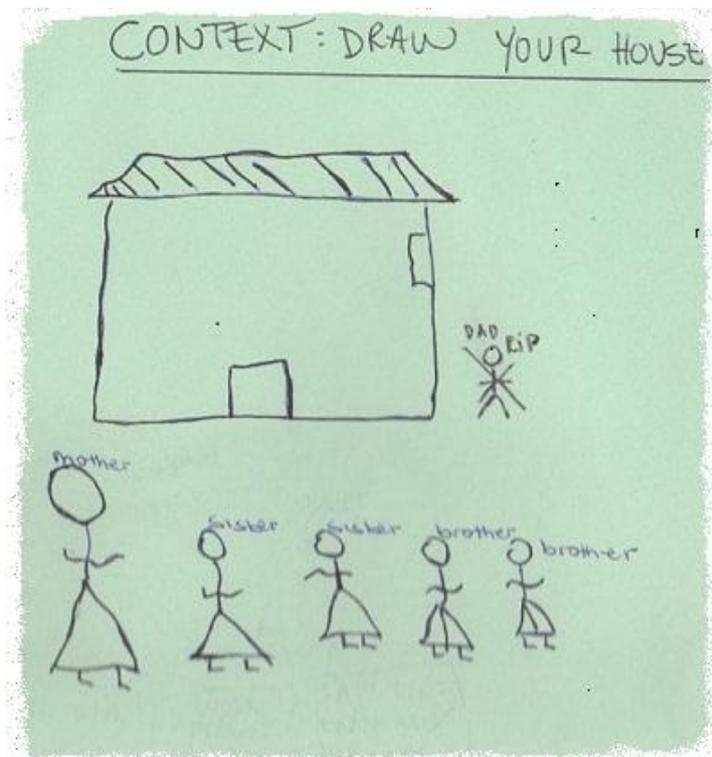




GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET  
INSTITUTIONEN FÖR SOCIALT ARBETE

# A way out from Child Commercial Sex Exploitation



Socionomprogrammet VT 2012

**C-uppsats**

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Handledare: Pierre Engström

## **PREFACE**

When we look back on our time in Africa we are filled with thankfulness. We would like to thank the organisation Sida that sponsored us. To be part of the foreign aid that Sweden is giving to different countries in the world was an honour for us. We would like to thank the University of Gothenburg that selected us to receive the MFS and the Adlerbertska premiärstiftelsens scholarship. A special thank you to our supervisor Pierre Engström that also has a lot of experience of third world countries and had a great understanding for the situations we met. His knowledge and guidance was of great value for us. We would like to thank the organizations UYDEL and Somero Uganda for providing us with contacts, litterateur and guidance. We would like to give a very special thank you to our informants that had the courage to give us a highly personal story of their lives.

When you live in a culture that is extremely different to what you're used to, you can meet situations that you never thought existed. When you handle these situations there is a humility born and you can receive knowledge about yourself and other people who are precious. We feel that our experience in Africa has given us a great deal of knowledge, initiative, experience and strength that is invaluable. Thank you - above listed - for making this possible!

## **ABSTRACT**

**Title:** A way out from Child Commercial Sex Exploitation

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**Year:** 2012

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Child commercial sex exploitation of children (CSEC) or easier explained child prostitution is an increasing problem in Uganda. It is considered as one of the worst forms of child labour and it is a problem that organizations and governments worldwide are trying to combat. This study is focusing on explaining the mechanism's that can help children leave child commercial sex exploitation considering the context they are living in. We have conducted interviews with six girls in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda, who all have managed to start working in other areas than prostitution. The study has its origins in the scientific perspective – critical realism and through retrodution and contra factual questions as analytical tools we have analyzed our informant's response.

The results show that the mechanisms that are triggered through the change process work together and are all necessary for the final result. The mechanisms are individual and depend on the person's history and living context, although for all the girls the vocational training provided from a Non-Governmental Organization is crucial for triggering a mechanism of hope.

**Keywords:** Commercial Sex Exploitation of Children (CSEC), Critical Realism, Change-process, Mechanisms, Context

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Presentation	1
1.2 Background	1
1.3 Purpose of the study	2
1.4 Research questions	2
<b>2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH</b>	<b>3</b>
2.1 Impact of commercial sex exploitation of children in Uganda	3
2.2 Interface of Substance abuse and Child Prostitution: Intervening in the lives of slum and street children in Kampala – Uganda	4 4
<b>3. METHOD</b>	<b>6</b>
3.1 Pre-understanding	6
3.2 Scientific Perspective – Critical Realism	6
3.3 Development of approaches	7
3.4 Choice of method	7
3.5 Selection of informants	8
3.6 Interview model	8
3.7 Performance/Approach	9
3.8 Methods of analysis and the use of theory	10
3.9 Methodological reflections	10
3.9.1 Problems during research/ self-criticism	10
3.9.2 Ethical considerations and guidelines	10
3.9.3 Generalizability, validity, reliability	12
<b>4. THEORETICAL POINTS</b>	<b>13</b>
4.1 SOC - Sense of Coherence	13
4.2 Resilience	13
4.3 Empowerment	14
4.4 Habitus	14
<b>5. EMPIRICALS AND ANALYSIS</b>	<b>16</b>
5.1 Rita’s Story – a longing for a different life	16
5.1.1 Analyze of Rita	16
5.2 Sarah’s story – Commercial sex work was necessary but risky	19
5.2.1 Analyze of Sarah	20
5.3 Rose’s Story – in the path of death and hard work – her dreams will come true	22
5.3.1 Analyze of Rose	23
5.4 Juliet’s Story – a longing for independence and a fear of diseases	25
5.4.1 Analyze of Juliet	26
5.5 Maria’s Story – a way out of being forced into commercial sex work	28
5.5.1 Analyze of Maria	29
5.6 Angelina’s Story – a journey to more dignity and respect	31
5.6.1 Analyze of Angelina	32
5.7 Summary of analysis	34
<b>6. DISCUSSION</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>7. REFERENCE LIST</b>	<b>37</b>

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Presentation

*With her baby in the lap, 18 year old Sarah sits in front of us to tell her story. Sarah begins her story when she was nine years old and her mother died. Her father had left the family before she was even born and since no one could pay for her school fees after her mother's death, she had to drop out of school. She went to live with her aunt but by the time she turned 11 the aunt kicked her out because she feared that Sarah, now becoming a woman, were competing for her husband. Sarah had no place to live but some older friends told her to come and stay with them. She ended up in an area called Chi Mombasa, in one of the slum areas in Kampala. This area is characterized by brothels and lodges and young girls working as commercial sex workers. Sarah started working as a sex worker at age eleven and has since then been living and working in the area. Today she is no longer working as a sex worker and she has started a new life. Her story is one of many thousands, but her story of successfully leaving commercial sex work is one of much fewer. Learning from successful cases such as Sarah's, we would say, is imperative for social work. There is no single solution to the problem but the lessons to be learned about what works for whom and under what circumstances are many, if we are willing to listen.*

The life story above shows that some young girls struggle in life and sometimes do not have other options than to start working as sex workers. Commercial sex work is one of the worst forms of child labour that violate the rights of children (Bass 2004). Many programs and NGO: s work to try to help the victims, but there is not one solution that works for all. We became interested in finding out what these turning points or mechanisms are that makes a girl being able to stop working in commercial sex work and this interest has formed the basis of our study.

## 1.2 Background

Today more than 200 million children work throughout the world. Many of these children are denied the chance to be children and loose the opportunity to go to school and play. A number of them also do not receive proper nutrition or care (International Labour Organization (ILO) 2011).

It is important to mention that not all child work is bad. To view the question as only something bad can make it more difficult to approach the problem. The circumstances of why children work are complex. Many families, for example, struggles with the difficulties of coping with the family's income. Child work often counts as a function of poverty but there are often more causes to the problem that varies from child to child. But it is also important, not to forget that more than half of all children that work are exposed to the worst forms of child work – child labour; such as work in hazardous environments, forms of forced labour, illicit activities including drug trafficking and prostitution, as well as involvement in armed conflict. These forms of child labour can have a devastating effect on the child's development (Bass 2004).

Uganda is a country located in eastern Africa. Here the problem with child labour is widespread. Even though the country has had a consistently high economic growth during the last years the country still faces many development challenges and each of them are a contributing factor to child labour. Some of the challenges are poverty, HIV/AIDS and the high population growth (ILO, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) & World Bank 2008). Since the effects of child labour to the individual, community and nation at large has become more and more apparent in Uganda, the Government places the elimination of

child labour high on its national development agenda. It has ratified a number of major regional and international conventions, covenants and instruments which relate to the welfare and rights of children (ILO 2009). Although the problem with child labour continues to rise and the number of child labourers has increased the last years according to new studies (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD) 2011).

The effects of child labour on the child can be many. For example, child labour often interferes with children's ability to attend school which can make life difficult for the child. A child with little or no schooling will be in a weak position on the labour market and is in a high risk of being unemployed in the future (ILO, UNICEF & World Bank 2008).

In the central region of Uganda lies the capital city Kampala. In and around the city child labor is apparent. Kampala counts, for example, as a hot spot for child prostitution and pornography which counts as one of the worst forms of child labour as mentioned earlier. Several forms of commercial sex exploitation of children exists and include; child prostitution, child pornography, early marriages and courting men. Often this takes place in bars, lodges and night clubs. Children who are involved in these acts often use alcohol and drugs as a mean of coping with violence associated with the sex trade (Uganda Youth Development Link (UYDEL), National Council for Children (NCC), MGLSD, Uganda Bureau Of Statistics (UBOS) & Acting for Life 2011).

Because of the increasing numbers of child labourers it is crucial to keep questions like these current in society. New studies and information is important to raise awareness on child labour and questions about children's rights. We are therefore interested in a study about child labour and more specifically on commercial sex exploitation in Kampala district. As the report "*Commercial sex exploitation in Uganda*" (2011) shows, young girls are more often becoming victims of commercial sex exploitation. Therefore we have decided to focus on them. We are not interested in statistical information but instead we wish to understand the mechanisms, the turning points, which make children successfully get out of child labour considering the context they are living in. We will look at the process of getting into, being in and getting out of child labour from the children's perspective. This can give valuable information in future intervention programs around the area.

### **1.3 Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyse how children successfully leave child labour, with emphasis on child commercial sex exploitation.

### **1.4 Research questions**

2. How can the process of entering, being in, and leaving child commercial sex exploitation be described?
3. What are the structural circumstances that make children enter, remain in, and leave sexual child labour?
4. What are the structural circumstances that enable or work against efforts at leaving child commercial sex exploitation, and in what way?
5. In successful cases, what are the situational circumstances that trigger human efforts at leaving child commercial sex exploitation?

## **2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH**

We have chosen to use existing research from Uganda about child commercial sex exploitation since it is difficult to compare situations between countries where contexts are different. Research from the children's own perspective have been hard to find and therefore we have focused on studies concerning the impact of the problem were we inside have found some information concerning the hardship to leave sex work and areas to focus on to be able to help the girls.

### **2.1 Impact of commercial sex exploitation of children in Uganda**

The following presentation is based on two different reports from Uganda conducted in recent years. A follow up study on a report from 2004 titled "*Commercial Sex Exploitation of Children in Uganda*" from May 2011, and the final draft of the "*National Action Plan for the Elimination of Child Labour in Uganda 2011-2015*". Both studies contain information about the impact of child commercial sex exploitation (CSEC) in Uganda and different areas in how to approach the problem.

