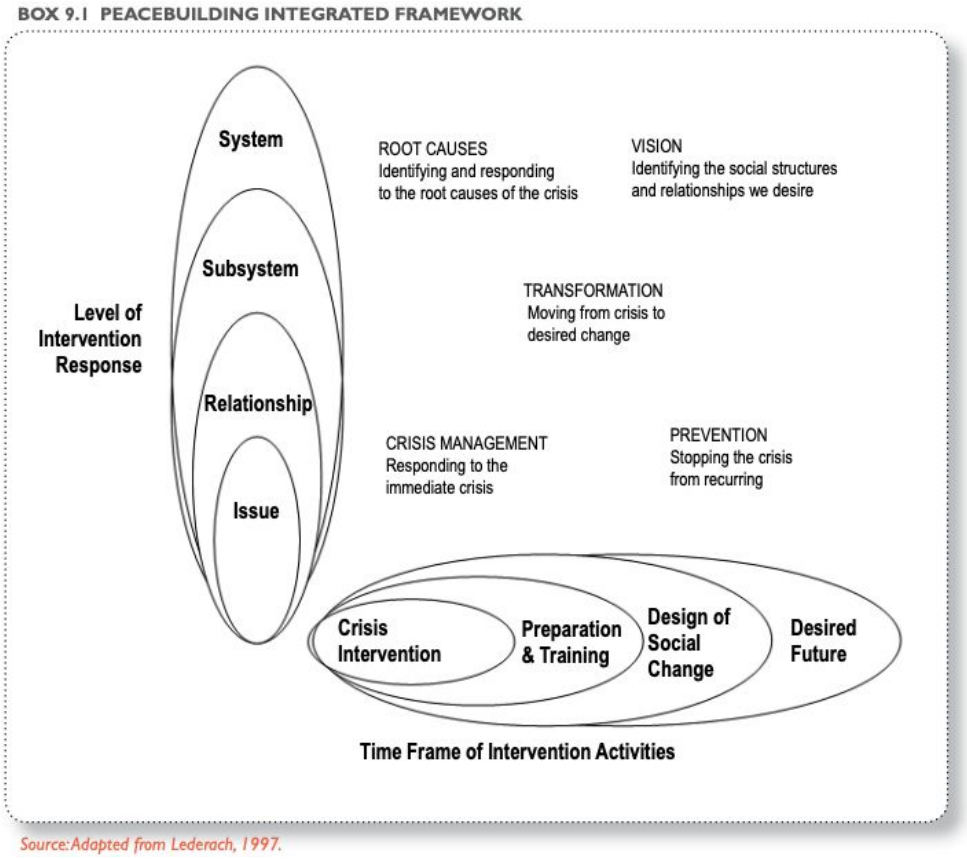

Figure 8: The Peacebuilding Integrated Framework: an adaptation of Dugan's Nested Model of Conflict (Lederach, 1997).

Using Dugan's Nested Model of Conflict allowed me to go beyond and consider both the structural, sub-system and structural, system levels. Of course, as these are all connected, on the sub-system level I consider that non-binary identities are often not seen or recognised as valid in society and at the University. This might affect the urgency or seriousness with which

complaints in this regard are taken. While on the system level, there is an improper implementation of the Gender Identity, Gender Expressions and Sex Characteristic Act (GIGESC) in Malta (2015). This act, which entered into force in 2015, states that Malta recognises multiple gender identities, yet however this has not been transposed into policy which allows for non-binary individuals to change their names. Off the top of my head this gave me a number of ideas for intervention at these levels, which might more likely lead to resolution. For example, advocating for non-binary inclusion at the University level to encourage them to introduce policy which goes over and beyond national legislation, or to advocate at the system level for proper implementation of the GIGESC act on a national level.

Applying this to a conflict so close to home, that felt inherently issue-specific allowed me to see the connections to other levels, which while overwhelming, also helps to understand how to tackle a conflict. Seeing these connections on paper makes me consider whether this model can be used for bottom-up policy making. For instance, if individual stakeholders were encouraged to create their own Nested Model of an issue-specific conflict they deal with, these stories could help create a dialogue and connect to the system levels and inform policy change. Further, an advantage here is that this model, if used on a personal level, has the potential to remove biases and encourages one to look deeper at the issue-specific conflicts which are affecting them.

Lederach's Transformational Platform

Lederach has adapted a number of other models, including Lederach's Transformational Platform (Figure 9) which allows analysts to see the larger social complexities of a conflict and the way these might transform over a period of time or in reaction to an event. The elements which are necessary to be considered for analysis in this map are, the Epicenter, i.e. the relational context and patterns visible over time, the Platform, i.e. the base from which

responsive processes are created, and Episodes, i.e. specific crisis events which have an impact at specific points of time. This analytical framework expands upon circular models of conflict, which Lederach (2003) argues are not able to account for the "longer-term relational and systemic patterns that produce violent, destructive expressions." This is why he proposes the Transformational Platform as a framework to consider both the impact of short-term responses on a system (circularity) and patterns over time (linearity).

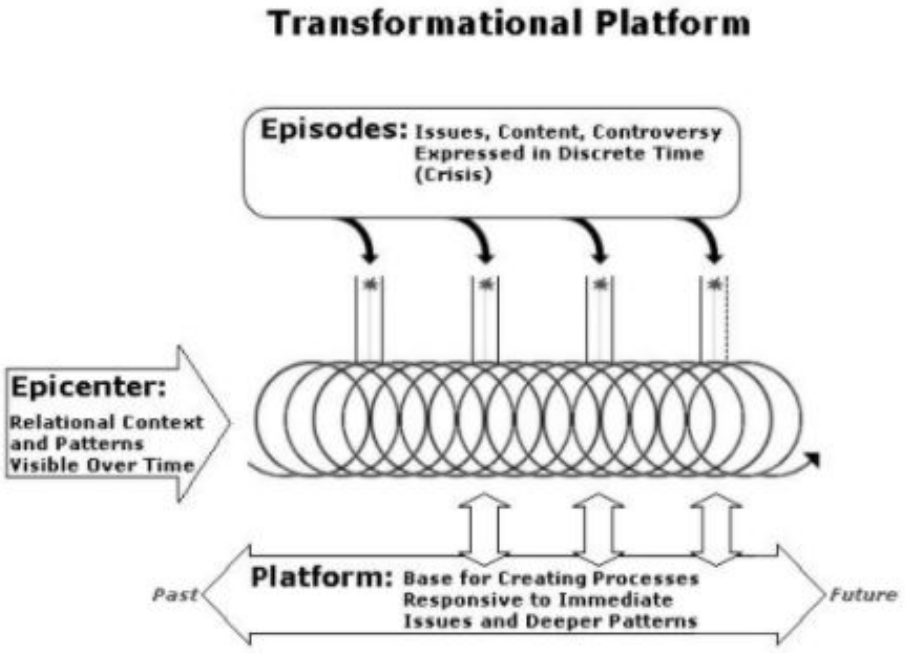

Figure 9: The Transformational Platform (Lederach, 2003).

At face value I have found this map to be almost too abstract to apply. However, it provides a strong theoretical framework that has the potential to lend itself to the analysis of protracted conflicts. Together with my colleagues Bonnie Cooper and Olivia Hord, we were able to apply the Transformational Platform to the analysis of porn production industry culture, and how this culture is impacted by health crises. This was achieved by marrying Lederach's framework toJackson and Gelfand's theory of tightness-looseness in cultures (2017). The resulting map, The Taxonomy of Transitional Tightness (Cooper, Hord, Tolu, 2020) (Figure 10) considers the platform to be situated within a Cultural Ecosystem which

reflects a transitional space for tightness-looseness. When health crises break out, this causes a situational activation of tightness, i.e. the culture tightens as a result of a crisis, allowing it to better deal with the crisis at hand. This tightening further reinforces the epicentre and creation of cultural norms within the porn production industry. This is visualised in Figure 10 below.

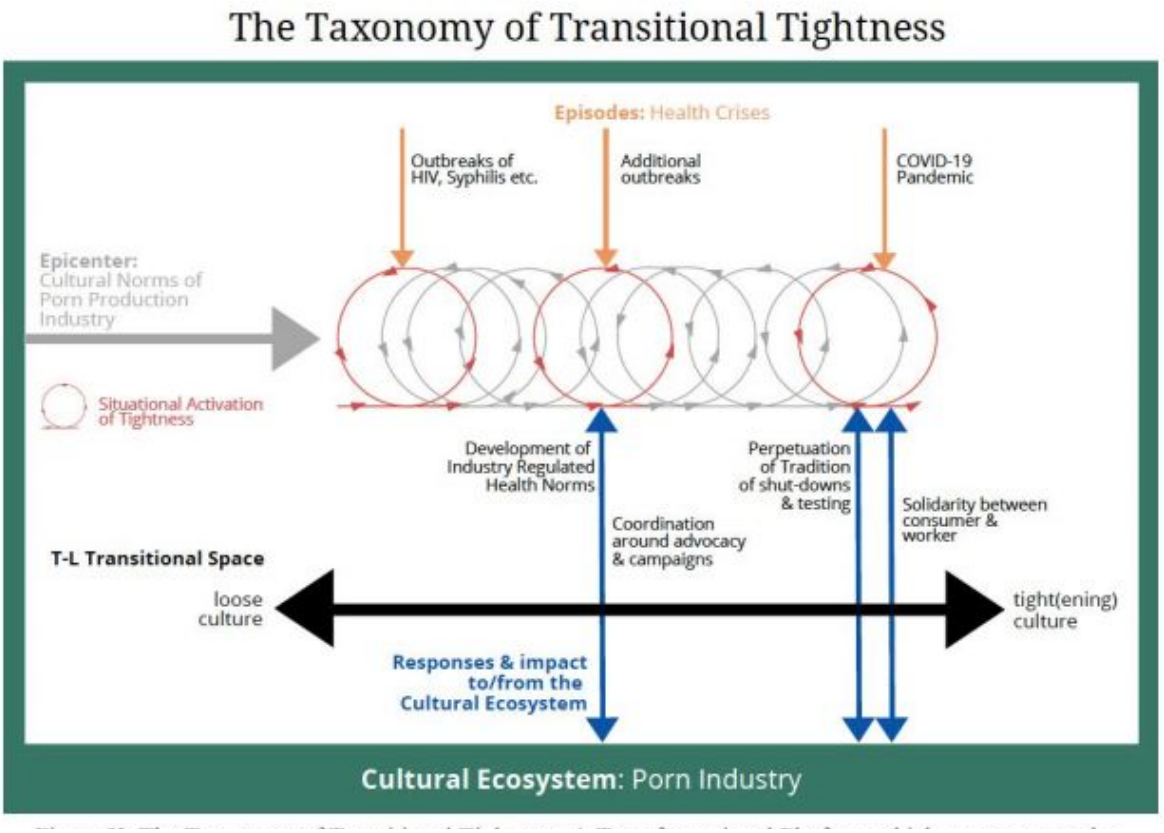

Figure 10: The Taxonomy of Transitional Tightness: A transformational platform which encompasses the transitional nature of Tightness-Looseness (T-L) in Cultural Ecosystems (Cooper, Hord, Tolu, 2020).

The data input for this map was gathered from secondary sources, i.e. journals and books, and it was clear the application of this map does not necessitate a dialectic process or group work. However an iterative process was necessary, as the application of the map in different ways allowed us to more clearly understand the conflict we were analysing. Like a dialectic process an iterative process is a critical reflection, a form of self-dialogue that allows for a completed and thorough examination of a conflict. While the map in Figure 10 builds upon

Lederach's work, it was a useful experience in almost creating a framework, that is grounded in theory, from scratch. Therefore, in considering map development for policy, iterative processes might be instrumental both in the stage of creating the map, but also if policy makers choose to first develop policy recommendations based on secondary sources, which can then be communicated with other actors to refine and update them. This openness to change and flexibility is inherent in a creative process, and could allow for using visual images to help start a dialogue and to engage in improving the findings. In moving forward, these considerations - of the importance of an iterative process and the development of a map that looks at transformational complexities of a social conflict - will be crucial in developing a clear mapping process to inform policy.

The Conflict Tree Model

The Conflict Tree Model for conflict analysis is used to help explore the roots, core and effects of conflict (Fisher et al, 2000). Similar to Dugan's Nested Model it helps to show how structural or systemic issues might lead to issue-specific conflicts. This is one of the maps which I have applied in the classroom, during the "Community at Odds in Voinjama, Liberia" ELA (Figure 11). It was clear that the Conflict Tree Model was a good starting point to map out various nodes of the conflict and how they relate to each other in a more abstract way. It was also the most effective map in communicating the result of our conflict mapping to our colleagues. Whereas other maps are more graphically complex, the simplicity and artistic value of this map helps to engage stakeholders, and it can act as the basis for the design of an infographic to present complex data or engage in discussions (Figure 12). Overall I think that this is an effective conflict map, thanks to its flexibility and creativity. Together with Bonnie Cooper and Deema Mimi we made full use of these points to develop a creative conflict map

which depicted a tree local to Liberia, and further built on it by adding a stakeholder element - i.e. birds representing the institutions having an impact on the conflict.

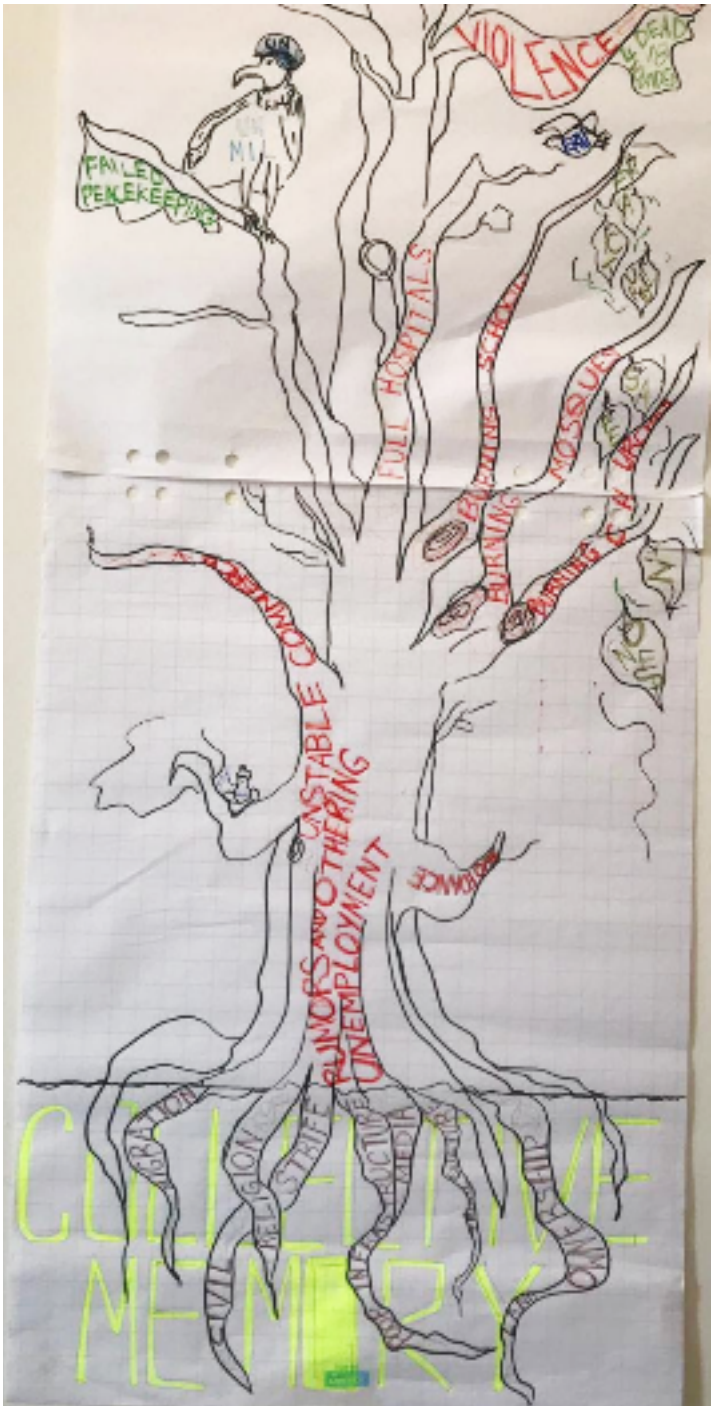

Figure 11: A Conflict Tree developed during a class ELA (Tolu, Cooper, Mimi, 2019).

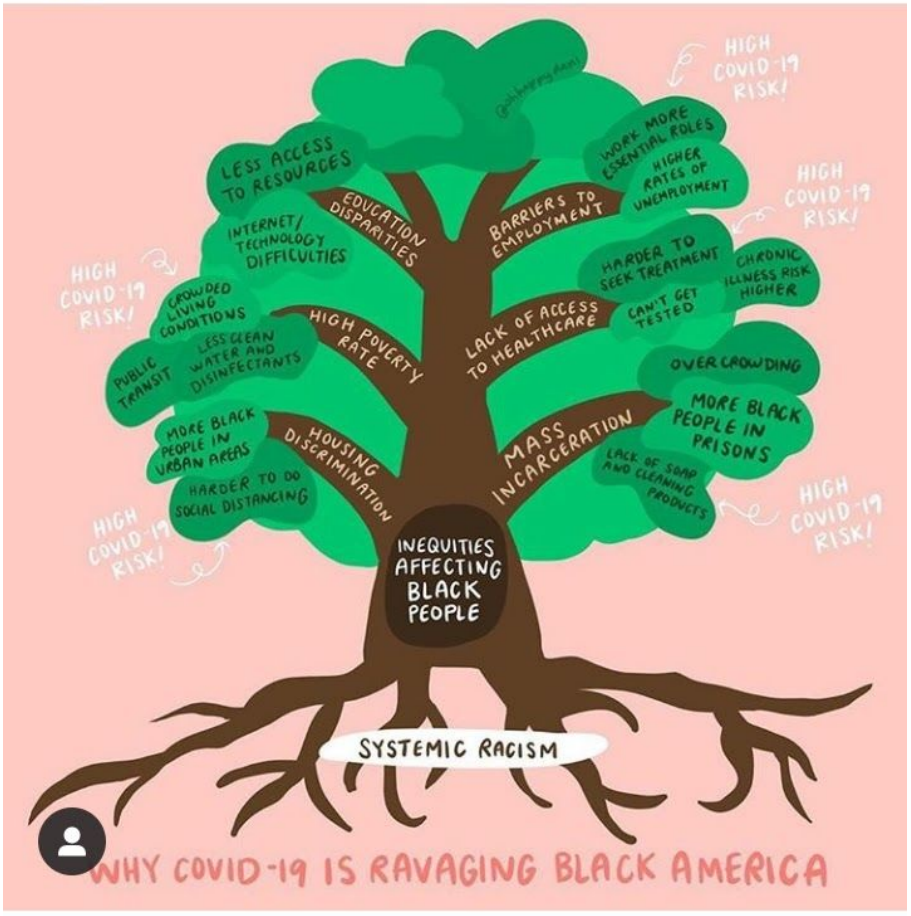

Figure 12: *Why COVID-19 is Ravaging Black America,* a Conflict Tree found on Instagram (Danielle Coke, @ohhappydani, 2020).

