

Lund University

Department of Political Science

STVK12

Tutor: Ulrika Waaranperä

**The dangerous path to school and empowerment:
a case study investigating the difficulties of empowerment in education for girls in West
Kalungu County District, Uganda**



**LUNDS
UNIVERSITET**

Linnea Hay

Abstract

Getting girls to go to and *stay* in school is a worldwide issue - predominantly in the global south where it is a particular problem in Sub-saharan Africa where poverty is particularly high. This issue is also one of gender, as the majority of children who do not have access/go to school are female. This paper investigates this problem in central western Uganda, in the west county of the Kalungu district where girls face a plethora of problems in attending school. Through a qualitative case study comprising of interviews with local teachers and local district officials, the data gathered demonstrated the multitude of barriers that children, and girls in particular, face. The semi-structured interviews are thematically analysed through the empowerment theory on the premise that the access to resource and agency lead to achievement and therein empowerment. The lack of resources are both materialistic in terms of scholastic materials, sanitary pads, and institutional with regards to health and rights education and facilities. With relation to agency, there exist culturally bound conceptual barriers such as child marriage, menstruation stigma and the preferences to boys; and societal barriers, such as the distance to school and sexual violence and exploitation. What could be concluded from this, is the need for holistic development and education that teaches both children and parents about rights and health (in particular, menstrual health in girls).

Keywords: Girls' education, Uganda, Empowerment, qualitative case study

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank Lund University and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) for granting me a scholarship to conduct my Minor Field Study - it has been an incredibly enriching experience.

To David Wamala, I would like to extend my thanks for being such a helpful and informative field guide, whom I am now able to call a friend. I must thank the participants for offering such insightful information - your drive for better for children in Uganda has been so incredibly inspiring and is something I will carry with me for the rest of my life. Michaela Foster Marsh and everyone at Starchild have been the main facilitators of my study providing me with their network and letting me see the invaluable work they do and for this I thank them deeply.

I would also like to thank Ulrika Waaranperä for her thoughtful guidance and supervision in the writing of this thesis.

I would like to thank my dear friend, Moa who was so helpful in my time in Kampala. Your support, advice and friendship have helped me so much this last term. You are a true gem.

My time with BIDS would not have been the same if it were not for the incredible classmates I have met along the way. Thank you for being so inspiring and for making this time something I will remember fondly.

Finally, I need to thank my Dad, Leon and Mum, thanks for everything. To you especially, Mum, you have always been so incredibly supportive and I am forever grateful. And to you, Jonas - thanks for everything.

Table of Contents

1. 1 Introduction	5
1.2 Aims Research Question	6
1.3 Thesis Outline	7
1.4 Limitations	7
1.5 Background and Existing Literature	9
1.5.1 The Ugandan Context	9
1.5.2 Gender-related barriers to education attainment	9
2. Method	11
2.1 Research Design	11
2.2 Feminist Approach	12
2.3 Empirical Material	13
2.3.1 Semi-structured interviews	14
2.3 Data analysis	15
2.5 Ethics and Reflexivity	15
3. Theoretical Framework	17
4. Analysis	20
4.1 Resource	20
4.1.1 Lack of Scholastic materials and sanitary pads	20
4.1.2 Access to part time work	21
4.1.3 The absence of female teachers and menstrual education	22
4.2. Hindrances to Agency	23
4.2.1 Child Marriage	23
4.2.2 Distance to school	24
4.2.3. Menstrual Stigma	24
4.2.4 The preference of boys	26
4.2.5 Sexual violence and exploitation	27
5. Concluding Discussion	28

6. References	30
7. Appendices	33
7.1 Appendix 1 - Maps	33
7.2 Appendix 2 - List of Interviewees	34
7.3 Appendix 3 - Interview Guide	35
7.4 Appendix 4 - Thematic Analysis Grid	35

1. 1 Introduction

Quality education and Gender Equality are two of the sustainable development goals - these two goals are interconnected and enormously complex. Facing the challenges of poverty, cultural norms, violence, poor infrastructure and instability can make going to school a dangerous activity for children in which the girl child is at particular disadvantage (World Bank, 2018). To then understand the complexities that exist within girls' access to education would be a stepping stone in the right direction in achieving those goals. A report by UNESCO showed that in 2015, there were 49.1 million children out of school in Sub-saharan Africa (UNESCO, 2017), with the majority of them being girls. This enormous obstacle holds back all of these children from empowering themselves to get out of poverty - education is recognised as human and child right, in which case these children being out of school, is failure of upholding this right (UN, 1989).

In Uganda, universal education is in place at a primary and secondary level since its introduction in 2007. However, even if this is the current state of affairs, the issues of attendance, continuation and completion of education are ones faced by many Ugandan youth today (Kavuma, 2011). The net attendance rate for lower secondary school is only 17% (UNIGE, 2013). Furthermore, when this attendance is more closely looked at, only 36% of girls in Uganda would be complete their fourth year of secondary school in 2016 (EMIS, 2016). Patently, this is a huge barrier to the development of the country. The Adolescent Girls Vulnerability Index recognises the different types of vulnerability of girls, on an individual, household and community level has indicated that girls in Uganda have high rates of vulnerability. It shows that 91.2% of girls are vulnerable in community situation jeopardising their safety (Amin et al, 2013: 55). Alas, what this shows is that going to school can be a dangerous process - an immense hindrance to these girls being able to empower themselves. Understanding the complications of these circumstances and how this affect the girls means to empower themselves through education will be the focus of the paper.

This thesis will be focusing on an area in western, central Uganda called Kalungu. Map 1 in appendix 7.1 shows the geographic positioning of this district in Uganda and map 2 shows the makeup of the district itself. This paper will be focussing on the rural, western county of

this district where a qualitative study was conducted, interviewing multiple teachers at different schools and colleges (primary/secondary, boarding/day) of the girls facing a quandary of challenges going to school alongside some district officials working with education. In this area, 86.5% of girls attend primary school whereas only 34% of girls attend secondary school (UBS, 2014). This large disparity in dropout at the different levels would be worthwhile investigating in order to understand what it is that hold them back from completing their education on the notion that leads girl to empowerment. Furthermore, 61 % of girls in this region are considered to be vulnerable on a individual (education, marriage, birth rates) and community (based on the area's level of exposure to marriage under 18, HIV and illiteracy) levels (Amin et al, 2013: 49). A part of this vulnerability consists of the fact that there are large distances to school - 32.8% of households have more than 5 kilometres to the nearest public high school (EMIS, 2016) in West Kalungu County.

The research for this thesis was carried out with the help of the non-profit organisation Starchild, In Memory of Frankie Marsh. This organisation works with “*improving the health and well-being of vulnerable young children and women in Uganda by providing access to sustainable education, training, healthcare, food, support*” (Starchild Charity, 2017). The Starchild Charity have a made an extensive network with the different schools in the area of western Kalungu county where they carry out work in trying to improve the chances of children and young people while also recognising the difficulties that girls face, in particular. This made the facilitation of a qualitative field study optimal for the interviewing.

1.2 Aims Research Question

The aim of this study is to gain a deeper, nuanced understanding of the complexity of challenges that girls in the West Kalungu county, face going to school everyday. It aims to do so through analysing the process of going to school as a method of empowerment and what it is that hinders their path in terms of resource and agency in their lives at school. Furthermore, it seeks to understand how these issues are interconnected and comprehend the nuances of the gender-specific issues through the gaining the perspective of the teachers that see these children and hear their struggles everyday. The research question will be as follows:

How does the access to resources and agency affect girls' means to empowerment through education in West Kalungu County, Uganda?

