RESPONDING TO PRECARITY: SEX WORKER PEER EDUCATION IN AN ACCRA SLUM

By

Ruth Simister

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Supervisors: Professor Andreas Dafinger

Eva Fodor

Budapest, Hungary

2014

Abstract

Peer education is a popular tool of public health programming. In interventions targeting sex workers, former sex workers are often thought to be the most effective at identifying and supporting this population. There is little understanding, however, of what conceptual and practical strategies sex workers-turned peer educators use in their work, with what effect, and how these are situated within a specific context. These themes were explored using a participatory action research method, photovoice, with peer educators who live and/or work in Old Fadama, an illegal settlement in Accra, Ghana. This method was complemented by ethnographic research with women sex workers in Old Fadama and during activities of non-governmental organizations Theatre for a Change Ghana and Prolink. I characterize work, space and life in Old Fadama as produced and maintained by techniques of *governmental precarization* (Lorey 2011). I argue that sex workers' embodied lives are made acutely precarious in Butler's (2009) sense of being "differentially exposed to injury, violence and death" due to criminalization, stigma and the state's non-recognition of Old Fadama. Furthermore, this research found that peer educators respond to precarity via strategies of career management; spatialization; and development of an intersubjective embodiment of care. I argue that these responses have an ambiguous impact upon the conditions of precarity. These findings contribute to understandings of peer education in sexual and reproductive health programmes; of work in the slum economy; and representations of sex work in the global south.

Key words: informal economy; Old Fadama; peer education; precarity; slum; sex work.

i

Acknowledgements

Contents

Figures

Tables

Introduction

In 2013 I was privileged to work with a group of women participating in a sexual and reproductive health and advocacy project in Accra, Ghana. The women dwelt in the largest slum in the city, Old Fadama, and either presently or previously engaged in sex work[1], an occupation which is criminalized and widely stigmatized in Ghana. Over three months I got to know the women and their community during outreach activities, workshops, and advocacy theatre performances designed and run by the non-governmental organization (NGO) Theatre for a Change Ghana (TFAC). As I became familiar with the women and their environment, I began to question how to refer to participants – did the term "sex worker" coincide with their subjective understandings of work and/or sexual identity? And what part did the precarious setting of Old Fadama play in these constructions? Intrigued by this struggle over representation, I returned to Accra to conduct research with women whom I had known previously as sex workers and were now working as peer educators, tasked with encouraging health promoting behaviours in the community. The struggle over representation led me to seek an understanding of how former sex workers working in Old Fadama with peers regard their former work, and what, if any, relationship there is between work, the environment, and their senses of self. My research questions became: What practical and conceptual strategies do peer educators use in their work, and to what effect? What role does the precarious setting of Old Fadama play in sex workers' and peer educators' practices?

---

[1] In Twi (the language spoken by most research participants), *adjuman* (pidgin for "playing (with) men"), was used to refer to the exchange of income for sex acts. This is a coded term generally known only by those involved in the business; *ashawo* (a Nigerian term with pejorative connotation) is generally used by those not involved in the business. Those who spoke English used the term *sex worker* and *sex work* in conversation and interpretation. I do not assume that peer educators, sex workers and I necessarily share the same cultural and political understandings of these terms. However, I use them descriptively in this thesis since they were the terms used by participants to describe their (former) work.

This thesis presents the outcome of mixed method research conducted with sex workers and former sex workers-come peer educators in Accra in April 2014. Photovoice, a participatory action research method was complemented by ethnographic research methods in Old Fadama and at activities of NGOs TFAC and Prolink. Through collaborative research and analysis, experiences, perceptions and representations of "work" in a broad sense were elicited. In this thesis, sex work is understood as a form of *embodied* labour (Wolkowitz 2006),[2] and sex workers as acutely affected by *precarity*, in Butler's (2009) sense of a "politically induced situation whereby certain populations' lives and bodies are differentially valued," due to criminalization, stigma and the illegal status of Old Fadama. I argue that work, space and life in Old Fadama is produced and maintained by techniques of *governmental precarization* (Lorey 2011), and that peer educators respond to this via strategies of career management; spatialization; and development of an intersubjective embodiment of care. I argue that these responses are an exercise of agency regarding meaning-making and self-representation in an environment which denies such to (former) sex workers, but that they have an ambiguous impact upon the conditions of precarity.

This research highlights the locally embedded and embodied character of peer education and sex work. It contributes to understandings of peer education as part of a career strategy and supports analyses of development interventions with sex workers as failing to address the conditions which produce vulnerability. However, it shows that actors on the ground generate their own ways of addressing vulnerability which are not necessarily visible at the organizational level. The research also contributes to concepts of precarity, by combining analyses of economic, spatial and embodied precarity, and exploring how precarity is responded to in the case of peer education.

---

[2] I borrow Thomas Csordas' concept of embodiment as "an existential condition in which the body is the subjective source or intersubjective ground of experience" (Csordas 1999: 143). I emphasize the intersubjectivity of embodiment, as per Gail Weiss: "the experience of being embodied is never a private affair, but is always already mediated by our continual interactions with other human and nonhuman bodies" (Weiss 1999: 5).

This thesis is organized in the following way: Chapter 1 provides a background to the site of Old Fadama; two NGOs at which I conducted ethnographic research; and an overview of sex work in literature, development praxis and the Ghanaian context. Chapter 2 situates the research within existing literature relating to exiting sex work and peer education; informal space and economy; precarity. In Chapter 3 I detail the theory of the research design and describe the methods used, as well as my positionality in the field. Chapter 4 presents findings and analysis of how they relate to the research questions, in three sections relating to i) precarious work; ii) precarious space; iii) precarious lives.

1. Background

1.1. The site

Research was conducted with women who dwell (or have dwelled) and/or work in Old Fadama, Accra. Also known by the derogatory name Sodom and Gomorrah, this area occupies 31.3 hectares of land along the Odaw River and the Korle Lagoon in Accra; it is the largest illegal settlement[3] in Accra (Grant 2000). As the map below illustrates (Figure 1), it is built around the thriving Agbobloshie market. Adjacent is a large waste site for international electronic equipment (Amankwaa 2013). Old Fadama borders Jamestown, one of Accra's first colonial neighbourhoods, and Accra Central, the city's financial hub.

Old Fadama's story dates from 1991, when hawkers were relocated from Accra Central ahead of the tenth conference of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Accra Metropolitan Authority then relocated the yam market to the area in around 1993, bringing traders who also required shelter, and thus expanded the existing Agbobloshie site. Conflicts in Northern Ghana in the early 1990s, particularly those in 1995, brought migrants to Accra and to Old Fadama in particular, due to low-cost housing and existing kinship ties.

Old Fadama has an estimated population of 80,000 (People's Dialogue 2009: 1). Residents are largely migrants from Northern Ghana, and there is a mobile population which live, work and pass through the slum (Grant 2006). During fieldwork I met and was informed of residents from neighbouring countries. Ghanaian ethnic groups present in the settlement are represented by chiefs, some of whom I visited prior to conducting research as they were considered gatekeepers in the community.

---

[3] In this thesis, I use the terms "settlement" and "slum" interchangeably. This is consistent with the language used in the scant literature referring to Old Fadama and by English-speaking residents.
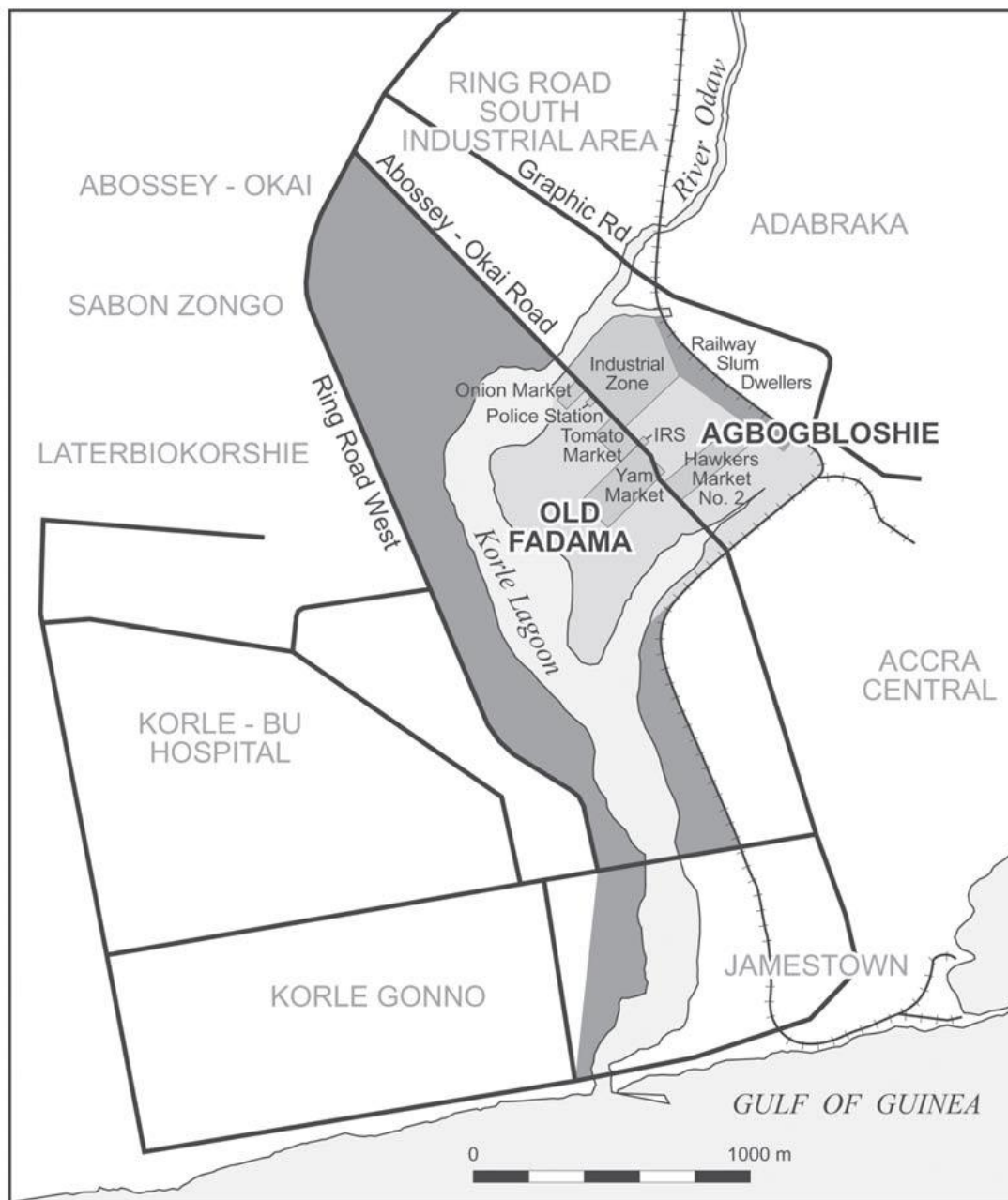
Figure 1: Map of Old Fadama in context. Source: Grant (2006).

Essential services and infrastructure are limited in Old Fadama. Most people live in one-room wooden and corrugated iron shacks – although these are increasingly being replaced by concrete structures - and there are few two-storey buildings. Water is provided by private suppliers and there

5

is an open sewer system which is overburdened by rainfall. Access is limited in many areas, and motorbikes are the main form of transport. The only school facilities are privately run and do not follow the national curriculum. There is no state clinic or hospital. One police station services Agbobloshie, Old Fadama and the neighbouring industrial zone.

In 2002 the settlement was ruled illegal in a High Court decision (Grant 2006) and residents have been and continue to be subject to various municipal relocation plans and forced evictions. These have been resisted both by legal challenges and residents' actions (*ibid.*). Currently, the Accra Metropolitan Authority intends to relocate the yam market, a plan being which is fought by organizations including Slum Dwellers International and Amnesty International.

1.2.   Theatre for a Change Ghana and Prolink

Theatre for a Change Ghana (TFAC) is a Ghanaian registered NGO, founded in 2003 by a British and Ghanaian team. TFAC runs programmes aimed at preventing HIV/AIDS,[4] improving sexual and reproductive health, and reducing gender-based violence. Participatory methods, especially drama, are used within a community development model of behaviour change. I first came into contact with the organization in 2012 and in May-August 2013 travelled to Ghana to carry out an impact assessment of a project. The project participants were ten women who currently or previously generated income from sex work.[5] Participants met weekly for workshops, covering topics of sexual and reproductive health; gender-based violence; and interpersonal skills. The project did not promote exiting sex work, but aimed to equip participants with knowledge and skills to protect their health and wellbeing.

After my departure from Ghana, four TFAC participants who had left sex work and were trading, trained as peer educators. Peer education is a popular public health tool which engages members of a target community, such as sex workers, and, via training in health-related knowledge and behaviour and communication skills, equips them as voluntary or paid educators, and sometimes service providers in their community (Cornish and Campbell 2009). In TFAC's case, staff members and other peer educators generally invite individuals to train in this role. Peer educators receive honoraria for their work. In February 2014 the four women were also employed as project facilitators. This project worked with 20 female sex workers from Old Fadama; it aimed to improve access to legal and healthcare services. Two additional facilitators had previously trained as peer educators with Prolink and worked part-time in this role. Prolink is a Ghanaian NGO which runs

---

[4] Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome and Auto Immune Deficiency Syndrome. According to Ghana Health Service statistics, the HIV prevalence rate in Ghana is 1.37 per cent (3.5 per cent in the Greater Accra Region), described as a low generalized epidemic with pockets of high prevalence among certain sub-populations or geographic regions. (Ghana AIDS Commission 2012).

[5] TFAC does not currently work with male sex workers. Female peer educators informed me that male peer educators work with men who sell sex, and that female sex workers do not have contact with male sex workers.

health promotion projects, including a clinic at Old Fadama which offers STI screening and HIV testing and counselling (HTC), and operates a network of peer educators in this and other Accra communities. Prolink takes a biomedical approach to health education.

