Human development is the success

A field study on Ssenyange Education Centre's work with orphans in Uganda

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Abstract
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This essay presents a field study executed at Ssenyange Education Centre, in Uganda. At this day school/boarding school/orphanage the children’s living conditions has been examined during two months through participating observations and informal conversations. Grounded theory has inspired this research’s methodological approach. The aim with this study is to see the work performed, how orphans’ exclusion is affected and the operation’s impact on social sustainability. Theories used in the analysis are social sustainability, Jenkins’s social identity, Jönhill’s inclusion and exclusion and Mills’s private troubles and public issues. The result shows that Ssenyange Education Centre prevent exclusion for the children at the school, and improve their living conditions by comfort, guidance and tools for the future, such as education. Through highlighting values, the children are aimed to become good people which is in extension socially sustainable. Ssenyange Education Centre’s work is sufficient and prosper for the children at their operation although the centre doesn’t have the possibility to care for every orphaned child in the country, hence there should exist more operations like Ssenyange Education Centre.
Preface

A grateful thank-you is given to SIDA and Halmstad University for the Minor Field Study-scholarship, enabling our field study. An experience and learning we’ll always carry with us.

Also, we thank Åke Nilsén, our mentor, for all the advice, guidance and constructive critics we have received.

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1 Introduction

As an innocent child growing up and learning about the world and life opportunities it is supposed to be a joyful time with support from caring parents, playtime with friends, mandatory schooling, free access to medical treatment and so on. Sweden, is a country with a welfare system regarding both social, health and economic aspects. The safety nets against parental flaws, unemployment and illness is considered strong in comparison to other countries. This is the circumstances we as authors of this thesis have had access to growing up. We have been privileged to this standard during our childhood. Although, this is not the reality for everyone as we have witnessed with our own eyes. For some children, the living conditions are different in other places around the world.

In Uganda, there are no social safety nets from the society for exposed individuals. The family and the relatives have the main responsibility and are the prime caretakers for children as well as for their sick and old (Landguiden 2016). By losing its parents the child’s future becomes dependent on the child’s own capacity and due to being an infant or child it is depending on others. Orphans are more likely to have lesser living conditions such as not attending school, not getting vaccines, doing child labour and having early sexual debuts (UNICEF 2014:22). This highlights the importance of a safety net for these children to make their prospects positive. School and education can give them a chance through stability and protection regardless of previous life situation (UNICEF 2015). UNICEF states child vulnerability as an issue of great importance due to the lack of social protection. Children are a country’s future and their living conditions and prospects determine the society’s development opportunities. UNICEF presents statistics of children who have lost both parents where Uganda has estimated 2 700 000 orphans (UNICEF 2013).

During the pre-research for our minor field study we came across Ssenyange Education Centre, which is both a primary school with 600 pupils and a home for 360 orphans, located in Masaka (Ssenyange 2017). We’ve had the honour to receive a Minor Field Studies-scholarship from SIDA\(^1\) which enabled our field study. This resulted in a two months’ field study at Ssenyange Education Centre. Our interest awakened for orphaned children in Uganda and we aimed our focus on their living conditions.

\(^{1}\) SIDA stands for Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, www.sida.se/english
We consider living conditions of orphans to be a relevant aspect in the creation of a socially sustainable society. This is also a question of high priority and sociological relevance due to children being the upcoming generation and every individual should have the right to education, a safe childhood and prosper future. This essay therefore describes how Ssenyange Education Centre is working with orphans, what strategies are used in this operation and what impact their work have on orphans’ living conditions. The investigation touches a micro level meaning that we look on individual level, i.e. the orphans, as well as a macro level, meaning the society level, i.e. the extended outcome of Ssenyange Education Centre’s work.

2 Area of concern – Exclusion of orphans in Uganda

Education followed by possibility of work and self-sustainment are factors necessary for the individual survival. The people of Uganda must manage themselves and make their own fortune due to a weak social welfare system in the country. People must work to have accommodation, eat, buy clothes and provide their children with education, so they can get knowledge as well as the opportunity to earn money. Education is a fundamental pillar in a well-functioned society. Further, the children when becoming older are supposed to care for and sustain their elders as well as themselves and their own children. Parents are the main safety net and has the main responsibility in providing good terms of living for their children. The parents pay for their children’s education in order to provide them with opportunities in the future. When losing a parent, or both, children’s opportunity for education is decreased because of impossibility to pay the school fees. Children are also reliable on others for care, love and morale when growing up and learning about the society and being part of a community (Shetty & Powell 2003:26). The prior link is through their parents, so when becoming an orphan this system fails. The natural family structure between parent and child in caregiving and upbringing is dissolved. Still this doesn’t change the fact that the children are depending on others for their survival. Their living conditions concern everything between physical health and social cohesion are affected by people in their closeness. Karimli et al. (2012) state that a child who lost his/her parent is more exposed and his/her living conditions therefore harmful, such as criminal activities and substance abuse as consequence (Karimli et al. 2012:1357). Exclusion, i.e. being excluded from different arenas of the society, is a great risk for children with these living conditions due to lack of social support, family and education. The living conditions of orphans are of sociological importance because of the concern for their well-being as well as the country’s thriving development, for the reason that
children are the future of their nation according to our sociological perspective on humanity and society. Due to this area of concern regarding exclusion and overall factors for orphans’ living conditions as well as taking the need for care and education in to account, we have formulated the purpose of this executed field study. Our perspective of the field, our formulation of purpose and framing of questions have inevitable been imprinted by the context in which we as researchers are living our everyday life. We come from a Scandinavian context as we are white, middle class women and has during our field study been in a foreign context, i.e. the development country Uganda. Unintentionally, our Swedish context has influenced our research and the collection of empirical material regardless of bringing to light the issue of contextual influence taking place.

2.1 Purpose
This study examines the life situations and living conditions for orphaned children in Uganda, where our focus is directed towards our field, i.e. the operation Ssenyange Education Centre in Masaka. The purpose of our field study is to see how Ssenyange Education Centre on micro level as well as on macro level is working with and for orphaned children in Uganda, through a social sustainability perspective. The study also aims to see Ssenyange Education Centre’s contribution in dealing with the exclusion that orphaned children in Uganda are exposed to. Strategies, interactions, and everyday happenings are studied in order to understand and analyse the work of Ssenyange Education Centre and the impact it has on orphans’ living conditions. The extended and potential effect of their work on the society is also studied through a social sustainability perspective.

2.2 Framing of questions
1: How are Ssenyange Education Centre working for and affecting the living conditions of the centre’s orphans?
2: How do Ssenyange Education Centre’s work affect orphans’ exclusion from society?
3: How do Ssenyange Education Centre contribute to social sustainability for the Ugandan society?

3 Background
This chapter presents the field Ssenyange Education Centre, earlier research of orphans and their life situation as well as the context of Ugandan society.
3.1 The field – Ssenyange Education Centre
The founder of the school was orphaned as a child and got help from unrelated people to get an education. As an adult, he saw many children growing up as orphans in Uganda and how they were left without the help he had received, so the idea of Ssenyange Education Centre was born. The founder established the school to provide education for these children, at that time only having 11 pupils. 20 years later he is now the director of Ssenyange Education Centre, a school as well as a home to many orphaned children. The operation is a private establishment which is financed by Swedish sponsors, such as private persons and companies, named Swedish friends by the management and children. The school’s motto is reconciliation. It means that all people regardless of colour, gender, age, religion, tribe and clan must be able to work together on this school (Ssenyange 2017).

Ssenyange Education Centre is the first step of Ssenyange Education Project in Uganda, which aims to give children in need the possibility of education. Children who have lost one or both parents are the main priority even though the school also welcomes other children as pupils. Therefore, the school works as a day school as well as it has a boarding section. Ssenyange Education Centre is home to 360 children during semesters but has 600 pupils in total. It is a primary school with following classes; baby class, top class and primary 1-7. The youngest are in baby class and pupils there are around 2-4 years old. Primary 7 is for the most advanced pupils at this facility and they are up to the age of 16. To advance in classes the pupil must pass the examinations before moving up, therefore, the ages of the pupils vary in every class. This means that a pupil is placed in the primary class that is suitable for their level, and corresponding with their achievements. After primary the pupils, if they pass exams and have financial means, continue to secondary school (Ssenyange 2017).

S.E.C. follow a national syllabus and have three semesters per school year. Between the semesters, the pupils have break for three weeks, except for around Christmas, at that time they have holiday for two months. S.E.C has about 30 employees with staff for teaching, cooking, cleaning and gatekeeping etcetera. Some employees are mainly there for teaching while some are working every day of the week for the entire year.

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2 Ssenyange Education Centre will be referred to as "S.E.C." in this essay.
3.2 Earlier research

In this chapter, we have summarized earlier research which consist of articles concerning orphaned children in sub-Saharan Africa, family structure in Uganda, HIV/AIDS affected children, the role of caregivers for orphans and the Ugandan school system and funds. For every article, we have motivated why it is relevant for this essay.

3.2.1 Children orphaned by AIDS: A global perspective

Shetty and Powell’s (2003) article “children orphaned by AIDS: A global perspective” describes orphanage through a global perspective, where the life situation of children who lost their parents to AIDS is the focus of the study. The HIV/AIDS epidemic has had an impact on countries in sub-Saharan Africa on aspects of culture, social and economic. Because of the

Above: The gate, i.e. entrance to the school area.

Above: The compound after wash-day.
epidemic there is a higher frequency of children in today’s generation who lost their parents (Shetty & Powell 2003:25). In the world, there are 14 million orphans due to ADIS. The article shows that 80 percent of these orphans live in sub-Saharan Africa (ibid:26). The purpose of this article is to describe and understand the living condition of the orphans. Shetty and Powell’s definition of orphan is from the Greek and Latin and the term describes a child (under the age of 15) which one or both of their parents have died. When referring to orphans they distinguish maternal orphans, paternal orphans and double orphans. Maternal orphans are children who lost their mother, paternal orphans are children who lost their father and double orphans are referring to the children who have lost both parents (ibid:25).