1.3 Thesis Outline

This thesis will firstly present the limitations of this study to ensure the clarity of what this study entails. Followed by the background and explanation of existing literature regarding girls' education in Uganda which lists the social, economic and cultural challenges that are withholding the girls' attendance at institutions of education. Thereafter, the methodology will be presented. Firstly, the case study research design will be examined followed by how a feminist approach was used. As this study's central focus is that of girls in education and understanding the access to it, this felt like an appropriate standpoint. In connection to this, the use of semi-structured interviews will be presented and explained, thereupon the empirical material will be introduced and then that explanation of how said material will be analysed through that of thematic analysis. The reflexivity and ethics over the conduct of the study will finish the methods section. To follow, the theoretical framework will be presented: Kabeer's theory of empowerment is the basis for the framework with the sections broken into resource and agency which in combination become achievement and empowerment. This will be nuanced the the feminization of poverty by Sylvia Chant to give the gender dynamic extra emphasis in understanding the education issues in West Kalungu. This gives room for the analysis to split into two sections: resources and agency. Within those two sections are the more specific areas of analysis. To finish, the conclusions of the study will be presented.

1.4 Limitations

Reflecting on the importance recognising the limitations to the research conducted is paramount. The study has been triangulated in terms of data collection in interviews and observations and reading other studies and research on these issues (Bryman, 2012:390). However, the scale is limited to one county within a district in central, western Uganda. There are 200 districts in Uganda with 1,378 sub-counties (UBS, 2014). This does not mean that it won't reflect similar patterns in the area, especially in the close surrounding areas where the demography is similar to the one of Kalungu. However, Uganda is a massively diverse country in terms of geography and culture. Therefore, the patterns of the problems present might not be exactly same or vary in other ways when comparing to other regions that are urban or in the north or eastern Uganda.

It is crucial to mention that there might be data collected that has been done so with my personal bias (Bryman, 2012: 39). The fact that I am a feminist, born and raised in Europe, will have an influence on the data collection process and particularly the analysis. A self-awareness of this is absolutely vital and must be discussed throughout both the analysis and presentation of data. The reflexivity and ethics of this will be discussed further in the methodology section 2.5.

What can be seen as an interesting perspective in this paper, namely the interviews with the teachers and local education officers, could also be seen as a limitation. Due to possible biases possessed by the teachers and also the position of power withheld, it means that it could influence the data collected. However, this could also be a point of investigation and help create an understanding of dynamics in the classroom which could be informative in its own way. Having said this, the recognition that this angle of understanding comes with its own biases is important in order to have a fuller understanding. Furthermore, they are, without doubt, knowledgeable of the issues studied, but it cannot go without mentioning, that they are speaking of the children's experience and not directly their own which can clearly influence the perspective of the information relayed in the interview process. Moreover, the perspective of this sample could, arguably, increase the credibility and dependability due to knowledge from their careers in education being exposed to these issues year round (Scheyvens, 2014:77) giving an insight which a child would not have and a certain distance to the issues which also give them room for reflection.

From the start of this project, there has been a strive for authenticity. This paper and the research within it has endeavour to conduct the study with sensitivity, rigour, with the aim to be as transparent as possible whilst recognising the possibility of having a positive impact in the means of giving voice to a marginalised group (Bryman, 2012:393).

1.5 Background and Existing Literature

1.5.1 The Ugandan Context

Uganda, a country in central Africa, faces many challenges in regards to keeping girls in school. The deeply entrenched patriarchal structure in combination with extreme poverty makes going to schools an enormous daily challenge for girls specifically. The Ugandan girl

child faces various adversaries - distinctly linked to the fact that they are female - in growing up in such a strong patriarchal structure. 46.5% of girls are married before the age of 18 and the net attendance of girls in lower secondary is 17% (UNGIE, 2013). This makes it one of the top 20 countries with highest child marriage rates and in the same top quartile for early childbearing. Despite this, Uganda has signed and ratified both the United Nations convention on the rights of the child but also the African Charter on the rights and welfare of the child and so, this is an issue which has received attention yet continues to be an impediment to socioeconomic development of young girls and subsequently the society and economy as a whole (Montgomery et al, 2016). Despite the establishment of universal education both on primary and secondary level, going to school is still expensive for those who live in poverty. The poverty, which is particularly rife in rural areas can create, foster and perpetuate these issues within society that can hinder the education of children. The access to resources such as scholastic materials and sanitary products is then an integral part of this issue (Montgomery et al, 2016). Arguably, the lack of sanitary product is slightly more nuanced case as it adheres distinctly to those who bear a womb, uncondusive to leaving in a society which prioritises boys and men.

1.5.2 Gender-related barriers to education attainment

Studies have shown that menstruation and absenteeism in young girls are an adversity to their progress in education (Miiró et al, 2018) - and impediment to school attendance - it can be deemed important to hear what teachers have to say and understand the complexity that this issue constitutes. Menstruation has arisen as gender-specific barrier to school which is worsened with poverty affecting health and well-being, attendance and engagement with school (Montgomery et al, 2016). The lack of sanitation facilities and hygiene contributes to making menstruation management difficult on top of the fact that pads are either too expensive, hard to come by or that the method of managing menstruation could be using a piece of cloth or leaves or papyrus as a means to stop leaking which is not sustainable, hygienic nor comfortable. This part of puberty and life as a young woman can make school more wearing than what it already is.

In studies from 2018 regarding menstrual poverty in communities outside northern Kampala, Miiró et al (2018) asked, Ugandan school girls for suggestions on how to better improve

menstrual poverty in school. The girls answered with resounding majority that the provision of sanitary products would be the best solution to these issues. This suggestion along with an understanding of periods and a reduction in teasing from their male classmates (Miiró et al, 2018) help deconstruct stigmatisation in this situation. The addition of the teacher's input could lead to creating a more concrete picture of the larger problem, it could possibly offer insight into classroom dynamics when talking about menstruation or talking about not attending school for personal reasons and how they tackle this. Moreover, the absenteeism adds to a loss of social capital and disempowerment which is distinctly gendered and needs further study. The psychosocial stigmatisation attached to the menstruation period negatively affects girls (M. Somner et al, 2017) and is additionally another area where research is necessary and the overview understanding of a teacher could be very insightful.

To add to this, child marriage is large issue in rural communities in Uganda. The attendance of school can help reduce the likelihood of detrimental practices in Uganda such as that of child marriage - as well that this is an issue that can prevent in attendance in the first place. Uganda is seen to be one of the countries to have the highest rates of child marriage (Muhanguzi et al, 2017) in sub-saharan Africa. This practice is both massively damaging to opportunities and capabilities (ibid) which is congruent with the lack of educational attainment (Wudon et al, 2016). It is often cited that the apparently futile worth on girls' education is not worth the investment over marrying the girl off - it is simply not worth the time or money (Muhanguzi et al, 2017). Furthermore, just as this idea of worth is a social norm, this whole system of bride wealth is also norm in cultural practice in rural Uganda (ibid) and is fundamentally rigged against these girls reaching their full potential.

An importance then lies with girls coming of age in the form of her first period. Different cultures in sub-saharan Africa can often interpret this as time when girls become women and therefore eligible for marriage and as a means to protect a girl's '*honour*' (Addaney and Ogouno, 2017). Thus, in combination with being '*ready*' and the already heavy financial strain placed on these rural families, marriage can look like an attractive option - a bride price can at times be an instantaneous way of getting quick cash (ibid; UN Women, 2018). Furthermore, addressing this issue within these communities regarding these damaging practice is integral to addressing this plethora of problems facing these young girls and

making sure that the education of the health and rights of girls is instilled from a young age (UN Women, 2018).

