

## The “Unwilling Parent”

The Negotiation of Social Welfare of Commercial Sex  
Workers in Urban Uganda

Nora Wegner

## Abstract

Understanding and assessing the existing welfare structures and patterns in developing countries is essential for the aim of eradicating poverty around the globe. In this case study welfare patterns, accessible by female commercial sex workers operating in a slum area of Kampala, Uganda are investigated. Led by the welfare regime theory by Gough and Wood, information regarding formal and informal structures creating insecurity and security were acquired through expert and focus group interviews. The target group was expected to be of increased interest to formal actors on national and international level due to extremely high HIV/AIDS prevalence among Ugandan sex workers. The findings reveal a picture of an overall highly insecure situation for the target group, mainly caused by a pervading exclusion from all levels of society and only limited options to negotiate security. This study contributes to the welfare regime theory by shedding light thoroughly on dynamic and interlocked factors compromising or enhancing the well-being of a target group which should have potentially increased chances to access welfare services due to its significance to a broader development process.

*Key words:* welfare regime theory, commercial sex, Uganda, exclusion, HIV/AIDS

Words: 20506

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost I want to thank my friend and colleague Nsubuga Geofrey who offered all his support and gave me the space to conduct the case study in Kampala. Furthermore I am grateful to Nakakande Irene and Sanyu Ruth for facilitating the focus group discussion as well as to Ssemwanga Rogers to create contact and to introduce me to several interview partners.

I want to thank all my interview partners who participated in my case study. Without their knowledge and experience I would never have achieved this kind of results.

For her support during the process of writing at Lund University I am very thankful to my supervisor Lisa Strömbom. Her constructive advice and motivation helped me a lot.

Finally I want to thank my family and friends for proof-reading and giving me constructive feedback, for supporting, motivating and listening to me.

# Table of contents

<b><u>1 Introduction.....</u></b>	<b><u>1</u></b>
<b><u>2 Theory.....</u></b>	<b><u>5</u></b>
<u>2.1 The idea of social welfare.....</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>2.2 Welfare provision in developing countries.....</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>2.3 The welfare regime theory.....</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>2.4 Prostitution and its label.....</u>	<u>14</u>
<b><u>3 Methodology.....</u></b>	<b><u>18</u></b>
<u>3.1 The case study.....</u>	<u>18</u>
<u>3.2 Operationalisation of the theory.....</u>	<u>22</u>
<b><u>4 Analysis.....</u></b>	<b><u>25</u></b>
<u>4.1 Results.....</u>	<u>25</u>
<u>4.2 Discussion.....</u>	<u>40</u>
<b><u>5 Conclusion.....</u></b>	<b><u>47</u></b>
<u>5.1 Summary.....</u>	<u>47</u>
<u>5.2 Future research interests .....</u>	<u>49</u>
<b><u>6 Executive summary.....</u></b>	<b><u>51</u></b>
<b><u>7 Bibliography.....</u></b>	<b><u>55</u></b>
<b><u>8 Appendix.....</u></b>	<b><u>60</u></b>
<u>8.1 Research schedule.....</u>	<u>60</u>
<u>8.2 The meta welfare regimes.....</u>	<u>61</u>
<u>8.3 Interview guidelines.....</u>	<u>62</u>
<u>8.4 List of respondents.....</u>	<u>65</u>

# 1 Introduction

Welfare services are an essential part of the life of citizens in the Global North. Even though many are concerned about the future of welfare provisions in the light of demographic changes and financial crises, the reliance on the "big five": the provisions of income security, health services, education, housing and social work is until today usually taken for granted (Midgley 1997:7). The implications of the current state crisis in Greece on parts of the Greek welfare system illustrate how vulnerable societies become without this overarching protective shield.

Making a connection between universal welfare services and developing countries is by far not that self-evident. In the eyes of many, social welfare is a symbol of privilege of the rich, post-industrial Western societies.

Nevertheless, there are a growing number of social welfare services such as universal education, old age pensions or for example free health services to be registered among developing countries which is called by some scholars the "silent revolution" (Holmqvist 2011:13).

This does not yet change the fact that the achievement of security for people from the 'Global South' develops fundamentally different from Western societies. A working group around Ian Gough and Geof Wood embarked on the mission of developing a theoretical framework which conceptualises characteristics and effects of social welfare in different development contexts. The result is a welfare regime paradigm defining three ideal type regime families by which countries can be clustered on a global scale according to their social policy features: the welfare state regime, the informal security regime and the insecurity regime.

## *The research interest*

The welfare regime theory emphasises that it is not as simple to assess the situation on a broad level in regards to identify homogenous regime types. Due to highly unequal distribution of resources and other structural fragmentations, countries are likely to comprise different regime types for different groups of society (Bevan 2004a:109). Members of government, of high military ranks or civil servants are named as the typical "privileged" in such environments (ibid.:97f).

On the other hand it is the case in the current system of global development cooperation that certain individuals or groups get extended attention not because of their high societal status or ranks, but on the contrary because of their highly precarious and vulnerable situation. Such groups are of special interest if their issues reach beyond the margins of the group and hence might have an impact on

the broader development of a country. Examples for this are groups highly at risk to become infected with HIV, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) or women who lack rights or education. One way to eliminate permanently the impact which it has on the group and its environment is thus to eliminate the group's vulnerability itself.

However, this cannot be seen as self-evident process. It must be seen embedded in often very difficult social, economic and political contexts, as exactly this context is in the most of the cases responsible for the group's vulnerability. Whether such special attention is granted to them and whether they can benefit from them depends on many factors. Without grasping the whole picture the lack of fundamental understanding will impede the ability to design appropriate programs which meet the needs of the groups.

This leads to the initial research interest of the study to investigate the possibilities of a vulnerable group, embedded in its socio-economic context, to benefit from their own vulnerability by means of increased access to social welfare.

### *The case*

The work at hand will analyse the research interest in regards to the case of female commercial sex workers (CSWs) operating in Kawempe Division, one of the slum areas of Uganda's capital Kampala, as it is believed to represent a target group as described above.

A survey revealed that 37 percent of Ugandan CSWs live with HIV/AIDS (Uganda AIDS commission 2012:9) and sex work counts as a “driver”<sup>1</sup> (*ibid.*:11) of HIV/AIDS transmission due to the nature of their occupation. The operation of CSWs in a slum area usually increases the risks attached to the occupation caused, for example by financial hardship and insufficient empowerment, to negotiate safe working conditions.

In contrast to that Uganda is often referred to as a “rare example of success in a continent facing a severe AIDS crisis” (*avert*) due to comprehensive and well-timed initiatives by the government. Despite this, the prevalence rate among adults is estimated at having risen from 5 percent (in 2001) to 6,5 percent (2009). The devastating consequences include: “lowered life expectancy, reduced labour force, agricultural output and food security and weakened educational and health services” (*avert*). Additionally, the disease left 1,2 million children orphaned (UNAIDS).

This explanation of why the target group was chosen should not be misunderstood. As outlined above it would not make sense to investigate only the dimension of HIV/AIDS and potential available services, but the whole picture has to be taken into account. This is as well the key rationale which guided the development of the welfare regime theory.

---

<sup>1</sup> A frequent cause

### *The research questions*

Uganda is categorised as an overall insecurity regime according to the cluster analysis which grounded the welfare regime theory. Therefore following are the research questions used in this case study:

- 1) Is Uganda best categorised as an insecurity regime or an informal security regime when considering the case of female Commercial Sex Workers living and operating in the area of Kawempe?
- 2) In which way do factors causing extreme vulnerability influence the existing options for Commercial Sex Workers to negotiate security, both in positive and negative ways?

### *The purpose*

The purpose to conduct this case study is thus to provide a deeper insight into the complex context of providing social welfare to vulnerable groups in development countries. By this the study can contribute to the knowledge that is necessary to establish social policy in development countries which is seen as important measurement in the fight against global poverty.

### *The structure*

The thesis is structured as follows: The theoretical framework by which the case is analysed will be explained and discussed in the next chapter. It comprises the elaboration of the welfare regime theory as well as a brief outline of prevalent views on prostitution in combination with theoretical considerations regarding stigmatisation and labelling.

Chapter three outlines the research methodology, structural and experienced limitations as well as the operationalisation of the theory.

Chapter four presents the results of the case study and the discussion in regards to the research questions.

Finally, the conclusion summarises the main findings of the study. Furthermore, new interesting issues, revealed by the research, are presented which might be considered in future studies.

### *Terms and definitions*

Social welfare: Midgley (1997) defines it as “condition of human well-being that exists when *social problems* [such as conflicts, crime or exclusion] *are managed*, when *social needs* [see below] *are met*, and when *social opportunities are maximised* [regardless of gender, age, nationality, socio-economic status, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation etc.]” (5).

Social needs: In order to “enjoy a satisfactory condition of social well-being” (*ibid.*) two 'kinds' of needs have to be met. Basic needs in this thesis describe the “biological survival requirements such as nutrition, safe drinking water, shelter and personal [and physical] safety”. Societal needs refer to “adequate levels of

education and health care, harmonious social interaction, and social security” (ibid.)

Social exclusion: Socially excluded are those individuals or groups who do not “participate in key activities of the society” they live in (Della Giusta 2008:137). These key characteristics are not predefined but vary, and thus have to be assessed context-sensitively. For the purpose of the study social exclusion will be elaborated in specific relation to the (denied) options of negotiating social welfare.

Vulnerability: The concept of vulnerability describes “the sensitivity of well-being [of an individual, household or group] to a changing environment and household's ability to respond to negative changes” (Rakodi 2008:255) It thus is considered with the impact of potential shocks that may occur and the different abilities and capacities of individuals, households or groups to cope with those, which have to be seen embedded in the specific political, economic and socio-cultural context of hierarchical power and resources distribution (ibid.).

Commercial sex worker (short CSW): The term is used instead of prostitute as this is the common term used among on the ground and within the environment such as the civil society organisations working with them.

It is regarded as more respectful especially in a setting such as Uganda where the term 'prostitute' is tainted with an extremely negative connotation.

Civil society organisation (CSO): it embraces for reasons of simplicity the different registering forms of non-profit organisations, as for example non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community based organisations (CBOs)

Community and household: The term used in the theoretical framework has according to the authors to be assessed carefully as the meaning differs from the common European understanding of the notion. *Community* is therefore defined as “wider range of institutional practices between the state and the household involving hierarchy as well as reciprocity, thus inequality and power. It also represents a continuum from immediately local and ascriptive relations (kinship groups, clans, villages, and so on) to wider, more organised and purposive ones (civil society organizations, including non-governmental organizations)”

(Wood & Gough 2006:1702). *Household* refers to the dynamic domestic unit the members of the target group share a living space with. It consists often of the atomic family but can also comprise, temporarily or constantly, members of extended kin or other community members.

Local community: Not to confuse with the analytical term community it describes the daily setting and space in which the target group lives and interacts with for example neighbours, market people, clients.

## 2 Theory

The process of supplying Welfare provisions to populations of developing countries is a topic which requires a newly framed discussion of factors such as institutional functionality, local conditions, and the involvement of external actors. Thus a short introduction to the basic idea of social welfare and its historical development shall be provided. This traditional view will be contrasted with the differing initial conditions and range of actors that are found in the development contexts. Deriving of that, the welfare regime theory, which is used as the main tool of analysing the case study, will be explored and critically discussed.

In this context, the focus on CSWs as the target group for the case study needs to be theoretically discussed as well. Even though it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the activity itself, it is necessary to outline the discourse around commercial sex, to create a deeper understanding of the societal standing of sex work. This plays a major role, for the legislative level, for state institutions, as well as within society, whether or not to provide social support for the CSWs. Here the theory of labelling is of explanatory value.

### 2.1 The idea of social welfare

Briggs' (1961) definition of a welfare state displays well today's perception of an ideal situation in which a traditional society is provided with welfare services:

A welfare state is a state in which organised power is deliberately used (through politics and administration) in an effort to modify the play of market forces in at least three directions – first, by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income irrespective of the market value of their work or their property; second, by narrowing the extent of insecurity by enabling individuals and families to meet certain 'social contingencies' [...] which lead otherwise to individual and family crises; and third, by ensuring that all citizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best standards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services (16).

The traditional idea of the provision of welfare services is closely related to the notion of citizen *rights* and state *responsibility* which is essentially shaping the understanding of modern states. According to Marshall (1950) it constitutes one

pillar or “the [central] social element” (30) of citizen rights next to the civil and political ones.

For the purpose of this work historical developments do not have to be explored more specifically. Overviews, academic and political discourses around the welfare state will not be covered, but can be read in the vast literature on welfare states (e.g: Pierson, Castles (eds.) 2006)

### 2.1.1 Esping-Andersen's Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalisms

One of the most prominent concepts is Esping-Andersen's (1990) “Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism”. It is seen as an influential model embracing the basic features of 'Western' welfare regimes even though it has been criticised for a certain vagueness to incorporate all Western countries into three regime types, the exclusion of gender issues and the simple fact that he is limiting his theory to the Western world (Arts & Gelissen 2002:177-185; Midgley 1997:95).

He takes up a macro perspective on political economic issues in the existing “Keynesian welfare state” (*ibid.*:2) and investigates their implications on social structures.

The concept clusters the existing welfare states by defining three ideal regime types: the liberal regime, the conservative-corporatist regime and the social democratic welfare regime. This cluster, without having to be explained in more detail, emerged due to three main differences identifiable within the traditional welfare state regimes: different forms of and relationship between state, market and household in regards to welfare services; different “welfare outcomes”, stimulated by the de-commodification of labour markets; and “stratification outcomes” (Esping-Andersen 1990:9-78; Gough 2004:23).

Even though the paradigm will not be directly used for the case study in hand Esping-Andersen's theoretical considerations concerning the basic characteristics of Western welfare capitalism are still of importance. It served for Gough and Wood as a starting-point for their further research on social welfare in developmental contexts, as it shall outlined below.

### 2.1.2 Moving on in the light of political and economic globalisation

During the last decades, the globally framing setting of nation states has changed significantly. Also the traditional welfare state model becomes challenged by the disintegrating effects of globalisation on modern states. Scholars do not turn a blind eye to the new developments by adapting their concepts to those structural changes (e.g. Scharpf (1996), Marston and McDonald (2006), Midgley (1997), Esping-Andersen (in: Gough 2004:26).

Even though the development of social welfare is widely re-explored, the main focus still lies on the analysis of developments within the classical core welfare state regions. This is only of limited help for the exploration of welfare provision in developing countries as the basic conditions differ essentially, which will be shown in the following paragraphs.

## 2.2 Welfare provision in developing countries

Many post-colonial African nation states are characterised by structurally problematic, as well as poorly-equipped and functioning institutional landscapes. This is due to the hasty establishment of new political and administrative systems in combination with the remaining structures of colonial times. Additionally, corruption and paternalism within the apparatus of state often create poor governance, and thus form fundamental obstacles for the achievement of public interests. (Pérez-Baltodano 2004:56f; Midgley 1997:86f).

In addition to that, states often face highly difficult economic situations regarding the insufficient development of a formal labour market combined with their unfavourable position in the exploitative global economical system and their extensive dependency on and only marginal control over other external actors (Pérez-Baltodano 2004:56f; Bevan 2004a:98).

Partially substituting the lacking corrective on national state level are global normative discourses and the establishment of transnational organisations such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO). The aim of the international community to achieve globally the enforcement of human rights and eradication of poverty resulted in the effort to establish a model of social security which is often context-insensitive. Tied to the leverages of conditional support and debt remissions, the development of the necessary state sovereignty, social capacity and premises of establishing social policies are impeded. (Pérez-Baltodano 2004:54f; Bevan 2004b:236-238).

