

THE PREVALECE AND SCOPE OF SEX TRAFFICKING AND FORCED BEGGING AND SALES IN KAMPALA, UGANDA

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Literature Review

Introduction

Human trafficking is a pervasive issue in sub Saharan Africa, particularly in Uganda. Vulnerable populations, such as impoverished women and children, have a high likelihood of being exploited for their labor or sex. Two common themes surrounding these circumstances is the absence of financial stability and weakened child protection systems. As stated by a report put out by UNICEF in 2016, approximately 900 million people globally live on less than \$1.90 a day, and close to half of those individuals are children. This speaks to Ugandan's notably young population with almost 60% of their citizens under the age of 18 (Human Rights Watch, 2014). With high levels of poverty and high mortality rates of adults due to public health issues such as HIV/AIDS, children are often expected to contribute economically to their household. This manifests in a number of ways. They make contributions through child labor, like forced begging and domestic work, turning to the streets for economic prosperity, and young women and girls in the household becoming sexually exploited for money (UNICEF, 2019; Anich et al., 2011; Namuggula, 2015; USDOS, 2019).

Child Labor Trafficking in Uganda

It is estimated globally that approximately 218 million children are involved in child labor. Sub-Saharan Africa comprises the largest amount of child laborers where 29% of their children aged 5-17 are involved in potentially unsafe working conditions. Both male and female children are equally as likely to be engaged in child labor, but stark gender disparities are observed in domestic work, which is predominantly done by female children and adolescents (UNICEF, 2019).

Ugandan educational standards permit that children are only required to attend school up until age thirteen, though free schooling is available to age eighteen. This makes children aged 13 to 15 particularly vulnerable to labor trafficking because the legal age of employment is 16, but children are not legally required to attend school after 13. Children are often trafficked from their villages and brought to more industrialized cities, such as Kampala, to live with their handlers and beg on the streets (BILA, 2019).

According to the 2019 report published by Bureau of International Labor Affairs (BILA), child labor is common throughout Uganda with youth involved in various trades such as agriculture, industry, services, and forms of forced labor considered human trafficking. Depending on where children live or are stationed, the type of labor they engage in can vary. In rural villages, children have a higher likelihood of being involved in agricultural labor, where farming is a staple of the community. The primary agricultural goods that are cultivated and harvested by child labor are coffee, rice, cattle, sugarcane, and tea (The Food Institute Report, 2009). In more developed and urbanized areas, children are more likely to engage in a broader range of work such as the selling of various goods in business districts and market areas (Fafchamps & Wahba, 2006). Further, children may be forced into illegal labor. The categorically worst forms of child labor include commercial sexual exploitation and production of child pornography, forced labor that may have detrimental physical and emotional effects on the child, and the use of children in illicit activities (BILA, 2019; NAP, 2015; UYDEL, 2017).

Often trafficked children engage in a number of forced practices that cross both labor and sexual exploitation. For example, in the Karamoja region, children are sold in open-air markets to conciliators who force them into begging, herding livestock, domestic work, and sexual exploitation. This is especially prevalent in this region because Karamoja is considered one of the world's most impoverished areas with approximately 61% of the inhabitants living in complete poverty (UNPF, 2018). Due to the economic constraints, parents also may rent their children out to engage in various forms of physically and psychologically detrimental labor and sexual exploitation.

Street Children in Uganda

It has been estimated by the UN (2005) that there are approximately 100 million homeless or street children existing in the world today, with around 30 percent of those children residing in sub Saharan Africa. Globally, Uganda leads as having one of the largest populations of minors in the world. It has been reported by Human Rights Watch (2014) that 56 percent of their total population of 41.5 million people (ECPAT, 2019) are under the age of 18, and 52% of the population are under the age of 15. With this high concentration of children in an already poverty-stricken country, there is a high likelihood that individuals turn to whatever means necessary in order to survive. Often times this circumstance leads to children opting to go to the streets to make money, their families sending them to the streets to labor and beg, or a third-party liaison taking the child from the family and putting them on the streets.

Street children in Uganda are a widespread issue permeating most cities and villages within the country. According to a 2018 report produced by Ministry of Gender, Labor, and Social Development (MGLSD) who used a dual systems estimate methodology, it is estimated 2,600 children, aged 7 to 17, living on the streets of Kampala, the country's capital and largest city (MGLSD, 2018). Street children are defined as minors who spend their days and nights on the street, or minors who beg on the street during the day and may return to their homes or other locations in the evening. While living on the street, it is common for these children to face a lack of resources such as, access to clean water, food, medical attention, shelter, protection and education (Human Rights Watch, 2014). Some children choose to live on the street, but many are forced to live there due to unfortunate familial economic circumstances.

There are several factors that motivate children to turn to the streets for survival. These factors are characterized as "pushes" and "pulls" into street life. Push factors are constituted as, civil war and subsequent conflict with other nation states, poverty, high population growth, poor systems of education, unemployment, HIV which can destabilize familial structures, abuse and violence in the home, neglect from parents, and parental death. Pull factors are characterized as peer pressure, demand for body organs, demand for cheap labor, inadequate migration policies and laws, attractive monetary incentives to live on the street, increased urbanization, and the obsession with money in a culture of consumerism (Anich et al., 2011: NAP, 2015).

Some children are sent to the streets by their parents in order to obtain resources for the family like money and food (MGLSD, 2018). It is believed that adults may be more likely to donate money to children, the disabled, and elderly people because of their vulnerability. Child abuse may subsequently occur in the household if they do not bring home a sufficient amount of money or food from begging on the streets. At times street children may be forced to steal by other older street children, adults on the streets, and by adults who offer them compensation to steal for them (Human Rights Watch, 2014). Navigating the streets as a child can be inherently exploitative due to the extreme vulnerability and lack of power impoverished and unsupervised children have.

Street children living in Kampala, are particularly susceptible to abuse from police, local government officials, peers, adults, and generally from the community they reside in (Human Rights Watch, 2014; MGLSD, 2018). It is a communal notion that street children contribute to the larger crime problem in Uganda and are often treated as a nuisance by local authorities. They are consistently punished by police through arbitrary arrests, mass roundups, physical beatings, or forcing the children into labor while in detention facilities. In addition, police are often not trusted, especially by street children. When crime occurs within the community, street children are consistently the first to be named as suspects and Kampala police and authorities threaten them, beat them with batons, wires, whips and bicycle locks, and extort them for money as a punishment for homelessness (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

In conjunction with police and authoritative violence toward street children, it is common for the community to engage in mob violence against the children through harassment, threats, beatings, and exploitation. Local police often do not investigate violence enacted upon street children from community members. Older adolescents can also engage in violence against younger and newer street children as a form of initiation. This can occur through both violence, sexual abuse, forcing them to engage in drug use and crime, and they may extort them for money claiming that they owe the older children “rent” for living in a particular space or for providing them protection (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

Street children often engage in various labor practices such as collecting plastic bottles and scraps of metal in order to sell for money. Aside from selling their own collections, they may collect items for businesses such as water or trash, unload and load passenger buses, sell food or small items, work in restaurants, clean cars or shoes, involve themselves in domestic labor or other work that will provide them with some form of compensation, whether that be money or food. The labor of street children does not only involve legal work. Street children are often susceptible to engaging in dangerous or illegal activities such as, survival sex, transactional sex, or sex work, stealing, and forced begging. Their work opportunities are generally characterized by physically taxing work with long hours for very little pay (Anich et al., 2011; Human Rights Watch, 2014; MGLSD, 2018).

These forms of labor make street children even more vulnerable than they already are. Some adults passing by may elicit the children to temporarily work for them for a reasonable wage. However, many adults take advantage of the children and pay them less than they initially agreed

to, or nothing at all knowing that the children cannot do anything about it due to the power dynamic between them. In addition, street children that perform labor may be paid in food, but this is often in the form of “leftovers” which oftentimes constitute as scraps or spoiled food (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

Many girl street children are survivors of various forms of sexual abuse, including gang rape. Most of these abuses are not reported to authorities because of the rampant mistrust in police, and the glaring fact that they may extort them for money to begin an investigation. It is common for sexual assault and rape survivors to seek medical treatment from NGOs and local hospitals without ever formally reporting their victimization (Human Rights Watch, 2014; MGLSD, 2018).

Young street boys who are survivors of rape and sexual assault are often attacked by other older male street children as a form of initiation and hazing. However, the perpetrators of these attacks can range from other street children to homeless adults, to adult males who do not live on the streets. Many male street children are reluctant to discuss their victimization for reasons aside from distrust in the authorities, but because homophobia is so widespread throughout the country, the stigma of male on male sexual contact is highly detested even though it was through victimization (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

Street girls can be taken in by families to perform domestic labor which includes, cooking for the family, cleaning the home, washing clothes, and caring for the children in the household. With this opportunity to leave living on the streets, it is common for girls to become exploited for their labor by the family that took them in. This includes not being paid for their labor for periods of time or not being paid the amount that was initially agreed upon. In addition, street children turned domestic workers are often not provided with sufficient basic needs such as food, sleeping arrangements, and clothing (Human Rights Watch, 2014; Namuggula, 2015; Rogers & Kinobi, n.d.).

Children living on the streets do at times seek help from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and receive resources like, food, clothing, washing, medical care, education, and recreation. These supports help children feel good, excited, and loved. However, this assistance is not always regular or reliable, and further, NGO staff can mistreat the children, chase them away, or detain them. (MGLSD, 2018).

Domestic Workers and Exploitation

Domestic work is a wide-ranging industry globally. It is estimated that about 53 million people are involved in the industry and around 83% of those individuals are women (ILO, 2013). Engaging in this work poses many risks and domestic workers are amongst some of the most exploited for their labor (Human Rights Watch, 2010). Specifically, Africa has approximately 5.2 million domestic workers whereas 70% of those workers are women and girls. Domestic work is a largely gendered workforce that can lead to the abuse and exploitation of these female individuals. Domestic work is common in both rural and urban city centers which makes it such a highly saturated industry (Rogers & Kinobi, n.d.). It is difficult to properly enumerate the magnitude of child domestic workers in Uganda because of the concentration of unregistered children who are

hidden within the homes of their employers. However, roughly for every 10 households in Uganda, four homes are employing a child as a domestic worker that can be as young as 8 years old (Rogers & Kinobi, n.d.).

Adolescent girls in Kampala, Uganda who are forced into live-in domestic servitude are often referred to as “house girls”. This type of labor exploitation includes lack of compensation for work, unacceptable working conditions, and confinement. These conditions also often lead to the sexual exploitation of the house girls by men in the households (Namuggala, 2015).

According to Namuggala’s 2015 study of the lived experiences of live-in domestic house girls in Uganda, it was found that house girls were often met with many challenges. It is noted that house girls may not autonomously decide whether to engage in or opt out of domestic work. It is frequently a decision that is made collectively by their family. This may be due to the relational nature of African familial structures, where often the group is given precedence over the individual (Namuggala, 2015).

This was also demonstrated in Rogers and Kinobi’s (n.d.) study of Ugandan domestic workers’ transition out of the industry. It was found in their study that in approximately 50 percent of cases, adolescents and young adults admitted to being trafficked into their roles as domestic workers. This occurred through family members, friends, and pimps handing the girls off to unknown traffickers and recruiters that regularly used coercion and deception to enlist workers. They were promised positive incentives such as, education, good quality of life, and good working conditions. These were attractive motivations because most girls that came from impoverished environments where they needed work to provide basic needs for themselves and their family, also many wanted to earn money so they could go back to school, and many were forced by their parents to earn money for the family (Rogers & Kinobi, n.d.).

In Namuggala’s (2015) study, girls were exploited by being forced to use their own wages to purchase bedding and blankets to sleep on from their employers. In addition, girls were often paid less than the original amount agreed upon by their employers. There was generally no binding contract in place, thus limiting the house girls’ ability to question their compensation. Also because of the absence of a binding contract, employers would often fire girls with no prior notice, thus leaving the girls in constant state of fear of their employment status. House girls who were related to the employer were often exploited even further, by not being paid in monetary installments, but being offered clothing, shoes, and medical care (Namuggala, 2015). Employers also consistently refused to allow or withheld money from house girls, so they were unable to afford going home to see their families or go back to their villages for holidays and even for burials of loved ones. It was common that house girls worked unacceptable hours, sometimes up to 20-hour days, with no breaks permitted (Rogers & Kinobi, n.d.: Namuggala, 2015).

Further, within these types of working relationships, domestic working girls may eventually become sexually exploited by the males within the household. Domestic work and sexual exploitation are often associated. The males within the household may threaten to fire the female domestic worker if she does not submit to his sexual requests (Rogers & Kinobi, n.d.:

Namuggala, 2015). Due to domestic work and sexual exploitation in the home being interconnected, some girls in Roger and Kinobi's (n.d.) study were trafficked into karaoke groups to engage in sex acts with clients in the area which was facilitated through the karaoke group owners and the homeowners within which the girls worked domestically. Within these karaoke groups, girls were regularly subjected to rape and sexual harassment, poor working conditions, physical altercations, unwanted pregnancy, drug use and abuse, and arrest by authorities for engaging in sex work.

Sex Trafficking of Young Women and Girls

Currently there is no comprehensive estimate of the number of individuals being sex trafficked in Uganda (ECPAT, 2019). Victims are predominantly young women and girls between the ages of 13 and 24. It is estimated that there are around 7,000 to 12,000 children involved in the sex trade within the country (USDOS, 2019). A high concentration of individuals who have been sex trafficked in Uganda are women and children from Karamojong, and they are often forced to beg on the streets and work in brothels. These young women and girls can become trafficked in a number of ways. As previously discussed, those that are trafficked for their labor are often doubly trafficked for sex. Additionally, street children may be coerced into sexually exploitative relationships with adults offering compensation, domestic workers can be forced to engage in a sexual relationship with men in the household in order to keep their job, and children are often sold or rented to traffickers by their families due to economic insecurity (UNPF, 2018: Human Rights Watch, 2014: Namuggala, 2015: Rogers & Kinobi, n.d.).

According to the U.S. Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report (2019), in Uganda a large number of trafficked women and girls are picked up by recruiters or "elders" near sports tournaments and road construction projects. Trafficked women and children are expected to relinquish all of their earnings to the elders. If they do not meet a certain threshold of income, there are often consequences such as being starved or physically beaten.

Specifically, young women are highly susceptible to transnational trafficking resulting in them being sent to Middle Eastern countries under the guise of a domestic job opportunity. The recruiters may charge an exorbitantly high recruitment fee that can result in debt bondage, where young women are subsequently forced into prostitution in other countries to pay it off. Elders are frequently known to the trafficked victim as close as a family member or a friend of the family. In addition, trusted agencies such as churches and mosques have aided in the recruitment of young women into domestic work abroad that consequently turns into sexual exploitation (NAP, 2015: USDOS, 2019).

Ugandan Government Initiatives

The Ugandan government has implemented a number of national responses to combat trafficking in persons through the application and development of a number of legal and policy frameworks and specific structures and systems. A leading nationwide governmental initiative is the National Action Plan (NAP) for Trafficking in Persons in Uganda (2015). The NAP has been developed in line with the goals of three primary initiatives to combat human trafficking: the

Palermo Protocol of 2000, which constituted an international agreement to combat transnational organized crime, the Ouagadougou Action Plan of 2006, which aimed to develop cooperation, best practices and mechanisms to prevent and combat trafficking in human beings between the European Union and the African Union, and the Prevention of Trafficking in Persons (PTIP) Act 2009 which provided for the prevention of trafficking in persons, creation of offences, prosecution and punishment of offenders, prevention of the vice of trafficking in persons, protection of victims of trafficking in persons, and other related matters. Therefore, the NAP aims to be a directive for implementing actions to combat trafficking in persons in Uganda with the aforementioned legislative initiatives in mind. Additional goals of the NAP are to raise awareness, mobilize national and community action, and build ownership and commitment from all government and public stakeholders to combat trafficking in persons.