1.3. Sex work

Since the 1970s discourse about the sale of sex has been dominated by two academic and political approaches: the "radical feminist" and "sex radical feminist".[6] These approaches rest on essentialized conceptions of the female body as vulnerable site of male power or women's property. Interrogation of their heterosexual and Western bias emerged via attention to the historical and cultural contingency of sexuality (Doezema and Kempadoo 1998; Kaper 2001). Concurrently, the terminology and politics of sex work developed via the labour rights movement. First employed by Leigh (1997), it emphasises the range of labour involved in the sex industry; the sale of sex acts as a form of labour akin to others (and thus decriminalization and attention to working conditions); and the dissociation of sex work from identity.

International development discourse and praxis has responded to these three approaches within the framework of gender rights and sexual and reproductive health. Despite using the language of sex work, many development interventions de-politicize, de-historicize and universalize sex work via a (gendered) poverty lens (Cornwall et al. 2008). Kaper (2001) has argued that this treatment of sex work in the global South builds on constructions of women in the postcolonial setting as perpetually marginalized. In my research, I explore these assessments of development

---

[6] Radical feminists such as Dworkin (1987, 1989); MacKinnon (1990, 1993); Millet (1975); and Pateman (1983) contend that prostitution (the term associated with this approach) is a violation of the body inextricably linked to male power and heterosexuality. It underpins abolitionist campaigns in political and legal arenas to establish prostitution as a violation of women's rights (Scoular 2004: 344). Sex radical feminists such as Delacoste and Alexander (1988) and Pheterson (1989) see sex work as a site for resistance against the patriarchal co-optation of women's bodies. This approach was influential in the foundation of early sex worker rights organisations in the United States and Europe (Jenness 1990).

interventions via the case of sex worker peer education programmes, asking how they are enacted and experienced by former sex workers. Peer educators occupy a middle space between the target population and the development NGO, and thus are an appropriate group for research into how organizational perspectives of sex work map onto local experiences and practices.

I treat sex work as a legitimate form of labour, any harm derived from which stems from laws, policies and social attitudes, whilst recognizing that gender inequalities, and global and local economic inequalities underpin the industry. I conceptualize sex work as a form of embodied labour. This approach foregrounds the "overlapping between the physical, the symbolic, and the sociological" (Braidotti 1994: 2), which I deem particularly appropriate in treatments of sex work due to the intersecting of the socio-political and representational which produce and are produced by the bodily experience of sexual labour.

As noted by Mgbako and Smith (2010), African sex workers have been largely invisible in global conversations on the subject (p.1179) despite the existence of sex workers organizations and political activities (see ASWA 2010). In Ghana, sex work is criminalized as an "offence again public morals" (Ghana Criminal Code (Amendment) Act 2003, Section 274). The work is generally stigmatized, a fact which is compounded by identification of sex workers as main transmitters of HIV.

2. Theoretical frameworks

This research shows that work, space and life in Old Fadama is precarious, and that sex workers' embodied lives therein are made acutely precarious. I argue that peer educators respond to precarity via strategies of career management; spatialization; and development of an intersubjective embodiment of care. These responses are, I contend, an exercise of agency in an environment which denies (former) sex workers value and voice, but have an ambiguous impact upon the conditions of precarity. In this chapter I provide an overview of literature which informs this research and to which it contributes. The chapter is divided into three sections: exiting sex work, entering peer education; informal space and economy; precarity and responses to precarity.

2.1. Exiting sex work, entering peer education

Despite the impulse of much research and praxis to concerning individuals' exit from sex work, few studies have focused exclusively on describing or conceptualizing the process. Those which have done tend to aim at understanding how "successful" exit occurs. "Successful" exit is recognized as a problematic and vague term by Dalla (2006: 289), who describes it as a process rather than event. This research explores the process, but contends that entrance and involvement in sex work is also a process rather than a status, shaped by socio-political and economic context as well as personal factors.

Three distinct approaches can be identified in research about exiting sex work. The first focuses on personal and social factors impacting exit in order to target public health programming. Central to studies by Manopaiboon (2003) and Ingabire et al. (2012), for example, are matters of choice and re-entry within a framework which gives limited scope to women's agency. Their concern is with informing interventions "to prevent entry into sex work and to assist women to leave, and in doing so reduce their risk of exposure to HIV" (Ingabire et al. 2012: 1038). These studies are

complemented by Oselin's (2010) research with women who exited sex work via what she terms "prostitute helping organizations." This approach is relevant to the present research because it too engages with a public health programme; however, it does not construct exiting sex work as *the* or *a* public health good and departs from abolitionist point of view.

The second approach is based on a model of deviancy derived from sociology, psychology and criminology but without clear identification of which disciplinary perspective is prioritized. Thus, in Sanders (2007), for example, it is unclear whether sex work is positioned as a deviant behaviour according to social norms, individual psychology, and/or legislation. Sanders identifies typologies of leaving sex work which, whilst useful for analytic purposes, do not contextualize the process. Furthermore, concurrent treatments of drug use - a very different practice from sex work involving a different exit process - complicate this approach.

The third approach is exemplified by Månsson and Hedin (1999) and Dalla (2006). It builds on Ebaugh's (1988) model of role exit which explored individuals' changes in career or family role, or departure from highly stigmatized roles. It maps various stages in the process from original role to establishing an "ex-role" identity. This approach prioritizes the concept of "final exit," which is taken as a slippery concept in my research. Ebaugh's concept of the "ex-role" is applicable in its attention to redundancy or retirement from a (stigmatized) occupation behaviour and is complemented by other qualitative research about the impact of redundancy and retirement upon selfhood (Atchley 1971, 1976, 1993; Sennett 1998). I build on this work by employing the concept of intersubjective embodiment to understand the social production of selfhood in interaction, something which Ebaugh and Atchley in particular pay inadequate attention due to concentrating on self-esteem.

Across this literature exploration of experiences after exit and the development of a substantial concept of the "ex-role" is limited by the focus on points of entering and exiting sex work and the lack of exploration of what "successful" exit means to individuals. The construction of sex work as a deviant (sexual) identity detracts from understanding the place of work in the lives of sex workers and former sex workers, which is the focus of this research. Dalla (2006) comes closest to offering an insight into what part employment plays in developing an "ex-role" when she writes that for her respondents, employment was a financial necessity, but "also appeared to fill a void […] The work arena provided a context in which these women obtained new skills and received recognition for their abilities and commitment" (p.284). The present research contributes to understanding what "void" employment might fill for former sex workers, and how – questions unexplored by Dalla.

Peer education is one employment option available to former sex workers in some settings. It is globally popular as a key method for public health interventions, especially with populations who are hard to access, and especially across Africa (Kelly et al. 2006). Peer educators are believed to have better access to the target population and the method is itself held to be empowering (Mason-Jones et al. 2010). Ahmed & Seshu's (2012) study of a sex-worker led anti-trafficking programme, however, demonstrates that involvement of target population does not necessarily improve effectiveness in development interventions. The present research inquires how peer educators' relate to sex worker peers, thus contributing to understandings of programme effectiveness.

The majority of studies of peer education in health promotion are quantitative evaluations which prioritize biomedical outcomes for target populations (Macphail and Campbell 1999). These studies tend to describe changes in individuals' health-related knowledge, attitudes and reported behaviours, without conceptualizing processes or attending to community contexts. Cornish and

12

Campbell (2009) provide a rare insight into the importance of context, refuting the universalizing approach to peer education presented by development organizations. Their findings that peer education activities "gain their significance according to the particular context in which they are being implemented" (p.124) premises the current research, which seeks to explore what significance peer educators' activities have for individuals, and how this is shaped by the environment of Old Fadama. Unlike previous studies, this research focuses on peer educators themselves (Mason-Jones et al. 2010 provides a rare inquiry into peer educators' lives) to offer an insight what role their experiences and practices have in determining outcomes.

2.2. Informal space and economy

Treatments of slums in the global South and urban marginality in post-industrial countries demonstrate the integral relationship between space and economic activities. Davis (2006) approaches "favelization" (p.15) in the framework of neoliberal policies which have restructured urban economies in the global South since the 1970s on the back of colonial legacies.[7] The solution, Davis argues, is a radical reworking of cities and of capitalism. De Soto (1989), on the other hand, treats slums as an outcome of the uneven distribution of the fruits of globalization, the solution to which is expansion of the legal, regulated economy of housing and labour. Wacquant (2008) identifies "advanced marginality," as a phenomenon which has emerged in urban spaces in post-industrial countries since the 1970s to produce a new strata of urban poor - the *precariat*. In this research I contend that these treatments of slums in the global South and urban marginality in post-

---

[7] Ghana experienced economic decline and implemented Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1970s and 1980s. Potts (2008) shows that the urban informal sector was strongly embedded in many countries across Africa, especially in West Africa, prior to this, though she argues that there was a growing gap between opportunities in the informal and informal sectors in the 1970s. Yeboah (2000) provides an overview of how SAPs impacted urban space in Ghana.

industrial spaces can be usefully brought into dialogue because they are outcomes of economic restructuring with a tendency towards informality – whether in the context of globalization of post-fordist economies, or the restructuring of economies in the global South.

Davis, de Soto and Wacquant attribute a different (potential) role to residents as agents of change. Davis (2006) argues that grassroots slum organizations and individuals are the pawns of NGOs and the aid agencies who are disempowered, de-radicalised and silenced. De Soto (1989; 2000), meanwhile, argues that the urban poor are richer than we think, and, with "good laws," will engender development. Wacquant (2008) argues that the precariat is a "potential class" (via Bourdieu 1985) which is largely passive. This research interrogates such assessments by taking peer educators as its focus – individuals who are both NGO employees and slum dwellers, agents of change and embedded in peer norms. It asks what impact their activities have upon the conditions of precarity which produce the space for their work, and highlights agency in terms of the generation of meaning and value.

Old Fadama developed out of traders' needs for shelter, illustrating that economic activity is inextricable from living conditions. Whilst the space is illegal according to the state, the economic activities that occur therein are not necessarily. Rather, they are generally unregulated by the state (which is not to say that they lack other forms of regulation). Keith Hart's (1973) study of Nima, Accra,[8] is credited with establishing the language of the informal economy in the academy and development industry. His dualist approach to the economy (which he revised later in his career – Hart 2006) suggests that the informal economy can be located in informal spaces. This argument is supported by Obeng-Odoom, who contends that the slum and informal economy are "organically related" in Ghana because the slum offers the cheapest shelter for those with low and irregular

---

[8] Hart described Nima as a slum in 1973. The area is comparable to Old Fadama, in that it is inhabited largely by migrants from Northern Ghana and grew up around a market. However, it does not bear the illegal status of Old Fadama and thus residents enjoy significantly better infrastructure and access to facilities and services.

incomes (Obeng-Odoom 2011:358). However, considering that 80 per cent of people in Ghana are estimated to work in jobs unregulated by the state (Ghana Statistical Service 2008: 89), this assessment is questionable. The present research builds on Hart's concepts and explores the relationship between informality of space and economy in the framework of precarity.

Several analyses of the informal economy have interrogated attempts to locate it in space - not least due to the informalization of economies in post-fordist societies (see Guha-Khasnobis 2006). Four approaches to the informal economy are identifiable in the literature. The structuralist approach conceives of the informal and formal sectors as linked by global production and supply chains, whereby small and informal businesses supply large and more formal businesses (Portes et al. 1989). The legalistic view sees the informal sector as necessary to the economy, an arena of entrepreneurship and resistance to bureaucracy (de Soto 1989; 2000). The network approach offers a way of understanding the organization of informal exchange and employment according to ethnic or kinship ties (Meagher 2010). Lastly, an integrated approach acknowledges that informality and formality occur in different combinations in different geographic and historic settings (Chen 2007). This research supports claims that informality cannot be spatialized by studying sex work, a business which in Ghana is informal because illegal and which often involves geographic mobility (Agustín 2003; 2007; Sanders 2005).

As income opportunities in the slum economy, sex work and peer education provide an insight into how gender is constructed and reconstructed in precarious settings. The increased participation of women in the labour market is argued to coincide with precariousness in the global economy (so-called "feminization of labour," Standing 1989, 1999; see also Pearson 2010). Hardt and Negri (2011) argue that this is due to the increasing prominence of immaterial labour, which is systematically devalued because seen as a woman's natural ability (as Hochshield (1979) highlights in the concept of "emotion work"). Thus, increased participation does not mean an increase in actual

15

income and spending power, as Chen (2010) has shown, and as the concept "feminization of poverty" has emerged to describe (Heintz 2006). It is with this background that the present research approaches peer education as a feminized form of immaterial labour and asks how this is negotiated vi-a-vis gender relations in Old Fadama.

In Ghana, women have historically participated in the (informal) labour market, primarily as traders. Indeed, 42.1 per cent of urban women were identified as working in trade in 2008 (compared to 18.4 per cent of men, Ghana Statistical Service 2008: 38). There is social status attached to women traders, and it can be a means of gaining public/political influence (Clark 1994, 2001). This research provides an insight into how strict gender segregation and its (re-)configuration in the (informal) labour market is negotiated by individuals. Sex work and peer education are rarely considered in this context, but rather by universalizing models, as discussed above. Thus, this research responds to calls from some anthropologists and legal scholars for greater attention to the local socioeconomic context of sexual labour (Agustín 2005; Maher et al. 2013).

2.3. Precarity and responses to precarity

Judith Butler distinguishes between *precariousness* as an ontological condition, whereby all are vulnerable to death (Butler 2004), and *precarity* - "that politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence and death" (Butler 2009: ii). Whilst Butler's focuses on those subjects who are victim to state violence, she speaks of populations exposed to "other forms of aggression that are not enacted by states and against which states do not offer adequate protection," such as sex workers (*ibid.*). The uneven distribution of precariousness is a matter of differential access to life as "recognizable, readable, or grievable" (*ibid.*: xii). Butler's concept of precarity builds on Foucault's

understandings of the relationship between the body, power and governance which are brought together in the principle of "biopower": the management of biological matter via technologies of surveillance, expert knowledges, and discipline (Foucault 1995 [1977]). Foucault observed that the prostitute body exemplifies the discursive construction of the body and self (1990 [1975]), as is evident in the approaches of radical feminists and sex radical feminists; it is therefore imperative to consider how sex workers are constructed as embodied subjects of precarity in this research.