Thus, these problematic constellations of state and market build the broad institutional framework for societies and individuals in development contexts.

Despite these differences, strategies of social welfare were still applied to developing countries due to their contribution to development in Western countries. Midgley (1997) offers an introduction into the notion of international social welfare, key concepts as well as a comprehensive analysis of the global situation, regarding conditions, dynamics and influencing actors in social welfare. He takes into account the distinctive points of departure and succeeds therefore to deepen the understanding of difficulties and particularities emerging. Elsewhere (with Hall, 2004) he emphasises the need to reflect critically on the applicability of Western social welfare approaches in development countries and the

internationalisation of social policy-making. However, such comprehensive assessments are scarce. Gough (2004) even claims that up-to-date historical overviews on social policy development in the South are “yet to be written” (20).

Ellis et.al (2009) provided 12 years later as well a comprehensive and nuanced overview but focus hereby on social protection principles, measurements and their impacts in the African context. Even though they attest a current and probably also future “messiness” (135) of the interventions in Africa they provide practically oriented an evaluation of methods and a best practices catalogue.

Different approaches are for instance to focus on the topic of welfare provision especially in newly democratizing countries with the aim of testing the correlation between democracy and welfare (Carbone 2009,2011)<sup>2</sup>. Holmqvist (2011) analyses critically impacts of specific social protection measurements such as non-contributory old age pensions on a country's fertility rate as well as the implications of externally funded social protection. Pérez-Baltodano (2004), while reviewing the causes for feeble social policy introduction in developing countries puts his sole focus on external dictating aspects, but does thereby not reflect on traditional African structures and particularities which can cause as well major obstacles. Within the discourse and applied efforts of the international community, the aim of achieving world-wide social security is firmly established (FES 2011).

Most of the authors focus on measurements which were adopted by Western welfare regimes. Even though they critically analyse implementation and impact they do not question the core approach itself. In the perception of Gough and Wood (2004) however one should not be limited to such Western grown ideas in order to analyse welfare means in developing countries. In order to understand the dynamics and causal relationships academics should overcome the idea to aim at creating global welfare regimes after the pattern of Western post-industrial societies, but to theoretically re-conceptualise the approach itself. The result is a theoretical concept for the analysis of 'Social Policy in Development Contexts' which will be introduced in the following part.

## 2.3 The welfare regime theory

The theory outlines a new approach of a welfare regime paradigm which attempts to globally cluster welfare regimes. It identifies three ideal-based regime “families” (Gough & Wood 2004a:7) within the paradigm: Esping-Andersen's welfare state regime, the informal security regime, and the insecurity regime. As their point of departure serves Esping-Andersen's welfare state regime (1990) due to following reasons: He creates a connection between public, private and

---

<sup>2</sup> The studies showed, in a nutshell, that there is no clear correlation between the provision of welfare services and democracy.

household levels in the distribution of welfare, he focuses on the outcomes of welfare rather than only on institutions, and acknowledges dynamics of 'political economy' in regards to power reproduction (Gough 2004:26). Their main aim is to enable the observant to analyse, classify and understand the welfare performances in different social, political and economical environments.

At this point we should recall the definition of social welfare (p.3). Defining what every human should be entitled to, points out at the same time, what to strive for by global efforts when introducing social policy.

After having outlined above the differences on the macro level in regard to the roles and capacity of state, market and transnational actors between developed countries and developing countries, it follows now a more detailed description of the different settings people face in their daily lives which is closely interlinked to the macro-level institutional perspective:

As poor people in the Global South cannot rely either on a legitimate, institutionally strong state as a corrective or on a well-functioning formal labour market they have to structure their "livelihood strategies" around a wider range of potential "need satisfiers" (Gough & Wood 2006:1697). This process is based heavily on household and community structures which were defined above. Especially the alternatives for women have to be assessed carefully due to the gender-based inequalities in economy and society. And even though also the household level shows strong tendencies of gendered hierarchies Wood still sees the household setting as "most reliable retreat option for most of their members" (ibid.:79).

Due to the inaccessibility or the non-existence of the formal labour market wages are not the main source of income. Therefore financial security has to be achieved through other means (Bevan 2004a:97). These involve different agricultural activities, characteristic for "agrarian, subsistence, semi- and full pastoral societies" (Wood 2004:61) but also increasingly others such as migration for labour, petty trade or petty crime (Gough 2004:29).

High uncertainty and less autonomy are the general consequence of this. The need to focus on short-term security results in the reinforced inability to establish sustainable strategies of long-term security and to prepare for potential shocks and hazards. Wood (2004) introduces therefore the term "short span time preference behaviour" (49). "Life processes" (Bevan 2004a:92) such as pregnancy or old age as well as a weak health status through disease, accident or war get in such situations an immediate threat as the ability to cover needs day by day decreases.

The structural disadvantages cause in many cases that poor people have no other choice than becoming involved in clientelistic relationships in order to achieve some kind of security. They accept the offer by the patron to invest in the client's short-term security. This relationship is based on unequal power relation and adversely incorporating as they are reproducing long-term dependency (Wood 2004:64f).

In order to emphasise the “enormity of [...] personal experiences of harm generated by informal security and insecurity regimes which cannot be captured [...] through measures such as life expectancy or mortality rates” Bevan (2004a) introduces the term of *suffering* (96).

In order to conceptualise their findings the authors feed the information about relevant actors operating in the different institutions into an institutional responsibility matrix (IRM) for developing contexts (see figure 2.1). This symbolises the setting in which poor people potentially negotiate security. The conditions of poor people outlined above describe a malfunctioning IRM which leads to an overall weak social capital in a society. The wealthier parts of society are usually equipped with social resources which can be defined as “private good which operates to offset the weaknesses of social capital” (Wood 2004:68). Those without social resources face the least favourable position in a context of weak social capital. Due to their inability to compensate for weak social capital, “claims across the IRM are weak” (*ibid.*) for the poor part within society. Thus their need to rely on the family even increases.

These institutional landscapes in developing contexts are characterised by high complexity. The main reason for that is their general “permeability”. This means that institutions are not clearly separated but impact each other as objectives, rules and morals are overlapping (Gough 2004:30f). If this leads to an interference of the roles and duties of different institutions it must be seen as 'negative permeability' (Wood 2004:57f).

In this respect the example of CSOs is stated. Despite emphasising their significance for welfare provision they point out that one should not get fooled by the common Western “naive [belief] of a 'progressive' civil society as compensating for the state” (Wood 2004:50). Like state and market the domains of community as well as household are often characterised by inequality, hierarchies and personal interests when individuals try to achieve the highest possible personal outcomes and accept the disadvantages of other domain members which might emerge. (Wood 2004: 63f; Bevan 2004a: 99)

As it can be seen from figure 2.1 not only the community domain was added to Esping-Andersen's traditional welfare state concept, comprising three domains of state, market and household, but also an international dimension to all four domains. This reflects the significance of international actors in development countries (Gough 2004:30). Bevan (2004a,b) presents a critical view on the international dimension by pointing out numerous problematic factors in the political and economic domain such as exploitation of labour as well as context-insensitive or counterproductive projects implemented by transnational institutions (98,104f,236).

Based on their analysis, the two following regime forms emerge:

In the *informal security regime*, disadvantaged people face an institutional landscape in which certain security can be mainly achieved through informal

arrangements on community and family level, which are often hierarchical and asymmetrical. This results in “problematic inclusion or adverse incorporation” through which short-term security can be acquired at the expense of accepting long-term vulnerability. Thus these patron-client relationships usually reproduce and increase the dependency of people, but mean at the same time 'reliable' mechanisms of informal rights and entitlements (Gough 2004:33f).

Characteristic for the *insecurity regime* is that institutionalised informal rights and entitlements, which are comprised in the informal security system, are non-existent for the majority of the population but have to be negotiated over and over again. This is due to precarious framing conditions of insecurity regimes: The historically caused weakness of states in interaction with powerful external actors leads to multiple forms of conflict and unstable political systems. It results in “predatory capitalism, [partly caused by an unequal integration into the capitalist global market], varied forms of oppression; inadequate, insecure livelihoods; shadow, collapsed and/or criminalised state; diffuse and fluid forms of mobilisation [with negative consequences]; political fluidity if not outright chaos” (Wood & Gough 2006:1707). On individual level people are affected by precarious health conditions, lack of education and high poverty rates as well as pandemics with far-reaching consequences such as HIV/AIDS or civil conflict (ibid., see as well Gough 2004: 34)<sup>3</sup>.

In order to be able to conduct a meaningful analysis the range of impacts framing the living conditions need to be conceptualised. Bevan (2004a) adapts therefore key issues of Esping-Andersen to the 'African context' (89-107).

1) In/security outcomes: The term replaces 'welfare outcomes' (the actual outcomes of welfare provision for the people living within an established welfare regime) and describes the outcomes of social processes and relationships such as commodification, clientelisation or conflict as well as of the personal situation.

2) The generation of insecurity and 'illfare': Whereas in capitalist societies exploitation of labour and exclusion from the labour market is seen as major threat for developing contexts six major processes causing risks for poor people are pointed out: Exploitation, exclusion, political domination, violent destruction, economic failure and 'natural' life processes, calamities and diseases.

3) Mobilisation: It does not describe the traditional Western form of 'working class mobilisation' but the multitude of mobilising actors in the hierarchical societies described above. Whereas those in power try to uphold their power mobilisation means for the poor the possibilities to improve living conditions either without challenging the power inequality through “loyalty” or to challenge hierarchies through “voice” or “exit”.

4) Political dis/equilibria and rectification mix: The terms replace the traditional political settlement, reached through mobilisation and agreement of capital and labour in a democratic system and the thereby resulting welfare mix.

---

<sup>3</sup>The key characteristics of all three regime types are summarised in the chart 8.2, see appendix.

In development contexts a wider range of institutions and a much more unstable political situation have to be taken into account. The aim is to describe who is dealing with the insecurity generating factors above and how it is done.

5) Stratification outcomes: Like its traditional understanding stratification outcomes point at the consequences of socially constructed groups within a society which implies social hierarchies according to this division, not least engendered and reproduced by social policies. Besides the domains of state, market, kin and community the range of powerful internal and external actors has to be taken into consideration.

The authors do not advise to base the research on the Western normative perspective of seeing a welfare regime as space where formal rights and correlated duties under the umbrella of citizen rights are respected and practiced. Instead the potentials of non-formalised economic and social rights-duty relationships should be explored. These result from the involvement in the moral arrangements on small-scale, real existing level of "*Gemeinschaft*" (Wood 2004:72) which can produce fairly stable structures and positive outcomes. These rights are thus related to the 'belonging' to a socially constructed group. The loss of membership, or the non-belonging from the beginning on means a loss of or a non-entitlement to rights. Forced or voluntary resettlements, often related to pull factors of urban areas, are one common reason for it (Wood 2004:72-75).

As a result Gough and Wood (2006) present a theoretical framework for a (comparative) regime analysis, see figure 2.1. It embraces and links the considerations that were outlined above and is applicable to a wide range of case analyses which aim at results depicting the complexity and interconnections of impacting factors on people's living conditions.

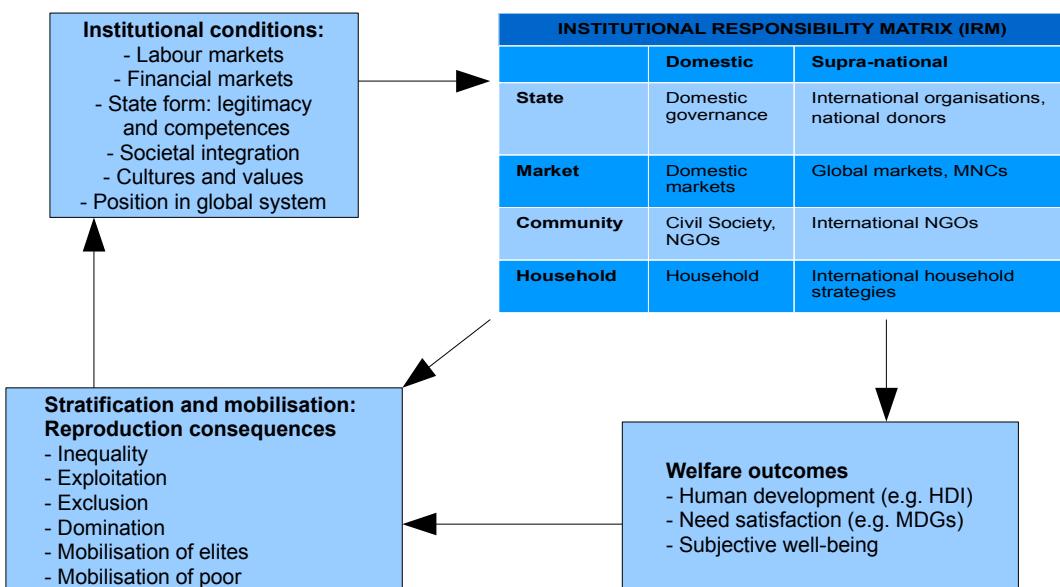


Figure 2.1: Theoretical framework  
SOURCE: Gough and Wood 2006:1701

### 2.3.1 Critical discussion

Even though the welfare regime is seen as a unique, comprehensive and innovative approach to the question of welfare provisions in developing countries and was therefore chosen as a theoretical framework to build the case study on, criticism can be offered in following points:

On a theoretical level, such large-scale comparative theoretical model, like Esping-Andersen's work (Arts & Gelissen 2002) will always be prone to critique in regard to the aspiration of clustering the whole developing world into two welfare regime types. The accuracy and meaningfulness might be doubted.

Furthermore, the underlying moral hierarchy of displaying the Western welfare state regime as the most desirable and the insecurity regime as the least desirable could be discussed. It is legitimate to imply such a moral valuation since it was openly discussed by the authors (Gough & Wood 2004b:323f). However, the user of the theoretical framework might subtly be distracted from entering the research field open-mindedly to all kind of features of security achievement which might be totally unfamiliar to the 'Western understanding' of risk management.

The criticism that the in/security regime model overemphasises the negative features while neglecting the conceptualisation of the possibilities for people to negotiate some kind of security thinks along the same lines. Bevan (2004a) admits herself this short-coming and encourages the reader to keep in mind not to generalise the 'extremity' of discussed features (94f).

Another shortcoming of the theoretical framework of Gough and Wood, which can be offered as well in the broader perspective for all welfare literature in developing countries, is the lack of a clearly articulated feminist perspective. The traditional feminist literature on welfare systems (such as McIntosh 1981; Pateman 1988; O'Connor 1996; Pascall 1997) is only applicable to a very limited extent as it is still dealing with the problems women encounter within a welfare state in the traditional sense. The situation of women in developing countries is effected by a number of differing aspects. Pateman (1988a), for instance, discusses the dependency of women on their husbands in welfare settings. The "sexual division" (*ibid.*:136) of established welfare systems puts the husband in the powerful position of taking over the salary earning part in the relationship and disempowers the wife as the "dependant" (*ibid.*). However, women in developing countries are confronted with other forms of disadvantages as well. Formal wage systems are mostly non-existent. Combined with high unemployment rates for both women and men means that women often do not have the *choice* to enter in a "personal dependency" (McIntosh 1981:122) relationship with their husband which would provide her with the possibility to achieve personal security.

## 2.4 Prostitution and its label

### 2.4.1 Prostitution

In order to be able to work with and understand the case of CSWs, the theoretical considerations of prostitution will be briefly outlined. As the main interest of the research is not the 'profession' itself but rather what this profession means to the target group in interaction with the institutional landscape, only the fundamental normative discussion of how to classify commercial sex is necessary.