Both of the studies from 2011 where intended to give new and more detailed information about the problem with CSEC and the National Action Plan was especially intended to address interventions which are important to be able to deal with the problem. Both studies presented results that showed that the problem of CSEC has increased during the last years, and the children involved are getting younger. The upward swing is between 2005- 2010 and could have its explanation in growing levels of orphan hood, economic impoverishment and a growing level of vulnerability. The reports explain the fact that CSEC is a hidden practice characterized by sexual, physical and psychological abuse of the children. Since it is a disguised practice it is hard to ascertain how many the victims are but they are estimated in thousands. The problem with CSEC is mostly showed in urban areas and Kampala City is described as the main destination and transit area for CSEC in Uganda. The children are connected to their customers in various ways - both by pimps, friends and by themselves through telephone contacts, bars, markets or visiting entertainment places (MGLSD 2011; UYDEL, NCC, MGLSD, UBOS & Acting for life 2011).

The key drivers to CSEC are explained to be lack of parental care and sustainable opportunities for education. When the children start to work there are also factors that keep the children in CSEC and these are identified to be: lack of alternative to seek employment elsewhere, quick money, alcohol and drug abuse, stigma and fear of rejection, fear to venture into the unknown and belonging to social networks and groups (UYDEL, NCC, MGLSD, UBOS & Acting for life 2011).

The consequences of being active in CSEC are also explained and involve early child bearing, contraction of STD's (Sexually Transmitted Diseases) and STI's (Sexually Transmitted Infections), dropping out of school and early entry to work. Especially young girls suffer a viscous circle of exploitation and poverty due to being victims of CSEC (MGLSD 2011).

One of the reports shows that there is no easy way of quitting CSEC. The children need help from NGO's and churches, otherwise quitting has proved to be extremely difficult. Mostly children are uninformed of their rights and how to free themselves from exploitation. The quitting strategies of the children in the area where minimal and many had no exit strategies (UYDEL, NCC, MGLSD, UBOS & Acting for life 2011).

Information is also given about the problem with trafficking and pornography. Trafficking is an outlet of CSEC and the studies reveal that recruitment and movement of children is well coordinated at local and regional level. Child trafficking is a major area of concern and since the legislation of free movement of labour in East Africa in 2010, the

risk of increased trafficking of children is present, even if this free movement creates many other economic and social benefits for the countries. Pornography is a new dimension of CSEC and is growing at a very fast rate and is closely linked to both prostitution and trafficking. Pornography in Kampala city has grown to another level with well-coordinated networks involving music celebrities, bar and karaoke group owners and approximately 1800 children are exploited per week. Places where pornography takes place are for example nude dancing shows, nude photo taking and photo studios in town selling pictures (MGLSD 2011; UYDEL, NCC, MGLSD, UBOS & Acting for life 2011)

In many NGO's the issues of CSEC is completely absent in their strategic plans and resources are hard to find due to poor documentation at national and district levels. In spite the increase of NGO's services of CSEC there are still few NGO efforts on the issue. Networking and coordination of organizations dealing with CSEC is still weak, underfunded, and has limited staffing and capacity in many districts. Both of the reports show several interventions and recommendations on how to address the problem with CSEC. For example the National Action Plan explain five core strategic interventions proposed to address the worst forms of child labour and other work that prevents children from attending school. The five core interventions are:

1. *Education and skills building interventions.*
2. *Interventions to improve livelihoods at the household level.*
3. *Awareness raising, advocacy and social mobilization.*
4. *Legal, policy and institutional interventions.*
5. *Withdrawal, rehabilitation and social integration.*

Finally both of the reports demonstrates the importance of a multi-stakeholder approach at community, district and national levels involving children and parents since the problem represents different needs from children and actors (MGLSD 2011, UYDEL, NCC, MGLSD, UBOS & Acting for life 2011).

## **2.2 Interface of Substance abuse and Child Prostitution:**

### **Intervening in the lives of slum and street children in Kampala – Uganda**

The article is written by Rogers Kasirye - the director of Uganda Youth Development Link (UYDEL) with support from the Mentor Foundation and consists of information regarding child prostitution and drug abuse. The paper shows that one fifth of Uganda's population consist of children and over 20 000 of them live in street or slum areas where they are exposed to a variety of problems including prostitution. Due to constant lack of food, clothing and other basic needs these children engage in sex with multiple partners for survival. Girls who have been long on the streets tend to involve and introduce others to this culture of illicit survival. Sex is the most readily and available mean of survival for these girls. The main slum areas are characterized with poor housing where many live in single rooms with up to six children. This makes children become victims of sexual abuse and drug abuse at a tender age. Street and slum children culture is also highly synonymous with drug and substance abuse which functions as an escape to stress and to cope with emotions like anger or loneliness (Kasirye 2000).

Rogers talks in the article of the group identity that evolves among commercial sex workers. They become solidarity groups and have principles to which each member must adapt to. The children are in risk of many consequences due to prostitution such as contracting HIV/AIDS or other sexually transmitted diseases (STD's), early pregnancy and school dropout. The children involved in sex work are stigmatized in the slum communities where they live and therefore the whole business is done in secrecy. This

stigma or negative attitude is translated into harassment by supposedly secure groups as the police and Local Defense Units (Kasirye 2000).

He further explains the relationship between drug abuse and prostitution where it is a high risk of ending up in commercial sex with multiple partners if you are using drugs and vice versa. This also increases the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS and other STD's. The article involves a case study of a young girl living in one suburb in Kampala. She is a peer educator but explains that there is a difficulty to change the minds of her peers since many in the area are working in commercial sex work and use drugs to attract clients (Kasirye 2000).

The interventions against the problems with prostitution and drug abuse requires advocacy in areas of treatment and rehabilitation. It also requires bringing attention from the government to the urgent need to review the laws of drug supply and drug abuse. It is also important with peer to peer prevention which should be reinforced occasionally with public film and drama shows. To effectively being able to address the problem of child prostitution it requires acknowledging that the victims need protections against risks that drive them to, and sustain them in the practice. Many of the risk factors are rooted in poverty and interventions need to try to reduce or eliminate the same. The elimination however cannot be done by a single actor but rather by the responsibility of a number of actors (Kasirye 2000).

An effective safety net needs to be developed as a response to the problem of child prostitution and drug abuse among slum and street children. Education programs with provision of psychosocial counseling services to integrate the youths in their communities are one option. Since many of the children are drawn into prostitution due to lack of something to do, sensitization alone is not enough as a prevention method. It requires provision of viable alternatives. In summary protecting children from prostitution is not only a responsibility of the Government alone but instead it is everybody's responsibility to embrace prevention, withdrawal, rehabilitation, advocacy, awareness and observation. Finally we need to continue to address abuse and violation of rights of the child (Kasirye 2000).

### 3. METHOD

#### 3.1 Pre-understanding

Both of us have spent around five months in Uganda before we came here to conduct our research. We were in Uganda for our fieldwork period of our social work studies and we were exposed to different forms of child labour during our practical training. We got an insight in the positive and negative sides of child work and also how social workers handle the problem. We also got an understanding of the culture in Uganda and we understand how big impact the context has on our outlook of life. We, and people from Uganda, had separate opinions and views on certain topics because of our different cultures. Another issue we learned was that the language barrier plays a big impact in communicating and can affect our future interviews.

Anna Lundgren studied a distance course in trafficking for half a term from Gothenburg University. This course gave an insight in how big the problem of trafficking is around the world and gave an understanding in how it can affect people. It gave knowledge on the fact that trafficking is also a problem within countries where children and adults get trafficked from one area to another into commercial sex work or other forms of labour. This knowledge can be important since some of the children who are victims of commercial sex work in Uganda have been trafficked from other parts in the country.

It is important that we reflect over our pre understanding during our research to maintain a high objectivity and be humble in the meeting with our informants. Thomassen argues that even if we are not always aware of our pre understanding it is crucial that we keep it in mind when we conduct research. We are never faced with phenomena's and situations unbiased; we carry with us knowledge, experience and standards that affect us in meetings and new situations (Thomassen, 2008).

#### 3.2 Scientific Perspective – Critical Realism

This study has its origins in the critical realist social ontology and its concepts. The critical realism is not a method but a philosophical ontology that can be applied in various research fields and is open to many different theoretical and methodological choices. According to critical realism, the reality is stratified and divided into three domains; the empirical, the actual and the real domain. The empirical and actual domains contain of events; both experienced, indirectly or directly by us but also events that we have not experienced. The real domain embraces all the other domains but also contain the structure *mechanisms* that cause events in the world. These mechanisms are not observable which means that reality is not transparent. Realists mean that reality contains of forces and mechanisms that we can only experience indirectly because they cause events and phenomena's in the world (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen & Karlsson 2003; Pawson & Tilley 1997).

The whole essence of realism is its stress on these mechanisms of explanation. All realism is based upon the thought that casual outcomes followed from mechanisms acting in *contexts*. Through understanding and studying the contextual conditions we can understand for whom and in what circumstances a phenomena occurs. For example; a person will only act upon the resources and choices offered by a program of an NGO if they are in the right settings, otherwise the *outcome* will not be as expected. Social programs are all created to make a change and face the task of trying to shift a social problem into a more acceptable level. People all have a desire to change the forces that limit their opportunities but for this to happen the context must be in the right conditions for the mechanisms to be activated. If a program is successful we can study the contextual

conditions to be able to understand which mechanisms made the change to happen and what circumstances that had to be there for the mechanism to be activated (Danermark m.fl. 2003; Pawson & Tilley 1997).

Context does not refer only to geographical or institutional location but also involves social rules, norms, values and interrelationships found in that social setting which for example, can set limits on the efficiency of a program. Therefore we can further explain that *causality* is a matter of the internal potential of a system or substance being activated in the right conditions. Realists mean that all human actions only make sense because the existence of wider sets of social rules and institutions. One action leads to another because of their accepted place in the whole. For example; the act of signing a check as payment is accepted only because it is taken for granted in the social organization of the banking system. Therefore it is important to understand human action in terms of its location and within different layers of social reality (Pawson & Tilley, 1997).

### 3.3 Development of approaches

Our work process and interviews are based in a model which has been created out of the realist perspective and by advice from our supervisor Pierre Engström. We, the researchers, have also discussed together on what best suits this study during the time of creating questions. Our interview model contains of four categories; entering child work, context, result and mechanisms. Through these categories we will get information on how and why the child entered child labour, how the context were during the time the child was in labour, how the child's current situation is explained (the result) and the mechanisms or turning points that made the child being able to leave child labour. The most important category to answer our purpose is the last one were we will ask the informant about the mechanisms or turning points, but to be able to understand the whole process, the other three categories are equally important. We believe that these four categories together will be able to answer our purpose and research questions. Before conducting our interviews we created a big poster with the four categories written down exactly like the model below. This was to easier be able to explain the purpose with the interviews to the informants in the beginning of the interviews.

	<u>Category 1</u> ENTERING CHILD WORK & IMPORTANT EVENTS	<u>Category 2</u> CONTEXT	<u>Category 3</u> RESULT	<u>Category 4</u> MECHANISMS/ TURNING POINTS
Informant 1				
Informant 2				
Informant 3				
Informant 4				

### 3.4 Choice of method

For the collection of empirical data for the paper a qualitative approach was chosen. Since the study is in need to obtain a deeper knowledge of children's experiences of working we choose qualitative interviews. Bryman (2011) believes that to obtain such a deeper understanding of thoughts on family circumstances and working conditions a qualitative research interview is a good approach. If one uses a qualitative approach, one can capture individuals' interpretations and perceptions of the reality they live in and understand the world from this person's own viewpoint (Bryman, 2011; Kvale, 2009).