Foucault focuses on the production of embodied subjects in the framework of governmentality: the production and management of citizens for governance by the state (Foucault 1991). Isabell Lorey draws on Butler and Foucault, combining concepts of precarious labour, precarious life and governmentality in the concept of *governmental precarization*, whereby "destabilization through wage labor" is indistinguishable from "destabilization of ways of living and hence of bodies" (Lorey 2011: 2). Lorey argues that precarity is a technique of governing which produces insecure biopolitical subjects who, in turn, participate in self-governance, accepting the consequences of precarity as their own making. Although Butler and Lorey locate precarity in neoliberal economies "in the midst of a process of normalization" (*ibid.*), the conditions of work and living in the slum can equally be understood in these terms. Biopolitical subjectivation via precarity is acutely relevant to this research because sex work is an embodied form of labour. The research shows that the embodied subject also offers a platform for responding to governmental precrization in terms of peer educators' development of an alternative intersubjective embodiment based on care.

Whilst Wacquant identifies the reconfiguration of welfare to "workfare" in post-industrial societies as contributing to the emergence of the precariat (2008), in this research welfare is reconfigured through the model of peer education, whereby NGOs deliver welfare services via community members. Employing the concept of governmental precarization, the transfer of

17

responsibility for welfare from the state to NGOs and individuals can be understood in terms of the privatization of risk and individual taking of responsibility (Lorey 2011: 6). This is particularly relevant to sexual and reproductive health peer education programmes, which aim to make individuals aware of risky behaviours and encourage them to take responsibility for their health: subjects participate in self-government, embodying the precarity of their living and working conditions (*ibid.*: 5). This aim prioritizes a universal biomedical approach (Pigg 2011), which the present research investigates as practised in a specific social, political and economic context, building on Campbell and MacPhail's (2002) identification of the importance of context to the success of peer education.

The concept of precarity has been mobilized as an analytic and organizing tool, by scholars on the political left (Hardt and Negri 2011; Lazzarato 2006; Neilson and Rossiter 2008) and European social movements in recent years (Foti 2004; EuroMayDay 2004; *Precarias a la Deriva* 2004). Standing (2011) popularized an expansive concept of the precariat as the mass of "denizens" who "have a more restricted range of social, cultural, political and economic rights than citizens around them" (2011: 1). Conditions of precarious labour simultaneously prompt, support, and undermine these responses to precarity. Feminist organization *Precarias de la Deriva* (2004), for instance, promotes a new "logic of care" (*Precarias de la Deriva* 2004). This relates to Butler's (2009) argument that care work might serve as a grounds for developing unity and solidarity to confront precarity, because it brings people and bodies into contact; however, as Butler observes, devaluation of care work restricts its ability to become a vehicle for change (*ibid.*). It is this ambiguity about care which emerges in this research and prompts questions about local constructions of femininity and motherhood.

This research draws on concepts of slum development, the informal economy, precariousness of life, and responses to precarity to argue that sex workers in Old Fadama

experience governmental precarization acutely – a process to which peer educators respond to via various strategies.

3. Methodology

This research used a mixed methodology in order to address political, ethical and methodological concerns. In this chapter I first outline the theoretical approach (feminist standpoint theory and participatory action research), and then the methods (photovoice and ethnographic tools) employed by this research in Accra in April 2014. I also provide reflections on my position as a researcher.

3.1. Theoretical approach

Feminist Standpoint Theories

Feminist standpoint theories are simultaneously, although to differing degrees, philosophies, methodologies for the social and natural sciences, and political projects. The first principle of feminist standpoint theories is that material and semiotic conditions produced by structures of power – centrally, the structural relationship between genders – delineate what persons do and can know, and how (Harding 2004 [1993]). Academia is centrally implicated in such power structures (Harding 2004:1). Knowledge is understood as necessarily partial and situated (Haraway 1988), and standpoints are tool for accessing knowledge generated by those oppressed and marginalized by dominant groups for the sake of strengthening objectivity, developing less partial and distorted sciences, and providing resources for the uncovering and challenging of oppression.

Women's lives are privileged in feminist standpoint theories as the starting point for generating research agendas in the sciences, which are held to have historically institutionalized sexist and androcentric agendas (as well as heteronormative, eurocentric, white supremacist). In this context Dorothy Smith has argued that beginning with the everyday lives of women reveals the way in which body and emotion work is assigned to women and naturalized (Smith 2004 [1974]). Asking questions about why and how this is leads to fuller understandings of men's and women's lives, and

the relations between them. Smith and Weeks follow Marxist tradition in mobilizing the category of labour as an entry point: Weeks argues that the category of labour in standpoint theories is of particular relevance because it can prompt questions about the social construction of different practices, including political questions about engendering and value (Weeks 2004 [1998]: 186-7). This research employs such a framework, with the lives and subjectivities of women peer educators who are former sex workers and women sex workers as an entry point to discussion of how women create value in a career and space which persistently de-values their lives.

Participatory Action Research and Photovoice

A combined method within the framework of participatory action research (PAR) was chosen for this research, responding to the principle that inquiry into women's realities be carried out *with* women, instead of *on* women, with researcher and subject collaborating on the same plane (Hartsock's "strong reflexivity," 2004 [1983]: 136). Photovoice - a creative, qualitative method whereby participants are given cameras with which to "identify, represent and enhance their community" (Wang et al. 1997) - was deemed appropriate for ethical, political, and methodological reasons.

PAR's specific ethical and practical relevance to research with sex workers is explored by Dewey and Zheng (2013): it is able to "overcome research barriers such as stigma, mistrust of authority figures, and misplaced perceptions of community needs" (Dewey and Zheng, 2013: 58). This research began with such a commitment and effort, the research question emerging in conversation with participants, and methods developed capable of including researcher and subjects as collaborators as far as possible within the timeframe. My previous experience working with TFAC taught me that it would be impossible to employ conventional ethnographic methods alone for research. I had conducted structured interviews with sex workers and seen others conduct life

narrative interviews and focus groups. These were ineffective for several reasons, including lack of trust, unfamiliarity with narrative structures, negative experiences of formal situations. These tools also failed to contribute to respondents, including sharing findings with them.

The photovoice method was chosen to mobilize principles of feminist standpoint theories and PAR in dialogue with visual ethnography. Photographs and elicited conversation can serve to generate different insights into social phenomena, as noted by visual anthropologists and sociologists (Banks, 2001; Bolton et al, 2001; Collier 1967; Harper 2003;) – something which is of particular relevance regarding subjects such as the body, sex, and identity (Boyce 2011). Photovoice extends the use of photography in visual ethnography by positioning subjects as photographers (Bolton et al. 2001). In research with sex workers, it responds to calls for sex workers to be "active participants in the social construction of knowledge, empowerment and social change" (O'Neill 1996, 131). This research builds on photovoice research with sex workers (Capous-Desyllas, 2010; Cheng 2013) as a response to dominant representations which tend to hypersexualize and essentialize individuals as either a victim or successful entrepreneur. As observed by Cheng (2013), people working in the sex industry are predominantly represented by non-sex workers, a trend which photovoice responds to by situating researchers and subjects on the same level as collaborators throughout the data collection and analysis process.

The method is also of particular relevance in intercultural settings, as in this research, for practical reasons (images are capable of expressing pre-discursive meanings and can act as prompts when there is a language barrier or when participants are unfamiliar with interview formats) as well as ethical reasons (as a means of overcoming what Ahmed terms "stranger fetishism", the tendency to view non-Western "strangers" as objects rather than subjects of knowledge – Ahmed 2000). In this research, the photovoice method proved critical for generating dialogue and eliciting stories across cultural, racial, class and linguistic divides.

22

Consistent with the principle that feminist inquiry should produce knowledge which is useful to marginalized groups for the sake of forming collective subjects and the challenging of oppression, Wang and Burris (1999) identify dissemination and advocacy as key stages of the photovoice process. Exhibitions (Capous Desyllas 2010; Cheng 2013), postcards for advocacy campaigns (Coetzee et al. 2008), and school curricula (Morrell 2007) are examples of outcomes of photovoice projects with sex workers. In this research, a display of photographs and accompanying text was created collaboratively and installed at a community centre where research participants engage in TFAC activities, and where it could be shared with others.

3.2. Process

Participants

Although originally intending to invite sex workers to participate in the photovoice research, accessibility led me to shift the research focus to peer education. Owing to my previous employment with TFAC I was well positioned to re-enter the Old Fadama community as a researcher. However, the circumstances of many sex workers I had known had changed when I returned for fieldwork. Given time restrictions, I was unable to build sufficient trust with new individuals for the purpose of in-depth research (Dewey and Zheng (2013) and Wahab (2003) discuss the importance of trust in research with sex workers). I therefore adapted my research design to invite six women to participate in the photovoice process who had left sex work and worked part-time as peer educators and facilitators for TFAC and Prolink. I knew four of the participants previously, and was able to build relationships with the others rapidly since they spoke English at a high level. After two and a half weeks, two photovoice participants travelled outside Accra for personal reasons and were unable to complete the research.

I conducted participant observation at six TFAC workshops and held informal interviews with women whom I met at workshops and was introduced to in Old Fadama. Whilst I interacted with many women identified or self-identifying as sex workers or peer educations, I had sustained and in-depth interaction with 12 women (including photovoice participants). It was not always possible to ask directly whether respondents were involved in sex work, but this information usually came out in conversation; in some cases I relied upon peer educators to identify respondents as sex workers. Demographic information about participants is detailed in Table 1 (Appendix 1). Pseudonyms are used throughout, in agreement with participants.

Photovoice method

Research using photovoice took place over four weeks with six, then four, peer educators. Whilst the number of participants was small, photovoice lends itself to use with small groups and, as Capous-Desyllas (2010) reports, the time commitment required can necessitate this. The small number of participants enabled in-depth and sustained interaction. Participants were given disposable cameras and the prompt question, "what work do women in your community do?" This question was developed in discussion with participants, bearing in mind Weeks' identification of the category of labour as an entry point for research with women (Weeks 2004 [1998]). The method involved various activities, which are explained in Table 2 (Appendix 2).

Due to using basic cameras and unfamiliarity with the equipment, the number of images capable of development and printing varied, with photographers taking between four to ten successful images. Bringing participants together on several occasions during the process helped generate dialogue and build trust. Photographs are reproduced with permission of the photographers, who gained verbal consent from subjects.

Ethnographic methods

Ethnographic research methods were employed to gain insight into sex workers' and peer educators' lives and work. I shadowed Aseida and Makafui on days when they conducted peer education activities in Old Fadama and spent time interacting with community members at establishments in Old Fadama. I conducted participant observation at six workshops hosted by TFAC. and in Old Fadama, in the company of participants, TFAC staff or at the Prolink drop-in clinic. I conducted informal interviews with current and former sex workers during participant observation. Interviews usually occurred spontaneously (through an introduction or my request for a "chat"), due to the difficulty of pre-arranging interviews with respondents whose lives were unpredictable and who lacked communication technology. Interviews were not recorded due to their circumstances and the need for interpretation in some cases. Interpretation (of Twi or Ga) was provided by TFAC staff members or by one of three English speaking research participants whom I got to know well. I took notes after interactions in the field which were elaborated and re-structured regularly. Demographic information for those with whom I had sustained and in-depth interaction is included in Table 1 (Appendix 1).

Analysis

Analysis of findings from the photovoice and ethnographic methods were triangulated. Wang and Burris (1997) caution that images are easy to gather using photovoice, but difficult to analyse. This is due to the multiple layers at which analysis occurs, and its collaborative character. I found that analysis occurred on three levels: the content of images, their form (discussed by Bolton et al.), and the elicited discussion. I developed a table system by which to gather information on these three levels as well as my own questions and interpretations. This was then used in parallel with field notes to identify themes across the research findings.

Positionality

As noted by Capous Desyllas (2010), debate exists concerning the validity of research with participatory features, since reliability may be compromised by handing control to participants. However, community needs were prioritized in this research, as I believe is imperative in work with populations such as sex workers, whose voices are conventionally marginalized by the academy as well as wider society (Wang, Yi, Tao, & Carovano 1998). Treating participants with respect and integrity were guiding principles for me. I am sure that this research could not have been conducted without some level of trust - facilitated by my previous relationship with some participants and with TFAC as a whole. Of course, it is impossible to know to what degree I was trusted by participants, and differentials of language, race and class certainly had an impact which could not be overcome in the short research period.

Differences in language, race and class certainly impacted upon interactions, producing shorter or less open conversations and meaning I was reliant in some situations upon interpreters, whose translation I cannot be entirely certain of because it was not cross-translated.. My association with TFAC may have affected interactions, perhaps leading to more positive sentiments regarding peer education or elision of certain details and stories.

My sustained relationship with TFAC and ability to reconnect with women I had known previously increases my accountability to the community, which also increases the validity of this research. I strove to fulfil the aim of PAR by working closely with TFAC, in the hope that peer educators and staff may gain something for the future from this process – for example, utilizing aspects of the photovoice method or incorporating the photographs into materials.

4. Analysis

In this chapter I present research findings. It is divided into three thematic sections: i) precarious work; ii) precarious space; and iii) precarious lives. The themes emerged from analysis of images, including collaborative analysis with participants; photo elicitation interviews; informal interviews; and observations. The three themes constitute key aspects of the setting in which research respondents live and work. In this chapter I show that they are the targets of peer educators' conceptual and practical strategies, and examine what impact such strategies have on precarity.

4.1.   Precarious work

This research found that sex work in Old Fadama is precarious: a flexible occupation among other occupations, with a weak connection to work identity, and an insecure career. The embodied character of sex work, plus its criminalization and stigmatization mean that individuals' very bodies and lives are subject to precarity (Butler 2009). I borrow the concept of physical/body capital (Bourdieu 1986; Shilling 2004; Wacquant 2009) to conceptualize sex work as an income opportunity in Old Fadama. In studies of boxing in a Chicago ghetto Wacquant argues that the conversion of embodied attributes and abilities into other forms of capital (money, fame, status) gains prominence in settings of everyday precariousness. Though Wacquant referred to violence in the ghetto, the concept is applicable to the precarious labour market and conditions in the slum. However, unlike boxing, sex work has an asymmetric relation to social status, due to stigmatization, and an insecure relation to income generation, due to the challenge of a career in the business.