And so, one can begin to understand that the accessibility to school is not by any means simple but rather a web of different problems connected as a quandary of challenges in getting that education that these girls need to pull themselves out of poverty. Understanding this is where this paper will focus. Poverty - menstruation poverty in particular - is deeply connected to preventing girls from going to school even if it may be their best option out of poverty. UNICEF has specifically stated that education is the one of the best ways to empower girls with the aims of eradicating poverty (including menstrual poverty) and child marriage (Muhanguzi et al, 2017).

2. Method

2.1 Research Design

A case study design structure allows for in-depth analysis in a particular place or setting (Bryman, 2012:67). As this projects focus will be on girls' education in Kalungu district, this would be a appropriate course of research. Furthermore, there are strong links with qualitative studies and case studies due the intensive nature of this form of research - this coincides naturally with the nature of a case study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to collect the main body of data. In addition to this, the entire research process has had a feminist approach which is discussed in the following section. Moreover, painting a picture of the context will be central to the getting a thorough grasp of the situation, often told through the contact with the interviewees themselves (Bryman, 2012:399) and therein, trying to see the situation through the eyes of the participants (Bryman, 2012:400).

2.2 Feminist Approach

Methodologically, it was very important from the inception of this project to have a feminist approach as a central principle in the conducting of the actual research. The aim of creating a safe space and mitigating the power structures as much as possible was very important in the data collection within the interviews (Bryman, 2012: 150) and will be further discussed in the ethical considerations of this thesis. In order to have the following through of the research,

this first part was an important building block in the construction of the feminist academic work. This indicates that there is a recognition of the multifaceted nature of gender and how this can affect social structures and power relations (Beetham and Demetriades, 2007). It also has feminist goals and ideologies interwoven into this perspective. This includes recognising hierarchical structures of men and women (where women tend to be in an inferior position), attention to the voice of the marginalised, analysis of relationships of those in the research process (ibid). Within a feminist research design, the method of semi-structured interviews has a large affinity with researchers as it gives the room for feminist goals to be realised (Bryman, 2012: 491). These goals include: the voice of women and girls to be heard with their own voices; for reciprocity to be established with the aim of reducing exploitation; and for women not to be seen as objects by the procedure of research (Bryman, 2012: 411). Additionally, it is an important part of the feminist approach to do no harm and this is central to this project - as well as building the case for empowerment and that feminist research should be used to *alleviate the conditions of oppression* through research (Scheyvens 2014:160; Skeggs, 2001: 429).

As research is a process and not a product (England, 1994), it is important to continually assess the research conducted and reflect upon the power relations, ethics and appropriating the voice of others (England, 1994). As interviewing as a form of research is a dialogical process, one must see oneself in the research and being an integral part of it. This includes feelings, emotions, moods and processing the information received through one's consciousness.

2.3 Empirical Material

On my arrival in Uganda, my field guide, David Wamala met with me in my first week and listened to what I wanted to investigate. He has worked as teacher in the surrounding regions of Kalungu and Masaka, for close to 25 years. Alas, with his contact network, it became relatively easy to make contact and find teachers that were interested in being interviewed. The sample of interviewees were professionals working directly with these issues; either headteachers, teachers or the heads of education and child protection at the district office. We would arrive at the different high schools and I would get half an hour to an hour with the headteacher. We travelled around Kalungu over two working weeks to 5 different schools

and the district office to meet and interview individuals who were either teachers or head of education in the district. Kalungu is a 797 square kilometres largely rural area. The primary source of work is agriculture where approximately 183,000 people (57% are under the age of 18) (UBS, 2014) where approximately 80,000 people live in the western county.

In the end, I interviewed 3 head teachers of different high schools, a headteacher of a primary school, the rector of local college, two senior women (teachers who act a counselor to the girls as well), and three district officers for education in the Kalungu District. I also interviewed a researcher at Makerere University as well of gathering background knowledge of these issues in Uganda. Of this group, two of the individuals were men and the other 8 were women.

It is necessary to reiterate the choice of teachers as the sample. Throughout the research of the education of girls, the study of understanding what the teacher understand as the main issues and the classroom dynamics is lacking. Naturally, the views of the girls themselves is vitally important, but it can be deemed important to have the insight, from their first hand experience, of teachers and facilitators of education. This could be valuable in understanding the intricacies within the education of vulnerable girls.

On arriving there and then engaging in different conversations, it was very forthcoming that menstrual stigma was not the central issue but rather a web of different interconnected issues like, for example, the idea that girls are not seen to have the same value as the boy when a family is impoverished. The interviewees talked of the different issues of child marriage, sexual violence, the empowerment of the boys and thereof lack of empowerment for the girls, and the cultural norms that foster the idea that boys are a more worthwhile investment in education when a family's financial situation is constrained.

The sampling conducted during this project was purposive for two reasons (Schevyens, 2012:45). Firstly, the area of research being that of understanding girls' difficulties in attending school. Once deciding against talking to the girls due to ethical reasons, the insight came that there could be fruitful research in talking to the educators as well. It turned out that all of the teachers that I spoke to, had at least 10 years of teaching experience in Ugandan

schools. Therefore, it could be useful to get the information from the teachers and education professionals' perspective in the recognition that they were older, educated individuals in positions of power. Therefore, the appropriate sample would be just these types. Secondly, in working with Starchild, it meant receiving the contact network that they had already established and reaching out to the schools in which they had either worked with or whom my field guide, David had a connection to. It fit the framework ideally so it worked advantageously - it was by and large a convenience sample (Bryman,2012:418) which was serving the purpose.

2.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews allows for flexibility and allows to create a more comfortable atmosphere where these teachers can discuss their opinions (Punch, 2014:171; Bryman, 2012:72). Hence the room to get the in-depth information and this method of data collection are congruous in trying to understand the social phenomena. The interviews were conducted whilst trying to establish an equal platform in terms of dialogue (England, 1994). The choice of this type of interview is in the hope that information might arise as there is room permitted for the interviewees to direct the conversation (Punch, 2014:171). The individual interviews were conducted in a manner which allowed room for the interviewees to express what they think is important and must be facilitated. The list of interviewees and interview guide can be found in appendices 7.2 and 7.3 respectively. The interview divided into three topics of discussion with additional follow-up questions if that was deemed necessary. The data of the interviews saturated quickly as the interviewees described similar experiences with issues discussed. Despite this, not all of the interviews are quoted but have been utilised in terms of building an understanding of the situation.

2.3 Data analysis

The data analysis process was initiated in the field through the first part of the data analysis process in the form of transcription. Swiftly after the interviews were conducted, the notes and/or recordings were collated and transcribed so to be coded and analysed at a latter stage. This thesis primarily analysed the data through thematic analysis (Bryman, 2012: 580) - these themes have developed by the theory-driven approach coupled with the creation of the theoretical framework of analysis (Boyatzis, 1998:29). Through detailed coding and an

analysis matrix, it is able to *order and synthesise data* (Bryman, 2012: 579). The thematic grid of analysis can be found in appendix 7.4. These themes and codes will be able to bounce off the the theoretical framework which is described in section 3. A good thematic code should be able to encapsulate qualitative richness (Boyatzis, 1998: 30) which hopefully, create a deeper, more nuanced situation of the difficulties of girls in education in Kalungu.