One of the primary strategies the NAP seeks to accomplish is operationalizing the implementation of the Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act (PTIP) established in 2009. This act aims to provide legal guidance for prosecution and punishment of offenders, prevention of trafficking in persons and protection of victims of trafficking. In attempting to operationalize sections of the PTIP, the NAP created the Coordination Office for Prevention of Trafficking in Persons (COPTIP) in March 2013, at the Ministry of Internal Affairs Headquarters. The Coordination Office is responsible for coordinating, monitoring and oversight of the implementation of anti-trafficking efforts executed by multiple Government Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs) and civil society organizations. This office is comprised of a secretariat and an inter-ministerial Task Force including two members from 13 key MDAs, in addition to representatives from the Ugandan Civil Societies Coalition against Trafficking in Persons (UCATIP). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is an important observer on the Task Force. Each of the MDAs established working groups respectively to focus on trafficking in persons related issues (NAP, 2015).

At the outset of this initiative— beginning in 2010 spanning to 2013— 243 criminal cases were investigated by the police, identifying 391 suspects. Over 65 suspects were taken to court and 4 convictions were made. Further, a total of 1,004 victims were freed both from within Uganda and abroad. Rescued victims were offered several forms of assistance, including return air tickets, psychosocial counseling, temporary shelters, legal aid, skills development trainings and re-integration packages through organized efforts of the police, Civil Societies, the IOM, and individual community members. In addition, the Ugandan government directed increased attention to border entries and exits. Finally, numerous trainings for stakeholders of MDAs were facilitated to help build national capacity to combat human trafficking, and public awareness campaigns were launched to highlight the presence and dangers of trafficking. These campaigns were facilitated through media, meetings, workshops, posters, and brochures.

While spreading awareness about trafficking in persons has been acknowledged as an important step in combatting the issue, a 2017 report on Ugandan community knowledge, attitudes, and practices toward human trafficking commissioned by Willow International suggests that knowledge about the dangers of trafficking is widespread, but limited. Their report further asserts that having only partial information could falsely lead individuals to believe that the

trafficking problem in Uganda is under control. This false belief of safety could subsequently make individuals *more* vulnerable to being trafficked. To counter this issue, they recommend the development of prevention and education programs that focus on giving Ugandans a fuller picture of the warning signs and risk factors of human trafficking, as well as training them on response tactics when trafficking cases surface (Mizel, 2017).

Despite national efforts to reduce trafficking in persons across Uganda and transnationally, UDOS reported in their 2020 Trafficking in Persons Report that their government did not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. UDOS acknowledges that the Ugandan government has implemented protection and prevention provisions of the 2009 anti-trafficking act, increased convictions for charged traffickers, investigated allegations of complicit authorities, and has declared plans to establish an anti-trafficking unit within the police force. However, with these ongoing efforts instituted, it has been determined that the Ugandan government did not demonstrate growing efforts compared to the previous reporting period. This is evidenced by the Ugandan government reporting the lowest number of investigations in the previous five years and a sizeable decrease in prosecutions. Further, there was no report of holding trainings for police and immigration officials, where it had been reported in the previous years. Fewer trafficking victims were referred and identified, and the COPTIP was significantly underfunded resulting in constrained efforts to organize and combat trafficking nationwide. Finally, systematic procedures were not carried out to support victims, and resources were not allocated to NGOs to provide protective services. With these determinations, Uganda was downgraded to the Tier 2 Watchlist, meaning Uganda does not meet the minimum standards of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act but are making substantial efforts to comply with those standards (UDOS, 2020).

Conclusion

In Uganda, human trafficking explores many forms of labor and sexual exploitation of children and young adults. Often the trafficking of individuals for the purposes of labor and sex are interconnected, which particularly affect vulnerable populations. Children are acutely targeted due to Uganda leading internationally as one of the youngest populations in the world (Human Rights Watch, 2014). It has been largely found that economic disadvantage, desperation for survival, and weak child protections all contribute to the concentrated issue of human trafficking within the country. Young women and children become trafficked by being coerced, sold, or traded into various industries under the guise of economic prosperity (BILA, 2019). Once entered into forced labor or sex industries, individuals experience a number of traumatic challenges involving physical, sexual, and psychological abuse, as well as limited compensation for their work. The Ugandan government has introduced various mobilizing initiatives, like NAP (2015), to help ameliorate this issue, but UDOS has declared that human trafficking in Uganda remains rampant (UDOS, 2019: 2020).

RESEARCH DESIGN

There were three main components to this study: (1) the technical design that involved survey instrument development and respondent sampling, (2) field data collection, and (3) data analysis and report writing. Data collection in this study involved a structured survey and in-depth interviews with select individuals who had experienced severe sex trafficking and forced labor abuses.

Survey Instrument Development

The research team ground survey instrument development in existing literature and our prior studies. We constructed measurement items by combining existing instruments with instruments developed specifically for the Uganda context. Specific elements in the instrument were the product of collective conceptual development and consultation with legal professionals, academics, and community stakeholders.

We developed the survey instrument through several iterations with the help of our field team, internal tests by the research staff, and cognitive tests with members of the target population. We also created a semi-structured, open-ended interview guide that corresponded to the survey instrument, with the goal of facilitating in-depth interviews with respondents selected from the larger survey sample.

Our survey instrument included the following major domains: (1) demographic characteristics (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, family composition, and living situations): (2) migration decisions and debt situations (e.g., debt amount, borrowing sources): (3) work¹ conditions and earning experience (e.g., type of jobs, weekly earnings): (4) multiple measures of experiences at the workplace (e.g., types of jobs, overtime, payment terms): (5) forms of workplace abuse, including violence, restriction of physical/communicative freedom, and other abusive labor practices. The semi-structured interview protocol followed similar domains, with the purpose of documenting more detailed, contextual information about the participants' work experiences in Kampala, Uganda.

Defining Forced Labor and Sex Trafficking

There are varied ways to operationalize labor trafficking/forced labor/modern slavery. Similar to other instruments available in the public domain, we sought to conform our key measures of forced labor in accordance with the legal framework established by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) as well as the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention. The core measures in our survey instrument have been used in multiple studies both in the U.S. and abroad and proven to have outstanding psychometric properties in various settings (Zhang et al., 2014; Zhang & Cai, 2015; Dank et al., 2019). Over the years, this team has gone through several iterations of these measures on workplace abuses and sex and labor trafficking, ranging

¹ We use the term “work” to include all ways in which someone is earning money, including sex work, whether it is through choice or through force, fraud and coercion. The findings will provide further insights on experiences that meet the legal definition of both sex and labor trafficking.

from wage theft and health/safety problems to restriction of physical/communicative freedom and forms of violence or coercion against a person's physical integrity or property.

One unique feature of our most recent iteration of measuring forced labor focuses on greater clarity in operationalizing the threshold over which particular abuses at the workplace could be considered forced labor. Our strategy contains two key elements: (1) employer- initiated human rights violations and/or unfair labor practices that are forced/coerced in nature, and (2) inability to exit without facing moderate to severe consequences. We have incorporated two different approaches to define sex and labor trafficking. The first method (henceforth referred to as the HTI method) includes a combination of types of abuses experienced by the participants to determine if they would be legally identified as a trafficking victim according to Ugandan law and/or the Palermo Protocol. Appendix A includes the various combinations and formulas of abuses that were used to code the participant as a victim of either forced labor or sex trafficking. The only exception to this complex formulaic approach is if the individual is a minor and has engaged in the commercial sex trade; they would automatically be deemed a trafficking victim.

For the second method (henceforth referred to as the two-step threshold method), to qualify as a potential victim of forced labor and/or sex trafficking, one must have (1) experienced some type of abuse or rights violations at a workplace or under the care of an employer; and (2) found themselves unable to exit the work environment because they fear serious repercussions, i.e., consequences of leaving the abusive work place or exit penalty. In this study, our measures of workplace abuses included indicators of actual or threatened violence, restriction of physical/communicative freedom, and loss of accrued earnings.

There are continued debates on how to measure the various forms of human trafficking or forced labor. One key point of contention is whether human trafficking should be measured as an incident, such as a criminal act or event, or as a state of existence, whereby repeated and prolonged exposures to rights abuses or unfair labor practices would qualify as forced labor. There is no consensus in current research on the specific measures of this poorly defined threshold. Our afore-mentioned two-step approach has two clear advantages: (1) conceptual clarity, and more importantly, (2) it is pragmatic for field application. To avoid the simplicity of incident-based measures, as most criminologists approach crime statistics, as well as to bypass trying to quantify the duration of repeated exposure to rights violations, we argue that the hallmark of human trafficking lies in one's inability to exit an abusive work environment (be it labor or sex) without incurring significant costs or encountering exceptional barriers to leaving. In other words, what matters is not how one may find oneself in an abusive work environment but whether one is free to leave.

Staff Preparation

Uganda Youth Development Link (UYDEL) was the partner agency who organized and coordinated all field activities. UYDEL is a Uganda based NGO that works with youth aged 10-24 who are vulnerable to exploitation. They have participated in a number of large scale studies

funded by USAID and UNICEF. Their mission is to enhance human capital development among the disadvantaged in Uganda.

For this study, the U.S and UYDEL research team held workshops to train field staff in two stages: (1) senior project staff gave in-house lectures to describe the study design and objectives and to explain field procedures, including the human subjects consent protocols, the recruitment process, and incentive tracking procedures; and (2) senior project leaders and the field staff reviewed the survey instrument in detail and practiced administering the survey to one another, as well as conducted mock interviews with one another using the interview guide. Following the in-house training, the research team also went to one data collection site to pilot test these procedures prior to formal rollout of the survey.

Data Collection

Given the hidden nature of the study population, an RDS design was used to recruit individuals to participate in the study. All data collection took place within five divisions in the greater Kampala district: Nakawa, Central, Rubuga, Makindye and Kawempe. Data collection was conducted in two phases with a full study sample size of 1,787. In summary, 201 seeds were widely scattered, in terms of location and demographic profiles, across the five divisions in greater Kampala. Subject recruitment continued until a sample size of 1,787 was reached, which took up to fourteen waves in one referral chain. Of the 1,787 survey respondents, 1041 engaged in the commercial sex trade, 530 were involved in begging and sales, and 217 individuals engaged in both the commercial sex trade and begging and sales. Diagnostic tests, as presented in Gile (2011), showed that the RDS sample had reached sufficient convergence for estimation of population attributes.

Venue-based sampling was also used to augment the RDS sample as this was likely to capture individuals who were not accessible through the RDS procedure, as well as to enable the mark-recapture estimator for estimating the population size. In addition to capturing the conventional demographic variables such as gender and age, the venue sampling also asked prospective respondents if they had participated in the survey. This information was used in the classical two-sample mark-recapture estimator (Seber, 1970), along with a multiple imputation strategy to impute observations on the list of unobserved venues (Rubin, 1987), to obtain a point estimate of the population size and corresponding standard error. Unlike RDS sampling in which referrals were drawn from respondents' own social networks, venue-based sampling sought out begging and sales venues and sex work venues across the five divisions. Details about how population estimations based on these two sampling approaches can be found in Appendix B.

All respondents were interviewed with a structured survey protocol to report on a range of abuses inflicted by their employer. Following the structured interviews, select participants were asked if they wanted to be interviewed further about their experiences for an additional incentive. There was no set protocol for inclusion other than the participant had to have

indicated that they had experienced various forms of forced labor and sex across several of the indicators listed in the survey (e.g. confiscation of identification paper, freedom of movement, physical abuse, etc.). In total, we conducted 120 semi-structured interviews: 38 with youth forced to beg and sell goods, and 85 with individuals who were trafficked for sex.

It is important to note that in March 2020, approximately two months into data collection, the Ugandan government shut down all non-essential businesses and activities due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Prior to the shutdown, 763 RDS-based surveys were completed and after data collection resumed, in May 2020, an additional 1,024 RDS-based surveys were administered. The shutdown caused the nature of sex work and forced begging and sales to change, primarily forcing sex work to go underground in order to avoid violating city ordinances around congregating and conducting non-essential work, or for underage sex workers to avoid being brought back to their home villages by child protection officers. This disruption was factored into the population estimates and the assumptions that were made to account for these changes, as shown in our technical notes, is included in Appendix B.

Ethical considerations

The study was reviewed and approved by the John Jay College of Criminal Justice Institutional Review Board in October 2019. Local approval was received from Uganda National Council for Science and Technology and from Makerere University prior to the start of data collection. Researchers from John Jay College of Criminal Justice developed and provided a training for the UYDEL team to ensure Institutional Review Board and human subject protection mandates were adhered to during data collection. Training included human subject protection, confidentiality measures, securing and managing data, identifying and responding to signs of trauma, and minimizing any safety concerns. To ensure physical and emotional safety, UYDEL utilized safe and confidential locations for interviews, they were scheduled during the day and held within close proximity to social service agencies. Counselling staff and social service agencies were made available to any participants who may have needed such referrals. In the event of a participant being in need of immediate assistance, UYDEL researchers would reach out to their community contacts and make referrals for assessment and services, such as emergency shelter, medical attention, mental health counselling, and food. In case of emergency, UYDEL researchers would call emergency services to take the participant to hospital.

The study was voluntary and required consent from individuals to participate. Researchers provided potential participants with information about their rights within the study, including the option to stop at any point they chose without repercussions. Adult participants provided consent. Minor participants provided assent as it was not safe or feasible for parents of the minors to know about the study to grant permission, as the minors may have been placed in the trafficking situation by their parents. No identifying information was collected by the researchers. Participants were assigned a unique identifier to differentiate between “seeds” and “referrals”, this enabled the research team to link-trace the network. Survey data was deleted from tablets after being uploaded into a secure cloud server, of which only the lead

researchers had access. Recordings of interviews were deleted from recording devices after being uploaded to a password protected computer, accessible only to UYDEL researchers.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

We carried out two types of quantitative data analyses: descriptive and inferential analysis. Furthermore, we used adjustment techniques to address sample anomalies. Upon receiving the data, we began a series of data quality checks and established procedures on treating data anomalies. For missing or misclassified entries, we employed a multiple imputation-based approach for estimation purposes. Because of our intent to estimate both the prevalence and population characteristics for both labor sectors, we used the inverse of the self-reported network sizes as the sampling weights when making estimation/inference for the population attributes: see details as provided in Appendix B.

There were 217 respondents who stated that they were involved in the commercial sex trade and begging and sales, and thus were kept in the total sample analysis but excluded from work specific (sex work versus begging and sales) analysis. Because we were tasked to estimate the prevalence of forced labor and sex trafficking in two different labor sectors (sex work and begging and sales), we produced work-specific analyses in addition to our total sample statistics to offer additional nuances in regional differences. Therefore, the statistical tables presented in this report contain ten columns: (1) the unadjusted statistics for the total sample; (2) estimated statistics for the overall population who were engaged in both sex work and begging and sales (adjusted %); (3) unadjusted sample statistics of those engaged in sex work using the HTI method; (4) estimated population statistics of individuals just involved in sex work using the HTI method; (5) unadjusted sample statistics of those engaged in begging and sales using the HTI method; (6) estimated population statistics of those just involved in begging and sales using the HTI method; (7) unadjusted sample statistics of those engaged in sex work using the two-step threshold method; (8) estimated population statistics of individuals just involved in sex work using the two-step threshold method; (9) unadjusted sample statistics of those engaged in begging and sales using the two-step threshold method; and (10) estimated population statistics of those just involved in begging and sales using the two-step threshold method. To simplify the presentation, we will discuss findings using the unadjusted sample statistics unless noted otherwise. Furthermore, to improve readability and avoid clutter, only point estimates are included in the tables without the confidence intervals for our population estimates (i.e., population-adjusted statistics).

The research team coded qualitative interview data in an Excel spreadsheet and broke data down by type of labor – sex work and begging/sales. We selected and placed quotes throughout the report to help contextualize the quantitative findings. Journal articles will include additional qualitative findings since we are unable to cover all the nuances of the interviews in this report.

Survey and Qualitative Findings

The following tables break down the survey data by: the entire sample (including individuals engaged in sex work and begging and sales); individuals who met the sex and labor trafficking criteria under the HTI method (see Appendix A); and those who met the sex and labor trafficking criteria under the two-step threshold method (see Defining Forced Labor and Sex Trafficking section). The adjusted percentage excludes anyone who indicated that they were currently involved in both sex and labor trafficking. For the purposes of this internal report and in order not to overwhelm the reader with a lot of information, we provide written findings on the unadjusted HTI method only, broken down by sex and labor trafficking.