In very broad terms three prevailing main perspectives on prostitution can be named, each of them based on certain ideological views:

The first one describes the sex worker as psychologically weak person offending societal norms as well as the state's and God's law. It is seen as a result of, even when the cause of the involvement is financial needs, low self-control and not enough will to live a moral and dignified life which is likely to be passed on to the next generation (Pheterson 1993; Maxwell & Narag 2009).

The second perspective displays the institution of prostitution as exploitative and a human rights-violating manifestation of the general oppressive patriarchal structures of society: "When women's bodies are on sale as commodities in the capitalist market [...] the law of male sex-right is publicly affirmed and men gain public acknowledgment as women's sexual masters" (Pateman 1988b:208). The only logical conclusion from this feminist perspective is to aim at the total elimination of commercial sex.

The third perspective, as well a feminist one, enters an objection against this "stop-feminism" (Nagle 1997:7), described in the paragraph above. They seek attention for the numerous women who are involved into prostitution based on their own will (*ibid.*:2). They want their choices to be respected and their rights protected on formal as well as on societal level such as any other worker. The terms 'commercial sex work' or 'erotic labour' are meant to emphasise the professional aspect<sup>4</sup> (see for example the other contributions edited by Nagle 1997).<sup>5</sup>

These different perceptions of prostitution or commercial sex work have a major influence on the attitude of stakeholders in societies towards the activity and those involved. The criminalisation or legalisation is one of the most obvious expressions of the state's attitude, which corresponds in most cases to the societal

<sup>4</sup> Here it shall be emphasised that the use of the term Commercial Sex Worker for this specific case described in the thesis is not attached to this feminist perspective. As explained in the introduction the term is used according to the favoured term on the ground.

<sup>5</sup> The last two perspectives are brutally generalised summaries which deserve in another context much more detailed attention such as by O'Neill (2001).

opinion. The multifaceted punitive elements impede the CSWs', as well as the pimps' and the clients' lives (Pheterson 1993:42-45).

Also on more subtle level the attitude of the society towards the CSW *as such* has a major impact on them. The 'whore stigma' describes the broad and multilayered phenomenon of the discrimination and exclusion of CSWs from the rest of society. This is connected above all to the traditional view of displaying the group of CSWs as generally immoral and dishonoured but also to the second standpoint by which CSWs are depicted as oppressed and powerless women who have no chances defend their rights (Nagle 1997:2).

#### 2.4.2 Stigma, labels and resulting social exclusion

Stigma is a [socially constructed] attribute or characteristic that marks a person as different from others and that extensively discredits his or her identity. [...] Stigmatizing marks are associated with negative evaluations and devaluating stereotypes. These negative evaluations and stereotypes are generally well known among members of a culture and become a basis for excluding, avoiding, and discriminating against those who possess (or are believed to possess) the stigmatizing mark (Major 2007).

Closely related to that is the notion of labelling. Labelling is one component of stigma, or rather of the process of stigmatisation: the feature of *putting* the 'mark'. It is a process in which the 'labelling' persons, normally those in a higher power position describe usually inferior people according to labels which are based on a certain behaviour which is believed to be deviant from the rest of the society. In the perception of the 'others' this deviant behaviour often translates into a "character failing" (Gans 1995:12).

The label of "underclass", which exists in Western societies, has been explored in-depth in regard to its impact on the access to social welfare by MacDonald (1997) or Gans (1995). Interesting for our purposes, are the meanings attached to the label of underclass and its implications for the labelled group as this has explanatory value in comparison to the interaction of the case study's target group and their environment.

#### 2.4.3 The label of underclass

Gans analyses in his book: *The Underclass and Antipoverty Policy. The War against the poor*, the process of 'labelling' a heterogenous group within society as underclass and the effects of this 'umbrella' label on antipoverty policy within postindustrial welfare regimes.

This theoretical approach towards underclass is not meant to enable the reader to test whether or not the target group of the case study belongs to the group of underclass. 'Underclass' which is a label applied to specific 'groups' within Western, postindustrial societies, is not applicable to less developed countries. The reader should recall the essentially different social policy premises which frame the living conditions of deprived groups which were discussed above<sup>6</sup>. As stated above it is interesting in regards to a comparison.

According to Roberts (1997) underclass can be defined as followed: Individuals, households or groups which are considered belonging to the 'underclass' should be located persistently "beneath" (ibid.:42) the lowest class of the employed population. Not only the unemployment but also other social and cultural aspects obstruct the 'normal' interaction with the rest of the population. Their behaviour which is a response to and a try to cope with and escape their precarious economic situation might be, or be perceived as deviant from behaviours according to social norms and values. The rest of the population perceives this as a behaviour *caused* by their belonging to the underclass which impedes by inversion of the argument the (re-)integration into formal employment and social structures of those categorised as belonging to the 'underclass' (ibid:42f).

The label of underclass can be attached to the strong connotations of being undeserving and in danger (MacDonald 1997:4). Those belonging to the 'underclass' are perceived as threat to the "social and moral order" (ibid.:5).

Gans (1995) analyses the implications of such labels in-depth. "The danger common to all behavioural labels and terms is that they focus on behaviour that hides the poverty causing it, and it substitutes as its cause moral or cultural or genetic failures" (59).

Such a widely-spread belief in society results commonly in a strong reaction of political actors. Those in charge try to soothe the society, mainly with an eye to the next election, by punishing the norm violators (ibid.:65). The state's penal institutions such as police and jails are hence influenced as well by these labels. It has far-reaching discriminatory effects for the labelled 'ones', not only on the legislative level but also in regard to their treatment within the institutions (ibid.:67).

The same kinds of problems are encountered by 'labelled ones' in public service institutions as, for example health care centres, where frequently the inaccessibility of those services is experienced. The staff, who is often dealing themselves with insufficient resources to satisfy all clients or patients, deny them openly or covertly the services with the justification that they do not deserve this (ibid.:68).

Gans concludes his discussion on the dangers of labelling with a remark which is leading us straight back to Gough's and Wood's (2004) broader concepts of

---

<sup>6</sup>As explained by Gans this temptation to broaden the label of 'underclass' to fit it on yet another target group, provoked by the flexibility of the concept, is one of the intrinsic dangers of such labels (60f).

welfare provision in developing contexts. He emphasises that the observer should be aware of the fact that the emergence of such labels only take place in an environment where people are obliged to act norm violating in order to secure their survival and because they are considered and consider themselves to belong to this norm violating group. In a context lacking of “enough legitimate opportunities, illegitimate ones will be created” (ibid.:69). Even though Gans is not addressing the same context as the one of the case study this argument can be understood universally and emphasises the need to direct attention to the interconnection of factors on macro, meso and micro level as well as on political, economic and social level.

## 3 Methodology

### 3.1 The case study

#### 3.1.1 The method

The case study method was chosen as I perceive it as the most appropriate in order to answer the research questions at hand: It is not only the interest to learn if the case is an insecurity or an informal security regime but also why, just as the authors of the theory strongly recommend: How is insecurity generated in its context, and how can it be encountered? (Yin 2003:9)

The first research question implies that the knowledge which was produced by the theory grounding empirical analysis of Gough and Wood should be tested. The most important outcome of their cluster analyses for the purpose of the case study is simple: Uganda is classified among the group of the externally dependent insecurity regimes (Gough 2004:44f). The analysis of a critical case is legitimate in order to test a theory as long as the case “will allow a better understanding of the circumstances in which the hypothesis will and will not hold” (Bryman 2008:55). However, the aim here is not to challenge but rather to contribute to the theory. As mentioned above Bevan (2004a:109) and Gough and Wood (2006:1700f) emphasise that their comparative analysis has a generalising effect and that specific settings, no matter if relating to local, national or cross-national level, most probably incorporate elements of the different regime types for different groups within these settings.

Thus it becomes difficult to base a challenging argument on this set of findings. With their delimitation of the outcome of their grounding cluster analysis and Bevan's concept of suffering (2004a:96) they almost encourage the reader to investigate the issue on a lower level. Qualitative small-scale investigations have generally following advantages: It is possible to produce in-depth knowledge regarding conditions, contexts and how insiders experience this setting (Devine 2002:199).

The choice to focus on the case of female CSWs in Kawempe Division was explained in the introduction. It combines the factor of analysing a group which is usually categorised as vulnerable to certain hazards within a setting which on the one hand caused the group's vulnerability but which might promise certain rectification means. By testing such a 'critical' case in regards to the findings of the theory it can contribute by investigating which effects such a combination has on the welfare provision of certain groups within developing societies.

### 3.1.2 Data collection

There is very little literature available regarding this research issue. Background information, to a certain extent, can be extracted from existing reports and documents<sup>7</sup> but none, to my knowledge, are concerned with the specific research problem. Therefore the majority of the data was acquired by conducting eleven expert interviews, a focus group interview as well as direct observation including informal conversations with actors on the ground in Kampala during the case study which took place from December 2011-January 2012 (Yin 2003:86). An additional email interview to acquire last information that was needed was conducted in August 2012.

The choice of interview partners and focus group interview participants was based on the identification of experts holding valuable information which would be difficult to access otherwise (Pfadenhauer 2009:89f). These were commercial sex workers, representatives of the local government (LG) such as councillors and chairpersons as well as on the national level with the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD) and the National Council for Children (NCC), a police representative, a former Member of Parliament (MoP) who represents the political opposition, representative of two needs-based service-providing grass roots organisations, one transnational organisation, one grass roots women's rights organisation and one scholar at Makerere University, Kampala who conducted research in the field of interest. The first drafted list of potential interview partners was constantly reviewed based on additionally gained information and with the help of the former and current interview partners according to the "snowball process" (Warren 2002:87).

In order to acquire in-depth, comprehensive information, the interviews as well as the focus group interview were, based on interview guidelines, conducted in a semi-structured way with open-ended questions (Littig 2009:105f). The research questions focus on a complex topic with a number of influencing factors. For the sake of creating a deeper understanding of interconnections between

<sup>7</sup> Such as on commercial sexual exploitation of children (UYDEL 2011) or HIV/AIDS (Uganda AIDS Commision 2012).

relevant factors or the implications of complex societal contexts the respondents were meant to be as free as possible in their responses to present their understanding of the subject matter (Devine 2002:201).

The interviews were conducted in English as all of the respondents were mostly fluent in Uganda's official language. The focus group interview on the other hand was conducted in Luganda<sup>8</sup> as the women who agreed to participate in my research do not speak English. For this reason a colleague facilitated the discussion. Beforehand she was introduced to the research topic and aim and how to use the guidelines. Another colleague simultaneously translated for me so in case of having further questions I could pose them in the breaks they took.

Besides the language issue the second reason for the decision that my colleague facilitated the group discussion was the trust of the participants. Due to the illegality of their activities and the constant hostility and stigma that faced the women, they were cautious with strangers and more at ease to discuss volatile issues with someone they knew for a longer time period. To apply the focus group method is rewarding in situations where it is important to create a comfortable and encouraging setting for the respondents. In comparison to face-to-face interviews, the group interview setting creates a less hierarchical and more open environment and empowers the respondents to speak freely about their experiences and opinions. (Madriz 2000:835-838)

The participants understood that it was I who conducted the research, which was very important for the fundamental ethical principle in science of establishing "informed consent" (Fontana & Frey 2003:70; Sanders 2006:454). The fact that I was working with social workers of the area and that they supported me, helped me to get their consent to participate (Sanders 2006:454).

As means of documentation and reliability during the later analysis the interviews were, as far as agreed on, recorded and transcribed or notes taken. The notes were not only concerned with the content of the interviews but also the non-verbal behaviour of interviewer as well as respondents and the setting so as to enhance the ability to better understand of the outcomes (Fontana & Frey 2003: 68). For questions or additional information I stayed in contact with my key informants via email and telephone. Due to the request of some of the respondents and the general sensitiveness of the issue it was decided not to quote the respondents by name but to maintain their anonymity and to minimise thereby the risks of invading their privacy or causing distress to the respondents (Warren 2002:89). Information that are still likely to disclose the respondent's identity are only included if the person agreed to be quoted. In the appendix a list can be found where their belonging to the different actor groups named above can be reviewed.

---

<sup>8</sup>The prevalent local language in the region around Kampala

### 3.1.3 Limitations

While conducting a case study the researcher has to be aware of limitations and risks of the method. Criticism is offered that case studies risk producing invalid data by conducting inconsequent research. Another point of critique is whether the findings of qualitative research create generalisable outcomes (Yin 2003:10f).

In order to present plausible and credible findings and counteract the potential threat of sliding into a subjective interpretation due to my background, biases and situated knowledge of the data, multiple sources of evidence are addressed to collect the data through the operationalised theoretical framework, presented below. Perceptions and interpretations were discussed with the key informants. These different opinions enhance the possibility to countercheck my own understanding of the situation (Devine 2002:206f; Yin 2003:35f). The question regarding the generalisability of the findings does not apply as a critical case is investigated.

Reaching out to the target group was difficult. Due to the sensitive topic and cross-cultural settings, it would have been inappropriate to move totally independently. I had to rely on a network of organisations which I know from my internship I conducted in Kampala during that time. Creating contact with CSWs which are totally detached from CSO services became therefore difficult and the data runs risks not to present the whole picture. This was reflected in the composition of the focus group as well. It consisted of six CSWs from the area in the age of 16-30 whereas the majority was over 26. None of them were totally detached from CSO services. However, due to their age they only have limited access to welfare services. This will be explained during the analysis. Additionally my informants, even though being coordinators and social workers of the CSOs possess broad knowledge beyond the cases of their clients as they do outreach work and partly grew up in the area.

A general shortcoming is that the target group only comprises female CSWs. This is due to the fact that it is much more difficult to reach out to male CSWs. The criminalisation of homosexuality and extreme stigmatisation within society forces them to operate underground. Mostly they are not targeted by CSOs because of the potential political and social implications for the organisations. It should be emphasised that the non-inclusion of male CSWs is not an expression of doubting or down-playing the significance of their conditions and needs. To include male CSWs into the target group would however have demanded a whole different approach, more time and contacts.

The qualitative approach to rely largely on expert interviews and focus group interviews might be criticised regarding the question whether it is the right choice only to approach certain people (the 'experts') for acquiring information. Taking into account the aim of science to generate representative data this is seen as problematic (Devine 2002:205), especially when it comes to a target group such

as CSWs about which very little is known due to the criminalisation of the activity and quick changes 'in the business' (Sanders 2006:452). I tried to counteract this by covering, as far as it was possible all relevant stakeholder groups by using the snowball method as explained above.

The conduction of the expert interviews in English comprised the risk of potential misunderstandings due to language problems as well as different cultural backgrounds (Fontana & Frey 2003:58; Ryen 2002:342-345). However, for the expert interviews I felt confident that these concerns seemed to be negligible.

Another experienced challenge was to get access to the interview partners. If the research is touching upon a taboo topic, like the one presented in this paper, it becomes difficult to gain the stakeholders trust and consent to conduct an interview (Fontana & Frey 2003:59f). In the setting for the case study at hand I, being a young, female, educated but not yet graduated researcher from Europe needed in most cases a local, socially accepted male to introduce me. The network of contacts simplified approaching the potential interview partners. Yet it was difficult at some points to create a professional and respectful relation between the interview partner and me. Both interview partners' social reality influences the course and results of the interview through their (gender) attitudes, cultural and educational backgrounds as well as the standing they are representing. (Schwalbe 2002: 208f; Ryen 2002: 337-341). Resembling the concerns regarding the method of case studies, in general the biases and the impact of contexts have to be taken into account in the following steps of interpretation and the integration in a broader theoretical framework in order to be aware of potential modification or incompleteness of statements. This helps to make sense of what was said as well as finding potential explanations for it. (Warren 2002:97)

## 3.2 Operationalisation of the theory

As elaborated above it is not the aim of the case study to replicate Gough's and Wood's large-scale comparative quantitative investigation. Instead it is aimed at working with the indicators comprised in the theoretical framework and the characteristics of the two new regime models as guidance for the analysis of the findings.