We have used both inductive and deductive approaches when conducting our research. In the beginning of our study we already had some theories in mind that we thought would be useful in the analysis which shows that we used a deductive approach. At the same time we have found other useful theories during the research and therefore we also worked inductively. When you combine the two models it is usually called analytic induction or an abductive approach (Larsson, Lily & Mannheimer, 2005; Watts Boolsen, 2007).

### **3.5 Selection of informants**

We got assistance from two organisations; Uganda Youth Development Link (UYDEL) and Somero Uganda, when finding our informants. Both of these organisations have projects involving child labour, funded for example by ILO. In our study we are interested in successful cases of children who are no longer working and this was one of our two criteria's when asking for help from the organisations above. The next criteria were that the informants had to have been below eighteen years old when being active in labour since we are focusing on children.

We got information from the organizations that we could get informants were the children had been working in agriculture, stone quarries, domestic work and commercial sex work. In the end we choose to focus on only commercial sex work since the first interviews conducted were from three former commercial sex workers. It was a strategic choice to use informants from the same kind of child labour to be able to easier conduct our analysis and present our results when having children from similar labour and only different context. Since all of the informants that were presented to us were girls we decided to only focus on young girls in our study. This can affect our results but since our main purpose is not to answer our questions from a gender perspective we are not dependent on an equal selection of boys and girls.

We can describe that we used a convenient selection since we used the informants who were available to us and left the selection process to the social workers (Bryman, 2011). We asked the social worker at the two above organizations if they could find three informants each. We are not aware on how many girls they asked in total before finding our informants and some of the informants that were presented to us were still working in sex work and could not be used. In the end our research contained with six interviews with informants that fulfilled our criteria's.

Bryman (2011) argues that in an interview study, the number of informants depends on the purpose of the study and that you will be able to fulfil the purpose with the number of informants that you choose. It is also very hard to know before you start the interviews how many informants you must interview. Bryman use the term theoretical fullness as a sign of reaching enough informants which we felt after six informants.

### **3.6 Interview model**

As we explained earlier under development of approaches (2.3) we created a model for our interviews with four different categories. To each category we created a couple of questions that were of relevance for our study and that could help us to answer our purpose. We can explain our interviews as semi structured since we created questions and categories beforehand as Kvale describes, but we have tried during all the interviews to be as open as possible towards the informants. The questions have only been a support for us to be able to remember what we were searching for in the interview. Therefore we have been trying to be flexible during the interviews to be able to get as descriptive interviews as possible where the informants are given space to describe in detail their experiences of their child labour situation, as Kvale mentions to be a good strategy (Kvale, 2009).

The questions created for each category are shown below:

*Category 1:* We started with introductory questions about the informant's background, how they entered child labour and important events during the time they were working. One of our aims with the first category of questions was to get the informant more comfortable and relaxed in the interview situation. Therefore we asked questions to get a picture of the interviewee's life situation and personality, how a day at work was described by the informant, what made them start working, if they went to school and the events around the time when they stopped working.

*Category 2:* In this category we were interested of the context around the time when the informants were working in commercial sex work. We wanted to find out what the reality of their context were by asking them what their parents worked with, their living conditions, how many siblings they had and if their siblings and other young people in the neighborhood were working. The reason why it was important for us to know about their neighborhood was to find out about the norms and values in the social settings where they lived. We also asked questions to know how important education was for them.

*Category 3:* The third category was about where they found themselves today after successfully being able to leave child labour. We were searching for information about the context they are presently living in concerning house, parents, siblings, friends and savings. We also wanted to know if they had any dreams for the future and how they are viewing commercial sex work today after leaving the same.

*Category 4:* The last category that we created was about the turning points or mechanisms- that helped them out of child labour. We wanted to understand why they took a step out from commercial sex work and what the events was that made them change paths. How did the changed attitude come about or/and did the society have any part in the informants taking a step away from child labour?

### **3.7 Performance/Approach**

The social workers at UYDEL and Somero Uganda contacted six informants that were successful cases of leaving commercial sex work and were willing to be interviewed by us. All the interviews were conducted during week 41-44. The first three interviews were conducted during a peer training conference for young girls. The social workers at Somero Uganda invited us to the conference to be able to interview three girls who had been able to leave child commercial sex work. During these interviews we were seated in a dining hall with the informants which sometimes became noisy and made it hard to hear. One of the social workers at Somero was used as a translator on one of the three girls since she had problems understanding and talking English.

The next three interviews were conducted at one of UYDEL's outposts in Bwaise slum area. We were seated outside on the back of the outpost since there was no room for us inside. We had help from one of the social workers during all three interviews with translation due to problems of understanding each other. Each interview began with a so called orientation where we explained the purpose of the study, the structure of the interview, the confidentiality and asked for consent to tape the interviews. The informant was also briefed on the author's background and that they could at any time cancel or withdraw their participation from the interview. In cases where the respondent was under eighteen years there was guardian permission granted (Kvale, 2009).

The interviews were conducted with both of us together asking the questions and with one informant at a time. Since questions about commercial sex work can be very private we did not want group interviews on this issue. During the interviews we wrote down the answers on the poster and sometimes the informant were writing or drawing on the poster. We tried to make the questions as open as possible and we tried avoiding short yes / no

answers. During the questions about context we asked the informants to draw a picture of where they were living, with whom and how the area around looked like. We found that this helped us to avoid yes/no answers and the picture they were drawing also helped us to ask relevant follow up questions. We tried to avoid questions that could be considered leading or contain evaluative words. Even if the interviews were documented with pen and paper we felt that we wanted to record the interviews on a cell phone. We did this as a precaution if we would lose our poster or if we needed to go back to the interview to check out something in detail.

We did not transcribe the interviews. The reason to this was that we had an interpreter that translated our questions and also translated back the answers to us in English. When we conducted the interviews we had to have extra talks with our translator between the questions to make sure we understood each other. Therefore we felt it was inappropriate to transcribe the interviews since information can get lost during the process of translation. We have tried to make the informants vividly by describing the interview instead of writing quotes.

### **3.8 Methods of analysis and the use of theory**

In order to ascertain the general underlying structures or mechanisms that are crucial for the girls to be able to leave sex work, retrodution works as an important methodological tool for analysis. The purpose of retrodution is to separate the necessary conditions from the temporary circumstances and clarify the conditions that generate human behavior and actions. We can achieve this by asking counterfactual questions, in other worlds to ask what is necessary for something to exist. For example; which are the contextual necessities for a phenomena to occur or come into existence? or what makes X possible?. By doing this we are going beyond the empirical domain and the directly observable to access structures and mechanisms of a social phenomenon. Besides the counterfactual thinking the analysis will also include a comparative element where we compare the different cases with each other. This can be beneficial for the separation of the more general from the temporary (Danemark m.fl, 2003; Pawson & Tilley 1997).

### **3.9 Methodological reflections**

#### **3.9.1 Problems during research/ self-criticism**

It was important for us to interview successful informants – meaning children that had come out and left child work – so that we could compare those successful informants with each other. It happened in some interviews – for example after thirty minutes - that the informant declared that they still were active in child work. We had to delete those interviews. In some interviews it wasn't crystal-clear if the informants were doing child work in a small scale or planned to do so in the future. If this would be the case it would be a problem for us since our purpose don't leave any space for that kind of information.

We are aware that both the places where the interviews were conducted and the fact that the translators were social workers that knew the informants from before, can affect the results and answers given during the interviews but none of these factors were avoidable due to time constraints. If we would have had more than eight weeks in Uganda we could have spent more time on planning the interviews more detailed but it was not possible and therefore we had to settle with the situations given to us.

#### **3.9.2 Ethical considerations and guidelines**

Society members have protection against unfair insight into private conditions of life. This requirement is called individual protection requirement, and from this, the ethical

principles have emerged and determine what is authorized and not in scientific research. There are four basic principles that all researchers should follow (Bryman, 2011).

*The information requirement;* means that the researcher should inform interested in the study of the purpose, the elements included in the survey and that their participation is voluntary (Bryman 2011). We informed our informants before the interview began about who we were, the overall plan for our research, our purpose in the essay, how the material and their personal information would be dealt with, who was the principal and what methods will be used.

*The consent requirement;* We felt it was important that the people we interviewed would feel that it was voluntary during the whole interview. This was something that we informed the informants about in the beginning of the interviews. We also made it clear that they could at any time cancel and withdraw its participation from our study and that participation in our research is voluntary. In cases where the respondent was under 18, we had received guardian permission (Watt Boolsen, 2007).

*The confidentiality requirement and utilization requirement;* In our study we don't disclose the identity of any of the participants, and only use our collected empirical data on the individuals in this study and then delete them. By doing so we have fulfilled both the confidentiality requirement and utilization requirement (Meeuwisse, Sward, Eliasson-Lappalainen & Jacobsson 2008).

It is important to ask the question of what role we have as a researcher, how it affects and think about the implications that the study may have on those affected. In our study we are looking for a deep knowledge, but how far can we go before we step over to the individual's privacy? We are dealing with very sensitive subjects. We are asking the informants about one of the most private areas of their lives and also many times there is a combination or elements of abuse in the informants experience concerning these private subjects. It is hard to know when we step over the limit and intrude on the informant's integrity.

In our study the power aspect is very present. We are the one who possesses knowledge, we have power over the questions asked and the interpretations made, and moreover, we are adults while the respondents in many cases are children. Here it is of great importance not to use that power and be aware of what role that asymmetry may play in the interview situation. In Uganda the culture of men being above the woman in power is also strong. We kept this in mind since one of us is male in the interview situation. It can be difficult for a woman in their culture to talk about sex to a man when men in their culture often have a lot of power over the woman. Considering that the male interviewer also is white and from a total different context there is a possibility that it could affect them and cause difficulties speaking about these subjects.

There is not only from a gender perspective we can discuss the fact that we are not native black people but instead white foreigners in the interview situation. This difference between us and the girls could be both an advantage and a disadvantage to us. There is a possibility that the informants are honest to us because we are white people and we lack knowledge about the context. This can activate a sense of being able to talk about these issues since they feel we do not have the same expectations or beliefs about them. In some cases this can get the girls to open up to us more than they would do to other people interviewing them.

At the same time as we felt that they were honest to us in some areas we also experienced another aspect of being from different cultures and countries. In Uganda, where there are few white people, many locals look up to and are fascinated by whites, maybe because they are aware that they come from rich countries or are more educated. There can be many reasons to why this fascination exists and because of this it is possible

that the informants feel uncomfortable to tell us certain things that they would not keep back for native interviewers. There is also a possibility that the informants reflect over how to answer the questions in a certain way for increasing the opportunity of getting money from the interviewers. Since we both have been in Uganda before and know that this aspect exists - we tried to inform the organizations that helped to select the informants to get the rules clear to the informants before we met them.

We have tried to be aware of all these differences in the interview situations and have been as humble as possible to the fact that it can be difficult or even impossible to change the conditions that exist.

### **3.9.3 Generalizability, validity, reliability**

Reliability in an interview research is all about reliability of the interview. Can other researchers carry out the test at different times or will the answers in the interviews that are given be different? It's also about the interviewer's reliability, where different formulations of a query can give different answers (Kvale, 2009).