In response to the economic and social insecurity of sex work, peer education programmes were negotiated as a career strategy. Thus, TFAC and Prolink can be seen as providing opportunities to formalize in the framework of development, consistent with de Soto's (1989; 2000) argument.

Peer education was also a source of social status which made possible an "ex-role" (Ebaugh 1988). Additionally, the research found that, as former sex workers and NGO employees, peer educators respond to the particular precariousness of sex work in Old Fadama in their work practices. Such practices include managing time (to encourage the notion of a career), and promoting feminine embodiment as a source of social status.

In the context of the slum economy, the gendered segmentation of occupations was reported as eroding (confirmed by Overa 2007), supporting claims of women's increasing participation in the global informal economy (Heintz 2006; Pearson 2010; Standing 1989, 1999). The erosion of gendered segmentation was not welcomed by participants, who responded by asserting themselves and their colleagues *as women in women's work*. This occurred via developing a feminine embodiment based on beautification and a work sphere based on distinction from male sex workers and peer educators. Valuing and recognizing sex workers and former sex workers precisely *as women* was, I argue, a response to a socio-political and economic situation in which they are denied value and recognition[9] due to their (former) labour.

Whilst peer educators identified sex work as a category for grouping photographs, their images represented sex workers performing women's typical household work. In response to the prompt question, "what work do women do in your community?" photographers captured a variety of tasks, materials and locations associated with paid and unpaid labour and identified the following categories when organizing images: beauty work; sex work; enterprise; home work; peer education; retirement; resting; children; personal relationships; fire. Thus, without prompting, the photographers aligned with the political and ethical purpose of sex workers' rights feminists to challenge dichotomous and essentializing representation of sex workers by documenting sex

---

[9] I use "recognition" in the sense of acknowledgement of existence and agency, which underlies constructions of personhood and claims to rights. This draws on Hannah Arendt's (1998 [1958]) notion of recognition as central to *persona* and entry to the community of the *polis*.

workers' lives beyond the work encounter and normalizing practices and relations (Bell 1994; Cheng 2013). On the representational level as well as in praxis, peer educators sought to construct sex work as a feminized, embodied form of labour.

In this section I present findings relating to work in Old Fadama, and peer educators' responses thereto. The section is organized into three themes: managing careers; flexible work; and feminization of work.

Managing careers

In the context of a volatile labour market, becoming peer educators offered a degree of security - predictable income, career opportunities and social status. It usually coincided with leaving sex work.[10] When shadowing Makafui and Aseida on outreach activities in Old Fadama, I asked about how and why they became peer educators. "Susan and Nii [TFAC staff] told me what they're doing and it seemed like a chance to train in something else," said Makafui. "This is good work," was Aseida's response, talking about the money she earns. When Ama, a TFAC project participant, joined us, Makafui translated that she was telling her that she needs to work hard and do peer education to support her child financially. The economic incentive was paramount.

Peer education also offered social status, including opportunities for meeting new people and new experiences, as Aseida emphasized when I asked what she likes about the work: "My life has changed so much since I started this work. I'm a role model now. Before, I never would have thought that I could be sitting here with you talking." She told me about visits from another researcher and from foreign funders. Thus, as was found by Cornish and Campbell (2009), peer

---

[10] There is no demand from TFAC or Prolink that peer educators cease sex work. However, research participants reported that they had left sex work prior to being invited to train as peer educators. Whether this is an organizational bias, or whether interest and aptitude for becoming a peer educator only developed once individuals had left sex work, is unknown. Furthermore, exiting sex work is acknowledged as a process and total exit recognized as problematic (Dalla 2006: 289). In this research I use respondents' own descriptions of their work, whilst acknowledging that they may not have shared information with me.

education provided a career opportunity, but also "a starting point for sex workers to consider themselves as citizens" (p.129). Becoming a peer educator was a means of gaining public recognition - something denied by stigmatization of sex work.

Nevertheless, peer educators saw their future careers as insecure. Conversation about future planning was prompted by Makafui's photograph of an elderly market woman (Figure 2), a widow who "should be retired now," but cannot be due to financial need.

Figure 2: An older woman sells tomatoes at Old Fadama. (Makafui).

When I asked what will happen when Makafui herself wants to cease working, she told me that the government had recently introduced a pension scheme for people working informally[11], but expressed doubt about it, appearing despondent about planning for the future. Asked the same question in a separate conversation, Dianne told me, "I'm just trying to feed my baby and myself" and had no answer when I probed further. The inability to provide a narrative of future plans evidenced a lack of control over one's career, as Sennett (1998) identifies as inherent in "[t]he short-term, flexible time of the new capitalism" (p.112) which distorts the concept of a linear career (and

---

[11] A new three-tier pension scheme was introduced in Ghana in 2008, according to which individuals in the informal sector can contribute to a pension scheme via membership of a workers' organisation. See NPRA 2010.

retirement) trajectory. Whist the economy of Old Fadama is distinct from Sennett's "new capitalism," work shares the flexible character, limiting space for future planning.

Whilst insecurity characterizes much work in Old Fadama (even those with established businesses are subject to claims on their property from the authorities, Apprey 2011), planning for the future was especially important for research participants due to the embodied quality of sex work. Aging was a particular concern for sex workers whom I asked about their aspirations for the future. Lizzie, who had come to Accra from her home in the North to stay with family and ended up in Old Fadama selling sex, told me that she wanted to learn to be a hairdresser, because "I can't do this work forever. I'm young now so it's good to learn something else." She viewed sex work as the domain of the young: "men don't want you when you're old […] They want a nice girl, a nice-looking girl." Thus, future planning was especially poignant for sex workers, whose labour depends on their bodies, which lose value with age. This is, of course, true for sex workers in many settings where constructions of desire prize youth. Indeed, Dalla's (2006) study of sex workers in the United States found age to be a main reason for exiting sex work.

In response to the insecurity derived from the embodied character of sex work (Wolkowitz 2006), the body became a site for managing time and constructing narratives of futurity for peer educators. Healthcare is inextricable from managing time, as it is about sustaining wellness over time. This was apparent when Aseida showed me calendars that are distributed to sex workers to keep a record of their STI and HIV screenings at Prolink's drop-in clinic. These calendars are important, Aseida told me, because many women are not good at remembering dates and sometimes miss their scheduled tests or come to the clinic on Wednesdays, the only day when it is closed. The calendars help to standardize time and introduce routine and planning to the lives of sex workers, taking the body as the focus. Peer educators thus encouraged a shift in embodiment from labour to

31

care, which entailed a shift in experiences of time that served to develop a sense of future planning, foundational to thinking about career.

Flexible work

The attempt at future planning and career management was troubled by the flexibility and plurality of work that many respondents engaged in. Sex work was found to be typically one form of income generation among others, with little pattern, and a weak relation to occupational identity. Whilst this can be true for others in the informal economy who deploy multiple livelihood strategies (including peer educators), in the case of sex work these practises were found to be both economic and social strategies - to generate income and avoid stigma.

At one TFAC workshop which I observed, participants role played encounters with persons acting as a nurse and police officer, in order to understand participants' experiences of accessing health and legal services. Of ten participants, none referred to sex work in the interaction. When I asked one participant her reason for this later, Thema said that she does not tell service providers that she does sex work – rather, she tells them that she is a trader, "because that is how you can get respect." Whilst the strategic deployment of identity certainly pertains to the practice of stigma management (Goffman 1990 [1968]), it also reflects the flexibility and plurality of employment and concurrent work identities in Old Fadama's labour market.

In Old Fadama, I observed that Thema did indeed trade - when she "ha[s] the money" to do so.[12] This was true for others, including Afua, whom, when I asked what work she did before becoming a peer educator, told me that she sold *waakye* (a breakfast food), and did sex work when there were too many others selling *waakye*, or when she needed more money. These findings accord

---

[12] Thema was originally a participant in the photovoice process. She was a peer educator and employed as a facilitator by TFAC. Her reference to sex work suggests that she also does this work concurrently, thus confirming that individuals typically treat sex work as flexible employment alongside others in this context.

with studies of sex work which have found that it is one source of income alongside other work or studies (see Roberts et al. 2007). Work forms and patterns were conditioned by financial circumstances and opportunities on the labour market; as they fluctuated, women choose when and how to engage in sex work.

Peer educators treated the flexibility of sex work with ambivalence. In photographs and discussions they simultaneously identified individuals as sex workers and represented them as engaged in a range of (paid and unpaid) work. Dianne, for example, photographed a room in which sex work was occurring:
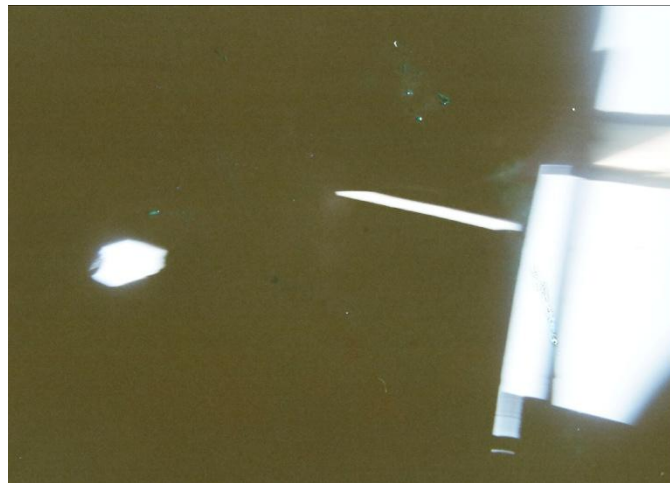
Figure 3: A room in a brothel where sex work is occurring. (Dianne).

Dianne described how women work in this room for a few hours during the day, and male clients come and go. Asked if these women also do other paid work, Dianne said no. Whilst this of course may be true, it is discordant with other findings. Representing sex work as a (singular) occupation was, for peer educators, a way of legitimizing the business and constructing their own career narratives: each participant referred to their previous work openly in conversations about how they came to be peer educators, in order to demarcate their career progression whilst recognizing sex work as legitimate.

33

Feminization of work

Insecurity of work in Old Fadama extended to insecurity about gendering and valuing occupations, as was discussed in response to Aseida's images of electronic equipment outside the Prolink drop-in clinic (Figures 4 and 5).

Figure 4: Electronic equipment for sale and young women selling water (background). (Aseida).

Figure 5: Electronic equipment for sale and women preparing rice (background). (Aseida).

Aseida explained that the electronic equipment is processed at the waste site at Agbobloshie and sold by women:

> Ruth: What is happening with the equipment here?
> Aseida: It's being sold.
> Ruth: By who?
> Aseida: By women. Men should do this work but now because of their suffering, women are doing the work.
> Ruth: How are women suffering?
> Aseida: Women are doing everything that men were doing. The only thing they're not doing is moto driving [motorcycle taxis] - men prefer doing that work.

Aseida perceived the distinction between male and female occupations as eroding due to the lack of opportunities she had previously been discussing. She saw this erosion as not only an *outcome* of "suffering", but an *aspect of* "suffering". This sentiment was echoed by Rahina in conversation about re-building after a recent fire. Prompted by an image of head porters carrying building materials (Figure 6), she told me that "even women" are doing construction work now, when conventionally it is a man's job. Contrary to positive interpretations of women's increased participation in traditionally

male jobs within an informal setting (Standing 1989), this "feminization of labour" met with pessimism from respondents. This is contextualized by Overa's (2013) study of men's and women's work in the informal economy of Accra which found that, whilst it was socially acceptable for men to enter "women's work," "[s]ocio-cultural boundaries […] appear to be narrower and less flexible when women attempt to enter male domains" (p.559).

Figure 6: Head porters carry building materials for construction after a recent fire. (Dianne).

In the quoted conversation, Aseida proceeded to state that girls are more vulnerable to entering sex work than boys. When I asked her if there are male sex workers in the community she told me that there are, but that male peer educators work with them and female sex workers do not come into contact with them often. Aseida made a point of describing male sex workers as "gay," thus distinguishing them from female sex workers by the gender of their sexual partners.[13] This contributed to the construction of sex work and peer education as feminine and heterosexual occupations. Linking to the perceived erosion of the gendered segmentation of work, this appears as a strategy to re-entrench the gendering of occupations.

---

[13] Whilst I am cautious to assume that categories of sexual orientation have the same cultural and political meaning for respondents and myself, Aseida made a clear distinction between male sex workers who engage in same-sex acts and female sex workers who do not. For descriptive purposes I use the term "heterosexual" to denote engagement in intergender sexual activity.

The concern to construct sex work and peer education as distinct feminine and heterosexual occupations entailed relating to individuals as (heterosexual) women first and foremost. According to Akan[14] concepts of gender roles, men and women perform specific roles within the household: women are responsible for reproductive work within the home, men for accumulation of capital and property acquisition. However, women's reproductive work can include income generation (in strictly segmented occupations) for the purposes of supporting children's needs (Clark1994, 2001; Overa 2013). This was represented in photographs of sex workers engaged in work typically performed by women, and serving the household: doing laundry (Figure 7), food preparation (Figure 8), child care (Figure 9), and fetching water (Figure 10).

Figure 8: A TFAC participant and sex worker does laundry for herself and her boyfriend. (Dianne).

Figure 7: A woman prepares *banku* to eat. (Dianne).

Recognizing and representing sex workers' reproductive work in the household served to incorporate them in the feminine and heterosexual sphere of sex work and peer education precisely *as women*, thus reinforcing the gendered construction of this sphere.

---

[14] Akans are the largest ethnic group in southern Ghana. Several participants hailed from Northern Ghana, where the MoleDagbani and GaAdangbe are dominant. In Accra, the Akans and Ga are most prevalent. Whilst I am cautious to suggest Akan gender concepts are universally relevant, it is also true to say that this model is dominant across ethnic groups. Furthermore, significant for this research was that most participants were in female-headed households, or had no partner, and so performed the greatest part of reproductive work and income generation.

Figure 9: The daughter of a sex worker being minded by a friend. (Rahina).

Figure 10: A young woman fetches water. (Makafui).