Volkan's Tree Model (1998) applies the similar metaphor of the Conflict Tree Model, but with a different outcome. Volkan's model is rooted in psychotherapy, with roots symbolising diagnosis, the trunk symbolising psychopolitical dialog, and the branches symbolising institutions. Volkan proposes that this model can be used to develop conflict resolution projects that address hidden transcripts, which when addressed can allow for conflict resolution rather than conflict management. Understanding broader structures, including the hidden transcripts that might impact the implementation of interventions. On the policy-level, stories and narratives also have a role to play, and this is explored in the next section on mapping narratives and framing campaigns.

Critical Narrative Analysis Map

Often hidden narratives are neglected in policy writing, and a mapping process that highlights political discourse and hidden transcripts can help to unpack dominant narratives and to understand how these impact a conflict and resulting interventions. A dialectical process is crucial to understand narratives, without a dialogue it might be extremely difficult to really unpack meaning from data, and to see beyond the normative and dominant narratives most present in discourses.

Challenged with creating an interactive lesson plan to introduce theories of narrative analysis in conflict resolution in October 2019 for the Foundations of Conflict Analysis course (CONF 600), my colleague Bonnie Cooper and I chose to create a visual framework of analysis based on Sara Cobb's theory of the complexity of narrating violence within conflicts (2013). Cobb is a professor and research in conflict analysis, and an expert on how narratives impact violent conflicts.

To build this map, we first did a close-reading of Cobb's theory to understand which elements would be central to building the analytical framework. Once we developed this framework we discussed the mapping process, what conflict to analyse and how to collect and input the data about the conflict into the map. This example offers the opportunity to look at a complete mapping process, from the development of a framework, considerations of ethics in data collection, and the benefits of dialectical processes in conflict analysis. Three key points that should be noted from this process are, first that a framework informed by theory allows for focused data input, second that the dialectic mapping process is essential to a thorough and informed analysis, and third that the visual element and outcome makes the complexity of

narrative streamlined for public consumption. These can serve as guidelines to developing future maps in other areas.

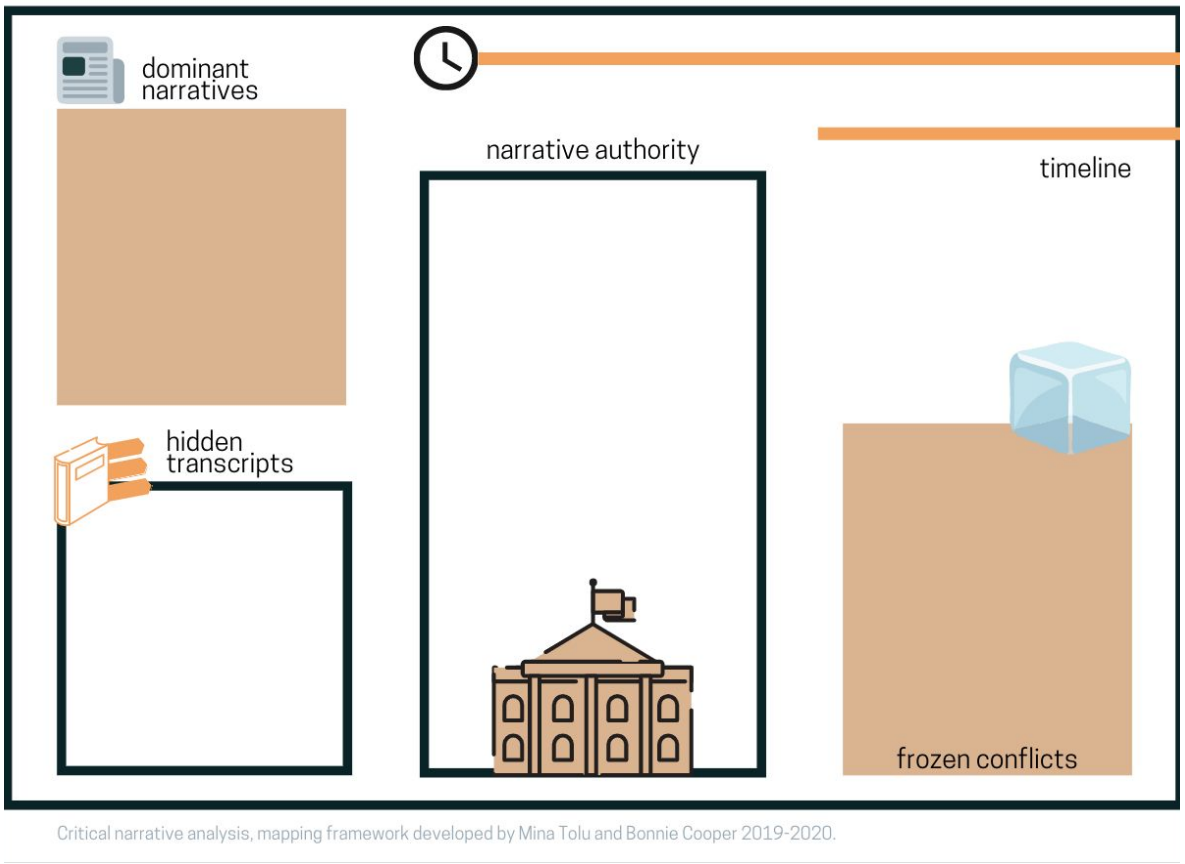

Figure 13: Critical Narrative Analysis Framework (Tolu and Cooper, 2019).

The objective of this mapping process was to analyse a conflict from a narrative frame. It was important for this map to be rooted and grounded in a theoretical framework, and a close reading of Cobb's theory helped to code which aspects should be highlighted. Specifically we focused on the concepts of dominant narratives, hidden transcripts, narrative authority (institutions/ social structures), timelines, and frozen - protracted conflicts (Figure 13).

Figure 14. Cooper leads a fishbowl discussion on conflict narratives while Tolu live-maps the dialogue during a class ELA in October 2019. Photo by Dr. Shedd.

Additionally, creating a dialectic mapping process is essential as it creates discourse to serve as the core of a narrative analysis. As many of our colleagues had just moved to Malta for their studies, Bonnie and I took the opportunity at the start of the semester to analyse the narratives surrounding the investigations into the murder of Daphne Caruana Galizia. For a dialogue to take place it is important to challenge power and social norms. In this process, power was subverted through reshaping the room and setting a space for a non-hierarchical discussion, and inherent structures of hierarchy in the classroom were also subverted as the professor was not facilitating the process, and was part of the audience (as shown in Figure 14). Data collection was in the hands of our peers, who were given a pre-written question and a script to follow in order to control data collection, this gives power to students, but also

leads to risks. In order to facilitate the data collection, students were sent to a 'hot-spot', i.e. a symbolic location with connections to the conflict (in this case, the memorial site to Daphne Caruana Galizia in front of the law courts in Valletta, Malta), introduce themselves to a person at the site and ask them questions. After data collection, the students came back to class and were engaged in a process of silent discussion - and later a facilitated discussion that was led by Bonnie. I live-mapped out the results of these discussions onto the pre-developed framework. After the live-mapping of the discussion and presentation of data collected, students expressed that this framework helped to further inform their understanding of the conflict. The dialectical process particularly helped them in identifying hidden transcripts that impact the dominant narrative of the conflict.

Clearly the process of mapping is extremely important, however this does not diminish the importance of a streamlined outcome. Similarly to the conflict tree model, and Dugan's nested model of conflict, the final outcome of the narrative map could be an useful image to communicate about a conflict to others. Perhaps if applied to other conflicts it could also help to identify needs and spaces for intervention that adequately addresses hidden transcripts. Framework informed by theory, dialectic and participatory group mapping processes, and simple creative visual outcomes are all important elements of this map. Further, in considering the research question at hand, I realise the importance of noting how power and social norms dictate the possibility of dialectic engagement in policy creation. An adaptation of this narrative analysis map will therefore be seriously considered for inclusion in a broader conflict mapping process to inform the sex work policy reform in Malta. This is elaborated on in *Chapter 5 - Proposal.*

Systems Maps

As aforementioned, when Lederach (2003) developed the Transformational Platform, this was done with the specific need to address the gaps in other frameworks which do not consider dynamics of conflict over time. For others, like Liebovitch, Coleman and Fischer (2020) this requires taking a qualitative mode of analysis, like a systems map, and turning it into a quantitative one. Their thinking is informed by Complexity Theory, and specifically addresses nonlinear aspects which are not covered by a very basic conflict cycle. In this section I reflect on my own experience of using a systems map to analyse qualitative data, and briefly explore Liebovitch et. al.'s work on predictive quantitative mapping. A systems theory of conflict, Vallacher et. al. (2013) argue, should be able to integrate various common factors identified for conflict analysis by research into something coherent which allows prediction and offers a basis for conflict resolution.

To discuss systems maps, I return again to the "Community at Odds in Voinjama, Liberia" ELA, and the group work carried out with two of my colleagues. We made three maps in all, the stakeholder and conflict tree maps as discussed above, and finally a systems map. As we were developing the systems map it became apparent that the process of mapping was more crucial than the final result (Figure 15). Indeed, the map itself might seem incomprehensible unless you have contributed to it directly. The process however, particularly as a team, allowed us to understand some feedback loops which were otherwise hidden under the surface. The systems map was rendered with more nuance thanks to the development of the conflict tree, where we discussed migration, land use and borders, and the stakeholder map where we had looked at gender and tribe relations. Certainly while having a rather steep learning curve to make an effective systems map, it was the most useful in practice. I could imagine that a well developed systems map could help avoid pitfalls in intervening, and even

open up new discussions for potential nodes for resolutions in the case of the sex work policy reform in Malta.

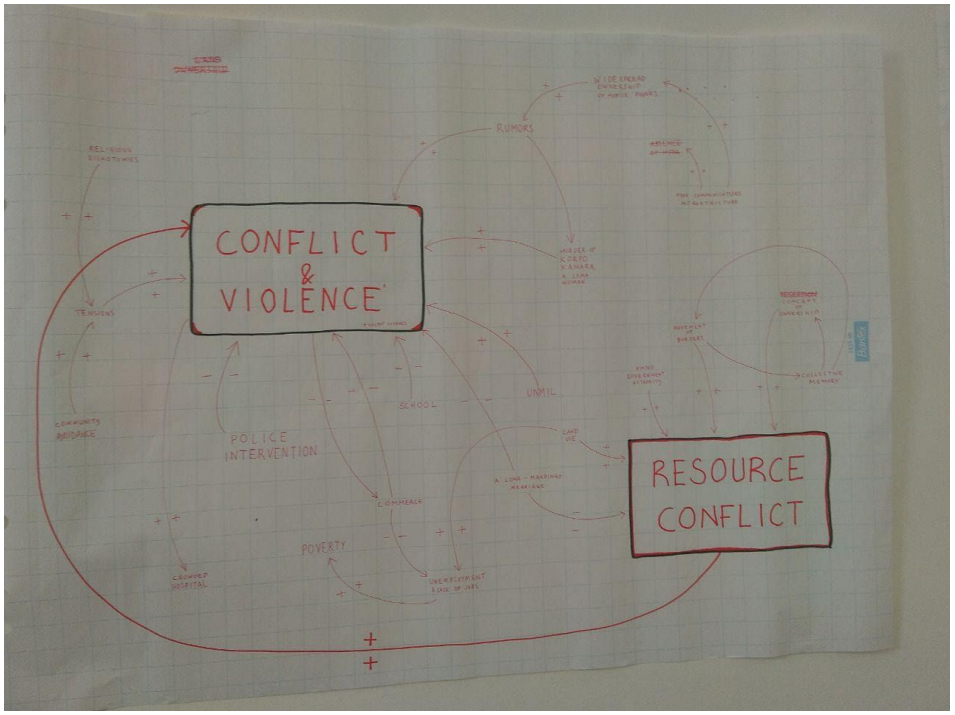

Figure 15: Systems Map. Cooper. Mimi. Tolu. October 2019.

This systems map uses Causal Loop Diagrams to explore concepts related to the conflict. These causal or feedback loops work negatively or positively together within a broader system. The Equation for Sustainable Peace is a research project by Liebovitch, Coleman, and Fisher (2020) who have engaged in a long-term dialectical process with experts in the field of peace studies to first develop a qualitative model of a systems map (causal loop diagram), and then turn this into a quantitative equation, to further explore how a system at peace can remain at peace. Their key finding was that, 'there is no single peace factor that functions as a "leverage" factor that controls the whole system. It is the collective effort of the influence of the larger number of positive peace factors that nudges the system into a good place' (p. 13) This is an interesting finding for the field, as it quantitatively confirms that multiple interventions of different kinds can help to maintain peace. Borrowing from complexity theory and mathematics, they also argue that with the right data input, into the mathematical

model, i.e. the equation for sustainable peace, it would be possible to predict the outcome of certain interventions on a broader system. Certainly this is not an easily accessible version of a systems map, as it requires a complex manipulation of quantitative data. However, it points to the potential for systems maps to develop from qualitative methodology to a mixed methodology. In developing a model for sustainable peace, Liebovitch et al. (2020) confirmed that the process of communication and deliberation with a number of experts was perhaps even more useful than the final outcome of their systems map.

This points to the use of diagrammatic representations of complexity, which as reviewed in *Chapter 2 - Literature Review,* is a method employed by Scicluna and Clark (2019) in analysing the development of victimisation identities for 12 women in Malta.

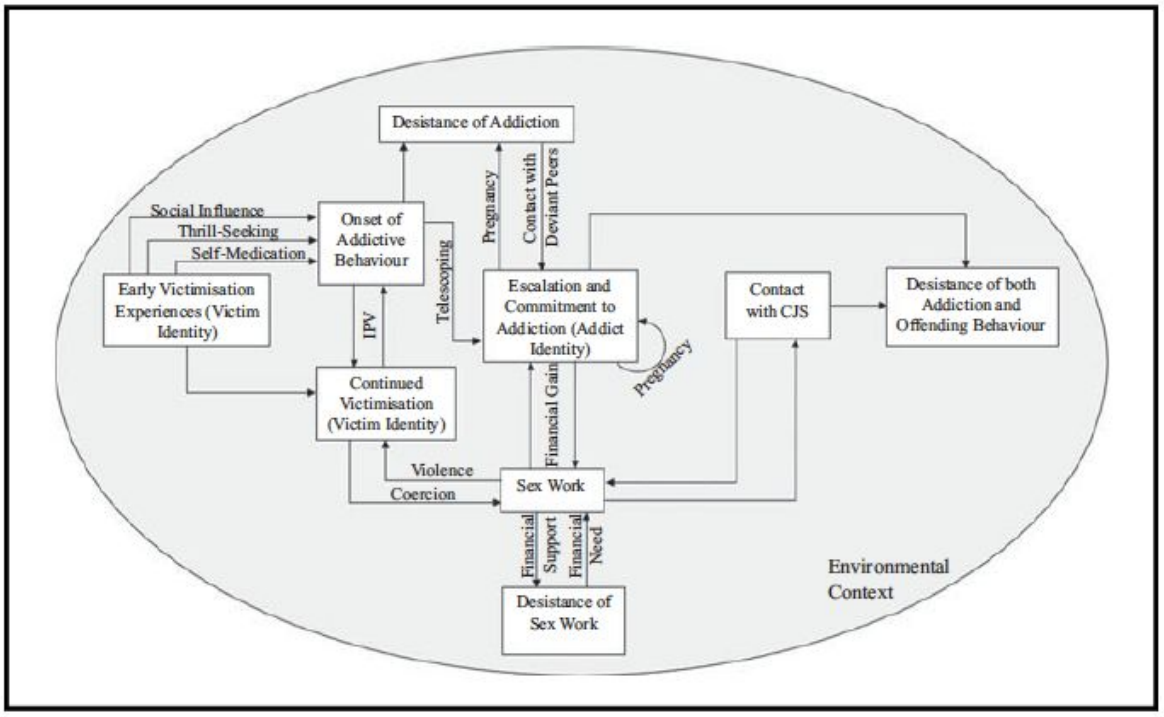

Figure 16: *Diagrammatic Representation of Victimisation and Addiction Careers of Women* (Scicluna and Clark, 2019).

Mapping Human Rights Frameworks

In this section I analyse and reflect on some of the human rights and harm reduction frameworks that are found in the literature. In some instances I have taken what is primarily a framework presented in text to present as a visual framework. This is a helpful process to start to imagine ways in which human rights and harm reduction principles can match with or connect with visual mapping tools.

In Human Rights & the Conflict Cycle: a synopsis, Grech (2010) creates a framework which blends a broad understanding of human rights with conflict analysis. Grech "eschew[s] a purely legalistic and litigious interpretation [of human rights]" (p. 34) as this proves useful in bridging the divides between human rights and conflict analysis. This is an approach which I also favour in this dissertation, as while I do seek to understand how to inform a policy reform, there is no aim to provide legal answers. To put this more clearly, a search for a holistic and broader understanding of human rights as it applies to conflict analysis should help to inform conflict mapping processes, while not limiting it via legally-framed constraints.

In his synopsis Grech (2010) focuses on three stages of violent and identity-based conflicts (a kind of before, during, after) and how different theories of peace and conflict studies at the three stages bridge with a human rights approach to conflict. In Figure 17, I visually summarize Grech's work while overlaying it with a Conflict Cycle (Kriesberg & Dayton, 2012) and Wohlfeld's (2010) discussion about the various and multiple models of conflict cycles which exist.

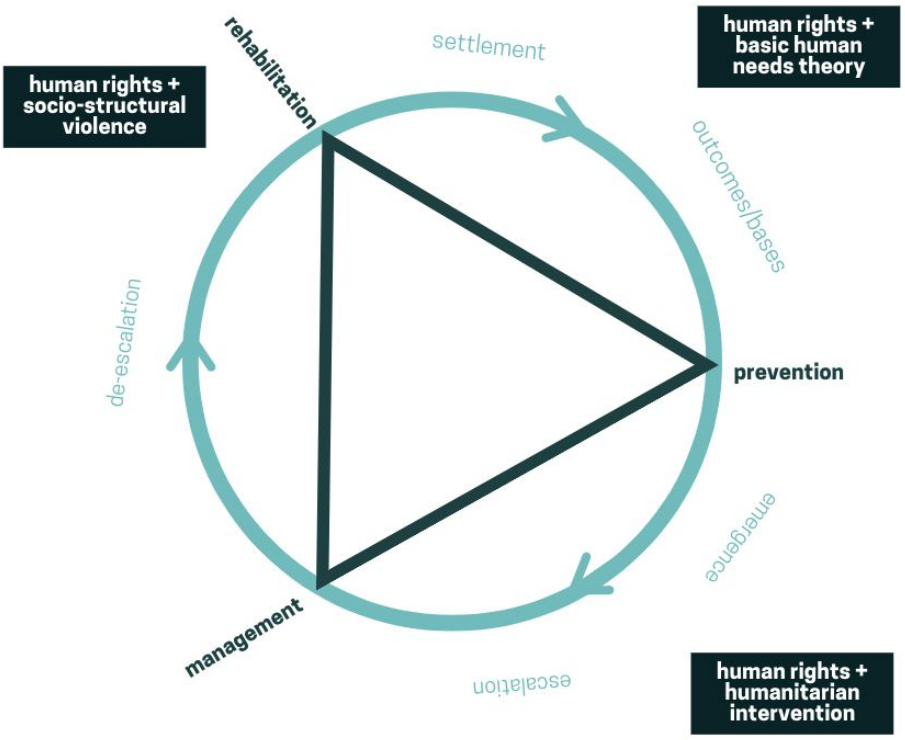

Figure 17: Visualising a Human Rights Conflict Cycle - based on Kriesberg & Dayton (2012), Grech (2010), Wohlfeld (2010).