Validity in qualitative research can be given a broader perspective and the search for absolute truth is replaced here with a notion of defensible knowledge claims. Validity will be dependent on the skill of the researcher and which manifests itself in that she constantly checks, questioning and theoretically interpreting their results. Validity is not just a question of methods used but also on how credible the researcher is. Validation is not just about the final product but is about the whole research process (Kvale, 2009)

If the results are considered to be sufficiently valid and reliable, the question remains whether they can be transferred to other situations, i.e. if you can generalize the result. A common objection to the generalization of interview surveys is that the number of respondents is too small (Kvale, 2009)

For us it is important that researchers at an interview, to obtain the most reliable and valid results as possible, are transparent throughout the research process and clearly indicate what steps you take, what choices you make and how to motivate them. Furthermore, it is important to reflect on ethical issues because it increases the quality of the survey. It is impossible to say that a researcher will be able to get the exact same results, especially in our survey where we sometimes use an interpreter and cannot exactly know what questions are asked or what answers respondents give. About the question of generalizability we do not believe that our results can be generalized since we are using a convenient selection and cannot be sure that the informants are representable for this group of child workers. However, a study like this can be important and helpful in combination with other studies to enhance the understanding and get a broader perspective on the issue.

## 4. THEORETICAL POINTS

### 4.1 SOC - Sense of Coherence

It was Aaron Antonovsky who created the term salutogenic. The term comes from the Latin words *salus* and *genesis*, which means health and origin. The salutogenic approach focuses on what factors are causing, and preserves human health. This focus is a result of Antonovsky's observations that some people may be exposed to high stress factors but still maintain their health. He wanted to know what the basis for their sustained health was and concluded that the sense of coherence was the most significant. Sense of coherence - SOC - became an important concept in the salutogenic approach (Antonovsky 2005; Westlund & Sjöberg 2005).

There are three core elements of SOC: comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness. *Comprehensibility* refers to the degree to which one feels that the environment is understandable. A person with high sense of comprehensibility expects that what happens in the future is predictable and if something unexpected should happen, they can still organize and explain it. Life events are perceived as experiences that one can deal with and challenges that you can face. *Manageability* refers to the thought that there are resources to your disposal that can help you to face difficult issues. There may be resources that comes from you or resources controlled by others such as husband / wife, friends or God. If you have a high sense of manageability, you would not believe that life treats one unfairly, but instead that unfortunate things happen in life but we survive them (Antonovsky 2005; Westlund & Sjöberg 2005).

What motivates us is *meaningfulness*. People with high SOC have areas in life that are important to them and which they are engaged in. Life has an emotional meaning and the problems and difficult issues we face are worth adding energy to since we feel life is meaningful to us. People with lower SOC show less signs that there are things in life that are important to them. The last component, meaningfulness, appears to be the most important one. Without the feeling of meaningfulness, high comprehensibility and manageability do not become very important (Antonovsky 2005; Westlund & Sjöberg 2005).

We do not have to have an interest and feel comprehensibility and manageability for everything in life, but we need it for the sectors in our life that are important. These four areas; emotions, interpersonal relationships, the main employment and existential themes are usually very important to a person. Too much is linked to these sectors for us to deny that they mean something to us. How a person views the world, is a key factor behind the problem management and degree of health (Antonovsky 2005).

### 4.2 Resilience

There is not a full consensus in the literature over the term resilience but commonly viewed it is seen as a dynamic process of positive adaptation within a context of significant hardship. Resilience reflects to a child's ability to retain human dignity and adjust to demands in a situation of adverse conditions. Resilience can help a child who for example experience neglect, loss or poverty to function with low levels of distress and high levels of hope and confidence which is positive to social and personal functioning. It does not mean that feelings of stress and risks disappear, but instead that an individual can deal with these effectively. Resilience can also favor a successful transformation process and not only help a person to better adapt to a situation (Claezon & Hilde 2005; Grover 2005, Henderson Grotberg 2001, Masten 2001).

All individuals have an inherent ability and power to change. The result of encouraging and promoting this sometimes hidden ability leads to resilience. In a situation

where working with vulnerable children for example, the goal is to highlight the resources and enhance the protective factors that are effective for positive opportunities of change and that can benefit the individual's self-esteem, relationship skills and confidence in the future. Resilience is an ongoing process that requires time, effort and commitment from the environment. Resilience can then be strengthened through challenges that an individual are facing where he/she grow and learn from experience (Claezon & Hilde, 2005, Kumpfer 2011).

Resilience includes anything that will increase the survival likelihood of the child emotionally and/or physically even if the strategy the child employs is socially accepted or seen as risky behavior. For example, children living on the streets who engage in maladaptive behaviors such as drugs or stealing may not be less interested in how to escape their living conditions than others who do not engage in them. There is also a thought that individuals who have suffered losses or other situations due to injustice wish to appear competent and successful and to reduce the feelings of victimization. There may even be an effort to minimize the perceived harm deriving from the actions of others and can lead to an urge to self-advocate and efficiency (Grover 2005, Henderson Grotberg 2001).

Different articles and research express and explain various factors that can improve or enhance an individual's resilience. Kumpfer argues that virtually all aspects of a child's personality and environment as well as relationships between the child and his/her environment can influence a positive life adaptation. Determining the most outstanding variables is individual and complicated by factors for example gender, culture, history and local environmental issues (Kumpfer 2011). Much of the discussion about resilient youths suggest that opportunities and choices at crucial junctures play an important role for resilience where for example individuals find mentors, find a deeper faith or leave deviant peer groups. It appears that resilient youths tend to place themselves in healthier contexts if they have the opportunity (Masten 2001).

### **4.3 Empowerment**

Empowerment as Payne (2008) describes it, strives to eliminate the obstacles that stand in the way of self-help, client development, increased self-confidence and the exercise of power. By eliminating these obstacles the client can start to stand on its own and take control of his/her life. They will start to feel involved, free to act and they can obtain a capability to view the society critically. The empowerment theory means that we try to encourage people, for example we can encourage young people in schools to be able to withstand the destructive tendencies of "friends" trying to entice them to start in commercial sex work. We can try to mobilize young people on a community level- as Payne (2008) writes about empowerment. We cannot give them power - instead they must be stimulated to personally take charge of their lives and to influence their surroundings with a positive power. Young people that embrace the spirit of empowerment can become stronger and grow as people.

### **4.4 Habitus**

One of Pierre Bourdieu's contributions to sociology is the concept of habitus. Habitus can be explained as a "person's whole manner of being" and means that people's behavior is a product of social experiences and history. You can describe habitus as internalized structures which will determine how a person is acting or perceive the world. For example there is often a difference in the way a person behaves depending on if you are from the working class or upper class - both in the way you are speaking and how you perceive the world. These differences depend on norms and values received from the environment and

social spheres. One's habitus can be changed through new experiences, education and training and is not something that is determined within a person (Garret, 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002).

Two other concepts which relates to habitus are explained by Bourdieu - field and capital. Field can be explained as a structured social space which is characterized by social relationships and power differences among the actors in the field. Each field has specific unspoken rules and norms which decides what is accepted within the social sphere. Many fields have a big impact on individuals and their habitus in modern society, for example the academic field, the economic sphere and the world of sports. Bourdieu specifically talks about the field of education as a field of importance since social inequality is evident within the field. For example will children from working class enter the school environment with a habitus of special assumptions about the value of education and it is often seen as a mean of acquiring practical skills. Markers of class – the way the child talks for example will also lead to different expectations and approaches from teachers and authority figures (Garret, 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002).

As Bourdieu states, in most fields, we may observe what we characterize a competition for the growth of different forms of capital which are all incorporated within a field. Bourdieu talks about four forms of capital – economic capital, social capital, symbolic capital and cultural capital. Economic capital refers to material assets or wealth. Social capital can be understood as resources or contacts gained as a consequence of membership of a particular group or social network. Symbolic capital can be described as prestige, status or reputation within a field. Cultural capital refers to a person's possession of recognized knowledge and can be a major determinant of life chances. Our position in the social field or hierarchy will be determined by the amount and type of capital possessed (Garret, 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002).

## **5. EMPIRICALS AND ANALYSIS**

In this section we have chosen to describe a summary of each interview answers in a narrative presentation to create a closer relationship to the reader. Immediately after each person's story, follows our analysis where we link together the common features from the interviews that we performed. We are aware that the analyzes can be similar to one another but since none of the girls have exact similar stories we wanted to analyze each individual's answers. We will finish this section with a short summary that will bind together and compare the girl's answers.

### **5.1 Rita's Story – a longing for a different life**

Rita moved to her uncle and his family after her father died when she was young. She had to stop school since her uncle could not afford to pay for her school fees. She describes that she wanted to continue to go to school since she says an education can help you to get a good job and be able to support yourself in the future, but it was not possible for her to carry on. When she was around sixteen years old she got pregnant with her boyfriend, but because she was not married, the uncle chased her from the house. At that time Rita went to stay with her boyfriend but since he was supposed to go to prison, he decided to run away and Rita was left alone and pregnant. She was seventeen when she gave birth to the baby and since she did not have any money to care for them she started working in commercial sex work. She had some friends who introduced her to that kind of work and she stayed together with them in an area called Kawala. Many young people in this area are working in commercial sex work.

Rita worked in commercial sex work for four years. She found life during this time very difficult since she never wanted to start working in that business in the first place. She worked from an area called Chi Mombasa in Bwaise slum area which is an area characterized by brothels. She used to start her work at around nine in the evening and stop around midnight. She used to go to the area and stand there to wait for costumers and the costumers then paid for a lodge and sexual services.

Today Rita stay together with an aunt in an area called Namungoona. They are seven people living in the house including her baby. She works in a hair salon after receiving skills from Uganda Youth Development Link (UYDEL) in hairdressing. She is very happy that she now can use those skills and that she do not have to worry about going to the streets, selling sex. Her economic situation is much better now than before even if she still struggles. Rita's thoughts about her time in commercial sex work are that she simply does not like that kind of occupation and that she was forced by the circumstances to start in that business.

Rita describes that starting vocational training at UYDEL gave her the opportunity to make her life different. The hairdressing training made her being able to get another source of income than working in commercial sex work. She never wanted to work in commercial sex work and when the opportunity of doing something different came along, she took that chance. Another important turning point, that Rita describes, was that she was able to stay with her relatives, her aunt, who helps her to take care of her baby and through her she was able to get away from her friends who work in commercial sex work. If she would have continued to stay with her friends, it would have been difficult to leave her former occupation. In the future, Rita has a dream of starting her own saloon.

#### **5.1.1 Analyze of Rita**

Rita became an orphan at an early age in life which forced her to move to her uncle and his family. Her early pregnancy followed with losing the security with the uncle and she was, as she describes, left alone when her boyfriend left her. From Bourdieu's thoughts

about social capital we can understand that Rita at this point in her life loses a big part of her social capital. Bourdieu argues that belonging to a group comes with benefits and resources for a person. A belonging to a network of people and feeling connection to a field is important (Garret 2007:7, Garret 2007:10, Houston 2002).

Therefore it was crucial for Rita to find new networks where she could find recognition and a sense of belonging. It was also important to her to find a way in which she could support herself and her new born baby and therefore she needed friends who could help her get a job. We believe that the context of being alone with no social network, vulnerability, poverty, lack of education and a new born baby, triggered the *mechanism of being open to new relations* – openness to people in the environment. When she met friends who were willing to take her in, in this case young girls in commercial sex work, she took the chance. These girls became a part of her social capital and she found a group of people to where she could belong and who helped her being able to support herself and the baby, even if she did not like the fact that they were active in prostitution. We can also see from the article in 1.3.2 that many times the girls in these forms of labour creates a group identity with solidarity against each other and form norms and rules inside the group which can strengthen the belonging between the members (Kasirye 2000). From Bourdieu's perspective Rita at this time becomes involved in the certain field of commercial sex work, since she is living and working in an area characterized by prostitutes. In this structured social space there are unspoken rules and norms which she has to adapt to.