Demographic Profiles: Quantitative Data

Gender. As shown in Table 1, almost everyone who had experienced sex trafficking was female (98.4%), whereas almost two-thirds of those who experienced forced begging and sales were male and less than one-third were female.

Age. The majority of respondents who experienced sex trafficking were 25 years old and younger (72.5%), of which 14% were 17 or younger at the time of the survey. For those involved in forced begging and sales, because the study specifically targeted minors, the majority of respondents were 17 and younger (70.6%).

Religion. Almost half of the sample for both sex trafficking (49.7%) and forced labor (47.9%) stated that they were Christian: whereas a little less than a third identified as Muslim (sex trafficking – 29.7% and forced labor – 30.4%).

Marital status. Within the sex trafficking sample, 68.3% stated that they were single at the time of the survey while 20.5% were separated. A larger percentage of those involved in forced begging and sales reported being single (88.8%), but that is most likely because the majority of them were minors.

Number of Children. More than half of those who experienced sex trafficking had one or two children (55.7%), and not surprisingly given the average age of the sample, only 10% of those who reported being forced to get and sell goods had 1 or 2 children.

Highest education. Of those who were sex trafficked, 55.2% had a Primary 1-7 education and 35.5% had a Senior O level education. For the forced labor sample, the large majority had a Primary 1-7 education (76.4%), whereas only 10.8% had a Senior O level education.

Ethnic group. The most predominant ethnic group in both the sex trafficking (44.7) and forced labor (44.6%) samples was Baganda.

Table 1. Demographic Profiles

	All Sample (N=1787)		HTI Sex (N=1041)		HTI Labor (N=530)		Two-step Threshold Sex (N=583)		Two-step Threshold Labor (N=404)	
	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted %
Gender										
Female	74.8(1336)	76.8	98.4(1023)	98.0	27.2(144)	31.6	98.6(574)	98.1	29.5(119)	31.9
Male	25.2(449)	23.2	1.6(17)	2.0	72.8(386)	68.4	1.4(8)	1.9	70.5(285)	68.1
Age Group										
17 and younger	31.9(570)	32.9	13.9(145)	11.9	70.6(374)	80.9	20.1(117)	19.8	75.7(306)	84.6
18-25	45.7(817)	44.0	58.6(610)	58.7	20.6(109)	13.6	60.9(355)	62.6	19.3(78)	12.6
26-40	21.4(382)	22.2	26.6(277)	28.4	7.9(42)	5.1	18.7(109)	17.0	4.7(19)	2.7
41 and older	1.0(18)	0.9	0.9(9)	1.1	0.9(5)	0.4	0.3(2)	0.5	0.2(1)	0.1
Age Summary										
Mean	21.2	21.0	23.0	23.3	16.8	15.2	23.0	23.3	15.6	14.4
Std. Dev.	7.1	50.2	5.7	33.7	7.3	36.8	5.7	33.7	5.5	20.1
Range	10-73	10-73	11-45	11-45	10-73	10-73	11-45	11-45	10-45	10-45
Religion										
Christian	50.3(899)	48.7	49.0(510)	49.7	47.9(254)	42.5	42.9(250)	41.3	46.0(186)	43.9
Muslim	29.3(523)	30.5	29.7(309)	29.2	30.4(161)	34.0	29.0(169)	28.1	30.7(124)	32.7
Other	20.4(364)	20.8	21.3(222)	21.1	21.7(115)	23.6	28.1(164)	30.7	23.3(94)	23.4
Marital Status										
Single	74.5(1326)	74.5	68.3(709)	67.7	88.8(470)	92.2	75.8(442)	80.6	92.3(373)	95.9
Separated	15.8(282)	16.2	20.5(213)	20.5	4.5(24)	3.4	17.3(101)	13.4	3.5(14)	1.8
In a Relationship	6.3(113)	6.2	6.3(65)	7.2	6.0(32)	4.1	4.1(24)	3.8	3.7(15)	2.0
Formerly Married	3.4(60)	3.0	4.9(51)	4.6	0.6(3)	0.3	2.7(16)	2.1	0.5(2)	0.3
Number of Children										
No children	48.1(858)	49.0	30.3(315)	31.6	84.9(449)	89.8	38.5(224)	42.0	88.3(356)	93.2
1 or 2 children	40.5(722)	39.3	55.7(579)	52.9	10.4(55)	7.4	54.0(314)	50.7	8.7(35)	5.2
3 or more children	11.4(203)	11.6	14.0(145)	15.4	4.7(25)	2.8	7.6(44)	7.2	3.0(12)	1.6
Highest Education										
No formal education	7.5(132)	7.1	5.8(59)	4.8	10.4(54)	12.1	6.0(34)	5.8	9.4(37)	12.1
Primary 1-7	61.4(1076)	61.6	55.2(566)	53.4	76.4(395)	79.0	58.5(333)	57.4	79.6(313)	81.5
Senior O level (1-4)	27.8(488)	28.5	35.5(364)	38.2	10.8(56)	7.6	32.3(184)	34.0	8.9(35)	5.6
Senior A level (5-6)	2.6(46)	2.5	3.3(34)	3.4	1.2(6)	0.7	2.6(15)	2.5	1.3(5)	0.6
College	0.6(11)	0.3	0.2(2)	0.1	1.2(6)	0.6	0.5(3)	0.3	0.8(3)	0.2
Ethnic Group										
Baganda	44.4(791)	44.6	44.7(464)	44.0	44.6(235)	47.1	48.5(282)	46.0	46.8(188)	48.5
Banyankole	13.4(239)	13.6	15.8(164)	15.9	8.5(45)	6.3	15.6(91)	15.3	9.2(37)	6.7
Basoga	6.5(115)	6.4	5.0(52)	4.1	9.5(50)	11.9	5.5(32)	5.3	10.0(40)	12.3
Rwandese	3.9(69)	4.4	4.7(49)	5.5	2.1(11)	1.8	5.0(29)	5.7	2.2(9)	2.0
Other1	31.8(567)	31.1	29.8(310)	30.5	35.3(186)	32.8	25.4(148)	27.7	31.8(128)	30.5

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Demographic Profiles: Qualitative Data

Sex Work/Trafficking Demographics. The majority of the 85 interviewees (n=54) were ages 18 to 24, twenty participants said they were ages 25 to 40, and eleven were younger than 18 years old. Only four individuals identified as male, and the rest as female. Well over half of interview participants (n=63) were not married. Nine participants said they were separated, four said they were married, and two were widowed. There were seven unknown. Over half of the participants (n=58) said they had children, with 30 participants caring for one child, 25 participants had two to three children, and three participants had over four children. Two participants were expecting a child at the time of the interview.

Forced Begging/Selling Demographics. Over half of the 38 interview participants identified as male (n=23), and 15 participants identified as female. Fifteen participants were under the age of 14, eleven were ages 14 to 16, and nine were ages 17 to 18 years old. There was one individual who didn't know how old they were, and two participants who were over the age of 25. As anticipated from a study population of primarily children, the vast majority were not married (n=30) and did not have children (n=29). It was unknown whether seven of the participants were married or had children.

Type of Work

Sex work/Trafficking Venues². The vast majority of those engaged in sex work/trafficking worked from a venue (81.6%). Venues primarily included bars and restaurants. A little more than half (52.8%) worked on the streets while approximately 20% of respondents worked in a private establishment, which included private homes.

Forced Begging and Sales Venues³. The majority of individuals involved in forced begging and forced sales worked on the streets, 43.8% and 46.0% respectively. A small percentage of individuals disclosed that they were forced to steal (14.5%) in addition to being forced to beg and sell goods.

Table 2: Type of Work

	All (N=1787)	Sample adjust ed%	HTI (N=1041)	Sex adju sted %	HTI (N=530)	Labor adj ust ed%	Two-Step (N=583)	Sex adj uste d%	Two-Step (N=404)	Labor adj ust ed%
Q9 How have you earned money and/or food in the past 12 months?										
-Trading Sex/Finding										
in a venue	55.1(985)	55.1	81.6(849)	46.7	0.0(0)	0.0	83.5(487)	23.4	0.0(0)	0.0
in private establishments	12.5(224)	10.4	20.3(211)	9.7	0.0(0)	0.0	26.4(154)	6.6	0.0(0)	0.0
in other public spaces	6.4(114)	4.7	9.9(103)	4.2	0.0(0)	0.0	13.2(77)	2.7	0.0(0)	0.0
in the streets	34.1(610)	34.3	52.8(550)	30.9	0.0(0)	0.0	55.7(325)	15.1	0.0(0)	0.0
-Begging										
on the streets	14.7(262)	13.8	0.0(0)	0.0	43.8(232)	12.3	0.9(5)	0.1	42.1(170)	9.0
in other outdoor spaces	6.0(107)	5.2	0.0(0)	0.0	17.4(92)	4.5	0.5(3)	0.1	16.3(66)	3.3
in indoor public spaces	7.1(127)	5.7	0.0(0)	0.0	19.4(103)	4.6	1.4(8)	0.2	20.0(81)	3.5
-Selling										

² Respondents could select more than one venue from which they worked.

³ Respondents could select more than one venue from which they worked.

on the streets	15.2(271)	16.8	0.0(0)	0.0	46.0(244)	15.0	1.5(9)	0.4	53.5(216)	12.9
at marketplaces	4.1(74)	3.8	0.0(0)	0.0	12.8(68)	3.3	0.2(1)	0.2	13.6(55)	2.8
at other locations	7.0(125)	8.6	0.1(1)	0.0	17.7(94)	6.2	1.5(9)	0.6	17.8(72)	4.5
-Stealing										
stealing	5.3(94)	5.4	0.0(0)	0.0	14.5(77)	4.6	0.9(5)	0.2	13.6(55)	3.6

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Entry into Employment

Reasons why started working outside the home.⁴ The majority of respondents left home to look for work (66.4% engaged in sex work/trafficking and 51.7% forced to beg and sell goods). More respondents involved in forced labor than sex trafficking reported leaving home to look for work due to mistreatment they were experiencing in the home (28.8% versus 25.3%, respectively); whereas more individuals involved in sex trafficking than engaged in forced begging and sales reported being lured into working outside the home (33.8% versus 23.7%). Additionally, a higher percentage of respondents involved in forced begging and sales stated that they were forced into working outside the home (18.1% versus 12.2%)

Who introduced them to the work. Most respondents engaged in the sex trade were first introduced to or pressured into it by a friend (73.6%); whereas the vast majority of those involved in begging and sales were introduced or pressured into this type of work by a parent (26.3%) or another family member, such as a sibling, aunt, or uncle (31.2%).

Age when started this work. Individuals engaged in the sex trade first started as a minor, 17 and younger, (45.4%) or young adult between the ages of 18-25 (42.5%). Because the survey targeted children and adolescents forced to beg and sell goods, almost the entire sample⁵ reported being 17 and younger when they first started to beg (75.8%) and sell goods (95.9%).

Engaged in work to pay off a loan. Few respondents in either sample reported that they first started engaging in either sex work (16.1%) or begging and sales (9.8%) in order to pay off a loan or advanced wage for their family (45.5%, 48.1%) or themselves (48.5%, 36.5%).

Table 3: Entry into Employment

	All Sample		HTI Sex		HTI Labor		Two-Step Sex		Two-Step Labor	
	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%
Q26 What are the main reasons why you started working outside the home?										
Sample size (N)	1692		980		518		570		398	
To look for work	61.5(1041)	61.5	66.4(651)	67.1	51.7(268)	47.6	66.7(380)	59.2	49.7(198)	43.4
Mistreatment at home	26.8(453)	25.4	25.3(248)	22.5	28.8(149)	30.6	32.5(185)	25.0	27.6(110)	29.7

⁴ Respondents could select more than one reason for working outside the home.

⁵ When the survey was first administered, there was a small sample of individuals 18 and over who were surveyed who reported being forced to beg and sell goods. As a result, not everyone was 17 and younger when they first started this type of work.

Lured into working outside the home	29.6(501)	24.5	33.8(331)	27.4	23.7(123)	20.2	38.9(222)	25.6	22.4(89)	19.1
Forced into working outside home	13.5(228)	12.5	12.2(120)	10.7	18.1(94)	16.5	17.0(97)	12.2	22.4(89)	20.5
Dropped out of school	20.6(348)	17.8	21.3(209)	17.1	20.3(105)	19.5	27.5(157)	19.2	22.1(88)	20.6
Q29 Who introduced or pressured you into doing this type of work?										
Sample size (N)	1655		974		494		570		391	
Friends	64.0(1059)	62.9	73.6(717)	74.2	41.7(206)	34.6	63.7(363)	50.8	36.8(144)	29.3
Parents	10.0(165)	9.6	2.3(22)	2.8	26.3(130)	24.0	3.7(21)	3.8	28.1(110)	24.5
Other family members	21.5(355)	21.5	17.4(169)	16.7	31.2(154)	32.9	24.0(137)	22.0	34.3(134)	34.3
Other individuals	22.5(372)	23.2	17.1(167)	17.8	35.4(175)	36.8	23.3(133)	22.9	37.1(145)	38.7
Q28 How old were you when you FIRST started begging?										
Sample size (N)	340		7		293		8		212	
17 and younger	74.1(252)	84.5	57.1(4)	47.1	75.8(222)	86.4	62.5(5)	67.7	78.8(167)	88.3
18-25	16.2(55)	9.4	42.9(3)	52.9	14.3(42)	7.2	37.5(3)	32.3	14.6(31)	7.6
26-40	8.8(30)	5.6	0.0(0)	47.1	8.9(26)	5.8	0.0(0)	67.7	6.1(13)	3.9
41 and older	0.9(3)	0.5	0.0(0)	52.9	1.0(3)	0.6	0.0(0)	32.3	0.5(1)	0.2
Q28 How old were you when you FIRST started selling?										
Sample size (N)	329		3		292		10		239	
17 and younger	93.0(306)	94.4	66.7(2)	85.7	95.9(280)	97.2	70.0(7)	73.3	97.9(234)	98.6
18-25	6.1(20)	5.2	33.3(1)	14.3	3.4(10)	2.4	20.0(2)	24.9	1.3(3)	0.9
26-40	0.9(3)	0.4	0.0(0)	85.7	0.7(2)	0.4	10.0(1)	1.9	0.8(2)	0.5
Q28 How old were you when you FIRST started trading sex?										
Sample size (N)	1189		1020		12		573		13	
17 and younger	43.6(518)	40.4	45.4(463)	42.0	100.0(12)	100.0	57.8(331)	59.5	100.0(13)	100.0
18-25	43.7(520)	43.6	42.5(434)	43.0	0.0(0)	100.0	37.2(213)	36.4	0.0(0)	100.0
26-40	12.4(147)	15.4	11.8(120)	14.4	0.0(0)	100.0	4.9(28)	3.6	0.0(0)	100.0
41 and older	0.3(4)	0.6	0.3(3)	0.6	0.0(0)	100.0	0.2(1)	0.5	0.0(0)	100.0
Q30 Was it to pay off a loan or advance wage?										
Sample size (N)	1785		1040		530		583		404	
No	87.1(1555)	88.9	83.9(873)	86.2	90.2(478)	90.6	89.4(521)	91.4	94.1(380)	93.9
Yes	12.9(230)	11.1	16.1(167)	13.8	9.8(52)	9.4	10.6(62)	8.6	5.9(24)	6.1
Q31 Who was the loan/advance wage for?										
Sample size (N)	230		167		52		61		24	
Someone else	7.8(18)	9.7	6.0(10)	7.7	15.4(8)	17.2	6.6(4)	4.4	20.8(5)	13.6
Your family	46.1(106)	43.4	45.5(76)	40.1	48.1(25)	54.7	41.0(25)	37.1	62.5(15)	72.5
Yourself	46.1(106)	46.9	48.5(81)	52.2	36.5(19)	28.1	52.5(32)	58.6	16.7(4)	13.9

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Entry into Employment

As the survey findings illuminated, the majority of respondents left home in pursuit of employment opportunities. Interview participants described the circumstances that led them to leave their homes in search of work and engage in types of employment that they did not want. Many participants didn't purposely want to enter sex work but needed to work to support themselves and/or their children. The participants found that there weren't many other job opportunities and they desperately needed money. One 26-year-old single mother of two children explained:

Well, some of the reasons as to why I started on with sex transaction is the fact that I had kids with me and I didn't have where to put them, I lacked what to feed them and I had even started sleeping outside. From there I found a friend of mine who taught me about sex transaction and also decided to go on and do the same kind of work like she was doing so that I can also pick-up some survival.