2.5 Ethics and Reflexivity

The recognition of my positionality has been vitally important in recognising how my being could have influenced the research. Even considering my wish to make the platform as equal as possible, there exists an escapability of the position of western researcher in a development context (Rose, 1997). Chances are the participants were lead to a quiet presumption of the type of person I may be and the the background that I may have both in terms of class and education (Rose, 1997). In this case, as a university student asking teachers about children who struggle in going to school that presented a very evident difference in privilege and resources which must be recognised (Sultana, 2007) and arguably, a power structure. Rose describes positionality as a recognition of the inescapability of the position you are in as an academic, coming from an advantaged background, as a woman who has been able to get to this position of empowerment within education (Rose, 1997). For me, this position might have been further exacerbated as my topic of research is girls who have difficulty staying in education, highlighting the distance between me and the subjects even more. What's more is that this positionality is grasping that our understanding is *not* universal, as the knowledge gained in this research is done so through an empowered position and this is position is privilege (Rose, 1997). To add to this, it is of paramount importance to recognise that one cannot generalise but rather use the new knowledge produced can be then used alongside other previously produced knowledges (Rose, 1997).

Furthermore, even if research is meant to be objective, the interviews should be personable interviews, being kind and empathic should never be missing in the interviews especially for this topic when it has to do with children who are in this position through no fault of their own (Rose, 1997). This was one of the aims and from what was gathered, there was a good atmosphere after the interviews were conducted.

After the studies are conducted, it is fitting to consider the idea of *reciprocal* relationship within research (England, 1994) as it is most important that this does not become any kind of exploit (England, 1994) for information without some kind of thank you. Secondly, taking the chance to raise awareness of these issues is vitally important which could be from writing this thesis. And lastly, through the NGO that has helped with this research, trying to buy some sort of school supplies (including books and sanitary products) for these children would be an appropriate like the some kind of reconciliation. The giving of gifts can be a way to demonstrate a commitment to evolving relationships (Scheyvens, 2012:176) even if the act might reaffirm the inequalities that exist between them in terms of socio-economics. What I found a ethical qualm is the fact that I had been advised against gifts. Yet, when in the position of actually being in the schools and being exposed to such an enormous lack of school supplies when I obviously did not come from the same position. The reasoning behind not giving gifts evidently have their basis but in all honesty, it would absolutely have been more unethical if I had just walked away from these schools without giving anything and go back to my comfortable student life and write about my experiences in Eden. Reciprocity is central to building human relationships, it can be seen as part of social rules and a matter of personal ethics (Scheyvens, 2012:178). Even if one is in the position of *researcher*, one can not distance oneself entirely, there may other ways to help in terms of one's skills and connections (ibid) in terms of sharing the research further and giving voice to these individuals and the hope is that this paper will endeavour to do so to some extent.

This would be particular relevant in the first school with the enormous lack of resources, and it was hard to hold back emotions from steering the interview or being afraid of showing emotions that could be belittling. Yet these emotions might lead to the politics that can be at play in the restrictions and restraints from girls attending school. Interwoven with my position and the inevitable power balance, comes also my biases. I realise that I cannot be entirely value-free in (Bryman, 2012:39-40) this research but I will aim to recognise these biases and identify these from the start.

Moreover, it is important to reflect over the position of my field guide, David Wamala, in respect to research conducted. He fulfilled the aspects of a *gatekeeper* and this could

infiltrate the bias and the information collected as he guided me to individuals who *he* thought would be interesting (Scheyvens, 2012:62,172). This power within the research relationship is an important recognition. However, gatekeepers can be defined to *facilitate or inhibit researchers* (Scheyvens, 2012:172) and from the experience in the field, it is evident that he was much more of a facilitator. He is a local teacher and has worked in many schools in the area where they respect his efforts from his years of teaching so it could be considered that due to his respectability I received more information and proved to be advantageous in terms of research. Yet, this is once again, an aspect that requires reflection and recognition in that it might have caused a certain type of bias in that the interviewees knew who he was - however, it must be noted that these teachers recognise the grave issues that are connected to the issues of girls in school so they seemed to be willing to voice their experiences and opinions.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework will compose of two key parts: Kabeer's theory of empowerment and Chant's feminisation of gender. These two concepts subsequently explained will tailor a framework to dissect the data gathered and to be able generate a refined understanding of girls' access to education in West Kalungu county.

Kabeer's conceptualisation of empowerment is the founding basis for this theoretical framework. Kabeer's idea is split in three sections: resources, agency and achievement (Kabeer, 2002:17). All interconnected, the resource part of the path to empowerment could be instrumental in the analysis of the difficulties in attending school in the Kalungu district. In the many of the studies about menstrual poverty, it heads access to resources as being an issue. Additionally, the core principle of the empowerment concept is that it is a process of change from disempowered to empowered - *the ability to make a choice* (Kabeer, 2002:18). It implies that people would then have greater ability to make strategic life choices (ibid). This would be interesting to then apply in the context of Kalungu to analyse what the proper sanitary care could be a part of this process. As education is deemed as a path to empowerment but if the *resource* is lacking (the first and crucial step) then reaching agency - where the girls are in the process of making a strategic choice - and achievement will be close to impossible (Kabeer, 2002:17).

To break it down clearly, resources can be understood to be conditions for undergoing empowerment; agency can be described as the process of empowerment - making choices; and achievement is the outcome of enhanced resources and agency (Kabeer, 2002:19). To build upon this, in the resource section of this theory, the idea alludes to material (school supplies), social (claims and obligations in networks and relationships) and human (the individual's skills) resource (Kabeer, 2002:20). Empowerment embodies the change from pure acquisition to a more free access (ibid). In the agency section, delving deeper would present the idea that agency permits one set goals and work towards them (Kabeer, 2002:21) - in this context, it would be the choice of the girls in Kalungu to continue going to school to pursue one's education. What the analysis will present is the lack of resources and the culturally bound concepts and societal barriers that are holding back from girls achieving their own empowerment. The existence of the two combined - resource and agency - can lead to achievements.

Moreover, empowerment can largely be connected to gender justice - this could be a fascinating connection to social justice, leading to a more layered analysis (Kabeer, 2002:20). Gender justice is the institutional arrangements for the promotion of gender equality. As aforementioned, there is universal education in Uganda, the challenges which the different genders face in attending school are vastly different - that of gender-specific barriers. Arguably, this is a vitally important issue to overcome if the country is to reach this goal.

In this context of education in the western Kalungu county, one needs to take into the consideration that the access to this resource is nuanced. In terms of economic and cultural practices - the idea of whether it is worth investing in the girl's health and well-being in attending school when she could be of use at home - in turn, also holds back her agency. Central to understanding this, is that resource within Kabeer's concept is that the access to resource can be a means to increase human agency (Kabeer, 2002:30). In this case, it would allow for full attendance at school which in turn leads to the girl's empowerment through education. Due to the fact that this is specific issue is economically and culturally intertwined, it is important also to see how social change and economic empowerment can be connected to this. The difficulty there lies with that this is length process in time and the

outcomes are reached in the long term - impatience can be damaging in the understanding of this process.

To build upon this, the idea of the feminisation of poverty which draws upon multi-dimensional definitions of poverty, helping us understand the often asymmetrical structures that lie within this social phenomenon (Chant, 2007:38) could be instrumental in developing a nuanced and deepened analysis of this issue. It addresses that poverty can encompass aspects such as respect, dignity, empowerment and awareness of the right not be discriminated against. This perspective will be integral in analysing the issues that the girls face in their path to empowerment through their education. In addition to this, this conceptual framework focuses on the access to public services and infrastructure - yet another aspect that will be necessary to understand the layered and detailed picture in which the girls are trying to get an education (Chant, 2007:38). Understanding the local context will enrich the picture and idea of why and how the girls tackle their adversaries and subsequently make the choice that do (Chant, 2007:42). The idea that poverty is multifaceted can be useful to understanding the different sides to what the girls are subjected through in this context: for instance their lack of economic empowerment compared to the boys and time poverty (Chant, 2007:37).