Representations of beauty work had a similar function to those of household labour. Makafui, for instance, owned and ran a manicure parlour where sex workers prepared for their work, as documented in her photograph (Figure 11):

Figure 11: A female sex worker has a manicure at Makafui's manicure parlour. (Makfui).

Discussing the image, Makafui identified the woman as a sex worker who comes regularly to the parlour to get ready for work and "for a talk – she likes talking to me." The imperative for sex workers to "look nice" was also the theme of Rahina's photograph (Figure 12), which she took "because [the subject] had just got her hair done and everyone said it looked nice." Upon probing,

Rahina revealed that the woman was a sex worker and had had her hair styled partly for work. These images were grouped by the photographers with others under the category "beauty work," along with images of hairdressing (Figures 13 and 14). In representations and reality, sex work entailed beautification, an activity and occupation in which many women participate, not just sex workers.

Figure 12: A woman who has had her hair styled. (Rahina).

Figure 14: A woman styles hair. (Dianne).

Figure 13: Women work at a hair salon (Makafui).

Peer educators emphasized the femininity of sex work via beautification in their practices as well as in representations. At TFAC workshops and the Prolink drop-in clinic, I observed peer educators advising participants about appearances – why someone had cut or died her hair, that someone else should not show so much skin, and so forth. This behaviour was constructed in terms of care when

Aseida showed me make-up and manicure equipment which Makafui uses with women after they have completed STI screening and HTC at the drop-in clinic. Associating healthcare with care about appearance invested the latter with a different value, re-framing maintenance of body capital as feminine self-care. Thus, Aseida could simultaneously critique women's appearances at TFAC workshops and celebrate beautification in the context of health service provision. Beautification served to recognize sex workers as participants in a community of women.

Conclusion

In this section I have described characteristics of sex work as practised by women living and/or working in Old Fadama, and characteristics of peer educators' work with them. I have shown that sex work is produced by the specific environment: limited income opportunities in the slum's labour market propel embodied labour to prominence (as per Wacquant 2009). The value of youth in constructions of desire compound the insecurity of this labour; meanwhile, stigmatization and criminalization of the business mean that accumulation of body and economic capital do not coincide with status elevation. Flexible and multiple work forms and weak occupational identity are both conditioned by and respond to this fact.

Characterizing sex work thus, I have shown that becoming a peer educator is a career move which provides a more stable source of income and social status; moreover, I have shown that peer educators endeavour to introduce greater security for sex workers. This operates via managing time and occupational identity. However, confronted by the socio-political forces which make sex workers' lives and bodies precarious (stigmatization; criminalization; constructions of desire), securing sex work as a career takes a backseat to recognizing and valuing sex workers' embodied selves. This occurs through the deployment of feminized embodiment, involving the gendering of

work (home work, beauty work, sex work and peer education), and re-construction of the accumulation of body capital as feminine self-care (in beauty practices).

These findings extend Bourdieu's and Wacquant's concepts of body capital by emphasizing that in different geographic, political, economic contexts (Bourdieu's "fields", 1977) it has very different relationships to other forms of capital. The findings also contribute to understandings of career in (and out) of sex work, an underrepresented subject in the literature. The research contributes to theories of the informal economy, and the place of gender therein, by showing that greater gender segmentation can be a source of meaning for women to whom there are few available frameworks in which to generate recognition and value.

4.2. Precarious space

The structural precariousness of Old Fadama results from state refusal to recognize the settlement and thus to provide essential services and infrastructure. According to de Soto, informal settlements represent "[t]he people's struggle to acquire private property" (1989: 55). This was partly true for some respondents, who echoed de Soto's valorisation of private property for the purpose of income generation. However, structural insecurity is produced by environment factors as well as destruction and eviction by authorities; thus, peer educators' emphasis on fixing space was confounded by the refusal of the state to protect the slum from the impact of, for example, fire, and its impacts on people's lives and livelihoods.

In response to the state's failure to protect people and property, peer educators assumed the role vis-à-vis sex workers. Consistent with Scott's analysis of states during "high modernism" as endeavouring to make people and places "legible" for governing, via mapping, planning, land ownership, and naming, this research found that peer educators use similar means in order to deliver

services to sex workers. By making sex work legible, peer educators can be seen as responding to a situation in which the government criminalizes sex work and refuses not only to make it legible, but to recognize it (Grant 2006). Within Davis' (2006) framework, this is part of a process of "soft imperialism," whereby aid institutions fund dependent NGOs in slums, with the effect of bureaucratizing and homogenizing the local landscape (pp.75-6). However, within Butler's (2009) concept of precarity, increasing the legibility of sex workers' lives can be conceived as responding to a system wherein some populations are made less "recognizable, readable, or grievable" than others (p.xii).

Research showed that startegies to increase legibility were challenged by sex workers' mobility. The Ghana AIDS Commission classifies female sex workers as either "roamers," who travel to seek clients, or "seaters," who work out of homes or brothels (Ghana AIDS Commission 2012). These categories are used to collect and communicate data to inform programming. Peer educators did not use this terminology, but their attempts to spatialize sex workers and encouragement of individuals to visit a static clinic regularly implicitly aligned with the Ghana AIDS Commission's purpose to restrict the mobility of bodies for the purpose of service delivery. However, the terminology of "home" and "brothel" was found to be complex in the context of Old Fadama, and the categorization of "roamer" and "seater" was confounded by research participants.

Borrowing Wacquant's (2007) concept of "territorial stigmatization," Old Fadama can be understood as a blemish on Accra's map which besmirches its residents with stigma. Indeed, it is popularly referred to pejoratively as Sodom and Gomorrah, owing to the Biblical tale of destruction by fire and brimstone; residents are also blamed for polluting the Korle lagoon (Grant 2006: 2). Wacquant claims that geographic mobility can overcome such stigma, just as Sanders (2005) describes sex workers' mobility as a strategy to avoid stigmatization in home communities. This

research found that, whilst these motivations for mobility may be true for sex workers in Old Fadama, it was primarily economics which incentivized respondents to move. Thus, this research supports Agustín's (2007) call for greater recognition for the economics of sex work, and of sex workers as economic migrants in many cases.

This section presents findings relating to the space of Old Fadama – its structures, uses, and people's movement through space. It discusses how peer educators attempt to obtain control over the precarious environment and sex workers' mobility by fixing space and bodies. The section is divided into two parts: a precarious environment, and mobility/fixity.

A precarious environment

The precariousness of life in Old Fadama was brought home to me one day when walking with Dianne. After negotiating unpaved paths and passages, hopping over ditches and waste heaps, we paused by some semi-constructed buildings. Dianne explained that these were homes and businesses being re-built after a recent fire (a not infrequent occurrence, Kumah 2012). Fire spreads quickly through the close-knit wooden structures and fire services do not visit Old Fadama. We met Dianne's mother, who had lost her home and business – a bar – in the fire. Dianne also photographed her displaced mother doing laundry (Figure 15). Dianne discussed her mother's situation with some resignation, saying she will rebuild the business at some point when she has money. The example demonstrates that mobility is impelled by Old Fadama's environment, impacting income generation. Davis terms the urban poor "nomads" (Davis 2006: 98), forced to move by state evictions and urban planning beautification; in this case it was the state's absence in refusing to provide infrastructure and services to Old Fadama which led Dianne's mother to lose her work and relocate.

Figure 15: The photographer's mother, displaced by fire, doing laundry. (Dianne).

The precariousness of the slum meant that property ownership was limited not only by economic means but by environmental factors, as shown by Dianne's photograph (Figure 16) of a woman sleeping on a bench, described as being "all she has now" after losing her home to the fire.

Figure 16: A woman who has lost her home and belongings sleeps on a bench. (Dianne).

This attention to property loss and its impact upon work contrasted with Makafui's focus on property ownership. Several of her photographs depict women at distinct work sites: a kiosk selling beads; a hairdressing salon; market stalls; a local eatery; her own manicure parlour. Makafui grouped

43

these images under the title "enterprise" and spoke with admiration of women who had established their own businesses. For Makafui, enterprise entailed securing space - as she had proudly done with her manicure parlour (pictured, Figure 11). These spaces were owned informally, but not according to the state, which considers the settlement illegal. Makafui's attitude supports de Soto's claim that private property enables informal traders to "conduct business in a favorable environment" (1989: 91). Makfui made no mention of legal tenure or property rights, however, perhaps because they are insufficient to "preserve resources, stimulate production, and guarantee the inviolability of investments and savings" (*ibid.* 33): even discounting forced eviction and extortion by authorities[15], infrastructure is vulnerable and state services provide no guarantee of security.

Aseida concerned with property too. When I asked about property in Old Fadama, Aseida told me about rental prices in Old Fadama, which she said were unaffordable for many – a sentiment echoed by other respondents. She introduced me to several girls who do sex work in a neighbouring area around Accra railway station and sleep in empty train carriages or under the shade of a building where they also solicit clients. "They don't know to prioritize – they spend money on things for their hair but they should spend it on shelter," Aseida said. However, as elicited by Aseida's photographs of Effo's (a bar with rented rooms where many TFAC participants stay), access to shelter depended on more than prioritizing for those with unpredictable work and personal lives. Some women I met to at TFAC workshops stay at Effo's insecurely, dependent upon earning enough money daily from sex work to afford rent.

In addition to the insecurity of property, spaces were also found to be characterized by flexible use, whereby the boundary of home/work was blurred. This was clear in the case of Effo's. Prior to giving birth, Sarah solicited clients in the passage outside Effo's and conducted work in a

---

[15] Apprey (2011) and COHRE (2004) detail such actions.

cramped room there shared with other women. Effo's was multi-functional - a business as well as a home. Photographs of the exterior documented everyday activities that occur in the space in addition to sex work: laundry (Figure 17); eating (Figure 18); peer education (indicated by the box of condoms) (Figure 18); fetching water (Figure 19).

Figure 17: A woman does laundry outside Effo's. (Dianne).

Figure 18: A woman takes food upstairs at Effo's. (Aseida).

Figure 19: A woman fetches water outside Effo's. (Aseida).

Dianne's photograph of a passageway by Effo's (Figure 19) was intended to capture the passageway where women solicit clients at night. She added it under "sex work" when grouping images.

45

Representing Effo's thus identifies it as a location for sex work and a target site for peer education, but does not capture the diversity of the space: not everyone renting rooms does sex work; those who do do not always or necessarily receive clients there; not all who visit the bar are clients; couples and families also stay there. When we discussed the picture, Dianne laughed about the woman doing laundry and showing her backside to the camera: she knew the woman as a sex worker and friend, who disrupted the photographer's attempt to document the area. Not only is the passageway multi-functional (function shifting with temporality, since the space is used for sex work at night), and Dianne's attempt to photograph the space as a site for sex work specifically was resisted by her friend's humour.

Mobility/fixity

A minority of sex workers with whom I spoke worked exclusively within or outside Old Fadama; most were itinerant. Thus, when I went to Old Fadama for fieldwork, several women I had known in 2013 had moved. Efua was one such woman. She lived in Old Fadama when I met her in 2013 and usually did sex work from Effo's or visited bars in other neighbourhoods; when we met again, she had moved to Madina, a northern suburb. Madina, she told me, is where the money is now, and sex workers are "following the money." Other women, including some staying at Effo's, told me that they usually work outside Old Fadama, travelling to transport hubs in central Accra at night. Thus, the attempt to locate sex work in a particular space is undermined. Sanders (2005: 129) describes sex workers' mobility as a strategy of geographical distance, intended to avoid identification in one's home community. However, this research found that mobility was primarily an economic strategy.

Mobility is a controversial subject in research and policy regarding sex work, oscillating around confusion with sex trafficking (Agustín 2007; Ahmed & Seshu 2012; Ditmore 2008). Agustín

argues that this confusion "disappear[s]" women migrants "who more or less chose to sell sex," in the interests of states which favour immigration restrictions and the relegation of certain populations to an insecure strata of the economy (Agustín 2003: 377-8). In addition to mobility within Accra, several respondents had migrated to Accra to seek work or to avoid or leave marriages; as was the case with two photovoice participants, some often returned to their villages. The insistence that sex workers regularly attend screenings at the Prolink clinic or TFAC workshops implicitly allies with attempts to restrict mobility and is thus in conflict with the requirements of business.

The imperative to "fix" sex workers spatially concerned the territory of Old Fadama itself as well as mobility outside the settlement. Having labelled the spaces where sex workers stay and/or work as "brothels," peer educators mapped them. On the walls of the Prolink clinic were hand-drawn maps of different areas peer educators operated in. Sex work is frequently spatialized via the language and concept of the red light district and has become the subject for geographers concerned with mapping sexuality and crime (Hart 1995). Constructing a geography of sex work is also a tactic employed in several countries to regulate the industry, through zoning (see discussion in Maher et al. 2013). Prolink staff and peer educators described mapping as increasing effectiveness: since enumeration of the population is confounded by sex workers' mobility, space is mapped instead.

Enumeration of populations and mapping of spaces have been viewed as tools of state domination by Scott (1998), who argues that modern states developed mechanisms of "bureaucratic homogeneity" (p.8) in order to make land and people more legible for the purpose of intervention. Having ruled Old Fadama illegal, however, the state desists from using such mechanisms there (for example, it was excluded from the 2010 census). With the transfer of responsibility for service provision from state to NGOs for the cause of development, organizations including Prolink have taken on the role of enumeration and mapping. Farouk and Owusu have argued that enumeration of

Old Fadama's population can be used to advocate for recognition and resources from the state (Farouk and Owusu 2012); however, sex workers may elide such efforts. As Aseida told me, "you can see a girl one day and then you go back the next and she's gone." Thus, peer educators' attempts to spatialize sex work for the purpose of service delivery or advocacy are resisted by the precariousness of the environment, where many sex workers do not have a own space to stay or work, as well as the character of the labour market, whereby individuals travel to follow earning opportunities.

Conclusion

This section has presented findings relating to the flexibility and insecurity of Old Fadama's spatial environment and of sex workers' and peer educators' relationships to space. I have shown that Old Fadama is a precarious space, in the sense that property ownership is scarce and insecure, and there is no separation between home and work spaces. I have argued that this is owing to the refusal of the state to grant tenure and property rights, but also to protect residents and their existing property from the environment.