Similarly, it was common for children to enter into begging and selling on the street due to precarious financial situations and death in the family. Children often 'stepped up' to take on the breadwinner role to support their family members. One 14-year-old male explained:

The reason as to why I wanted to work was for my own good such that I buy my own things like shoes. Today my aim was to work and earn 5,000/= and buy shoes like that. I also work to raise money for school fees when time comes to return back to school, I have money to pay school fees. Another reason is basically to support out my siblings like buy for them some scholastic materials which they don't have like books, pencils so I intend to go and share amongst ourselves at the village.

Many individuals described experiencing abuse in their home as a reason for leaving and entering employment. Some participants were abused by their parents, and some were abused by other family members, aunties, or neighbors. One 18-year-old female whose parents had died, lived with her brother, and eventually left because his home she was being abused:

Researcher: What made you leave home specifically; your brother's home?

Respondent: I was tired of that place. I was being isolated.....It felt like I had become a burden to them; for example, they used to abuse me, everything that would get lost at home, they would think it's because of me. I wasn't comfortable.

Researcher: If yes, how did you get this formal job/ money earning activity?

Respondent: It was my friend; she told me she had gotten a job for me where she worked from... it's like how you can be staying in the village and you have so many friends so she was one of them and I didn't know what kind of job she was doing before I left home not until I started staying with her, that's when I found out

Some individuals left home to seek work opportunities but were tricked upon arriving to their new job. One 19-year-old female who needed money to pay off a loan was living with her parents at the time she learned of a work opportunity from a friend:

Now then, I told my parents about everything. They told me to go and work after all it was a restaurant job. When I reached there, that girl briefed me about the job. But soon I realized that she was a prostitute. Then she told me that if you cannot manage go back in the village. They will ask for the money, but you will not have it. I saw to it that I had to be patient and pay off the man's loan. I started to work.

One 11-year-old female described how her mother encouraged her to leave home to go to Kampala and earn money for the family after her father's death:

First of all after the death of my [father] who was the bread winner of the family the family went into extreme poverty because my mother wasn't working and my father didn't leave any savings or property. And also I was always hurt because of not going to school so my mother requested me to sacrifice myself to come to Kampala and work so that I can take my siblings to school and God in heaven will reward me.

This young girl thought she would be sorting cereals, but as she was leaving her village alone on a bus, her mother told her that she wouldn't be sorting cereal, but begging in the streets:

Interviewer: how did you feel when she told you about begging?

Respondent: my heart started beating at a very high speed but I thought that maybe I didn't hear very well and I requested for a pardon. She repeated while smiling, this time around I felt like I was in a new world. My ears started vibrating, my heart started beating and a very high speed, I started sweating and also shaking. I told her that mother I won't make it but she told me that no retreating I have to go. I came crying but I had nothing to do.

Consequences of not Taking Job

Decision to enter into this type of work. Those who first entered the sex trade were more likely to say it was their decision to do that type of work (42.5%) versus those who first entered into begging and selling goods (25.5%). However, a much larger percentage of those who first engaged in sex work reported being tricked into doing that type of work (33.6%) as opposed to those who started in begging and sales (13.7%).

Abuse experienced if refused work. There were a number of consequences that the respondents faced if they initially refused to do the work they either entered willingly or were forced into. Those who entered into the commercial sex trade were more likely to face: food, sleep and water deprivation (58.7%), emotional violence (32.2%), physical restraint (19.3%) and physical violence (30.0%). Similarly, those who begged and sold goods were also likely to face: food, sleep and water deprivation (62.7%), emotional violence (36.7%), physical restraint (25.2%) and physical violence (55.3%).

Table 4: Consequences of not Taking Job

	All Sample		HTI Sex		HTI Labor		Two-Step Sex		Two-Step Labor	
	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%
Q33 The first time you did this work, was it your own decision?										
Sample size (N)	1781		1039		529		583		403	
No	59.2(1054)	53.8	57.5(597)	50.9	74.5(394)	71.8	83.0(484)	78.8	81.9(330)	79.3
Yes	40.8(727)	46.2	42.5(442)	49.1	25.5(135)	28.2	17.0(99)	21.2	18.1(73)	20.7
Q35 If it wasn't your decision, were you offered another job and then tricked into doing this work? (If they said no to Q33)										
Sample size (N)	1038		590		387		478		327	
No	54.3(564)	54.9	33.6(198)	33.9	86.3(334)	85.7	26.6(127)	27.4	85.0(278)	84.1
Yes	45.7(474)	45.1	66.4(392)	66.1	13.7(53)	14.3	73.4(351)	72.6	15.0(49)	15.9
Q37 What would have happened to you if you had refused at the time? (If they said no to Q33 and Q35)										
Sample size (N)	991		566		365		467		308	

deprived food water sleep	60.1(596)	51.7	58.7(332)	46.3	62.7(229)	60.2	70.4(329)	55.0	65.6(202)	62.3
confiscation valuables	6.3(62)	3.0	9.9(56)	4.7	0.5(2)	0.6	12.4(58)	5.8	0.6(2)	0.7
emotional violence	33.1(328)	25.6	32.2(182)	23.8	36.7(134)	30.0	38.3(179)	27.7	39.9(123)	30.6
harm cared ones	1.9(19)	1.3	1.8(10)	1.5	2.2(8)	1.0	2.4(11)	1.9	1.6(5)	0.8
dismissed from work	14.8(147)	13.5	23.1(131)	20.2	2.7(10)	3.4	24.4(114)	20.0	2.6(8)	3.1
kept drunk drugged	1.8(18)	0.5	2.8(16)	0.7	0.3(1)	0.2	3.6(17)	0.9	0.3(1)	0.2
legal action arrest	0.7(7)	0.6	0.7(4)	0.4	0.8(3)	1.0	0.9(4)	0.5	1.0(3)	1.1
loss accommodations	1.6(16)	1.5	2.7(15)	2.4	0.3(1)	0.4	1.7(8)	0.6	0.3(1)	0.4
loss wages	11.0(109)	10.1	15.9(90)	12.4	3.6(13)	6.6	16.7(78)	11.2	3.9(12)	7.4
no better jobs	29.2(289)	26.0	34.8(197)	32.3	17.3(63)	13.5	32.3(151)	25.7	13.3(41)	11.7
nothing happened	4.9(49)	5.6	6.0(34)	7.4	2.7(10)	1.4	1.9(9)	1.9	1.3(4)	0.6
physical violence	39.5(391)	32.2	30.0(170)	19.3	55.3(202)	52.4	37.3(174)	24.3	60.1(185)	56.4
physically restrained	22.0(218)	15.5	19.3(109)	11.4	25.2(92)	20.6	24.8(116)	14.5	28.9(89)	23.9
refused answer	0.3(3)	0.2	0.2(1)	0.1	0.5(2)	0.3	0.2(1)	0.1	0.3(1)	0.1
restrictions communication	2.9(29)	1.6	4.9(28)	2.7	0.3(1)	0.1	5.1(24)	2.8	0.3(1)	0.2
sexual violence	8.2(81)	5.1	12.2(69)	6.9	1.1(4)	1.6	15.4(72)	9.2	1.6(5)	1.9
too far home nowhere to go	18.4(182)	16.3	24.9(141)	21.3	8.5(31)	8.4	28.7(134)	24.6	9.4(29)	10.0
withholding ID citizenship	2.8(28)	1.0	4.9(28)	1.8	0.0(0)	0.0	5.8(27)	2.1	0.0(0)	0.0

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Consequences of not taking the job for individuals in sex work

To provide further understanding as to how individuals who entered sex work either by force, pressure, or choice, interview participants were asked to describe what would have happened if they didn't start engaging in sex work at the initial encounter. Very few participants said they wanted to enter sex work as a profession. Those who said the job was their choice explained that the decision was made because of challenging life circumstances, and they didn't have any better options. One 25-year-old, single mother of one child said, *the reason as to why I started on this kind of a job is because of the need for survival, living conditions were really bad and I decided to simply do the job so that I can also get some money and start a good living*. Another participant, who was a 24-year-old single mother of two children, and had a mother who was very sick and unable to work shared how she made the decision to start sex work:

Yeah it's me who decided for myself because I looked at the money my employer was giving and really saw that it wasn't enough, I would get two thousand shillings from there and I would have to use it to buy food, then I decided to diversify and figure out for myself because my kids need milk, I also needed to eat so well then I decide to start figuring out a new life because the situation turned around me and I couldn't manage being patient to continue working in the hotel.

Some individuals described a combination of being forced to engage in sex work and making the choice to participate because they had nowhere to go, and no food or shelter. One thirty-year-old, single mother of one child explained how she was forced to work and was not in a position to leave because she had no other options:

Interviewer: What could have happened to you if you refused to sleep with those men by that time?

Respondent: she could have sent me away but remember I didn't have anywhere to go or even know anyone to run to. She could have beaten me up with other prostitutes and even scold me, deprive me from food and even shelter. You know finding someone here to help you it's not easy especially when you don't know each other however those who turn out to be good Samaritans are not that good but rather soul sackers

The majority of respondents who were tricked and forced into sex work describe being raped as their initial introduction to the work they were expected to do. Many of these individuals didn't know what was about to happen, so there wasn't an option to "refuse". One 27 year-old single mother of two children whose parents had died when she was young, described being tricked into sex work after escaping an abusive aunt and getting a job at a restaurant:

That day she [employer] even got for me the person that I slept with. He told me took me to a lodge. The man took me inside and wondered why the man was taking me inside the lodge. Fear befell me. The man asked me that haven't they told you? I asked that telling me what? The man started undressing me. In was not briefed or warned. I had a hard time. After the man had finished, she came in and the man gave her the money. I was there crying. The lady told me that was how they all began you will get used to the situation and understand the kind of work that we do. I thought the work that she was telling about was the one of the restaurants. It was the one I thought that I was going to do. But since it is the start, you will get used to it, that's what she told me. I had no idea that it involved men and I had never slept with any man.

Consequences of not taking the job for individuals in begging and sales

Compared to those forced into sex work, survey respondents who were forced to beg or sell goods reported experiencing more physical abuse if they refused to work. It is unclear if this is a result of their young age where they would be more vulnerable to physical abuse by adults, or if it is related to family violence where they are abused when they return home, or a specific characteristic of those engaged in forced begging or selling. For example, one 14-year-old individual of unspecified gender shared:

Interviewer: what would have happened if you had refused to take up the money earning activity?

Respondent: when I had refused my mother used to beat me, she used to beat me later I moved to my neighbors and I started staying there while I was fetching water because the other side when you fetch water for someone they give you two hundred shillings, they give you two hundred shillings the last time she burnt me the arm and told me that if you refuse I will remove both of your feet or one foot so that you can sit home ,so she burnt me here in elbow as you can see.

A 12-year-old female describes a similar experience of physical abuse from her auntie:

Interviewer: what would have happened if you had refused to take the money earning activity?

Respondent: for me I would get beaten whenever I would not be willing to go or if I don't even want to go, she beats me and if not that I just go to other places and spend their my day or I stay there and bear the canes or if not that I go there to my friends and spend their my day and thereafter when I get back my auntie beats me and tells me that tomorrow morning at this time you go and beg.

Payment Terms

Earnings. There is a significant difference in how much money one earns in the sex trade versus in begging and sales. Those engaged in sex work reported earning on average 42,836 Ugandan Schillings a day (approximately \$12 USD) as opposed to those involved in begging and sales who only earned on average 15,338 (approximately \$4.30) Ugandan Schillings a day.

Money provided to employer/trafficker. When asked if they were able to keep all the money they earned, 34.1% of those engaged in the sex trade stated that they were able to keep all their money while only 13.3% of those involved in begging and sales were able to keep all their earnings. Individuals in the sex trade mostly handed over some or all of their earnings to a family member (24.4%), employer (22.9%) and/or a bar/brothel owner (31.6%). Those engaged in begging and sales primarily gave some or all of their earnings to a family member (27.7%) or employer (43.4%). Minors involved in begging and sales were more likely to have an employer (92.3%) versus those engaged in the sex trade (52.9%). Almost half the sex work sample (47.1%) reported working for themselves.

Table 5: Payment Terms

	All Sample		HTI Sex		HTI Labor		Two-Step Sex		Two-Step Labor	
	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted %
Q45 Approximately how much do you earn in cash? (In a day) in Uganda Schillings										
Sample size (N)	1424		793		438		435		350	
Mean	33903.9	32170.1	42835.9	39960.3	15337.5	14843.9	42835.9	39960.3	16153.8	15622.1
Std. Dev.	61719.0	2779344115.1	71490.2	3995840671.3	43258.9	727143749.0	71490.2	3995840671.3	47239.2	843460848.3
Range	0-1300000	0-1300000	0-1300000	0-1300000	0-800000	0-800000	0-1300000	0-1300000	0-800000	0-800000
Q45 Approximately how much do you earn in cash? (In a week) in Uganda Schillings										

Sample size (N)	74		36		24		26		19	
Mean	40189.3	32426.1	60972.2	45992.4	15833.6	13273.8	60972.2	45992.4	15158.2	14724.4
Std. Dev.	65755.1	21212388 47.2	85581.9	2962416 510.4	25230.4	5201296 84.1	85581.9	2962416 510.4	27098.9	764648 861.1
Range	0-400000	0-400000	0-400000	0- 400000	0-100000	0- 100000	0-400000	0-400000	0-100000	0- 100000
Q45 Approximately how much do you earn in cash? (In a month) in Uganda Schillings										
Sample size (N)	36		18		9		12		9	
Mean	59833.3	63645.9	83333.3	86560.4	0.0	0.0	83333.3	86560.4	0.0	0.0
Std. Dev.	86954.0	53177729 34.4	100235.0	6335772 479.2	0.0	0.0	100235.0	6335772 479.2	0.0	0.0
Range	0-300000	0-300000	0-300000	0- 300000	0-0	0-0	0-300000	0-300000	0-0	0-0
Q47 Approximately how much did you earn in tips from customers/boyfriends in a day? (Note: Only for those involved in trading sex.)										
Sample size (N)	1541		907		437		482		334	
Mean	4680.1	4586.5	6492.3	6190.5	122.0	99.8	6492.3	6190.5	115.7	60.5
Std. Dev.	11000.1	16999286 1.3	12171.4	2212038 80.3	807.6	390060. 1	12171.4	2212038 80.3	852.7	261509. 4
Range	0-200000	0-200000	0-200000	0- 200000	0-10000	0-10000	0-200000	0-200000	0-10000	0- 10000
Q46 What is the form of payment for this work?										
Sample size (N)4	1787		1041		530		583		404	
Cash	98.7(1763)	100.0	99.1(1032)	101.6	97.4(516)	93.8	99.3(579)	87.7	98.0(396)	92.7
In kind (food only)	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0
In kind (non-cash payment)	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0
Debt repayment	3.3(59)	2.8	3.7(38)	3.4	2.3(12)	1.7	6.3(37)	5.1	1.5(6)	1.4
None	0.3(6)	0.3	0.4(4)	0.2	0.2(1)	0.5	0.7(4)	0.4	0.0(0)	0.0
Other	0.6(10)	0.7	0.5(5)	0.6	0.8(4)	1.0	0.5(3)	0.4	0.7(3)	1.1
Q48 Do you keep all the money you earn?										
Sample size (N)5	1780		1041		525		583		401	
No	71.6(1275)	71.6	65.9(686)	65.0	86.7(455)	87.7	71.7(418)	72.2	87.8(352)	88.5
Yes	28.4(505)	28.4	34.1(355)	35.0	13.3(70)	12.3	28.3(165)	27.8	12.2(49)	11.5
Q49 What amount do you get to keep?										
Mean4	3744.6	3735.6	4467.2	4518.5	2778.3	1976.4	4467.2	4518.5	3237.3	1766.9
Std. Dev.4	16903.4	10299773 3.1	9170.3	8315900 0.2	24353.8	1362265 02.3	9170.3	8315900 0.2	28225.1	176250 984.8
Range4	0-400000	0-400000	0-90000	0-90000	0-400000	0- 400000	0-90000	0-90000	0-400000	0- 400000
Q50 Who gets the remaining money?										
Sample size (N)6	1787		1041		530		583		404	
Partner (spouse, boyfriend)	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0
Family member	26.3(470)	28.7	24.4(254)	27.7	27.7(147)	27.2	24.4(142)	19.5	26.5(107)	26.1
Guardians	4.4(78)	4.7	3.3(34)	3.4	6.6(35)	7.0	3.1(18)	2.9	6.4(26)	5.4
Employer	28.0(500)	29.6	22.9(238)	22.4	43.4(230)	48.4	34.1(199)	31.9	49.8(201)	54.8
stepmother	1.0(17)	1.0	0.3(3)	0.2	2.5(13)	2.8	0.3(2)	0.2	3.0(12)	3.4
Aunty	1.0(17)	1.0	0.3(3)	0.2	2.5(13)	2.8	0.3(2)	0.2	3.0(12)	3.4
Bar owner/Brot hel owner	22.4(401)	22.8	31.6(329)	31.5	2.5(13)	1.0	35.2(205)	29.1	2.5(10)	1.1
Co-worker	5.5(98)	4.7	6.1(64)	6.1	5.7(30)	2.9	8.1(47)	7.1	6.4(26)	3.2
Friend	2.7(48)	2.8	1.9(20)	1.9	4.3(23)	4.0	1.7(10)	0.9	5.0(20)	4.3
Rent	1.2(22)	1.3	2.0(21)	2.1	0.0(0)	0.0	1.7(10)	0.9	0.0(0)	0.0
Sacco	0.6(10)	1.2	0.4(4)	0.9	0.2(1)	0.3	0.2(1)	0.5	0.2(1)	0.3
other friend of the family	1.0(17)	1.0	0.3(3)	0.2	2.5(13)	2.8	0.3(2)	0.2	3.0(12)	3.4