So to tailor the framework for this particular case, it takes Kabeer's process of empowerment from resource, agency and achievement. The difficulty of the access to resources and limitations of agency is connected to welfare and the means to achieve where one has to keep in mind that the concept of poverty is gendered and needs to be contextualised. In short, when resources are available and agency is practiced, achievements can be made. Thus, this framework can aspire to deepen the perception of the difficulties of girls' access to school and the issues that go hand in hand with this.

4. Analysis

This section of the thesis will present the data collected to be analysed thematically coupled with the framework presented in section 3. The structure of the analysis follows Kabeer's three steps in empowerment, namely, resource and agency which leads achievement - or the lack thereof. Therefore, the following analysis will be divided into the two components that

create achievement - resource and agency - as means to show how the data presents the barriers to achievement.

4.1 Resource

4.1.1 Lack of Scholastic materials and sanitary pads

The first school that was visited was St Francis Primary School. At this school, which consists of two medium-sized brick shells rooms and three wooden shacks, there are over 700 children whom attend. It was evident that resources were extremely limited; seeing a child with a pair of shoes in the playground was the rarity vis-a-vis to the barefooted children. The teachers that were interviewed spoke honestly but did not hold back the desperation: the shortage of resources was very apparent. What must be recognised is the vast majority of the pupils that attend these schools in West Kalungu have an impoverished background. Even though, there is universal education in Uganda, *it is not free* (Interviewee 5, 6.02.2018). Two of the five schools where interviews were conducted were governments schools, namely where there are no fees to attend - the fees come in other forms such as scholastic materials, lunch and sanitary pads. This can lead to difficulties in continuing and attending school, let alone finishing. Therein, this is where the poorest children go to school. However, what came up several times in the interviews was the nature of the *female challenges*. (Interviewee 4, 6.02.2018).

'There will be financial challenges directly related to the girls.'

(Interviewee 4, 6.02.2018)

Here, we begin to see this idea that girls are more troublesome in relation to the obstacles to overcome and that there is a distinct need for providing girls with what they require in order to attend to school. What was made apparent was that in a context where the poverty is so rife, this was a irksome task. The lack of provision of these resource means that their education is directly blocked - or at least made more difficult - and so the path to achievement and therein empowerment is also blocked. At this stage where school is so vital, this means that the chances of escaping poverty as a school girl are distinctly lower than that

of being a school boy. This shows the direct impact of not having access to this resource. One of the interviewees explicitly said:

'if the girl has no sanitary pads, she doesn't attend. If it is four days, she is not at school.'

(Interviewee 5, 6.02.2018)

This is the running theme throughout this particular study and is seen commonly across this region. That without this resource, the girls are at a distinct disadvantage in which that boys are not - *'boys get full time learning, unlike the girls'* (Interviewee 8, 7.02.2018). In this instance, there are two forms in which resources are lacking for girls: firstly, due to the fact that they have no sanitary pads which makes attending school comfortably an almost impossible task; secondly, it means that they do not get the institutional resource of education. These factors layer the resource shortage for these girls to their major disadvantage on their path to empowerment.

4.1.2 Access to part time work

The reason why this is crucial to understanding access is that this can be a means to generating some income to pay for school funds. However, what was prominent in the interviews were the gender roles that boys and girls took on at home. The belief that the girls are made to help at home was recurrent. Interviewee 4 said, *'the girls are made to do the house chores as their brothers go to school'* (Interviewee 4, 6.02.2018). In this time, boys can either go to school unhindered or use their time including that of getting a part time job in the form of digging or working with a motorbike, giving lifts and deliveries. This then puts the girls at a further disadvantage as they do not have the funds to buy school supplies whereas the boys can.

'The girls drop out rate is higher than the boys, cause the boys, the challenge they have is the girls cannot work in the villages because the parents cannot accept them to work for money.'

(Interview 6, 06.02.2018)

Behind this language lies a hint that the standings of girls and boys in society are different and that having a girl work for a wage has some sort of shame attached to it. Another interview commented on this issue saying that *'if you leave home looking for petty jobs, you are an undisciplined girl'* (Interview 8, 07.02.2018) which indicates the cultural nuances behind this situation - a girl should not be out working but at home. In terms of the feminisation of poverty in this context, it is important to realise these norms that hold back girls from attending school, that there is a distinct reasoning behind it due to the fact that they are women. This poverty of time and status impedes them from empowerment and developing themselves as they cannot be permitted to have this petty cash that can ease their way to have their own agency to ensure that they have the ability to make a choice. In this case, the norms do not permit the girls to do this, determining the decline of their agency.

4.1.3 The absence of female teachers and menstrual education

Another issue that could directly be connected to being a hinderance in the empowerment process is the education at school and the educators doing that. At one of the high schools in this rural area, there were only two female staff in a school where there were 200 girls attending. A lack of role models and people to turn to can be detrimental for children's development. *'Even the girls do not have anyone to emulate, to see that a girl can study'*: (Interview 5, 06.02.2018) this captures the idea of the problem of having few female teachers. Having role models and teachers that one can relate to is a vital part of an education. In addition to this, throughout the schools, there tended to lack education on menstrual hygiene management in combination with personal, social and rights education. When questioned on how the subject of menstruation is approached in school, the senior women named that they have problems with girls not understanding what happens in their bodies: *'That is why we need guidance so that they can be told real facts some of them don't know the real facts'* (Interview 5, 06.02.2018). Evidently, this can be detrimental to the education of children if they are not taught about what goes on with bodies, in particular with menstruation as it is such a large part of a female's life and arguably those formative years can be some of the most difficult. Therefore, it would be reasonable to deem this as a part of the issue of access to education as in the case where the lack of understanding can have a negative impact on bodily and mental health and school attendance. The resource of education is lacking

consequently having a negative impact on the path to empowerment and the fulfilment of capabilities in a context where girls are at a distinct disadvantage.

4.2. Hindrances to Agency

4.2.1 Child Marriage

One of the major issues of girls not being held back from school in connection with the poverty in this area is that of child marriage. This is when a child (usually a girl) is married off under the age of 18 for a 'bride price.' This was implicitly cited as an issue in every single interview conducted. The teachers notice that the dropout rate is much higher for girls compared to boys due to such issues. Interviewee 3 mentioned how that in this particular community, the girls drop out '*very fast*' (Interviewee 3, 6.02.2018). This is taking away their main path to empowerment, school, and therein, meaning that this becomes a massive barrier to develop or use any agency whatsoever - the social constraints in this matter takes away choices from the girl in a very brutal manner - both socially, physically and psychologically. It perpetuates the cycle of poverty as their education is incomplete or at a low level - in this case, the girls are largely at the disadvantage and this must be taken into account when considering the dimensions of poverty. Child marriage is an issue which is pressing in this region and these interviews are proof to show that it is still preventing girls from getting the education that would be instrumental in tackling poverty. The perpetuation of this practice also reiterates the low value of girls and women in society and is therefore harmful to their social and economic empowerment as well as an enormous impediment to the development of societies as a whole (UN Women, 2018).