There is a contradiction to Rita since she is not comfortable of working in commercial sex work but at the same time she finds a security in the group and needs a way to support herself and the new born baby. Since her living situation has been characterized by poverty for many years she has not been able to go to school and have a good education which has limited her chances of variable ways of earning an income. The report in our previous research shown in 1.3.1 presents results of the fact that key drivers to CSEC is lack of parental care and sustainable education, which is the situation for Rita (UYDEL, NCC, MGLSD, UBOS & Acting for life 2011). If we go back to Bourdieu, education is a form of cultural capital to a person. It can give you opportunities, status and self-confidence in a world where performance is the key. Children with backgrounds from working class for example will enter the school environment with a habitus that reflects particular assumptions about the role and value of education (Garret 2007:7, Garret 2007:10, Houston 2002). Rita has a habitus which highly values education since it is a field from where you can achieve great advantages in society and it has been a field to which she has not had the possibilities to belong to. We believe that the fact that Rita in her time of commercial sex work has belonged to a group where education is crucial to be able to change living conditions has also enhanced this feeling of value. It is obvious that Rita would like to work with something other than commercial sex work but has no opportunities in achieving this since her structural conditions with poverty, lack of cultural capital, responsibilities of her child, living in an area characterized by commercial sex work and the fact that she feels a belonging to the group prevents it.

When Rita got informed about the vocational training at UYDEL she saw another opportunity opening for her. UYDEL is a legitimate organization in the area where many young girls in the same situation have been assisted with education. Rita's habitus of seeing a value in education together with the opportunity of starting vocational training at a legitimate organization triggered the *mechanism of hope* – a hope of a better future. The training opened up for new knowledge with information about risks involving commercial sex work and learning skills in hairdressing but also gave Rita a bigger social network.

If we look at the training period at UYDEL from an empowerment perspective we can see that it strengthens Rita. The obstacles of the structural conditions in Rita's life make it difficult for her to take control over her situation by herself which is explained by Payne (2008). Getting a bigger network with role models, being active in peer education in the community and learning new skills at the training, strengthens Rita and gives her self-confidence. It helps her to take control of her life and become stronger.

Since we do not have any information about Rita's childhood or early years we cannot know how it has affected her, for instance her ability to resilience or her habitus. What we know is that a vocational training like the one Rita has gone through will strengthen her resilience and can have the possibilities of changing her habitus. Her resilience can be strengthened through the fact that she becomes active in peer education where she has a responsibility to inform the community in certain topics like HIV/AIDS. It is a challenge for her but at the same time it will give her confidence. She finds friends that have similar values and is also struggling to get out of sex work and together they can share experiences, a forum where she can get her voice heard. She has the opportunity to go to the training everyday which will be a normal activity in her daily life and can give her rest from the situation she is living in. It is individual what causes resilience as research show (Kumpfer 2011), but most of the parts that she gets from the training will from our point of view influence a positive adaptation. The training period can also affect her habitus - by learning new skills and getting information for example about sexually transmitted diseases and meeting people from different social structures such as social workers - can influence and develop her habitus. She is thereby involved in other fields where she can gain capital in various forms (Garret 2007:7, Garret 2007:10, Houston 2002). From this discussion we believe that the different structures during the time of training trigger a *self-confidence mechanism* in Rita which helps her on the way to a life away from commercial sex work.

The last step for Rita to be able to get out of commercial sex work was to be able to leave her former friends and get in contact with her relatives. This was an important step for Rita since she explains that she needed to get away from her old living situation and friends to be able to stop working. If we go back to the resilience perspective we can understand that she has been able to build up resilience which has given her the strength to change context. As Masten (2001) argues, resilient youths tend to place themselves in healthier contexts if they have opportunity. But to get opportunity to another place to stay, Rita had to contact her aunt. Her new found self-confidence and probably the feeling of being proud over her new learned skills pushed her to contact the aunt. It was the triggered risk-taking mechanism that helped Rita to leave her safety behind and stay with her relatives. Living with the aunt gave her resources in form of her aunt being able to take care of her child whilst Rita is at work, a resource from her newfound social capital.

If we see Rita's development from the sense of coherence perspective as explained before we can guess the whole process has triggered *the mechanism of meaningfulness* and has given Rita a sense of coherence. The fact that she was able to stay with relatives, her new found skills in hairdressing, her increased knowledge and self-confidence has given her the strengths to start a new live. She is now able to comprehend and manage her environment better because of her new job which she is proud of and through having relatives as resources, two of the factors in Antonovsky's sense of coherence theory (Antonovsky 2005, Westlund & Sjöberg 2005). Together with feeling that life has become more meaningful to her with a job she likes and being able to take care of her baby in a way that she is proud of gives a sense of coherence.

## MAP

SENSE OF COHERENCE  
LIVING WITH AUNT  
NEW JOB  
LEAVING PEER GROUP

MEANINGFULNESS  
(Mechanism 5)

SELF CONFIDENCE  
PRIDE

RISK TAKING  
(Mechanism 4)

ROLE MODELS  
EDUCATION  
BIGGER NETWORK  
STRENGTHEN RESILIENCE

SELF CONFIDENCE  
(Mechanism 3)

POVERTY  
LEGITIMATE VOCATIONAL TRAINING  
HABITUS (value of education)

HOPE  
(Mechanism 2)

OPEN TO NEW RELATIONS  
(Mechanism 1)



### **5.2 Sarah’s story – Commercial sex work was necessary but risky**

Sarah is now 18 years old. When she was 9 years old her mother died and since her mother was a single parent, Sarah had to move to her aunt. She could not continue school since her aunt could not afford to pay for her school fees. Sarah explains that school was always important to her since it could give her a better future but it was never possible. By the time Sarah turned eleven the aunt kicked her out. She was afraid that Sarah, who was now growing to be a woman, would compete about her husband and did not want her to stay in the house. The only rescue for Sarah was her older friends who told her to come and stay with them. She ended up in an area called Chi Mombasa, in one of the slum areas in Kampala. The area is characterized by brothels and lodges and young girls working as commercial sex workers. Sarah started to work in commercial sex work at the time when she was eleven years and went to live with her friends because she needed a way to support herself. She worked from the same area, Chi Mombasa, in Bwaise slum area. She explains that she used to start her work at different times and the time she would stop depended on how much money she had earned that night.

When Sarah was fifteen she got the opportunity to learn shoe making, through vocational training with the support of Somero Uganda. Although she describes that she had to take the course two times before she had learned the skills. During the time of the courses she was still working in commercial sex work. Sarah describes that starting

vocational training at Somero Uganda gave her the opportunity to make her life different. During the training she learned to make key rings and shoes – which gave her the possibilities of another source of income than working in commercial sex work. Sarah fully stopped working in commercial sex work when she was seventeen. The biggest reason for making her leave commercial sex work was that she gave birth to her baby. She describes that she got pregnant from a costumer and that she is not sure who the father of the child is. When she gave birth she explains that she couldn't stand to leave the baby at night. Although she adds that the vocational training she got at Somero Uganda was crucial to her because she would never be able to stop working in commercial sex work without the education, even if she wanted to. She also adds that during child birth she had to do a caesarean section and after the operation she feared that the costumers would tear the wound open, which also was a cause for her to stop work in commercial sex.

Today Sarah is using the skills she got at the vocational training and she is selling shoes and key rings to be able to support her and her baby. She is still living together with the same two girls in Chi Mombasa. Even if she feels comfortable in her decision to leave commercial sex work, she finds her present living situation difficult. The reason is that she feels that people in the area where she lives wants her to keep working in commercial sex work. Sarah describes that her economic situation is better now than it used to be when she was still in commercial sex work. Sarah's thoughts about her time in commercial sex work are that she thinks it was risky but necessary. She explains that sex work is not good but sometimes the situation forces a person to start in that business. Her dream is to start a shop in the future were she can make key rings and shoes.

### **5.2.1 Analyze of Sarah**

Sarah lost her mother when she was nine years old and her aunt took her in to her home. By the time she moved to her aunt she stopped school since the aunt couldn't afford to pay the school fees. After two years when Sara was eleven, she kicked Sarah out on the street since she thought she would compete about her husband. These happenings, we believe, triggered the *mechanism open to new relations*. She had lost everything, her parents, been badly treated of her aunt and kicked out of the school and the home. We believe she needed to find a new network and the reason to this we found in the theory "Habitus" that Bourdieu describes. Sarah is short on capital on all the four areas which Bourdieu talks about, social capital since she seemed to have no-one in this world after having lost her mother and been kicked out of her aunt's, economic capital, cultural capital since she had almost no education at all, and symbolic capital because she doesn't belong to any network (Garret 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002). We believe the situation trigger a mechanism of openness to new relations were she can gain resources from, and when she was offered a home at older friends in Chi Mombasa she didn't hesitate.

As we wrote above - some older friends to Sarah invited her to live with them in their home in the area Chi Mombasa which is an area full of brothels. The girls Sarah lived with worked with sex work and when Sara was eleven years old she also started with commercial sex work. These happenings, we believe, triggered the *mechanism acceptance*. Many things were different for Sarah, to be eleven years old and start in child sex work must have been very hard and by acceptance we mean that Sarah accepted life as it was. She had a home to live in and she had friends. This mechanism of acceptance in combination with what she explained to us; that child sex work is not good but necessary, testifies that she had resilience – she could keep her dignity even if she lived during hard circumstances. As the research has shown, anything that will increase the survival likelihood of the child even if it is risky behavior can improve resilience (Grover 2005; Henderson Grotberg 2001). When Sarah was fifteen she got the opportunity to learn shoe

making, through vocational training. This opportunity triggered the *mechanism hope*. She never had opportunity to get an education before and the training opened up for new knowledge with gained cultural capital and social capital with the new friends in the training.

She received a bigger network and new role models through the training period but she also continued to live in the brothel area and continued to work in commercial sex work. These positive and negative happenings triggered the *mechanism security*. The theory "Habitus" describe that Habitus can be explained as a "person's whole manner of being" and means that people's behavior is a product of social experiences and history (Garret, 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002). We believe that Sarah was formed by the atmosphere of commercial sex work. She was only eleven years old when she started and it was difficult for her to see another future outside sex work. She had hardly gone to school and when she started at the vocational training we believe it was hard for her because of her "old habitus". "Old habitus" means that her history affected her thinking, talking and enduring new tasks when she started at the vocational training. She was not used to any form of education and could found security in her "old life" – the life she had since she was eleven. We believe that this "old habitus" held her back even if the vocational training, the role models and the bigger network she received at the vocational training pushed her and partly showed her another way to live.

Sarah was fifteen years old the first time she went to the vocational training school and she did the training two times. After the second vocational training she gave birth to a baby and she was able to quit commercial sex work. This happening of giving birth in combination with the vocational training triggered the *mechanism meaningfulness*. Sarah's baby changed her focus and the vocational training was also necessary for Sarah to be able to change focus. Even if she had a long way to go she seemed to be determent to change lifestyle by the strength this "Meaningfulness" gave her. From Antonovsky writing about the theory "Sense of Coherence" we found information that can help us explain some of Sarah's change. Sarah's baby gave her something to strive for. The baby gave her motivation to live a different life and gave her meaningfulness. The theory "Sense of Coherence" says that when people have areas in life that are important to them and which they are engaged in, life has an emotional meaning and the problems and difficult issues we face are worth adding energy to since we feel life is meaningful to us (Antonovsky 2005; Westlund & Sjöberg 2005).