other savings	0.6(10)	1.2	0.4(4)	0.9	0.2(1)	0.3	0.2(1)	0.5	0.2(1)	0.3
Other1	2.3(41)	3.0	1.7(18)	2.0	3.0(16)	3.5	2.4(14)	2.2	3.2(13)	3.7
Q51 Are you currently working to pay an advance wage or loan?										
Sample size (N)7	1783		1039		529		581		403	
No1	83.7(1492)	86.2	78.9(820)	81.7	90.7(480)	92.1	83.3(484)	86.0	94.0(379)	94.7
Yes1	16.3(291)	13.8	21.1(219)	18.3	9.3(49)	7.9	16.7(97)	14.0	6.0(24)	5.3
Q53 Do you work for someone else (an employer)?										
Sample size (N)8	1215		716		402		471		322	
No, I work for myself	33.5(407)	34.4	47.1(337)	52.0	7.7(31)	5.9	31.0(146)	33.4	3.1(10)	1.3
Yes, I have a boss	66.5(808)	65.6	52.9(379)	48.0	92.3(371)	94.1	69.0(325)	66.6	96.9(312)	98.7

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Payment terms for individuals involved in sex work

The majority of interview participants reported being paid in cash. Respondents described either being paid directly by the client or the client would pay their employer directly. Regardless of who the client gave the cash to the participants struggled to be appropriately compensated for their work. Participants described the challenges and negotiation necessary to obtain pay from the clients because the clients would frequently pay less than what they promised, demand more than what they paid for, and/or resort to violence if the participants tried to get the money that was owed to them. One 26-year-old single mother of one child and expecting a second, discussed the challenges of trying to obtain proper payment:

Most of my clients give cash, but we find a lot of challenges, someone will use you after agreeing on the payments, then they will give you counterfeit money, you can't take that kind of money to any one, sometimes another client will use you the whole night, then in the morning, he will say let's go to the ATM machine and he says there is no money, he will keep making you move from place to place in pretense of having no money then after that he will disappear on you.

Participants who had an employer also faced challenges obtaining their pay. Employers would have the clients pay them directly, and the interview participants described not knowing how much the client paid, not receiving any compensation, or receiving very little in the end. One 25-year-old single mother of one child described the payment transaction with her employer:

Interviewer. Do you give her the money that you make?

Respondent. No, a client comes to me when he has already given her the money

Payment terms for individuals involved in forced begging and sales

Street children were mostly paid in cash, however, there were some instances where they were paid by mobile money or in food. The amount of money they made per day and per week

largely depends on what activities they are engaged in, and the means in which they were being paid. As one 14-year-old male explained:

I really can't lie to you because sometimes we find no money and we end up going home without money and even in picking empty bottles it's not reliable because each kilogram is for 200 Ugandan shillings so there I can't lie to you how much I get but as long as I get money for eating and buying food that is it.

Many children were not able to keep all of the money they earned. They would have to give away most of their earnings to their employer and then rely on them to provide their basic necessities. One 12-year-old female described:

At times I get 5,000/=, at times 2,000/= but I don't feel like working for her regarding on the way she mistreats me even when I give her the money, she would still buy things that are useless and when she buys them she doesn't give me anything.

Employers

Freedom to change employers and consequences faced if attempted. The majority of individuals engaged in the commercial sex trade reported being free to change employers (60.7%) compared to those involved in begging and sales (32.2%). For those who stated that they were not free to change employers, when asked what would happen if they tried, both samples reported similar consequences. Those engaged in the sex trade reported that if they tried to change employers, they would experience: food, water and sleep deprivation (51.6%), confiscation of valuables (22.2%), emotional violence (52.4%), physical violence (50.4%) and being physically restrained (25.0%). Those involved in begging and sales reported similar consequences: deprivation of food, water and sleep (58.3%), emotional violence (39.8%), physical violence (57.7%), and being physically restrained (25.4%).

Table 6: Employers

	All Sample		HTI Sex		HTI Labor		Two-Step Sex		Two-Step Labor	
	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%
Q54 Are you free to change employers?										
Sample size (N)	1377		704		497		440		392	
No	47.9(659)	42.3	39.3(277)	29.6	67.8(337)	68.0	54.8(241)	46.5	77.0(302)	77.7
Yes	52.1(718)	57.7	60.7(427)	70.4	32.2(160)	32.0	45.2(199)	53.5	23.0(90)	22.3
Q55 What would happen to you if you tried to change employers? (If they said no to Q54)										
Sample size (N)	611		252		319		231		294	
deprived food water sleep	54.5(333)	44.3	51.6(130)	29.9	58.3(186)	56.6	59.3(137)	34.9	62.9(185)	60.0
confiscation valuables	10.3(63)	7.1	22.2(56)	11.2	1.6(5)	3.6	25.1(58)	13.6	1.7(5)	4.0
emotional violence	43.2(264)	32.8	52.4(132)	33.2	39.8(127)	35.4	58.4(135)	37.0	42.9(126)	38.1
harm cared ones	1.5(9)	0.8	2.0(5)	1.4	0.9(3)	0.2	2.6(6)	1.7	1.0(3)	0.2
dismissed from work	22.1(135)	18.1	40.5(102)	25.5	8.8(28)	11.5	39.4(91)	26.3	8.8(26)	11.8
drug addiction	5.1(31)	1.4	9.9(25)	2.3	1.6(5)	0.6	10.8(25)	2.6	1.7(5)	0.7

alcohol addiction	4.9(30)	1.3	10.3(26)	2.5	0.9(3)	0.3	11.3(26)	2.8	1.0(3)	0.3
legal action arrest	0.8(5)	0.6	1.6(4)	0.4	0.0(0)	0.0	1.7(4)	1.5	0.0(0)	0.0
loss accommodations	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0
loss wages	14.6(89)	12.5	23.8(60)	11.3	7.5(24)	13.2	25.1(58)	13.0	7.8(23)	13.8
no better jobs	16.2(99)	13.3	18.7(47)	16.2	12.5(40)	9.7	19.0(44)	13.8	9.5(28)	7.8
nothing happend	6.2(38)	5.6	7.5(19)	4.9	3.4(11)	3.6	2.6(6)	1.7	1.4(4)	1.0
physical violence	52.7(322)	45.7	50.4(127)	34.3	57.7(184)	57.4	57.1(132)	39.2	61.6(181)	60.1
physically restrained	24.2(148)	14.9	25.0(63)	10.7	25.4(81)	19.2	28.1(65)	12.1	27.6(81)	20.8
refused answer	1.3(8)	0.7	0.4(1)	0.1	1.3(4)	0.8	0.4(1)	0.2	0.7(2)	0.6
sexual violence	6.7(41)	2.9	15.1(38)	6.4	0.3(1)	0.2	17.3(40)	7.4	0.3(1)	0.2
too far home nowhere to go	11.1(68)	7.9	16.7(42)	9.1	7.2(23)	7.1	18.6(43)	10.2	7.1(21)	6.9
withholding ID citizenship	4.9(30)	1.8	11.5(29)	4.3	0.3(1)	0.2	12.1(28)	4.5	0.3(1)	0.2

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Freedom to Leave Employers

As indicated in the surveys, compared to participants who were in sex work, individuals who were forced to beg or sell goods did not typically have freedom to leave their employer or work for someone else. Interview participants who did not have freedom to leave their jobs described several tactics employers would use to force them to stay. A 15-year-old male who experienced forced begging/selling of goods described witnessing the abuse of a co-worker who had escaped and was caught:

Interviewer: Have ever tried leaving that place without telling your boss?

Respondent: Me! From the time I came and found that there are people our home area. I gained confidence from them. There was one who had escaped, they had a pair of pliers, and they removed two teeth from his mouth. When we saw that incident, man, we all feared. You cannot even think about leaving from what we saw. They de-tooth you when you try to escape so we endured because you have nothing to do.

Witnessing the abuse of others served as a deterrence from trying to leave the employer. In other cases, participants were physically abused themselves when they tried to leave without permission. One 18-year-old female who was forced to sell sex shared:

Respondent: she abuses me, insults me and tell me to leave with my child and get somewhere else to stay; sometimes she beats me.

Interviewer: She even beats you sometimes?

Respondent: she beats me.

In many situations, as this participant described, the fear of leaving stemmed from a combination of physical abuse by the employer and the lack of options available for her and her child if she was to leave. Another tactic used by employers was physical restraint. A 17-year-

old male who was forced to beg/sell goods described being physically restrained after trying to leave the job without permission:

Interviewer: What can happen if you decide to move away without permission?

Respondent: As I told that I had come and spent three days there. I tried to escape but the other one has his people that he knows. In the other place, wherever you pass, there are his people. You cannot escape. Because I had come and they asked that you have just come where are you going? You don't know this place. Where are you going? I told them to leave me to go. They brought me back and locked me in the house. You cannot just leave the other place. It's like an abandoned house but it's very big may be now like me, I have stayed there for a long time. I will leave because now they trust that I cannot leave them.

Restriction of Physical/Communicative Freedom at Workplace

Restrictions of physical and communicative freedom in workplace. Both populations reported similar rates of physical and communicative freedom. For those engaged in the commercial sex trade, 63.8% stated that they were forbidden to leave the worksite, 48.2% were restricted as to where they could go during non-work hours, and 30.6% were restricted from communicating freely with others while working. For minors involved in begging and sales, 67.8% reported that they were forbidden from leaving the work site, 46,7% were restricted as to where they could go during non-work hours and 27.2% were restricted from communicating freely with others while working.

Table 7: Restriction of Physical/Communicative Freedom at Workplace

	All Sample		HTI Sex		HTI Labor		Two-Step Sex		Two-Step Labor	
	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%
Q57.1-4 Have any of the following incidents ever happened to you at work?										
Sample size (N)	937		500		379		450		342	
forbid leave work site	64.6(605)	57.1	63.8(319)	50.5	67.8(257)	67.5	67.3(303)	52.0	69.0(236)	67.4
restrict where to go nonwork hours	46.3(434)	40.9	48.2(241)	39.1	46.7(177)	45.5	50.9(229)	40.8	50.0(171)	48.9
restrict communicate freely	28.3(265)	23.3	30.6(153)	22.9	27.2(103)	25.2	33.6(151)	24.2	28.9(99)	26.3

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Restriction of physical/communicative freedom at workplace

The ability to change employers is intertwined with the ability to leave and restrictions of physical and communicative freedom. The interview participants reported a spectrum of

experiences from being allowed to leave anytime because they were self-employed to being physically abused if they tried to leave the worksite. For example, one 24-year-old mother of two children who engaged in sex work said:

Interviewer: what would happen to you if you tried to go without asking for permission?

Respondent: and who do I have to ask permission from? There is nothing that can happen to me because I am the boss myself: it's more like self-employment for me no one employs me.

For those who shared they were not allowed to leave their employers, some explained that they weren't allowed to go anywhere without permission because they readily had to be available for customers. One 22-year-old single woman expecting her first child explained:

Interviewer: What would happen if you move without your boss knowing?

Respondent: He would chase me, he doesn't allow any movement without his approval or without him telling me to leave because he knows that anytime a customer can come wanting to sleep with his worker.

Most participants reported being able to communicate with their colleagues, and they served as a source of support for them. Some individuals were able to communicate with their children and family members when they wanted to and there was no restriction; however, some chose not to communicate with family and non-work related friends because their family members were the ones who initially harmed them; they were ashamed to speak to anyone from their villages because of the type of work they were doing; or they didn't know their contact information. For example, one 11-year-old female who was force into begging/selling of goods explained:

Interviewer: do you hear from your siblings in the village?

Respondent: I don't hear from them because the lady I stay with doesn't also have their contact and I miss them a lot

A few respondents said they were not allowed to speak with family members because their employer prevented them from doing so to prevent information about their exploitative working conditions exposed. A 17-year-old male who was forced into begging/selling of goods shared:

Interviewer: Are you free to communicate with your family members without these bosses of yours stopping you?

Respondent: You cannot! They don't want your parents to ask you the kind of job are doing. They cannot even allow especially those new ones. They talk a lot and so frequently. My brother cannot allow.

Interviewer: He thinks that you want to overthrow his business!

Respondent: Yes because it's us who serve him.