To summarise, the first stage of the conflict cycle relates to the **bases** for a conflict, at this point the conflict approach is **prevention**, i.e. to prevent a conflict from escalating. From a human rights perspective, Grech (2010) argues that interventions and analysis at this stage can be informed by basic human needs theory and human rights. The next stages to contend with are **emergence** and **escalation.** These exist between the approaches of conflict **prevention** and **management.** At this stage, Grech focuses on the bridges between human rights and humanitarian intervention. This is done as Grech particularly looks at the impact of human rights on violent conflicts. Finally, in this conflict cycle, once conflict **management** has occurred, **rehabilitation** can take place. This looks at the stages of **de-escalation** and **settlement.** At this point in the conflict cycle Grech considers Galtung's theory of

socio-structural violence (1969), and discusses the role of conflict resolution in leading to positive peace.

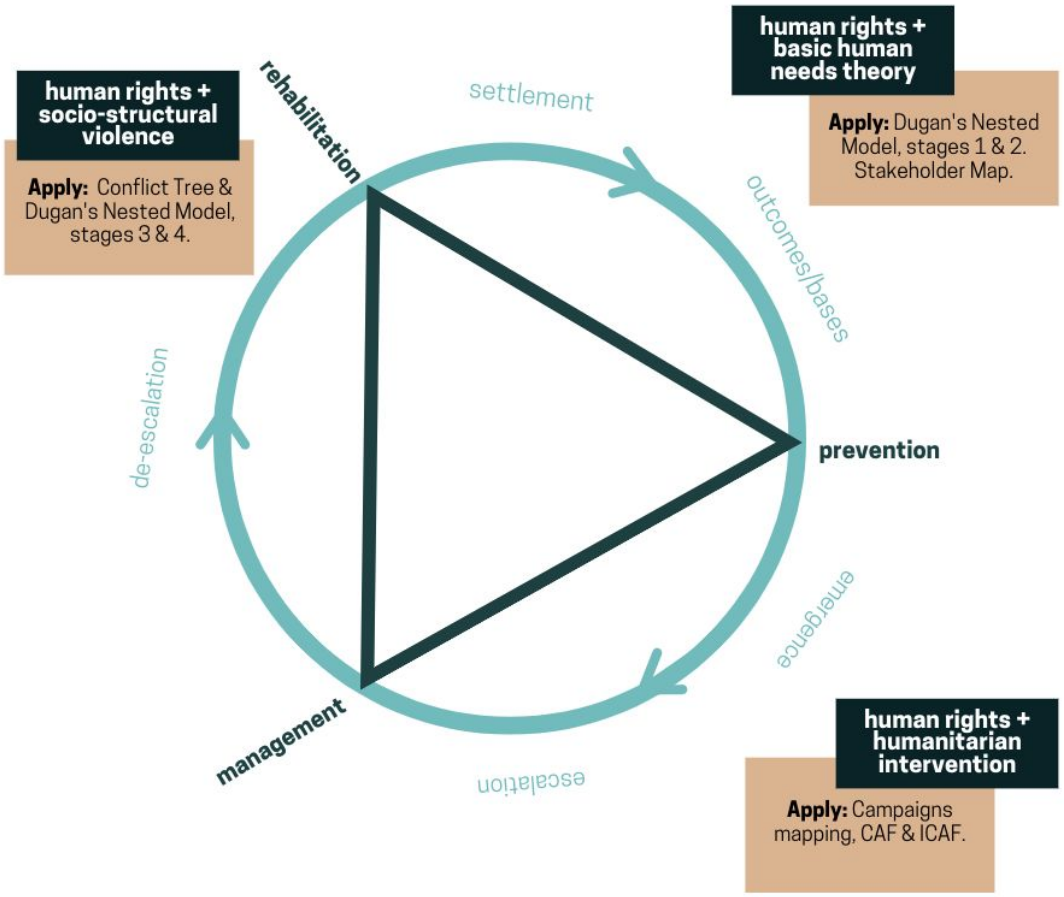

Figure 18: Mapping along the Human Rights Conflict Cycle - A Toolbox

Grech's framework is useful as it marries multiple theories from the field of peace and conflict studies with human rights. The broad approach allows for a focus on human dignity at the core of intervention and analysis. Further this review, and visual mapping analysis has helped to explore ways in which the fields overlap, offering solutions for both the process and outcomes of conflict mapping. To expand this further, this model could propose a methodological toolkit for a human rights analysis of conflict (Figure 18). Returning to my research question, on how conflict mapping can inform a policy reform on sex work in Malta,

this challenges me to consider at which point of the conflict cyle a policy reform might take place, and how this positioning might require different approaches in conflict analysis.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered the opportunity to look more closely at a number of conflict analysis mapping tools. While the tools explored are not an exhaustive list of all mapping tools used for conflict analysis, they cover a broad area of tools which address different analysis needs. Some maps explore the deeper roots of a conflict (e.g. conflict tree model), some help understand the connections and dynamics between stakeholders, parties and actors in a conflict (e.g. stakeholder maps), some visually show the connections of a conflict within a broader system (e.g. Dugan's nested theory), and others attempt to predict what actions might cause escalation or de-escalation to occur (e.g. causal loop diagrams in systems maps). Many of these tools have emerged in response to particular needs and contexts, and it is clear that while a mixed group of tools might help to inform policy-making, none of these tools address this need specifically from the point of view of conflict analysis and resolution.

Having analysed these maps, I conclude that a number of these, if used together can effectively inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta. In this regard, *Chapter 5 - Proposal,* further elaborates on the application of Systems Mapping, Narrative Analysis Mapping, and Dugan's Nested Model of Conflict. While also proposing new frameworks and processes of mapping.

CHAPTER 5 - PROPOSAL

This chapter outlines a proposal for a thorough conflict mapping analysis to inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta. This proposal employs the methodology from *Chapter 3* and takes into consideration *Chapter 2 - Literature Review* and *Chapter 4 - Conflict Maps*. This proposal identifies mapping processes and map outcomes, and indicates how these are informed by human rights values, harm reduction principles, and conflict analysis theory.

The sex work policy reform is being led by the Parliamentary Secretary for Equality and Reforms, Rosianne Cutajar. When the consultation process was launched in September 2019, the reform's main objective was that of 'creating effective policies and mechanisms that address and protect vulnerable people' (MEAE, 2019, p. 1), this quote addresses both victims of human trafficking and sex workers as 'vulnerable people', since the Government reform conflates all sex work with human trafficking. This research, however, only focuses on sex work. Conflict mapping, e.g. Systems Maps, can help to identify points where interventions are required, as well as help to brainstorm ideas for intervention (e.g. 'policies and mechanisms'). The policy reform in Malta has been dominated by a conflict between two approaches to sex work, on the one hand are NGOs and other stakeholders who push for the criminalisation of the clients of sex workers, on the other hand are NGOs and other stakeholders who push for the decriminalisation of all aspects of sex work. These polarising debates stifle conversation and limit problem-solving capacity. In conflict mapping, the process can be as crucial or more important than the outcome. Conflict maps can be used to bring groups together to facilitate difficult conversations, move beyond bias and seek solutions (Liebovitch et. al., 2020). In Malta there are no sex worker led organisations and no visible grassroots leaders who are working on the topic (Calafato, 2017). This has led to an apparent lack of the inclusion of national and local sex workers' voices during the reform.

Conflict mapping, e.g. Dugan's Nested Theory, can help make conversations on socio-structural violence more tangible, raise consciousness and start to build capacity for grassroots campaigning.

This proposal offers an understanding of how a conflict map analysis can be implemented in Malta to aid in bridging gaps and addressing inherent bias in the sex work policy reform public consultation process. Within this offer it is clear that a human rights and harm reduction approach to both the process and output of conflict mapping will subsequently result in a more just and representative policy reform at all levels of society. Through the presentation of the following conflict map analysis proposal, I directly address two sub-questions in my research. These are, *can a conflict map analysis inform interventions for conflict resolution and transformation in the case of the sex work policy reform in Malta?* And, *can human rights and harm reduction inform both the process (of mapping) and serve as a framework for the outcome (map)?*

Conflict Map Analysis Proposal

This *Conflict Map Analysis Proposal* is addressed to the Government of Malta, and proposes mapping processes to inform the sex work policy reform. This proposal is situated along three stakeholder levels and looks to offer management, resolution, and transformational capabilities to strengthen the consultation process. The three stakeholder levels are *Level 1 - Government*, *Level 2 - NGOs etc.*, and *Level 3 - Grassroots*, together they include all actors involved or impacted by the reform. In this way the Government of Malta can effectively engage with all actors needed for a holistic policy reform. The current reform process, as previously discussed, does not provide a platform for all stakeholders to be equally heard. This limitation of access to political spaces reduces the capacity of the policy reform to critically engage with conflict. This proposal looks to remedy this. The proposal is presented

in the form of a step-by-step guide for the Parliamentary Secretary For Equality and Reforms within the Ministry for Justice, Equality and Governance, whose office should lead on the process.

The visual model below (Figure 19) has been created to outline and summarise the identified processes for a conflict map analysis which informs the sex work policy reform in Malta, and provides a guide and comprehensive review of the entire proposal[9].

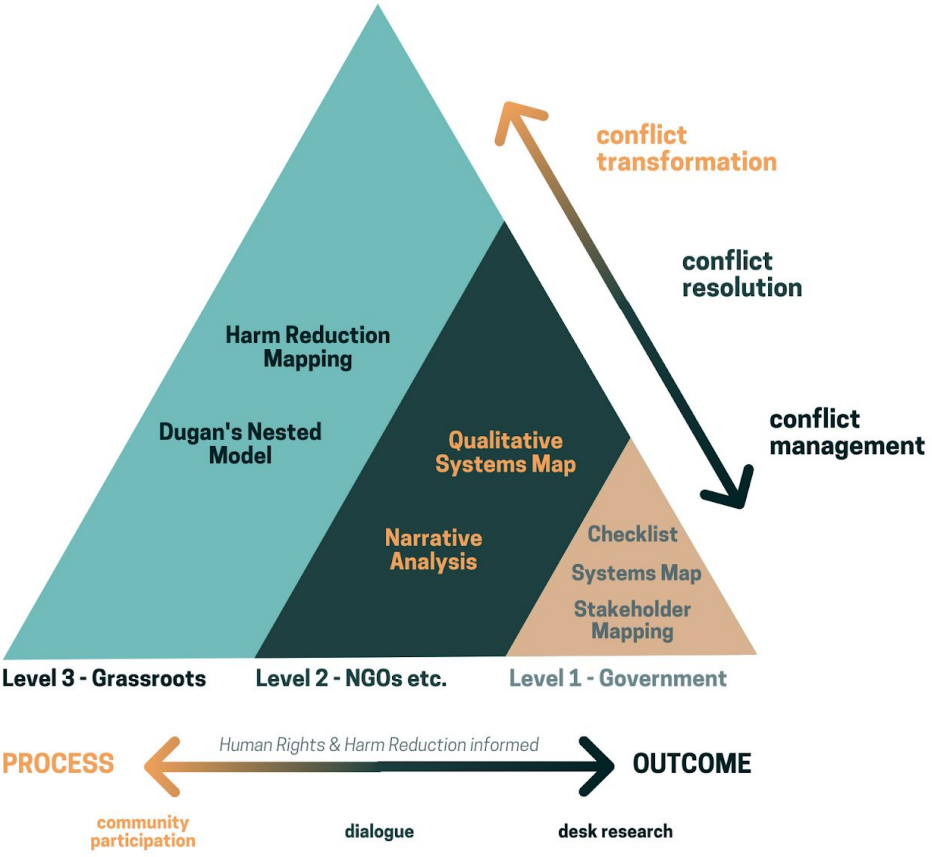

Figure 19: Conflict map analysis proposal for the sex work policy reform.

The triangle is divided into three levels; Level 1 - Government (in light orange), Level 2 - NGOs etc. (in dark green), and Level 3 - Grassroots (in teal). This encompasses all of the stakeholders involved in the policy reform on sex work in Malta. Level 1 includes

[9] The visual is modelled on Lederach's peacebuilding pyramid (1997), which is discussed in Chapter 4.

Government, parliamentary committees, boards appointed by the government, civil servants, and national services. Level 2 includes non-state actors who have consulted on the reform, including trade unions, political parties, NGOs, international organisations, and academics. Level 3 includes all grassroots level actors, like sex workers, former sex workers, and clients. In Malta, sex workers are currently not represented at Level 1 or Level 2.

Within each section of the triangle in Figure 19 are the names of mapping models identified for each level. At Level 3 these are *Harm Reduction Mapping* and *Dugan's Nested Model.* At Level 2 these are the *Narrative Analysis* and *Qualitative Systems Map.* At Level 1 these are a *Checklist on Human Rights and Harm Reduction, a Systems Map,* and *Stakeholder Mapping.*

These maps are considered along a scale of *Human Rights and Harm Reduction Informed Processes and Outcomes* (the scale at the bottom of Figure 19). This means that at Level 3 - Grassroots level, Human Rights & Harm Reduction are particularly used to inform the process of mapping, including consideration of how best to involve the stakeholders and how to make the space as safe as possible for them. At Level 2 - NGOs etc., this involves a mix of process and outcome, on the one hand a participatory and group process is considered essential, while on the other, the mapping tools used serve to directly inform policy. Finally, at Level 1 - Government, it is the outcome rather than the process that is intended to be most informed by human rights and harm reduction.

Finally the scale on the right hand side of the stakeholder pyramid indicates the impact level. At Level 1 this is considered through a lens of conflict management, i.e. seeking interventions that will manage the conflicts related to the public consultation process, as well as policy interventions that will respond to the priority areas that need to be tackled in relation to sex work in Malta. At Level 2 this is considered through a lens of conflict resolution, it is

clear that the public consultation process which occured from September 2019 to March 2020 was imbued with conflict between organisations. At this level, through the mapping tools proposed, each of their areas of expertise can be considered, while allowing them to have conversations facilitated and mediated through the process of mapping. Finally, at Level 3 there is potential for conflict transformation. At this level there is an opportunity to incorporate involvement from sex workers and their clients. This approach incorporates a focus on capacity building at the grassroots level to leverage voices through a mapping process. Together all stages provide for comprehensive input from diverse stakeholders to the policy reform, which through conflict mapping is rendered more participatory, inclusive and accountable. The proposal is presented in detail along the three levels of stakeholders, in order of Level 1, Government, , Level 2, NGOs etc., and Level 3, Grassroots.

Finally, this proposal concludes with a consideration of the ways in which the processes at Levels 1, 2, and 3 are informed by human rights, harm reduction, and conflict analysis and resolution.

Conflict Map Analysis at the Governmental Level

STAKEHOLDERS[10]	➔ Ministry for Justice, Equality and Governance ◆ Parliamentary Secretary for Equality and Reforms ● Task Force related to the Human Trafficking Reform ● Human Rights and Integrations Directorate ○ LGBTIQ Consultative Council ○ Forum for Integration ● Commission on Gender Based Violence and Domestic Violence ◆ Drug Offenders Rehabilitation Board ◆ Commissioners for Justice ◆ Rule Regulation Board (Criminal Code) ➔ Social Affairs Committee, Parliament of Malta ➔ Ministry for Home Affairs, National Security and Law Enforcement ◆ The Malta Police Force ● AC Drugs and Vice ◆ Correctional Services Agency ◆ Hate Crime and Speech Unit ➔ Ministry for Health ◆ Primary Health Care ◆ Mental Health Services ➔ Ministry for the Family, Children's Rights and Social Solidarity ➔ Ministry for Social Accommodation ➔ Other stakeholders at the governmental level which would arise.
AIMS *The broad intentions of the project at this level.*	➔ To enhance the Government's capacity in human rights based approaches and harm reduction approaches to policy making. ➔ To ensure an inclusive and comprehensive consultation process on the sex work policy reform. ➔ To create a benchmark for sex work policy reform processes and implementation in Europe.
KEY ACTIONS *The specific*	➔ Contract facilitators with expertise in mapping, mediators, translators, therapists, social workers, and child support services as is necessary for the meetings with all

[10] This comprehensive stakeholder list has been compiled through data gathered from the organisational charts of the Ministry for Justice (n.d.), the Malta Police Force (n.d.) and the Health Ministry (n.d.).

actions taken to achieve the aims of the project.	stakeholders involved in the reform. ➔ Design a **stakeholder map** to identify what conflicts might arise between stakeholders as a result of the policy reform. ➔ Analyse the results of the **qualitative systems map** prepared by Level 2 stakeholders, and supplement the map with quantitative data provided by Governmental entities. ➔ Deconstruct the **systems map** to identify research gaps with regards to sex work on the national and local levels. ➔ Process the **systems maps, stakeholder map,** and **harm reduction mapping** (Level 3) to identify priority areas for intervention. ➔ Produce a final summary report on the conflict map process, and identify which factors have engaged with human rights values and harm reduction principles (**checklist**).

PROCESS

At this level, a project team should be identified (the project team could be made up of policy officers, facilitators, and people with diverse professional backgrounds). This project team will be responsible to manage the day-to-day aspects of the policy reform mapping processes, to liaise with various departments at the Governmental level, to ensure the inclusion of various stakeholders, to lead on mapping at Level 1, to summarise the findings and results of the consultation process, and carry out other tasks deemed necessary.

The project team will work on the three maps identified in Figure 19 for Level 1. These are the *Basic Stakeholder Map, The (Quantitative) Systems Map,* and *the Checklist.* These processes are outlined below.

MAPPING #1 - Basic Stakeholder Mapping

Step 1: List all stakeholders involved in the process so far, as well as those who are connected to the reform in some way (e.g. various media outlets). Try to be as detailed as possible for now, you can group them into subsets later.