During the case study I have been working in an abductive way. The theoretical idea and framework for the study that had been established before conducting the empirical research was reviewed, reconsidered and adapted during and after the case study. It is important to be open for and willing to learn from the knowledge that is provided in the field: "In order to understand these meanings,

researchers must get into this world and learn the knowledge and skills social actors use to construct and reconstruct their life." (Beng 2011:7)

The basic focus of the analysis lies on Gough's and Wood's developed theoretical framework, illustrated by Figure 2.1. At this point we should return to the first research question: The question is whether or not the setting of the target group represents an insecurity regime for them. Therefore it is necessary that the researcher is including indicators of both informal security regime and insecurity regime in order not to exclude any of those possibilities.

The meso level approach described in the course of the development of the informal security system is very interesting in regards to the case at hand. It illustrates how to explore the individual's, alone as well as organised in a group, spaces to improve their living conditions in interaction with the institutions through "negotiation, choice, room for manoeuvre, opportunity and iterative redefinition of landscape itself" (Wood 2004:60). Epistemologically, the analysis of the case study is thus actor-oriented and meant to reveal whether or not such spaces exist and are institutionalised. This does then help to place the case within the regime types. As well in regard to research question two which is concerned with factors creating risks as well as strategies for managing them the meso-level approach will be appropriate<sup>9</sup>.

Therefore, based on my understanding of the concepts, it would be unwise to draw a hard line between the informal security regime model and the insecurity regime model for the analysis of the case at hand. They are built on the same basic ideas as well as the same approach to shape their analysis and to identify and frame its contexts. Even though they use different terms a large number of identical analysis indicators can be identified.

Bevan's in/security regime model<sup>10</sup> (2004a) is a generic model which is not exclusively designed to analyse insecurity regimes but also to identify elements of the classical welfare and the informal insecurity regimes on all levels, from global to local spheres. She develops a research schedule refining the general key issues of welfare state regimes to "African realities" (110), to find in appendix 8.1. This adaptation serves as analytical tool in order to know what information to look for and how to analyse the outcomes. However, the indicators have to be approached from a small-scale perspective and assessed in regard to whether or not their exploration will comprise useful information in regard to the case.

Bevan's empirical analysis (2004b), focused on large-scale dynamics which are not specifically bound to national borders but heavily influenced by international actors, concludes with the classification of Sub-Saharan Africa as "regional insecurity regime" (Gough & Wood 2006:1706). While generating a useful macro-level understanding of the integration of the region into world

---

<sup>9</sup>Also Bevan (199/) presents an interesting analysis of the linkage between macro and micro level research.

<sup>10</sup> Bevan (2004a) titles the regime model as in/security regime in order to emphasise that "regimes can vary from the extremely insecure and harmful to the extremely egalitarian and inclusive" (88).

system and generally appearing problems the findings are for the specific case only of limited relevance (see as well Patterson 2006:20).

As the main focus lies on the application of the welfare regime theory it is not meant to conduct a thorough analysis of the dimension of stigma and labelling. It is rather aimed at being able to rely on the necessary framing knowledge around that topic which is for almost all spaces of comparison relevant, especially the analysis of their social relationships.

The authors draw numerous conclusions in regard to policy recommendations for the Global South. However, it is not my aim to deliver policy recommendations but to focus on their analytical theoretical framework in order to conduct the explanatory qualitative research on the case chosen.

## 4 Analysis

The findings of the interviews and the additional information which were acquired during the case study will now be integrated into the theoretical framework in order to be able to answer the research questions. It should be kept in mind that the interviews were meant to obtain information directly related to the target group of CSWs in Kawempe Division<sup>11</sup>. This does however not mean that the information are not relevant in regard to broader contexts but that it was not aimed at acquiring information about other than for the single-case scope of the study.

At this point the reader shall be provided with some basic information about Uganda. The post-conflict democratic country counts as a low-income country, holding the Human Development Index (HDI) rank 161 of 187 (UNDP 2011:129). It has been ruled since 1986 by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) under President Yoweri Museveni. The country which had been shaken since its independence in 1962 by an atrocious civil war experienced since the seizure of power by the NRM a period of relative stability and economic growth as “one of the few durable success stories of Africa” and “model reformer” (World Bank 2012), even though a brutal civil war against the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) unsettled Northern Uganda until 2005. Positive achievements such as the introduction of multi-partyism in 2005 and the freedom of press are overshadowed by corruption scandals, doubts regarding the accuracy of the presidential elections in 2011, repressive measurements taken against the opposition and the brutal encounter of protests and riots during the year of 2011 (World Bank 2012).

### 4.1 Results

As explained above the modified research 'schedule' of Bevan (see appendix) serves as basis for analysing the findings. Therefore the results will be presented divided in the following spaces of comparison: in/security outcomes, generation of insecurity, mobilisation and political dis/equilibrium and rectification mix.

---

<sup>11</sup> It should therefore not be mistaken with an analysis of the case of all CSWs in Kampala or even nationwide. Personal situations, working conditions and motivations vary to a big extent. CSWs working for example in other parts of Kampala are said to be in a significantly better position than the target group.

#### 4.1.1 In/security outcomes

The actual situation of the target group in regards to their living conditions and their ability to cover basic and societal needs is basically characterised by poverty. The vast majority of the respondents (CSWs themselves as well as representatives from NGOs, the international community and the national political level) expressed their opinion that the most of CSWs living in the area of Kawempe struggle daily to cover their basic needs for themselves and, in many cases, their families, especially their children, which is also seen as cause for the involvement in commercial sex. For under aged CSWs who do not have children it is often the case that they are on their own and have to take care of themselves due to insufficient financial support and care by their family (UYDEL 2011:22).

Poverty is mostly the reason for them to live in Kawempe. The area is a densely populated area with approximately 300,000 inhabitants, and is lacking sufficient drinking water and sanitary facilities as well as health facilities. During the bi-annual monsoon seasons, the living conditions become even more precarious, as the area is prone to daily floods due to its location in one of Kampala's valleys. This fosters the issue of lack of sanitation and hygiene.

According to a CSO representative the consequences of their occupation itself cause enormous risks. CSWs often suffer from severe health issues related to their job such as HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) but also frequent pregnancies, unsafe abortions, severe psychological difficulties in addition to violence perpetrated by clients, police or others. Some CSWs were trafficked from other parts of the country and forced into commercial sex. The implications of these factors as well as the stigma attached to commercial sex will be discussed further down (R1).

Due to the difficult access to overarching information, it is not possible to give a comprehensive overview over the span of livelihood strategies of the target group. Just as Gough (2004:29) claimed, it was observed that CSWs also try with a variety of strategies to secure their basic and subjective needs, such as diversified sources of income, petty crime and migration. Commercial sex, which is often the main source of income, is officially seen a form of crime due to the criminalisation of commercial sex by law in Uganda (Penal Code Act, Section 136.1). Many CSWs migrated to Kampala with the aim of finding a way to secure a living, and then became involved in sex work. Whereas all of the participants of the focus group interview (FGI) named commercial sex as the only source of income, others are involved in additional income generating activities such as waitressing or dancing (see for the case of CSWs below 18 UYDEL 2011:16). A typical reverse strategy to cope with poverty is the reduction of their living costs to a minimum by living in the cheap area of Kawempe and minimise expenses for food and clothes. According to many poverty related surveys, this impedes,

entering in a vicious circle, further the capacity to cope with potential hazards and shocks like sickness, or hunger (Rakodi 2008:255).

The quality of the underlying relationships, as it will be shown in the course of the analysis, differs. The target group faces a mixture of relationships, ranging from extremely negative to indifferent or positive: Many face difficult family situations, problematic relationships with pimps, brothel- and bar owners, 'boyfriends', clients, police and the local community as well as, if existing, contacts to local government authorities. Relationships towards service providing CSOs were generally positive, but relationships among each other were mixed.

#### 4.1.2 Generation of in/security

The generation of in/security is of major interest as it has an essential explanatory value. The points comprised by the substructure - world context, regime context and life processes - will be analysed according to the significance for the target group in reverse order.

##### Life processes

Two main harmful life processes were identified in regard to the target group. These are adverse family situations and a weak health status. To include the family situation into 'life processes' means to broaden Bevan's notion. However, most of the problematic family situations are related to life processes of pregnancy, motherhood and death.

The cause for the struggles to cover daily basic needs of the target group has often to be seen in relation to their family situations. Many children have to finance themselves partly or fully. This is the case for those who are either orphaned or neglected or abandoned by their family: "Many parents died of AIDS. And they leave their daughters with no support" (R6). In an older age women face different but as challenging family situations for example if they are the head of single-households. The reason for that can be either that they never have been married, that they live separated from their husbands or are widowed<sup>12</sup>. These essential financial needs were named as the cause for the involvement into sex work. Early and frequent pregnancies are at the same time often the initial reason to become involved into commercial sex work and compound the problematic family situations.

One major generator of insecurity is the target group's generally high risk to become sick. As mentioned above the profession is thereby the main factor, reinforced by for example the general high prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Uganda. Again, frequent pregnancies strain the strength and the health status especially of

---

<sup>12</sup>The high number of orphans and widows (as well as widowers) due to HIV/AIDS pose an immense challenge to African societies (Sabin & Miller 2008:408-411)

underaged girls. Besides that they have big difficulties to access the public health services. This will be elaborated later as it has to be seen within the perspective of the regime context.

### Regime context

First it will be focused on wider economic and political structures before moving on to the discussion of more specific socio-cultural structures, actors and values.

#### *Lack of formal employment*

The insufficient development of a formal labour market or the inaccessibility of it was pointed out as one main structural difference between Western countries and developing countries (Gough 28f).

This factor causes indeed problems not only to the target group but to the vast majority of the Ugandan youth. Youth unemployment in general is acknowledged to be a huge issue (R5,6,8): “[Today] even university graduates, they look for jobs, they are on the streets. They have to feed, they have to parent, they have to cloth” (R8). According to the MGLSD representative the government introduced new programmes equipped with more resources to create employment opportunities for the youth (R6). However, CSWs are believed to face big difficulties to benefit from these offers due to different structural discriminations which will be outlined in this part.

#### *Lack of public health facilities and other welfare institutions*

Social protection services such as unemployment benefits or old age pensions are not common in Uganda. However, under the cooperation with the international community certain changes took place in this regard with the aim of reaching the Millennium Development Goals (GoU 2010). One of the most prominent is the introduction of an Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997 and Universal Secondary Education (USE) in 2006 in Uganda whereby the enrolment figures improved (odi 2010,R7). Besides that to some extent public health facilities were introduced. Each of the five divisions of Kampala District for example has its public health centre which is free of charge (R2).

However, the accessibility as well as the quality and resources of these services are partly extremely limited, especially for the poor part of society. The situation in health centres is characterised by understaffed and in some cases poorly trained staff as well as scarce resources (R2, IRIN 2011) Regarding the education one main challenge besides the poor quality of lessons is that school uniforms and scholastic materials still have to be paid by the student or her family which prevents many children from attending school (FGI, R1, odi 2010).

*Lack of education and thus alternatives*

The general lack of education is according to many respondents a crucial factor in the target group's generation of insecurity. The difficulties to achieve a sufficient education are not only attributable to the poor quality of education and wealth but also to gender. As a CSO representative told, are Ugandan girls often only educated to "prepare them to be good wives [and] mothers" (R1). An additional, gender-based discriminating hazard means the regulation that girls who become pregnant are forced to drop out of school. Thus it emerges a situation in which it becomes even more difficult for the girl to meet increasing responsibility and costs by becoming a teenage mother without completed school education (*ibid.*).

For women without education it is much more difficult in Uganda than for men to find casual work due to physical strength but foremost because of structural gender-based inequality on the formal and informal labour market. The target group thus faces a situation without any alternatives, as almost all respondents agreed on.

*Legal status of CSWs and relationship to the police*

The criminalisation of commercial sex must be seen as an overarching 'umbrella' generator of insecurity for the target group as it creates a legal grey area in which CSWs float. Even though the operation of CSWs is tolerated in practice, at least in Kampala, they face enormous challenges due to their illegal status.

The Penal Code Act (Section 136.1) prohibits the "living on earnings of prostitution" as well as the solicitation or harassment "for immoral purposes". A number of actors in the field take this as official justification and even as encouragement of discriminating CSWs. Even though article 20 and 24 of the constitution grants human rights to all citizens, those rights are often denied to CSWs tout court.

The illegality of their activities which obstructs the way to seek institutional justice makes them extremely vulnerable to exploitation, fraud and violence by their clients as well as by other citizens. Around the area of Kawempe they get for performing 'normal' sexual services with condom normally around 3000-5000 UGX (1-2 US\$), sometimes even less. Besides that, it was reported of numerous cases where clients left without paying them for their services by threatening them or using violence (R1). The police representative reported as well of cases of adverse 'unfair' behaviour such as of clients who were robbed by CSWs (R11).

This 'outlaw' status of CSWs is worsened by the fact that many CSWs are not originally from the area of Kawempe. It means an additional hazard as the lack of protection by law cannot be compensated by support through the local community. Especially if CSWs are trafficked they are totally isolated without any social contacts (R1).

However, it was heard of not a single case in which the CSWs were actually sentenced and charged for prostitution but only for being in violation of the 'idle and disorder' law (FGI)<sup>13</sup>. According to the police representative this legal grey zone emerges because it is very difficult for police and court to prove by the weakly formulated prostitution law that CSWs and/or clients were practising commercial sex (R11).

In this context the role of the police needs to be mentioned in more detail. Many cases, which should not be misunderstood as a generalising fact, are known of police men taking advantage of CSWs' vulnerability by harassing and abusing them physically or demanding the performance of free sexual services as tradeoff for not being arrested. The focus group described the police as their "worst enemies". The facilitator of the discussion translated:

They are supposed to protect us! But instead they steal from us, they force us to have unprotected sex with them without paying – many of us got pregnant from them or infected with HIV/AIDS! - and then they still arrest us. In prison the nightmare continues!

In case of being arrested CSWs are set free if they have money at their disposal for paying bail and often additional bribes. The police representative however provided contradictory information by stating that their role is to "make sure that they do not commit other crimes [than commercial sex]. When no crime is committed they leave them alone" (R11).

The question why sex work has not been legalised in Uganda was answered by respondent 3 as follows: "[...] What people have in their mind: it's illegal. When they [the government] acknowledge sex workers like this they are saying: Ok, sex work [is okay]." Thus she sees the negative notions of the broad society as one of the reason for the government's fear to legalise sex work so as not to alienate their voters.

### *Social exclusion*

Social exclusion means to the target group a serious and deeply-rooted issue which relates to many of the above mentioned factors. The reason to exclude them for many people around them is simple: They are prostitutes. The consequential reactions towards the target group differed from being extremely negative and discriminating<sup>14</sup> to concerned and supportive<sup>15</sup> but the basic underlying thought is mostly the same: Sex work is usually seen as something "evil" (R8), as an immoral and spoiling behaviour which threatens on a general level the piousness,

---

<sup>13</sup>The 'idle and disorder' law which existed before on national level is to be found today only as ordinance or bylaw on district level but still used very often as justification to arrest CSWs (R11).

<sup>14</sup>By displaying them as generally lazy, greedy and/or dangerous and thus as poisoning part of society which is not caring about the development of the country.