Q59.1 Have any of the following incidents happened to you at work? Has this ever happened to you?										
Sample size (N)	1610		997		498		579		391	
deducted wage against will	58.9(948)	58.1	66.8(666)	65.5	42.0(209)	41.1	75.1(435)	62.7	42.2(165)	41.9
Intimidated by shout smash	75.8(1221)	75.3	73.9(737)	73.8	83.7(417)	82.0	81.9(474)	69.8	85.4(334)	83.1
threatened hurt cared ones	17.6(283)	12.6	17.7(176)	12.9	20.1(100)	13.2	21.8(126)	14.2	22.5(88)	15.2
been punch kick drag beat	63.5(1023)	56.3	61.9(617)	54.7	71.5(356)	64.6	71.2(412)	56.8	76.7(300)	67.7
Threatened by gun, knife, weapons	25.8(416)	19.5	28.4(283)	22.5	23.7(118)	16.2	37.7(218)	27.8	26.1(102)	17.3
forced drug alcohol	34.7(559)	29.4	40.3(402)	34.7	24.9(124)	19.3	55.8(323)	48.2	29.2(114)	22.8
anyone at work make u intimate touching	39.5(636)	37.0	57.6(574)	54.9	5.6(28)	4.1	68.2(395)	58.7	5.1(20)	3.5
anyone at work make u flirt verbally	26.5(426)	24.4	37.7(376)	35.4	5.4(27)	3.2	43.9(254)	39.4	6.6(26)	4.0
anyone at work make u dance erotically	24.4(393)	21.3	35.9(358)	32.3	3.4(17)	2.3	45.6(264)	39.4	3.8(15)	2.6
anyone at work make u give sensual massages	24.2(390)	21.3	35.8(357)	32.2	3.2(16)	2.2	46.3(268)	39.1	3.6(14)	2.6
anyone at work make u watch porn	27.5(443)	25.3	37.1(370)	35.4	10.2(51)	5.9	49.9(289)	44.4	11.5(45)	6.9
anyone at work make u perform sex	32.8(528)	33.1	49.5(494)	50.3	1.8(9)	1.2	53.9(312)	50.1	1.8(7)	1.4
anyone at work make u perform any intimate act	11.9(191)	9.3	17.7(176)	13.8	1.0(5)	0.6	20.2(117)	14.7	1.0(4)	0.6
Q60 You mentioned some of these bad things happened to you, did you stay at the job? (If they said yes to any of Q59.1)										
Sample size (N)	1607		996		497		579		390	
No	7.5(121)	6.0	5.8(58)	5.4	10.7(53)	6.8	5.2(30)	3.6	9.7(38)	5.1
Yes	92.5(1486)	94.0	94.2(938)	94.6	89.3(444)	93.2	94.8(549)	96.4	90.3(352)	94.9
Q61 Why did you stay at the job? (If they said yes to any of Q60)										
Sample size (N)	1364		855		413		534		341	
deprived food water sleep	32.0(437)	29.9	25.5(218)	21.2	47.2(195)	50.2	42.9(229)	35.4	56.0(191)	58.5
confiscation valuables	3.5(48)	1.9	4.4(38)	2.2	1.7(7)	1.5	7.3(39)	3.7	2.1(7)	1.8
emotional violence	17.7(242)	15.4	15.6(133)	11.9	23.2(96)	23.7	26.4(141)	20.7	27.9(95)	28.2
harm cared ones	1.8(24)	1.4	1.3(11)	1.1	2.7(11)	2.1	2.4(13)	1.9	3.2(11)	2.5
exploiter was father of my child	0.6(8)	0.6	0.7(6)	0.8	0.2(1)	0.0	1.1(6)	1.3	0.3(1)	0.0
because I want to	10.1(138)	9.5	11.5(98)	9.7	5.1(21)	5.3	6.6(35)	4.2	2.3(8)	2.4
promoted to leader	0.1(2)	0.2	0.1(1)	0.3	0.2(1)	0.0	0.2(1)	0.5	0.0(0)	0.0
provided with food accommodations	15.4(210)	12.7	13.8(118)	12.1	20.6(85)	15.1	20.0(107)	17.6	22.0(75)	14.6
would have dismissed from work	11.1(151)	11.1	14.3(122)	13.2	6.1(25)	8.3	19.5(104)	16.7	6.2(21)	8.6

legal action arrest	0.9(12)	0.7	0.9(8)	0.8	0.7(3)	0.3	1.7(9)	1.5	0.9(3)	0.4
loss wages	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0
no better jobs	64.6(881)	67.5	75.0(641)	78.1	42.1(174)	43.7	67.4(360)	60.0	35.8(122)	39.0
physical violence	21.0(286)	18.2	14.9(127)	10.9	34.4(142)	34.1	25.5(136)	19.3	41.1(140)	40.0
physically restrained	12.1(165)	9.2	9.5(81)	4.9	16.7(69)	16.9	17.0(91)	9.9	19.9(68)	19.3
refused answer	0.6(8)	0.4	0.6(5)	0.4	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0	0.0(0)	0.0
sexual violence	4.9(67)	2.2	7.1(61)	3.1	0.5(2)	0.5	11.8(63)	5.2	0.9(3)	0.6
drugged alcohol addiction	1.8(24)	1.4	2.5(21)	1.5	0.7(3)	1.5	3.7(20)	2.3	0.9(3)	1.8
too far home nowhere to go	15.0(204)	14.5	16.0(137)	14.1	14.5(60)	17.8	24.0(128)	20.1	15.2(52)	18.5
withholding ID	2.1(28)	0.9	3.2(27)	1.4	0.0(0)	0.0	5.1(27)	2.3	0.0(0)	0.0

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Abuse experienced from individuals in the work environment

The vast majority of participants experienced multiple forms of abuse by their employers, customers, and family members. Physical, psychological, verbal, and financial abuse was rampant in the experiences of the interview participants. Interview respondents described numerous and regular abuse from individuals in their working environment, such as customers, co-workers, and strangers. Participants who were in sex work had been raped and beaten by customers because they didn't want to pay, wear a condom, or they were demanding sexual activity that the participants didn't want to perform. One 20-year-old single mother of one child describes:

Respondent: I can't lie to you, at times some just rape I didn't know that if a man wants sex you first ask for cash, me I just left them, others tell you to first finish and pay later but after just beats you. I was beaten for two times.

Interviewer: Any more abuses?

Respondent: One time, I took a client who didn't want to use a condom then I refused we quarried and fought with battles. I had also had another client after having sex, he had promised to give me money then he removed a knife, this has ever happened to me. I made a loud noise good enough security guards were nearby came and rescued me.

Like the individual above, a 14-year-old female forced into sex work described abuse from a customer who used a weapon to threaten her after she refused his sexual request:

I am always threatened, threatening me with the knife because I had refused. I told the man that I didn't want to do this kind of work and he got mad that he got a knife and tried to cut me. He put me at the wall and wanted to cut my throat out and I pleaded. And remember they do not check anyone so he just entered with his knife. I was so scared and we do not have any security personnel. Later after pleading for long, I told him that I had accepted and then he left me.

Children forced to beg or sell goods also faced many types of abuse while working on the street. They were often verbally harassed and physically abused by the public, shop owners, and law enforcement officials. They were forced to work in the hot sun for hours on end and did not have shoes to protect their feet. When asked to describe the challenges he experienced in forced begging, one 13-year-old male shared:

Apart from that big accident I got, there some minor accidents I get like a motorcycle knocking me but causing minor injuries. Most people abuse us, and some end up beating us. Some people call us thieves because there are some groups of street children who steal during traffic jam, so people think that maybe all of us on the streets are thieves. Sometimes when money is scarce, I can dance and sweat but no one gives me money. Sometimes when I clean people's car mirrors some people don't pay me. Too much sunshine and rainfall and yet I fail to get where to stand and sometimes the owners of the nearby shops don't accept us to stand there. Kampala capital city authority always chases us, and we pass through big trenches were sewage passes but remember we don't wear shoes because we don't have them.

Abuse experienced from employers

While the majority of participants described the abuse they experienced from individuals they interact with in the working environment, some individuals also talked about the abuse from employers. One 18-year-old female interview participant who was forced into sex work shared, *A customer came and wanted me to sleep with him without using protection and when I refused, he started beating me. Also my boss{employer} had sex with me without my consent when he drugged me.* Some children who were forced into begging/selling goods also experienced sexual abuse from their employer, and in a few interviews, participants said their employer made them have sex with others as well. One 14-year-old male described:

Respondent: (in a low tone and tears in his eyes) my boss the one I call my friend most days especially weekends always bring men at home who fuck me in the anus but after they pay him though I don't receive a penny claiming that he takes care of me by giving me medication, shelter and food. Also he forces himself on me but whenever I ask him when will this thing stop he just tells me that I haven't reached that level of questioning him but if I want to leave the door is open.

To further illustrate the repeated abuses many participants experienced, the following quote was from a 22-year-old pregnant female respondent whose experiences represent the majority of those individuals in sex work who reported abuse from both customers and employers:

Respondent: Sometimes we get people who hit us after serving them but those are the things we get in the bar and still at this new bar, my boss is not good, he abuses us, he is so rude. He screams at you for not doing something to the customer. If you do not work in case you have a problem, he deducts that money and says he is not going to pay you because you have not worked and still, he forces you to sleep with other men.

Interviewer: Do they all pay you in cash

Respondent: No some do not pay. He uses you then at the end he doesn't make a single payment saying he already paid to your boss. When he says that, you cannot even complain because at times he can even beat you for nothing when you insist on asking for money, so you just walk away.

Interviewer: What about abusing you?

Respondent: Yes my boss abuses me.

Interviewer: Where does it come from?

Respondent: Sometimes when you have not worked or when you have worked but there are no customers and then he says that you have not worked, that he sent customers to sleep with you and yet you did not sleep with them things like that and with this he cannot pay you?

Interviewer: If you get a man without a condom, don't you get scared that you will fall sick?

Respondent: I do get scared but if the other one has already paid the boss, you cannot stop them: you cannot tell them that you will go out and get condoms. You cannot even call the boss. Those are the challenges we face

Interviewer: Can you report him to your boss when something like that happens?

Respondent: Yes, but even if you report him he says that, that is how work is supposed to be, we are working. If they beat you, you just have to hide it because my boss cannot refuse any customer because he very well knows that it is the customer that gives money.

Decision to stay and consequences of leaving the job

Regardless of the extensive abuse participants experienced in sex work and begging/selling of goods, most did not leave their jobs. Many participants described feeling forced to work and pressure to work due to life circumstances and lack of other options. One male who had been forced into begging/selling goods said, *you just feel shy, feel bad, feel guilty and you feel you are not yourself but you still need to do so that you can get something to eat*. A 25-year-old single mother of one child who was in sex work said, *At this time, if I don't work, I will not eat or sleep, I have to take care of my baby*. Another respondent in sex work who also was expecting a child explained:

Interviewer: Do you ever feel pressured at the job

Respondent: Yes I do, though now I am motivated because of my pregnancy. I really do not like it because now I got pregnant so I feel bad but I do not have anything to do about it because losing the job will be worse. Imagine I am pregnant and when I lose my job, I will not be able to take care of my child when I give birth. That is why I want to keep around and continue working, when I am told to do this: I do it, when I am told to do this I do it because I have nothing to do.

In addition to life circumstances serving as a source of pressure to remain in abusive situations, some employers verbally and physically abused the respondents if they tried to refuse to work. One 14-year-old female who was forced to enter sex work and continued to participate described feeling pressured into working and employer manipulation when she complained:

Interviewer: Do you ever feel pressured to do this work?

Respondent: Yes, I entered when I do not want: It is hard for me to do something I didn't study for

Interviewer: Have you ever told your boss about it?

Respondent: Yes I did, I told her that I was not interested in this job and she screamed at me. She asked me if I didn't know that I was gaining from the job but even the gaining she talks about I do not see it.

Another participant shared that if she didn't work and bring money to her employer she would go without food, be physically abused, and potentially killed. The participant was a 19-year-old single parent of two, and described how her employer would respond if she didn't work:

Interviewer. What happens if you don't give her any money?

Respondent. She gets very angry and doesn't give you food on a day you have not got any money.

Interviewer. So, you mean you and the baby will go hungry that day?

Respondent. She will give something to the baby.

Interviewer. What happens when you refuse to work?

Respondent. She would kill Me, i cannot refuse, she can beat me up, she forces us.

Similarly, a 13-year-old male who was forced into begging/selling of goods by his mother described:

Interviewer: What would happen if you refused to work?

Respondent: My mother can kill me because one day I told her that I was fed up and she told me that she will bury me alive, so I had to chill that conversation. You know my mother likes money more than evil spirits and she doesn't care even if you're her child

Summary Key Trafficking Victimization Outcomes (Experienced)

Abuses experienced. Table 9 summarizes the types of exploitation and abuse experienced by those engaged in the commercial sex trade and involved in begging and selling of goods. Not surprisingly, those involved in the sex trade experienced more sexual abuses (71.8%) versus those engaged in begging and sales (14.9%). They were also more likely to have their possessions confiscated (65.0% versus 43.3%) and be forced to consume drugs and alcohol (40.3% versus 26.7%). However, minors engaged in begging and selling goods were more likely to be restricted in who they could communicate with and where they could go (41.7% versus 65.0%), experience fear (81.6% versus 74.5%), and experience physical violence (69.8% versus 60.1%)

Table 9: Summary Key Trafficking Victimization Outcomes (Experienced)

All Sample		HTI Sex		HTI Labor		Two-Step Sex		Two-Step Labor	
%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted %

Q59.1 Sexual Abuses Experienced										
Sample size (N)	1429		819		424		468		317	
No	51.7(739)	54.1	28.2(231)	30.1	85.1(361)	90.9	17.9(84)	17.9	83.0(263)	89.7
Yes	48.3(690)	45.9	71.8(588)	69.9	14.9(63)	9.1	82.1(384)	82.1	17.0(54)	10.3
Q57.1 Restriction of Communication/Move Experienced										
Sample size (N)	1732		1021		501		567		383	
No	60.7(1051)	65.9	65.0(664)	72.4	41.7(209)	41.6	41.8(237)	48.0	30.0(115)	30.1
Yes	39.3(681)	34.1	35.0(357)	27.6	58.3(292)	58.4	58.2(330)	52.0	70.0(268)	69.9
Q59.1 Fear Experienced										
Sample size (N)	1598		948		446		548		338	
No	28.8(461)	31.3	25.5(242)	28.2	18.4(82)	18.7	13.9(76)	16.1	14.2(48)	13.9
Yes	71.2(1137)	68.7	74.5(706)	71.8	81.6(364)	81.3	86.1(472)	83.9	85.8(290)	86.1
Q59.1 Confiscation of Valuables Experienced										
Sample size (N)	1719		1025		483		578		364	
No	44.9(771)	46.4	35.0(359)	38.2	56.7(274)	55.3	24.7(143)	29.1	54.7(199)	51.8
Yes	55.1(948)	53.6	65.0(666)	61.8	43.3(209)	44.7	75.3(435)	70.9	45.3(165)	48.2
Q59.1 Drug Controlled Experienced										
Sample size (N)	1670		998		464		568		353	
No	66.5(1111)	71.7	59.7(596)	66.1	73.3(340)	77.5	43.1(245)	44.2	67.7(239)	72.1
Yes	33.5(559)	28.3	40.3(402)	33.9	26.7(124)	22.5	56.9(323)	55.8	32.3(114)	27.9
Q59.1 Physical Violence Experienced										
Sample size (N)	1748		1026		510		579		387	
No	41.5(725)	48.4	39.9(409)	48.2	30.2(154)	32.8	28.8(167)	35.5	22.5(87)	25.6
Yes	58.5(1023)	51.6	60.1(617)	51.8	69.8(356)	67.2	71.2(412)	64.5	77.5(300)	74.4

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Summary of Key Trafficking Victimization Outcomes (If...Would...)

Abuses they would have experienced if they refused to work or tried to change their employer. Table 10 summarizes the types of exploitation and abuse the respondent believed they would experience if they tried to refuse work when they first started, change their employer and/or refused to work at all. Similar to the abuses they experienced at the hands of their employers and clients, those engaged in the sex trade were more likely to encounter the following abuses compared to those involved in begging and sales: sexual violence (13.7% versus 0.9%), confiscation of valuables (39.5% versus 17.5%), and forced to consume drugs and alcohol (6.1% versus 3.6%). Minors forced to beg and sell goods were more likely to experience: physical violence (57.4% versus 29.7%), restrictions in who they could communicate with and where they could go (27.5% versus 16.3%), experience fear (86.1% versus 78.0%), and a general deprivation of basic needs such as food, sleep, and water (65.5% versus 45.4%).

Table 10: Summary Key Trafficking Victimization Outcomes (If...Would...)