Step 2: Identify which aspects of relationships between stakeholders you want to highlight. Create a 'key' for how to show these different relationships. Are the stakeholders in conflict with each other? Are they allies? How does their work impact on one another?

Step 3: Write out stakeholders on individual sticky notes in one colour. Write out actions that stakeholders have undertaken with regards to the reform in another colour. Begin to group these on a table or wall in sets and subsets.

Step 4: Placing the sticky notes on a flipchart or whiteboard, start to draw the connections (relationships) between them at this point in time. This is an iterative process, continue to work on this until it most clearly denotes the situation.

Make sure any identifying details are omitted.

Step 5: Summarise the results of the mapping in a digitised format. You may use powerpoint, google slides, ayoa (a mapping website), or any other tools available to you.

Step 6: Iteration - incorporate feedback from Level 1 stakeholders and finalise the stakeholder map.

MAPPING #2 - (Quantitative) Systems Mapping

Step 1: Collect all notes, materials and results from the mapping processes at Levels 2 and 3. Do a comparative analysis of these maps and results.

Step 2: Create a clean version of the *qualitative systems map* developed at Level 2 in a digital program or on a large wall. If on a large wall - use cards and papers which can easily be moved around.

Step 3: Identify nodes on the *qualitative systems map* which are directly related to the maps developed at Level 3. Insert relevant data from Level 3 to update the systems map.

Step 4: Identify nodes on the systems map which are directly related to governmental services, i.e. those nodes which might correlate to the police force, correctional services, health department, other entities etc. Be in contact with other ministries to collect quantitative data specific to these nodes. Insert this data into the systems map.

Step 5: The systems map, based on a model provided by Level 2 stakeholders and informed by Level 1 and Level 3 stakeholders, is now in a more complete stage. Create a feedback channel with Level 1, 2, and 3 stakeholders, and incorporate their feedback if necessary.

Step 6: Identify and note gaps in research. Consider which claims are justifiable or not. (Consider critically using research data from outside of Malta, if no data for Malta exists and indicate when you have done so).

Step 6: Present the results in a digitised format to the Parliamentary Secretary. Identify and show emergent trends, nodes which require immediate intervention, and other priority areas.

Step 7: Incorporate feedback, and recommend a list of policy interventions as a response.

MAPPING #3 - Checklist & Mind-Mapping

Step 1: Familiarise yourself with the chart and checklist below. Ask, what aspects of human rights and harm reduction have been considered throughout the reform process? Do other aspects need to be included?

Step 2: Sketch all of this on a mind map if it helps, also consider which proposals or trends might be impacted by this framework. Be critical.

Step 3: Connect this checklist to potential interventions that could strengthen harm reduction and reduce vulnerability for sex workers. Use the harm reduction mapping at Level 3 as a guide. Engage in an iterative process, and incorporate feedback from other Level 1 stakeholders.

Step 4: Publish this chart and the results of the mapping process with the final report.

	Is this reflected in the reform?	What aspect of the reform has it informed?	What policy outcome could it inform?
Human Rights Values (Council of Europe, 2017)			
Human dignity, Respect for Others			
Equality, non-discrimination			
Freedom, responsibility			
Human Rights Based Approaches to Policy Making (SHRC, 2019)			
Participation			
Accountability			
Non-Discrimination and Equality			
Empowerment			
Legality			
Harm Reduction Principles (CCSA, 2008)			
Pragmatism, *realism and feasibility in the short-term*			
Humane Values, *respect, worth and dignity of persons regardless their actions*			
Focus on Harms, *address risk of harm to an individual*			
Balancing costs and benefits			
Prioritising immediate goals			

OUTCOMES

Outcome 1: A comprehensive report based on Level 1 mapping processes #1, #2, and #3. This report includes policy recommendations which were directly informed by these mapping processes.

Outcome 2: Digitised presentation of synthesized reports and maps.

Proposal for Level 2: NGOs etc.

Conflict Map Analysis at the NGO Level

STAKEHOLDERS	➔ Human Rights NGOs ◆ aditus foundation ◆ Integra Foundation ◆ Women's Rights Foundation ➔ Trade Unions ◆ General Workers Union ➔ Political Parties ◆ Alternattiva Demokratika ◆ Partit Demokratiku ◆ Partit Laburista ◆ Partit Nazzjonalista ➔ Academics ◆ Faculty for Social Wellbeing ● Gender Studies Department ● Disability Studies Scholars ● Youth and Community Studies ◆ Centre for the Study and Practice of Conflict Resolution ➔ Professionals from various fields. ➔ Other organisations who have contributed to the reform from September 2019 to March 2020.
AIMS *The broad intentions of the project at this level.*	➔ To bridge and bond social capital (i.e. shared sense of identity, understanding and belonging) of the organisations engaged in the reform. ➔ To leverage the voices of Level 2 stakeholders at the reform level, and recognise their expertise in various social policy areas related to the reform. ➔ To connect stakeholders at Levels 1, 2 and 3. ➔ To move beyond biases and the individual core messages of each organisation.
KEY ACTIONS *The specific actions taken to achieve the aims of the project.*	➔ Facilitate non-hierarchical dialogue between Level 2 stakeholders at various meetings. ➔ Allow for discussion and presentation of individual policy recommendations. ➔ Deconstruct conflict narratives and identify openings for *evolution of meaning* through **narrative analysis mapping.** ➔ Collectively construct a **qualitative systems map**, and put forward joint policy recommendations.

PROCESS

At this level, the project team is responsible for administration, logistics, organisation, and outreach to the stakeholders outlined on the previous page. The project team should provide the facilitator with a dossier on NGO backgrounds, needs and inter-organisational disputes, as outlined in the *Stakeholder Mapping* at Level 1. Additionally, they should prepare a meeting agenda, and identify a neutral meeting space. The project team must consider how harm reduction informs the process, for example discussing the best ways to foster non-hierarchical dialogue.

The project team with Level 2 stakeholders will work on two mapping processes, as identified in Figure 19. These are the *Narrative Analysis* and the *Qualitative Systems Map.* These processes are outlined below.

MAPPING #1 - Narrative Analysis

Step 1: Participants are briefed on the agenda, which has been set ahead of time, and on the benefits of mapping processes. Participants have the opportunity to give feedback, adjust the agenda if necessary and ask questions about the mapping processes.

Step 2: A time-keeper, facilitator, and graphic notetaker are identified from the group. Some of these roles may be filled by the project team if none of the stakeholders are interested.

Step 3: Facilitator will review the mapping framework, explain each section (e.g. *hidden transcripts, dominant narratives etc.),* explain the expected outcomes of the mapping process, and how the results of the mapping will be incorporated into the final public consultation report. The description and graphic of the framework is outlined below (Figure 20).

Step 4: Participants present their proposals for the reform and the graphic notetaker begins to fill in the narrative analysis map (see below). The facilitator will moderate the presentation from every participant, ask clarifying questions, and confirm outputs in the narrative map. The time-keeper will ensure that all parallel processes are sticking to the times set in the agenda, they will notify the group when time is running over.

Step 5: The graphic notetaker presents the results of the mapping process.

Step 6: The facilitator facilitates an open dialogue and discussion about the results, focusing on trends and divergences that could contribute to the *evolution of meaning.* This dialogue should look to move the reform process in a coherent direction and introduce nuance to the debates.

Step 7: Project team gets feedback from stakeholders on the benefits of the mapping process, so the team can consider the limitation of the process and whether it could be considered for future policy reforms

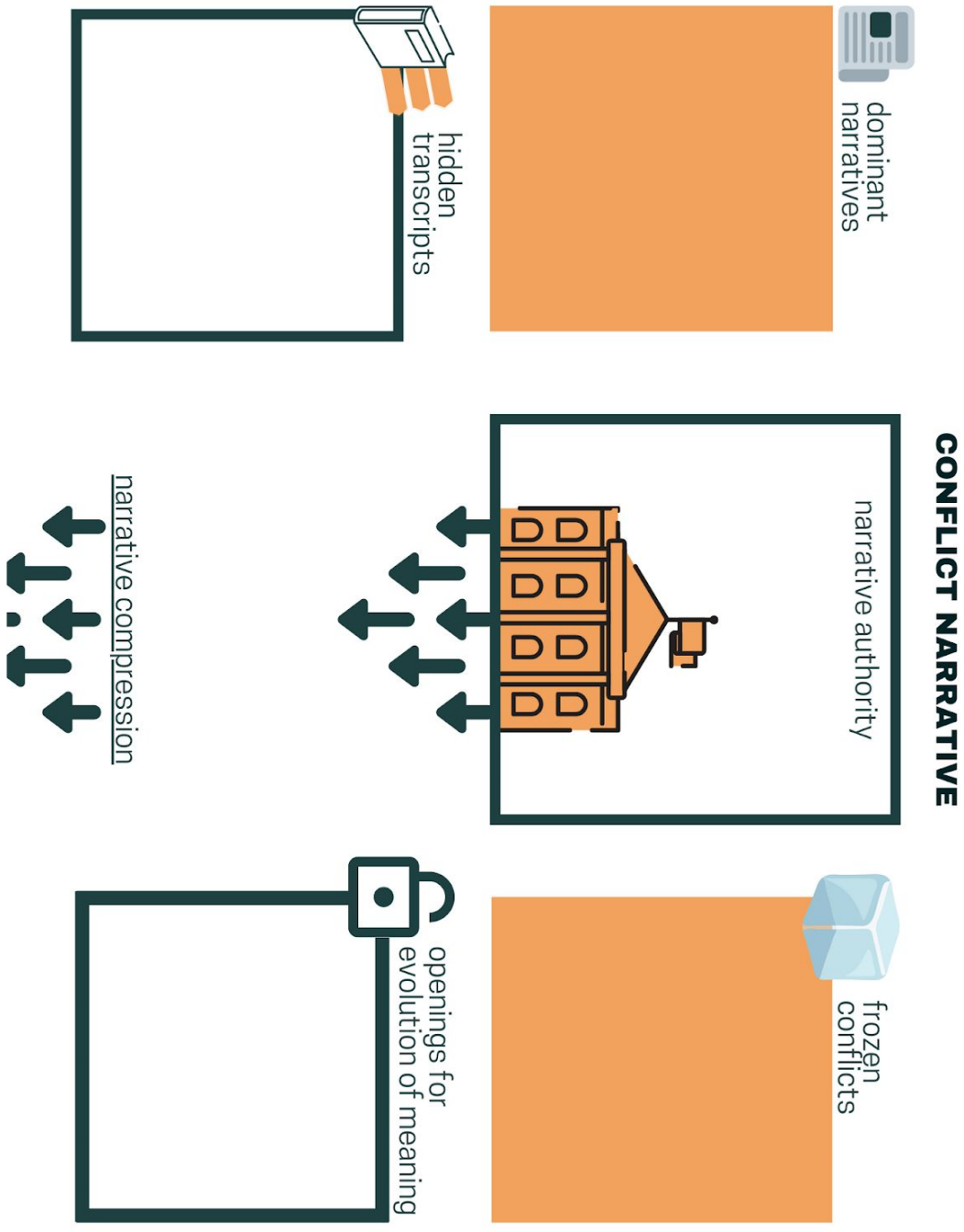

Figure 20: A revised Narrative Analysis Mapping Framework.[11]

[11] This framework builds on the narrative analysis map discussed in Chapter 4, which is informed by Cobb's (2013) theory of conflict narratives. *Narrative compression* and *Openings for Evolution of Meaning* have been added to this framework, as the reflection in Chapter 4 resulted in a realisation that the map needed to be enhanced for compatibility with the reform.

Narrative Analysis Framework Descriptions

- ***Dominant narratives*** are the public discourse and accepted norms, beliefs, and value systems around a conflict (Cobb, 2013)

- ***Hidden transcripts*** are the discourses which critique the dominant narrative in a way that subverts the power dynamics which propagate dominant discourses. Hidden transcripts counter narrative violence. For example, gossip, narratives of resistance, and sometimes even laughter, intentional silence or expressions of discomfort, can be mirror reflections of hidden transcripts in practice (Cobb, 2013).

- ***Narrative authority*** is a term which reflects that some groups have the power to tell stories that reinscribe dominant narratives. This contributes to narrative compression and narrative violence, i.e. a form of socio-structural violence where some voices that could contribute to a nuanced discussion are oppressed and systematically silenced (Cobb, 2013). For example, all stakeholders who have a platform to publish their proposals as well as discuss them in the media, have narrative authority. By highlighting narrative authority within the map, transparency of authority is provided and accountability of those with the privilege of voice is reflected.

- ***Narrative compression*** is 'the condition in which [...] the dominant narrative in a given location/community consolidates and compacts itself, compressing nuanced differences or variations that could otherwise provide an opening for inquiry, thus leading to destabilization' (Cobb, 2013, p. 267-268). Through narrative compression, the dominant narrative controls the narrative field and harnesses stories to its own advantage. Identifying spaces of narrative compression will illuminate what nuances are missing in the debate and what narratives are being perpetuated or exploited for the maintenance of power.

- ***Frozen conflicts*** indicate which 'conflicts are protracted, "frozen" in time, because there is no evolution of meaning. Narratives must be told if they are to evolve; however, telling the narrative is no guarantee that it will evolve - its evolution depends on the conditions under which it is told' (Cobb, 2013, p. 24). Hidden transcripts are one mechanism that can challenge the perpetuation of frozen conflict narratives and start to make way for openings for evolution of meaning.

- ***Openings for evolution of meaning*** are opportunities for actors at Level 2 to deepen their engagement with narratives of sex work, and see how dominant narratives, hidden transcripts, narrative authority & compression, and frozen conflicts may hinder or support conflict transformation (Cobb, 2013).

MAPPING #2 - (Qualitative) Systems Mapping

Step 1: Participants are briefed on the agenda, which has been set ahead of time, and on the benefits of mapping processes. Participants have the opportunity to give feedback, adjust the agenda if necessary and ask questions about the mapping processes.

Step 2: A time-keeper, facilitator, graphic facilitator are identified from the group. Some of these roles may be filled by the project team if none of the stakeholders are interested.

Step 3: Facilitator will review the mapping framework, explain what systems mapping is, explain the expected outcomes of the mapping process, and how the results of the systems map will be incorporated into the final public consultation report.

Step 4: All stakeholders are individually invited to write down lists of topics and areas related to sex work which they want to highlight and discuss. These topics will then be collectively grouped into different sets on a wall or large table.

Step 5: Stakeholders split into smaller groups, and in turn discuss the connections between areas in the sets. The groups rotate and have the opportunity to discuss each set of topics in turn. Decisions should be made by consensus. Any divergences should be noted for later group discussion. The time-keeper will ensure that all parallel processes are sticking to the times set in the agenda, they will notify the group when time is running over.

Step 6: Each set is summarised and presented to the group. As a group, larger connections and links between all topics (sets) are discussed. Consider having a graphic facilitator who reflects on the ongoing group discussions and assists in the drafting process on a whiteboard. This tool would allow for flexible drafting and iterative changes to be reflected.

Step 7: Once there is group agreement that the systems map is as comprehensive as possible at this stage, the group discusses key areas for prioritised policy interventions, key areas for further research, and areas for long-term strategic planning and engagement.

Step 8: Project team gets feedback from stakeholders on the benefits of the mapping process, so the team can consider the limitations of the process and whether it could be considered for future policy reforms.

OUTCOMES

Outcome 1: A filled narrative analysis map, and accompanying notes which will support the drafting of a comprehensive report.

Outcome 2: A qualitative systems map, which will be built on at Level 1.

Conflict Map Analysis at the Grassroots Level

STAKEHOLDERS* **no stakeholder at this level is a monolith and may have identities which intersect with Level 1 or 2.*	➔ Sex workers and former sex workers with different working experience and from different backgrounds, including but not limited to: ◆ street sex workers ◆ sex workers who work at massage parlours ◆ strippers ◆ escorts ◆ sex workers working online ◆ sex workers with a migrant background ◆ Maltese sex workers ◆ male sex workers ◆ trans and gender-nonconforming sex workers ◆ gay sex workers ◆ sex workers in prison. ➔ Clients of sex workers from various backgrounds, including female clients, and/or disabled clients. ➔ Families and relatives of sex workers.
AIMS *The broad intentions of the project at this level.*	➔ To build organisational capacity of sex workers in Malta and create a stepping-stone to leveraging sex workers and clients within Level 2. ➔ To ensure the inclusion of the voices of sex workers from different backgrounds in the reform. ➔ To ensure clients of sex workers are also heard, in a non-judgmental way. ➔ To mobilise collective identity to negotiate identity with out-group members. ➔ To build trust between sex workers and Level 1 actors and set accountability. ➔ To recognise intersectionality, i.e. there is no monolith on sex worker or on clients.
KEY ACTIONS *The specific actions taken to achieve the aims of the project.*	➔ Facilitate discussion on basic needs, harm reduction safety tips and how these could inform the reform. ➔ Raise consciousness on socio-structural violence through the application of **Dugan's Nested Theory (1996).** ➔ Create safe spaces that reflect the individual needs of grassroots stakeholders, and allow for the voices of these stakeholders to be heard in the reform.

PROCESS

At this level, the project team is responsible for administration, logistics, organisation and outreach to the stakeholders outlined on the previous page. The project team should provide the facilitator with information on sex work in Malta and inform the facilitator about the limited participation of sex workers, in particular, in the reform thus far. The project team should be aware of the challenges to identify and invite stakeholders to participate in this process. Level 2 stakeholders might be able to assist in identifying some gatekeepers to the grassroots level.

The project team with the Level 3 stakeholders will work on two mapping processes as identified in Figure 19. These are *Harm Reduction Mapping*, and *Dugan's Nested Model*. These processes are outlined before. Harm reduction guidelines for these meetings are also outlined below.

HARM REDUCTION GUIDELINES

The following harm reduction guidelines are provided so that the project team can ensure the safety of stakeholders at Level 3 - Grassroots stakeholders, and contribute to maintaining a conducive space for problem solving exercises, i.e. mapping. *While these are highlighted comprehensively at this level, they should be considered for implementation at all levels of discussion, i.e. also at Level 1 and Level 2.*

These guidelines will be implemented during several meetings. The project team should consider having various meetings so that different actors can meet comfortably. For example the project team could consider having separate meetings for clients and sex workers, as well as perhaps a meeting where they come together. Different divisions of sex workers (depending on the services they offer) may want to meet collectively, for example, male sex workers may want to first meet separately from female sex workers. These divisions may occur naturally as different gatekeepers may communicate varying needs of grassroots actors. The project team should allow for flexibility and adaptability of meeting schedules and agendas.

In addition to these guidelines, the facilitator identified for this practice should make sure that participants can amend or add to these guidelines with specific meeting ground rules. Participants should also be advised that they do not need to take part in any meeting that may subject them to danger or makes them feel uncomfortable, unsafe or unheard. Systems should be put in place for stakeholders to voice these concerns to the project team in an anonymous and constructive fashion. This is so that the project team can consider this as feedback for future meetings. For example, participants may partake in a closed meeting for sex workers, but may not feel comfortable joining a joint meeting with clients.