The article presents result which shows that a child who grows up without parents is risking a fate marked by poverty, homelessness, malnutrition, deprived health care and inadequate schooling. A child without the economic support of parents must find its own way to secure an income, which result in child labour, exploitation and therefore no school attendance.

“Living through cycles of poverty, malnutrition, stigma, exploitation, and often sexual abuse, without the love and support of a family, without education to understand and rise above their circumstances, orphans in Africa suffer recurrent psychological trauma – the primary one being the illness and deaths of their parents. Stigma and discrimination that often surround people affected by HIV/AIDS further compound the emotional distress and social isolation experienced by these children.” (Shetty & Powell 2003:26)

These individual living conditions for children who grow up without the guidance and love from parents result also in long-term social consequences (Shetty & Powell 2003:25). On macro level, these consequences concern weakened and destabilize societies which lead to the community and national development being threatened (ibid:26).

We find this article relevant because it describes the overall picture regarding orphan’s living conditions in the world e.g. social isolation, exploitation and inadequate schooling, as well as reasons for this wide spread issue of parental death. The article has an extra focus on sub-Saharan countries in which area Uganda is located. It is important to have an image of the wholeness, from the big picture to the small one i.e. a global and macro perspective as well as a micro perspective.
3.2.2 Extended families and perceived caregiver support to AIDS orphans in Rakai district of Uganda

The article “extended families and perceived caregiver support to AIDS orphans in Rakai district of Uganda” presents statistic from UNAIDS that shows that in 2009 6.5% of the adult population in Uganda was living with HIV and there were 1.2 million orphans (Karimli et al. 2012:1351). It also describes that Uganda is a country with a weak welfare safety net meaning orphans must seek help from the community and nearby society, such as churches, non-governmental organisations, and relatives in order to meet their needs (ibid).

This article’s purpose is to highlight the problem with orphanage and parental death. It concerns the caregiving of children in Uganda. Females are often the main caregiver for children, which include grandmothers, aunts and sisters (ibid:1352). The family system is described as having an essential part in taking care of children, therefore children rely on both parents and relatives and the double-orphans rely solely on their relatives as caregivers. The writers present that the family structure requires that relatives will step up and care for the orphans, although in many cases the children don’t have these kinds of bonds to relatives. The extended family system describes the relationship between generations. Besides from the children, the elders are also supposed to be cared for by their family members. Therefore, the social safety net and family structure are flawed when there are no parents contributing because, as in this case, of death by AIDS (ibid:1357). The article stress that there is no support for elders and for the family system, especially extended families including other relatives than the closest family members. These extended family systems have been damaged due to wars, conflicts and diseases. The result clarifies therefore the need for programs and policies that focus on the inclusiveness of other relatives for vulnerable children in general and specifically orphans. As well as emphasises the need for supporting the older relatives, specifically grandparents. Their capacity for providing care for the children is failing. To prevent the orphans from ending up in deleterious living conditions the families and caregivers need support (Karimli et al. 2012:1357). This article describes potential harmful living conditions for orphans, which include substance abuse, prostitution, and other criminal activities because of dropping out of school and seeking work, without skills or qualification (ibid:1357).

We find this article relevant because it describes more precisely the conditions of families and orphans in Uganda, i.e. our field. It displays the family system and family situation in this
country. The article gives a description of caregivers and family structure in the country, which contributes to an underlying point of view on orphan’s living conditions, social networks and safety net. Therefore, this article is relevant to understand the context.

3.2.3 Risk and protective factors for psychological well-being of children orphaned by AIDS in Cape Town: a qualitative study of children and caregivers’ perspectives

This article shows a study in Cape Town which breaks down the experience of orphanage, and the result is shown from both the children’s as well as the caregivers’ perspective. According to the study, 90 percent of the caregivers are females between 20-65 years old (Cluver & Gardner 2007:319). Through the orphans’ perspective the writers emphasise that caregivers provide them with a sense of security. The orphans appreciate feelings of being loved, wanted, cared for and getting attention as well as having boundaries. The caregivers’ perspective brings up positive factors of the care they provide, including educational support and advice, honesty, praise and help with homework. The sense of belonging and being part of a family (of some form) is brought up as important factors for their well-being (ibid:321). The main risks the caregivers emphasised was difficulties with birth certificates, medical care, social workers and access of social welfare grants. The caregivers highlighted the orphans’ sense of social exclusion, and the factors for this sense was “inability to afford washing powder, haircare, a bath/shower and lack of birthday celebrations or activities with friends” (Cluver & Gardner 2007:322).

We find this article relevant because it highlights both a caregiver’s and an orphan’s perspective. Since we focus on the operation’s, i.e. caregiver’s, work this one gives a good foundation and point of view to our comprehension of the subject. As well as providing us with the insight on an orphan’s experience and life situation.

3.2.4 Reflections from challenges of working with HIV/Aids affected and infected orphans in Malawi

This article is a study which presents a social worker’s experience and encounter with vulnerable children (Lognwe 2010:2). The author Lognwe tried to provide help through financial assistance and looked at possibilities to improve the orphans’ living conditions. Main discussion is about her relationship with the children, whether if she upheld her distance and was professional or if she cared to much. Stigmatisation and how she as a social worker managed working with stigmatised children is also discussed.
While working with these children emotional attachment is discussed. In this she is questioning her personal emotions in relation to her profession (Lognwe 2010:5). She finds it troublesome to see the limit of what is too little, too much or the appropriate amount of input to the work. Emotional connection and building a relationship is two aspects that a social worker is dealing with, and where the limit is drawn for this is never easy to recognise. Lognwe explains that for her it “… becomes difficult to know where my personal and professional roles start and end.” (ibid:9). This quote shows clearly the continual dilemma of the combination; work and emotion. The author also reflects over the view on the children as not able to make any decisions, which she criticises. She highlights the importance of not working for the children, but instead to work with the children (ibid:9).

We find this article relevant because it highlights the importance of the children’s own capacity and right to self-determination. Lognwe also reflect on the role of the worker, how your professionality can get affected by working close to children in need. We think this is similar to our case, to work with children who are directly or indirectly affected by HIV/AIDS, and therefore an important aspect and relevant to us because we execute a field study at an orphanage.

3.2.5 Universal, but not free: Household schooling costs and equity effects of Uganda’s Universal Secondary Education policy

This article analyses Uganda’s Universal Secondary Education policy and raises questions about its effects. The main idea is to increase school attendance for secondary level through grants and decreasing household costs. The authors state that grants are given to household to give the opportunity for education, although the costs have increased while grants have not. Despite the policy with its intention of increased access to school it has not taken notice of wealth or region, where the author presents statistic of this policy’s benefits not being based on need. Therefore, the children in most need, in rural regions and poorer families are outside the main priority.

“… the policy is need-blind […]. More importantly, disparities in terms of access have persisted since the launch of the policy, with rural areas […] remaining at a disadvantage compared to urban areas.” (Omoeva & Gale 2016:48)
Due to this blindness of need there exists inequalities by wealth and region in Uganda. This shows the relevance of this article for our study, concerning exposed children and their opportunity for education. Although this article focuses on secondary level and our study on mainly primary level, it is connected. We consider orphaned children as an exposed group that fall in the category of the poorer children presented in this article.

4 Methodology

In this chapter, we present our methodological approach, course of action and reliability. There is also a discussion regarding ethics, choice of method and our role as researchers in the field where pre-understanding and going native is highlighted. Lastly, the connection between methodology and theory is presented.

4.1 Methodological approach

This study’s aim was to collect empirical material directly from the field, which we did through observations for two months. The purpose was to see how S.E.C. is working with orphans’ living conditions, with a social sustainability perspective in mind. Since the purpose focus on how and which processes are happening the study is considered to be qualitative and is dependent on the analytical work of the researcher in order to answering the questions of this study. To achieve the data necessary for this analysis a closeness to both field and subject is required. Alvesson & Sköldberg (2008) describe grounded theory as a qualitative method that aim towards the practical action where the researcher can gather empirical material in the field, close to the area that is being studied. That the research is being empirical, i.e. based on reality, is fundamental for this methodological approach (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008:135).

To answer how S.E.C. is working with orphans’ living conditions we have found inspiration in grounded theory, for the reason that our study requires reality based data and closeness to S.E.C. which resemble the approach of grounded theory.

In our study, we are inspired by grounded theory for several reasons, although we have not fulfilled every aspect required for this study to be considered entirely grounded theory. This method is valid in our study due to its components that include qualitative approach, focus on single cases, create social use, to turn and twist the material (i.e. exploration), the social action in focus, cognitive interpretations and closeness to the empirical source (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008:128–132). To be close and in contact with the field is of great importance.
regarding grounded theory (ibid:135). We consider these components to be applicable for our study. Since we have examined one case, i.e. S.E.C. in contrary to examining all primary schools in Uganda. Also, the researchers were certainly close to the source of empirical material due to everyday-living and observing at the centre of the field. We consider our thesis to have potential to contribute to the social use, due to that this research highlights the difficulties for orphans as well as examines strategies that concern these children’s living condition. It is an area of great importance and sociological relevance which is considered to characterize social use. Regarding the component exploration, our research has required that we twist and turn what we have observed, to see it from more than one angle. Even the part of social action in focus apply to our chosen purpose since we examine events and interactions made by individuals. Cognitive interpretations as a part of grounded theory is also relevant in our case and methodological approach, because we as researchers had the main responsible to both collect material and to make sense of it all by using our cognitive ability.

However, we proclaim that we have been inspired by grounded theory, since we are not fulfilling all components of this methodology, like creating new theories. A main goal with grounded theory is to generate theories, which implies that the research should create new theories instead verify current theories. Through understanding and descriptions, the researcher is creating new perspectives of the subject (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008:158). Our study was too short and delimited to be able to arrive at results and empirics which could create theories. If the research had progressed over a longer period of time, there could have been potential to extract theories, although this aspect we had to ignore in our study.