<sup>15</sup>As for example CSOs which aim at a withdrawal from the activity when sex work is seen as a human rights violation for the CSWs.

morals, cultural values and the development of Uganda<sup>16</sup>. Therefore many Ugandans think that “they are not good, [they are] gangsters” (R10). “They are damaging the reputation of their mothers and their country!” was another opinion expressed in a conversation.

As explained above this view is firmly manifested in and reinforced through the Ugandan law.

As a consequence of the stigmatisation CSWs are often held responsible for all kinds of committed crimes happening at night in “their streets”: “[If] you go to commercial sex, you develop other ideas: Of stealing, killing people, consuming drugs” (R10). Barely any of the met LG representatives, who are responsible for the areas, spoke about clients or other criminals in this regard. This scapegoating has both legal consequences as well as in regard to their further damaged reputation in their local community.

CSWs experience furthermore continuous discrimination due to their 'prostitute label' on institutional level. As mentioned before they are frequently abused by the police. Besides that the focus group reported of numerous cases where they did not get access to public health services. They have been sent away without treatment as soon as the nurse finds out about their job. The common justification for the refusal is, that CSWs do not deserve the medical treatment and it would be just a waste of the hospital's precious scarce resources.

As a last example the relationship between CSWs and LG authorities shall be outlined. Due to the decentralisation reform which was introduced by the Ugandan government with the objective to enhance “participatory local democracy” (NCAER 2010) positions such as zone chair persons or 'community development officers (CDOs)' were created. These are understood as link between higher authorities and the communities and as a venue to make the bureaucratic system easier accessible for the citizens (R1,2). However, in interaction with CSWs the sometimes extremely negative personal opinion is prioritised to the fulfilment of official duties and responsibilities: “They [the LG representatives] are biased. They don't even want to talk to them. They see them as [...] outcasts in the community, as hooligans. But these girls really have reasons why they are engaged into this. [...]Everyone would love to survive” (R1). Even if this attitude is reported to happen quite frequently it has to be encountered that other members of the LG are either supportive or at least not openly hostile towards them. But in the most cases CSWs try to avoid these structures and the mistrust in the formal institutions grows. So even on bureaucratic level CSWs face the stigmatisation which they experience as well in society on a daily basis.

The local community level, on which their daily interactions with the rest society mostly take place, is mostly characterised by hostility. The respondents reported of people, “mostly married women” (FGI), calling the police to inform them about streets that should be raided, public insult and even physic attacks by

---

<sup>16</sup>Compare to McDonald and Gans, in this text p. 16f.

members of the neighbourhood. One participant added jokingly: “Well, the male part of the society supports us indeed- by becoming our customers.”

Being labelled as sex worker limits as well the chances of the girls and women to get married. A representative of a CSO said that in most cases the resettlement or the change of location is the only way to overcome the stigma and making a marriage possible (R1).

Due to the nature of sex work their label is interlinked with the one of HIV/AIDS in society. It does not seem to matter if CSWs actually are infected with HIV/AIDS but rather that they have been identified as one of the “drivers” (Uganda AIDS Commission:11) of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. This fuels the idea of blaming primarily CSWs as the responsible element in the system for the spread of HIV/AIDS without taking clients as transmitters into account: “ If somebody [a sex worker] has HIV/AIDS, they never disclose it!” (R6)

#### Global context

For the case study the global context is not seen of such significance as Bevan (2004b) presents it in her analysis of the African context. It is acknowledged that many of the dynamics of the Ugandan development are closely interlinked to global structures, actors and ideologies. These fundamentally framing conditions for the Ugandan society shape as well the lives of the target group and have been discussed above in regard to the labour market, a factor strongly bound to globalisation (Bevan 2004b:226f). Remittances resulting from migration of family members on the other hand, as international counter-element to the local household domain (Gough 2004:30), seem in this case not to be of big significance. Activities of international actors which have influences especially on the lives of the target group will be discussed below in part 4.1.4.

#### 4.1.3 Mobilisation

Mobilisation is the essential way to either maintain power relations, for those who are in power, or to challenge them for the “sufferers” (Bevan 2004a:102), the part of the population which is located at the lower end of the societal ladder.

##### *Internal elite mobilisation*

The case study did not reveal much information regarding mobilisation from the top-down perspective. On political level there is not much public action taken in regard to the target group besides the law prohibiting prostitution. Respondent 12 explains it like this: “These are people, I am sorry to be [...] so straight forward, but they are people who do not matter before the eyes of the government. They can only matter if [...] they start to engage in activities that threaten the power of government.” Thus the target group is too irrelevant to the government's

power to provoke any mobilisation against or for them. However, one example of intervention can be named. The Ministry of Ethics and Integrity banned a sex workers' conference in Kampala (allafrica 2010). The aim hereby was probably to re-emphasise the high moral standards and integrity of the government publicly.

#### *Mobilisation by external regime members*

In regard to 'external regime members' Bevan (2004b) includes in her regional analysis as well actors such as international financial institutions (IFIs) and other Western donors, both on governmental and private level (231f) mobilising for the enforcement of their interests, be it positive or negative; economic, political or ideological ones. Although a report (UYDEL 2011:55f) lists a number of international organisations as relevant, in the case study only one supra-national actor was identified to be actively concerned directly with the target group. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) gives policy advice as well as technical and financial support for their implementation to the Ugandan Government. This concerns foremost the under-aged part of the target group insofar as the more specific International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) of the ILO targets actively Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) which includes according to the Article 3 of ILO Convention No. 182 (ILO 1999) as well Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC). The ILO cooperates both with government as well as CSOs in order to implement the objective of eliminating child labour. This should not be the place to discuss the nature of interests and potential intentions of such a transnational actor. The consequences for CSWs above 18 who are not included into their target group will be discussed below in part 4.1.4.

#### *Non-elite mobilisation*

The findings of the case study indicate that only very few rights-based advocacy, thus "voice" (Bevan 2004b:229f) giving organisations which aim at improving the living conditions of CSWs exist. Only one was identified which targets directly CSWs. WONETHA is a very active and, measured against the difficult framing conditions of the legal situation and the prostitute label, successful organisation with a number of supportive partner organisations which was founded and managed by CSWs themselves.

Due to the opinion that the criminalisation of commercial sex "is the source of all evil" (R3) as it causes the denial of human rights for and protection of CSWs and their stigmatisation they proactively advocate on high governmental levels for the decriminalisation of sex work. Besides that numerous activities on lower levels are conducted. These include societal sensitisation projects in which they present themselves consciously as CSWs, the overall promotion of human rights of CSWs, and trainings with CSWs and police and jail officers to enhance their

knowledge on the rights and duties as well as to reach a non-aggressive and non-violent behaviour in case of an arrest.

Even though the situation did not improve very much they count as a big achievement to be received and heard by high government representatives, to be able to support CSWs in legal issues as well as at having achieved a public statement by police spoke's person who said, according to respondent 3: "No man, no police officer has got a right to torture the girls!" "[...] At least it is not silent like before."

Whereas WONETHA represents a, for non-elite mobilisation typical human rights-based approach the following part investigates the role of CSOs who work with "different objectives and visions" (R3), as for example the withdrawal of CSWs. This could indeed be understood as mobilisation with the aim of supporting the "exit" strategy (Bevan 2004a:102) of the target group to escape from the one central insecurity generating factor. However, it is more useful for the analysis to examine their roles in regard to their potential of rectification.

#### 4.1.4 Rectification mix

In this space of comparison it will be focused on the rectification mix that is available to the target group. The aspect of political dis/equilibrium shall not be discussed in this context. As outlined in the introduction of this chapter is Uganda described as 'politically stable'. Thus the target group is not confronted with severe insecurity due to a political disequilibrium such as violent conflict, potentially resulting in harm, flight or death (Bevan 2004a:103).

##### *The role of the state*

"The government has a very clear policy on it, they don't do anything!" (R5) Neither in regard to legislation, policy-making nor in regard to provision of services that are directly targeting CSWs is any action taken by the government.

It was shown above that the available public welfare services such as health centres, education and employment creating programs are few, difficult to access and often of poor quality. There were only few positive, yet important, measures identified. CSO representatives emphasised a number of times that they appreciate the positive and non-disturbing working environment that the government creates (R1,2). Also the openness to receive and interact with WONETHA as an advocate of CSWs' voice on high governmental ranks was evaluated as first step and encouraging to continue (R3). On financial level it is known of one single case where a grassroots-organisation acquired funding by the Ugandan government even though the application stated not only CSWs who are below 18<sup>17</sup> but also

---

<sup>17</sup>Commercial sex work conducted by girls and boys below 18, as it will be elaborated more further down, is seen as Worst Form of Child Labour (WFCL) and therefore regarded from a different angle in society.

above 18 as target group (R2). And as mentioned in part 4.1.2 some effort is also shown by certain LG representatives who support CSWs symbolically or by for instance distributing condoms.

#### *The Role of Civil Society Organisations*

CSOs were identified to be the main service provider for the target group. There are a number of organisations active in Kawempe division which work either specifically with CSWs or with broader issues in which CSWs are comprised as target groups such as the containment of HIV/AIDS or the work with OVC. The projects range from offering free health counselling and treatment, peer education and Behavioural Change Communication (BCC) workshops to promote for instance safer sex and psycho-social support, to alternative skill trainings and scholarship programs with the aim of empowering the CSWs to withdraw from the activity. There is no reliable data available indicating how many CSWs have access to CSO services. Only in regard to the coverage of HIV/AIDS related services exists data. It reveals that 96 percent of the responding CSWs of a study conducted by the Ministry of Health (MoH) have access to condoms but around 30 percent do not have access to HIV Counselling and Testing as well as STD treatment. The data around the usage of condoms varies but lies significantly lower than the percentage of who had access to them (Uganda AIDS Commission 2012:25).

Additionally to that they pursue the strategy of eliminating or at least making external insecurity factors less harmful. They approach and work with the pimps of the CSWs in order to train them about the importance of safer sex as well the rights of the CSWs. They try to challenge and in long-term to change the hierarchies and exploitative nature of the clientelistic relationships by these sensitising and practical training activities. Besides that they conduct workshops with the police officers, local government representatives and staff from the health centres as networking is seen as extremely important (R2).

The focus group assessed the services as positive. Besides the respectful and positive attitude of CSO staff furthermore the effort to meet their specific needs and the easy and unbureaucratic accessibility of the services were seen as attracting factors. Especially grassroots-organisations take CSWs' daily routines and their working hours at night or for example their difficult psycho-social state of mind into consideration while structuring courses, workshops or sessions. Unsurprisingly they prefer the CSO services, especially when the projects target specifically them, to the public welfare services.

CSWs however face as well a number of challenges in regard to the services of CSOs. All actor groups addressed the topic that also the non-governmental sector is not able to cover all the needs of the rapidly growing number of CSWs in the area. Mostly limited resources and capacities are stated as reason (R1).

Respondent 12 saw as another reason the general lack of commitment even in the active part of the civil society scene.

Furthermore it was reported that the cooperation within the CSO scene does not work without difficulties either. Lack of cooperation and disagreements on working methods were reported to impede the efficacy of their work: "Some of them they have put a ring around them [...], they don't let them [go], they don't network with other organisations. There is need to have a network [...] so that the girls can have a full psycho-social support." (R1)

In regard to withdrawal projects the non-formal character of the alternative skill training is experienced to some extent as problematic. Without official certificates the employment opportunities are still limited. Furthermore, CSOs are normally not able to provide besides alternative skills also start-up capital. As the resources of the CSOs are limited this capital has to be raised from another source which is very often commercial sex.

Besides that most services, as far as the findings of the case study reveal, target under-aged CSWs or young CSWs under 25. This decision is mainly based on the argument that younger CSWs build an even more vulnerable group in society. This must also be seen as relation to international influences, as it will be explained below. CSWs who are above that age have less access to services such as alternative skills trainings or scholarships. Only one respondent spoke of a "few underground organisations you hear of" (R11). The focus group of CSWs explained their perception of the situation:

We are not happy about the current situation that many civil society organisations are targeting only CSWs below 18. [...] We 'old ones' do not get any help yet they need it even more than the 'young ones'. You see? We might be widows and we have to support also our children, not only ourselves. The young ones often were just stubborn and ran away from home. And they are even supported by us older ones with shelter, protection, food. But yet when organisations come in they take the young ones and we are left behind without support yet another time. You know, the next time we gonna see a new young girl on the street we gonna beat her up and send her straight back home. We are not happy at all!" (Translation of their report through facilitator of the group discussion).

### *The role of the local community*

The general situation on local community level was already described in part 4.2. As it was shown in part 2.3 one option of negotiating security is presented as an essential factor by Gough and Wood: the involvement into clientelistic relationships (Wood 2004:50f). The case study revealed a number of localised patron-client relationships such as with pimps, which might be at the same time brothel- or bar owners. Around 30 percent of the female CSWs work in cooperation with pimps, even though those numbers are difficult to estimated (R1). One common way of business is that the pimps rent out spaces in lodges or

private rooms, negotiate the prices and get paid by the customers. In following they give "some money" (R4) to the CSWs and keep the rest. Besides that they often provide working 'necessities' such as clothes, jewellery and make-up to the girls so "that they look nice" (R1). The usual size of a pimp's group of CSWs comprises around 10-30 girls and usually pimps do not cross over "areas, streets or corners" (*ibid.*) of each other. The majority of the CSWs who turn to a pimp are new in the area. They provide protection and have good connections to the police.

[...] The pimps take on the girls in a way of helping and introduce them to commercial sex as a way of survival. So until the girl gets enough money to rent her self some where to stay, she will still work with pimps [...] They don't have any choice (R4)

Once the CSWs become established in the area they often leave the groups of pimps because they "want to work independently" (R1) in order to earn more money.

Another form of clientelistic relationship that was heard of frequently was the relations to so called 'boyfriends'. In the target group's environment this is a common expression for partners, partly married or liaised men, who provide food, shelter, clothes and sometimes other financial means such as school fees to the girls and women in exchange to regular sexual services. This does not mean that they are not involved in 'professional' commercial sex as well. It happens often even on the demand of the man in order to support the household.

All of these relationships are related to commercial sex and therefore reinforce the high risks attached to activity and the vicious circle of involvement. However, in a situation in which no or only few alternatives are available, CSWs accept the adverse incorporation in exchange for the economic or other advantages such as protection.

At this point the mutual support among each other is important as well. A general, broadly organised network of solidarity seems not to exist among CSWs. Support among CSWs takes rather place on a small-scale level. The sex work business in Kawempe is characterised, as explained above, by insecure working conditions, as well as by the competition for clients in the context of the steadily growing number of CSWs in the area. Therefore many CSWs organise themselves in "groups", as CSO representatives call them, or "gangs" (LG representative). Within those networks they are more likely to 'defend' their working areas, to protect and support each other.

Another example is that older CSWs often take care of 'the new and young ones', even though they mean a threat to their business and are privileged regarding the access to certain CSO services (FGI).

*The role of households*

The household constellations in which CSWs live are varying:

Some live alone, others live with their children [or] with friends while others live in lodges where they can pay like UGX 2000 per night.[...] For those who live with friends, its because of the little earnings that cannot enable them to rent their own rooms, so they decide to share the room like six or more and as well share the rent amongst themselves. (R4)

Thus when living with friends, which is done by the majority of the CSWs they manage to enhance their situation through mutual support and minimisation of the costs (R1).

*The role of external policies and actors*

The vast majority of the funding bodies of services targeting CSWs are international, be it transnational, national or private actors. As own resources of the mostly small grass-roots organisations are scarce and as they cannot expect any financial support by the Ugandan government international actors build the financial key lifelines of the projects and are therefore indispensable. Besides that they often support the organisations with expertise and advise and have, on a supra-national level, a lot of influences regarding the respect of human rights on domestic governments etc.

However, this involvement of international actors which is often vital to the projects causes also difficulties.