## MAP

STOPPED CSW  
GAVE BIRTH  
LIVE IN BROTHEL AREA  
VOCATIONAL TRAINING

MEANINGFULNESS  
(Mechanism 5)

ROLE MODELLS  
BIGGER NETWORK  
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION  
HABITUS  
LIVE IN BROTHEL AREA  
CONTINUES IN CSW

SECURITY  
(Mechanism 4)

EDUCATION  
NETWORK  
NEW KNOWLEDGE

HOPE  
(Mechanisms 3)

STARTED IN CSW  
LIVED IN A BROTHEL AREA  
GOT A HOME – OLDER FRIENDS

ACCEPTANCE  
(Mechanism 2)

KICKED OUT BY AUNT  
LIVING WITH AUNT – NO SCHOOL  
LOSING PARENTS

OPEN TO NEW RELATIONS  
(Mechanism 1)

POVERTY

ABSENCE OF  
FAMILY

LACK OF EDUCATION

NEWBORN BABY

LIVING IN AREA  
WITH CSW'S

### **5.3 Rose's Story – in the path of death and hard work – her dreams will come true**

When Rose was young her parents passed away and she went to live with her aunt in Kampala. When the aunt also passed away she had lost three close relatives and had nowhere to go. She had to quit school and a group of friends gave her the advice to start karaoke dancing at a certain club. She describes that she would have wanted to continue school since it has always been important for her. She understands that it could give her knowledge, brighter future and liberty to do her own thing.

Since she did not have the possibility to continue school, she decided to move in together with the friends at the club that had karaoke shows. She describes that after karaoke dancing the boss of the club wanted them to give the costumers sexual services which she tried to oppose. The boss forced the girls and they had to preform commercial sex work. Rose was very disappointed and unhappy with the boss for forcing them. A day at work started in the evening at the club by dancing karaoke. After performing karaoke – she had sex or performed other sexual services with clients at the club to six in the morning. Since she was very unhappy working for the boss she was looking for a way out and after living at the club for a while she decided to go to her uncle in another town. She describes that after some time, she had to leave her uncle because of family problems and she went back to Kampala. She did not go back to the karaoke club, instead she decided to

live with her friend who worked in commercial sex work and Rose also started to work in the same business.

Rose stopped with commercial sex work when she got the opportunity to go for vocational training with support from Somero Uganda. She did training in hairdressing and today she stays together with two friends who have been through the same training. They all contribute to the house by braiding hair to earn some money. She explains that she has new friends – most of her old friends didn't share the same dreams as Rose and tried to convince her to go back to commercial sex work. She describes that she needed to stay focused and therefore she could not risk staying in contact with them. Her economic situation is reduced compared to before when she was in commercial sex work – but she has a strong faith in that her skills will increase and her savings in this way will grow. Rose's thoughts about her time in commercial sex work are that she thinks it felt good to get the money in her hand - but she did not feel good about the action that preceded the money. Rose describes that she regrets that she joined karaoke in the first place since being exploited does more bad than good.

There were a few strong turning points for Rose that prepared the way for her to leave commercial sex work. One factor was that she felt uncomfortable with the boss at the karaoke club. His pressure to make them sell themselves made her feel bad and she was tired of working long hours. This factor in combination with the vocational training offered from the social workers created a hope in her and showed her a way out from commercial sex work. In the future Rose wishes to start her own saloon.

### **5.3.1 Analyze of Rose**

Rose lost her parents when she was young and later lost her aunt that she went to live with in Kampala. Rose had to quit school and felt she had nowhere to live. She understood partly the value of participate at school and wanted to continue. She found another way to survive when she accepted to work at a Karaoke club for dancing. She didn't know that later she would be forced to sell sex to customers at this club.

Rose life was filled with losses in many different ways. One of Rose's *mechanisms that were triggered was - open to new relations* and we believe that when Rose lost her parents, aunt, her participation at school and found herself in deep poverty - these experiences triggered this mechanism. Her mechanism "Open for new relations" gave her power to seek for a new home (at the Karaoke club). The reason to this openness we found in the theory "Habitus" that Bourdieu describes. Rose is short on capital on all the four areas which Bourdieu talks about, social capital, economic capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital (Garret 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002). She almost has no education, no money and she doesn't belong to any network after having lost her family. The situation creates an openness to new relations were she can gain resources from, and when she was offered a home at the Karaoke club she didn't hesitate.

Rose got a bed at her workplace where she danced karaoke dance. When the boss asked her give the costumers sexual services she tried to oppose but the situation forced her to accept. Since she was forced into commercial sex work she was very unhappy and angry with her boss. This triggered the *mechanism - desire for freedom*. Since she was trapped in the situation and had a lack of freedom she wanted to be free. This mechanism reminds us of the theory "Resilience". In this theory there is a thought that individuals who have suffered losses or other situations due to injustice wish to appear competent and successful and to reduce the feelings of victimization. There may even be an effort to minimize the perceived harm deriving from the actions of others and can lead to an urge to self-advocate and efficiency (Grover 2005, Henderson Grotberg 2001). Rose went

through experiences that could easily take away a person's dignity but she kept it and these experiences helped her to resist even more.

Rose decided to leave her boss and try to live at her uncle's place. After arriving at her uncle's place they got family problem and she left her uncle. She didn't want to go back to her boss and she decided to live with her friend who worked in commercial sex work and Rose also started to work in commercial sex work to be able to support herself. At this point a social worker came to her work field and started to talk to her about Vocational Training school. Through the training she would get the opportunity to get a new network, new knowledge and a practical training education. We believe these things triggered the *mechanism hope* in Rose life. If we see it from Bourdieu's thoughts about habitus and cultural capital we can understand that her habitus affects this feeling of hope. Since she did not have the opportunity for an education earlier she had few opportunities to another source of income than commercial sex work and since she did not have access to the field of education before she had a habitus that values education. Bourdieu states that people from working class for example will enter the school environment with a habitus of special assumptions about the value of education and is often seen as a mean to require practical skills (Garret 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002).

When Rose received her skills training it was obvious that she found herself in a combination of happenings that was showing her a way out of commercial sex work. First, the girls that she now lives with after the education went to the same course. Secondly, all the girls that went to the course had the same goal. Thirdly, they all received the same training. We believe that these circumstances triggered the *mechanism determination* in Rose life. Payne (2008) writes about the theory Empowerment. Payne mentions that empowerment strives to eliminate the obstacles that stand in the way of self-help, client development, increased self-confidence and the exercise of power. Rose received this help to do this through the mechanism determination that was triggered by the education, new friends with same goal as her and a positive atmosphere at the home she lived. We believe that Rose grew as a person, received more power over her situation, received self-confidence by getting a solid plan for the future, and received tools (knowledge) to help her situation in her own strength. The theory about empowerment realize that people can't give power to clients but are trying to stimulate them to mobilize - as happened to Rose - it stimulated her to personally take charge of her live.

When Rose was at the end of her education she could see the value of her education. She received self-confidence. And even if she found it difficult to receive enough salary she never doubted her talent on her work skill. These things triggered the mechanism "Faith". In this mechanism there was an immanent power that would stand by her side even if it wouldn't be easy or she would receive low salary in her new work. This mechanism, we believe, became stronger and stronger during her education. Through the training Rose gets an education, information and better network that can bring advantages in the future and more control of her life. From Antonovsky writing about the theory "Sense of Coherence" we found information that can help us explain some of the faith Rose felt. We believed she saw that the education she received gave her motivation and confidence to live a different life and gave her something to strive for. This faith in her skills and herself gave her meaningfulness. The theory "Sense of Coherence" says that when people have areas in life that are important to them and which they are engaged in, life has an emotional meaning and the problems and difficult issues we face are worth adding energy to since we feel life is meaningful to us (Antonovsky 2005; Westlund & Sjöberg 2005).

## MAP

SEE VALUE OF EDUCATION  
NO HIGH SALARY BUT TALENTED  
SELF-CONFIDENCE

FAITH  
(Mechanism 5)

SAME GOALS  
SAME EDUCATION  
LIVING TOGETHER

DETERMINATION  
(Mechanism 4)

VOCATIONAL TRAINING  
NEW NETWORK  
NEW KNOWLEDGE

HOPE  
(Mechanisms 3)

UNHAPPY WITH BOSS  
FORCED INTO CSW

LACK OF FREEDOM  
CREATES A DESIRE TO  
FREEDOM  
(Mechanism 2)

LOST PARENTS

LOST AUNT

DEEP POVERTY  
LOST SCHOOL

OPEN TO NEW RELATIONS  
(Mechanism 1)

POVERTY

LACK OF EDUCATION

FORCED INTO CSW

ABSENCE OF FAMILY

### **5.4 Juliet's Story – a longing for independence and a fear of diseases**

Juliet is 17 years old and lives together with her family – her mother, one older sister and two younger brothers. Juliet's father passed away when she was young and left her mother to care for the family on her own. Her mother used to work when Juliet was younger, selling greens at the market, but now her mother is not working any longer. Instead Juliet's older sister has been the provider of the family the last years and works, like her mother used to, in a market. She has been paying the younger siblings school fees. Juliet describes her family as poor and even if education was important for Juliet, she describes that she wanted to be a lawyer, she did not have the opportunity to continue because the lack of school fees. Juliet dropped out of school and started to work in commercial sex work after being introduced to it by friends. The reason why she took the step and started to work was that she needed money for food and clothes and she wanted to be independent. She lives in an area where a lot of young people and children are working.

Juliet has never told her family that she has been working in commercial sex work because she was ashamed of the work she was doing.

Juliet worked in commercial sex work for about a year and stopped 2010 when she got the opportunity to start vocational training with the support of Somero Uganda. Juliet describes that an ordinary day at work could start with preparing herself by taking a bath and get dressed. Then she would go to the area where she was working from and wait for her clients. Usually she started to work around 4 pm until about 12 pm.

Today Juliet is working with catering in a restaurant after receiving skills in catering at the vocational training she attended. Juliet has lived together with her family in the same house during this whole time and now, since she is earning money from her catering job she is helping to provide for the family. Juliet describes that she has the same friends as before but she explains that she has been firm in the decision of leaving commercial sex work. Juliet's economic situation is better today if you compare it to the time when she was working in commercial sex work. Her thoughts, about her time in commercial sex work, are that she feels that the work took away her dignity and that it was a threat to her health.

A combination of different things became a turning point for Juliet to come out of commercial sex work. One important factor was her fear for getting diseases and the health issue was the most prominent cause for Juliet. She was especially afraid of being transmitted with HIV/AIDS. The health factor in combination with another factor, namely the vocational training counseling plan offered by social workers was crucial for Juliet to make her decision to leave commercial sex work. Her longing for education and the fact that the vocational training brought her new possibilities of a brighter future was very important for her. A third factor was the stigma Juliet felt – people around here didn't want to interact with here whilst she was in commercial sex work and she wanted people to begin to respect her. All these components helped her to start a new life and brought her where she is today. In the future she dreams of starting her own restaurant and to train others in catering.

#### **5.4.1 Analyze of Juliet**

Juliet described her and her family's situation as poor. It seemed to be very hard for Juliet to live in poverty. Her feeling of lack of liberty in her poverty situation, we believe, triggered the *mechanism risk taking* and she took the step of entering child work. The reasons to this mechanism were that she lived in deep poverty, had lack of education, nothing to give her family and noting to give herself. This lack of options - as we believe – was a strong contribution for her to take the direction to start with child sex work.