4.2.2 Distance to school

One particularly sensitive issue that came up time and again was this idea of distance travelled to school: '*The challenge in this area is again the distances travelled by these students*' (Interview 5, 06.02.2018). In this rural area, the walk to school can be far and treacherous - 32.8% of households have more than 5 kilometres to the nearest public high school (EMIS, 2016). As previously mentioned, the boys have the means to make some money - this permits them to purchase a bike. In doing so, they can make their travels to and

from school much easier - in terms of time, energy and safety. Time and energy is saved and exposure minimised. Looking to the girls' perspective whom do not have a bikes, this can be enormously problematic. Not only is it that girls cannot really afford it but also that '*Culture here shows that a girl should not ride a bicycle*' (Interview 5, 06.02.2018). From what is to be understood from observations was that it was un-ladylike to ride bicycle in term of the seating position on a saddle. However, in the context where this jeopardises the girls' safety in finding a way to travel to school in an efficient and safe manner, this can potentially dangerous. Interviewee 7 commented that '*if these girls are to move longer distances to go to school, there are bad elements that disturb them*' (Interview 7, 07.02.2018). These bad elements can be sexual violence or harassment which can be extremely detrimental in many ways; trauma, pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases. This creates another barrier on the path to empowerment and greater achievements as well as painting another layer on the complications of being a poor girl.

4.2.3. Menstrual Stigma

The stigma attached to menstruation can be damaging to a girl's well-being and will to go school. The teacher often described that parents were unwilling to buy supplies for the girls.

'Sanitary pads, they think are a waste of time.' (Interviewee 3, 06.02.2018)

This means that the girls will inevitably miss school or go to school in great discomfort. This stigma can be related to the cost of the pads and that this extra cost is unaffordable. However, it seems to be a connotation with the idea this is a '*waste of time*' inducing the idea that it is not worthwhile to ensure the girl's education as they won't complete it anyway for other reasons. This idea can create massive hindrances for girl to school in terms of not being able to have the choice to actually be able to access the best means to empowering herself.

In addition to this, the mental health can deteriorate due to the bleeding that happens during menstruation, soiling uniforms and the general discomfort of having a period in school. An interviewee stated that '*she hates herself*' (Interviewee 4, 06.02.2018) when talking about how the girls cope with not having the supplies she needs to attend school in a comfortable manner. Furthermore, another teacher mentioned that '*they have that inferiority complex*'

(Interviewee 7, 07.02.2018). This strain on their mental well-being can not only repel them from going to school during their period but also have an impact on their confidence in general. Combined with that dropping out of school to either get married or start informally working could be exceptionally damaging. For those girls who try and go to school anyway the whole taboo of menstruation can make it a tough time to go to school. Interviewee 8 mentioned that *'she is fearing who is going to see me'* (Interviewee 7, 07.02.2018) in terms of her trying to hide the fact she has her period by sneaking to the bathroom or soiling her uniform. The teachers then struggle with trying to instill the students that even when you start menstruating, it is vitally important to continue school. For example, one of the interviewee's said:

'you have to tell them that when you start menstruating that you have to stay in school, that it is important.' (Interviewee 3, 06.02.2018)

This shows that there are difficulties in trying to convince the girls to stay. The tone used shows that there is a layer of persuasion meaning that the difficulties they face are having a negative effect on their attendance which insinuates that there is a dangerous idea that menstruation could be preventing these girls from going to school due to the stigma attached. Having said this, there are layers to this stigma - the interviewees made it clear that the line between whether it is financial reasons or for reasons where they did not believe that the girl should receive sanitary pads is unclear, one does not know which way round it could be. One interviewee mentioned that maybe the idea that in this rural setting that *'parents are not willing to buy sanitary pads for students'* (Interviewee 5, 06.02.2018) which alludes to both the poverty that is in rural areas and perhaps the ideas that are still perpetuated in these areas.

4.2.4 The preference of boys

On that note, one of said ideas that was a recurring theme in the interviews was the girl's value was not equal to that of a boy's. Both in terms of the investment of education - *'when finances are not sufficient, the boys are given priority'* (Interviewee 4, 06.02.2018) - and thinking that the girl should instead go and get married and that is the best way forward for

the girl, the concepts that exist are fundamentally making it an uphill battle for girls to get their education. Interviewee 4 mentioned,

'they have children to take care of and the person sacrifices the girl because you look at the boy as a saviour tomorrow and the girl going to marry tomorrow.'

(Interviewee 4, 06.02.2018)

Here, we are presented with the familial priorities and visions for the children in the family. The teachers described that parents often feel that marriage can seem like a the best financial option for their daughters and families: *'a parents says, ' go and get married. girl, get married, you are wasting my time, I have no money'* (Interviewee 4, 06.02.2018). This is evidently deeply connected to section 4.2.1 but this relates more the meaning of the gender roles and how this framing puts girls at a disadvantage. This is harmful for the girls as it means that prevents them from getting their education and the agency that it can bestow upon them. It is often shown that when a girl is married, she will not be able to complete her education (UN Women, 2018). This can therefore be seen to be a detrimental practice. There exists social norms that from the start hold back these young people: *'girls don't have the chance to be empowered, they are talked to as mothers'* (Interviewee 8, 07.02.2018). That a young girl is talked to, not as a child, but as mother seems to try and dictate a future rather than focussing on the girl's childhood and education and creates a social barrier in the her use of her agency.

Furthermore, the idea of the value of education was contentious issue in the particular area. Interviewee 5 said:

'But culture in this area, men are not educated, they do not see the value in education'

(Interviewee 5, 06.02.2018)

Where the right to an education is seen a paramount to the development of a child and the most common way of securing their future, this notion is dangerous. To not value education means that the children's chances for achieving and growing agency and capability is minimised and this uphill battle is perpetuated. For this to coupled with the idea that if

education is something that has to be done, it is for boys which nurtures the concept of girls not being a worthwhile investment - hindering their progress even further.

4.2.5 Sexual violence and exploitation

This was an area where the sampling of teachers was particularly important with the aim to investigate different difficulties that arise in this region. If the girls or parents had been asked this subject may have been too sensitive. The teachers commented that girls were ‘*exposed to many risks*’ (Interviewee 4, 06.02.2018) withholding girls back from school. This *risk* they spoke of was that of transactional sex. Incredibly difficult to pinpoint a definition, it explained to me as the following ways:

‘those ones (men in the village) are very good at helping the girls but helping with... benefits. They give you 5000 and then after school, you must visit that boy,’

(Interviewee 5, 06.02.2018)

and:

‘the boy provides them use for three times, the nice he will suggest and the girls will have no option, at the end of it all. She get pregnant and probably drop out of school, this is probably the biggest challenge.’

(Interviewee 6, 06.02.2018)

The girls would engage in sexual activities to receive money for school supplies including books, lunch, pads, uniform or maybe even getting lifts to school to cover the long distances covered. One of the interviewees commented that the girls are ‘*misused because of poverty.*’ (Interviewee 6, 07.02.2018) Granted, it is an extremely harsh truth to face that this is a phenomenon that occurs in one’s school and must be considered sensitively and is deeply disturbing for all involved. Not being able to address it for what it is, is indicative of conservative society that exists in Kalungu - that this taboo can in fact be dangerous as the problem becomes extremely difficult to address and is detrimental to this dangerous transactional culture. This issue can disarm the agency of children and young people affected by this. Under Ugandan law, any sexual acts of person under the age of 18 is illegal and deemed as sexual exploitation. The unwanted consequences can result pregnancy of girls out

of wedlock which means they are *'spoiled.'* In cases such as this, *'most of them are just made pregnant and left at home'* (Interviewee 6, 06.02.2018). In this position, through no choice of their own, these girls are left in a very desperate situation and their agency entirely depleted as the chances of going back to school are very slim as a single mother.