To generate theories relates to the part of grounded theory that highlights the research to be socially usable. One of the most important criteriums with grounded theory is practical applicability (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008:139). This means that the result of the research is supposed to be able to be practically used and have suitable language to the actors which the research is concerning (ibid:139-141). For our thesis, this is very relevant since it is a school-operation that has been examined and its strategies can contribute to other similar operations, as well as S.E.C. should be able to read result we’ve generated.

The ideal material for grounded theory is empirical close, as in form of field notes from participating observations (ibid:141). This is relevant for our study about living conditions of orphans. Regarding the purpose of seeing how the school and orphanage work for the
children, observation is a suitable method. Also, due to the possibility that we got access to the field for two months has made observations a sufficient choice of method. The amount of time as well as our close interaction with the field has made our empirical material thick enough for answering our questions. Time is an important factor for the researchers, in order to get a fair and justified picture of the field or operation. With time came also confidence, trust and deeper connection with the staff, therefore creating a wider knowledge about S.E.C.

The observations were of participant form as much as standing by the side, they were open as well as hidden. Therefore, these observations can be considered as partial participation (Ahrne & Svensson 2011:90). This mean that we could observe from inside interactions at sometimes and at other times we could view it from outside. The study is a full-time observation (ibid:91), meaning that as researchers we lived in our field, observed daily and at all hours of the day. We chose observations because we wanted to see the natural and real interplay that is taking place. By watching the interactions and the everyday life we can see and interpret things that can’t be expressed through words in interviews. We reflected on the aspect of formal interviews but ruled it out arguing that in this case we thought that the staff would give a beautified picture as well as they wouldn’t give us the whole picture. Things that they take for granted and things that we find important could have been left out due to that the informant’s point of view. Conversations are a great source of data, therefore the interviews have been informal, unstructured and much more like a dialogue. During discussions between us two researchers and writers of this essay we made up questions and themes that we bore in mind when we had conversations with the staff and the management. We chose this approach because a formal and structured interview would limit the material and made an unusual and stiff situation for the staff, considering that a research interview is out of the ordinary for the staff at S.E.C. We also thought that we would gain more from an informal conversation since we lived in the field and created relations and we were therefore constant susceptible for empirical data. We reflected that a relaxed talk would make free speech possible and give more for both parties. Everyday talk has given us the opportunity to explore new perspectives and see different angles, instead of being locked to an interview guide which else would have been the case. Sjöberg (Sjöberg & Wästerfors 2008) confirms this approach as most suitable when doing qualitative research. The author suggests an open research design due to the possibilities of reaching valuable material through the actions and expressions of the researched individuals (Sjöberg & Wästerfors 2008:29). Further, interviews are supposed to
be as a dialogue and conversation and therefore are open, unstructured interviews preferred (ibid:33).

4.2 Reflections on grounded theory

The choice of grounded theory was initially not obvious, but after studying different methods, we realized that an approach of grounded theory partially coheres to our study. Hence parts of grounded theory being suitable at the same time we have not entirely executed all parts of grounded theory, we came to be inspired by grounded theory but not completely perform this methodology. Within grounded theory, the researcher preferably goes blank into the field without having a distinct pre-understanding and chosen theories that would imprint the study, to be creative, boundless and create new perspectives (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008:136-137). This suited our field study because neither of us had been in Uganda before, have lived in a foreign culture nor visit an operation like S.E.C. Therefore, we could take advantage of this uncertainty and avoid shaping the research towards a certain direction before entering the field. We wanted to see how the study could be formed and evolved on site and generate the greatest social benefits possible, this is also an important part of grounded theory which caught our interest. As we studied the orphans' living conditions, we saw the potential to generate a study that could create social benefits by inspiring similar activities with S.E.C.’s work. This was not our focus at the beginning, in fact our area of focus took many turns during our field study, such as the teachers’ emotional work. Grounded theory advocates creativeness and for the researcher to evolve the study along the way, without being fixed to a certain theory or focus. We are pleased that grounded theory gave us the tools to change focus and redirect our thesis during our field study.

The process of grounded theory focuses on coding, analysis and processing of material inductively, meaning that the theories grow from the voice of the empirical data. The material is the starting-point and constitutes the choice of theories, where theories are used in a later stage (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008:135). We were inspired by this when we analyzed our material and searched for themes, focus and social use. We’d put the theories aside during observations and let the theories come to us afterwards instead of imprinting the material with a theoretical framework from the beginning.
4.3 Course of action

To get access to the field, a gatekeeper who gives permission to enter the field is contacted (Ahrne & Svensson 2011:95). Our gatekeeper is a Swedish-based woman who is familiar and committed to S.E.C. She then introduced us by e-mail to the management of the school in Uganda and they accepted and invited us to do our field study at their operation. We had contact with our gatekeeper by e-mail where we specified our purpose and decided period for our stay, this information was then passed on by our gatekeeper to the management at S.E.C.

At the beginning of our study we gave ourselves time to settle in Uganda and to get to know the culture, location and people. When we arrived, we did not yet know exactly what we were going to focus on. We had our theme regarding orphans’ living conditions and our thought of observation as main method. But the details were formed and re-formed in a later stage when we had started to become a part of the field. It is important to start with getting to know the field since the context was unfamiliar to us and our manners and ways of thinking was characterized by our cultural luggage. This first phase of entering the field is termed “‘child position phase’”, because it is similar to what a child is going through, also referring to a phase of learning (Sjöberg & Wästerfors 2008:31-32). Because as a researcher, one enters the field relatively clueless and without knowledge of the field and context. Therefore, we took the first week to settle down and introduce ourselves to the staff and management. We made sure during the first two weeks that the management was up-to-date with our reason of visit. After this we have explained further to some of the teachers who were curious about our school work and studies. The rest of the teachers knew that we were students and at S.E.C. because of school work but not the details. Our focus the first time at S.E.C. was to inspire confidence among the people in the field, because trust is vital when reaching the source of empirical data.

We began our observations, always with our notebooks nearby, in the classes. To take field notes is an important part in observation and field study, because it gives the researcher the possibility to remember and to process the happenings and interplays. Field notes has a key role in the later stage of the coding and analysing (Aspers 2011:136). We had gotten permission to access any class and activity we desired and could move freely around the school area. During the following weeks, we rotated in different classes. We made a list of the classes we attended and made sure that we visited every class and took part of all subjects. The reason for participating in classes and observing we hoped to examine both content of
subject as well as values. We wanted to observe the interactions between pupil to pupil and between pupil to teacher. In the classroom, we tried to see what could be relevant regarding the children’s living conditions. A great amount of observations took place outside the classroom. By sitting and observing we could follow the everyday life of pupils, teachers, other staff and the management. The observations took place during different times and without a specific plan and scheme, this we did because we aimed to get a wide range of data and not be locked to the same activity, time or day. We observed from Monday to Sunday, from morning to evening.

To come truly close to the field we have also spend time with other activities. We have participated with everyday life and work assignments, such as playing with the children, singing songs, watching movies and dance performance, mending torn clothes, helping the teachers mark the children’s exercises, constitute examinations by computer, partaking at their catholic church services. At all these activities, whenever something of interest or value came up we afterwards wrote the empirical data in our notebooks.

After leaving the field and got distance to the empirical material and experience, we began to code. We have coded our fieldnotes by using colour pencils that represented three main themes with the purpose to create an oversight and structure of the data. Grounded theory tries to achieve what is termed theoretical saturation. That is the point when the researcher judge that no more analyse or data can be discovered and provide something new (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008:147–148). The empirical material has therefore been worked on through continuous coding and categorisation, according to grounded theory this continues until one reaches theoretical saturation. During this process, we have individually reflected on our material as well as together discussed different angles. Many discussions have taken place between us regarding themes, interpretations and what is relevant and what is irrelevant. The themes are education, care and belonging, which are used when presenting our result in this study.

4.4 Researchers’ role in the field

Glaser and Strauss consider that in grounded theory researchers should enter the field unaffected. This means that the researcher should not have theories and earlier research in mind because it can affect the observation and the aim for new theories and perspectives. If the researcher has a theoretical foundation in mind when he/she enter the field the risk is that
the researcher develops a tunnel vision, and therefore fails to see the whole picture (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008:129, 136–137). Even Swedberg highlights the balance between to read or not read earlier research before doing your own research. He raises the importance of not being influenced by others, so the researcher can develop their own perspective of the phenomenon (Swedberg 2014:50).

There is also a risk when a researcher enter blank into the field, which can be the risk that the researcher will ”go native”. By going native the research loses him-/herself in his/her research and loses the ability to create distance from the field and therefore can’t do objective research (Sjöberg & Wästerfors 2008:32–33). Whether earlier research or not, there is always a risk with going native for a researcher that is near the field and consumed by it, and therefore unable to distance him-/herself from the study. In our case this is a risk because we lived in the field and daily interacted with the informants. We ate, slept, washed, relaxed and worked in the field constantly. This meant an effort for us to distinct what concerned us personally and what was relevant for the study. We were always working on separating the private and the empirical material, therefore there was a constant separation between these two aspects. To prevent the risk of going native we always had this risk in our minds during data collection and discussions. Consciousness of our state is key to not lose ourselves in the field. To release ourselves from this constant work of distinction it also helped that we left the field for a couple of days in the middle of our stay with the aim to clear our minds, get perspective and reload. Even before entering the field we had in mind that after two months of constant work with our assignment we needed to get perspective and distance before writing and finishing our work, therefore we spent the last week in another town to reflect.

Although, Alvesson and Sköldberg (2008) mean that it is impossible to enter a field completely blank as a researcher (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008:135). Because the researcher always has a perspective, which directs what is interpret as relevant data and irrelevant data. These perspectives constitute of both theoretical and cognitive frames of reference, which affect how we distinguish and understand the reality, i.e. our perception (ibid:136).