On a more abstract level, which is not only relevant for the target group, governmental representatives both on local and national level as well as of the CSOs expressed their concerns about the structural dependency on the support of international actors.

This was considered problematic for the following reasons: 1) domestic actors have only very limited control in regard to the amounts, the time-frame and the purposes of the provided means and 2) it might lack of appropriate adjustment and sensitiveness to local circumstances and particularities (R2,6,9). Hence the amount and the kind of support which local actors of government and CSOs can offer to specific groups within society rises and falls with international trends and decisions about funds.

Another critical issue is that the availability of international funds diminishes the need for commitment by the government. Both on the sides of government as well as the CSOs it was discussed that the government is willing to accept and support, or at least not disturb CSOs' programs targeting CSWs, *as long* as those are equipped with sufficient resources to support themselves. It is not predictable how the long-term reaction of the Ugandan government would look like if international funds were not available. The most respondents were sceptical in this regard. But the findings reveal at least that the government relies on the fact that

international actors take off an undesirable burden of their shoulders by funding projects for CSWs, as they acknowledge that commercial sex is a huge issue: “They have a very big job, great job! [Without them] it would be terrible” (R7).

## 4.2 Discussion

After having presented the findings of the case study it shall now be proceeded to discuss the findings and to return to the research questions and interest.

The assessment of the existing options of negotiating any kind of security cannot be done without taking the environment where their insecurity is deeply socially embedded, into account.

Bevan points out six factors which are usually generating insecurity for poor people within in/security regimes: Exploitation, exclusion, political domination, violent destruction, economic failure and 'natural' life processes, calamities and diseases (2004a:101). Except of political domination and violent destruction all factors are applicable following the analysis of the insecurity generating factors. In regard to violent destruction it is discussable whether the term can be interpreted as well on an individual, such as the violence and sexual abuse the target group faces in their daily life, rather than on a structural level of a prevalent conflict as Bevan does (*ibid.*:102).

All of these four factors have been found to cause challenges for the target group. Economic failure, as well as to a certain extent life processes such as pregnancy or death of parents or guardians is in the vast majority the initial reason why the target group engage into commercial sex. In an area such as Kawempe they become vulnerable to exploitation and physical harm due to their illegal status as a CSW. Economic hardship and aggravating factors such as severe health issues and the responsibility for many children due to frequent pregnancies are result of and reinforce often the need to stay engaged in commercial sex. This should by no means be understood as comprehensive summary but rather as an extremely brief illustration of complex interlocked and reinforcing factors.

One factor however, social exclusion, was identified as having especially severe and far-reaching implications for them. The 'whore stigma' was omnipresent throughout the case study in all institutional domains. The fact that their 'label' is easily linked tout court to being HIV/AIDS positive and to transmit it carelessly aggravates the stigma within society.

As a result CSWs cannot count on the local community as a potential alternative space which provides relief and/or security. Thus their "exclusion [...] undermines the value of these institutions [...] as a basis for dealing with uncertainty and insecurity" (Wood 2004:64). The difficulties to find a husband that were mentioned above, are problematic as especially for poor and uneducated girls and women this is a socially established way of securing their survival. The question to the participating CSWs whether any of them is married, was answered only by laughters and the counter-question: "What do you guess?"

Also the economic interaction on local level proved to be characterised by asymmetrical power relations between CSWs and clients. Thus the establishment of reciprocal rights-duty relationships between members of local communities due to social control of low-level direct interactions does only exist to a limited extent for the case in hand. In case the CSWs migrated it becomes even more difficult to become an accepted and thus rights-entitled part of the community (compare Wood 2004:72-75). Their bargaining power is further diminished through the criminalisation of sex work and the highly problematic relationship to the police.

Besides that, as explained above, faces the target group difficulties accessing the few public welfare institutions such as health services or the LG representatives. These highly problematic underlying relationships of CSWs and actors in different institutions illustrate the interference of subjective opinion shaped by a prevailing societal label of the target group, with their professional positions.

In this regard it is of significance that responsibilities of the different actor groups are only vaguely defined. No documents such as policies or guidelines define clearly roles and duties in regard to CSWs. A CSO representative said concerning that topic: "There is nothing, there is nothing! [...] They don't talk about it, there is no [...] department or committee that was directly given to come up with something clear for these girls" (R1). In some cases CSWs are comprised in policies which target broader groups such as widows, Orphans and other Vulnerable Children (OVC) or people living positively with HIV/AIDS. Whether or not to include CSWs in these considerations is however up to the person working with and thus interpreting the document.

Any attempt of achieving or providing rectification takes place within the institutional landscape of a regime. Therefore its complexity should be re-emphasised as it contributes to the uncertainty of the target group how to develop long-term security strategies within the IRM. As it has been shown above, the target group cannot rely on the IRM. The spheres between personal judgement and professional duty are too blurry to be able to predict if it will be of advantage or disadvantage to turn towards different institutions in society to seek support.

This is an example of negative permeability of an institutional landscape which is described by Gough (2004:30f). The insufficient separation of different roles of the relevant actors impedes the functionality of institutionalised mechanisms within the regime. It should however not be misunderstood as the *only* aspect of permeability. Many other factors such as corruption in the political domain, just to name one example, are prevailing and influence the overall institutional environment as well (see e.g. Kron 2011/10/12).

Also the approach of the government to criminalise or to humiliate the target group for instance by banning their conference is relatable to the label the target

group carries as sex workers. It illustrates the connection between the official legislation and societal beliefs and attitudes which Gans emphasised as well<sup>18</sup>

Interestingly, there are as well different approaches to the sex worker label identifiable among the supporting actors such as CSWs themselves and CSOs. The actors campaigning for its legalisation want that respect is shown to them as human beings and the elimination of displaying sex work as sinful and immoral. The contrasting approach focuses on not to label or to display them as CSWs in order to enhance the chances to withdraw and to live a dignified life. Besides that the focus group, which consisted as mentioned above mainly of 'older' CSWs above 26, described younger CSWs in the same manner as many others in society as "stubborn and spoiled" even though most of the participants themselves became involved into commercial sex work at a young age.

The vast majority of the target group adopted due to their difficult standpoint within the IRM a "short span time preference behaviour" (Wood 2004:49). The present risk management has to be prioritised to the sustainable preparation of future potential shocks and hazards. In other words, used by some of the respondents: "It is not a developmental job. It's a job for the day or for the living" (R8). The number of challenges the target group faces are usually too problematic to be able to focus on their own development, which might help to withdraw and to fulfil other societal needs.

One option is to stay involved as long as possible in commercial sex and to maximise their earnings in order to cover the day-to-day basic needs of themselves and potentially their family. This is, as explained above, often a very harmful and risky option.

In combination to that personalised clientelistic relationships with pimps, brothel owners or for example 'boyfriends' are another option to achieve economic advantages. But as explained above these relationships are often characterised by a long-term dependency as the CSWs cannot go beyond the level of covering short-term needs. This kind of patronage should be differentiated from the understanding of broad-scale clientelism as presented by Bevan (2004a:103) as these are much more localised, personal clientelistic relationships. Thus these livelihood strategies are only of advantage in short-term perspective and are unlikely to lead to a long-term security and well-being.

To extend the livelihood strategies or even to withdraw from commercial sex is therefore difficult without external support. Besides their stigmatisation and financial hardship as well the poor education diminishes the chances to compete on the labour market. If an 'uneducated' person is additionally confronted with such economic circumstances as described above their chances become vanishingly low.

CSOs projects, mostly funded through external donors, were, as discussed in-depth above, the only institutionalised welfare services within their rectification

---

<sup>18</sup>See part 2.4.3 in this work.

mix. They concentrate on eliminating the dilemma of CSWs that they have to sacrifice long-term security in order to take care of their and their family's short-term security. The strategy to support their withdrawal through providing for example education and vocational skills correspond to Wood's opinion about meaningful measures of building up independent and sustainable livelihood strategies (2004:82). It is not the aim to evaluate the outcomes of the projects in detail but the general satisfaction of those CSWs who benefitted from the services is already a very important indicator pointing towards the positive achievements. However, the discussed faced challenges on the ground and in regard to international actors can result in the limitation of their effectiveness as well as the appropriateness for the rectification mix offered to the target group.

To illustrate the direct implications of the international involvement to the target group it should be resorted to the example of the differing approaches to the support of CSWs who are below and above 18. The service providing CSOs are bound to the decisions of their international funding bodies which in turn are influenced by global trends and ideologies. In regard to the case study the strong focus on the elimination of child labour and especially WFCL was identifiable as one main driving force. From this emerges an unfavourable situation for CSWs as only very little resources are allocated for the support.

It should be clarified that this is not meant to challenge or down-play the extent of suffering of young CSWs. The aim was rather to illustrate the neglect, which does not have to happen consciously, of the needs of another group within society which faces as well extremely high difficulties.

Those actors, supporting the legalisation of commercial sex, both on CSO but also on political level, hold the opinion that this would be the essential step or at least a very important one in order to re-structure the whole framework on which the rectification mix is build on. Respondent 8 said: "This is now something which is not going to go away. We have to live with it. But for living with it, it must be put it proper! [...] You cannot look after, what is not legal."

The "reciprocal relations [...] [among] those with little power" (Wood 2004:78), thus the support among each other or by other peers or family members means one more option in their rectification mix. The mutual support when working or living together has positive and negative consequences. On the one hand they succeed to build up alternative household and family structures. Like this it is tried to replace the support which they are lacking through the absence of the traditional family units. On the other hand remain such supporting networks often fragile. In many cases the support lasts only for a limited time-frame due to financial hardship. Besides that such groupings can also have an exclusionary effect. LG representatives spoke for example of partly violent clashes between the different groups (R9,10).

There were as well aspirations identifiable to re-establish traditional family structures which were emphasised within the theoretical framework due to their

significance for security achievement. (Wood 2004:63-67). Whereas they cannot rely on this kind of family support right now they hope to restore this structure by saving enough money in order to send their children to private schools due to the poor quality of public education. On the one hand they want their children to receive better education than they did, so that they will not be forced to engage in sex work as well. On the other hand, they are hoping for the case that their better educated children would be able to take care of their mothers later on (FGI).

The fact that they are supposed to be the strongest link in the household<sup>19</sup> makes them ironically one of the most vulnerable links in society which reproduces in turn the present difficulties and vulnerability of the family.

One aspect which does not directly relate to the research questions but which was discussed during the interviews a number of times should be elaborated at this point. It is about the differing expectations of the actors among each other in regard to their welfare responsibilities. This holds valuable information about the 'insider' understanding of a potential 'welfare regime' in a developing context and gives some indication on which actual or potential consequences the different perceptions might have.

The most striking deviance was noticeable between the expectations and the real state of the action taken by the government. Across all actor groups a number of mainstreaming ideas regarding the theoretical responsibilities of the government were discussed. Legislation and policy-making was mentioned by all groups of respondents as an overall responsibility.

Concrete measurements that were believed to improve the situation were job creation and defining minimal standards of salaries, establishment of public institutions for citizens to acquire free of charge alternative skills and education, economic empowerment by for example offering micro-credits for starting up a business, sensitisation and health education for the target group, centres offering rehabilitation possibilities with the aim of supporting CSWs' re-integration into the community and the effective protection of CSWs from violence. The concrete expectations were however adapted to the local contexts and development states and thus different. None of the respondents aimed at the creation of an ideal situation but rather asked for a minimum of support.

Embracing the range of expectations towards and the disappointment in the Ugandan state which was expressed by almost all respondents the fact strikes that these claims resemble very much the traditional 'Western' view of a state as main responsible of the welfare of its citizens. Respondent 12 formulated it as follows:

The state remains the last parent. [...] You hear them being killed, being kidnapped, you know, being neglected. [...] It puzzles you, so these are human beings, and they are struggling for survival, so where is the responsibility of government? So we have in place a parent who is unwilling to help its children.

---

<sup>19</sup>Not literally but in comparison to the other family members.

This kind of belied expectations contains potential for mobilisation among those with little power. As it was shown in part 4.1.3, it indeed has already led to small steps of such a mobilisation<sup>20</sup>. But as respondent 12 was already cited, it is difficult to predict how much power this mobilisation will have as long as the target group has such little support in the society (p.32).

Regarding the expectations towards the CSOs the picture looks different. As mentioned above the government expects policy implementation (for CSWs below 18) and execution of projects from CSOs. This is not only the case for the area of Kawempe but a nation-wide approach. Reasons for that were not always stated clearly but the most common argument heard was that it is not the responsibility of the state to take care of the well-being of 'criminal' groups. Even though the government's attitude in itself was not approved by the most non-governmental actors it entails that the government creates a supportive working environment and interaction which is positive for the work of the CSOs.

Local CSO representatives themselves presented mostly an ambivalent perception of their own role. They seem to have accepted and internalised the fact that the lion's share of responsibility lies on their shoulders: They spoke of *their* task to improve CSWs' living conditions even though they expressed at the same time their disappointment that the government is not exercising its responsibility. This self-understanding is likely to contribute to the phenomenon that the state pulls back even more from its responsibilities due to the availability of alternatives<sup>21</sup>. As long as local CSOs do not challenge this situation and no other reasons appear it is scarcely to be expected that the government will change the attitude.

This corresponds to Wood's finding (2004) that the general deviance between the expectations and the real state is perceived from the bottom-up perspective as the dysfunction of social capital. It contributes in turn to the distrust in the IRM and results in an even stronger focus on alternative spaces to manage risks (68).

Based on the analysis of the case study according to the welfare regime theory it can be thus concluded that the case represents an insecurity regime.

Their short-term strategy of securing the necessary means for survival causes vulnerability and is thus likely to impede their future ability to cover on short- and on long-term basis the social needs of themselves and their family. The presence of CSOs on the ground as well as those advocating on political level for the promotion of CSWs' human rights improve the situation. But due to limited resources not all needs the CSWs can be covered, especially when it comes to education and alternative skills trainings. The situation becomes worse in cases in which the livelihood strategies are not diversified at all. The major issue for CSWs operating in an insecure environment such as Kawempe is that their

---

<sup>20</sup>About the emergence of solidarity movements can be read as well in Wood 2004:78.

<sup>21</sup>This is connectable to Wood's argument (2004) of the redefinition of welfare-related responsibilities due to the availability of international funding.

livelihood strategy, in the situation as it is now, means at the same time the main insecurity factor to them. In combination with a general weak supportive network and a lack of social capital to rely on it develops into an extremely difficult situation. Thus the livelihood strategy itself has to be seen as the target group's "jugular problem" (Wood 2004:86).

The large number of introduced policies and national action plans to fight child labour as well as HIV/AIDS which were proudly presented by government representatives hold promises of improving the precarious living conditions of those who come off worst in the Ugandan society. But despite the fact that the target group represents a number of 'key characteristics' of vulnerability, first of all vulnerability to HIV/AIDS their situation is still precarious. The approach of the government to deny CSWs' problems is ambiguous with regard to the broader development implications of the country as commercial sex has been identified as driver of HIV transmission. Respondent 12 expressed it as follows: "There is not even a forum or space for them to become a threat.[...] Ironically they are a threat. Indirectly. [...] HIV/AIDS in most of the places where there are many [CSWs]."

However, as it became obvious above the standpoint of the government reflects a wide-spread societal opinion and it would be questionable how much effect measurements taken on official level would have. Even if commercial sex was legalised or policies introduced the overall problem of social stigmatisation would still loom and pervade all domains of the institutional landscape. This means that the Institutional Responsibility Matrix of the target group would still suffer from negative permeability and stay unpredictable.