5. Concluding Discussion

This paper has presented the different obstacles faced by girls in West Kalungu county in getting their education through a qualitative study of semi-structured interviews with teachers and district officials of education. This has been analysed through Kabeer's empowerment theory with a feminisation of poverty perspective. The analysis was presented in two parts the lack of resource and hindrances to agency. In terms of resources, the largely impoverished circumstances was the underlying basis for all the of the resource issues and connects to many of the reasons of the lacking agency. For resources, it was scholastic materials, sanitary pads and the access to part-time work and educational resources. What almost be said on this topic is that the fact that this there are these barriers to education is, in itself, a lack of resource - lack of education which means a lack of individual resource. The agency section of analysis had multiple layers to it: the culturally bound ideas of the preference of boys and the gender roles attached to that, child marriage and menstrual stigma; and the societal issues of the distance to school and sexual violence/exploitation. Many of these issues are interrelated and interconnected creating this larger complexity which makes solving this issues seem almost insurmountable. What can be concluded is that issues affect girls differently than boys and when tackling the situations found in connection with this, it is imperative to have a gender perspective to have a fuller perception of the situation. The feminisation of poverty is central to understanding the multi-dimensional aspects. The need for a holistic approach for tackling access to education is paramount and must account for familial structures - if parents were to be economically empowered, many of the aforementioned resource and agency shortcomings would possibly differ. In combination with this, if the sensitisation of parents, regarding societal issues and health, could be carried out through the school then this could possibly start to break the cycle of dangerous social norms such as child marriage and menstrual stigma. Including parents further into education process and increasing rights education in schools could also be an area worth researching further in a means to mitigate girls dropping out of school and the problems that are implicated with it. This area requires

further study along with more research understanding the complexity of the different societal issues involved.

On that note, the most profound finding is the depth of the complexity of the situation. There are so many elements that contribute to the larger web of complications that restrain girls from attending and continuing their education. Brick on brick of adversaries quickly build upon the wall that blocks from path of empowerment in terms of achieving a high school certificate. However, at the heart of this issue is poverty. It is unshirkable that the state of being impoverished is the biggest barrier for all parties involved - from the institutions of education, the community, the local governments, the parents and the children. It is a barrier for everyone. These other aspects, that of the social and cultural, do not necessarily stand alone from the existing poverty but can be perpetuated by it. Having said this, it is imperative to understand that these social phenomena disadvantageously affect girls and women in society. What the analysis showed is that the lack of resources and agency withheld from girls are directly making acquiring an education an uphill battle. The children are the future and the more investment and care they receive, the brighter it will be.

6. References

Articles

Addaney, M. Azubike, O. (2017). *Education as a Contrivance to Ending Child Marriage in Africa: Perspective from Nigeria and Uganda*, 9 Amsterdam L.F. 110

Beetham, G., Demetriades, J. (2007). *Feminist Research Methodologies and Development: Overview and Practical*, Gender and Development, Vol. 15, No. 2, Gender Research Methodologies, pp. 199-216

Education Management Information System (EMIS) (2016). *Education and Sports Sector Fact Sheet 2002 – 2016*, Ministry of Education and Sports, The Republic of Uganda

England, Kim (1994), Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research, *Professional Geographer*, 46 (1) 1994, pp.80-89

Miir, G., Rutakumwa, R., Nakiyingi-Miir, J., Nakuya, K., Musoke, S. Namakula, J. Francis, S. Torondel, B., Gibson, L., Ross, D. and Weiss, H. (2018). *Menstrual health and school absenteeism among adolescent girls in Uganda (MENISCUS): a feasibility study*. *BMC Women's Health* 18:4 DOI 10.1186/s12905-017-0502-z

Muhanguzi, F. Bantebya-Kyomuhendo, G., Watson, C., (2017). *Social institutions as mediating sites for changing gender norms: Nurturing girl's resilience to child marriage in Uganda*, *Agenda*, 31:2, pp. 109-119, DOI: 10.1080/10130950.2017.1362897

Musaazi, M., Mechtenberg, A., Nakibuule, J., Sensenig, R. Miyingo, E., Makanda, J., Hakimian, A., Eckelman, M. (2015), *Quantification of social equity in life cycle assessment for increased sustainable production of sanitary products in Uganda*, *Journal of Cleaner Production* 96, pp. 569 - 579

Rose, Gillian (1997), *Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics*, Progress in Human Geography 21,3 pp. 305-320

Sommer, M., Figueroa, C., Kwauk, C., Jones, M., Fyles, N. (2017). *Attention to menstrual hygiene management in schools: An analysis of education policy documents in low- and middle-income countries*, International Journal of Educational Development Volume 57, pp.73-82

Sultana, Farhana. 1. "Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: Negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas in International Research". *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 6 (3), 374-85.

<https://www.acme-journal.org/index.php/acme/article/view/786>.

Wodon, Q., Nguyen, M. and Tsimpo, C. (2016). *Child Marriage, Education and Agency*, Feminist Economics, Vol. 22, No. 1, 54–79,
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2015.1102020>

Books

Boyatzis, E. (1999). *Transforming Qualitative Information, Thematic Analysis and Code Development*, Sage Publications, California.

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods 4e*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Chant, S. (2007) *Gender, Generation and Poverty, Exploring 'the feminisation of poverty' in Africa, Asia and Latin America*

Scheyvens, R. (2014). *Development fieldwork : a practical guide*. London : SAGE.

Publications

Amin, S., Austrian, A., Chau, M., Glazer, K., Green, E., Stewart, D., and Stoner, M. (2013). *Adolescent Girls Vulnerability Index: Guiding Strategic Investment in Uganda*. New York: Population Council.

Kabeer, N., McFadden, P., Arnfred, S., Dominguez, E., Sadallaah, S. (2002), *Discussing Women's Empowerment - Theory and Practice*, Sida Studies No. 3

Unesco Institute of Statistics (2017). *Reducing global poverty through universal primary and secondary education*, Global education monitoring report: policy paper, 32 [44]
UIS fact sheet, 32.

Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBS) (2017). *The National Population and Housing Census 2014 – Area Specific Profile Series, Kalungu District*, Kampala, Uganda.

United Nations, (1989). *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Geneva: United Nations.

UN Women (2018). *Prospects for Ending Child Marriage in Africa: Implications on Legislation, Policy, Culture & Interventions*, United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.

World Bank (2018). *World Bank Education Overview : Girls' Education (English)*. World Bank Education Overview. Washington, D.C. : World Bank Group.

Websites

Kavuma, R. M. (2011). Free universal secondary education in Uganda has yielded mixed results. Retrived from
<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/oct/25/free-secondary-education-uganda-mixed-results>

SDGs ∴ Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform. Retrieved from <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs>

United Nations Girls Education Initiative, (2013) Retrieved from <http://www.ungei.org/infobycountry/uganda.html>

United Nations Population Fund, (2018) Life must not stop: Sketching the future of menstrual hygiene market.. Retrieved from <https://uganda.unfpa.org/en/news/life-must-not-stop-sketching-future-menstrual-hygiene-market>

7. Appendices

7.1 Appendix 1 - Maps

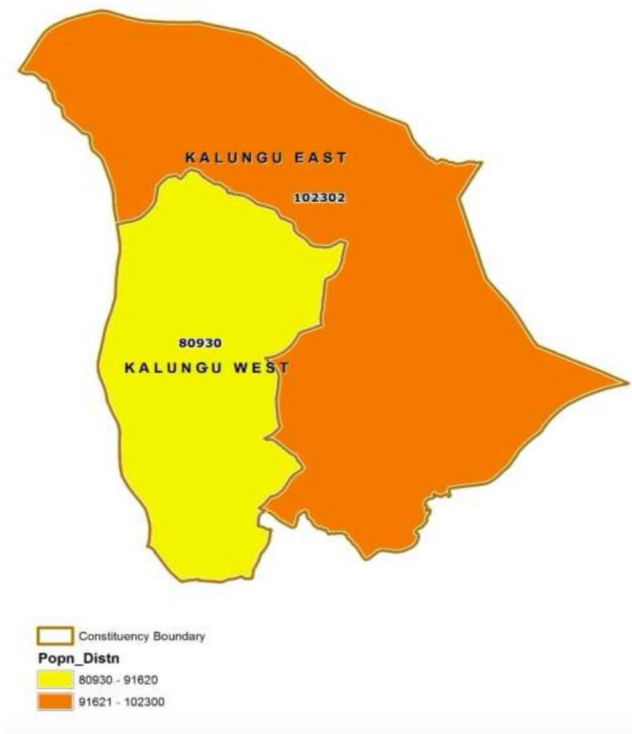
Map 1: Kalungu District in Uganda.