Even Sjöberg (2008) acknowledges the aspect of going native and the role of luggage a researcher carries with him/her into the field (Sjöberg & Wästerfors 2008:32). The author points out the differences between the researcher and the people in the field. She means that these differences can be a first step to interaction and should be like a social and cultural
exchange, without ranking. This exchange can unite researcher and informant due to the differences that has each expertise (ibid). In the beginning the researcher will ask wrong questions and with time learn about the phenomena and field.

Alvesson and Sköldberg (2008) points out the importance of the researcher’s presence and work of interpretation in qualitative studies (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008:17). The researcher is always placed in a social context and have therefore a luggage with culture, emotions, politic, experience, language etc. These are linked together and the authors highlights reflection as an important aspect in research. Therefore, the researcher must be attentive of him-/herself and his/her role, of the field and phenomena and of the social context which influence the researcher (ibid:487). The researcher should be aware of theoretical frames and that their pre-understandings has impact on the research (ibid:20). This is relevant in our study of orphaned children. For example, as soon-to-be sociologists we have many theories in our backpack and due to that we as children grew up under steady circumstances we have a pre-understanding of how a good childhood should be. This requires attention and discussion of how this may influence us when we gather material. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2008) also highlights that beyond this consciousness, a constant dealing with closeness and distance is required in empirical close methods (ibid:188). For us, who interact with the children and create friendly relationships to the staff this is relevant. Therefore consciousness, discussions and attention have been a core part of our work and everyday life during these two months.

4.5 Ethical reflections

Due to ethical aspects of children being delicate, they should not be informants in research (Ahrne & Svensson 2011:31). Because of this the children at S.E.C. are not our informants, although they have a part through participant observations. We didn’t ask direct questions to the children but observed their actions and spontaneous quotes. Since we don’t expose any individual child we find this as ethically correct. Most of the children are orphans and live at the school, therefore, we consider the director’s approval for our study as sufficient. This study concerns mainly the staff and their work for the living condition of the children, therefore we had dialogues with staff and management. For the reason that we haven’t examined individuals per se and their specific actions we have not directly told the purpose of our study. We have not studied the teacher’s way of learning, but have focused more on the content of the lessons and the interplay taking place. Although, we have always asked the
teachers when entering the classroom if it is okay if we participate. For this reason, we consider our observations to be open as much as partly hidden.

The role as a researcher is morally responsible, which means that the published result should be as correct and representative as possible for the research area (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014:98, 110-111). Another important aspect is loyalty toward the study and not to manipulate or distort the material. Respectfulness against the informants is also of great importance, therefore the study must be designed in a way that the risk of harming the informants is as non-existing as possible (ibid:99–100). Therefore, we have carefully discussed our data to make sure we don’t harm or expose any individual or the operation. We directly informed the management of our study and they gave us permission, which we considered as enough approval to observe and ask questions. Regarding the informal interviews, i.e. dialogues, we have at all times been cautious with our timing and questions. It has required from our part to sense the situation and the emotional state of the informants, so we wouldn’t pressure them or be inconvenient. This sensibility of others is very important when constructing informal interviews. We as researcher has therefore had a responsibility to read body language and the reaction on the questions, and always weigh the current situation which differs from time to time, and person to person.

4.6 Validity and reliability
Validity refers to if the study examined what it intended to examine. The validity is easier to determine in quantitative studies (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014:295-296), although in this study we think that the result is corresponding with our intentions and purpose. In our field study, we have examined through observations which we consider has given us a great amount of material. In this empirical material, we have been able to distinguish what is relevant to our purpose and therefore assuring high validity.

Reliability also refers to the credibility of a study. This indicate using the right tools for the research and the possibility for another researcher to create the same result (ibid). This is problematic to determine in qualitative studies, due to the dependency of ever changing circumstances and individuals. In our case, we can’t say that our study would give the same result if another researcher executed the same research. Although we state that we have used the best and most fitting tool possible for this kind of study and its purpose.
Generalisability is the possibility of applying the result to another similar research (ibid:310-315). In our case this concerns our result of S.E.C. to other boarding schools and operations, that work with orphans. We consider that S.E.C. is unique and that our result is depending on time as well as on the people that has been involved in this study, both informants and researchers. Therefore, the result in full cannot be generalized and not applicable to similar operations but some parts may be corresponding with other operations’ work with orphans.

4.7 Reflections on method

The choice of a qualitative study came easy to us because of the purpose and access to the field. This study’s purpose points to an analytic description and understanding form. Qualitative approaches go beyond the suffer to gather material in its fullness. The choice of doing a field study instead of reading about the operation from a distance is considered to give more detailed and truthful material. To fulfil the purpose of seeing how S.E.C. is working with and affecting orphaned children, it requires a method which is empirical close. To be in the field gives a close and reality based picture of how the operation is working with the children. In order to find a suitable method, we read about field based methodologies and we found grounded theory. The more we read and learned about grounded theory a great amount of its components seemed according to our way of empirical study, and therefore inspire our methodological approach.

An aspect that had complications during our research is the language. The people at S.E.C. speak both English as well as their local language Luganda. We however don’t speak or understand Luganda. This has limited us in situations when adults have spoken in Luganda with the children. In these situations, we afterwards asked what the conversation was about to get an idea of the content of the conversation. Although the whole picture can still be somehow flawed. Nevertheless, the education is in English which means that we could participate without a translator. Our Swedish-English and their Ugandan-English is two different dialects of English which has created some misunderstanding, especially in the beginning of our time at the school. This made us extra careful during conversations to make sure that we were talking about the same subject, and also required us to reflectively determine if we have understood each other.

The staff at the school had a busy schedule from early morning to late evening. It is their everyday life we arrived to, therefore we felt at some points that is was difficult to take up
their precious time. In research, one always feels that they need more time no matter how much time is given. As researchers, we have questioned the amount of material and wondering if it’s enough. Fortunately, we are two researchers which has made opportunities for discussing this issue and get perspective. This made us realize that in research you never finish and you always want more time.

In the method of observation, the researcher’s interpretation and perspective has an important role. There can be several factors that influence the researcher and Swedberg (2014) raises the bias of anchoring, affectual and availability, which we find relevant in our methodology. The affectual bias refers to an emotional view that affects the understanding. When the view is influenced by the researcher’s starting point it is called anchoring bias. Lastly, availability bias is when the view is influenced by the ease which something come to mind (Swedberg 2014:123). Therefore, it is a subjective process which can mean that personal luggage can have impact on the collection of material. In the interpretation of an observation there might be subconscious understandings made and assumptions which is taken for granted. To distinguish what is quick assumptions or thorough interpretations we have frequently discussed and questioned ourselves and each other. We see it as an advantage to be two researchers, due to the possibility to perceive actions from two different angles which can create a richer material. It has also helped us to tackle the risk of blindness in the field, which can occur when being in the field for a long time. You come to see what is taken place as everyday happenings and as nothing special, i.e. a blindness to empirical material. Then again, regarding the subconscious, Swedberg advocate the potential of the subconscious, which he says can do the work for you if you relax and give it space (Swedberg 2014:106).

4.7 Theory regarding choice of method

Grounded theory is inductively formed which means that empirical material is starting point and theory itself is put in brackets to be used in a later step (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008:135). Since grounded theory has inspired our study we have reflected on our interpretations and aimed to put potential theories aside during our observations. In our choice of method, we have chosen theories which has arisen through our analysis on the material and therefore the theories are introduced in the next chapter.
5 Theoretical reference frame

This chapter explains the theories which are applied in the analysis. These theories are social sustainability, social identity, inclusion/exclusion and private troubles/public issues.

5.1 Social sustainability

Manzi et al. (2010) define social sustainability to concern the relations between human actions and created contexts. The authors mean that social sustainability is something that occurs in the intersection of individuals’ life opportunities and institutional structures (Manzi et al. 2010:4-9). The theory is described as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. It needs to be multi-dimensional due to all that is included in the social aspect. Human needs and life quality is central. The concept of social sustainability includes accommodation, education, health and social service. Manzi et al. (2010) give the example of politics, democracy, social cohesion, justice, participation, cooperation, security, local culture, neighbourhood, tolerance (Manzi et al. 2010:4-9). The government, social exclusion and social capital is three more aspects that the authors discuss. An inclusive society, nurturing and with a good management is considered the vision of a good society, where social sustainability can be a way to reach this. Social sustainability involves for example participation, justice, democracy and social cohesion. It therefore includes that everyone has access to resources, has social capital, and can participate (ibid:5-9).

Social sustainability is described by Manzi et al. (2010) as a process rather than a result. A process that is in constant change. According to McKenzie (2004), social sustainability can be understood as a life improving condition as well as a societal process in achieving this condition (McKenzie 2004:12). Sustainability is defined as a development that meets the need of current generation without risking the generations to come. The focus is maintenance, indicating that the society can be preserved and improved (ibid:2-3).

Andersson (2013) defines social sustainability, by using key concepts, that describe meaning and orientation of social sustainability depending om area of interest (Andersson 2013:7). In this study, relevant key concepts are defined according to our field, i.e. orphaned children in Uganda. One prone key concept is social cohesion, where a feeling of this can characterize social sustainability according to Andersson (2013). Social cohesion is advantageously in
creating a positive coexistence between the citizens. Stable culture on local level and shared social activities can create belonging and cohesion (Andersson 2013:8).

We have chosen this theory since social sustainability is necessary in defining living conditions, which is the theme of this essay and formulated in this essay’s framing of questions and purpose. Also, one question aims to examine social sustainability therefore this theory is essential to use when analysing and answering that question.

5.2 Social identity

Richard Jenkins (2014) formulates and discusses identity and identification in Social Identity. He argues that all forms of identities are social, since it always involves interaction (Jenkins 2014:18). Jenkins's theory of social identity is based on that individuals seek to understand the world in which identification is used as a tool (ibid:14, 33). Jenkins uses “identification” to emphasize how identity is a process rather than a thing (ibid:18, 107). Identity/identification is contextual, constantly reformed and will never be "complete" (ibid:18, 44, 86).