Ensuring a safe environment for the participants:

- ➔ Meeting in a neutral place or community-specific space, i.e. not a government building.
- ➔ Presence of social workers, psychologists, translators, and experts in mediation.
- ➔ Offering opportunities for remote and private connection or consultation.

Being aware of stigma, protecting the identity of participants:

- ➔ No press or media, cameras, recording etc.
- ➔ Ensuring anonymity, anonymous minute taking etc.

Recognising expertise:

- ➔ Paying for time spent at the meetings.

Other considerations:

- ➔ Offering food, free childcare.
- ➔ Offering information about, connection and access to available services offered by the government or by NGOs.
- ➔ Offering free condoms, gloves, masks, hand sanitizer, sanitary products.
- ➔ Community translation services.
- ➔ Identifying a project team member to carry out follow up with safety and health checks, to address harms that may have been triggered by the meetings.

MAPPING #1 - Harm Reduction *Mind* Mapping

Step 1: Participants are made aware of the services and resources present at the meeting, i.e. translators, social workers etc. Participants and project team work together to review and amend meeting ground rules. Participants are briefed on the agenda, objectives and outcome goals of this mapping process. Participants are invited to give feedback, adjust the agenda and ask questions in regard to the goals.

Step 2: A time-keeper, facilitator, graphic note-taker are identified from the group. Some of these roles may be filled by the project team if none of the participants are interested.

Step 3: The project team will explain what a mind map is, what the process will look like and how the results of the map will be incorporated into the final public consultation report.

Step 4: Participants discuss needs, facilitator asks clarifying questions when needed. The graphic facilitator will group needs thematically while the discussion flows.

Step 5: The facilitator will direct the conversation towards looking at expertise within the group and known community resources that address or verify these needs. For example, sex workers may express a need to be protected from violent clients. This need may already be addressed at the community level when sex workers informally discuss and share information about 'bad customers' (Rekart, 2005). This discussion can illuminate how a policy reform needs to support self-reporting and informal communication networks for sex workers to share client history with others.

Step 6: The facilitator will advance this conversation to give participants an opportunity to give concrete and tangible policy recommendations and action-list items for Level 1 and Level 2 stakeholders.

Step 7: The facilitator will review policy recommendations and action-list items, confirm that all have been accounted for, and check-in with participants to ensure all grievances have been aired.

Step 8: The graphic note-taker will review the outcomes of the mind mapping and show the connections between needs, community expertise, and policy recommendations.

Step 9: Project team will then close the meeting by confirming with participants what information can be included in a comprehensive report and what action-list items will be assigned to actors at Levels 1 or 2 or 3.

Step 10: The project team gets feedback from stakeholders on the benefits of the mapping process, so that the team can consider limitations of the process and whether it could be considered for future policy reform.

MAPPING #2 - Dugan's Nested Model

Step 1: Participants are made aware of the services and resources present at the meeting, i.e. translators, social workers etc. Participants and project team work together to review and amend meeting ground rules. Participants are briefed on the agenda, objectives and outcome goals of this mapping process. Participants are invited to give feedback, adjust the agenda and ask questions in regard to the goals.

Step 2: A time-keeper, facilitator, graphic note-taker are identified from the group. Some of these roles may be filled by the project team if none of the participants are interested.

Step 3: The project team will explain what the nested model (Figure 21) is, what the process will look like and how the results of the map will be incorporated into the final public consultation report.

Step 4: Participants divide into pairs or small groups.

Step 5: Each pair or small group is given printed handouts (Figure 21) to use individually. Each participant is encouraged to think about a personal issue-specific conflict related to sex work.

Step 6: Each pair or small group will discuss the issue-specific conflicts and start to identify which elements of these conflicts are relational or connected to the sub-system level. These elements can be written in the handouts.

Step 7: Each pair or small group further discusses how their issue-specific conflicts might be exacerbated by structural issues. These systemic or institutional structures which perpetuate conflict on the personal level should be clearly identified. For example, no access to free healthcare for undocumented migrants.

Step 8: Each pair or small group presents the results of their discussion to the larger group. They are free to leave out identifying details about their personal, issue-specific conflicts, and the focus should be on the structural conflicts.

Step 9: The facilitator leads a discussion on structural conflicts, and these are summarised as a final list. The facilitator reminds the participants that this list will be used to inform the final report on the public consultation. This list will be useful in identifying policy recommendations. Any personal details should be omitted. The individual handouts should not be collected.

Step 10: The project team gets feedback from stakeholders on the benefits of the mapping process, so that the team can consider limitations of the process and whether it could be considered for future policy reform.

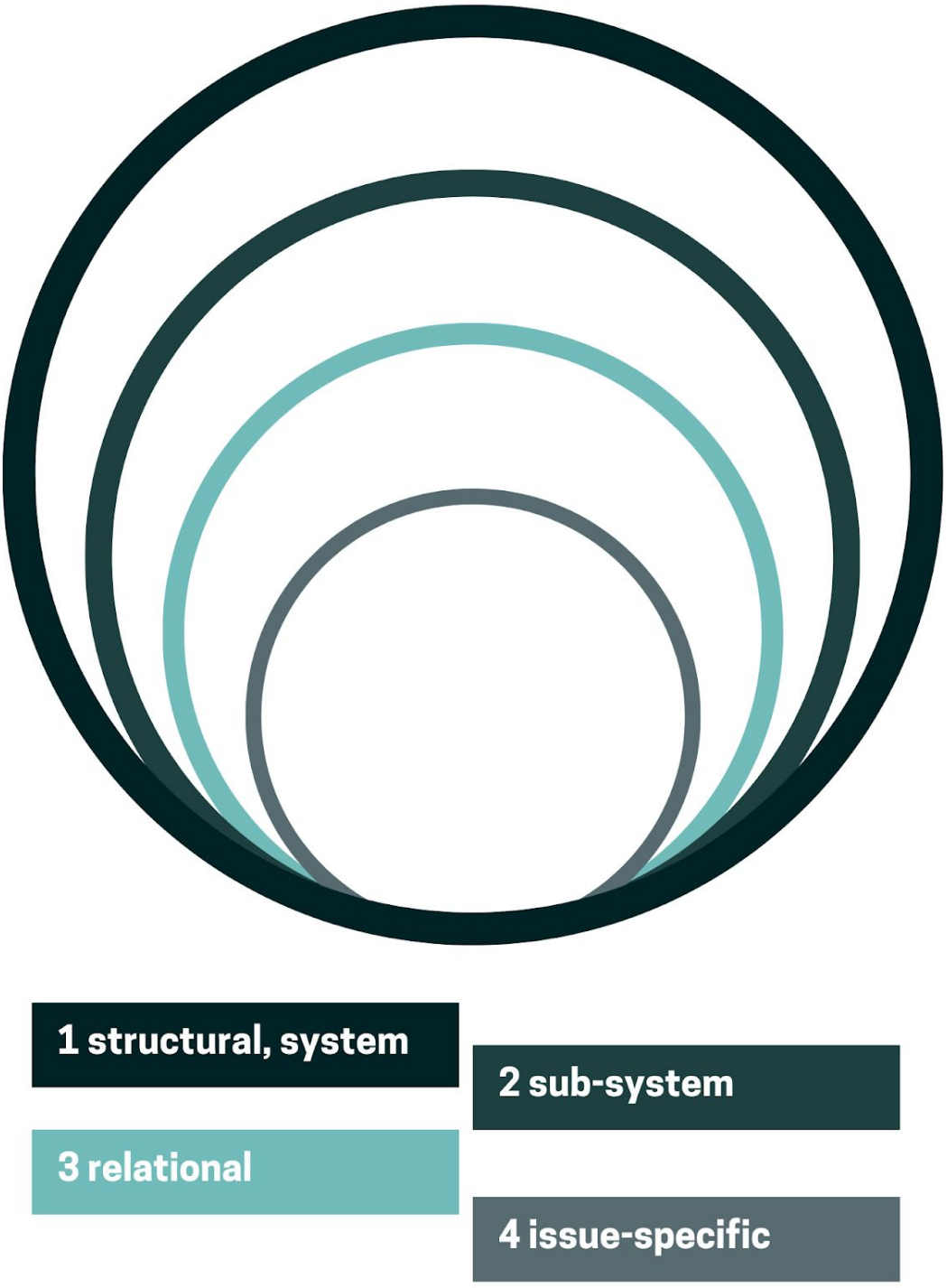

Figure 21: A printable handout of Dugan's Nested Model of Conflict.

OUTCOME

Outcome 1: Policy recommendations from Level 3 actors.

Outcome 2: Clear outline of needs and community expertise is documented and made available for inclusion in the comprehensive report.

Further Considerations

As the three separate proposals (*Proposal for Level 1: Government; Proposal for Level 2: NGOs etc.; Proposal for Level 3: Grassroots)* are put forward as separate processes, it is useful to, at the end, look at the whole proposal as one. Figure 19, shown earlier presented the relation of stakeholders to each other while highlighting specific mapping processes for each. Figure 22, below, shows all mapping processes in a sequence.

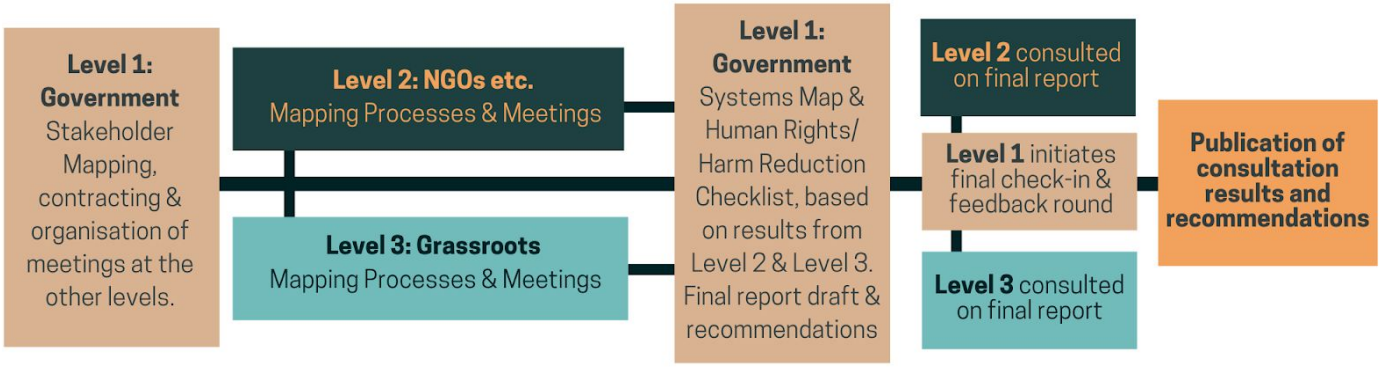

Figure 22: Indicative sequencing of Conflict Mapping Analysis processes designed to inform the sex work policy reform in Malta.

From left to right, this *Indicative Sequencing of Conflict Mapping Processes* illustrates that the project is led at Level 1. This is where a project team, as outlined in *Proposal for Level 1: Government,* is put together and starts to lead the project. They begin with a stakeholder mapping. After, all mapping processes and meetings at Level 2 and Level 3 take place roughly in parallel to each other. Once these meetings are complete, the results are summarised at Level 1. Based on these results and further mapping at Level 1, a final report that includes policy recommendations is drafted. The process however does not end here, as in order to ensure accountability to the policy consultation process, one more round of feedback occurs within the other levels. Finally, all results of the public consultation, including policy recommendations are published.

Conclusion

The *Conflict Map Analysis Proposal* presented in this chapter builds upon *Chapter 2 - Literature Review* and *Chapter 4 - Conflict Maps.* The literature review, in particular on sex work in Malta, was instrumental in outlining the key conflicts and divergences that have emerged throughout the public consultation which was held between September 2019 and March 2020. Additionally, the literature review has provided the base for information on stakeholders as well as human rights and harm reduction approaches to policy making. The critical reflection and analysis of conflict maps in Chapter 4 was instrumental to the understanding of both processes and outcomes related to conflict mapping. Chapter 4 also provided the foundational maps which were expanded for each process. For example, the narrative map presented in Chapter 4 was expanded for use with Level 2 stakeholders. The brief discussion in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4, on human rights and harm reduction served as a base on which to build the *Checklist* (i.e. *Mapping #3* at Level 1). Togethers Chapters 2 and 4 provided this dissertation with the literature and mapping foundations needed to construct a complete proposal to the Government of Malta.

Human rights values, harm reduction principles and the ways these inform policy making are streamlined throughout this proposal. This approach allows for this project to be representative and transformative. For example, at Level 1, these aspects inform a framework which allows for analysis of the outcome of all mapping processes, while also for the identification of key areas for immediate intervention (i.e. conflict management) for priority mechanisms (i.e. a harm reduction principle). At Level 2, a focus on non-hierarchical dialogues allows all stakeholders to present their information on an equal footing and illuminate divergences and spaces of consensus. These participatory (i.e. human rights approach) processes aid conflict management and resolution between diverging NGOs.

Finally, at Level 3, a pathway is laid for future conflict transformation, as grievances start to be named, basic human needs are discussed, and voices from grassroots actors are leveraged in the public consultation as policy recommendations. Together from Level 1 through to Level 3 this proposal puts forth an innovative way in which human rights values and harm reduction principles guide a representative and transformative policy reform process for sex work in Malta.

This proposal and approach to policy brings with it limitations. These limitations are rooted in the omission of budget, timeline and key performance indicators (KPIs). In order to actualise this proposal outside of academia these points would need to be contracted and discussed. Nevertheless this proposal reveals how mapping can guide the Government of Malta in advancing their human rights based approach to policy making. Additionally, it reveals how harm reduction principles can strengthen outcomes for policy reform.

This approach does not necessitate starting from scratch, mapping can help aid the Government in deconstructing previously-held meetings and discussions on policy reform. One example are the Social Affairs Committee meetings held in March 2020, where Level 2 stakeholders presented their policy proposals to members of Parliament. It is possible to deconstruct these meetings, after the fact, since all meetings at the Parliament are both recorded (audio or audio/video) and transcribed. By performing a narrative analysis on previously recorded meetings, mapping illuminates the potential for *openings for evolution of meaning* of conflict narratives. As previously mentioned, finding *openings for the evolution of meaning* contributes to constructively transforming conflicts. Thus, a narrative analysis of even one of the meetings of the Social Affairs Committee could further serve to answer the research question which this dissertation addresses.

CHAPTER 6 - NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

This dissertation looks to answer, *how can conflict mapping inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta?* By using data from a public discussion on the sex work policy reform in Malta to populate a *Narrative Analysis Map* (Figure 20), this chapter responds to this research question. This response provides an example of how mapping can inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta. Narrative analysis mapping allows for a deeper understanding of the limitations and opportunities afforded by conflict mapping in practice.

Often, creating the conditions for application of a live-mapping analysis without a focus group can be challenging. The publication of both audio recordings and detailed transcripts of committee meetings on the website of the Parliament of Malta are useful resources for researchers to overcome this challenge, and provides primary data for researchers to contend with after the meetings have taken place.

For the sex work policy reform, two public consultation meetings were recorded. For this dissertation, the audio recording and transcript of the 31st Meeting of the Social Affairs Committee in Parliament were downloaded and used as raw data. This meeting was held on the 4th of March, 2020 from 4:45pm to 7:00pm at the Parliament in Valletta (Parliament, 2020). At this meeting, various Level 2 stakeholders had the opportunity to present their proposals on the 'Human Trafficking and Prostitution' reform. These proposals were presented to the Social Affairs Committee whose members include members of Parliament from both the Labour and Nationalist parties i.e. Government and Opposition. In addition to Level 2 stakeholders, the Parliamentary Secretary in charge of the reform was present, as well as some journalists.[12]

[12] The audio recording of the meeting, along with the transcript were downloaded from the Parliament website (2020).

Specifically, this chapter uses the *Narrative Analysis Map* framework developed for this reform and described in detail in Chapter 5. This framework was developed through an iterative process of reflection in Chapter 4 and is put to use in Chapter 6. This process of 'live'-mapping within a specialised *Narrative Analysis Map* framework illuminates 1) *Dominant Narratives,* 2) *Hidden Transcripts,* 3) *Narrative Authority,* 4) *Narrative Compression,* 5) *Frozen Conflicts,* and 6) *Openings for Evolution of Meaning.* Each of these elements of the narrative analysis are presented in Figure 23 and summarised in turn below.

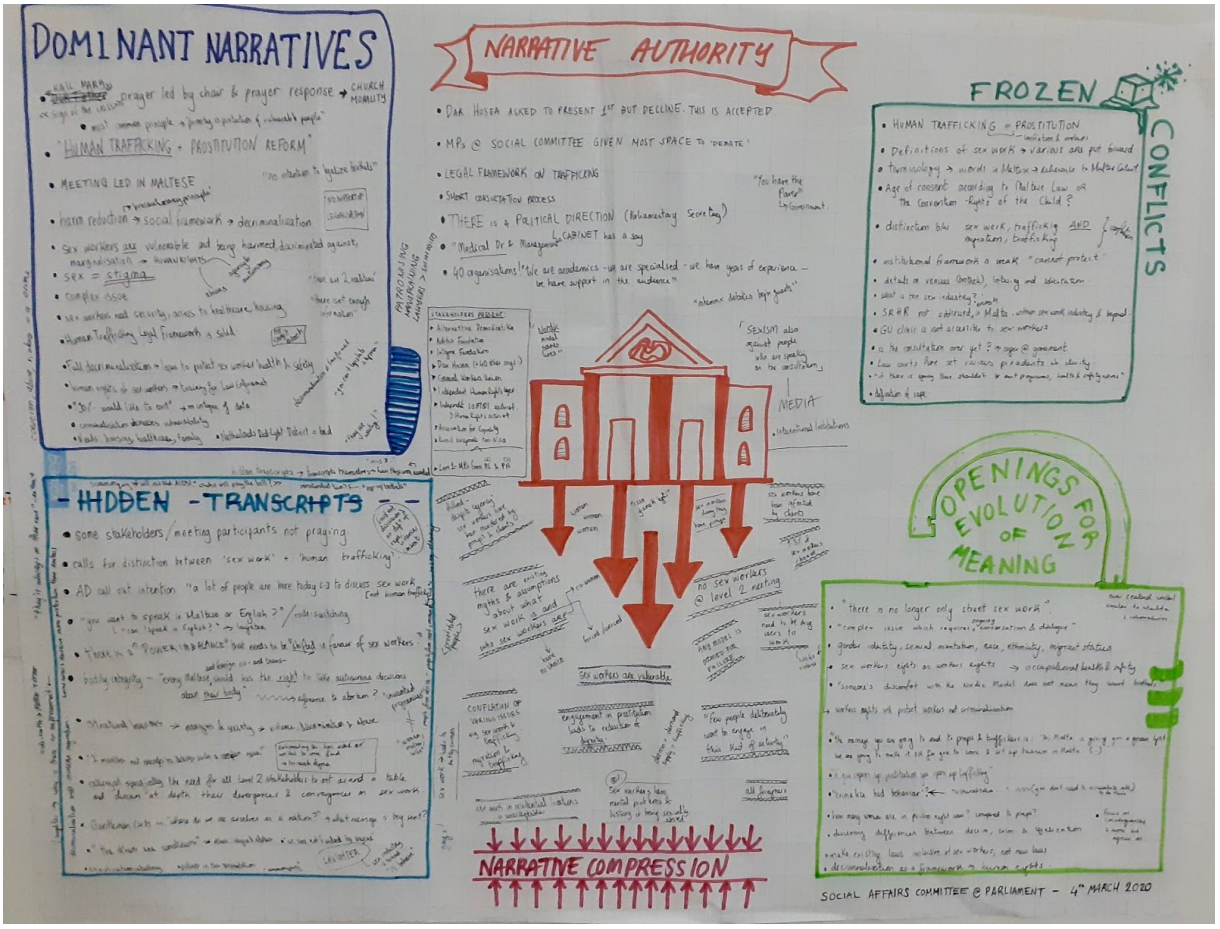

Figure 23: Analysing conflict narratives through mapping of the audio recording of the social affairs committee meeting held on the 4th March 2020.