This brings the analysis to the point where Gough and Wood (see e.g. 2006:1707-1709) progress with their policy recommendations. And indeed, without going into detail, point the findings towards the same conclusions: A top-down change is necessary but useless without a strong bottom-up development to establish functioning patterns of social policy. The acknowledgement of problematic issues, broad-scale declaration of intents and introduced top-down policies and projects must be backed up by a bottom-up process of sensitisation and empowerment.

## 5 Conclusion

### 5.1 Summary

Led by the welfare regime theory by Gough and Wood the work in hand investigated the case of social welfare structures available to female CSWs operating in Kawempe Division, Kampala during a qualitative case study conducted in December 2011-January 2012.

The findings reveal that the space in which the target group lives must be categorised as insecurity regime. Their livelihood strategies, taking place in an unfavourable political, economic and socio-cultural setting, concentrate mostly on commercial sex which means that their source of income is at the same time the main reinforcing factor for their precarious situation. Not all but some CSWs are engaged in optional or coerced personal patron-client relationships such as with pimps, brothel- or bar owners or 'boyfriends'. These relationships bring to some extent economic or other advantages but cause at the same time long-term dependencies as the girls are often exploited and only basic needs within short-term perspectives can be covered.

The chances to invest into long-term security improve if the CSWs get access to CSO services which are basically the only service provider challenging their dependency on the occupation itself and relationships around it. Among the actors on the ground differ the opinions how to enhance the situations. Therefore different strategies and goals are pursued in order to either eliminate commercial sex as a harmful and human rights violating activity or to improve the human rights situation of CSWs within the profession. Scarce resources limit CSOs to reach out to all CSWs operating in the area of Kawempe.

In close relationship to the locally operating CSOs the respondents saw international actors. Their role as main funding bodies was attached to both, positive and negative notions. Whereas all respondents appreciated the support, representatives of CSOs, local and national government were still concerned and partly unsatisfied about the decisive power and the dependency on them. The global discourse on key issues, such as child labour, influences to a big extent the allocation of available funds. This results in an unfavourable situation for the women above approximately 25 years.

The government presents mostly a denying approach regarding the provision of social welfare which contrasts with the overall manifested pursuit to fight the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the country. The notion of non-deservingness attached to the prostitute label and its firm constitution in the Ugandan law is taken by many actors as a justification to exclude them from the few existing institutionalised welfare services. Personal opinions and attitudes which might be influenced by the prevailing 'whore stigma' in society, dominate the institutional landscape and impede thus the functionality of the IRM.

Also the local community and household level, which are displayed by Gough and Wood et.al as essential alternative spaces in case of a failure of state and market as security providers, build for CSWs problematic domains. Due to their stigmatisation as well as deeply-rooted gender inequalities the access to community-based means of support are denied. Weak or non-existing family networks caused by neglect, the death of parents, husbands or trafficking have been stated frequently both as initial cause to become engaged into commercial sex as well as reinforcing dynamic which impedes the withdrawal. CSWs encounter this hazard by building up alternative household structures among each other. These are however often only weak networks of support as the other members are usually as poor. Besides that they expressed the wish to provide better education to their children so as to pave the way for a future re-establishment of the intergenerational security provision within family structures. CSOs work for the respect and acceptance of CSWs by conducting community sensitisation projects in the area.

By these means and spaces of negotiation the target group tries to counteract factors and dynamics generating their insecurity, exploitation by clientelistic relationships and 'on the market', exclusion, economic failure and natural life processes which are exacerbated through the nature of their occupation.

It has been shown that it is essential in the context of developing countries to focus on framing conditions, embracing both formal and informal institutions in order to approach the goal of establishing public policy for those who are extremely vulnerable. Without taking the reasons for the group's vulnerability into account programs are condemned to failure. For the investigated case the large-scale failure of economy and state as corrective, embedded in the local structures which are strongly influenced by morals, culture and ideologies, are overwhelming. It means a huge challenge for the few institutionalised actors within the IRM to compensate for those. Thus the issue of the state being an "unwilling parent" is an essential problem but by far not the only one.

It is extremely difficult to know which approach might improve the situation the most. Either one adapts to local conditions and tries to enhance the spaces of negotiation for a target group within the system or one chooses the innovative, revolutionary way which challenges the system itself.

## 5.2 Future research interests

During the research different topics and issues came up that should be considered for future research.

In general it has to be said that extremely little documentation about the situation of the target group exists, especially regarding CSWs above 18. A comprehensive study, working both with qualitative and quantitative means would be helpful not only for further research but also for civil society and governmental interests.

It was beyond of the scope of the study to investigate thoroughly the target group's situation from a gender perspective. This work rather aimed at including these gender-related difficulties into the analysis of their position in the institutional landscape. Conducting such a research would encounter the lack of feminist perspectives on social welfare within development countries that has been spoken about in part 2.3. Related as well the focus on male CSWs offering homosexual or heterosexual sexual services would be an interesting research topic.

The research focused on CSWs who operate in Kawempe, a very poor, but urban area. A comparative study investigating both situations of CSWs operating in urban as well as rural areas is believed to be insightful as the prevalence of public services and CSOs differ between urban and peripheral areas.

Besides that it was perceived as very interesting to learn about the perception of the local people what a welfare regime should look like (part 4.2). The actors on the ground present a theoretical understanding of the state as the main responsible which Wood (2004) encouraged to overcome as a researcher or policy-maker (72). An in-depth investigation on the notion of the 'welfare state' and its implications within development contexts would be fruitful in my opinion.

As a last point should be discussed following: It has been spoken a lot about the negative implications of 'labelling' a group. I am aware that also this case study categorises CSWs as one entity, bundling together all girls and women of Kawempe who have one key characteristic: being involved into commercial sex. This choice is related to the scientific conventions if a research interest such as the one in hand is pursued. It was tried to avoid at creating yet another label, even if it was not a degrading and abusive but rather an 'understanding' one: to depict CSWs as the vulnerable, deprived group. Also these categorisations contribute to a division within society between the 'able' and the 'unable' ones. However, one main part of the investigation of the accessibility to social welfare structures is the analysis of their vulnerability. It was tried to present the picture as objective and differentiated as possible and to point out as well their other roles and duties such as mothers, friends or active community members. But again, the research scope

and methods are not supposed to fulfil this goal. Life story interviews and personal narratives would be more suitable approaches to draw a picture of the personalities, the strength and the admirability of the girls and women I met during the research.

## 6 Executive summary

The work in hand addresses the topic of social welfare provision in developing countries. The aim is to investigate potential links between the accessibility of social welfare for a specific group in society, the responses by formal institutions on domestic and international levels and the target group's socio-economic standing.

The research interest is investigated in regard to the specific case of female commercial sex workers (CSWs) operating in Kawempe Division, a slum area in Uganda's capital Kampala. The peculiarity about the case is that the group's vulnerability should be of increased interest to the relevant formal institutions due to the high HIV/AIDS prevalence rate among the target group. However, it is not the aim to focus on this single dimension but to draw a comprehensive picture of the social, economic and political context in which the target group interacts and negotiates means of security and social welfare.

By creating a deeper understanding of that topic the case study can provide knowledge that is useful for the aim of establishing social policy in development countries, an important measurement in the fight precarious living conditions and vulnerability.

Following are the research questions used in this case study:

- 1) Is Uganda best categorised as an insecurity regime or an informal security regime when considering the case of female Commercial Sex Workers living and operating in the area of Kawempe?
- 2) In which way do factors causing extreme vulnerability influence the existing options for Commercial Sex Workers to negotiate security, both in positive and negative ways?

The thesis is based on the welfare regime theory which reframes the notion of social policy by conceptualising globally characteristics and effects of social welfare in different development contexts. It presents three ideal type regime families: the welfare state regime, the informal security regime and the insecurity regime. The informal security and insecurity regime models point out the key issues that have to be taken into account while analysing social policy in development countries. States suffer from a lack of legitimacy and from an insufficiently developed labour and financial market. Therefore states can only limitedly compensate socio-economic inequalities in agrarian and subsistence societies which are influenced by morals, culture and ideologies. Non-state actors such as household and community level have to be included in institutional

considerations as rights and entitlements to access security providing services are to be found as well within informal arrangements.

The data was acquired by conducting 11 expert interviews, one focus interview with 6 CSWs and direct observations.

As analytic tool the research schedule of the in/security regime model by Bevan (2004) was used. It leads the user to draw a comprehensive picture of how individuals interact in their institutional landscape in order to negotiate (a minimum of) security.

The findings reveal that the space in which the target group lives must be categorised as insecurity regime. Their livelihood strategies, taking place in an unfavourable political, economic and socio-cultural setting, concentrate mostly on commercial sex which means that their source of income is at the same time the main reinforcing factor for their precarious situation. Not all but some CSWs are engaged in optional or coerced personal patron-client relationships such as with pimps, brothel- or bar owners or 'boyfriends'. These relationships bring to some extent economic or other advantages but cause at the same time long-term asymmetrical dependencies as the girls are often exploited and only basic needs within short-term perspectives can be covered.

The stigmatisation of CSWs has far-reaching implications on their access to welfare facilities. Labels, which create the stigma, evolve around activities or behaviours of groups which are categorised as deviant by the rest of society such as prostitution. The reasons for the engagement into such behaviour are hereby subordinate. The perception of the people counted to the labelled group by society becomes reduced to this deviance and results in the reinforcing discrimination against the group on social, economic and political level.

As sex work is criminalised the spaces of negotiation and chances for support become diminish. The legal grey area makes them prone to exploitation and violence. Attached to this is a very problematic relationship to the police. Many cases of sexual or physical harassment as well as theft are known to have been committed by police officers towards CSWs.

The CSWs face an institutional landscape which is broadly characterised by the prevailing societal stigmatisation of sex workers. Personal opinions often dominate the official duties of civil servants or staff in public health institutions who see themselves as entitled to deny the services to the CSWs. Thus due to the 'sex workers label' they experience significant disadvantages within formal institutions. Their answer to that is growing mistrust and avoidance.

According to the welfare regime theory the community and the household level are in general the safest domains to retreat to for poor people in developing countries in order to compensate for the failure of state and market. The direct contact and social control can lead to informal rights-duty relationships which have some kind of reciprocal outcomes for all partners involved. In the case in hand this was only the case to a very limited extent. The local community is a

problematic space for the target group. In the majority of the times they face rejecting or hostile reactions by the people from the area. As this is their working space at the same time it is very difficult to negotiate security while working.

Family and household structures in a traditional sense do not exist in the most cases. Financial hardship, death of parents, guardians or husband and trafficking are mostly the reasons and at the same time reinforcing factor for the engagement in commercial sex. In order to compensate for that CSWs often share rooms with friends and colleagues in order to minimise the costs. Besides that they often form groups so as to hold specific areas as their working areas and to support each other. However, these alternative household and community structures are mostly weak. As the poverty level among the members of these beneficial structures of solidarity is equally high they still have to look after themselves and their children in the first place.

The government shows an ambivalent approach. A study conducted by the Ministry of Health reveals the extremely high HIV/AIDS prevalence rate of 37 percent among sex workers and identifies sex work as a main driver of transmission of the virus. Still CSWs are not included into any official programs or policies as the negative label that is attached to CSWs is too strong to be overcome. The notion of CSWs being the only responsible party for HIV/AIDS is nonetheless prevailing. Often CSWs are, consciously or unconsciously blamed without taking clients into account. Furthermore the government is in the comfortable position to be able to rely on local as well as international civil society organisations (CSOs) that cover partly the needs and which are therefore supported by creating a positive working environment.

The most of these CSOs operate on the local community level, offering medical, educational and psycho-social support. One human right organisation is active on higher political levels in order to lobby for the legalisation of commercial sex and the promotion of CSWs' rights. CSOs are indeed the only institutionalised provider of security aiming at the long-term well-being of the women and girls. Scarce resources limit CSOs however to reach out to all CSWs operating in the area of Kawempe as well as to offer long-term support to their clients. The financial key lifelines are in most cases international donors. Therefore they are indispensable. However, local and national government were still concerned and partly unsatisfied about the decisive power and the dependency on them. The global discourse on key issues, such as child labour, influences to a big extent the allocation of available funds. This results in an unfavourable situation for the women above approximately 25 years. Especially educational programs and alternative skills trainings focus often on target groups below this age.

Returning to the research interest the study reveals that it would be highly difficult to establish a well-functioning social policy for the target group. Their vulnerability is the cause which leads and reinforces the involvement into an

activity that embodies a high risk for them as well as for the broader society. Many factors have to be taken into account in order to tackle the deeply-rooted vulnerability of groups. It became obvious how essential it is to focus within the context of developing countries on framing conditions, embracing both formal and informal institutions in order to approach the goal of establishing public policy for those who are extremely vulnerable as this always has a deeper reason. A top-down change is necessary but useless without a strong bottom-up development to establish functioning patterns of social policy.

## 7 Bibliography

- Allafrica, 2010. "Uganda: Government Stops Sex Workers Conference", 19.11.2010. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201011190646.html> Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- Arts, Wil; Gelissen, John, 2002. "Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism or More? A State-of-the-Art Report", pp.175-197. In: Pierson, Christopher; Castles, Francis (eds.), 2006: *The Welfare State Reader*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press.
- Averting HIV and AIDS (avert), 2011: HIV and AIDS in Uganda. <http://www.avert.org/aids-uganda.htm> Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- Beng Kok, Ong, 2011. "Grounded Theory Method (GTM) and the Abductive Research Strategy (ARS): a critical analysis of their differences" *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, DOI:10.1080/13645579.2011.607003 <http://www.tandfonline.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/doi/pdf/10.1080/13645579.2011.607003> Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- Bevan, Philippa, 2004a. "Conceptualising in/security regimes", pp.88-118. In: Gough, Ian; Wood, Geof: *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Social policies in Development Contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bevan, Philippa, 2004b. "The dynamics of Africa's in/security regimes", pp.202-252. In: Gough, Ian; Wood, Geof: *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Social policies in Development Contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bevan, Philippa, 1997. "Policy Arena. Linking Macro and Micro Research: A Sociological Perspective", *Journal of International Development* (9/5), p.761-770
- Briggs, Asa, 1961. "The Welfare State in Historical Perspective", pp.16-29. In: Pierson, Christopher; Castles, Francis (eds.), 2006. *The Welfare State Reader*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press.
- Bryman, Alan, 2008. *Social Research Methods*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carbone, Giovanni, 2009. "Consequences of democratization", *Journal of Democracy* (20/2), pp.123-137.
- Carbone, Giovanni, 2011. "Do new democracies deliver social welfare? Political regimes and health policy in Ghana and Cameroon" In: *Democratization*, DOI:10.1080/13510347.2011.572618.

- Della Giusta, Marina, 2008. "Social Exclusion and Development", pp.136-140. In: Desai, Vandana; Potter, Robert (eds.): *Companion to Development Studies*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Hodder Education.
- Devine, Fiona, 2002. "Qualitative Methods", pp.197-215. In: Marsh, David; Stoker, Gerry (eds.): *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ellis, Frank; Devereux, Stephen; White, Philip, 2009. *Social Protection in Africa*. Cheltenham, Northampton: Edward Elgar.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta, 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press.
- Fontana, Andrea; Frey, James, 2003. "Interviewing – The Art of Science", pp.47-78. In: Denzin, Norman; Lincoln, Yvonna (eds.): *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), 2011. "The UN Social Protection Floor Initiative. Turning the Tide at the ILO Conference 2011". <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/07814.pdf> Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- Gans, Herbert, 1995: *The War against the Poor. The Underclass and Antipoverty Policy*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gough, Ian, 2004. "Welfare regimes in development contexts: a global and regional analysis", pp.15-48. In: Gough, Ian; Wood, Geof: *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Social policies in Development Contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gough, Ian; Wood, Geof, 2004a. "Introduction", pp.1-14. In: Gough, Ian; Wood, Geof: *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Social policies in Development Contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gough, Ian; Wood, Geof, 2004b. "Conclusion: Rethinking social policy in development contexts", pp. 312-326. In: Gough, Ian; Wood, Geof: *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Social policies in Development Contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gough, Ian; Wood, Geof, 2006. "A Comparative Welfare Regime Approach to Global Social Policy", *World Development* (34/10), pp. 1696-1712.
- Government of Uganda (GoU), Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2010: Millenium Development Goals Report for Uganda 2010. <http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Uganda/UgandaMDGReport2010.pdf> Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- Hall, Anthony, Midgley, James, 2004. *Social Policy for Development*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Holmqvist, Göran, 2011. *Perspectives on Inequality and Social Protection*. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg.