The need for belonging is a deeply rooted feeling and urge for humans, and therefore affects us to strive to be part of a collective (ibid:152). Common activities and interaction create social ties and group identity (i.e. collective identification), and further incite the sense of membership, belonging to the context and each other (ibid:137). Individuals’ identifications with others is based on experience, on similar preferences and life situations (ibid:30, 105). Collective self-identification, which is reinforced by similarities within the group, evolves in relation to others (ibid:107). A “sense of us” is created by acting similar in the group as well as with external borders (ibid:135-139).

Jenkins (2014) presents a model explaining collective and individual identity by defining the processes and interplay taking place. There is an interplay between three orders; individual, interactional and institutional (ibid:41-48). These are defined as what-goes-on-in-their-heads, what-goes-on-between-people and established-ways-of-doing-things. The individual order is the world of the person, the interaction order is referring to relationships and the institutional order is patterns, institutions, and organisations. This institutional order has a strong force to direct individuals’ behavior and decision-making through its patterns (ibid:60-62). Society is influenced by norms which individuals are expected to behave according to, this is a sign of
structure affecting individuals’ identities. This indicates the institutions’ impact on people, and how they can influence the state of mind as well as the circumstances for an individual.

Social identity as a theory is relevant due to Jenkins’s discussion of institution, group, belonging and collectiveness which are relatable to orphans’ situations. It supplies depth to our examination and analysis of the living conditions of orphans as well as what affects them.

5.3 Inclusion and exclusion
Jönhill (2012) presents the theory of inclusion and exclusion where these are defined as terms for belonging as well as non-belonging to various subsystems in society. Inclusion and exclusion can associate to every individual since everyone belongs to various subsystems and social contexts (Jönhill 2012:8-9). Individuals can be included in some subsystems but excluded from others. A person that is included in a system can get excluded from it, or vice versa. Being included or excluded happens gradually and the individual cross the boundary of belonging or not-belonging to a certain system (ibid:40-51). An individual is excluded when not having permission or the possibility to access the context or/and group (ibid:137).

The distinction between inclusion and exclusion is important, since it refers to the difference between belonging and non-belonging. Inclusion and exclusion are dependent on each other, human beings can’t belong unless an opposite emotional sentiment exists. Exclusion is a social state where the individual is outside of the society or a specific social arena. Inclusion is the counterpart where the individual experiencing being a part of the society or/and social arena. Inclusion is in most cases advantageous because of the feeling of belonging and being able to participate, but an individual may also be included involuntarily to subsystems or groups that are perceived negatively (ibid:19, 39-42, 50). Jönhill (2012) highlights the importance of in-group and out-group when concerning inclusion and exclusion, i.e. an individual’s belonging (ibid:61). Participation in communication is highlighted as a factor. This means being able to speak for oneself, hence being included in a subsystem (ibid:50, 87).

Jönhill (2012) theorizes about the consequence of exclusion which can lead to conflict (ibid:139). Inclusion can provide stability in the society due to its ability to deal with antagonism, differences and conflicts (ibid:155). Another risk with exclusion is that it can become cumulative. Cumulative exclusion means that one exclusion leads to another, placing the individual in an even more exposed and fragile situation and position. This means that
exclusion from one arena leads to exclusion from several arenas, as a negative circle of exclusion (ibid:85-87). For example, an individual who loses his/her employment can lead to consequences in the future such as losing their home, unable to pay school fees, losing possibility to participate in social events and damaging social bonds and relations.

Exclusion is our defined area of concern, for this reason this theory of Jönhill is vital. The counterpart inclusion is also linked to our purpose, living conditions and previously presented theories which strengthens this theory’s relevance to our study.

5.4 Private troubles and public issues
Mills (1997) links biography with history and focuses on the intersection of the relationship between the individual's living patterns, i.e. biography, and the world, i.e. history (Mills 1997:15, 23). To understand the society, the relationship between the self and the world needs to be observed (ibid:17, 25, 208). Mills discloses the distinction between what is private troubles (biography) and public issues (history). Private troubles only concern the affected individual and her/his close relationships and surroundings. For example, loneliness. It is a problem for the individual, but loneliness does not affect society at large. A public issue goes beyond the individual and affects the public and the whole community. Private troubles can also be caused as well as affected by public issues on structural level. For example, if the government, in this case in Uganda, raises the school fee it becomes a private trouble, i.e. economic challenges or educational deprivation for the individual. Public issues include several individuals, are existing outside the specific individual and applies to social life in environments and structures, e.g. poverty, health care services (ibid:17, 27-28).

This theory by Mills is chosen because our purpose concerns the relation between micro and macro. Through this theory of private troubles and public issues we get an analytical foundation by understanding the link and correlation between individual and society, such as the area of concern’s problematic, background and opportunities for development.

6 Results of field study
In this chapter, we have carefully chosen, gathered, and processed our collected material. The empirical material is from observations and informal conversations at Ssenyange Education Centre. This chapter is divided in three themes, which have evolved from the empirical
Human development is the success  Beatrice Frimodig
Sociology 61-90  Charlotte Wilck

material. The themes are referred to as education, care and belonging where living conditions are the shared basis. The themes can be considered as branches of the tree named living condition. Photographs taken by the researchers is imbedded at the end of this chapter to illustrate the environment and give a better view of the field.

6.1 Education
Under this theme, ambitions, educational future and learning related work of the operation are presented. Lessons, education, school rules and school arrangement at Ssenyange Education Centre as well as the role of education in a later stage of the children’s life are highlighted.

S.E.C. is a primary school and the beginning of Ssenyange Education Project. The project aims at working toward children getting education, doing well in school, and getting good grades. After S.E.C. a pupil can, if sponsored, continue to secondary school and/or vocational school. And further on to university if possible, according to grades, ambition, and finances. The management travel to these schools to assist their transferred students. The schools that are options for the S.E.C.’s pupils are handpicked and chosen with care by the director and his wife. It is important to choose good schools for the children to give them quality education and make them “good people and good citizens” (the management, S.E.C., 2017). The director states that the criterium for a school to be considered good is that they understand the work and values of Ssenyange Education Project as well as the administration being well organised. Good teachers are another criterion that is required to establish cooperation between S.E.C. and other schools. The cooperation is founded on that Ssenyange Education Project is managing payments in time and the secondary schools understand the project’s purpose and as an effect the teachers at these schools give extra attention to the project’s students. If the grades aren’t good enough to continue studying at secondary school there are the option of vocational school. This is a practical learning which leads to a certificate. Example of orientations are tailoring, plumbing, hairdressing, agriculture, shop attendance, hotel management, carpentering. The main priority is that the children shall be able to sustain and manage themselves. Through education and courses, chosen due to its usefulness, the children are supposed to be employed or to self-employ. It’s stated that the school’s intention is to create useful people. The director highlighted the operation and their vision which is to create good people, like nurses, teachers and similar. Further he said, “This is not a business, this is a service” (the director, S.E.C., 2017). S.E.C. is a private school but non-profit-making regarding money. The school is therefore described as a social service operation instead of
being commercial. It is financed by sponsors and has no school fee. We have noticed that this is unique and a characteristic for S.E.C. Another characteristic of the school is its focus on orphans. They have the orphans’ circumstances in mind, and therefore they excluded school fees in order to give orphaned children the opportunity for education.

We were told that all schools in Uganda must follow a national syllabus, through this the teachers at S.E.C. have a “teacher’s guide” as well as notebooks with “lesson plan”. In the syllabus, it is explained what is supposed to be taught and what the children are supposed to have learned. As other primary schools in Uganda, S.E.C. has three semesters in one school year, with three weeks off between every semester and two months holiday around Christmas and the year end. At S.E.C. the pupils in primary 1-7 start the school day at 6.20, continuing to 4 or 5 pm. Primary 4-7 also have lessons at 8 to 9 pm every Monday to Friday, these are called “prep” and are for the children who reside at S.E.C., i.e. the boarders. The boarders in classes primary 6 and primary 7 have lessons at forenoon Saturday as well.

Subjects taught at S.E.C. are science, Luganda, religious education, mathematics, English, social development/social studies and reading, numbers and health habits for the lowest classes (baby class, top class). For example, “health habits” is the subject where dangerous objects, hygiene management and eatable fruits are learned. As we viewed the exams made for the pupils we saw questions about farming and crop management. Besides English grammatic and mathematics equations, the questions also concerned topics such as diseases, food management and weather conditions.

During lessons, we’ve observed that encouragement and praise are frequently used. Pupils show eager to answer the teachers’ questions and when the answer is correct the classmates praise the pupil. Classmates praise the pupil with chants of applause, songs, and other gestures. There are multiple sets of praises with different structure and beat of clapping hands. From the lowest class to the highest, they praise each other and they do it together. If the answer is incorrect the teacher often says, “thanks for trying”.

In the higher classes such as primary 4-7, they are approximately 70-105 pupils and all are answering corresponding like a choir when demanded. All the children seem to be paying attention and listening to the teacher, since they often finish the teacher’s sentence. It is an effortless interplay between teacher and pupils. The number of pupils in the classroom makes
this interplay impressive, since there are multiple individuals in this interaction to take into consideration. The number of pupils is also something that affect the classroom environment. There is hardly any space between the pupils in the benches and it is a challenge for the teacher to have time to finish marking all the pupils’ work during the given hour. To prepare food for this many children is also a difficult task. For these reasons, this year S.E.C. has been required to deny some applications that they’ve received.

We’ve noticed that most of the children’s academic dreams are to become doctors, pilots, priests, nurses, and construction engineers. When visiting Ssenyange Education Project’s pupils in secondary schools we were told that their academic dreams are professions such as lawyers, engineers, nurses, and doctors. We received questions about what our hearts desired, with this they were referring to what we want to work with and asking about our professions. We received similar formulation on this question at several times and by different children.

6.2 Care

Care is the theme where we’ve observed in both classrooms as well as outside in the everyday life. Where the education theme is focused on learning related data this theme is focused on factors related to discipline, upbringing and values.