Dominant Narratives

"[...] hemm żewġ realtajiet differenti[13],"

- *Rosianne Cutajar,*
Parliamentary Secretary of Equality and Reforms, a Level 1 stakeholder.

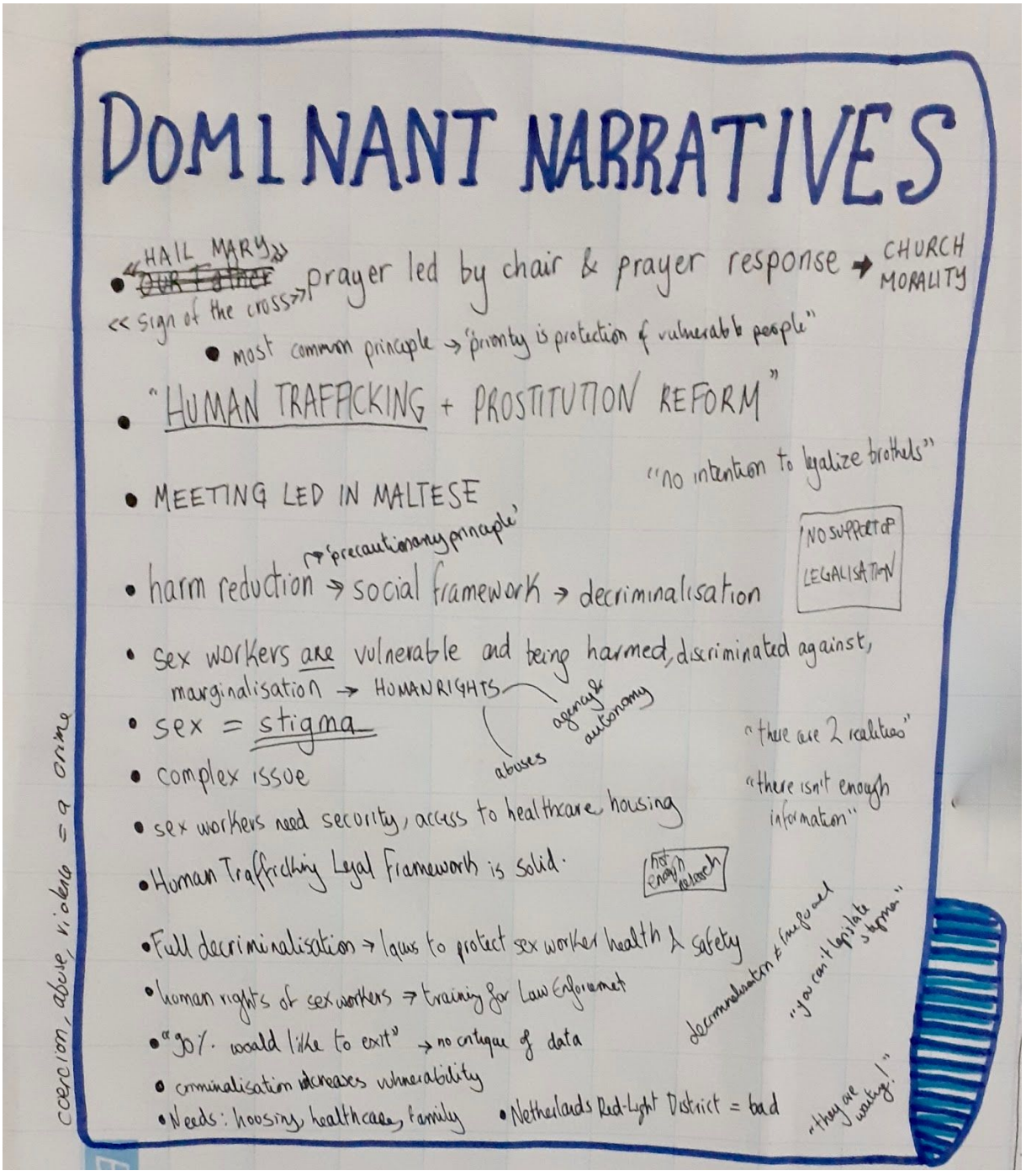

Figure 24: Live-mapping of Dominant Narratives.

[13] English translation: "There are two different realities…"

Dominant narratives indicate the public discourse, beliefs, norms, and value systems surrounding a conflict (Cobb, 2013). The audio-recording of the Social Affairs Commitee meeting and the published reform proposals from Level 2 stakeholders, as well as the media offer a window into public discourse about sex work policy in Malta. This audio-recording specifically points towards dominant beliefs, norms and values about sex work policy, sex workers, the nature of sex work, and the process of policy reform. By looking at a few examples of the aforementioned beliefs, norms, and values, a clearer picture of the dominant narrative is presented. These are presented in Figure 24 above, and described below.

One belief which emerges from the mapping of dominant narratives is that human trafficking is correlated to 'prostitution' in Malta, and this correlation is also made visible through the title of the policy reform. One dominant norm which emerges is shared language to describe sex workers as vulnerable, discriminated against, and existing 'in the shadows' and 'at the margins' of society. In regards to sex work there are two dominant debates which make up the narrative, on the one hand that sex work is coercive, abusive and a result of trafficking, on the other hand that sex work is a freely-chosen occupation. Dominant narratives about the *process* of the reform include that human rights are a useful framework, and also that the Parliamentary Secretary had already made up her mind about what policies to propose, i.e. some stakeholders at this meeting expressed frustration as they felt that their contribution to this process was not considered and not valued.

By including dominant narratives in the analysis framework, this map provides insight into the public beliefs, norms and values within which policy is being designed and decided. This specifically names the conflicts and allows for consideration of biases and loyalties that

should be challenged in a human rights and harm reduction based approaches to policy making.

Hidden Transcripts

"[...] I'll *behave*."

- Dr. Maria Pisani,
Director of Integra Foundation, a Level 2 stakeholder.

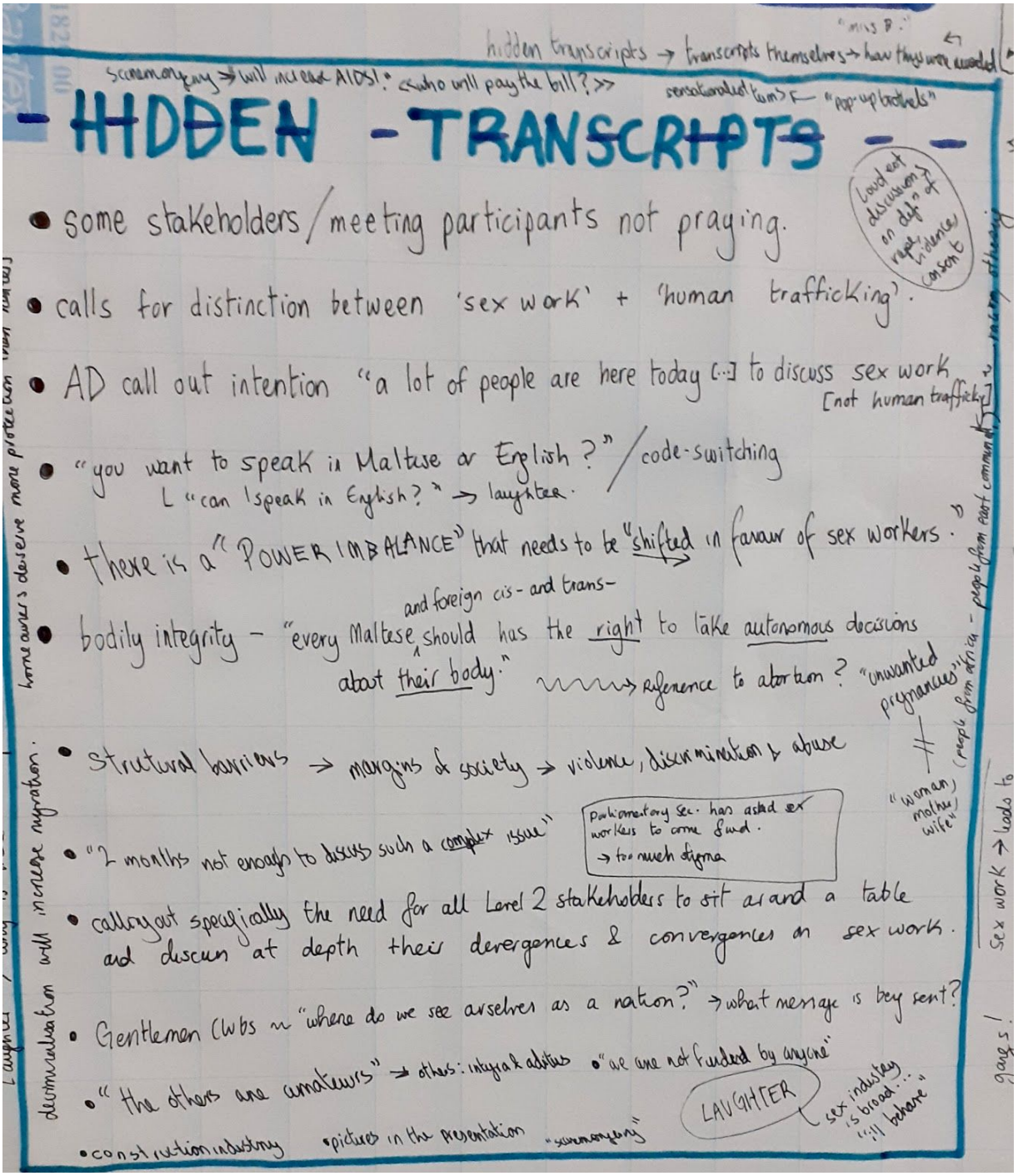

Figure 25: Live-mapping of Hidden Transcripts.

A hidden transcript critiques the dominant narrative, and counters narrative violence. In the face of power, the hidden transcript is often invisible, however when it does emerge it can challenge the systems of oppression that uphold domination (Cobb, 2013). In holding the public reform in the Parliament building, structures of power were clearly reinforced. These structures were further reinforced as Level 2 stakeholders were not invited to dialogue with each other, but only to present to Level 1 stakeholders in a one-way channel. By not incorporating a dialectic process there were only small spaces where the hidden transcript peaked through. This is presented in Figure 25 above and a few examples are laughter, silence, and tone of voice.

Laughter erupted when speakers alluded to the *sexual ('..I'll behave!'),* when power questioned code-switching (from Maltese to English), and in response to the naivety of power (i.e. some of the clarifying questions asked by Level 1 stakeholders). Each one of these instances of laughter challenged the dominant narrative, illuminated common ground amongst Level 2 stakeholders, revealed their expertise, and their attentiveness to the façade of the supposedly inclusive and consultative reform process.

Silence that fell when a Level 2 stakeholder was repeatedly questioned also reveals a hidden transcript. This silence, a dramatic pause, emphasised a feeling of disbelief of the Level 2 stakeholder. Through active listening these moments of disbelief come to light, even when in the face of power. By hearing and noting them, a more complete narrative is revealed. This reveal is essential as it provides *feedback* to power.

An instance of uproar also revealed a hidden transcript, when one Level 2 stakeholder equated the occupational hazards of sex work to the occupational hazards found in the

construction industry. A majority of the participants in unison, at both Level 1 and 2, expressed feelings of betrayal and anger at this claim. As this claim was presented in Maltese, the tone (the uproar) was also the marker of a hidden transcript for those in the room who could not understand Maltese.

By understanding and bringing to light hidden transcripts this framework opens up a space to critically engage with those stories which perpetuate narrative violence. When a politician is aware of hidden transcripts related to their work, they would be more able to strategically prepare responses which would maintain their power. Despite this, it is important to consider hidden transcripts when approaching policy-making from a human rights and harm reduction approach, as these will help to guide processes that are democratic and allow for dialogue rather than one-way presentation.

Narrative Authority

"You have the power [...]"

- Dr. Helen Barrows, Human Rights Lawyer, a Level 2 stakeholder.

Figure 26 below is the result of the live-mapping on narrative authority. Narrative authority indicates which groups have most power in telling the stories which enforce dominant narratives (Cobb, 2013). As discussed in *Chapter 5*, both stakeholders at Level 1 and 2 have narrative authority in this policy reform. Therefore, the mapping also listed which stakeholders took the floor to present at the meeting (lower left corner of Fig 26).

The Level 2 stakeholders present were aditus foundation, integra foundation, Alternattiva Demokratika - The Green Party, Association for Equality, Dar Hosea, Dr. Helen Barrows - an independent human rights lawyer, the General Workers Union, and Ruth Baldacchino - an independent LGBTQI activist. Some of these stakeholders further asserted their authority by clearly stating their background and areas of expertise (e.g. that they are doctors, experts in

gender and sexuality, etc.). Analysing narrative authority as part of a mapping process illuminates who is not in the room, and what they need to do to get there. All in all, it reflects *who* has the power.

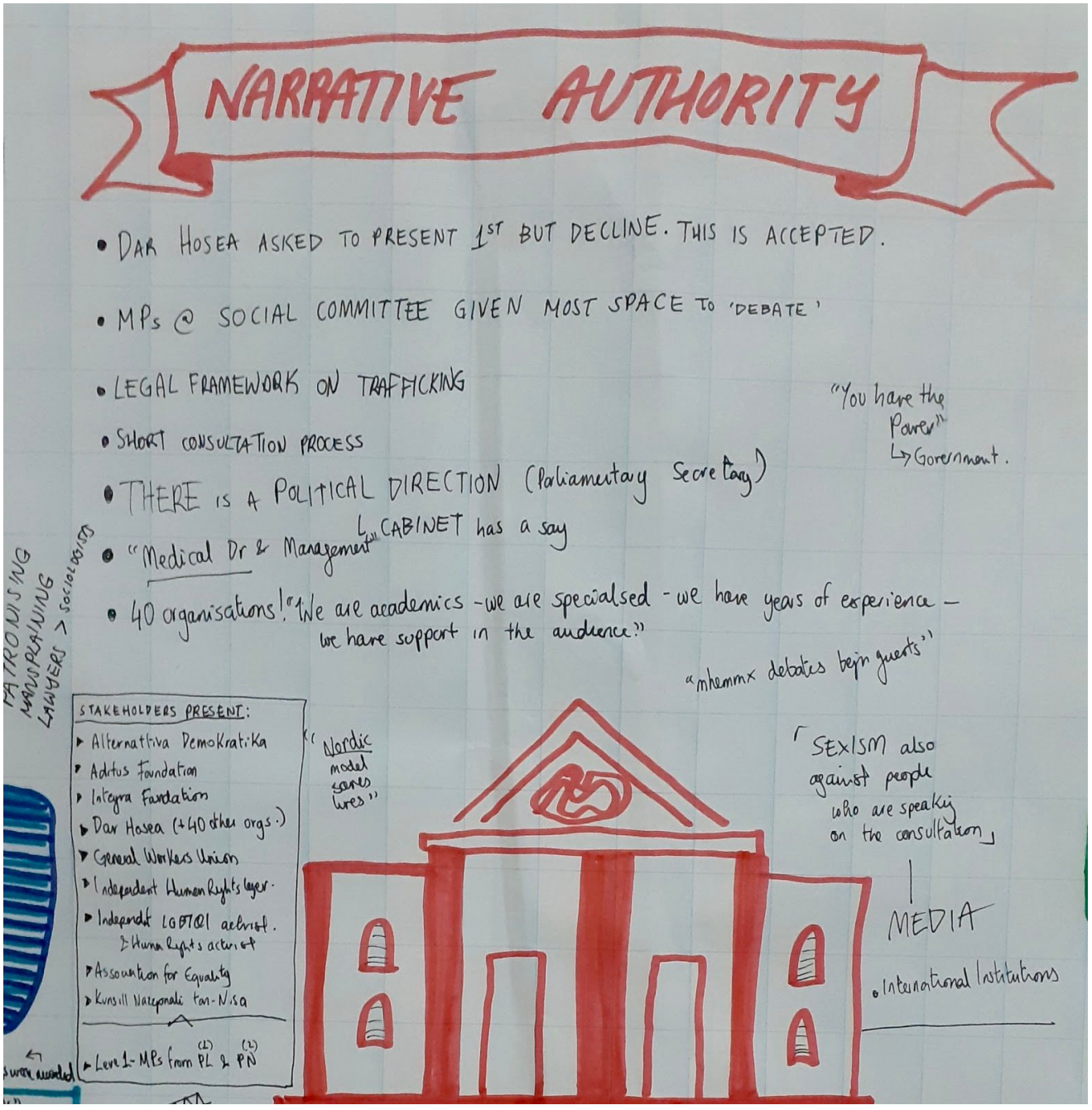

Figure 26: Live-Mapping of Narrative Authority.

Narrative Compression

"se [...] niddiskutu r-riforma [...] dwar it-traffikar tal-persuni u l-prostituzzjoni[14]."

- Etienne Grech,
Member of Parliament and Chairperson of the Social Affairs Committee,
a Level 1 stakeholder.