I have shown that peer educators respond to insecurity of space by valorizing property ownership, but also by assuming techniques of the state in naming and mapping spaces (as per Scott's (1998) analysis). Introducing precariousness of space into Butler's concept of precarity, peer educators' use of these techniques can be understood as an attempt to make sex workers' lives legible for the purpose of service delivery, which is ultimately about valuing sex workers' lives. Legibility also contributes to recognition of sex workers as citizens, something that they are denied as residents of Old Fadama, excluded as they are from state enumeration and mapping efforts. However, this research found that peer educators' strategies are undermined by the itinerant lifestyles of some sex workers, who "[follow] the money" (Dianne).

48

These findings show that sex work and sex worker support networks must be considered in their spatial locales, and emphasize that attention must be paid to economic migrants who do sex work (Agustín 2005; 2007). The research develops treatments of NGOs in slum environments by showing that, in assuming techniques of the state to deliver services, peer educators challenge precarity of life by focusing on precarity of space.

4.3.   Precarious lives

A third theme which emerged from research was the place of care in the work of peer educators. In this chapter I present findings related to peer educators' caring practices and argue that they operate within a framework of governmental precarization: in trying to reduce sex workers' vulnerability to ill health and violence peer educators encourage individuals to take responsibility for their precarious situations, thus "privatizing risk" (Lorey 2011: 6).

However, this research found that peer educators also mobilize healthcare as a platform for asserting citizenship, aligning with advocacy for a new model of care to confront precarity (*Precarias de la Deriva* 2004; see also Butler 2009). Children are mobilized as a key trope peer educators' model of care. Developing friendships with women and girls who are the "others" striated by precarity was identified as crucial to the practises of peer educators. This contradicts the individualization and privatization of risk inherent to biomedical approaches to healthcare, since it calls for recognition of a shared experiences of precarity. As Lorey (2011) observes, "shared precariousness makes every body, every life fundamentally dependent on others" (p.3); therefore an "ontology" which considers interdependencies rather than individualism is required (*ibid.*). I argue that this is precisely what peer educators develop in advocating healthcare via a model based on the tropes of children and friendship: they encourage an intersubjective embodiment based on care in response to

governmental precarization, which aims to produce self-governing, vulnerable, individual bodies and lives.

Whereas Lorey (2011) articulates interdependence as a basis for political action (mobilization of the "precariat"), this research did not find intersubjective embodiment to be a basis for political mobilization. This is, I argue, because this alternative embodiment relies upon a conservative model of motherhood. It is fitting that bodies form the basis for claims for recognition and citizenship in a situation of governmental precarization, since it is precisely bodies which are made vulnerable by precarity. However, a concept of the mothering body produces tension. This is because emic concepts of motherhood prioritize the role of supporting children economically, whilst the biomedical approach of sexual and reproductive health prioritizes the biological relationship of mother and child. Sex work is thus simultaneously legitimized and made precarious. Furthermore, relying on a model of motherhood excludes those for whom this is not an appealing model and does not address the precarization of sex workers' lives by stigma, criminalization, and the state's failure to protect individuals, especially in Old Fadama.

Findings relating to precarious precarious lives are organized in the following themes: body care; children and care; and friendship. These themes draw on those identified by photographers as beauty work; children; personal relationships, which were expanded by findings from ethnographic research and analysis.

Body care

I met Priscilla in 2013 when she was a TFAC project participant. She then lived at Effo's and did sex work occasionally. Priscilla went through phases of ill health and heavy drinking; when she became pregnant started to drink less and attended ante natal services. Since then, Priscilla found out that she was HIV positive. "She hasn't accepted it yet. She's not taking her medication," a peer

educator commented, explaining that Priscilla was complaining of headaches and dizziness, not eating properly, and did not know her baby's HIV status. She speculated that Priscilla was not taking medication because at Effo's there was no way to conceal it. Priscilla's situation exemplifies sex workers' embodied vulnerability, which can be compounded by the structural environment of Old Fadama. The peer educator's response to Priscilla's situation was consistent with a practice of encouraging sex workers to take responsibility for health risks via embodying care rather than vulnerability.

Observing TFAC workshops I heard many stories of violence and ill-health, against which the state provided inadequate protection. Peer educators responded to this gap in their work encouraging health promoting behaviours, provision of screenings services, and distribution of condoms - as was discussed in relation to im
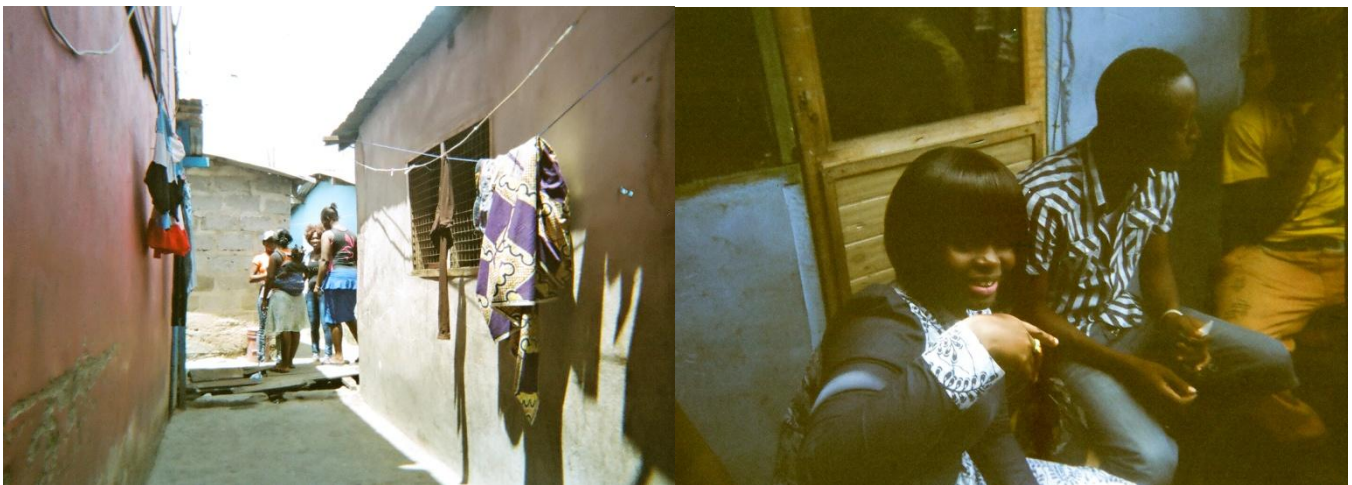
Figure 21: Gzifa mobilizes TFAC project participants. (Rahina).

Figure 20: Peer education with Dianne's friends. (Dianne).

One way in which sex workers in Old Fadama were found to experience precarity was the absence of health facilities in Old Fadama - a denial of the entitlements of citizenship because the slum is not recognized by the state. Old Fadama lacks any clinic: residents must travel to Korle Bu Hospital or clinics in Jamestown (not great distances, but the cost and hassle of a journey away), or rely on self-

medication at an unregistered pharmacy. Experiences and stories of harassment and mistreatment at clinics were also dissuasive: one respondent said that as soon as medical staff thought she was a sex worker they would not give "correct" treatment. The majority of project participants said they did not use state clinics when asked in a TFAC workshop. Reasons given included lack of health insurance; mistreatment at clinics; geographic distance; affordability; and existing use of pharmacies or traditional medicine.

In this context, peer educators' promotion of accessing healthcare was also a promotion of asserting one's entitlements as a citizen. Aseida and Dianne, for instance, told me about accompanying women to state clinics, and Makafui and Dianne currently facilitate a TFAC project aimed at improving access health and legal services. Peer educators were also assisting sex workers to obtain health insurance cards[16]. In this way, embodied vulnerability was converted to a platform for claiming citizenship via access to healthcare.

Child care

Images of children are scattered throughout the photographs, reflecting Old Fadama's landscape and photographers' lives. Children motivated involvement in sex work in respondents' narratives: Gzifa became pregnant at 15 and, without a boyfriend or father for support, began sex work, she said when I asked how she encountered TFAC; becoming pregnant motivated both Dianne and Aseida to cease sex work, they told me. The association of career change with her childbearing link to slogan of a Prolink safe sex campaign: "You are someone's hope." Aseida repeated this message to me when explaining her work as a peer educator, insisting that women must take their sexual health seriously because their children are reliant on them.

---

[16] Ghana has a universal health insurance programme, accessible by obtaining an insurance card. No participant in the observed TFAC workshop discussion about healthcare held an insurance card.

The emphasis on women's mothering roles was a strategy for encouraging health care, but also part of peer educators' conceptualizations of their work, as was apparent in photo elicitation interviews. For example, Aseida explained that three girls she photographed (Figure 21) were in school and also worked to help support their families; one supported her mother, who was blind and could not find work. This photograph was linked to that of a girl selling bread and *lamogin* (a drink) (Figure 22), whom I was told had been sent to Old Fadama to stay with relatives, who did not take her to school.

Figure 23: Girls who are in school and working in addition. (Asieda).

Figure 22: A girl sells bread and lamogin. (Aseida).

"I wanted to show the way women are suffering," Aseida remarked when I asked the reason for the second picture. By "suffering" she explained that she meant lack of opportunities, especially regarding education. There are no state schools in Old Fadama and some cannot afford the time and money to take children to school outside.[17] In these circumstances, Aseida said, this girl could be recruited into sex work by a "madam" who shelters girls and introduces them to the business. Comparing this photograph to Dianne's of two sex workers and TFAC participants (Figure 24) during group discussion, Aseida remarked that the women "can look after themselves. But who is going to look after this girl?" A similar sentiment was expressed by Makafui, who introduced me to a

---

[17] Several research participants had children at school outside Old Fadama, including Aseida. It is not unusual in Ghana for children to attend residential school or to stay with relatives away from biological parents whilst schooling.

group of girls whom she suspected were younger than their professed 16 years: the girls had a similar story to Aseida's subject, but they had begun sex work. Makafui lamented that they were in the business at their age, saying that they should be in school.

**Figure 24: Two women (sex workers) rest outside Effo's.
(Dianne).**

For research participants, there was no tension between a mother's responsibility to care for children and to generate income. Rahina's photograph of a young girl (Figure 10), for example, prompted conversation about childcare and sex work: Rahina took the picture because the girl's mother went away to work, leaving her with friends – she did sex work, sometimes worked during the day. At night, Rahina said, there is a place where women can leave their children for ten cedis (around three US dollars) whilst working – Rahina considered this a good service because women have to work to look after their children[18]. Despite the concern to protect children from doing sex work, and the use of children as a trope to encourage health care, there was no tension between (adult) sex work and motherhood.

This attitude toward work and motherhood is consistent with norms regarding the division of household labour in Ghana, whereby women are expected to support their children economically

---

[18] It is noteworthy that eight out of twelve research respondents who were or had been sex workers had children (see Appendix 1).

in strictly gendered occupations – namely, trading.[19] Akan concepts of gender in particular prioritize a mother's provision of economic support for her children above biological relationship (Clark 1994; 2001). As Clark (2001) found in research with women market traders in Kumasi, these roles conflict when capital accumulation visibly exceeds support for children. By constructing sex work as "women's work," (see p.38ff.), it too was legitimized as an income source as part of a mothering role, as Rahina suggested in her approval of a childcare service. Peer educators' assumption of mothering roles themselves in their attitudes toward children and their strategic promotion of mothering roles among sex workers therefore is not restricted to biological, emotional care, but extends to income generation.

Friendship

Historically and currently, many of Old Fadama's residents are migrants (Grant 2006), as represented by research participants (see Appendix 1). Whilst networks based on kinship and nationality featured in the narratives of several respondents, others lacked such networks, sometimes moving to Old Fadama precisely to escape kinship demands or ending up there because they lacked such a support network. For example, Afua was sent to stay with her uncle in Accra due to her parents' economic hardship; her uncle's wife mistreated her to the point that she ran away and found herself in Old Fadama, because it offered comparatively cheap accommodation. Thema followed friends from her village to Old Fadama out of curiosity; they could not support her when she could not find work. These stories contrast with that of Dianne, who was born and raised in Old Fadama. Her photographs are scattered with images of family members and friends. Dianne's photograph of friends with whom she was talking about STIs (Figure 20) highlights that peer education is strongly associated with friendship networks. Rahina too described the woman in Figure 12 firstly as her

---

[19] C.f. n. 15.

friend and then as a sex worker, and offered the word "friendship" in response to Figure 21 during a group exercise. Dianne and Rahina's integration of friendship and peer education might be explained by their greater embeddedness in Old Fadama compared to Aseida and Makafui (who lived in neighbouring communities), and their comparably shorter experience as peer educators, which perhaps meant that they were "peers" more than "educators." Either way, it was clear that peer education provided a support network which some individuals lacked.

Building relationships in the community was extended to concern for others' relationships. When I introduced the photovoice process and discussed the prompt question with participants, Makafui asked if she could photograph her work as a peer educator, because "I like counselling people, I'm a counsellor." The same concept was apparent in her concern for Lizzie, the subject of Figure 25, whom I was told was in a relationship with an older man (pictured) out of financial need – a situation that Makafui labelled "not good."

Figure 25: Lizzie and her partner prepare shoes for sale. (Makafui).

Aseida too talked of *knowing* the community when asked about identifying sex workers and that "*getting to know* new people" was what she enjoyed about peer education, whilst Makafui said that she *knew* the woman in Figure 11. When discussing girls in sex work, Aseida presented herself as a friend

to girls who stay with a "madam": "When you go there, if you talk to them with a stigmatizing attitude, the girls won't talk. But if you talk to them as a sister, they share all and look to you for help." The value of friendship among sex workers is the subject of Hart's (1995) study of sex workers and clients in a Spanish *barrio*, which found that "[o]ne of the most important organizing discourses of 'barrio' spatialisation was that of friendship" (p.227). The existence of friendships inside the *barrio* which were reconfigured outside highlights the importance of friendship as a strategy to deal with environmental and work conditions. In Old Fadama, where many people have stories of fragmented families and sex workers face stigma, peer educators develop roles precisely as peers, valuing sex workers as friends.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented findings related to peer educators' (biological and emotional) care practices. I have shown that peer educators respond to the embodied precarity of sex work in advocacy of health care; furthermore, I have shown that the focus on the body and healthcare are a means of generating recognition and accessing citizenship in response to the state's denial of such to residents of Old Fadama and to sex workers in particular. Whilst these practices can be considered a form of self-governing in terms of the privatization of risk (Lorey 2011), I argue that it is part of the development of an alternative, shared embodiment of care, which is an exercise of collective agency in the act of meaning-making. This research shows that, whilst peer educators are nominally employees of an NGO charged with delivering information and health services, they exercise agency vis-à-vis precarity by developing practices of care that develop recognition and value for a population denied such by stigmatization and criminalization of sex work and non-recognition of the slum.