At S.E.C. the management refers to guardians when talking about the children’s parents and/or caregivers. S.E.C.’s main priority is to help orphans, in this category there are children who have none biological parent or only one of their parents alive. In the case where a child has lost both his/her parents it’s referred as “total orphan” by the management. Due to death or absent of one or two parents the guardian can be a sister, brother, aunt, grandmother, or in some cases a non-blood-related adult. S.E.C. gives the opportunity for children to stay at the school even during the holidays if they don’t have the possibility to travel to their guardians.

On the school’s compound, there are 10 different signs made of wood with sentences printed on them. The signs have the following messages: Eat balanced diet, Girls need extra support, Boys and girls are equal, I am proud of my culture, Wash hands, Plant more trees, Keep the compound clean, HIV kills, Parents give food, Know your right. This kind of message is also found on the school’s water tanks: Water is life, Drink clean water, Knowledge is power, Be obedient, Be punctual, Be steady. We heard teachers using some of these messages during lessons in a subtle manner as well as the children talking about these values in a casual
manner, for example that water is life. In the case with one teacher, he was teaching about petroleum and in a spontaneous and subtle way he referred to the fact that planting more trees contribute to fresh air for breathing. We interpret this as spontaneous by the way he was talking and teaching, due to the feeling that he didn’t speak from a script.

We observed in the classroom that teachers and subjects highlight valuable life knowledge. An example of this is the issue with HIV/AIDS during lessons in science. The children are taught how to prevent contagion and the effect of AIDS on both individual and society. Through performing common known songs and self-made poems, the children illustrated and taught their classmates about the disease. These were performed in Luganda as well as some in English. For example, the teacher told a story of a young girl who against her parents’ advice went dancing, met a boy and then got HIV. She became dependent on help from her family although her mother was too weak to take care of her. Alcohol is another subject used to exemplify, the children learned about the effects on the individual, the family and the society when consuming alcohol. Even here they were told to listen to the advice of others, especially when drunk because shame can otherwise be an outcome.

S.E.C. has several methods for providing comfort which is grown from the director’s view on the children as people, who need comfort instead of punishment and rough treatment. At S.E.C. they have an approach of comfort since the children come from tragic upbringing and childhood. Due to this caring approach, the school uses methods of guidance, advice and encouragement in discipline and management of the children. The comfort methods S.E.C. uses are church service and religion as well as special talks when required. The senior woman is another way of comfort with a specific area of responsibility. The senior woman is a teacher at S.E.C. who has the role of giving extra consultation to the children, especially the girls who are becoming young women and need support. The management also had in mind the need of extra support for young girls when employing their head mistress/mister i.e. the one who have main responsibility for the daily operation, timetables, classes, and lessons. In this role, they wanted a woman because she can meet the girls with understanding and can relate to the girls’ issues. One more method in discipline and comfort at S.E.C. is to invite the guardians. This is done in the most difficult situations with the purpose to discuss a solution that is applicable both at home and in school.
At S.E.C. there are four women referred to as “matron”. Their work assignments are cleaning the dormitory, helping the youngest children with dressing and in other ways taking care of the children. The assignments of the matrons are mainly practical but also the general overview of the children and the everyday operation. One of these women participated in dialogues between the school’s management and children. We observed that the children see these matrons as their mothers, or mother-like women.

Conversations are the main method in teaching the children good values. For example, the management strive to teach the children appreciation which is done by repeatedly talking about it. When problems occur, this is handled mainly by the director and management but also at times by cooperation between the management, matron and other staff. Through talks and meetings with the concerned child they find solutions, discipline obedience and/or advice the child. The director’s main goal is to provide guidance and give comfort when disciplining. In rare situations, the guardians are invited to the school to work together with S.E.C. to handle the situation. Mainly the director discipline though talking and dialogues. Conversations, instead of physical punishment are used as method of discipline. According to the situation, the conversation is between the specific child or to the entire group.

Assembly, in the afternoon or evening, is a frequent conversational method to gather all the children and provide them with information. This can be information concerning timetable, hygiene, appreciation and such, told by the management or at times by teachers. For example, the management encourage being a “good child” which is said to mean listening and obeying, in order to avoid accidents. Morning assembly occur regularly which is used as a moment to share a message or speak of values to all the pupils. For example, one morning the teacher discussed respect toward each other, a message the children had to repeat aloud. These conversations are spoken in English as well as the children’s mother-tongue, Luganda, since it’s important that the children listen and understand the words and meaning. Even in the classroom a teacher told a story and summed it up by telling the pupils “if you take advice and listen to your parents, you will achieve your goals.” We have observed that the management and teachers repeat the rules of behaviour on a daily basis at the assemblies both to boarders as well as the day-learners. We have noticed that the children know what is right and wrong and what they can or cannot do.
At the school, religion has a big role and influence the children’s everyday life. At the school, the main religion is Catholicism but all religions are accepted. The children pray daily, refers to God in their everyday life and have catholic mass twice a week. It is very rare to have a priest attend at a school for church service as the priest does at S.E.C. The director states religion and mass as a method of comforting the children.

S.E.C. is different from other schools in Uganda since they don’t use physical punishment, this is school rule number 12 on S.E.C.’s self-made regulation document. To discipline obedient children and disturbance the school staff use other methods. The punishments can therefore be to stand outside the classroom during lesson, cleaning or to sit silent on the compound in the evening. We were told that these forms of discipline are focused on shame instead of physical pain.

In case of illness or injuries the child gets treatment and medicine. We have observed that the management do follow-ups to see if further treatment is necessary or if the child has improved. If the health state is worsened, guardians are contacted and the child is sent home to rest. Although, generally a teacher or another staff member take the child to get treatment, as we have observed when accidents occur they take the child to the hospital for medical care. There is also an attentive care from the management as well as staff, for example on a daily basis they make sure all children are fed and they ask if they see a child who is sad. Many of the teachers reside at the school and are therefore available and in contact with the children approximately 24 hours a day. The relation between the children and the staff is observed as close and laid-back despite defined hierarchy. Teachers can have a relaxed approach infused with playfulness, joking and high fiving with the children. Also, other staff members at S.E.C. are caring and comforting of the children, and have friendly and open relationship. Even the teachers who reside at S.E.C. during weekends help and take care of the children. It’s the teachers’ duty to protect newcomers at the school and make them feel safe.

Class rules are observed as a strategy to raise the children and teach them good values. These class rules are written and displayed in every classroom for the children to see every day. The class rules concern ways of behaviour and how to treat others. For example; don’t shout in class, keep time, dress smart, don’t fight, love and help each other, welcome our visitors, sit properly, respect your teachers, always pray before learning lessons, don’t take your friends item without permission, always be punctual and obedient.
An example regarding values and care is the words of one teacher during a lesson. The teacher noticed that one pupil had no more pages in the notebook so she spoke of this to the classmates, bringing to attention the issue for the child. That a classmate gave pages to the one who had none became the solution. When doing so the teacher acknowledged this action and encouraged the others to praise him for being helpful. The teacher said, “if anyone has nothing to write in, assist him or her, don’t let them suffer.”. During another lesson, the teacher spoke directly to one of the pupils, who seemed unfocused. The teacher had a serious tone and said, “help yourself and concentrate”, like a request for the child’s own sake. We have also observed teachers providing the pupils with quotes and motivational word, such as “Focus and win!” and “You will do your best, and keep trying”. At a lesson after examinations the teacher handed out the marked papers with scores. The results weren’t as good as desired so the teacher told the class “Repeat after me: we are going to improve!”. The children repeated in choir the sentence a few times. Another example is, during a lesson in primary 7 the teacher gave the pupils an assignment. First, the teacher asked if he should complete it for them, they answered “no” as a choir. Then the teacher asked, “Should I leave you to do it yourself?” which followed by a unitary “Yes!”.

6.3 Belonging
The third theme is belonging, in this theme we have taken empirical data which concerns the feeling of belonging and community, social bonds, and pieces of the collective. The school’s motto “reconciliation” is also in this category.

The Ssenyange Education Project’s goal is not to make economic profit, instead the goal is to help the community. Therefore, S.E.C.’s profit is “human development”, as expressed by the director. The director means that by providing education to the children, he is making something of value for the society. He states that the greatest profit of their work is to see these children with miserable histories succeed in the future and have happy lives. Related to S.E.C.’s comfort method is the aim for the children to have fun and feel joy so they forget their tragic backgrounds, “through happiness they forget their problems”.

Reconciliation is S.E.C.’s motto, selected by the director. This motto is about the freedom which comes from accepting others, being accepted and making peace regardless of religion, tribe, background etc. The motto has two central pillars, to welcome others and to be united.
This means being open and friendly as well as unite and work together toward a common goal. “You don’t fight with your brother”, the director said referring to the general relationship toward others. This motto is part of their view on physical punishment, where reconciliation means to use words instead of fists in disputes, to forgive, to be kind and to treat each other well. During our observations, we have seen countless of interactions between the children where they on their own initiative take care of each other. In situations when a young child is crying, others come and pick it up. Another example is when a child was receiving care because of a wound the others tried to assist and were involved in the process. The children are also involved in everyday chores, such as carrying firewood, handing out eggs on Sundays, sweeping the compound, keeping the lines when getting food in order, serving food etcetera.

We have at several times accidently hit our toes, stumbled on our own feet or dirtied our clothes. At these times, both children and adults apologised and told us they were sorry as if them were to blame for our own clumsiness and misfortune. It is the same pattern with gratitude, which refers to the times when we’ve been thanked and received praise for work done by other people from European countries whom are unrelated to us. For example, a staff member at one of the secondary schools thanked us “… for the work you do for Uganda”, this happened at a school we only visited for a tour of the area.

At S.E.C. the director’s children and the teachers arrange and lead extra activities for the children to participate in after lessons, such as soccer, choir, dance-group and scouts. During an observation of a scout-meeting we saw the leader telling the children to “unite with each other, and help each other, don’t see yourself above others.” as well as “don’t fight and quarrel!”. The children in the scouts were told to spread this message to their other friends. In the scouts one member, an older pupil, communicated the health benefits of the scouts and the physical activities performed at their meetings.
6.4 Photographs

Above: School compound and classroom-buildings.