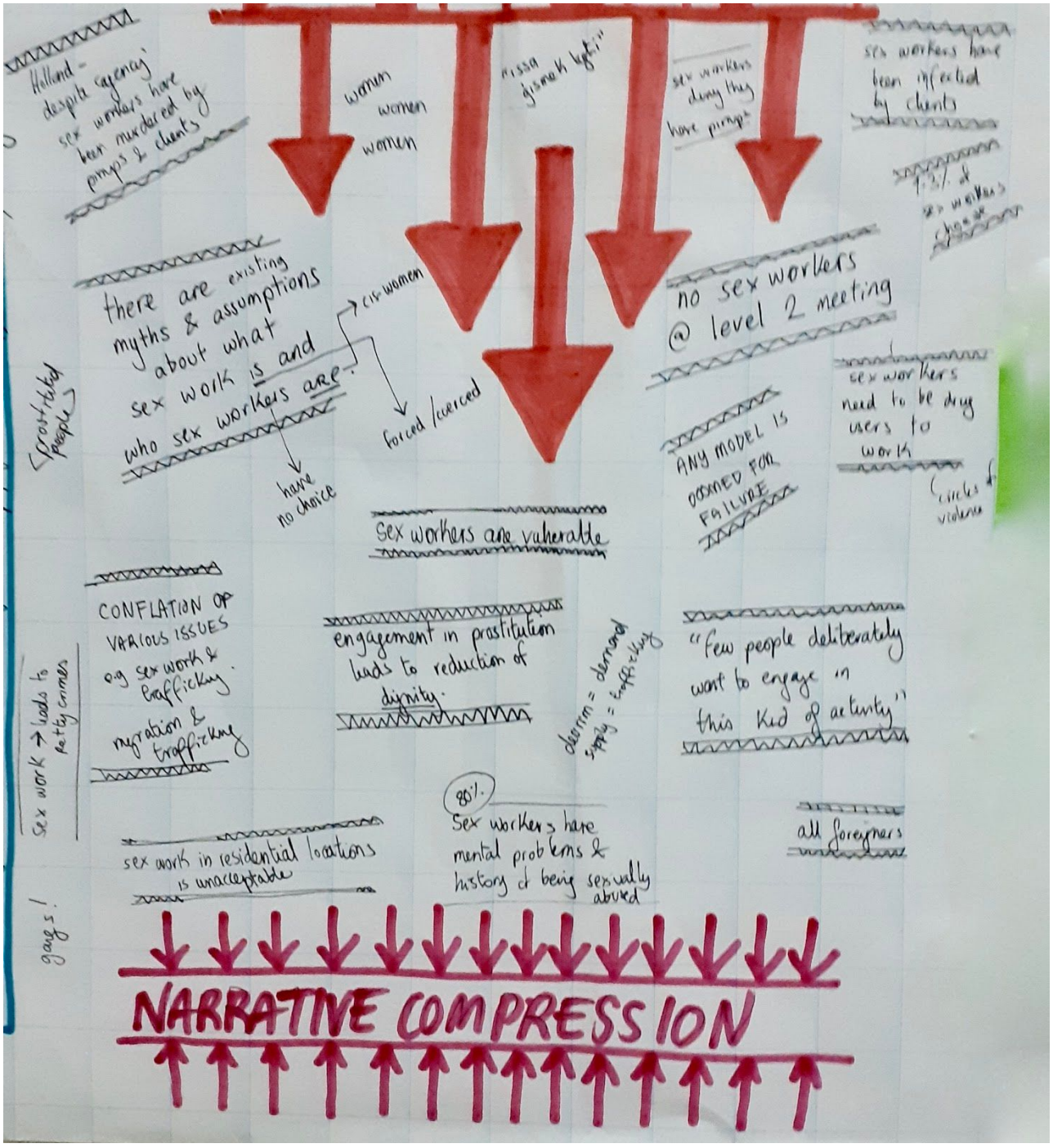

Figure 27: Live-mapping of Narrative Compression.

[14] English translation, "we will discuss the reform on human trafficking and prostiution."

Narrative compression is the result of dominant narratives which erase nuance and perpetuate frozen conflict (Cobb, 2013). Identifying spaces of narrative compression illuminates gaps, debates, and systems which maintain power. Examples of narrative compression at this meeting are the uncritical use of statistics to make broad claims seem factual and the grouping of complex issues in simple one-liners. Figure 27 above presents the results of the live-mapping on narrative compression. Dominant narratives that do not have a norm of actively seeking out hidden transcripts are often symptomatic of narrative compression.

In terms of human rights approaches to policy making, understanding when narrative compression takes place allows for it to be challenged. This challenge creates a system of accountability to ensure that claims made are contextualised, and for actions to be rooted in critical reflection.

Frozen Conflicts

> "[...] you cannot legislate for people's attitude [...] only for their actions [...] "
>
> - *Dr. Helen Barrows, Human Rights Lawyer, a Level 2 stakeholder.*

Frozen or protracted conflicts emerge when there is no (space for) evolution of meaning (Cobb, 2013). The way narratives are told impacts whether meaning can evolve and defrost a conflict. There is overlap between frozen conflict narratives, narrative compression and dominant narratives. However one distinction is that the focus for critical narrative analysis is in *how* a narrative is *told.* Therefore, hidden transcripts - which as aforementioned, are also dependent on the *how* of silence, laughter, reaction etc. - are one way that frozen conflict narratives can be challenged. Some of the frozen conflicts which emerged during this Social Affairs Committee meeting are presented in Figure 28 and described below.

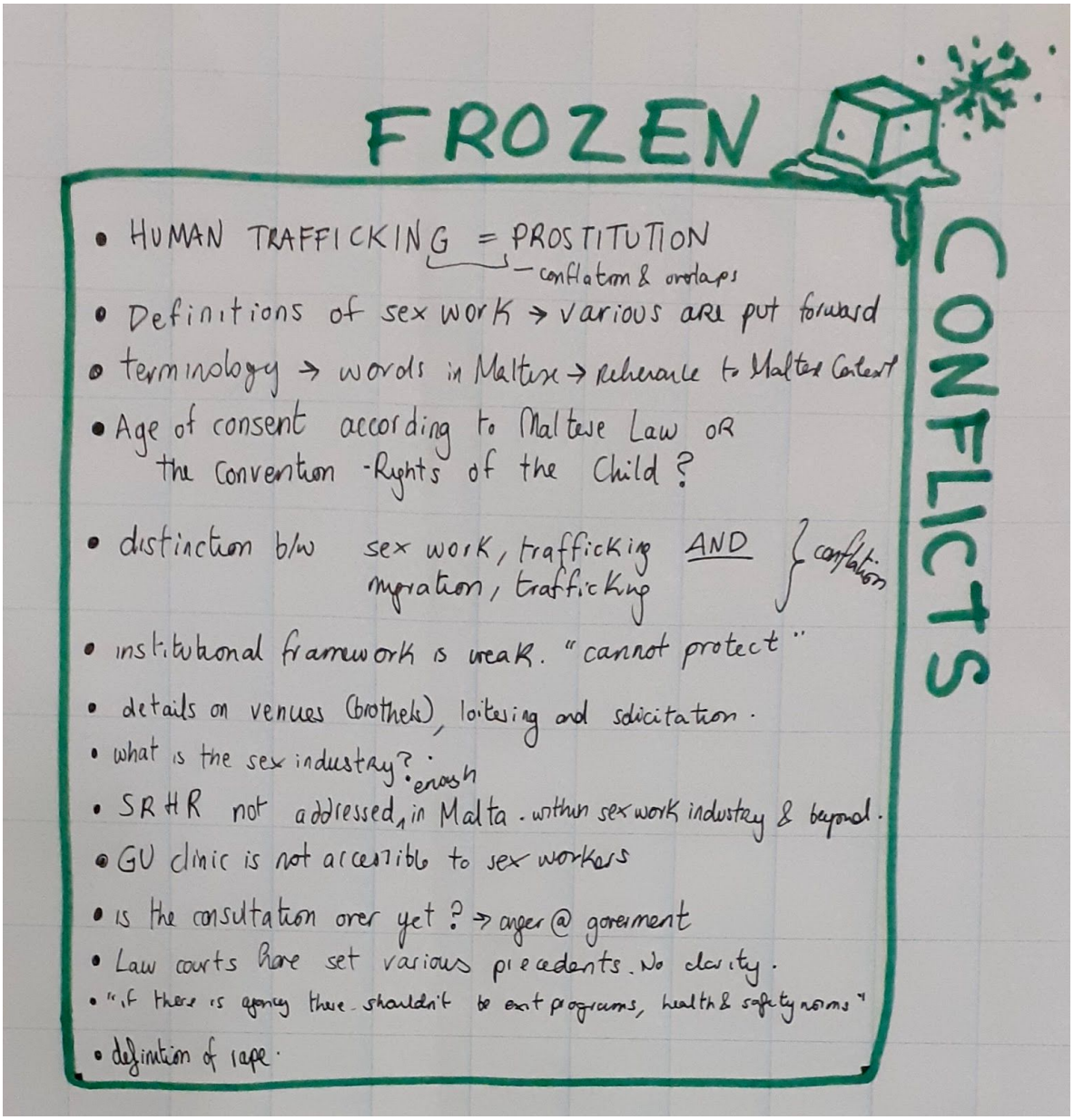

Figure 28: Live-mapping of Frozen Conflicts.

At this meeting, there were two striking frozen conflict narratives indicative of larger structural conflicts in Malta. It was the narrative *told* about these broader structural conflicts which essentially *froze* the discussion on sex work policy. Specifically, this emerged in the presentation by Dr. Carla Camilleri, assistant director of aditus foundation, who commented on Malta's weak institutional frameworks and highlighted that not enough has been done in Malta on sexual and reproductive health and rights.

Dr. Camilleri states:

> However the introduction of either model, or any model, or a mixed type of model, in the present circumstances, will probably be doomed to failure. We think that **the institutional framework is currently missing** [emphasis added] [...] I think we can all agree, or at least I hopefully think that we all agree, that **there is not enough** - and has not been for decades – **education on sexual reproductive health in Malta** [emphasis added]. Again, **we can stay around the table** and discuss this issue, **but** regardless of whether it is legal or not, decriminalised or not, there is much work to be done on sexual reproductive health in Malta [emphasis added]. Within the sex work industry and beyond. (as quoted in Kamra tad-Deputati, 2020, p. 6)

Dr. Camilleri's statement shows how other structural issues can freeze a conflict and impact policy reform. These conflicts need to be transformed in order to allow for the evolution of meaning.

By understanding how conflicts are frozen by dominant narratives and socio-structural issues, policy-makers can aim for more holistic laws. This is indicative of human rights approaches to policy-making, as human rights values are inherently universal and should inform more than just one specific policy or law.

Openings for Evolution of Meaning

"Definitely **there is agreemen**t between us on the fact that all of us are against violence and exploitation. **There is agreement** on that we want a stronger anti trafficking mechanism and to enforce prosecution of traffickers. **There is agreement** on the fact that we need to protect the most vulnerable within the sex worker population. **There is also agreement** on the fact that we need support services that are inclusive of sex workers.
[...] So I like to think that there are more things that we agree on, and **we need to go beyond getting stuck** under the legal models."

- Ruth Baldacchino,
LGBTQI activist, expert on gender and sexuality, a Level 2 stakeholder.

As discussed in this chapter, dominant narratives, hidden transcripts, narrative authority and compression, and frozen conflicts may all hinder or support conflict transformation through speech-acts which allow for meaning to evolve. Identifying *openings* for evolution of meaning is crucial to moving beyond bias, facilitating dialogue and dialectic exchange, and transforming violent conflict narratives. Openings for evolution of meaning are reflected

when stories that are told about a conflict look beyond the confines of narrative compression, frozen conflict dynamics, and advance the dominant narrative to incorporate voices and nuance. Some opportunity for openings for evolution of meaning might also emerge through healthy dialogue that challenges assumptions put forward by individuals. Figure 29 on the next page presents the results of the live-mapping on openings for evolution of meaning, some of which are described below. A discussion on intersectionality of identities, and calls for nuance are examples of openings for evolution of meaning which emerged during the live-mapping.

When intersectionality was brought up it countered claims made which assume that all sex workers are (cis)women by highlighting the need to also legislate for other genders and sexualities, as well as ethnicities and nationalities. In this way a consideration of intersectionality moved the compression of the narrative from one which focuses all policy responses to cater for (cis)women, to one which would be more holistic. In order for evolution of meaning to occur, the policy reform (including the consultation process) must include an intersectional approach to policy-making. Calls for nuance occurred when stakeholders pointed to the conflation of human trafficking with sex work. Nuance was also demanded when stakeholders stated that the reform should not only respond to 'street sex work' but also online sex work, and other activities in the sex industry. Intersectionality and nuance are two transformative mechanisms to address narrative violence.

The mapping exercise helped to identify some opportunities for evolution of meaning, but the power structure of the meeting itself did not allow for action and immediate deconstruction of dominant narratives. Were the live-mapping to occur at the meeting itself, a facilitator could pick up on these opportunities for evolution of meaning, and guide the

discussion. In this way, narrative analysis mapping would assist policy reform as well as contribute to conflict resolution between stakeholders.

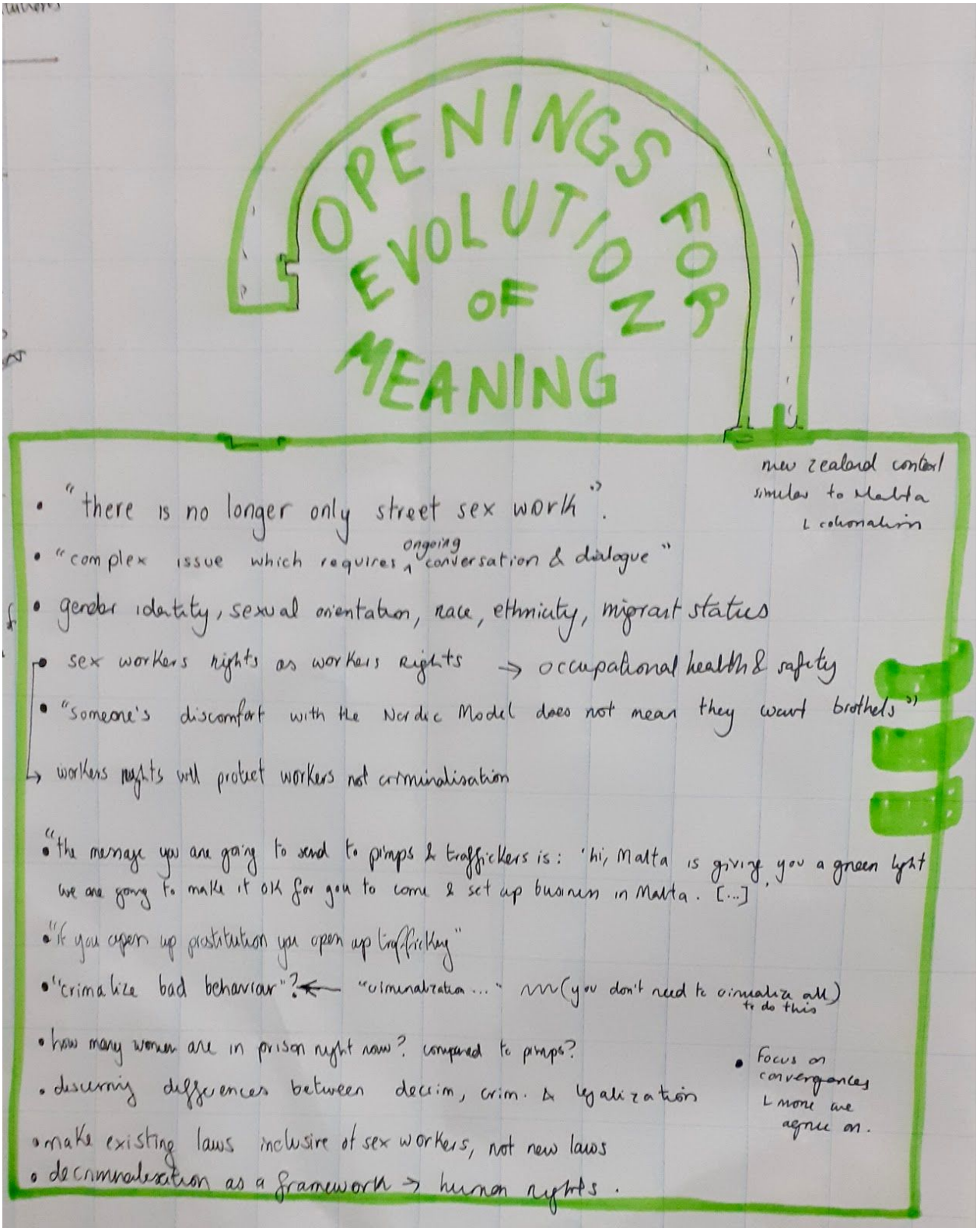

Figure 29: Live-mapping of Openings for Evolution of Meaning.

Conclusion & Recommendations for Application

This application of the *Narrative Analysis Map* framework which has been tailor-made to inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta has considered six core elements of critical narrative theory and Cobb's (2013) theory of conflict narratives. These elements are dominant narratives, hidden transcripts, narrative authority, frozen conflicts, and openings for evolution of meaning. The analysis of these six elements have shown how a conflict mapping analysis, which is flexible and considers the context of a conflict being considered, can inform policy.

Specifically, this brief analysis of one meeting of the Social Affairs Committee provides background on: the biases and loyalties that should be challenged in this policy reform on sex work in Malta; the importance of non-hierarchical and dialectic processes of decision making; the state of power and the absence of voices of sex workers in the reform; how accountability can counter reductive approaches to sex work; which broader socio-structural issues (weak institutions and sexual and reproductive health and rights) impact the reform; and the points of discussion which could be further deconstructed to provide for evolution of meaning and lay the way for conflict transformation.

The limitations of the *Narrative Analysis Map* are tied to technical limitations as well as limitation of narrative analysis as a whole. Technical limitations refer to the non-ideal setting of mapping a meeting after it has occurred. Especially since this particular meeting of the Social Affairs Committee was not designed to be non-hierarchical. Therefore it is not possible to receive direct feedback on the mapping process itself, as well as to truly understand what hidden transcripts may emerge through side-chatter and body language. Narrative Analysis itself has its own limitations. For example, it does not account for socio-economic theories of conflict, it is based on qualitative data and thus the cartographer's own biases may impact on

the interpretation of this data. When used in conjunction with other maps as part of a broader conflict mapping process, these limitations could be overcome.

A critical reflection on the application of this map serves an iterative process, i.e. this experience of mapping could inform future application of the map. In this regard, there are several recommendations for the application of the *Narrative Analysis Map* in the future. For example, first if it used after a meeting has taken place it could be helpful to substantiate the data with other sources (e.g. from articles in the Media), second, to create a summarised and digital representation of the final map so that it could be used as a visual communications tool, and third, to consider how a check-in process would work in practice. If I were to use this map in a live, in-person meeting, I would print out smaller versions of the framework for each participant to take notes on, and would use these as a final basis for discussion, feedback and evaluation.

CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSION

With this dissertation I sought to answer the research question, *how can conflict mapping inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta?* I carried out this ambitious task by first reviewing literature on sex work, sex work policy in Malta, human rights, and harm reduction, in *Chapter 2 - Literature Review*. Then, in *Chapter 3 - Methodology* I developed a methodological framework to understand how conflict mapping can be used for qualitative analysis. This discussion was framed within a consideration of my own positionality as an activist, politician, and researcher, as well as on the benefits of critical reflection in practice. Next, I critically reflected on my own experience with conflict mapping in *Chapter 4 - Conflict Maps*. Further, I developed on the results of this chapter to write a proposal for a conflict map analysis to inform the sex work policy reform in Malta (*Chapter 5 - Proposal)*. In order to test part of the proposal, in *Chapter 6 - Narrative Analysis,* I applied one of the conflict maps developed to inform the policy reform on sex work in Malta to a meeting of the Social Affairs Committee which took place in March 2020.

Key Findings - From Complexity to Policy

As a result of the above-mentioned process, the cumulative key findings of this dissertation are presented below.

The literature review on sex work and sex work policy made clear multiple levels of conflict, from socio-structural violence that is rooted in cultural norms and narratives, to policy discussions of decriminalisation and criminalisation. This review also helped to identify the key stakeholders involved in the policy reform on sex work in Malta so far, and their role in the policy discussions. Further, a discussion on human rights values and harm

reduction principles set a clear theoretical framework which was later applied in the creation of a conflict map analysis proposal.

An analysis of conflict maps showed that they can be used for various purposes. It is clear that a distinction should be made between the process, or mapping, and the outcome, or map. Designing a conflict map analysis requires clear constraints and a broad understanding of the multiple levels of conflict one seeks to address. Once this information is gathered, it is possible to propose a conflict map and conflict mapping process for policy reform. Additionally, I showed how human rights and harm reduction can inform a conflict map analysis, from process to outcome.

Testing of the *Conflict Map Analysis Proposal* presented in *Chapter 5 - Proposal* was not the intention of the dissertation, however, the application of one of the maps, *Narrative Analysis Map*, geared to Level 2 stakeholders (i.e. NGOs, etc.), showed how conflict mapping can serve as both a qualitative research methodology and inform a policy reform. The ways in which this map informs the reform are two-fold, first it offers up considerations for the process of a policy reform and how to make public consultation more participatory and inclusive, and second it points to key areas for the opening of evolution of meaning. A discussion on these openings for evolution of meaning can be crucial in managing conflict between stakeholders at various levels, but also in guiding the creation of more nuanced policy recommendations.

Recommendations for Future Research

In conclusion, this dissertation provides recommendations for future research in the areas of conflict mapping, sex work in Malta, and participatory methods of policy making.

Future research in conflict mapping could look to expand on this tool as a qualitative method of analysis. Further research in this area could help outline the benefits that conflict mapping provides to a researcher themself, i.e. how this methodology allows for a clear framework for critical reflection of qualitative data. This question was brought about in this dissertation as both the process of mapping and the outcomes of maps positively impacted the researcher and helped them to overcome some of their inherent biases on the topic of sex work.

More research on sex work in Malta is clearly needed. There is a significant research gap on sex work in Malta in all fields of study, except for historical and legal analysis. Therefore, research on sex work in Malta could look to explore the impact of socio-structural violence on sex workers, as well as develop qualitative studies that incorporate the voices of sex workers as these are limited in research. Filling this gap necessitates a discussion on nuances which could be supported by a more inclusive approach to policy making and representation of sex workers in national politics and academia.

Finally, research on participatory methods of policy making could advance research in the area of active governance in a way that centre transformative approaches to political science and bridges conflict transformation to policy making. The benefits of active governance inspired a consideration of human rights based approaches to policy making in Malta, additional case studies and theoretical frameworks to advance critical engagement with active governance could strengthen the democratic processes of a government, root these processes in science, and help them protect ‘vulnerable people.’

REFERENCES

aditus foundation & Integra Foundation (2019). Reform on Human Trafficking and Prostitution. Retrieved from http://aditus.org.mt/Publications/aditusintegra_humantraffickingprostitutionsubmission_01112019.pdf

Alternattiva Demokratika - The Green Party, AD (2019). Konsultazzjoni pubblika - Prostituzzjoni u traffikar ta' persuni. Retrieved from https://www.alternattiva.org.mt/2point3/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/AD_Konsultazzjoni-Pubblika-Prostituzzjoni-u-Traffikar.pdf

Baldacchino, R., Tolu, M., & Sammut, R. (2017). Malta Pride: LGBTIQ People and Sex Workers' Rights. In *Facebook* [event]. Retrieved August 12, 2020, from https://www.facebook.com/events/malta-pride-lgbtiq-people-and-sex-workers-rights/123854684914324/

Briozzo, L. (2016). From risk and harm reduction to decriminalizing abortion: The Uruguayan model for women's rights. International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics, 134(S1), S3–S6. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgo.2016.06.003

Calafato, T. (2017). Malta. In, S. Okland Jahnsen & H. Wagenaar (Eds.), Assessing prostitution policies in Europe (pp. 331-345). London : Routledge

Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse, CCSA. (2008). Harm Reduction: What's in a Name? Retrieved from https://prod.ccsa.ca/sites/default/files/2019-05/ccsa0115302008e.pdf

Clarke, A. E. (2005). Situational analysis. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412985833

Cobb, S. (2013). Speaking of Violence: The Politics and Poetics of Narrative in Conflict Resolution (Explorations in Narrative Psychology) (1st ed.). Oxford University Press.

Coghlan, D., & Brydon-Miller, M. (2014). The SAGE encyclopedia of action research (Vols. 1-2). London, : SAGE Publications Ltd doi: 10.4135/9781446294406

Cook, D. (2020). Why COVID-19 is Ravaging Black America. Instagram post. Retrieved, August 10, 2020 from https://www.instagram.com/p/B_AzK35FhJ7/

Cooper, B., Hord, O., & Tolu, M. (2020). *Taxonomizing Transitional Tightness in Cultures: Health Norms of the Porn Industry*. SCR 5218: Conflict, Representation and Cultural Politics. Centre for the Study and Practice of Conflict Resolution. University of Malta: unpublished essay.

Council of Europe (2017). What are Human Rights? Retrieved September 15, 2020 from https://www.coe.int/en/web/compass/what-are-human-rights-

Criminal Code. Retrieved August 25, 2020 from https://justice.gov.mt/en/pcac/Documents/Criminal%20code.pdf

Cusick, L. (2006). Widening the harm reduction agenda: From drug use to sex work. The International Journal of Drug Policy, 17(1), 3–11. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2005.12.002

Dugan, M. A. (1996). A Nested Theory of Conflict. *A Leadership Journal: Women in Leadership - Sharing the Vision.*, *1*. Retrieved from https://emu.edu/cjp/docs/Dugan_Maire_Nested-Model-Original.pdf

Espejo, B., Cuenca, P. A., & Tarrés, J. P. (2020). Articulations and controversies in sex-work trans-activism. Critical Social Policy, 40(2), 279–297. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018319897042

European Women's Lobby, EWL. (2014). *Together for a Europe Free from Prostitution.* Retrieved, August 25, 2020 from https://www.womenlobby.org/-Together-for-a-Europe-Free-From-Prostitution-?lang=en

Farrugia, R. (2012). State responsibility for human trafficking - perspectives from malta. *Journal of Money Laundering Control, 15*(2), 142-152. doi:http://dx.doi.org.ejournals.um.edu.mt/10.1108/13685201211218135

Ferrara, C. (2019). *Pianificazione Strategica e Cultura Queer. Il Caso Malta.* (Master's dissertation). Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche. Università degli Studi di Napoli 'Federico II'.

Fisher, S., Abdi, D. I., Ludin, J., Smith, R., Williams, S., & Williams, S. (2000). Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action. Zed Books.

Jackson, J., & Gelfand, M. (2017). On the evolution of tightness-looseness in cultural ecosystems. Religion, Brain & Behavior, 7(2), 155–158. https://doi.org/10.1080/2153599X.2015.1132252

Ghose, T., Swendeman, D., George, S., & Chowdhury, D. (2008). Mobilizing collective identity to reduce HIV risk among sex workers in Sonagachi, India: the boundaries, consciousness, negotiation framework. *Social science & medicine*, *67*(2), 311-320.

GIGESC Act. (2015). Retrieved from https://tgeu.org/gender-identity-gender-expression-sex-characteristics-act-malta-2015/

Grech, O. (2010). Human rights and the conflict cycle : a synopsis. In O. Grech, & M. Wohlfeld (Eds.), Human rights and the conflict cycle (pp. 33-57). Msida: Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies. Retrieved from https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/bitstream/123456789/21871/1/2.%20Human%20Rights%20and%20the%20Conflict%20Cycle.pdf

ICRSE (2005). Sex Workers in Europe Manifesto. Retrieved from http://www.sexworkeurope.org/es/resources/sex-workers-europe-manifesto#:~:text=The%20Sex%20Workers%20Manifesto%20identifies,and%20equitable%20society%20for%20all.

ICRSE (2015a). Intersection Briefing Paper. Underserved. Overpolice. Invisibilised. LGBT Sex Workers Do Matter. Retrieved from https://www.sexworkeurope.org/underserved-overpoliced-invisibilised-lgbt-sex-workers-do-matter

ICRSE (2015b). Sex Work Legal Frameworks. Retrieved from https://www.sexworkeurope.org/sites/default/files/userfiles/files/sex%20work%20legal%20frameworks%20final.pdf

ICRSE (2016). Intersection Briefing Paper. Surveilled. Exploited. Deported. Rights Violations Against Migrant Sex Workers in Europe and Central Asia. Retrieved from https://www.sexworkeurope.org/icrse-intersection-briefing-papers/resource-surveilled-exploited-deported-rights-violations-against

ICRSE (2017a). Intersection Briefing Paper. Feminism Needs Sex Workers. Sex Workers Need Feminism. For a Sex Worker Inclusive Women's Rights Movement. Retrieved from

https://www.sexworkeurope.org/icrse-intersection-briefing-papers/resource-surveilled-exploited-deported-rights-violations-against

ICRSE (2017b). Intersection Briefing Paper. Understanding Sex Work as Work: A Brief Guide for Labour Rights Activists. Retrieved from https://www.sexworkeurope.org/icrse-intersection-briefing-papers/resource-surveilled-exploited-deported-rights-violations-against

ICRSE (2017c). Intersection Briefing Paper. Understanding sex workers' right to health: impact of criminalisation and violence. Retrieved from https://www.sexworkeurope.org/icrse-intersection-briefing-papers/resource-surveilled-exploited-deported-rights-violations-against

ICRSE (2019). Public Consultation on Reform on Human Trafficking and Prostitution. Submission to the Parliamentary Secretariat for Reforms, Citizenship and Simplification of Administrative Processes in Malta. Retrieved from http://www.sexworkeurope.org/news/news-region/joint-submission-maltas-reform-human-trafficking-and-prostitution

Kamra tad-Deputati, (2020). Kumitat Permanenti Dwar L-Affarijiet Soċjali: Laqgħa Nru 31, L-Erbgħa, 4 ta' Marzu 2020. Official transcript.

Kane, M., & Trochim, W. M. (2013). Concept Mapping for Applied Social Research. In L. Bickman & D. J. Rog (Eds.), The SAGE Handbook of Applied Social Research Methods (pp. 435–474). SAGE Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483348858

Kriesberg, L., & Dayton, B. W. (2012). *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution* (Fourth ed.). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

La Strada International News. (2016). *Statement on Amnesty International Policy on Sex Workers Rights.* Retrieved from http://lastradainternational.org/news-publications/statement-on-amnesty-international-policy-on-sex-workers-rights

Lederach, J. P. (1997). Building peace: sustainable reconciliation in divided societies. United States Institute of Peace Press.

Lederach, J.P. (2003). *Little Book of Conflict Transformation: Clear Articulation Of The Guiding Principles By A Pioneer In The Field (The Little Books of Justice and Peacebuilding Series)*. Intercourse, United States.: Good Books.

Liebovitch, L. S., Coleman, P. T., & Fisher, J. (2020). Approaches to Understanding Sustainable Peace: Qualitative Causal Loop Diagrams and Quantitative Mathematical Models. American Behavioral Scientist, 64(2), 123–144. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764219859618

Magri, G. (2020, August 30). *Decriminalisation of sex work: Technical Committee Report on the Way to Cabinet.* The Malta Independent. Retrieved from https://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2020-08-30/local-news/Decriminalisation-of-sex-work-Technical-committee-report-on-the-way-to-Cabinet-6736226504#.X0tQ-81Gvfs.facebook

Malta Today (2013). Government Launches LGBT Consultative Council. Retrieved from https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/26263/government-launches-lgbt-consultative-council-20130422#.X2VIdpMzZQI

Malta Police Force (n.d). Organisational Chart. Retrieved September 12, 2020 from https://pulizija.gov.mt/mt/police-force/PublishingImages/Organisational%20Chart.png

Marcasciano, P. (2018). *L'Aurora Delle Trans Cattive: Storie, Sguardi e Vissuti Della Mia Generazione Transgender*. Edizione Alegre.

MEAE (2019), Reform on Human Trafficking and Prostitution: Parliamentary Secretariat for Reforms, Citizenship and Simplification of Administrative Processes. Public Consultation Document. Retrieved from https://meae.gov.mt/en/Public_Consultations/OPM/Pages/Consultations/Reformonhumantraffickingandprostitution.aspx

Ministry for Health (n.d.). Organogram. Retrieved September 12, 2020 from https://deputyprimeminister.gov.mt/en/Documents/contact-details/MFH_Organogram.pdf

Ministry for Justice (n.d.). Organisational Structure. Retrieved September 12, 2020 from https://justice.gov.mt/en/ministry/Documents/common/OrganisationalStructure.pdf

Muscat, C. (2018). Public Women. Prostitute Entrepreneurs in Valletta, 1630-1798 (1st ed.). BDL Publishing.

NSWP. (n.d.). *Carol Leigh coins the term "sex work"*. Retrieved from https://www.nswp.org/timeline/event/carol-leigh-coins-the-term-sex-work

Open Society Foundations. (2019, April). Understanding Sex Work in an Open Society. Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/explainers/understanding-sex-work-open-society

Parliament of Malta. (2020). Social Affairs Committee Meeting. Retrieved September 1, 2020 from

https://parlament.mt/en/13th-leg/social-affairs-committee/soc-031-04032020-0445-pm/?page=1&numItems=

Partit Laburista. (2017). *L-Aqwa Żmien ta' Pajjiżna.* Manifest Elettorali. Retrieved from https://www.one.com.mt/news/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/MANIFEST-2017.pdf

Pauly, B. (2008). Harm reduction through a social justice lens. The International Journal of Drug Policy, 19(1), 4–10. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2007.11.005

Pauly, B., Reist, D., Belle-Isle, L., & Schactman, C. (2013). Housing and harm reduction: What is the role of harm reduction in addressing homelessness? International Journal of Drug Policy, 24(4), 284–290. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2013.03.008

Positive Women's Network. (2019). Harm Reduction Factsheet. Retrieved from https://www.pwn-usa.org/issues/policy-agenda/ending-criminalization/harm-reduction-factsheet/

Rekart, M. (2005). Sex-work harm reduction. The Lancet (British Edition), 366(9503), 2123–2134. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(05)67732-X

Sarkar, J. & Basu, I. & Rotheram-Borus, M. & Newman, P. (2004). The Sonagachi Project: A Sustainable Community Intervention Program. AIDS education and prevention : official publication of the International Society for AIDS Education. 16. 405-14. 10.1521/aeap.16.5.405.48734.

Scicluna, P. and Clark, M. (2019), "Victimisation and addictive careers amongst women in Malta", *The Journal of Forensic Practice*, Vol. 21 No. 1, pp. 71-84. https://doi.org/10.1108/JFP-07-2018-0031

Scottish Human Rights Commission, SHRC. (2018). A Human Rights Based Approach: Self-Assessment Tool. https://www.scottishhumanrights.com/media/1814/shrc_panel_self-assessment_tool_vfinal.pdf

Scottish Human Rights Commission, SHRC. (2019). A Human Rights Based Approach: An Introduction. Retrieved From https://www.scottishhumanrights.com/media/1409/shrc_hrba_leaflet.pdf

Shye, S., & Elizur, D. (1994). Applied Social Research Methods: Introduction to facet theory. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412984645

Skilbrei, (2019). Assessing the Power of Prostitution Policies to Shift Markets, Attitudes, and Ideologies. Annual Review of Criminology. 2: 493-508. https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/10.1146/annurev-criminol-011518-024623

Stabile, L (2020). Sex work abolitionism and hegemonic feminisms: Implications for gender-diverse sex workers and migrants from Brazil. The Sociological review monographs. Vol 68:4 852-689 Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026120934710

Stern, W.,S. (2019). *Sex Workers Are an Important Part of the Stonewall Story, But Their Role Has Been Forgotten.* Retrieved from https://time.com/5604224/stonewall-lgbt-sex-worker-history/

St. James Infirmary. (2017). *Bad Date List*. Retrieved from https://stjamesinfirmary.org/wordpress/?page_id=3767

Tolu, M. & Cooper, B. (2019). *Narrative Analysis Map*. CONF 600: Foundations of Conflict Analysis and Resolution. S-CAR. George Mason University. unpublished presentation & ELA.

Tolu, M., Cooper, B., & Mimi, D. (2019). *ELA Maps: Stakeholder Map, Conflict Tree. Systems Map.* CONF 600: Foundations of Conflict Analysis and Resolution. S-CAR. George Mason University. unpublished presentation.

Transgender Europe, TGEU. (2016). Sex Work Policy. Retrieved from https://tgeu.org/sex-work-policy/

Trans Murder Monitoring, TMM. (2019). TMM Update Trans Day of Remembrance 2019. Retrieved from https://tgeu.org/tmm-update-trans-day-of-remembrance-2019/

Vallacher, R. R., Coleman, P. T., Nowak, A., Bui-Wrzosinska, L., Liebovitch, L., Kugler, K., & Bartoli, A. (2013). *Attracted to Conflict: Dynamic Foundations of Destructive Social Relations (Peace Psychology Book Series)*. Berlin Heidelberg: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-35280-5

Volkan, V.D. (1998). The Tree Model: Psychopolitical Dialogues and the Promotion of Coexistence.*The Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence*, ed. Eugene Weiner. New York: Continuum Publishing.

Vaughan-Williams, N. & Pisani, M. (2020). Migrating borders, bordering lives: everyday geographies of ontological security and insecurity in Malta, Social & Cultural Geography, 21:5, 651-673, DOI: 10.1080/14649365.2018.1497193

Wohlfeld, M. (2010). An overview of the conflict cycle. In O. Grech, & M. Wohlfeld (Eds.), Human rights and the conflict cycle (pp. 13-32). Msida: Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies.

Women's Rights Foundation, Association for Equality, Dar Hosea (2019). Reform on Human Trafficking and Prostitutuion. Joint Submission to Government Public Consultation Process. Retrieved from https://lovinmalta.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/HTP-Reform-Joint-Subission-27.10.2019-FINAL-FINAL-1.pdf

World Health Organization. (2020, June 19). *Sex workers*. https://www.who.int/hiv/topics/sex_work/en/