Whist some have argued for care as a mobilizing concept in politics of the "precariat" (for example *Precarias de la Deriva* 2004), I argue that an intersubjective embodiment of care has an ambiguous impact on the conditions of precarity in this case due to the concept of a mothering role upon which it draws. This role both legitimizes sex work (because it prioritizes the economic responsibility of motherhood), and provides an alternative source of personal and social status (motherhood is a key means to gaining public recognition). However, legitimization of sex work as a source of income for mothers is undermined by the privatization of risk which peer educators participate in through sexual and reproductive health education. Being "someone's hope" (the Prolink safer sex tag-line) emphasizes the embodied risk of sex work at the same time as demanding sex workers generate income.

Furthermore, a shared embodiment of care based upon a model of motherhood has an ambiguous impact upon precarity because, whilst it recognizes sex work as a legitimate occupation, it does so only as an income opportunity and only for those for whom the model of motherhood is possible and desirable.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored what conceptual and practical strategies peer educators use in their work, and to what effect; and what role the precarious setting of Old Fadama plays in sex workers' and peer educators' practices. The research has demonstrated that the lives of sex workers are made acutely precarious by the economic, structural, and socio-political environment of Old Fadama. I have argued that peer educators respond to the precarity of work, space and life with different strategies, namely: managing and gendering work within the informal economy; fixing spaces and people within the setting of the slum; and developing an alternative model of personal and social value via a shared embodiment of care. I have argued that peer educators exercise agency in their strategies to make sex workers more "recognizable, readable, or grievable" (Butler 2009: xii) in a socio-political environment which denies them recognition and value.

However, I have demonstrated that the impact of peer educators' strategies upon the conditions of precarity is limited. The character of the informal economy and the stigmatization of sex work were shown to limit attempts at managing careers, since they impel flexibility of occupation. Strategies of spatialization are confounded by the market for sex work which demands geographic mobility, and by the multi-functional and vulnerable (to state intervention and non-protection) structural environment of the slum. The development of an alternative source for personal and social recognition and value is limited by tensions inherent in the model of motherhood from which peer educators base a concept of care.

This research has highlighted the importance of peer education as an income opportunity. Thus, unlike previous studies of exiting sex work which identify psycho-social factors that aid or inhibit the process but pay little attention to work, I contend that the opportunity for work which is both more stable economically and provides an alternative source of (personal and social) value is

59

significant to former sex workers. This contributes to the limited research on careers in (and out) of sex work. Findings have also provided an insight into how peer educators relate to their former employment as sex workers from an "ex-role", thus complementing studies of the effect of peer education upon target populations.

This research demonstrates that, whilst not all informal employment is precarious, a lack of regulation compounds a lack of protection in the case of sex work, thus deepening vulnerability. It contributes to discussions about gender in the informal economy by showing that individuals can favour greater gendered segmentation in a context where feminization can be a means of legitimizing and recognizing women's income generation. This research also expands knowledge about how sex work is conditioned by local socio-political, economic and geographic factors – something which is particularly relevant in the African context, since there is a dearth of research with sex workers from this continent (Mgbako and Smith 2010).

Furthermore, this research contributes to concepts of precarity. By considering the informal economy, the slum environment and sex work in parallel, it has shown that economic, environmental and socio-political factors are inextricable in the process of precarization. The concept of embodiment has demonstrated that the body is both the point at which these aspects of precarity intersect and the platform from which peer educators responded to precarity. Findings support analyses of development interventions as de-politicized and universalizing rather than addressing why and how sex workers as a group systematically and acutely experience precarity (see Cornwall et al. 2008); however, they emphasize the multiplicity of ways in which precarity might be addressed on the grouns, including ways invisible to development organizations.

This research would benefit from greater learning about local constructions of gender in Old Fadama, including how they differ according to age, ethnicity and background. The role of

globalization (in terms of the presence of international organizations and the growing international e-waste trade, for example) upon configurations of gender is also a key topic for exploration. In particular, further research into the models of femininity and motherhood deployed would strengthen this research, focussing on how they are related to organizational policies, funding, and techniques, including the mobilization of identity categories. Findings would be complemented by work with a larger number of peer educators to understand how extensively the strategies identified are employed, and more in-depth work with sex workers to understand how these strategies are received. This would be pertinent to expanding understandings of how sex workers and former sex workers relate in the sphere of peer education. How both groups relate to the NGOs which train and employ peer educators is a further question emerging from this research which would inform understanding of their conceptual and practical strategies; of particular research interest would be the role of expert (biomedical) knowledge as a technique of governmental precarization.

In conclusion, the tensions identified in peer educators' conceptual and practical strategies and between these strategies and the lives of sex workers speak to the contradiction inherent in peer education: whilst it purports to occur within established peer norms, peer education simultaneously challenges behaviour norms. Peer educators' work has been shown in this research to be much more than addressing health behaviours – it is addressing a host of factors which make sex workers' lives less liveable than others'. Developing recognition and value of sex workers, however fraught the model upon which it is based, is thus significant as a platform for making claims both as individuals and as participants in the community of Old Fadama and wider society.

Appendix 1

Table 1: Demographic information about research participants.

Name	Age	Birthplace	Residence	Children	Experience with peer education
Photovoice participants					
Aseida	25	Kwahu (Eastern Region)	Chokor (South east of Old Fadama)	1 son (at residential school).	Trained with Prolink when living in Old Fadama. Employed by Prolink as a peer educator 18 months part time and a TFAC participant for 2 months.
Dianne	25	Old Fadama	Old Fadama	1 daughter.	TFAC participant for 20 months; trained and employed as facilitator by TFAC 12 months.
Makafui	40	Kwahu (Eastern Region)	Railways (a settlement around Accra train station, close to Old Fadama)	5 children.	Trained with Prolink and employed part time for 24 months. Trained and employed as TFAC facilitator 2 months.
Rahina	24	Accra	Old Fadama	None.	TFAC participant for 10 months.
Gzifa	20	Tamale (Northern Region)	Old Fadama	1 son (with relatives in Northern Ghana).	TFAC participant for 20 months; trained and employed as facilitator by TFAC 12 months.
Thema	41	Mampong (Ashanti Region)	Old Fadama	1 child (with relatives at Mampong).	TFAC participant for 20 months; trained and employed as facilitator by TFAC 12 months.
Respondents					
Afua	21	Northern Region	Old Fadama	None.	Ex-participant with TFAC (since 9 months).
Ama	18	Northern Region	Railways	1 daughter.	TFAC participant for 2 months.
Lizzie	21	Accra	Old Fadama	None.	TFAC participant with for 10 months.
Priscilla	26	Accra	Old Fadama	2 children.	Ex-participant with TFAC (since 3 months).
Sarah	39	-	Old Fadama	1 child.	Ex-participant with TFAC (since 3 months).
Efua	25	Volta Region	Madina (northern suburb of Accra)	None.	Ex-participant with TFAC (since 3 months) and current voluntary peer educator.

Appendix 2

Table 2: Overview of photovoice research process.

Activity	Participants	Location	Description
Introductory meetings x 2	The first meeting was attended by Makafui and Aseida (others could not come due to rain in Old Fadama, which restricts access); the second was attended by Dianne, Gzifa, Rahina and Thema.	Jamestown Community Theatre Centre (approximately 50 minutes).	Introduction to the research; principles and structure of photovoice. Discussion and decision about the prompt question: "what work do women do in your community?" Consent obtained from participants. Overview of camera use and basic principles of photography. Practice shoot with cameras.
Photography	All participants.	Old Fadama	Participants took photographs over a 5-10 day period.
Camera collection and development	Gzifa and Thema travelled outside Accra so were not able to return cameras for developing.	Old Fadama	Photographs were developed, printed and scanned for digital records.
Individual photo elicitation interviews x 2	Aseida, Dianne, Makafui, Rahina.	Participants' homes in Old Fadama and Jamestown Community Theatre Centre (between 30 and 50 minutes each).	Printed photographs were shared with the photographer. They formed a starting point for discussions (Wang and Burris 1997; Boyce 2011) which gave the photographer the lead in directing conversation. In the first interviews, questions were open: I asked for the stories of photographs, the intention of the photographer, the relation of the image to the prompt question. I held second elicitation interviews, guided by the principle that qualitative research is strengthened by an iterative process. I was able to probe about certain topics and themes raised in the first interviews and incorporate my own questions about the photographers' lives.
Group photo discussion	Aseida, Dianne, Makafui, Rahina.	Jamestown Community Theatre Centre (30 minutes).	Interactive exercises were used to generate conversation about the photographs and emergent themes as a form of participatory analysis (Harper 2003: 258).
Photo selection	Aseida, Dianne, Makafui. Rahina did not show.	Jamestown Community Theatre Centre (45 minutes).	All photographs were shared and organized by participants according to their own categories. A few images from each category were selected for a display. I was permitted to write up the stories of the images for a display, thus combining conversation, text and image (Becker 1995; Bolton et al. 2001).
Sharing/dissemination		Jamestown Community Theatre Centre.	Consistent with the principle of PAR to translate research outcomes into positive action (Wang and Burris 1999), a small photography display was created. Copies of the photographs were distributed to participants. Written information about the photovoice process was shared with TFAC in order to inform potential replication.

References

ASWA – African Sex Worker Alliance. 2010. Accessed 6 June 2014.
(http://www.africansexworkeralliance.org).

Agustín, L. M. 2003. "A Migrant World of Services." *Social Politics* 10(3): 377-396.

2005. "New Research Directions: The Cultural Study of Commercial Sex." *Sexualities* (8):618-631.

2007. *Sex at the Margins.* London and New York: Zed Books.

Ahmed, A. & Seshu, M. 2012 "'We have the right not to be 'rescued'…': When Anti-Trafficking Programmes Undermine the Health and Well-Being of Sex Workers." *Anti-Trafficking Review* 1: 149-165.

Ahmed, S. 2000. *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality.* Routledge: London.

Amankwaa, E. F. 2013. "Livelihoods in risk: exploring health and environmental implications of e-waste recycling as a livelihood strategy in Ghana." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 51(4): 551 – 575.

Apprey, E. 2011. "Women's Rights and Land Tenure in Old Fadama" in L. Bain (ed.) "Faces of Old Fadama." Accra: African University College of Communications. Retrieved 5 December 2013
(http://www.sdinet.org/media/upload/countries/documents/Faces_of_Old_Fadama.pdf)
.

Arendt, H. 1998 [1958]. *The Human Condition.* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Atchley, R.C. 1971. "Retirement and Leisure Participation: Continuity or Crisis?" *The Gerontologist* 11: 3-17.

1976. *The Sociology of Retirement.* New York: Wiley.

1993."Continuity Theory and the Evolution of Activity in Later Life." Pp. 5-15 in J. R. Kelly (ed.) *Activity and Aging: Staying Involved in Later Life.* Newberry Park, CA: Sage.

Baker, L. M., Dalla, R.L. and Williamson, C. 2010. "Exiting Prostitution: An Integrated Model." *Violence Against Women* 16: 579.

Banks, M. 2001. *Visual Methods in Social Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Becker, H. S. 1974. "Photography and Sociology." *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 1(1): 3–26.

Bell, S. 1994. *Reading, Writing and Re-Writing the Prostitute Body*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bolton, A., Pole, C. and Mizen, P. 2001. "Picture this: Researching Child Workers." *Sociology* 35: 501.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press.

1985. "The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups." *Theory and Society* 14(6): 723-744.

1986. "The forms of capital" in J. Richardson (ed.). *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. New York: Greenwood.

Boyce, P. 2011. "Do you feel somewhere in light that your body has no existence? Photographic Research with transgendered people and men who have sex with men in West Bengal, India." *Visual Communication* 10: 2-24.

Braidotti, R. 1994. *Nomadic Subjects. Embodiment and Sexual difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*. Cambridge: Columbia University Press.

Butler, J. 2004. *Precarious Life*. London; New York: Verso.

2009. "Performativity, Precarity and Sexual Politics." Lecture given at Universidad Complutense de Madrid. June 8, 2009. *AIBR. Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana* 4 (3): i-xiii.

Capous-Desyllas, M. 2010. "Visions and voices: An arts-based qualitative study using Photovoice to understand the needs and aspirations of diverse women working in the sex industry." PhD diss., Portland State University.

Cheng, S. 2013. "Private lives of public women: Photos of sex workers (minus the sex) in South Korea." *Sexualities* 16(1/2): 30-42.

Clark, G. 1994. *Onions are my Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West African Market Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

2001. "'Nursing-Mother Work' in Ghana: Power and Frustration in Akan Market Women's Lives." Pp.103-126 in L. Seligmann (ed.) *Women Traders in Cross-cultural Perspective: mediating identities, marketing wares*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Chen, M. 2010. "Informality, poverty and gender: evidence from the Global South." Pp.463-471 in S. Chant (ed.). *The International Handbook of Gender and Poverty: Concepts, research, policy*. Cheltenham, Glos.: Edward Elgar.

Coetzee, A., Dabrowska, A., Hockton, P. and Fairey, T. 2008. "Change the Picture: Photography with Vulnerable Women." Project report for Photovoice. Retrieved 5 December 2013 (http://www.photovoice.org/html/pvmethodology/method_02/index.htm).

COHRE - The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions. 2004. "A Precarious Future: The Informal Settlement of Agbogbloshie Accra, Ghana." UN Habitat. Retrieved 6 December 2013 (http://www.mypsup.org/mypsup/library/7).