Above: Pupils play during lesson on soccer field

Above: Building for classrooms (baby class and top class) and playground.

Above, left: Church service. Above, right: Flags for the kingdom of Buganda, Uganda and Sweden.
Above: Classroom for primary 7.

Above: Timetable for primary 6.

Above: A sign on the compound.
7 Sociological analysis

Living conditions has been the roots of this study and can be described as the circumstances of an individual’s life. Through a social sustainability perspective, which is defined to concern human needs and life quality, it is stated that living conditions regard both feeling of well-being for the individual as well as surrounding circumstances. According to our interpretation, the feeling of well-being is referred to such as cohesion, tolerance, community, safety, health, cultural belonging, the possibility to participate and ability to influence. The other aspect, surrounding circumstances, refers to aspects outside the personal sphere, such as right to education, accommodation, justice, democracy, security, and an equal society i.e. inclusive. Many of these factors of social sustainability can therefore be translated to conditions, and we have analysed according to this perception when examine S.E.C. and the situation for orphaned children in Uganda. Exclusion is considered as the altogether opposite of these conditions of social sustainability. Presupposed, exclusion is a risk, and a negative state, hence preventive methods will be analysed. The theory of social sustainability raises cohesion as a key factor in creating socially sustainable living conditions and society. We link cohesion to belonging and inclusion theorised of Jenkins and Jönhill. Hence, we argue these aspects being essential in social sustainability work and prevention of exclusion. Therefore, the focus in this discussion and analysis are parts which concern belonging, cohesion, inclusion and community. Even education and the operation’s influence is in the spotlight of this analysis.

7.1 Social sustainability

In Manzi et al. (2010), their definition of social sustainability discusses the three aspects governance, social exclusion and social capital. This is applicable to Uganda, in which country the government doesn’t have the funds for a strong social welfare and free education. Schools require fees instead of providing free education to the children. Needless to say, the children with economic limitations cannot afford the school fees which can lead to them being excluded from society. Because the lack of education leads to difficulties with employment, to execute a profession and paying bills, food and household.

As earlier research display, e.g. Cluver & Gardner (2007) & Karimli et al. (2012), Ugandan society rely on the child having social capital to achieve good living conditions. The child relies on that there will be someone in his/her proximity to be responsible as a parent, guardian or caretaker. S.E.C. and its mere existence acknowledges the issue for children, due
to orphanage, of not having a social safety net which could help them with school fees and education enrolment. Through a social sustainability perspective S.E.C. can be the piece of the puzzle missing in a society with failing social welfare and safety net for exposed children. It can be the piece of the puzzle that meets the need of the weak in the society, and in this case orphans in Uganda. Karimli et al. (2012) disclose the importance to develop operations that can meet these children’s and relatives’ needs. Karimli et al. (2012) present the fact that grandparents take over the responsibility for the children despite their high age and fragile health. This doesn't always operate in real life and this void in the system can partly be filled by S.E.C., since it doesn’t demand school fee and meet the children with care and love without an interest in economic profit. “Human development” (the director, S.E.C., 2017) is the profit underlying this operation.

S.E.C. is the only school in Uganda with the guideline of not using physical punishment, by this it has taken a step toward a social sustainable society on micro level and macro level. On micro level, we analyse this as sustainable since its priority on human needs and life quality. These aspects can be fulfilled though providing comfort to the children and refusing physical abuse. The director of the school acknowledges the importance of being comforting and to see the children as human beings. Violence doesn’t solve any problem, a value the director represents which is shown by choosing reconciliation as the school’s motto and foundational point of view. The choice of not using physical punishment can be viewed as social sustainable on macro level through the influence it may have on other similar operations. Considering the fact that both the operation and pupils are successful, although not using harsh discipline methods. The pupils from Ssenyange Education Project have shown good result on examinations, during their continued studies. Therefore, when they see that physical punishment is not required in order to produce good grades and behaviour this might inspire other schools. This guideline is believed to incite the commitment of Swedish sponsors at S.E.C. which give them the opportunity to run their operation without requiring school fee, and at the same time they are teaching the children good values and norms. In the long run, this value of physical punishment as unacceptable at S.E.C. can establish norms of refraining the use of physical discipline methods. Children growing up with this comfort treatment might choose S.E.C.’s comfort approach when having their own children, and in this creating an effect of not using physical punishments at home and in schools.
Education is providing good things generally such as learning to write and read, learning about the country, about health, dangers things e.g. contagion of diseases, poisonous things and objects which can wound you, etcetera. This is knowledge taught through lessons and are course related, and in the classroom the pupils are also taught how to behave and how to treat others, e.g. don’t steal, help and love each other, welcome visitors. Also outside the classrooms, the children learn more valuable knowledge. The children at S.E.C. learn norms and values which are according to social sustainability, on micro level as well as on macro level. For example, through the educational lessons and common knowledge in poems and songs the children learn how HIV is spread and how to prevent contagion. This is knowledge that the children can pass forward, which can have a part in reducing HIV/AIDS-related deaths in the country. Also, the education of crop growth, farming and such provide the children to be able to live a self-supporting life is related to creating a social sustainable future for that individual as well as the community. Regarding that human needs, such as health, food and sustentation are vital for achieving social sustainability.

7.2 Social identity
To live without parents can mean that praise is not an obvious part of the everyday life. Although at S.E.C. the teachers and other staff members praise and encourage the children daily in their teaching and upbringing. Encourage is an essential part in the education which distinctly show the impact on the pupils’ increased participation and confidence. Participation is another key aspect of social sustainability which is achieved on micro level at S.E.C. through encouragement. The children are also participating in the everyday work through assignments, e.g. an older child caring for a toddler and the daily routines of serving food and gathering at assemblies. The assignments are often taken care of and in charge of without any command. They occur naturally which is analysed as a sign of collective consciousness, and a common responsibility where they see the group and its interest instead of only thinking about oneself as in an individualistic approach. We see that this collective consciousness can be related to the collective identification. Another example of this collective focus is the comments we have received concerning others being sorry for our mistakes and thankful for something that concerns other individuals in the country, and not them personally. Also, one of the teacher’s formulation “we are going to improve” (teacher, S.E.C., 2017) instead of “I am going to improve” implies this collective consciousness that influences S.E.C.
We have observed a strong sense of belonging at S.E.C., expressed as they treat each other as family and live as family. Also, the mutual identification among the children as pupils of S.E.C. and orphans contribute to that sense. These notions of belonging and collective behaviour that are perceived daily at S.E.C., is described by using Jenkins’s term group identification. Jenkins (2014) describes the identity as socially constructed and it’s confirmed through people in your surroundings. This can imply that as an orphan the identity can suddenly become torn and questioned, in case of parental death. Because a child who grew up with his/her parents, have together formed the identity. Then, when losing these key persons, a conflict in the identification of oneself and of the group can arise. Therefore, the collective identification as well as the belonging are damaged. According to Jenkins (2014), people always seek belonging and here the risk for harmful identifications dwell, such as criminality and prostitution. S.E.C. offers another collective identification, more casually referred by us researchers as community or brotherhood, derived from the quote “you don’t fight with your brother” (the director, S.E.C., 2017). This shows the perspective on the terms of belonging at this operation, once again as family. Except for the sense of belonging and group identification at S.E.C., the children also get the opportunity to identify oneself as e.g. a nurse or a pilot in the future.

At S.E.C. the children are introduced to messages concerning equality, knowledge is power, know your right, be respectful, appreciation, plant more trees and so on. This will result in an impact on society as next generation’s opinions, values and norms will be visible in the society. S.E.C.’s work with establishing values can be described as internalisation of norms, which Jenkins (2014) discusses. Through an institution, such as a school, norms can be internalized and affect the personal identity. Institutions have impact on people, according to Jenkins (2014) institutional order in which individual’s mindset and circumstances can be influenced. S.E.C. is interpreted as an institution with patterns and values, which origin can be found in the director and other key members at the school. Values and life choices shape the children at the school, since they spend all their time there with few visits outside the school area we think that this is their prior and most crucial source of values, identification and influence. As the messages displayed on the water tanks, class rules and signs we can see that they are accordance with positive ones, through a social sustainability perspective, e.g. consciousness of rights, consciousness of HIV, participation via girls’ and boys’ equality etcetera. Further, the director’s own approach and values, which is not written visible at the school has as well been internalized for the children, this indicates a successful work of
creating “good people” (the director, S.E.C., 2017) as desired. We are referring to the
director’s view on social use, focus on human beings, disassociation from physical
punishment, equal treatment and to accept others despite differences. The children’s dreams
of the future are also something that indicates that the children have belief for the future and
participation through the desire to be part of the society, regarding their choices of careers.
They wish to serve the society, which the director said is the greatest profit with his work. We
can here see a link between the director’s values and the importance of serving society, which
the children has internalized.

7.3 Inclusion and exclusion
As indicated in earlier research by Shetty & Powell (2003), exclusion is a consequence for
orphans, due to a flawed family-system. A cumulative exclusion can be the result when an
orphan can’t participate in school and consequently gets excluded from subsystems of work,
accommodation, as a functioned citizen and from social contexts. If we see, on the contrary,
that this negative circle of exclusion is broken, through S.E.C.’s work that despite their
family-situation they become educated, which generates employment, self-sustainment,
household and so on this can therefore be described as cumulative inclusion. The goal of
S.E.C.’s work is to create “good people and good citizens” (the management, S.E.C., 2017)
and to give the children a meaningful life and occupation. The uniqueness of S.E.C. with its
value of social use instead of earning money is interpreted as a successful strategy, and
nonetheless it’s what we would refer to as socially sustainable. By including orphaned
children to a community and belonging they prevent exclusion, which otherwise lead to
consequences of criminal cycles since the children not getting the care, education and
guidance required to fulfil good living conditions. The children get included in the society
through education, and by using the key factor of social sustainability, participation, this is
fulfilled since they become useful citizens, which is expressed as an aim of the Senyange
Education Project. By not having school fees S.E.C. is an including operation. Also, the
school’s motto “reconciliation” advocates inclusion, since the word’s meaning is openness to
everyone, to welcome all and to come together. Lognwe (2010) acknowledges the importance
of working with the children instead of for the children, a value that the director has implied
to agree with. Through the director’s view on the children as humans we analyse that this
indicates to involve the children and to consider their point of view. This value is expressed as
a method, i.e. practised, when having dialogue as main discipline approach. The key factor of
social sustainability, participation, is hereby confirmed. Further, the director’s choice of
working together (reconciliation) as a part of the school’s motto also indicates participation for the children.