When we look on Juliet's childhood we see richness in the "family field". Bourdieu write about different "fields" in the theory Habitus and the family can be field in this sense (Garret 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002). Juliet had what many other girls in commercial sex work doesn't have - a family. Juliet was living with one parent and brothers and sisters - also during her time in sex work. She was hiding that she worked in commercial sex work from her family because she felt ashamed. We also believe she got strength from this field at the same time as she felt locked up in this deep poverty. The poverty made it hard for Juliet to get cultural capital that Bourdieu writes about since the family could not afford her school fees. This can also have been a contribution for her to take the direction to start commercial sex work. In the family field she was enclosed by poverty and when she saw the possibility of extending her boundaries she probably saw a possibility of getting new contacts and new networks - social capital.

During Juliet's time in commercial sex work she felt ashamed in front of her family for what she was practising, as we mentioned above. She felt a stigma from other people, they

didn't want to interact with her and she had a longing that people would respect her. Her fear for HIV also increased because of working in commercial sex work. At this point a social worker came to her work field and started to talk to her about Vocational Training school. We believe the stigma, hiding the truth, fear from HIV, longing for respect and lack of education triggered the *mechanism hope* in Juliet's life when the social worker offered her an education.

After she started the Vocational training, we believe, that this hope mechanism enhanced since the training showed her a way away from disrespect, stigma and fear of HIV. Now Juliet felt a stronger hope of maintaining a future where child sex work did not have any place and a feeling that this was possible were now present. We believe that this enhancement of hope came with receiving new role models at the Vocational training school, togetherness with people that wanted the same as her - a new future - but also togetherness with people that already had achieved that goal. Juliet could now see in reality what the education was about. She felt hope of a new future filled with freedom, respect and a chance to have a living standard above the poverty line.

Juliet had fear for HIV when she was active in child sex work but we believe that after she started the vocational training she received perspective and knowledge and realized the depth of the danger she was in when she was active in child sex work. We also believe that some myths became replaced with knowledge. Getting perspective on her previous life, realization about the dangers with STI's and STD's and myths dissolving triggered the *mechanism - risk assessment*. This mechanism made her firm in her belief that she would start a new life.

Payne (2008) writes about the theory Empowerment. Payne mentions that empowerment strives to eliminate the obstacles that stand in the way of self-help, client development, increased self-confidence and the exercise of power. We believe that this happened in Juliet's life during the Vocational training. We believe that Juliet grew as a person, received more power over her situation, received self-confidence by getting a solid plan for the future and received tools (knowledge) to help her situation in her own strength. The theory about empowerment realizes that for example a social worker can't give power to clients but are trying to stimulate them to mobilize (Payne 2008). This happened to Juliet – she was stimulated to personally take charge of her live.

After Juliet's time at the Vocational training school she got a job at a restaurant. She proved that her work skills that she had attained at vocational training were solid and lasting. She started to provide for her family and she didn't need to hide the secret of her former child work. We believe her new job, not needing to hide the truth about her former child work for her family, being a provider for the family and the confidence in her work skills triggered the *mechanism of pride*. We believe that this "pride" is a proof that she has come a long way to establish a new life and is a huge preventer for going back to child sex work.

## MAP

CONFIDENCE IN WORK SKILLS  
HAVING A RESTAURANT JOB  
NO SECRETS  
PROVIDING FOR FAMILY

PRIDE  
(Mechanism 4)

PERSPECTIVE ON PREVIOUS SITUATION  
REALIZED DANGER IN CSW  
MYTHS DISAPPEARED

RISK  
ASSESSMENT  
(Mechanism 3)

ROLE MODELS  
TOGETHERNESS  
EDUCATION  
STIGMA  
HIV FEAR  
HIDING THE TRUTH  
IN COMBINATION W VOCATIONAL TRAINING

HOPE  
(Mechanism 2)

NOTHING TO GIVE HERSELF  
NOTHING TO GIVE FAMILY  
DEEP POVERTY  
LACK OF EDUCATION

RISK TAKING  
(Mechanism 1)

POVERTY

LIVING WITH  
FAMILY

NOT A PROVIDER

FRIENDS IN CSW

HIGH AMBITIONS

### **5.5 Maria's Story – a way out of being forced into commercial sex work**

Maria grew up in Tanzania where she lived together with her father. She went to school there up to when she was 14 years old and by that time her father told her to go to stay with her aunt in Uganda, Kampala. She says she is not sure of the reason, but it is common for children to be moved between family members if it is believed that you will get a better life with someone else in the family. When she arrived to her aunt she could not continue going to school, because her aunt could not afford her school fees. She describes that she would have wanted to continue since she thinks school is very important and can make you become a better person. Her aunt lived in Kampala, in an area called Bwaise, and the aunt introduced her into sex work when she was sixteen years old. The aunt is a pimp and forced Maria, and other girls, to start working in commercial sex work. Maria lived in the aunt's house together with two other girls who were also working for the aunt. In the area there are many young girls working in commercial sex work.

Maria was working in commercial sex work for about one year and the aunt would provide her and the other girls with costumers. If the costumer were known by the aunt and came regularly, she would bring him to the house, but sometimes when new costumers came they would go to a lodge. The costumer paid the aunt and the aunt then gave Maria very little money. She could get paid for one out of four costumers and the rest went to the aunt. In one night she could have around four costumers and she worked from around ten pm up to three in the morning. It was very difficult for Maria since she was forced by her aunt into this work and she has never liked it.

Maria still stays with her aunt in Bwaise. She went for vocational training at UYDEL after they identified her in child commercial sex work at her house. She was then able to live at the centre to complete her training. Her aunt did not like that she went for the training since she could not use her as work force any longer. When Maria finished the training the aunt accepted her to come back and stay in the house without working in sex work. Maria says that the aunt thinks it is okay that she is no longer working for her since she is now earning her own money through working as a hairdresser. Her economic situation is better now than before and she does not have to go into commercial sex work any longer. Maria's thoughts about her time in commercial sex work are that she simply doesn't like that kind of occupation and doesn't envy a situation like that. Since Maria was forced into commercial sex work she has been looking for a way out from the beginning. Her chance came when the staff at UYDEL came and told her about the organization and the vocational training. She saw the opportunity of doing something new and to earn her own money in the future. The fact that she was able to go and stay at the organization during the time of training also gave her a chance of starting over. In the future she wishes to get her own salon and to become a better person than she is today.

### **5.5.1 Analyze of Maria**

Maria was sent from Tanzania to Uganda to stay with her aunt. Moving to a completely new country was difficult for Maria because of the different cultures, language barrier and not having any social networks more than the family she moved to. The aunt became Maria's only security. She could not continue school and the area where the aunt was living was characterized by sex work. The aunt became Maria's only resource and for two years she was supported by the aunt without working. When Maria turned sixteen the situation changed, the aunt now wanted Maria to contribute to the house and forced her to start working in sex work. Maria did not have any other opportunities than to do what her aunt said but the situation caused sadness in Maria. From a resilience perspective we can see that individuals who are in situations due to injustice wish to reduce their feelings of victimization (Grover 2005; Henderson Grotberg 2001). Maria did not want to feel like a victim and since she had other girls in the house doing the same thing she managed the situation and somehow made it to be normal. We believe that the situation triggered a *defense mechanism* in Maria where she tried to normalize the situation and see positive about it.

When the social workers one day identified her at the house she saw a new opportunity rising. She was offered vocational training and a chance to live at the center during the practice. During the time of working she had struggled since she had a habitus from before where sex work was something bad and this had caused feelings of anger and disappointment at the aunt and the situation. She also in her habitus valued education and even expressed that education is something that can make you a better person. The forced situation, her habitus, the legitimate vocational training, living in poverty and the possibility to stay at the center during training triggered a *hope mechanism* and a *risk-taking mechanism* in Maria. She took the chance to go through the training.

We believe, by being able to live at the center, get a network of friends who were in the same situation, get support from social workers and getting an education in hairdressing gave Maria a sense of meaningfulness and confidence in herself. By being able to see her future in a different way with a job she likes and getting information about her rights gave her a sense of bigger comprehensibility and manageability for the future as the sense of coherence theory explains. She gets a bigger network which give a person extra resources and she will be able to understand her situation better when unexpected things happen and she always have her education to fall back to (Antonovsky 2005, Westlund & Sjöberg 2005). The training situation therefore as we believe triggered a *mechanism of meaningfulness*. The training period was also something that we believe empowered Maria since she will have an education and information which will give her control over her own life, as the empowerment theory describes (Payne 2008). Instead of relying only on her aunt, she now has the opportunity with her new learned skills and bigger social network to control her situation and start a life on her own conditions.

From the habitus perspective we can see that Maria gets advantages in forms of gained capital in various forms. A bigger social network creates new resources and possibilities to belong to other social fields in the future, the education and information gives more cultural capital and in the future she will be able to get more economic capital since she is earning her own money. She can also gain symbolic capital in the future where individuals in the area believe she achieved a higher status after completing the training or by being a well know hairdresser (Garret 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002).

After completing her training period Maria still had to have a place to live and she decided to go back to her aunt since she did not have other opportunities or starting capital to live somewhere else. We believe it was a hard situation for Maria and that she needed to be strong to be able to hold back to her aunt's demands. Maria explains that after returning to her aunt, her aunt has accepted that she is no longer working in sex work. The reason can be that Maria is now providing for the house through working in hairdressing and that the aunt gets the money she needs. We also believe that the training can have changed Marias habitus in a way where she have been aware of her rights, got role models and support from the social workers which can give her more ability to stand for her opinions towards her aunt, since habitus can be changed through new information and education as the theory describes (Garret 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002). We believe the situation has triggered a *mechanism of faith* for Maria in which she feels faith and confidence in her new won skills and the aunt do not interfere with Marias way of living any longer.

## MAP

CHANGED HABITUS (information about rights  
+ more self- confidence)  
AUNT ACCEPTS SITUATION  
ROLE MODELS

FAITH  
(Mechanism 4)

SUPPORT FROM SOCIAL WORKERS  
INFORMATION ABOUT RIGHTS  
EDUCATION  
BIGGER SOCIAL NETWORK

MENINGFULNESS  
(Mechanisms 3)

HOPE + RISK TAKING  
(Mechanism 2)

POVERTY  
LEGITIMATE VOCATIONAL TRAINING  
HABITUS (value of education  
+ anger towards aunt)  
FORCED SITUATION  
OPPORTUNITY TO LIVE AT THE CENTER

DEFENCE MECHANISM  
(Mechanism 1)

LIVING IN AREA +  
HOUSE WITH  
CSW'S

POVERTY

LACK OF EDUCATION

LACK OF SOCIAL NETWORK

FORCED BY  
ADULTS

### **5.6 Angelina's Story – a journey to more dignity and respect**

Angelina's mother and father died when Angelina was young and after their death she had to start living with a friend to her mother since she had no other family members that could take care of her. After a while she ran away from the house because she didn't like the family and started to work as a house girl in another house. She explains she was not treated very well in the house and was looking for another opportunity. She met some friends when she was at a bar at one time and the girls convinced her to come and stay with them. She decided to leave the house girl job and moved in together with five girls in a house in an area called Kazoo, a small suburb in Kampala. Since none of them had any money they all started to work in commercial sex work and by that time Maria was fifteen years old. She only went to school up to when she was seven years old since no one could afford to pay for her school fees after that. She wishes that she could go back to school since she believes that through education you can get a good job.