- International Labour Organisation (ILO), 1999. "Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour", Nr. 182.  
<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc87/com-chic.htm>  
Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), 2012.  
<http://www.ilo.org/ipec/lang--en/index.htm#a1> Accessed:12/08/2012.
- IRIN, 2011. "Uganda: Too many deaths in childbirth"  
<http://www.irinnews.org/Report/93420/UGANDA-Too-many-deaths-in-childbirth>  
Accessed: 12/08/2012
- Kron, Josh, 2011. "3 Officials Quit Amid Scandals in Uganda". New York Times, 12/10/2011 <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/13/world/africa/three-officials-quit-in-uganda-over-scandals.htm>
- Littig, Beate, 2009. "Interviewing the Elite – Interviewing Experts: Is There a Difference?", pp.98-113. In: Bogner, Alexander; Littig, Beate; Merz,Wolfgang: *Interviewing experts*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- MacDonald, Robert (ed.), 1997. *Youth, the Underclass and Social Exclusion*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Madriz, Esther, 2000. "Focus Groups in Feminist Research", pp.835-850. In: Denzin, Norman; Lincoln, Yvonna (eds.): *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Major, Brenda, 2007. "Stigma." In: *Encyclopedia of Social Psychology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Marshall, T.H., 1950. "Citizenship and Social Class", pp.30-39. In: Pierson, Christopher; Castles, Francis (eds.) (2006): *The Welfare State Reader*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press.
- Marston, Greg; McDonald, Catherine (eds.), 2006. *Analysing Social Policy. A Governmental Approach*. Cheltenham, Northampton: Edward Elgar.
- McIntosh, Mary, 1981. "Feminism and Social Policy", pp.120-133. In: Pierson, Christopher; Castles, Francis (Ed.), 2006. *The Welfare State Reader*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press.
- Midgley, James, 1997. *Social Welfare in Global Context*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Nagle, Jill (ed.), 1997. *Whores and Other Feminists*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Narag, Raymund Espinosa, and Maxwell, Sheila (eds.), 2009. "Prostitution", pp.573-581. In: *21st Century Criminology: A Reference Handbook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE. *SAGE Reference Online*. Accessed: 13/03/2012.
- National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), 2010. "Decentralisation in Uganda" [http://www.ruralgov-ncaer.org/images/product/doc/13\\_400450990\\_DcentralizationinUganda.pdf](http://www.ruralgov-ncaer.org/images/product/doc/13_400450990_DcentralizationinUganda.pdf)  
Accessed. 12/08/2012

- O'Connor, Julia, 1996. "From Women in the Welfare State to Gendering Welfare State Regimes". *Current Sociology* (44/2). Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- O'Neill, Maggie, 2001. "Feminism(s) and Prostitution", pp. 327-372. In: Matthews, Roger; O'Neill, Maggie (eds.), 2003. *Prostitution*. Ashgate:Dartmouth.
- Overseas Development Institute (odi), 2010: Sector Budget Support in Practice. Case Study: Education Sector in Uganda.  
<http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/docs/6077.pdf> Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- Pascall, Gillian, 1997. *Social Policy. A New Feminist Analysis*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Pateman, Carole, 1988a. "The Patriarchal Welfare State", pp.134-151. In: Pierson, Christopher; Castles, Francis (eds.), 2006. *The Welfare State Reader*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press.
- Pateman, Carole, 1988b. *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Patterson, Rubin, 2006. "Book Review: Gough, Ian; Wood, Geof: Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Social policies in Development Contexts". *Contemporary Sociology* (35/1), pp. 19-20.
- Penal Code Act Uganda, Chapter 120. [http://law.mak.ac.ug/uploads/docs/P.C.A%20Chapter\\_120.pdf](http://law.mak.ac.ug/uploads/docs/P.C.A%20Chapter_120.pdf) Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- Pérez-Baltodano, Andrés, 2004. "Social protection by other means: can it survive globalization?", pp.68-88. In: Kennett, Patricia (ed.): *Handbook of Comparative Social Policy*. Cheltenham, Northampton: Edward Elgar.
- Pfadenhauer, Michaela, 2009. "At Eye Level: The Expert Interview – a Talk between Expert and Quasi-expert", pp. 81- 97. In: Bogner, Alexander; Littig, Beate; Merz, Wolfgang: *Interviewing experts*. Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pheterson, Gail, 1993. "The Whore Stigma. Female Dishonor and Male Unworthiness". *Social Text* (37), pp.39-64. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/466259> Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- Rakodi, Carole, 2008. "Prosperity or Poverty? Wealth, Inequality and Deprivation in Urban Areas", pp.252-256. In: Desai, Vandana; Potter, Robert (eds.): *Companion to Development Studies*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Hodder Education.
- Roberts, Ken, 1997: "Is there a British 'Underclass'? The Evidence from Youth Research." In: MacDonald, Robert (ed.). *Youth, the Underclass and Social Exclusion*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Ryen, Anne, 2002. Cross-Cultural Interviewing, pp.335-354. In: Gubrium, Jaber; Holstein, James (eds.): *Interview Research. Context and Method*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Sanders, Teela, 2006. "Sexing Up the Subject: Methodological Nuances in Researching the Female Sex Industry". *Sexualities* (9/4), pp.449-468.

- Scharpf, Fritz, 1996. "Negative Integration and the Loss of Boundary Control", pp.223-225. In: Pierson, Christopher; Castles, Francis (Ed.): *The Welfare State Reader*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press.
- Schwalbe, Michael; Wolkomir, Michelle, 2002. "Interviewing Men", pp.203-219. In: Gubrium, Jaber; Holstein, James (eds.): *Interview Research. Context and Method*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Uganda AIDS Commission, 2012. "Global AIDS Response Progress Report. Country Progress Report Uganda.  
[http://www.unaids.org/en/dataanalysis/knowyourresponse/countryprogressreports/2012countries/#a\\_52717](http://www.unaids.org/en/dataanalysis/knowyourresponse/countryprogressreports/2012countries/#a_52717) Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- Uganda Youth Development Link (UYDEL), 2011: Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Uganda. A critical review of efforts to address CSEC 2005-2011. <http://www.uydel.org/> Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- UNAIDS, 2009. AIDS info Uganda.  
<http://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/uganda/>  
Accessed:08/08/2012
- United Nations (UN), 2010. "Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases – Fact Sheet."  
[http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/MDG\\_FS\\_6\\_EN.pdf](http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/MDG_FS_6_EN.pdf) Accessed: 12/08/2012.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2011. "Human Development Report 2011". [http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR\\_2011\\_EN\\_Complete.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2011_EN_Complete.pdf) Accessed: 08/08/2012.
- Warren, Carol, 2002. "Qualitative Interviewing". pp.83-101. In: Gubrium, Jaber; Holstein, James (eds.): *Interview Research. Context and Method*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Wood, Geof, 2004. "Informal security regimes: the strength of relationships", pp. 49-87. In: Gough, Ian; Wood, Geof: *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Social policies in Development Contexts*.Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- World Bank, 2012: Countries: Uganda.  
<http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/uganda/overview>
- Yin, Robert, 2003: *Case Study Research. Design and Methods*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

# 8 Appendix

## 8.1 Research schedule

### 1) In/security outcomes\*

#### 1.1 Quality of underlying relationships

#### 1.2 Suffering

#### 1.3 Livelihoods

### 2) Generation of in/security

#### 2.1 World context: economic, political and socio-cultural structures, actors and ideologies

#### 2.3 Regime context: economic, political and socio-cultural structures, actors and ideologies

#### 2.3 Life processes

### 3) Mobilisation

#### 3.1 Internal elite mobilisation

#### 3.2 Mobilisation by external regime members

#### 3.3 Non-elite mobilisation

### 4) Political dis/equilibria and rectification mix

#### 4.1 Government policies and actors

#### 4.2 External policies and actors

#### 4.3 Market opportunities and actors

#### 4.4 'Other societal' policies and actors

#### 4.5 'Family/household' policies and actors

### 5) Stratification outcomes

#### 5.1 Internal interests

#### 5.2 External interests

\* The sections and subsections printed in bold are of major concern in regard to acquire meaningful information to be able to answer the research questions.

## 8.2 The meta welfare regimes

	<b>Welfare state regime</b>	<b>Informal security regime</b>	<b>Insecurity regime</b>
<b>Dominant mode of production</b>	Capitalism: technological progress plus exploitation	Peasant economies within peripheral capitalism: uneven development	Predatory capitalism
<b>Dominant social relationship</b>	Exploitation and market inequalities	Variegated: exploitation, exclusion and domination	Variegated forms of oppression, including destruction
<b>Dominant source of livelihood</b>	Access to formal labour market	A portfolio of livelihood	A portfolio of livelihoods with extensive conflict
<b>Dominant form of political mobilisation</b>	Class coalitions, issue-based political parties and political settlements	Diffuse and particularistic based on ascribed identities: patron-clientelism	Diffuse and fluid, including flight
<b>State form</b>	Relatively autonomous state	'State' weakly differentiated from other power systems	Shadow, collapsed and criminal states with porous, contended borders
<b>Institutional landscape</b>	Welfare mix of market, state and family	Broader IRM with powerful external influences and extensive negative permeability	Precarious: extreme negative permeability and fluidity
<b>Welfare outcomes</b>	Varying degrees of de-commodification plus health and human investment	Insecurity modified by informal rights and adverse incorporation	Insecurity: Intermittently extreme
<b>Path-dependent development</b>	Liberal, conservative and social democratic regimes	Less autonomous path dependency with some regime breakdown	Political disequilibrium and chaos
<b>Nature of social policy</b>	Countervailing power based on institutional differentiation	Less distinct policy mode due to permeability, contamination and foreign policies	Absent

The three meta welfare regimes

Source: Gough, 2004: 32.

## 8.3 Interview guidelines

### 8.3.1 Focus group interview guideline

#### **Introduction**

- explaining purpose
- explaining that all information will be handled confidential and anonymous
- explaining that I am the one who is conducting the research
- My contact details
- Clarification of potential further questions

#### **Questions regarding services that are provided to them**

- What kind of services are offered to them as women involved in commercial sex?
- Which needs are targeted by the services (e.g health care, alternative skills training etc)?
- Are there offers that they use more often, not so often, or not at all ?
- Why do they use only those they just named?
- Are they staying anonymous, or do they have the possibility in case they want to, while using services?

Questions regarding their view on the government's responsibilities

- In their own opinion, what kind of responsibilities does the government have towards them as group in society?
- Do they feel that the government is doing enough?
  - In regard to direct services?
  - Promotion/protection of your rights?
  - Awareness raising?
  - Eliminating stigmatization?

#### **General questions**

- By which actors do they feel stigmatized (society, government etc) ?
- What are the reasons to be involved?
- Do they hold any external actors responsible for the situation they are in?

Questions regarding the interaction with/treatment of the police

- Can they describe the general situation?

- In which way is the police interacting with them as commercial sex worker? (How do they treat them? Examples: Do they bully them, are they nice, do they leave them alone, do they harass them)
- Have they ever been arrested? Was commercial sex the official reason or did they have other reasons (in case other reasons: Was that just an excuse to arrest them?)
- Have they ever been sentenced for being involved in commercial sex?
- Do they see any inequality regarding the treatment of you and your clients by the police?

**Additions, questions, information etc.?**

### 8.3.2 Interview guidelines CSO representatives

- Introduction of both parties, of the research topic, clarification of potential further questions
- Description of situation concerning commercial sex in Kawempe
- Reasons for CSWs to become involved in business
- Possibilities for CSWs to achieve security and welfare services
  - public services
  - CSO services
  - other cooperation
  - housing conditions
- Problems arise in area of Kawempe
- Consequences, implications
  - On individual level
  - On broader/national level
- Description of the legal situation in reality?
  - Difference below and above 18
  - Which implications does the legal status have for CSWs?
  - What would be changed through a legalisation?
- Self assessment: responsibilities for CSWs
  - Which possibilities of impact, intervention, change exist?
  - Available resources and finances, sources
  - Relationship to donors
  - Challenges and problems
- Cooperation with government
  - ways of cooperation, working environment
- from CSO perspective: which responsibilities should government take over

### 8.3.3 Interview guidelines political representatives

- Introduction of both parties, of the research topic, clarification of potential further questions
- Description of situation concerning commercial sex in Uganda (national level), in Kawempe (LG)
- Reasons for CSWs to become involved in business
- Which problems arise in area of Kawempe, consequences, implications, also for national level?
- Description of the legal situation
  - Difference below and above 18
  - Which implications does the legal status have for CSWs?
  - What would be changed through a legalisation?
- Self-assessment: responsibilities for CSWs
  - Which possibilities of impact, intervention, change exist?
  - Availability of resources and finances
  - Problems and challenges
- Relationship to CSOs
  - ways of cooperation, working environment
  - from government perspective: which responsibilities should be taken over by CSOs

### 8.3.4 Interview guideline for police representatives

- Introduction of both parties, of the research topic, clarification of potential further questions
- Description of the situation concerning commercial sex work in the area
  - In regard to CSWs below and above 18 year old?
- Reasons
- Consequences for the area
- Communication/ways interaction with CSWs
- Their own responsibilities
  - in regard to CSWs below and above 18 years old?
  - Attempt to register CSWs?
- Their role, defined by the government
- Specific communication between the police and the government
- Challenges and problems
- Opinion about legalisation

- Responsibilities of the government in their view
- Cooperation with civil society organisations: positive, negative, concrete measurements
- What are responsibilities of civil society

### 8.3.5 Interview guideline for scholar, Makerere University

- Introduction of both parties, of the research topic, clarification of potential further questions
- Description of the situation concerning commercial sex work in his opinion
- Reasons for becoming involved into commercial sex
- Consequences
- on individual level
- on national level
- Attitude of the state (real state)
- Responsibility of the state (ideal situation)
  - Which services, measurements are needed?
- Attitude of CSOs
- Responsibility of CSOs
- Which services are needed

## 8.4 List of respondents

Focus group interview (FGI) with six CSWs, in the age of 16, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30, facilitated and translated by Nakakande Irene, 2011/12/16

Respondent 1 (R1), local CSO representative, 2012/01/05

Respondent 2 (R2), local CSO representative, 2012/01/04

Respondent 3 (R3), local CSO representative, 2012/01/09

Respondent 4 (R4), local CSO representative, 2012/08/08

Respondent 5 (R5), representative of the ILO/IPEC Uganda, 2011/12/14

Respondent 6 (R6), representative of MGLSD, 2012/01/10

Respondent 7 (R7), representative of NCC, 2012/01/06

Respondent 8 (R8), representative of Democratic Party and former MoP, 2012/01/10

Respondent 9 (R9), representative of LG, ward councillor, 2011/12/13

Respondent 10 (R10), representative of LG, zone chair person, 2011/12/13

Respondent 11, representative of Kawempe police department, Children and Family Protection Unit, 2011/12/22

Respondent 12, scholar at Makerere University, 2012/01/10