	All Sample	HTI Sex	HTI Labor	Two-Step Sex	Two-Step Labor
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	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%
What would happen if: Q37 Refused First Time/Q55 Change Employ/Q58 Refused Forced Work & Q61 Reason Still Stay										
-Sexual Violence										
Sample size (N)	1787		1041		530		583		404	
No	91.2(1629)	94.6	86.3(898)	92.1	99.1(525)	98.7	75.6(441)	84.0	98.5(398)	98.3
Yes	8.8(158)	5.4	13.7(143)	7.9	0.9(5)	1.3	24.4(142)	16.0	1.5(6)	1.7
-Physical Violence										
Sample size (N)	1787		1041		530		583		404	
No	64.0(1143)	68.2	70.3(732)	77.8	42.6(226)	39.7	50.8(296)	56.5	32.2(130)	27.7
Yes	36.0(644)	31.8	29.7(309)	22.2	57.4(304)	60.3	49.2(287)	43.5	67.8(274)	72.3
-Restriction of Communication/Move										
Sample size (N)	1787		1041		530		583		404	
No	81.0(1448)	85.7	83.7(871)	89.7	72.5(384)	74.8	70.7(412)	77.9	65.8(266)	68.5
Yes	19.0(339)	14.3	16.3(170)	10.3	27.5(146)	25.2	29.3(171)	22.1	34.2(138)	31.5
-Fear										
Sample size (N)	1598		948		446		548		338	
No	25.5(408)	27.9	22.0(209)	24.5	13.9(62)	14.1	8.6(47)	9.8	9.8(33)	9.4
Yes	74.5(1190)	72.1	78.0(739)	75.5	86.1(384)	85.9	91.4(501)	90.2	90.2(305)	90.6
-Confiscation of Valuables										
Sample size (N)	1787		1041		530		583		404	
No	69.9(1250)	71.1	60.5(630)	65.4	82.5(437)	75.5	55.7(325)	59.5	82.9(335)	76.8
Yes	30.1(537)	28.9	39.5(411)	34.6	17.5(93)	24.5	44.3(258)	40.5	17.1(69)	23.2
-Drug Controlled										
Sample size (N)	1787		1041		530		583		404	
No	95.3(1703)	97.4	93.9(978)	97.0	96.4(511)	97.0	89.4(521)	94.8	95.3(385)	96.1
Yes	4.7(84)	2.6	6.1(63)	3.0	3.6(19)	3.0	10.6(62)	5.2	4.7(19)	3.9
-Deprivation of Basic Needs										
Sample size (N)	1787		1041		530		583		404	
No	51.7(923)	56.9	54.6(568)	62.9	34.5(183)	31.5	22.6(132)	27.7	24.3(98)	19.4
Yes	48.3(864)	43.1	45.4(473)	37.1	65.5(347)	68.5	77.4(451)	72.3	75.7(306)	80.6
-Legal Act										
Sample size (N)	1787		1041		530		583		404	
No	98.4(1758)	98.8	98.2(1022)	98.9	98.5(522)	98.9	96.6(563)	97.1	98.0(396)	98.5
Yes	1.6(29)	1.2	1.8(19)	1.1	1.5(8)	1.1	3.4(20)	2.9	2.0(8)	1.5
-Hold IDs										
Sample size (N)	1787		1041		530		583		404	
No	97.3(1739)	98.9	95.8(997)	98.2	99.4(527)	99.7	92.5(539)	96.3	99.3(401)	99.6
Yes	2.7(48)	1.1	4.2(44)	1.8	0.6(3)	0.3	7.5(44)	3.7	0.7(3)	0.4

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Help Seeking

Help sought. A little more than a quarter of those engaged in the commercial sex trade sought help (29.8%) whereas approximately one quarter of minors involved in begging and sales sought help (25.0%). Individuals engaged in the sex trade were most likely to seek help from a co-worker (14.1%), a friend (24.6%), and most surprisingly, the police (20.1%). Minors involved in begging

and selling of goods were most likely to seek help from a community leader (20.5%), or a friend (25.4%).

Table 11: Help Seeking

	All Sample		HTI Sex		HTI Labor		Two-Step Sex		Two-Step Labor	
	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%	%(N)	adjusted%
Q64 Have you ever gone to anyone for help regarding any of the questions we just asked you?										
Sample size (N)	1770		1033		527		578		403	
No	72.4(1282)	72.3	70.2(725)	69.9	75.0(395)	73.9	68.5(396)	69.7	75.4(304)	73.8
Yes	27.6(488)	27.7	29.8(308)	30.1	25.0(132)	26.1	31.5(182)	30.3	24.6(99)	26.2
Q65 Who did you go to for help? (If they said yes to Q64)										
Sample size (N)	450		284		122		172		92	
co worker	13.1(59)	15.6	14.1(40)	18.0	9.0(11)	7.4	9.9(17)	11.9	9.8(9)	8.7
community leader	10.7(48)	9.5	7.7(22)	7.0	20.5(25)	17.8	9.9(17)	7.2	18.5(17)	16.8
community organization	8.0(36)	5.7	8.8(25)	4.8	6.6(8)	8.1	10.5(18)	5.6	7.6(7)	9.2
doctor	5.6(25)	5.7	7.0(20)	8.1	0.8(1)	0.2	6.4(11)	3.4	1.1(1)	0.3
friend	25.3(114)	22.6	24.6(70)	23.6	25.4(31)	21.9	25.0(43)	20.2	27.2(25)	22.9
other family member	5.8(26)	7.8	3.9(11)	4.8	9.0(11)	14.2	4.1(7)	5.3	5.4(5)	9.4
parents	4.0(18)	4.4	1.8(5)	0.9	9.8(12)	12.0	2.3(4)	0.7	10.9(10)	14.8
police	16.0(72)	15.7	20.1(57)	21.0	9.8(12)	5.9	18.6(32)	15.5	12.0(11)	7.7
priest imam	4.0(18)	3.6	4.6(13)	5.1	2.5(3)	0.5	4.7(8)	4.6	1.1(1)	0.1
sibling	2.7(12)	3.4	2.8(8)	3.9	0.8(1)	2.2	1.7(3)	0.7	1.1(1)	3.0
stranger	4.9(22)	5.6	4.6(13)	3.9	5.7(7)	9.9	7.0(12)	6.7	5.4(5)	9.4

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Services Received

Services received and not received. When asked what kind of help they received from those they sought help from, the majority of individuals from both populations stated that the person or organization did not help them (43.5% of those in the sex trade and 56.5% of those who begged and sold goods). However, minors involved in begging and selling goods were more likely to receive shelter, food and clothing (18.5%) as opposed to those in the sex trade (9.2%). When asked what help and services they wished they received, those in the commercial sex trade reported: shelter, food and clothing (28.2%), another job (16.0%) and wished someone arrested their exploiter (15.5%). Minors engaged in begging and selling of goods wished that someone brought them to a doctor (22.7%), gave them money/capital (22.7%) and provided them with shelter, food and clothing (13.4%).

Help not sought. When asked why they did not seek help, respondents stated a number of reasons. Those engaged in the sex trade were more likely to not seek help than those involved in begging and sales because they felt ashamed (23.6% versus 12.3%) whereas those in begging and sales were more likely to fear being hurt by their exploiter than those in the sex trade (24.6% versus 12.3%).

Table 12: Services Received

	All Sample	HTI Sex	HTI Labor	Two-Step Sex	Two-Step Labor
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	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted %	%(N)	adjusted%
Q66 How did this person/organization help you? (If they said yes to Q64)										
Sample size (N)	393		260		92		156		73	
arrest exploiter	11.5(45)	14.5	12.7(33)	16.8	8.7(8)	9.5	7.7(12)	7.6	6.8(5)	7.6
contact service provider	6.6(26)	6.2	8.8(23)	8.7	0.0(0)	0.0	12.2(19)	9.5	0.0(0)	0.0
shelter food clothing	10.7(42)	7.3	9.2(24)	6.0	18.5(17)	14.4	12.2(19)	6.9	23.3(17)	18.1
got me job	1.8(7)	1.4	1.9(5)	0.8	2.2(2)	4.0	0.6(1)	0.1	1.4(1)	1.2
brought me to doctor	7.1(28)	7.0	7.7(20)	7.3	4.3(4)	7.2	8.3(13)	4.4	4.1(3)	5.4
DID NOT HELP ME	47.3(186)	46.9	43.5(113)	46.3	56.5(52)	41.5	48.1(75)	45.9	56.2(41)	40.9
spiritual guidance	14.5(57)	12.7	15.8(41)	12.5	8.7(8)	12.4	10.3(16)	9.0	8.2(6)	14.7
reunited my family	0.5(2)	0.2	0.4(1)	0.2	1.1(1)	0.4	0.6(1)	0.3	0.0(0)	0.0
Q67 Did you get the help you needed? (If they said yes to Q64)										
Sample size (N)	494		313		133		186		100	
No	38.9(192)	37.8	37.1(116)	37.3	40.6(54)	33.7	41.4(77)	44.0	42.0(42)	35.1
Some help, but not everything I needed	28.3(140)	29.5	28.4(89)	27.8	33.8(45)	39.6	29.6(55)	29.7	34.0(34)	45.2
Yes	32.8(162)	32.7	34.5(108)	34.9	25.6(34)	26.6	29.0(54)	26.3	24.0(24)	19.8
Q68 What do you wish this person/organization did to help you? (If they said yes to Q64)										
Sample size (N)	331		206		97		133		75	
Arrest my exploiter	12.4(41)	12.7	15.5(32)	15.8	5.2(5)	7.1	10.5(14)	10.5	6.7(5)	8.5
Bring me to a doctor	1.8(6)	1.7	2.9(6)	2.8	22.7(22)	27.4	3.8(5)	4.8	25.3(19)	30.3
Enroll me in school	10.6(35)	10.2	4.9(10)	2.4	4.1(4)	4.4	6.8(9)	5.1	2.7(2)	4.6
Financial assistance	4.8(16)	4.9	5.3(11)	5.3	9.3(9)	10.2	5.3(7)	5.9	4.0(3)	5.2
Get me another job	14.5(48)	14.3	16.0(33)	16.2	4.1(4)	1.4	17.3(23)	14.4	2.7(2)	0.9
Give me capital	5.1(17)	4.1	5.3(11)	5.3	22.7(22)	20.9	5.3(7)	7.3	22.7(17)	20.7
Give me spiritual advice	3.6(12)	4.7	4.4(9)	4.2	11.3(11)	14.7	4.5(6)	3.8	12.0(9)	14.5
Other	15.7(52)	16.7	13.1(27)	16.4	7.2(7)	8.8	10.5(14)	10.0	8.0(6)	9.7
Provide me with shelter and food and clothing	21.8(72)	24.0	28.2(58)	28.6	13.4(13)	5.1	28.6(38)	32.5	16.0(12)	5.6
Reunite me with my family	3.9(13)	4.7	1.9(4)	2.1	5.2(5)	7.1	3.8(5)	4.0	6.7(5)	8.5

They didn't help	5.7(19)	2.1	2.4(5)	1.0	22.7(22)	27.4	3.8(5)	1.8	25.3(19)	30.3
Q69 Why didn't you seek help? (If they said no to Q64)										
Sample size (N) ³	1522		878		463		494		357	
I didn't know where to go for help	25.6(390)	23.3	25.1(220)	21.5	28.1(130)	28.2	26.7(132)	26.4	28.9(103)	29.3
I didn't think anyone could help me	22.2(338)	22.0	22.8(200)	22.9	18.1(84)	18.8	19.2(95)	19.1	14.6(52)	13.8
I was ashamed	19.6(298)	20.8	23.6(207)	26.2	12.3(57)	8.6	20.4(101)	16.9	11.5(41)	8.2
I was scared I would be hurt by my exploiter	15.7(239)	15.6	12.3(108)	12.1	24.6(114)	26.0	19.0(94)	21.9	30.3(108)	32.6
Other ¹	16.9(257)	18.2	16.3(143)	17.2	16.8(78)	18.3	14.6(72)	15.7	14.8(53)	16.1

¹ Respondents who claimed to have worked in both sex work and forced begging/selling were excluded from the population-specific analysis. ² Percentages reflect effective sample sizes.

Help seeking & services received by individuals involved in forced begging and sales

Individuals engaged in begging and selling of goods did not often seek help from police or organizations. A common sentiment among street children was that they were afraid that if they go to the police to report their employer, the police would instead arrest them or not believe their claims. The few that went to the police to report their employer, the police either did not help them, or the children had suspicions that the police and their employers were connected or took bribes from their employer. In terms of organizations, many street children did not seek help because of a lack of awareness of such organizations. However, when they did have the knowledge and approach organizations, they would at times receive assistance with school fees and job training. For example, one 12-year-old female explained:

Interviewer: have you ever tried to talk to someone about what you're going through?

Respondent: yes, I talked to the organization that pays for my school fees

Interviewer: did they give you the help you wanted?

Respondent: maybe yes because they tried to talk to my mother and she somehow changed her attitude towards me. She also accepted and allowed them to take me to school though on some conditions that when am not at school, I go and work on streets and at the market. Also at the organization sometimes they give us food and train us how to dance and also socialize with my young fellows.

When asked about whether he had ever gone to the police or any other organization to report his employer's abuse, a 17-year-old male said:

Respondent: For going to the police its useless, remember I told you at the start that when they used to arrest us he could just come to police and talk to them, we never knew whether he had a big position in the police, it's not that he had much money, no, so that just shows that they will not do anything to him even though you take him to police, they can release him and he will continue looking for you, so it's better you just let be and run away without him looking for you.

Help seeking & services received by individuals involved in sex work

Similar to individuals engaged in begging and selling of goods, those involved in sex work do not often seek help from police or organizations. Participants engaged in sex work identified the police as an option for help seeking, but often refrained from approaching them for assistance due to feelings of shame, past experiences of abuse by police, and the belief the police were ineffective and corrupt. As with children who beg/sell goods, many individuals involved in sex work did not seek help because of a lack of awareness of organizations that might assist them with the abuse they experienced. One 21-year-old female said, *there is no organization I reached out to because I don't know any of them*. Another participant who was a 23-year-old female also explained:

Interviewer: Do you know any organization you would approach for help if someone was treating you wrongly?

Respondent: In case a person treats you wrongly! Like so far I didn't know any organization that I knew where I would run too for help for me as person I didn't know any organization.

Those who were aware of organizations that could help them, they were primarily public health related organizations where they could receive medical treatment for HIV/AIDs or sexually transmitted diseases. A 21-year-old female explained:

Interviewer: Is there any organization that you know you can approach for help in case you are treated wrongly or badly?

Respondent: Yeah, I got it now that's the organization that gives me treatment I can tell them they give me counseling.

Interviewer: Have you ever approached the organization?

Respondent: Yeah because it's where I go to the hospital for treatment

Interviewer: What is the name of the organization?

Respondent: It's called mappi

Interviewer: What kind of help do they give you if you go there?

Respondent: They gives us counseling services, they give us money for buying food in case we don't have, we take drugs, I can tell them how the illness has been treating me badly but I need this and they give it you. Okay in every bad situation you be in that is problematic they can help you.

Risk Factors for Those Who Have Experienced Sex and Labor Trafficking in Kampala, Uganda – HTI Method

Finally, we conducted multivariate statistical analysis to detect risk factors (or conversely, protective factors) associated with the likelihood experiencing sex and labor trafficking victimization. Many factors are associated with the person's susceptibility to sex and labor trafficking. These factors (or covariates) can be grouped into three categories: (1) demographic profile, such as gender and age: (2) why they chose to work outside the home: and (3) who introduced them to the work.

Not surprisingly, women were more likely to experience sex trafficking than men and men were more likely to experience forced begging and selling of goods. Young adults, ages 18-25, were more likely to be trafficked for sex than those 17 and younger, and those who were formerly married were more likely to be sex trafficked than those who were single. Those with a Senior O Level education had a higher likelihood of being sex trafficked than those without a formal education whereas those with a Senior O Level education were less likely to be forced to beg and sell goods than those without a formal education. Minors from the Basoga ethnic group were more likely to experience labor trafficking than those from the Baganda tribe.

Those who had been trafficked for sex had a higher likelihood of being lured into working outside the home by individuals who were not family or friends and those who had been trafficked for labor were more likely to be forced into working outside the home by their parents and other family members.