As a pupil at S.E.C. the child receives a clean slate and the chance of strengthen the self and his/her prospects. Here the children are in the same situation, with shared experiences and background and in this group-belonging is created which partly has the potential of filling the void caused by the lack of caregivers or parental death. Singing, dancing and mutual rituals is happening daily at S.E.C. which we believe strengthen the children. Through dance and music, the children come together and as the director said, “through happiness they forget their problems” (the director, S.E.C., 2017). This is expressed and analysed as one of S.E.C.’s methods in creating good living conditions for the children. The methods used at S.E.C. are based on the director’s view of the children as humans, with the aim to provide these children with comfort, guidance and encouragement. The director mentioned that orphaned children ”need a lot of comfort” (the director, S.E.C., 2017), we interpret this as truthful since he’s orphaned and therefore has personal experience of that life story. To meet the need for comfort the management of S.E.C. use different strategies, one is their choice of a head mistress instead of head mister. The director indicated that girls during their maturity ”need extra support” (the director, S.E.C., 2017). With a woman in this position it’s a natural choice for girls to confide in for support or advice. Also, one of the signs at the school highlights this, i.e. ”girls need extra support”. This link demonstrates that it’s not just empty words, but that the management do what is possible to implement their values and use them practically.

7.4 Private troubles and public issues

When applying Mills’s (1997) theory of private troubles and public issues we can see that orphanage is not only a private trouble, but can also be evolved into a public issue. If an individual doesn’t have education and protection, nevertheless in order to survive the person has to provide for themselves, which can lead to e.g. criminality or increased death-rate. Since the children will grow up, becoming the generation who influence the society, their lives have impact on the country and vice versa. Our analysis when using Mills’s (1997) theory of combining the individual self to the world and society this means that if a country will prosper, the individuals should do the same. S.E.C. is a part of decreasing the problematic with exposed children, although it is not enough with one operation to help all of Uganda’s orphans. Every child doesn’t have the possibility to be enrolled at S.E.C. due to limitations of space.
Human development is the incitement behind S.E.C.’s work and we see this as a potential strategy in combining the public with the private, in order to create social sustainability on micro level as well as on macro level. The S.E.C. operation contributes to reduced misery and exclusion for many individuals, and exposed children, through the work they are performing. S.E.C. creates belonging and bright prospects in present time, and eventually it will result in occupation for the person. To self-employ or to be employed are helping themselves to survive simultaneously as they are contributing to the community. Either they are working with tailoring, carpentering, farming, profession which contribute to other people’s standard and life situations, or, in professions where they can directly assist and help people in need, e.g. nurses and doctors. After completed education they may also be a part of the development of the society via professions as engineers and lawyers. S.E.C. and its project provide its learners with safety, belonging, education, values, which in our analysis is according to social sustainability, as well as the tools they require to sustain themselves and hence a prosper society. For this reason, similar operations are required in Uganda to assist all the helpless orphans in the country. S.E.C.’s work can inspire and have impact on macro level, regarding caring for so many children and affecting these children’s identifications and values. All these children, will influence the community and generations to come with their point of view and behaviour, which are originated from S.E.C.

A mindset which focus on long term can create capacity for working toward a social sustainable society, where the children are the main priority. We see that a focus on humans instead of economic profit is more sustainable, especially in the long run since children, i.e. people, have impact on the society due to their life choices and work efforts. If there is a commitment to educate children who, as we have observed, desire to achieve careers that has a purpose and use which are beneficial for the society, this is viewed as an investment for the country. If more operations take after S.E.C.’s methods this could increase the possibility of erasing exclusion. What is happening in the classrooms as well as outside has great influence on the children, and by viewing S.E.C.’s methods, this indicates that children have better living conditions, and in turn they can give their own children decent living conditions. This is supposed to yield a good effect on macro level as the people in Uganda become self-supporting, healthy and with values of comfort and reconciliation.
8 Concluding summary

Our purpose was to examine how Ssenyange Education Centre is working with and for orphaned children in Uganda, concerning the orphans’ living conditions and the exclusion that orphans are exposed to. A social sustainability perspective has been our main approach in the sociological analysis when examining impact on both micro level as well as macro level.

First question, “How are Ssenyange Education Centre working for and affecting the living conditions of the centre’s orphans?” Relevant for answering this question, our analysis states that S.E.C. uses methods with focus on providing comfort, guidance and encouragement for the children. Through this focus, the operation creates a safe and caring environment and life situation. This comfort-approach incites caring as a family, which is strengthened by participation in everyday life and joyful activities at the school. Belonging and being part of the collective is a result of this, hereby the basic need for belonging according to Jenkins, is fulfilled. S.E.C. also affects the orphans’ life situations by providing them with good education that will lead to self-sustainment and work, which are essential for their survival.

Our second question, is formulated “How do Ssenyange Education Centre’s work affect orphans’ exclusion from society?”. Through our sociological analysis, we claim that the answer is that the exclusion is decreased for the children at S.E.C. regarding the subsystem of education. With education, they have greater potential for work, and inclusion in the subsystem of occupation. Another impact S.E.C. have regarding exclusion is the fact that, because of education and a place to live the children are protected from harmful life choices and living conditions. Because of their enrolment at S.E.C. they’re also included in a social arena and a group. The collective identification established provide belonging for the orphans, i.e. inclusion instead of exclusion.

Lastly, the question “How do Ssenyanye Education Centre contribute to social sustainability for the Ugandan society?” is answered by several pieces of the puzzle. Primarily, it is important to look at the relation between public issues and private troubles as Mills acknowledges. These are at interplay and private troubles should be examined in order to see how it is translated to a public issue. An employed or self-supported individual is beneficial for the country, which is an outcome from Ssenyange Education Project. An orphan’s life situation leads to exclusion which is not social sustainable. Through our analysis of social
sustainability, we state that the treatment of the children at S.E.C., e.g. the comfort-approach is in accordance with the theory. The point of view that recognises children as humans and that being a good citizen who is doing something useful for the community, is presupposed to create good cycles at macro level. The way S.E.C. is treating the children do matter, by preferring comfort to beating, the operation shows the possibility of achieving a successful work, good grades for the pupils and committed help from sponsors abroad.

We see on micro level at S.E.C. that this operation is influence with social sustainability, regarding key factors of cohesion, participation and equality. With time, as these children grow older and go out in the world, we can assume that their values and behaviour will spread and influence the community. This is an impact S.E.C.’s work can have on macro level, and contribute to social sustainability. At S.E.C. the internalisation of the values unity, equality, respect, caring and more can have an impact on generations to come. If these values are spread widely it can influence the Ugandan society.

To reduce the exclusion of orphanage, the collective can be seen as a strategy to include the individual into a belonging that the individual can identify with. When we discussed whether the fate of orphans is up to the individual and his/her family, we can distinct that parental death is viewed as a private trouble in Uganda. In order to progress, and to establish social sustainability, it is necessary to look at the long-term effects and to understand that this is a public issue that needs to be aided from macro level. Through an increased safety net and more operations that prioritize human development, the method used at S.E.C., instead of the economic profit, a social sustainable society with included citizens can arise.

Our analysis is summed up with the statement of S.E.C. contributing to a united community, i.e. belonging, which leads to counteract exclusion and making the children included in the society. However, regardless of the positive aspects of being part of a collective and such big groups we analyse the issue with overlocking individual needs. In classes with up to 100 pupils, there is hardly any time for special assistance and at a residence with approximately 400 other children the attention is shared. S.E.C. has concern for girls requiring extra support, which is good, although by announcing that girls are more delicate than boys a certain view upon the girls are created. To say that girls need extra support also indicates all girls, meaning a collective generality of all girls as weak. At the same time indicating boys supposed to be strong and neglected of extra comfort. We consider it favourable to focus on girls but it is
important to also see the boys, who require extra support at times and can be delicate too. The group and belonging are vital, although every individual is unique and requires different support.

8.1 Reflections of study
We entered the field to see both the good and the bad to critically examine S.E.C.’s work. On the contrary, with time we found ourselves without material of negative aspects within this operation. S.E.C. has more to contribute and to inspire than it should improve. With our background, as Swedish researchers, we have examined our own view on education and care which cannot be applicable on the Ugandan community for the reason that we have different starting points and raised in different contexts. To perform a further critical study, we need to expand our study to involve other similar operations in Uganda.

We see the opportunity and necessity of doing field studies at several schools and orphanages in Uganda. For the reason to display a complete description of orphans’ living conditions as well as to execute a thorough and detailed evaluation between Ssenyange Education Centre and other similar operations, where differences and correspondences could be highlighted. This could prove to give the opportunity for a deeper inspection and improvement proposals could be discussed.

We had the aim to examine orphans’ living conditions, tackling the problem with exclusion for individuals as well as contribute to social sustainability in Uganda. Our hope is to spread the work of Ssenyange Education Centre to similar operations in Uganda in order to inspire them with S.E.C.’s approach. Through this essay, we provide an insight of their operation, and after analysis and discussion we believe this study can become basis in work with exposed children. Finally, we claim that social sustainability for orphans in Uganda is only at the beginning of its journey, since our petite work of two months in the field isn’t enough. The area of concern is so extensive that the picture can’t be put together by just a few pieces of the puzzle, even though a few pieces is better than none.
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