Source: Citypopulation.de. (2019). *Kalungu (District, Uganda) - Population Statistics, Charts, Map and Location*. [online]

Available at:



<http://www.citypopulation.de/php/uganda-admin.php?adm2id=100> [Accessed 27 May 2019].



Map 2: Counties of Kalungu District
Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBS) (2017). *The National Population and Housing Census 2014 – Area Specific Profile Series, Kalungu District, Kampala, Uganda*.

7.2 Appendix 2 - List of Interviewees

Interviewee	Date	Place	Job Title
Interviewee 1	04.02.2018	Kampala	Researcher
Interviewee 2	06.02.2018	Kitulikizi, Kalungu	Senior Woman
Interviewee 3	06.02.2018	Kitulikizi, Kalungu	Headteacher
Interviewee 4	06.02.2018	Kyamulibwa, West Kalungu	Headteacher
Interviewee 5	06.02.2018	Kabungo, Kyamulibwa, West Kalungu	Headteacher
Interviewee 6	06.02.2018	Kabungo, Kyamulibwa, West Kalungu	Senior Woman
Interviewee 7	07.02.2018	Kyamulibwa, West Kalungu	District Education Officer
Interviewee 8	07.02.2018	Ntinda, West Kalungu	Rector of Teacher's College
Interviewee 9 and 10 (Group Interview)	07.02.2018	Kyamulibwa, West Kalungu	District Education Officer, Secretary and Child Protection Officer

7.3 Appendix 3 - Interview Guide

Interview Guide - Semi-structured interviews

Introduction - introducing myself and background and the premise of the study.

Discuss the participants background.

The guide was structured to have a topic of discussion/theme and a follow-up question if necessary.

1. Topic of discussion: what challenges do children face in going to school in this area?
 - a. Why is it so?
2. Topic of discussion: what challenges exist for girls in particular
 - a. Does menstrual Stigma exist?
 - b. Preconceptions about different roles
3. Topic of discussion: in your opinion, what is the major issue regarding access to school?

- a. Ask participant what they think need to be done to help the children (especially girls) stay in school

Give thanks and appreciation.

7.4 Appendix 4 - Thematic Analysis Grid

The number in brackets after the quotation indicates the interviewee found in section 7 appendix 2.

Themes	Sub-themes	Indicators	Quotes
Lack of Resources	Lack of materials Lack of institutional resource	Not being able to afford Sanitary Pads and scholastic materials Lack of guidance and education with health/menstrual issues	<p>the parents cannot afford that, it is very expensive' (3)</p> <p>'there will be financial challenges directly related to the girls.' (4)</p> <p>'the buying of sanitary wear, it is very expensive.' (8)</p> <p>'we have universal secondary education, free education but it is not free.'(5)</p> <p>'if the girl has no sanitary pads, she doesn't attend. If it is four days, she is not at school.' (5)</p> <p>'her performance goes all declining.'(5)</p> <p>'they have nothing, they get ashamed so they remain at home and if ti always, that is the challenge.' (5)</p> <p>'the facilities are not enough.' (8)</p> <p>'that is why we need guidance so that they can be told real facts some of them don't know the real facts' [about menstruation] (6)</p> <p>'the guidance is inconsistent' (8)</p> <p>'But culture in this area, men are not educated, they do not see the value in education.'(5)</p> <p>'finances and the priority is given to a boy. when the finances are not sufficient, the boys are given the first priority.' (4)</p>

Hindrances to agency	<p>Child Marriage</p> <p>A girl's worth</p>	<p>Being held back from education</p> <p>Boys having more worth than girls</p> <p>Distances to school</p>	<p>most of the girls here in the community drop out very fast [due to early marriages] (3)</p> <p>'the girls are made to do the house chores as their brothers go to school.' (4)</p> <p>'even the girls do not have anyone to emulate, to see that a girl can study.' (5)</p> <p>'the challenge in this area is again the distances travelled by these students.' (5)</p> <p>'Culture here shows that a girl should not ride a bicycle.' (5)</p> <p>they're trying to stay in school but those are some of the biggest factors for the drop out rate. The girls drop out rate is higher than the boys, cause the boys, the challenge they have is the girls cannot work in the villages because the parents cannot accept them to work for money.' (6)</p> <p>'there are those who do not even know how to use it.' (7)</p> <p>'they have that inferiority complex.' (7)</p> <p>' men do not understand that these are children. so you find that they may teach things which are not good to them.' (7)</p> <p>' girls lack self confidence - in some cultures, the only thing for a girl is married.' (7)</p> <p>' there are some girls that are getting pregnant when they have not concluded their studies.' (7)</p> <p>'girls don't have the chance to be empowered, they are talked to as mothers.' (8)</p> <p>'boys get full time learning, unlike the girls' (8)</p> <p>'if you leave home looking for petty jobs, you are an undisciplined girls.' (8)</p> <p>'the girls are not given the chance.' (8)</p> <p>'pads should be a necessity.' (8)</p>
----------------------	---	---	--

Hindrances to Agency	A girl's worth	<p>Leaving school as the better option</p> <p>Girls not being as worthy as boys</p> <p>Menstrual Stigma</p> <p>Marriage as an alternative to education</p>	<p>'you have to tell them that when you start menstruating that you have to stay in school, that it is important.' (3)</p> <p>'Sanitary pads, they think are a waste of time.' (3)</p> <p>'she hates herself (due to being on her period with no supplies)' (4)</p> <p>'they laugh at the girl because the boys have not been told that this is a normal thing for a girl to go in menstruation' (8)</p> <p>'they have children to take care and the person sacrifices the girl because you look at the boy as a saviour tomorrow and the girl going to marry tomorrow.' (4)</p> <p>'a parents says,' go and get married. girl, get married, you are wasting my time, I have no money.' (5)</p> <p>'girls, they find it a challenge. Nobody can employ them.' (5)</p> <p>'I tried to tell parents, at least contribute.' (5)</p> <p>Being in a rural setting, I think parents are not willing to buy sanitary pads for students.' (5)</p> <p>'she is fearing who is going to see me.' (8)</p>
----------------------	----------------	--	---

<p>Hindrances to Agency</p>		<p>Sexual Exploitation</p>	<p>the girls are exposed to many risks.' (4) (abuse)</p> <p>'those ones are very good at helping the girls but helping with... benefits. They give you 5000 and then after school, you must visit that boy.'(5)</p> <p>'the boy provides them use for three times, the nice he will suggest and the girls will have no option, at the end of it all. she get pregnant and probably drop out of school, this is probably the biggest challenge.' (6)</p> <p>'most of them are just made pregnant and left at home.' (6)</p> <p>'if these girls are to move longer distances to go to school, there are bad elements that disturb them.' (7)</p> <p>' a guardian actually just abusing the girl sexually' (7)</p> <p>'misused because of poverty.' (7)</p> <p>'get a man.' (7)</p> <p>'the culture of silence affects these children so much: you have to be quiet, you don't have tell anybody' (8)</p> <p>'it really affects them so much.' (8)</p>
-----------------------------	--	----------------------------	---