Table 13: HTI Method Logistic Regression (N = 1740)

	HTI Sex Trafficked (Yes = 1, No = 0)				HTI Labor Trafficked (Yes = 1, No = 0)				Reference Groups
	Coefficient	Std	Odds Ratio	95% CI	Coefficient	Std	Odds Ratio	95% CI	
Gender									
Male	-3.908**	0.4	0.02**	(0.009, 0.044)	3.156**	0.273	23.474**	(13.736, 40.116)	Female
Age Group									
Group 18-25	2.038**	0.24	7.679**	(4.8, 12.284)	-2.087**	0.266	0.124**	(0.074, 0.209)	Group 17 and Younger
Group 26-40	1.553**	0.377	4.723**	(2.256, 9.89)	-2.215**	0.39	0.109**	(0.051, 0.234)	Group 17 and Younger
Group 41 and Older	0.321	0.831	1.378	(0.271, 7.018)	-3.009**	0.821	0.049**	(0.01, 0.247)	Group 17 and Younger
Religion									
Muslim	0.331	0.255	1.392	(0.844, 2.295)	-0.318	0.238	0.728	(0.456, 1.161)	Christian
Other Religion	0.791**	0.268	2.205**	(1.304, 3.727)	-0.093	0.256	0.911	(0.552, 1.505)	Christian
Marital Status									
Separated	-0.132	0.334	0.876	(0.455, 1.687)	0.264	0.317	1.302	(0.699, 2.424)	Single
In a Relationship	-0.21	0.471	0.81	(0.322, 2.041)	0.469	0.42	1.599	(0.702, 3.645)	Single
Formerly Married	1.362*	0.572	3.902*	(1.272, 11.974)	-0.806	0.738	0.447	(0.105, 1.897)	Single

Number of Children									
1 or 2 Children	0.428	0.263	1.534	(0.916, 2.568)	-0.211	0.293	0.81	(0.456, 1.437)	No Children
3 or More Children	0.519	0.444	1.68	(0.704, 4.01)	-0.483	0.423	0.617	(0.269, 1.413)	No Children
Highest Education									
Primary 1-7	0.734	0.402	2.083	(0.947, 4.584)	-0.551	0.377	0.577	(0.276, 1.206)	No Formal Education
Senior O Level (1-4)	1.189**	0.449	3.284**	(1.363, 7.915)	-1.519**	0.409	0.219**	(0.098, 0.488)	No Formal Education
Senior A Level (5-6)	1.893	1.497	6.641	(0.353, 124.794)	-1.491*	0.67	0.225*	(0.061, 0.837)	No Formal Education
College	-0.965	1.147	0.381	(0.04, 3.605)	0.498	0.622	1.646	(0.486, 5.57)	No Formal Education
Ethnic Group									
Banyankole	-0.521	0.333	0.594	(0.309, 1.142)	-0.109	0.28	0.897	(0.518, 1.551)	Baganda
Basoga	-1.025**	0.379	0.359**	(0.17, 0.754)	0.873**	0.306	2.395**	(1.314, 4.366)	Baganda
Rwandese	-0.243	0.601	0.784	(0.241, 2.549)	-0.087	0.642	0.917	(0.26, 3.228)	Baganda
Other Ethnic Groups	-0.4	0.246	0.67	(0.414, 1.084)	0.575*	0.253	1.778*	(1.084, 2.917)	Baganda
Why Work Outside H									
To look for work	0.312	0.238	1.366	(0.858, 2.177)	0.56*	0.222	1.751*	(1.134, 2.704)	NOT looking for work
Mistreatment at Home	0.759*	0.332	2.136*	(1.115, 4.092)	0.214	0.24	1.238	(0.773, 1.983)	NOT mistreated at H
Lured into working outside Home	0.627**	0.241	1.871**	(1.167, 3)	0.272	0.214	1.313	(0.863, 1.998)	NOT lured
Forced into working outside Home	0.761*	0.304	2.14*	(1.18, 3.882)	0.803**	0.291	2.232**	(1.261, 3.952)	NOT forced
Dropped out of school	0.176	0.276	1.192	(0.693, 2.049)	-0.135	0.248	0.874	(0.537, 1.421)	NOT dropped out
Introduced or Pressured into Doing This Job by									
Friends	0.465	0.336	1.593	(0.825, 3.076)	-0.389	0.314	0.678	(0.366, 1.255)	NOT by friends
Parents	-2.351**	0.354	0.095**	(0.048, 0.191)	1.137**	0.386	3.118**	(1.462, 6.647)	NOT by parents
Other Family Members	-0.156	0.332	0.856	(0.446, 1.641)	0.653*	0.318	1.922*	(1.03, 3.587)	NOT by other family members
Other Individuals	0.953**	0.362	2.593**	(1.276, 5.269)	-0.247	0.325	0.781	(0.413, 1.475)	NOT by other individuals
Constant	-1.692**	0.571	0.184**	(0.06, 0.564)	-0.212	0.556	0.809	(0.272, 2.407)	
¹ Notes: ** = p < 0.01, * = p < 0.05									

Population Estimate

As shown in the above detailed presentations of the specific abuses the respondents reported having experienced human trafficking violations that were not only severe but also pervasive, regardless of which method one uses to identify who is a victim. In this section, we will summarize all the population estimation figures into a few condensed numbers to illustrate the extent of the trafficking victimization in our target population.

As shown in the technical white paper in Appendix B, sophisticated statistical procedures were used to estimate the size of the target population. As discussed in Appendix B, the population estimates generated for this study were based on an estimated total population size of 5,000, which includes both individuals involved in sex work and begging and sales in Kampala, Uganda. We used 5,000 as the baseline estimate due to the fact that there is little research out there on the population sizes of both of these groups, nor is there government administrative data that could be used for baseline estimate purposes. The table below breaks down the weighted estimates for each population: forced labor and sex trafficking, children and adults, and two-step method versus HTI method.

Total	Number	Standard Error	Confidence Interval
Population Estimate	8,150	1,091	6,011; 10,289
Minors	2,697	391	1,931; 3,463
Adults	5,453	745	3,992; 6,913
Victims (Two-step Method)	4,324	597	3,154; 5,493
Victims (HTI Method)	7,402	995	5,452; 9352
Minor Victims (Two-step Method)	2,174	323	1,541; 2,808
Minor Victims (HTI Method)	2,541	370	1,815; 3,268
Adult Victims (Two-step Method)	2,148	313	1,535; 2,762
Adult Victims (HTI Method)	4,860	669	3,549; 6,170
Begging/Sales (Minors Only)			
Population Estimate	2,003	300	1,416; 2,591
Minor Victims (Two-step Method)	1,501	236	1,039; 1,963
Minor Victims (HTI Method)	1,878	284	1,322; 2,435
Sex Trade			
Population Estimate	5,384	736	3,942; 6,825
Minors	615	122	376; 854
Adults	4,769	658	3,479; 6,056
Victims (Two-step Method)	2,411	350	1,725; 3,097
Victims (HTI Method)	4,924	677	3,596; 6,251
Minor Victims (Two-step Method)	615	122	376; 854
Minor Victims (HTI Method)	615	122	376; 854
Adult Victims (Two-step Method)	1,796	275	1,257; 2,334
Adult Victims (HTI Method)	4,308	599	3,133; 5,483

Estimate limitations

The biggest challenge in this study was to derive a reasonable estimation of the size of the target population, that is, the total number of (1) children engaged in begging and selling goods, and (2) adults engaged in the commercial sex trade (the assumption is made that a minor involved in the commercial sex trade is automatically deemed a victim of trafficking). As shown in the technical white paper produced by our chief statistician, Dr. Vincent, the initial number of 5,000 as the size of our target population was based on formative assessment and guestimates provided by our field contacts. In the absence of any existing similar studies or auxiliary data from official sources, we relied on statistical procedures to derive population estimates and resulted in three sets of estimated population sizes with corresponding confidence intervals—pre-pandemic, during pandemic, and both. These figures are perhaps more theoretically solid than empirically validated, although they do provide a good starting point from which future research can benefit. However, regardless of the actual target population sizes, we have found time and again the rates of trafficking violations in all segments of the sample were pervasive regardless of the counting rules.

Law Enforcement Interactions

A multitude of themes emerged from interviews with those involved in sex work and begging and selling goods in the Kampala District in regard to help seeking from police and police contact. Overall, contact with police evoked feelings of fear and distrust and even instances of abuse and exploitation. Specifically, both groups expressed that police in Uganda are generally unhelpful, corrupt, extort help seekers for money in exchange for assistance, exert physical and verbal abuse, do not take their reports seriously, accuse help seekers of lying, and blame them for their own victimization due to the form of labor they are engaged in. Additionally, these groups fear being arrested for the work they engage in, and how that arrest may impact their family. In-depth descriptions of the themes that emerged in each group are delineated in the proceeding sections.

Sex work

Individuals involved in the sex trade, whether there is evidence of trafficking or not, experience many unique challenges when determining whether to report their victimization to the Ugandan police. In interviews ($n=88$) with sex workers and sex trafficked individuals, they were asked if they have ever tried to approach the local police. An overwhelming majority of interviewees, 57 percent (50), responded that they have never reported an incident to the police, 13 percent (12) responded that they have reported incidents to the police, but the police were not helpful, 7 percent (6) of respondents reported that they have reported incidents to the police, and the police were helpful, and 23 percent (20) of interviewees did not specify if they have reported any incident to the police.

As indicated, almost three quarters of participants either stated they have never reported an incident to the police, or they have and found the police unhelpful. This is due to a host of reasons. Most predominantly, interviewees voiced that they felt ashamed of working in the sex trade, whether voluntarily or forcefully. They discussed how engaging in sex work is viewed as immoral and are thus treated harshly while seeking help. This is illustrated through a response from an interviewee being asked if they have approached the police for help:

Where will you report? They know that any woman here is a sex worker. We don't have an office concerned with affairs of sex workers and at the police you will go and be pitied. They know us as people who brought immorality on earth and yet we don't do it willingly.

Those involved in the sex trade have difficulty reaching out for and receiving help due to the stigma surrounding sex work. Police openly shame them and blame sex workers for their own victimization because of their engagement in the sex trade, regardless of whether it is by choice or not. Further, adding to feelings of shame in their work, sex workers are publicly disgraced when arrested for prostitution. Participants described the shame and dread they felt after appearing in the media after they are arrested. One interviewee said:

For me I always don't want them to take me to the lodge because they are not yet open and if the police come and finds me there automatically, I will be in the news: so now my grandmother sees me doing jobs she never expects me to be doing.

This sense of shame breeds fear among sex workers. They experience great distress about being arrested if they go in and report their victimization, fear of police abuse (e.g., verbal, physical, and sexual), fear of the impact an arrest and subsequent public shaming will have on their family, and fear of losing their job. Multiple participants detail these fears:

That is what I said before, avoid the police because you can get hurt in the process.

I would want you to know that the police has never helped us at all, and also, they are the same people that come and buy us off the streets.

Interviewer: Do you know of any organization that you can approach in case you are treated wrongly, or have you tried to approach any before?

Respondent: Maybe like the police, you can go there but of course you can't go to the police and tell them that this certain man has denied me my money or has done this wrong because usually when we go there, they ask you the kind of work you do and when we tell them they say that means both of you are thugs and then send you away immediately.

Participants also expressed feelings of distrust toward law enforcement because they feel the police are corrupt. Very often interviewees stated that they do not report crime to the police because the police require payment before they offer help or take bribes from perpetrators and traffickers and release them. Participants detailed issues like reporting a crime to police being a

long and expensive process that does not yield a tangible return, such as an arrest of a perpetrator or simply opening an investigation after they make a report. Interviewees stated:

I went to the police long time ago, but it doesn't help. They want money.

It would have been the police but the police is full of corruption. You take your thief there, then someone pays a bribe and is released from the cells.

But the biggest problem is that the police steal our money, we have to give them money so that they let us go, sometimes they take our money by force after harassing us.

Further, when the police do agree to investigate a crime after receiving payment, they are often unhelpful. Sex workers must already know the perpetrator's exact location or their name in order for police to investigate. Participants detailed their experiences with this issue:

Maybe the police. If you go there when you know the criminal or when you know where the criminal has gone, they can be of help to you.

There are also instances where sex workers are simply unable to go in and talk to police. Issues such as: not knowing how to report a crime to police, not having experienced something that warrants police intervention, language barriers, other sex workers discouraging them from going to the police, and most frequently, a boss or trafficker prohibits them from going to the police through force, fraud, or coercion. Some participants stated:

I got a friend who is now my boss, she introduced me to this business slowly lying to me but whenever I wanted to report to the police or refuse, she would tie me up and beat me.

Interviewer: Wasn't there any organization you could go to report let us say the police or companies that take people abroad. Wasn't there anywhere you could report?

Respondent: Where would you report? There was nowhere to report. They [boss/trafficker] could not even allow moving out of that house. Where would you pass to go and report? There was nowhere to pass! We were inside there as prisoners. At the gate, there was a security guard, and he was commanded that anyone that dared to move out, bullet. There were even two of our friends that were killed when they tried to escape.

Interviewer: After seeing all that [their friends being murdered], how did you feel?

Respondent: A time came, and I hated myself. It reached a time when I wanted to kill myself, I was a living dead.

In the few instances where participants reported police to be helpful (7 percent of responses (6)), they described experiences like, the police facilitating an arrest of the perpetrator, help retrieving lost belongings, and receiving assistance after they had paid the police a fee.

There were also instances where sex workers bypassed police to report their issues to organizations aimed at providing care for sex workers. This was often due to sex workers feeling like police do not understand or care about the unique challenges they face. In addition, there were instances where sex workers felt that organizations were able to advocate for them to the police in providing safer work conditions (e.g., removing a group of violent men who were harassing sex workers from a given location). A participant discusses their experiences with one organization WONESSA:

Interviewer: Do you know of any organization that helps people in your situation?

Respondent: I only know WONESSA because when I had just reached, they told me to get a card from WONESSA and in case of anything, for example being arrested at the police station and when you are arrested, you are not supposed to say that you are a prostitute. You tell them that you work in the bar then our lawyer comes and picks you up.”

Altogether, sex workers face added abuse and exploitation by police to their already difficult and dangerous circumstances. Law enforcement personnel shame, extort, abuse, and victim blame. Even in cases where those engaged in the sex trade want to go to the police, many victimized sex workers are being held captive or fear retaliation from their bosses and traffickers, thus prohibiting their ability to report their abuse. At present, for the participants in this study, organizations and the few instances that police have facilitated justice are the sole occasions sex workers have been able to receive help from law enforcement.

Begging and selling goods

Children and adolescents who sell goods and beg on the street experienced similar challenges with law enforcement as sex workers did. In the interviews ($n=38$) with street children and others who beg and sell goods, they were asked if they have ever tried to approach the local police. A large majority of interviewees in this group, 61 percent (23), responded that they have never reported an incident to the police, 10 percent (4) responded that they have reported incidents to the police, but the police were not helpful, 8 percent (3) of respondents reported that they have reported incidents to the police, and the police were helpful, and 21 percent (8) of interviewees did not specify if they have reported any incident to the police.

Participants expressed that police are generally unhelpful and do not care about their wellbeing. This is illustrated through a number of recurring themes from the interview data. Most frequently, participants discussed their generalized fear of police. Many of them detail experiences of verbal and physical abuse suffered at the hands of police. Two participants note:

They [police] usually beat us when they find us and most of those people [perpetrators] are always figuring their way out.

...where we sleep just at times the police gets us and beats us, there are these thugs who keep checking us and if they find that you have the money, they beat you, take it,

sometimes when the police finds us sleeping on the verandas they take you to be a thug and can beat you, yet you are just stressed and the situation is hard at times.

In addition to experiencing fear of abuse by police, street beggars and sellers fear being arrested and the impact an arrest will have on their family. Several interviewees, 18 percent (7), discuss fears of being arrested when they go to report their victimization. Some participants were arrested instead of the perpetrator:

No way, I can't go to police. Remember these policemen think we are thieves and also government made an initiative of taking us back to our home villages which I don't like so I can't go to police and talk to them. One day when I went to police to report someone who was torturing me on the street, the policemen never listened to me, so they decided to arrest me. Police is our enemy because they torture us.

In line with sex worker experiences, youth forced to beg and sell goods expressed that the police are corrupt and extort them for money in lieu of being arrested. In addition, participants felt that police are often working with their bosses or traffickers. This prompts fear of retaliation from their bosses if they report to police. One participant stated:

Going to the police is useless. Remember I told you at the start that when they used to arrest us he [boss/trafficker] could just come to police and talk to them. We never knew whether he had a big position in the police, it's not that he had much money, no, so that just shows that they will not do anything to him even though you take him to police. They can release him and he will continue looking for you, so it's better you just let be and run away without him looking for you. (

Another common theme that emerged when interviewing children forced to beg and sell goods was that police often do not believe their reports. Police may view them as thieves or criminals and doubt their experiences. And when police do believe their report, police often blame them for their own victimization. Sex workers had similar experiences with police victim blaming. One interviewed youth stated:

So at night, he wanted to sodomize me. He was touching me. I asked him why he was touching me. While I was asleep, he started to remove my trouser I ran away and went to police. When I reached at police, I narrated my story, but they instead called me a mad person. They said that I didn't wear my trouser properly and my words were false, so I left that man's place, and I didn't return back.

In a few instances, 8 percent (3), participants found law enforcement to be helpful. Interviewees said the police were somewhat helpful by arresting the perpetrator. And in another instance, a participant detailed that they reported being abused by their aunty to the police and the police helped by searching for her even though she had already fled the location.

According to those involved in begging and selling goods on the street, law enforcement has been largely unhelpful, violent, and corrupt. Overwhelmingly, this population does not rely on the police in order to receive help. They have either never attempted to approach police, or when they have, they were met with resistance and abuse. When living and working on the streets, individuals face many challenges that require productive intervention.

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