The girls were living in Kazoo but used to work from an area called Chi Mombasa which is a famous brothel area. They were staged there during night time and waited for costumers. The costumer then paid for a lodge where the girls performed their services.

Angelina could work from ten in the evening up to five in the morning, depending on how many costumers she would get.

Some friends to Angelina, and former beneficiaries at UYDEL, came and told her about the vocational training and the program that UYDEL offers. She decided to go and meet the staff and she got the opportunity to live at the center during her training period. The former beneficiaries that had already gone through the training became Angelina's role models and helped her take the decision to start the vocational training. After she finished her training she started to work as a hairdresser in a salon and she now stays together with her boss in an area called Namungoona. She doesn't have the same friends as before since she says that they are still working in commercial sex work and she doesn't like that. She explains that her economic situation is better now than before. Angelina's thoughts about her time in commercial sex work are that she is happy that she is not working in that business any longer. She describes that it is risky and you can get diseases such as HIV/AIDS or get hit or killed by costumers.

Angelina never wanted to work in commercial sex work from the beginning so when she got the opportunity to go for hairdressing training she understood that she could have a chance of getting a brighter future. It was important for her that she could stay at the centre during her training which gave her the chance to get out of the house with friends working as commercial sex workers. She also mentions dignity as a turning point. She wanted other people to respect her and not think bad things about her when she passed on the streets. In the future she wishes to open up her own salon.

### **5.6.1 Analyze of Angelina**

Angelina did not have any family connections after the death her parents and she ended up after some time as a house girl in an unknown family. She explained she was not treated especially well in the house which made her look for other opportunities. Being a house girl, from our experiences, is often very isolated. We can imagine that Angelina at this point does not have many friends or networks other than the family were she is working. The lack of social capital to which she can feel belonging and gain resources from and her poor economic situation as a house girl creates a longing for something different. She is short on capital on all the four areas which Bourdieu talks about, social capital, economic capital, cultural capital since she almost have no education at all, and symbolic capital because she most likely do not have any status in the family (Garret 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002). We believe the situation trigger *a mechanism of openness to new relations* were she can gain resources from, and when she finds new friends at a bar who invites her to stay in their house she does not hesitate. In the previous research earlier explained in 1.3.3, it is described that girls who have worked long on the streets tend to introduce others to this culture since sex is the most available mean of survival for these girls (Kasirye 2000). This is exactly the case for Angelina. In the group she feels a belonging and gets an opportunity to support herself even if she dislikes the fact that she has to sell her body. Having almost no education from her earlier life and having no opportunities to another source of income she accepts her situation. As the previous research show the key drivers to CSEC are lack of parental care and no opportunities for education and both of these factors are present in Angelina's life (UYDEL, NCC, MGLSD, UBOS & Acting for life 2011). The fact that she now belongs to a group of friends can increase her resilience. If we look at the resilience perspective it is individual what makes you gain a positive adaption (Kumpfer, 2011). We believe that it is positive for Angelina to be part of a network, since she has never belonged to a group of friends or family since her parents died even if the way in which they support their selves is not what she wished for. As the research has shown, anything that will increase the survival

likelihood of the child even if it is risky behavior can improve resilience (Grover 2005; Henderson Grotberg 2001). For Angelina who has been responsible for herself almost her whole life can now get support from friends.

When former beneficiaries from UYDEL, come and talk to Angelina she sees another opportunity rising. She gets information that she will be able to live at the center during training and she decides to leave her friends behind to go for training. Her lack of cultural capital and a habitus that values education because it is a world that she has not been able to belong to and can give you chances in life, helps her make the decision (Garret 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002). Together with seeing the former beneficiaries as role models, the opportunity to live at the center during training and living in poverty, we believe, triggers a *hope mechanism* in Angelina. At the same time we think that it triggers a *determination mechanism* in Angelina. She specifically talks about regaining her dignity and the importance of leaving her old friends behind. The role models she meets in the former beneficiaries and the young girls and social workers at the center creates a willingness to become something different. This mechanism, we believe, is enhanced during the training period if we see it from an empowerment perspective. Empowerment strives to eliminate obstacles to make the client stand on its own and through the training Angelina gets an education, information and better network that can bring advantages in the future and more control of her life (Payne 2008).

The training period also has a possibility to change her habitus. Her habitus is able to change through her new education, information about risks and meeting social workers who can open up for other ways of thinking. As the perspective explains, education and new experiences can change habitus (Garret 2007:7; Garret 2007:10; Houston 2002). We can understand that through the training she becomes more aware about the risks involving commercial sex work which she expressed during the interview has helped her out. We believe that the training triggered a *risk assessment mechanism* in Angelina where she becomes more aware of the dangers in the job and helps her choose a new path in life.

The training period also affects her resilience. The resilience process can be strengthened through meeting people in the same situation, share experiences, getting an education and receiving a bigger network. The perspective explains that resilient youths tend to place themselves in healthier contexts if there are possibilities (Masten, 2001). Angelina decides to go and live with her boss when she gets a job in hairdressing and she explains the importance of leaving her old group of friends behind to be able to move on. The old friends are still working in commercial sex work which she does not like. This can show that Angelina has developed a high resilience since she is able to leave her “deviant” peer group as Masten (2001) describes it.

From a sense of coherence perspective the whole process of Angelina completing the training, getting a job and being able to stay with her boss creates a sense of coherence. Through her new job she gets more comprehensibility for the future because she always will have her education to fall back on which will make it easier to deal with difficulties. The bigger network she has gained through the training will help her manage her life better since it gives her more resources. Both of these factors are important to feel a sense of coherence (Antonovsky 2005; Westlund & Sjöberg 2005). Finally, the fact that she now has a job and an education creates meaningfulness, which she did not have before when she had to support herself through something that she hated. We therefore believe the process triggers the *mechanism of meaningfulness* which makes Angelina perceive her life differently and helps her living without commercial sex work.

## MAP

SENSE OF COHERENCE  
LIVING WITH BOSS  
NEW JOB  
LEAVING PEER GROUP

MENINGFULNESS  
(Mechanism 5)

INFORMATION ABOUT RISKS  
INFORMATION ABOUT RIGHTS

RISK ASSESMENT  
(Mechanism 4)

ROLE MODELS  
EDUCATION  
BIGGER NETWORK

DETERMINATION  
(Mechanisms 3)

POVERTY  
ROLE MODELS  
LEGITIMATE VOCATIONAL TRANING  
HABITUS (value of education)  
OPPORTUNITY TO LIVE AT THE CENTER

HOPE  
(Mechanism 2)

OPEN TO NEW RELATIONS  
(Mechanism 1)

ISOLATION

POVERTY

LACK OF EDUCATION

LACK OF SOCIAL NETWORK

VULNERABILITY

### **5.7 Summary of analysis**

From our analysis we want to point out that the way out of commercial sex work is a process of change. All of our informants have different life stories and their change process take different amount of time and involve diverse mechanisms. We have seen a difference between the girls were some have been forced by adults into the situation and other have been forced due to the circumstances around them such as poverty and no social network. This brings a difference into the change process were being forced for example can bring extra motivation to change, therefore the individuals life stories place a big role. The mechanisms that we have explained in each analysis follow the change process and they influence each other during this process which means that they are not static. There may be other things that have influenced the girls and additional mechanisms, but we have chosen to raise the ones we have found and seem most important to make change.

Even if there is diversity between the girls all of them has seemed to need an external influence, in this case, an organization that triggers a hope mechanism. As our previous research describes their seems to be no easy way of quitting CSEC and that children need churches or NGO's otherwise leaving the business has proven to be extremely difficult (UYDEL, NCC, MGLSD, UBOS & Acting for Life 2011). Of course this is obviously a

result of us choosing informants who have completed training but we believe that there is something deeper behind this. Even if the external influence is not an NGO there still need to be something that inspires a child to leave their situation, otherwise it will be difficult. All of the girls explained the importance of the vocational training period since otherwise they would not have had chances for a new way of supporting themselves. Not to forget is that the organization must be recognized or legitimate in the community so that the girls will feel that the training period can provide them with something.

For all the children/youths we have explained their process from entering child commercial sex exploitation to leaving the same. The structural circumstances that make the children in this study enter sex work have been poverty, lack of social network mostly from being orphans, lack of education that enables another income and in some cases there have been a force from a family member or boss. When a child is already in the business there are structures that makes it hard to leave and the most prominent for us have been the network or group belonging that you will feel with your peers in the same situation. But also lack of other possibilities due to lack of education and economic capital. We have already mentioned the vocational training as a structure that will enable effort of leaving CSEC since it provides with education but also a bigger network and information about risks and rights. For some girls there have also been an importance to leave their old peer groups behind and if they would have not had that opportunity then maybe they would have fallen back into sex work.

To sum up we can say that the vocational training that gives confidence, gained cultural capital and bigger network of girls in the same situation is often a start for the girls even if there are other circumstances that are necessary for the change process to be fulfilled. It is of importance to try to consider the individual when working with these questions since something that works for someone might not work for another.

## **6. DISCUSSION**

It has been interesting for us to look into the lives of the youths leaving commercial sex work. If Sweden is a country of opportunities then maybe Uganda is the opposite. In Uganda you can have talent, great courage and a will to work hard and still in some cases you cannot achieve hardly anything. This leaves you more dependent on for example, context, good looks or sleeping with your boss to climb the work ladder or to even keep your job. Maybe you do not have the possibilities to choose a different path then sex work to keep your dignity – you are forced because of the circumstances to accept this stigmatized way of living.

We have seen that the girls that receive help from skills training and get help to leave commercial sex work, still live in the same context – with poverty, living conditions and almost the same economic standard. Our point is that the structural circumstances for the girls are still the same, even if you have left a stigmatized job. In short terms this can be of great importance for these girls but the ground problem is still present. If the structural circumstances are not changed – young girls will still keep entering commercial sex work. The problem is not prevented but instead you will get help after have been working in sex work. To reach the ground problem and young girls from entering commercial sex work the changes must be on a structural level that will work in long terms.

It has to be a social security net for children and young people that need assistance. If you are nine years old, both of your parents die and you have no other relatives, there has to be other options then being forced into commercial sex work because of the circumstances. We believe that some of the structural changes that are needed are; free school (no school fees), one meal a day at school and more homes for children who loses their parents early. Changes like these would be able to have an impact on the society in

Uganda dramatically. There is also an interesting point to be made; most vulnerable girls end up in sex work whilst most vulnerable boys end up as street children. But if these long term changes could be done, not only children in prostitution could be “saved” but also boys living on the streets. Of course there might be other changes that need to be done in the society but good education can be a key away from all kinds of child labour.

Why did the girls we interviewed succeed to reach a new life style were commercial sex work did not have any place? The vocational training provided is very demanding. There are often a high number of youths that needs to be educated in the project descriptions at the organizations and few teachers per student. This means that the students have to be well motivated and strong in themselves to be able to succeed. If a student need a lot of motivation and support there might be difficulties receiving this since the social workers do not have time for extra individual support. We found that the girls that we interviewed had motivation and often came from a situation where they were forced into commercial sex work or where they had to be independent and take responsibilities for their own life early. We believe that this can create an inner strength in a person. It is important to remember that the whole change process is crucial for the girls to be able to leave commercial sex work and sometimes it might be certain circumstances or luck that makes the change process complete. As we have earlier mentioned an external influence, for example the vocational training, is important to start the change process.

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