Collier, J. Jr .1967. *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Cornish, C. and Campbell, C. 2009. "The Social Conditions for Successful Peer Education: A Comparison of Two HIV Prevention Programs Run by Sex Workers in India and South Africa." *Am J Community Psychology* 44:123–135.

Cornwall, A., Correa, S. and Jolly, S. 2008. "Introduction" in A. Cornwall, S. Correa and S. Jolly (eds.) *Development with a Body*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Correa, S. and Jolly, S.2008. "Development's Encounter with Sexuality: Essentialism and Beyond" in A. Cornwall, S. Correa and S. Jolly (eds.) *Development with a Body*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Csordas, T. J. 1999. "Embodiment and Cultural Phenomenology" Pp. 143-164 in G. Weiss (ed.) *Perspectives on Embodiment: The Intersection of Nature and Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Dalla, R. L. 2006. "'You Can't Hustle All Your Life': An Exploratory Investigation Of The Exit Process Among Street-Level Prostituted Women." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 30: 276–290.

Davis, M. 2006. *Planet of Slums*. New York: Verso.

Delacoste, F. and Alexander, P. 1988. *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*. London: Virago.

De Soto, H. 1989. *The Other Path*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc.

2000. *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. New York: Basic Books.

Dewey, S. and Zheng, T. 2013. *Ethical Research with Sex Workers*. New York, Heidelberg, Dordrecht, London: Springer.

Ditmore, M. 2008. "Sex work, trafficking and HIV: how development is compromising sex workers' human rights" in A. Cornwall, S. Correa and S. Jolly *Development with a Body*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Doezema, J. and Kempadoo, K. .1998. "Introduction: Globalising Sex Workers' Rights" in J. Doezema and K. Kempadoo (eds.) *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*. London: Routledge.

Dworkin, A. 1987. *Intercourse*. New York: Free Press.

1989. *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*. New York: Plume.

Ebaugh, H. R. F. 1988. *Becoming an Ex: The Process of Role Exit*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

EuroMayDay. 2004. Accessed 1 June 2014 (http://www.euromayday.org).

Farouk, B. R and Owusu, M. (2012) "If in doubt, count": the role of community-driven enumerations in blocking eviction in Old Fadama, Accra." *Environment and Urbanization* 24: 47-57.

Foti, A. 2004. "Precarity and N/european Identity." Interview with Merjin Oudenampsen and Gavin Sullivan. Greenpepper. Retrieved 1 June 2014 (http://www.metamute.org/editorial/articles/precarity-and-neuropean-identity-interview-alex-foti-chainworkers).

Foucault, M. 1995 [1977]. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Trans. A. Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books.

1990 [1975] *The history of sexuality: Volume 1.* Trans. R. Hurley. New York: Vintage Books.

1991. "Governmentality." Trans. R. Braidotti. Pp. 87–104 in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds.). *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* . Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Ghana Aids Commission 2012. "HIV Sentinel Survey Report 2012." Accra: Ghana Health Service.

2012. "Integrated Behaviour and Biological Surveillance Survey 2012." Accra: Ghana Health Service.

Ghana Criminal Code (Amendment) Act 2003 (Act 646). Retrieved 8 June 2014 (http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/44bf823a4.html).

Ghana Statistical Service. 2008. "Ghana Living Standards Survey: Report of the fifth round." Retrieved 10 May 2014 (http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/glss5_report.pdf).

Goffman, E. 1990 [1963]. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* London: Penguin Books.

Grant, R. 2006. "Out of Place? Global Citizens in Local Spaces: A Study of the Informal Settlements in the Korle Lagoon Environs in Accra, Ghana." *Urban Forum* 17(1): 1-24.

Guha-Khasnobis, B., Kanbur, S. and Ostrom, E. (eds.). *Linking the formal and informal economy: concepts and policies.* Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Haraway, D. 1988. "Situated Knowledges: the science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14, 3:575-599.

Harding, S. 2004a [1993]. "Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: What is 'Strong Objectivity?'" Pp.49-82 in L. Alcoff and E. Potter (eds.) *Feminist Epistemologies.* The Taylor and Francis

Group. Excerpted and reprinted in S. Harding (ed.). *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader*. New York: Routledge.

2004b. "Introduction: Standpoint Theory as a Site of Political, Philosophic, and Scientific Debate" in S. Harding (ed.). *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader*. New York: Routledge.

Hardt, M. and Negri, A. 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Harper, D. 2003. "Framing Photographic Ethnography: A Case Study." *Ethnography* 4(2): 241–266.

Hart, A. 1995. "(Re)Constructing a Spanish Red-Light District: Prostitution, Space and Power" P.p.214-213 in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*. New York: Routledge,.

Hart, K. 1973. "Informal income opportunities and urban employment in Ghana." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* I(I): 61-89.

2006. "Bureaucratic form and the informal economy" in B. Guha-Khasnobis, S. Kanbur and E. Ostrom (eds.). *Linking the formal and informal economy: concepts and policies*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Hartsock, N. C. 2004 [1983]. "The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism" in M. B. Hintikka and S. Harding (eds.) *Discovering Reality*. Kluwer Academic Publishers. Excerpted and reprinted in S. Harding (ed.). *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader*. New York: Routledge.

Heintz, J. 2006. "Globalization, economic policy and employment: Poverty and gender implications." Strategy paper. Geneva: International Labour Organization. Retrieved 22 May 2014 (http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/--emp_elm/documents/publication/wcms_114024.pdf).

Ingabire, M. C., Mitchell, K., Veldhuijzen, N., Umulisa, M. M., Nyinawabega, J., Kestelyn, E., Van Steijn, M., Van De Wijgert, J. and Pool, R. 2012. "Joining and leaving sex work: experiences of women in Kigali, Rwanda." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 14(9): 1037–1047.

Jenness, V. 1990. "From Sex as Sin to Sex as Work: COYOTE and the Reorganization of Prostitution as a Social Problem." *Social Problems* 37(3): 403-420.

Kapur, R. 2001. "Post-Colonial Economies of Desire: Legal Representations of the Sexual Subaltern." *Denver University Law Review* 78 4: 855–85.

Kelly, J. A., Somlai, A. M., Bentosch, E. G., Amirkhanian, Y. A., Fernandez, M. I., Stevenson, L. Y., Sitzler, C. A., Mcauliffe, T. L. , Brown, K. D., and Opgenorth, K. M. 2006. "Programmes, resources, and needs of HIV-prevention nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in Africa, Central/Eastern Europe and Central Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean." *AIDS Care*, 18(1): 12-21.

Kumar, P. 2012. "Another Fire Outbreak in Old Fadama." Blog Post. 30 May 2012. Retrieved 6 June 2014 (http://philipkumah.wordpress.com/2012/05/30/another-fire-outbreak).

Lazzarato, M. 2006. "Immaterial Labour." Trans. P. Colilli and E. Emory. Pp. 133-150 in P. Virno and M. Hardy (eds.). *Radical Thought In Italy: A Potential Politics.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Leigh, C. 1997. "Inventing Sex Work" Pp. 223-231 in J. Nagle (ed.). *Whores and Other Feminists.* Routledge: New York.

Lorey, I. 2011. "Governmental Precarization." Trans. A. Dereig. *Transversal: EIPCP Multilingual Webjournal.* Retrieved 20 March 2014 (http://eipcp.net/transversal/0811/lorey/en.

MacKinnon, C. 1990. "Confronting the Liberal Lies about Prostitution", in D. Leidholdt and J. Raymond (eds.) *The Sexual Liberals and the Attack on Feminism*, New York: Elsevier Science.

1993. "Prostitution and Civil Rights." *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law* 1: 13–31.

MacPhail, C., Campbell, C.1999. "Evaluating HIV/STD interventions in developing countries: do current indicators do justice to advances in intervention approaches?" *South African Journal of Psychology* 29: 4.

Maher, J., Pickering, S., Gerard, A. 2012. *Sex Work: Labour, Mobility and Sexual Services.* (Routledge Studies in Crime and Society). Taylor and Francis. Kindle Edition.

Manopaiboon, C., Bunnell, R.e., Kilmarx, P.h., Chaikummao, S., Limpakarnjanarat, K., Supawitkul, S., St. Louis M.E., and Mastro, T.D. 2003. "Leaving Sex Work: Barriers, Facilitating Factors and Consequences for Female Sex Workers in Northern Thailand." *AIDS Care* 15(1): 39.

Månsson, S. A., and Hedin, U. C. 1999. "Breaking the Matthew effect on women leaving prostitution." *International Journal of Social Welfare* 8: 67-77.

Mason-Jones, A.J., Flisher, A. J, and Mathew, C. 2011. "Who are the peer educators? HIV prevention in South African school" *Health Education Research* 26, 3: 563–571.

Meagher, K. 2010. *Identity Economics: Social Networks and the Informal Economy in Nigeria.* Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

Mgbako, C. and Smith, L. A. 2010. "Sex Work and Human Rights in Africa." *Fordham International Law Journal.* 33(4): 1179-1220.

Millet, K. 1975. *The Prostitution Papers.* St. Albans: Paladin.

NPRA – National Pensions Regulatory Authority. 2010. "Special Focus on the Informal Sector." News Article. Retrieved 10 June 2014 (http://npra.gov.gh/site/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=59:special-focus-on-the-informal-sector&catid=40:articles&Itemid=53).

Neilson, B., and Rossiter, N. 2008. "Precarity as a political concept, or, Fordism as exception." *Theory Culture Society* 25: 51.

O'Neill, M. 1996. "Researching prostitution and violence: feminist praxis." in L. Hester, L. Kelly and J. Radford (eds.). *Women, Violence and Male Power.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Obeng-Odoom, F. 2011. "The Informal Sector in Ghana under Siege." *Journal of Developing Societies* 27(3&4): 355–392.

Opare, J. A. 2003. "Kayayei: the women head porters of southern Ghana." *African Journal of Social Work* 18(2): 33-49.

Oselin, S. S. 2010. "Weighing the Consequences of a Deviant Career: Factors Leading to an Exit From Prostitution." *Sociological Perspectives* 53(4): 527–550.

Overa, R. 2013. "When Men Do Women's Work: Structural Adjustment, Unemployment and Changing Gender Relations in the Informal Economy of Accra, Ghana." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 45(4): 539-563.

Pateman, C. 1983. "Defending Prostitution: Charges Against Ericsson." *Ethics* 93: 561–65.

People's Dialogue on Human Settlements. 2009. "Community-Led Enumeration of Old Fadama Community." Accra: Housing the Masses.

Pearson, R. 2010. 'Women's work, nimble fingers and women's mobility in the global economy' Pp. 421-426 in Chen, S. (ed.). *The International Handbook of Gender and Poverty.* Cheltenham, Glos.; Northampton, MA. Edward Edgar.

Pigg, S. 2005. "Globalizing the Facts of Life" in V.Adams and S. Pigg. *Sex in Development*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Pheterson, G. 1989. *A Vindication of the Rights of Whores.* Seattle: Seal Press.

Portes, A., Castells, M. and Benton, L. A. (eds.) 1989. *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries.* The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Potts, D. 2008. "The urban informal sector in sub-Saharan Africa: from bad to good (and back again?)" *Development Southern Africa* 25: 2.

Precarias a la Deriva 2004. "Adrift Through the Circuits of Feminized Precarious Work." *Feminist Review* 77: 157-16.

Roberts, R., Bergström, S. and La Rooy, D. 2007. "UK Students and Sex Work: Current Knowledge and Research Issues." *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 17: 141–146.

Sanders, T. 2005. "Sex work: a risky business." Cullompton, Devon: Willan.

2007. "Becoming an Ex−Sex Worker: Making Transitions Out of a Deviant Career." *Feminist Criminology* 2: 74-95.

Scott, J. C. 1998. *Seeing Like a State.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Scoular, J. 2004. "The 'subject' of prostitution: Interpreting the discursive, symbolic and material position of sex/work in feminist theory." *Feminist Theory* 2004 5: 343-355.

Sennett, R. 1998. *The Corrosion of Character: Personal Consequences in the New Capitalism.* London; New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Shilling, C. 2004. "Physical Capital and Situated Action: A New Direction for Corporeal Sociology." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 25(4): 473-487.

Smith, D. 2004 [1974]. "Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology." *Sociological Inquiry* 44: 1-13. Excerpted and reprinted in S. Harding (ed.). *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader*. New York: Routledge.

Standing, G. 1989. "Global Feminization through Flexible Labor." *World Development*. 17(7): 1077–1095.

1999. "Global Feminization Through Flexible Labor: A Theme Revisited." *World Development* 27(3): 583-602.

2011. *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. London: Bloomsbury Bublishing, Plc.

Wacquant, L. 2007. "Territorial Stigmatization In The Age Of Advanced Marginality." *Thesis Eleven* 91: 66–77.

2008. *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Urban Marginality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

2009. "The body, the Ghetto and the Penal State." *Qualitative Sociology* 32: 101–129.

Wahab, S. 2003. "Creating Knowledge Collaboratively with Female Sex Workers: Insights From Qualitative Feminist and Participatory Study." *Qualitative Inquiry* 9(4): 625–42.

Wang, C. and Burris, M. A. 1997. "Photovoice: Concept. Methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment." *Health Education & Behavior*. 24(3): 369-387.
1999. "Photovoice: A Participatory Action Research Strategy Applied to Women's Health." *Journal of Women's Health* 8(2).

Wang, C. C., Yi, W. K., Tao, Z. W., and Carovano, K. 1998. "Photovoice as a participatory health promotion strategy." *Health Promotion International*. 13(1): 75-86.

Weeks, K. 2004 [1998]. "Labour, Standpoints, and Feminist Subjects" in K. Weeks. 1998. *Constituting Feminist Subjects*. New York: Cornell University Press. Excerpted and reprinted in Sandra Harding (ed.) *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader*. New York: Routledge.

Weiss, G. 1999. *Body Images: Embodiment as Intercorporeality*. New York: Routledge.

Wolkowitz, C. 2006. *Bodies at work*. London: Sage Publications.

Yeboah, I. A. 2000. "Structural Adjustment and Emerging Urban Form in Accra, Ghana." *Africa Today*. 47(2): 61-89.